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Discourse, Language, Teaching & Corona

Storytelling and On-line Modern Language Instruction

*Veronica-Diana Micle**

The purpose of the present paper is to present recent developments in modern language instruction that is increasingly confronted with the need to turn digital. Traditional frontal teaching/learning is combined with on-line teaching/learning even more than it has been in the past. This is an English language instructor's perspective on a highly practical application of one type of on-line resource used in order to develop language and creative thinking skills. Firstly, we will try to examine some persuasion techniques used in oral business communication. We will be arguing that there has to be a constant concern on the part of language instructors in higher education to draw students' attention to meaningful controlled storytelling delivered by experts in a variety of fields of activity. Then, we will briefly present some important steps taken towards adaptation to digital teaching/learning impacting involved stakeholders within the Faculty of Economics, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. Finally, we present one practical way storytelling can be brought into the on-line modern language classes through Ted.com talks. There are important benefits in using this complex resource as it enables genuine engagement and learner autonomy in on-line instruction.

ESP; persuasion; on-line education; intercultural competence; storytelling; Ted.com talks; language training and instruction; culture.

Business and Persuasion – an Introduction

The field of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) is an extraordinarily complex one and the approaches that can be used as part of the teaching process are extremely diverse. English for Specific Purposes has long been associated with a creative attitude towards teaching as it focuses not only on vocabulary development and accuracy improvement but also on communicative and soft skills. Professionals that are able to transmit a message that is overall well received are more often than not individuals who put a lot of effort into articulating a message that persuades due to both content and relationship. The ability to convince others – in both professional and personal contexts – has undoubtedly become one of the most relevant soft skills. It is also one that can be practised and developed by learners following English for Specific Purposes language courses. Persuasion is built on by relevant content, charismatic delivery, ethical manipulation into negotiation of a

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credibility that manages to move beyond status and position. Business students often list the ability to persuade others as a unique selling point in a professional's communication toolkit. According to Schacter (cited by Jackson¹), "communication is the mechanism by which power is exerted" and thus, we may assume that in the business environment, just like in any other field, we communicate in order to persuade and therefore, to exert a certain degree of power. There are many contexts businesspeople need to prove they are able to sell a message convincingly: sales presentations, team meetings, marketing campaigns, negotiations, ensuring they are selected out of a group of candidates in job interviews or needing to be granted the long awaited promotion.

Delivering a persuasive presentation in English has certainly become a key competence businesspeople strive to master to perfection. However, oral discourse is difficult to master as there are different variables that may be interfering with the output: anxiety ridden circumstances, work related pressure, lack of preparation, ineffective delivery, inappropriate use of jargon, faulty audience analysis, cultural blunders, etc.

In *Understanding Public Speaking* (2020)², Braj Mohan provides some definitions of persuasion and discusses the main theoretical perspectives on speech-based persuasion; among others, he also refers to the importance of Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness (1978) in delivering successful public speeches. The pragmatic theory of politeness proves without a doubt that politeness strategies (positive and negative) may add value to a message or, on the contrary, may lead to its faulty interpretation. As Robin Lakoff stated in 1989³, power and politeness are closely connected. Power represents an essential element that plays a fundamental role in Brown & Levinson's politeness theory⁴, which has later on generated the majority of the landmark studies connected to pragmatic politeness and its manifestations. Rapport management is essential in fostering a feeling of trust, inclusive collaboration and respect. The credibility of the speaker is negotiated through pragmatic politeness enabling the mutual preservation of *face* in professional interactions. Power theoreticians and researchers claim that *power*, *social distance* and *the intrinsic aggressiveness of self-image/face* represent important elements that would predict how much linguistic effort the interlocutor may decide to make in shaping up the oral exchange. In other words, the lower power speakers, the ones that have a more distant/formal relationship as well as those who pose a more serious face threatening act (for example, asking for a raise that is more substantial than expected), are more likely to use a higher degree of politeness. The *power* variable applies in a concrete way in the case of superior-subordinate interactions within organisations and institutions. In the case of politeness theory there is a framework that tailors itself on the analysis of influence and power distribution that is prevalent between enhanced status professionals and subordinates in speech acts.

There is extensive body of research in the field of business communication that document the elements that empower a speaker to exude enough confidence to establish

good rapport with his/her interactants and thus be granted *trust*. Among the aforementioned elements Bob Dignen and Ian McMaster⁵ mention seven important ones that individuals are more inclined to respect when deeming a speaker trustworthy: individuals appreciate those who are *competent*, those who are *like-minded /similar* to them, those who are capable of showing *empathy*, those who reveal *integrity*, those who are *reliable*; additionally interactants tend to favour those individuals who choose to collaboratively *involve* them and those who grant them *trust* in return. *Expertise* in the field one represents would enable them to establish rapport more readily with the audience as competent speakers are given a vote of confidence based on evidence of *logos*. Placing yourself in other people's proverbial shoes and relating to their life experience and/or work-related challenges *in an empathetic way* also increases one's credibility and reliability score. Professionals are able to have an impactful oral performance provided that they are perceived to be adopting ethical persuasion techniques using *ethos* and *pathos* to their benefit and the ones they communicate with and thus displaying *moral values and integrity* of their corresponding opinions and scientific evidence.

Consequently, upon having successfully managed to create rapport based on trust and ethical influence there is another element good communicators make use of and that is availability to provide scientific data in an open-minded way that is nondiscriminatory, verifiable and transparent. Moreover, scientific data that is mined prior to the communication sequence, arguments that hold water and reveal careful preparation, an enhanced degree of *interest* and engagement in the message one is trying to put forward in a controlled piece of oral discourse—all of these elements contribute to what we normally label as meaningful interactions. Adopting a positive and inclusive attitude while delivering the oral message only increases a speaker's likability whereas ensuring the audience stays connected. The key ingredient is *enthusiasm* as it clearly shows that the communicator cares enough to make a significant effort towards making an impact that is riddled out by the listeners as a message of trust and professional growth. Effective business oral discourse ought to be delivered in an involved and dynamic way that show the ultimate two-sided communicative soft competence: engagement and enthusiasm. Professionals—just like authors and artists—have a story to tell. Their story gathers momentum and significance upon being shared with an audience that is influenced by it in a meaningful way. Storytelling in the business world has become a powerful communication tool. In their above mentioned seminal work Dignen and McMaster advocate for *storytelling* being used in business in order to create rapport and establish face value and credibility⁶.

In this paper, we advocate for storytelling be used in modern language instruction for the benefit of students who choose to trust and assign credibility to speakers/field experts who are presenting their story remote and not face-to-face. Good storytelling

creates engagement and it enhances interest that is so difficult to maintain in on-line communication.

In an increasingly active and evermore global business environment, our need to interact appropriately and in real time with people who have different training, values, behavioral norms, and ways of interpreting reality has become more and more apparent. Many job descriptions now present an international dimension, so the need to develop intercultural competences has taken on a greater importance for more businesspeople and professionals. *Intercultural competence* is very often described as the ability to identify, acknowledge and make appropriate use of existing cultural differences so as to generate potential opportunities for learning and for fostering personal and/or professional contributions in specific contexts.

The role of *culture* in the world of business has been the subject of comprehensive research, prompted particularly by the growth of multinational corporations and the increase in international business interactions. Individuals tend not to consider how their cultural backgrounds shape their repertoire until they experience misunderstandings or their behavior does not generate the response they would have normally expected within their usual cultural community⁷. *Cultural competence* is in essence the ability to generate appropriate strategies of action pertinently, whereas *intercultural competence* is the ability to explore one's repertoire and actively construct an appropriate strategy that is to be employed in real time for the benefit of both the discourse user and the participants that are involved in the communicative exchange. Intercultural competence therefore involves overcoming the constraints embedded in an individual's culturally shaped background and register, creating new valid responses, and thereby expanding the range of potential interpretations and behaviors, thus *reframing intercultural situations as learning opportunities*⁸.

In their emblematic work on intercultural competence and sociolinguistic appropriateness, Katja Lochtman and Jenny Kappel acknowledge that foreign language pedagogy and language instruction methodology are increasingly confronted with such rich concepts as *intercultural learning*, *intercultural communication*, and the *multicultural society* leading the discussion of the issue of intercultural language learning from an EFL (English as a Foreign Language) perspective⁹. One important advantage of this addition of *cultural studies* in the FL (foreign language) curriculum has taught us the importance of fostering cultural awareness and positive language attitudes in our language classes. Language cannot exist in isolation but it rather represents the medium through which most of our information about culture is obtained, treasured and applied. Culturally determined aspects of communication play a role in almost every instance of language use. Nevertheless, truly getting to know a culture is a massive undertaking.

Cultural elements are being integrated into language courses, giving language instructors a crucial role to play in mediating these to students.

On-line Modern Language Instruction at Babeş-Bolyai University-Work in Progress

The *Babeş-Bolyai* University is a comprehensive, advanced research and education university, seeking to train youth for contemporary society and for the future. The general mission of the university is knowledge generation and transfer. More specifically, it focuses on training students, researchers, active and responsible citizens, promoting education and research according to the exigencies of a society based on knowledge and values, through initial training, continuous education and integration in the circuit of universal values. The University is striving to ensure open communication channels for all participants in the educational process by putting at their disposal both traditional frontal teaching/ learning opportunities and innovative digital platforms.

The Covid19 pandemic has forced us to move to the virtual world and consequently all courses and exchange programs were transferred on-line. Due to important health and safety concerns, UBB has begun implementing a hybrid mode type of educational process: the academic teaching/learning process has switched to the digital format. The University adopted Microsoft Teams/Zoom/Moodle on-line platforms for on-line classes ensuring that all efforts are made towards a smoother transition.

In order to help 1st year students experience student life as close to normality as possible, UBB designed the *Student to Student Team* project, taking senior students and MA students as mentors and trainers for the junior-year students. After a 3-day on-line workshop, using MS Teams, the mentors will continue to support 1st years, to give them advice and guidance, organise on-line events for them in order that they meet as most of them are at home, not on campus.

There has been constant collaboration among transversal departments within UBB towards dissemination of information related to teaching/learning processes and practices. ESP and EAP curricula are expected to be moulded more effectively onto interactive on-line platforms within the Covid19 context. Workshops for teachers in the Department of Specialised Foreign Languages (teachers shared experiences of using various apps and platforms for teaching ESP and used the best-practice framework in order to exchange teaching ideas). The workshops covered use of digital tools (PearDeck, Nearpod, ISL Collective video lesson building etc.), interactive boards and organisation of formative and summative assessment via E-portfolios. Participants attended the internal workshops for self-learning purposes and in view of improving their digital teaching skills and adapting content and materials for on-line teaching.

Peer-workshops held for modern language instructors with a focus on creating on-line resources for students in order to provide meaningful content as well as transparent

assessment of both oral and written discourse (teacher tutorials, discussions, test design). This is work in progress.

None have been officially developed and adopted by the university so far. Nevertheless, starting from March 2020, in order to adapt to the pandemic situation, every teacher has developed various resources and activities for their classes, has applied, and tested them during their courses. Every teacher has used what they have considered suitable for the goals and specificity of their courses, but also what has been in accordance to their own level of digital literacy and to what they grasped on the fly in terms of digital pedagogy.

The Moodle platform used in UBB allows fairly effective interactions between students and teachers. Course materials and handouts, students' input (oral, written, audio, video) may be uploaded, analysed and consequently efficiently graded. There are improvements to be made regarding the quality of interactions.

Language learning has fundamentally changed during the pandemic. Language instructors used various on-line tools and platforms in order to adapt to the requirements of the on-line medium. As such, one of the best practices was to combine synchronous activities (the live sessions on Zoom/Microsoft Teams etc.) with asynchronous activities (for example, Google form quizzes, assignments on Google Classroom, Microsoft Teams and Edmodo). Language instructors also introduced more multimodal elements and apps with the purpose of making the teaching-learning process more dynamic, interactive and collaborative and of developing autonomous language learners (for example: Mentimeter, Kahoot, Learning Snacks, quizzes). In this scenario, the language teacher acts as a guide/a facilitator and the learning act becomes a process of collaboration with the peers and the language instructor.

One important aspect that was paid more attention to within the Covid19 context was to also consider students' digital literacy. Modern language instructors have become more aware that effective communication in a modern language via digital means is a two-way process. Active engagement is dependent on a series of variables that are worth researching in minute detail: degree of comprehension of used concepts, upholding an academic image to support output, face management via on-line means.

It is not the focus of this paper to detail an exhaustive list of useful on-line activities that may tailor to the requests of an academic Business English language instruction program. This would be in itself a lengthy, time consuming endeavour, one that will undoubtedly become the focus of many bodies of research in ESP.

However, we will in what follows next present one on-line resource that has been used successfully in teaching English to university students.

A case of genuine language development through story telling: TED.COM resource

The next section of this paper represents the description of one practical resource we have used in order to create learner engagement and autonomy in on-line Business English classes. The resource used is *Ted.com Talks*.

The on-line teaching has been done via Zoom. The resource has been used by playing the video file to students and by designing pre-/while and post listening/watching activities focusing on development of all skills: reading, vocabulary development, grammatical focus, listening, speaking and writing.

Ted.com talks bring amazing storytelling sessions delivered by experts at the top of their professional development displaying outstanding persuasion communicative oral techniques; therefore, the stake is high in the on-line environment intermediating communication sequences by allowing a third party to enter the English class. *Storytelling is indeed a highly successful rhetorical technique, popular particularly among business leaders' speeches, though not only.*

Ted.com10 stands out in the sea of possible resources to be used by modern language instructors for the benefit of their students. In a virtually infinite sea of on-line resource placed at teachers' disposal, TED.com cordially invites listeners/language learners to be put at the very heart of the discussions that take place on such a wide range of topics: from professional communication to intercultural conundrums, from technological advances impacting the world of business and the community at large, from environmentalism to applications of different brilliant research ideas onto specific contextualised challenges human beings cope with.

Through TED.com talks, modern language instruction stakeholders are exposed to speakers who are professionals in their own field therefore being equipped with a set of competences that are applied across numerous causes so as to raise awareness and possibly suggest solutions to various problematic aspects impacting both our personal and professional lives. The speakers are highly trained individuals who often highlight ethical values, intercultural competences, oral discourse management skills as well as soft skills that command us to appreciate their input as they make their strong cases for/against complex issues. As a modern language instructor, one can only dazzle at the richness of opinions and English language grammatical and lexical resources these speakers put on the discussion table. Additionally, these genuine pieces of oral discourse can be tapped into from a variety of standpoints. Many of the TED speeches that are available on-line debate issues that bear major importance to the world we live in. Science is tackled in a compelling way as scientific claims by the featured speakers are based on data that has survived scrutiny by experts in the field. Additionally, speakers are transparent about the basis for any factual claims, and the scientific evidence for them.

The categorisations below are some of the ways in which TED.COM talks can be used in the English class irrespective of the language level the students are at. This golden resource can be adjusted to fit any Common European Framework of Reference

for Languages description provided the instructor previously runs a needs analysis of the student group as well as preparing the talk under focus in advance. The TED.COM speech represents but the springboard to:

-careful choice of class focus (e.g. content points, specialised jargon, ethos-pathos-logos evidence in the oral presentation, articulating the elements shaping up the speaker's credibility, validation or invalidation of arguments, researching the topic further by formulating new questions);

-explanations and contextualisation of vocabulary items/jargon;

-pronunciation, intonation and prosody focus and practice;

-active listening skills enhancement;

-construction of valid arguments that may or may not be in accordance with the speaker's expressed point of view;

-improvement of active listening skills;

-follow up of oral individual presentations with written assignments that may be assigned by the modern language instructor;

-creative thinking and problem solving skills augmentation as students may be asked to recreate the story under analysis and suggest possible different endings and conclusions.

The activity is associated with a follow-up that can take the form of an oral mini-presentation the students need to prepare themselves respecting the guidelines below:

I.	Introduction	Generalisation on the task at hand; Anecdote (personal life experience); Hard facts (statistics, research based information); Announce which "way" you are going: pro or against or both.
II.	Body: 3 MAIN ARGUMENTS	Argument 1 introduced by linking device 1 Argument 2 introduced by linking device 2 Argument 3 introduced by linking device 3 -Show your business background- -Include relevant explanations and examples when/if possible- -Use connectors/discourse markers in order to achieve coherence and cohesion of oral discourse-

III.	CONCLUSION	Do not forget to have one! Introduce it by appropriate linking device; Brief/concise/interesting/catchy; Reiteration of main idea in the Introduction.
Important aspects: Task achievement + appropriate signposting + time limit Piece of advice: Use your notes (key terms) but do not read off sheets!		

Source/Link: www.ted.com *Ideas worth spreading*

Presenter's Name:

Presentation Title:

Time:

■ *Contention 1* (The first content point the students can identify as a valid argument)

■ *Contention 2* (The second content point the students can identify as a valid argument)

■ *Contention 3* (The third content point the students can identify as a valid argument)

■ *Examples* worth remembering (3 at least)

Students make notes of the most relevant or memorable examples the speaker provides. These are essential as they offer practicality and real-life anecdotal evidence related to the speaker's background and approach. More often than not, these examples are connected to particular events or developments that are essential for the overall understanding of the talk as well as adding a grain of contextualised truth that enable students to remember it better.

■ *Conclusions/ Suggestions* for further action

This part of the activity relates to how the students process the input. By reformulating the speaker's conclusions, the student intently focuses on identifying the most useful applications the talk entails for his/her own life/profession. Suggesting future action to be taken connects the presentation to areas in the student's life that this may find a certain degree of validation in. Creative thinking skills are also used as the request is to imagine how the ideas presented in the talk may be useful in the future.

■ *Practical outcomes/consequences* (student's input)

This section in the handout refers to establishing connections between the topic of the presentation and the student's own areas of interest

■ *Key Vocabulary* I want to remember/I want my colleagues to remember from this talk (up to 20-25 items)

Vocabulary development is crucial in modern language instruction. By familiarising themselves with the TED.com talk, the students get acquainted with new vocabulary items that are to be found in challenging new contexts. The newly found/interpreted vocabulary items are explained, taken in and shared with their colleagues in written format.

■ Ted.com presentation follow-up

Sample 1: THE IMPORTANCE OF A GLOBAL PRESENCE

Maximum grade awarded

I.	Introduction	More mergers and acquisitions that ever before have resulted in Companies needing to HAVE A GLOBAL PRESENCE in order to compete in tomorrow's market place. This presence offers MANY COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGES:
II.	Body	To begin with: access to local market knowledge(protects companies against making cultural blunders) What is more: It can spread the risk of doing business/ Ability to move production around from country to country And : Achieving economies of scale(in advertising, distribution, shipping)
III.	Conclusion	SO/ ALL IN ALL/ WHEN THESE THINGS ARE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION : Necessity to become global in order to be competitive in tomorrow's marketplace

Ted.com resources develop core academic language skills and they incorporate 21st century themes and skills such as global awareness, information literacy, and critical thinking. Modern language instruction is rooted in creating a safe environment for learners to be able to interact with genuine materials that enhance their comprehension levels and lead to academic interpretations and skills development.

Globalization and the Internet are changing the way our students learn. Today's young adult ESL/EFL learners need to develop not only core academic English skills such as reading, viewing, and vocabulary skills, but also essential global and cross-cultural awareness, creative thinking skills, and information and media literacies.

This study has advocated for the use of TED.com talks in the modern language instruction classes due to motivating speakers and innovative content from TED-and its overall focus on *ideas worth spreading*-provide an exciting opportunity to inspire learners as they develop these essential skills. The consistent use of such resources enables both instructors and students to interact via digital means in a meaning loaded way.

As learners progress through the series, they develop essential reading and vocabulary skills, such as scanning quickly for specific information, making connections between main and supporting ideas, and inferring meaning from context. In addition, learners are encouraged to think critically about each Ted talk and text by analyzing, evaluating, reasoning, inferring, synthesizing, predicting and reflecting.

Intercultural Competence

Upon tackling the subject of *culture*, we inadvertently switch our attention from language itself towards the people who use the language. Language and culture are closely intertwined; hence, it is not possible to teach a language without valid culture references culture shaping itself in the very necessary context for language use¹¹. Consequently, when two people with different language backgrounds come into contact with each other, they are said to engage in intercultural communication. In order for such communication to be successful speakers require what is often referred to in FLT as *intercultural communicative competence*¹². This means that interaction in a foreign language is much more than just relating oneself with ease to the richness in vocabulary choice, grammar rules and the requested jargon of the target language. However, what exactly is it that language students should learn on top of the purely linguistic skills they are offered in the foreign language classroom? In other words, what exactly is *intercultural competence* as compared to the other types of competence identified in the Common European Framework of Reference which have become the objective in foreign language learning, and more specifically in EFL/ESP teaching and learning?

Our cultural background determines the manner in which we relate to others, which again has its roots in the family and it seems to be extremely difficult to disregard our cultural background in everything we do¹³. Language is the vehicle of culture, an "obstinate vehicle"¹⁴, whereas positioning ourselves in tune with different mindsets and values is a difficult endeavor that implies the willingness to make an effort. The implication is that FL learners will likely continue to use the target language (TL) in a manner resembling that of their native language. All cultures have special occasions where a typical form of language use is expected. The use of formal and informal register

is culturally determined as well. In this sense *intercultural competence* could be defined in terms of the skill to use formal and informal language in appropriate situations. Culture plays an important role in the way speakers conceive of formal and informal registers and interactional situations, in that the language people use reflects the values they subscribe to and which they have absorbed from their cultural background. This includes knowledge of what constitutes notions such as *mutual respect, pragmatic politeness, power and authority, informality or friendliness of particular rapports*, but also, at the same time paying attention to such concepts as *disrespect, rudeness, impoliteness and denial* of authority or status symbols, as these are acquired through the process of socialization into a specific national, institutional or corporate culture. Learning another language involves the *suspension* if not the compulsory *re-interpretation* of all the assumed roles and persona, knowledge and attitudes of the first language. What adds difficulty to such tailoring of assumptions and perceptions is the fact that learners will often continue interpreting situations as they would in their own culture and express themselves in the target language using stylistic elements that are most like those they already know and function with on a normal basis¹⁵.

Intercultural competence enables communicators to interact both *effectively* and in ways that is *acceptable to others* an aspect which is very often to be considered a prerequisite to an employee's relevant activity as a member of a team performing in company related situations or in virtual teams that are outsourced to complete projects¹⁶.

It is not sufficient for language users to have the ability to produce grammatically correct utterances; they should also be coherent, sensitive to what has gone on before and what might come later, to audience knowledge and to other features of the social situations. Intercultural competence is a term used to refer to both linguistically and culturally based behaviour patterns that are made use of in interactional situations. The same authors specify that the term *intercultural competence* is to be chosen over *intercultural communicative competence* (Michael Byram, 1997) as *intercultural competence* always implies *communicative competence* and therefore has both a linguistic and sociolinguistic component. The complex concept of *intercultural competence* can be understood as the ability of being *sociolinguistically competent*, both in the native and in the target language, allowing speakers to successfully communicate with speakers of other cultures¹⁷.

The concept of *cultural sensitivity* has often been the focus of both language educators and researchers in an attempt to provide a definition and an interpretation that would take into account the very often elusive and fluid characteristics of *empathy, flexibility, cultural awareness* as well as the rather more technical references to *core skills, foreign language proficiency* and the subjective variables imposed by *situational factors*¹⁸. It has been observed how people in groups of mixed cultural background recognise and deal with the differences that emerge as the group works together. From such observations, it

has been possible to identify a number of *strands of competence* that people bring to bear on the situation. The Intercultural Assessment manual (INCA, European Training in the UK, 2004) advises that if one individual is labeled as intercultural competent, they may have the ability to demonstrate one or several of the following characteristics: *tolerance of ambiguity* (the overall ability of accepting unexpected sociolinguistic challenges as well as dealing with these in a constructive way); *behavioural flexibility*, which is an adaptation strategy that would encourage interactions that are based on mutual benefits, on preserving the interests of interactants; it also means establishing a rapport with them so that harmony is kept above all; *communicative awareness*, referring to a state of involvement, paying attention to stimuli that could enrich the communication instance. Active listening is a prerequisite, engagement in efforts of finding common grounds with the interlocutors whether by processing feedback or negotiating used jargon. *Knowledge discovery* and *respect for otherness* are in our view interconnected, the former being defined as care being taken for not offending the other party, for considering their input and showing availability and respect for the preservation of their face and interests.

In our daily routine and encounters, our concrete amount of knowledge and relational capabilities are unique and they depend on each individual's ability to accept or dismiss cooperation and the *negotiation of meaning*. Intercultural competence is fed out from these attempts and can constantly be trained. The characteristics mentioned above in relation to a possible definition of intercultural competence could be simplified by connecting them with three major strands of competence: *openness, knowledge, adaptability*. These dimensions include the prerequisites to interact effectively and appropriately with people from other cultural backgrounds, something that is needed not only abroad but as well in your home country on a daily basis. They are: the communicative dimension (action), the affective dimension (attitudes) and the cognitive dimension (knowledge).

Viewed from a FL teaching perspective *intercultural communication* can be understood as the successful communication between speakers of different language backgrounds, whereby at least one of them is speaking in a foreign language. And to make intercultural exchanges a success foreign language speakers will need a certain degree of intercultural competence, since "*successful communication is not judged solely in terms of the efficiency of information exchange. It is focused on establishing and maintaining relationships*"¹⁹.

The resources that we presented in this paper enable students who follow a modern language instruction program to develop and enhance their cultural sensitivity level. By listening and processing the speakers' oral input, students are supported in formulating their own opinions that consequently lay the foundation for their ability to filter information, to select messages that are convincing, powerful and that lead to positive growth and professional development.

Intercultural competence can only be built by exercising one's ability to relate to discourse in an engaging way. As the speakers come from a variety of fields of expertise and because of the fact that their presentations have been carefully selected based on harsh criteria, they are bound to be impactful. Mindsets are enriched, problem solving and creative thinking skills are activated and worked on, lively discussions *can* occur despite the digital medium being used.

Enthusiasm, credibility, rapport management and good storytelling that is based on scientific data and anecdotal evidence represent the added value to a Business English/Communication class.

Conclusions

In *English for Business Communication* (2020), Mable Chan provides a comprehensive analysis on the subject of delivery of oral presentations within a business context. While insisting on the importance of structuring the delivered message carefully, the researcher concludes that effective speakers essentially organize their oral sequence in three important parts (the human brain processes information better when it is delivered to it in *uneven* numbers. *First* you tell the audience what you are about to share with them, *then* you construct the announced topic in three relevant parts and, *finally*, you tell the audience again what the most important content points in the presentation have been. According to Chan, business speeches have at least one of these objectives: to appeal to the audience's interest, to make them think, to surprise them²⁰.

Upon careful analyzing the needs and professional characteristics of the audience, the author continues to explain how effective professional presentations primarily succeed in telling a good story that is rooted in meaningful engagement by *creating interest* and by encouraging *participation*.

Language training and instruction need to go hand in hand with the body of research and realm of discussions that have contributed to a better understanding and fruitful implementation of intercultural competence in modern language classes. By focusing on professional presentation analysis (at language, discourse and cultural level), students will consequently be encouraged to understand better their own cultural heritage as well as the one their interlocutors identify with. They will also have a more *positive attitude* towards differences that may in turn lower the barriers of positive/negative stereotyping.

On-line education in language instruction is not without perils. Teaching Business English/Business communication is best done – to our mind – in frontal, direct, face-to-face communication formats. Nevertheless, digital education may support (over extended or less prolonged periods of time) efficiency as it invites towards a careful selection of resources and activities performed remote. The education processes within the knowledge society of our modern times include a rather complex analysis and reinterpretation of learning and teaching approaches as well as curricula. The taught contents cannot be

merely transferred on-line. The conscientious pre-planning may ensure a more coherent transition towards learner engagement and autonomy while providing much needed support on the part of the language instructor.

The constant technology advancement (ICT especially) has had a huge impact on ESP/EFL education. Instructors are constantly required to get familiar with newly emerged on-line platforms that may support the teaching/learning process when frontal education is not possible to take place. Careful planning, strategic learning, responsible teaching, both content and rapport/relationship, team collaboration, as well as the ever-changing role of educators as facilitators rather than providers of information shape up meaningful remote education.

Learner autonomy is essential and it is time consuming to maintain. There are communication and technological skills at play that need to be associated with creative thinking skills and problem shooting abilities. More than ever before, the dynamic relationship between instructors and students is being reinterpreted in a more multifaceted way. This is *work in progress and is worth paying tremendous attention to*.

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A Novel Practical Approach to Teaching Advanced Everyday English

*Adrian Ciupe**

This article is a brief analysis of a series of three books dealing with advanced idiomatic/colloquial everyday English, from the perspective of the Lexical Approach; special emphasis is laid on the author's indisputable originality towards a final product that definitely breaks the mould in an ELT book market that has remained largely traditional, both in content type and method. The practicality implied by the nature of this series of books is supported by some of the central tenets of the Lexical Approach.

Keywords: advanced; approach; authentic; collocates; colloquial; example; expression; idiom; input; Lexical Approach; method; methodology; native; output; phrasal verb; phrase; recycling; TEFL; vocabulary.

With an ELT book market mostly dominated by Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press, it is quite a refreshing change to be able to find alternatives to advanced vocabulary teaching, like Steven Collins's triad, *Practical Everyday English* (book 1)¹, *Advanced Everyday English* (book 2)² and *Higher-Level Everyday English* (book 3)³. A fourth and final book in the series came out recently – *Fluent Everyday English* (book 4)⁴ – which will perhaps make the object of a separate analysis, given its unavailability at the time of writing.

Born in London in 1960, Steven Collins moved from practising law as a solicitor to TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language); having taught in Italy and Spain, at 33 years of age he went back to London to continue teaching, retiring in 2008 to focus exclusively on writing and publishing – in 1993 he started writing book 1 of the series mentioned above, bringing out its first edition in 1996⁵.

Collins's books are practical resources intended to boost students' acquisition of conversational/colloquial English at an advanced – I would say 'very advanced' – level, succeeding in blending a communicative approach with a lexical one. Traditionally, students were expected to learn vocabulary implicitly, by guessing and inferring from

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context, in the sense that the communicative approach *per se* downplayed explicit vocabulary instruction.⁶ What Collins's books manage to do is not only to offer students a chance to improve their conversational skills (c.f. a communicative approach), but also teach them the lexical items they would need to sound as 'advanced' or 'native-like' as possible (c.f. spoken output based on carefully selected quality input/lexis). As the ultimate purpose of input is learner output⁷, the four vocabulary practice books mentioned here do a lot of justice to the fact that a lexical approach is based on plentiful exposure to input and consciousness-raising⁸ by providing students with a systematic learning / acquisition method (see further in this article).

Regarding levels, supporters of the Lexical Approach agree that the difference between intermediate and advanced students comes down to a matter of vocabulary⁹. On the other hand, mastering the (English) lexicon is "the largest learning load and the one which is never complete – even for native speakers."¹⁰ Without explicitly purporting to help students with standard language proficiency exams, Collins's books can successfully do this as well, taking account of the fact that the higher a student's level, the more it reflects adequate use of phrasal language¹¹.

The main book in the series (book 1) was perhaps intended as a single endeavour, the next ones materialising as supplements, based on the success of book 1 – this may be confirmed by the fact that an earlier edition of book 2 (2011) was titled '*More Practical Everyday English*', thus indicating it complemented the previous volume. All three books cover advanced vocabulary, with a varying degree of focus from one book to another in terms of lexical unit type: book 1 comprises 313 lexical units, mainly phrasal verbs like 'to look into', 'to take over', 'to run down' etc. but also fixed expressions/idioms like 'mind you', 'let alone', 'it's just as well' and single words such as 'ruthless', 'to fancy', 'hassle' etc.; whereas book 1 covers more general idiomatic English, book 2 claims to also address the needs of interpreters, translators and teachers¹² through the inclusion of structures used in 'more serious' contexts (e.g. newspapers and journals), like 'to be under no illusions', 'unnerving', 'to be endowed with', 'to emerge', 'disgruntled' etc. (a total of 281 lexical units). The author does not necessarily specify a certain such focus for book 3 (covering 265 lexical units), except mentioning that *High-level Everyday English* "is the third book in the *Practical Everyday English* series"¹³; it includes, fewer phrasal verbs (e.g. 'to bowl over', 'to plough (back) into', 'to do away with') and more single words and idioms, for instance 'sporadic', 'to demonize', 'to fester', 'to take one's hat off to' or 'shrinking violet'. Between them, the three books teach 859 lexical units, all based on the same method.

Each book is divided into nine 'chapters', with each chapter comprised of three 'lessons', each lesson covering about ten lexical items. At the end of every chapter there is an 'in use' section with all the lexical units covered in that particular chapter illustrated further in longer contexts: different types of dialogues (to exemplify the more

colloquial structures) and short discursive texts (letters, diary entries, news stories etc.) that include the rest of the lexical units pertaining to the same chapter and not covered in the dialogues. A great benefit for teachers and learners is that they can use the audio CD included with each book to also listen to these exemplifications. Collins makes a special point of explaining the special features of the audio recordings themselves:

It [the audio CD] is different from any other English aural teaching aid you will have used before. Most audio work in the English teaching world is presented by trained actors speaking unnaturally slowly. Although this CD has been professionally recorded in a modern studio, the voices are those of a variety of English speakers, all talking at their normal speed.¹⁴

The inclusion of such a CD with each book is nothing short of perhaps *unique* when it comes to teaching vocabulary. Students receive a double input: they can *listen* to exactly what they *read*. For acquisition to take place, it is more important to recurrently hear *and* see an item than using it; in this way, good quality input leads to good quality retrieval¹⁵ when output needs to be produced.

Each lexical unit in the three books is given comprehensive treatment (exhaustive definitions for several if not all meanings, with examples and usage notes); for instance, the phrasal verb 'to go on'¹⁶ lists five separate meanings, with 2-3 example sentences for each. Incidentally, all examples are full (complex) sentences, not just language chunks.

At first sight, users of these books may feel confused, as the lexical units included do not clearly show a purpose for their inclusion – a perception of arbitrariness can arise from the fact that the words and expressions are not grouped into topics (e.g. 'Work and business', 'Education', 'Travelling' etc.) like in more traditional such books. In defence of Collins's strategy, I would argue that this could not have been (easily) achieved anyway, given that the lexical units treated are covered in full, with all their meanings, making it impossible to assign them very specific topic tags. On the other hand, teaching is linear but learning is not¹⁷. This means that "learning is a process of item learning, as opposed to rule learning."¹⁸

Another advantage of Collins's approach is that all the lexical units taught in a certain chapter are 'recycled' in subsequent chapters in the same book and even in some of the chapters of the following books in the series; for example, a lexical unit first covered in book 1 may be recycled in another example sentence in book 2 or even book 3. Basically, subsequent example sentences across all three books may include, besides a new lexical unit, a previous one as well. This should be the intended and most useful strategy adopted by Collins: recycling (several times even, not necessarily just once) the lexical units across all three books, with their 859 words and expressions in total, clearly and substantially makes for greater efficiency in teaching/acquiring the material

presented. Some Lexical Approach academics suggest that it takes 7 to 10 repeated encounters with an item to ensure its acquisition.¹⁹ In effect, “a lexical approach suggests that it is repeated meetings with an item, noticing it in context, that converts that item into intake.”²⁰

The idea of linear continuity from one book to another is implied and alluded to in books 2, 3 and 4. Incidentally, regarding book 4 (not included here), the author specifies that “*Fluent Everyday English* is the fourth and final book in the *Everyday English* series. It follows the same format as the previous three titles; that is: clear explanations of meanings; realistic examples containing words and idioms previously taught; dialogues and exercises.”²¹ Using the books linearly is thus logical not just because this makes it easier to better acquire the vocabulary taught through repeated well-paced instances (recycling), but also because book 1 is accompanied by an extensive introduction which seeks to establish an underlying method of learning and/or teaching that informs all other books (2-4), which only have minimal introductions.

More explicitly, the introduction to book 1 is divided into five parts: some general considerations (1), then ‘Purpose of the Book’ (2), ‘The Method and Structure of the Book’ (3), ‘For Students’ (4) and lastly, ‘For Teachers’ (5)²². In part two of the introduction, Collins empathically engages with the readers in order to guide their expectations as concerns the purpose of the book(s): “[...] You feel stupid and depressed that, despite years of studying English and even living in an English speaking country, you keep having to say ‘Sorry, I don’t understand. Can you repeat that please?’”²³. As to the purpose of the included CD, the author’s frankness is unapologetic: “The CD with this book only relates to the dialogues appearing at the end of each chapter. I make no apology for the fact that it is only an audio CD and not a CD Rom with pretty pictures, games and music. You are not children!”²⁴. In part three of the introduction, the author describes the type of language treated (conversational but not slang), explains how recycling works throughout the book(s) and delineates their basic structure (chapters, lessons, dialogues, exercises and audio CD) – see my previous remarks here.

If seen as mainly intended for self-study, part four of the introduction may be considered the most important, as Collins explains two methods for students who use the book(s): a *linear* one (studying all parts one after another) and a *non-linear* one (using the index like a dictionary and focusing on the desired lexical unit) – a case is made for the linear method, given the importance and logic of recycling mentioned before.²⁵ Providing students with an effective technique is extremely important, given the magnitude of the lexicon and the resulting constraints, or, as Wilga Rivers claims, “vocabulary cannot be taught [...] ultimately it is learned by the individual.”²⁶

At the beginning of the last part of the introduction (‘For Teachers’), the author sounds a cautionary note for teachers, in the same unapologetic style, in terms of the required level of proficiency necessary to teach the material included: “Firstly, I have to

be honest and tell you that, even though you do not have to be a native English speaker in order to teach properly from this book, your own conversational and grammatical English should be native speaker level; near native level is not sufficient.”²⁷ Implicitly, this strongly correlates with one of the main arguments behind the Lexical Approach, i.e. *authentic examples*, by opting for natural, unedited language, are extremely important for acquisition²⁸.

Collins goes on to suggest three preparatory steps that teachers should take: (1) familiarising oneself with the material, (2) targeting the proper student levels and (3) getting ready for class; further on, eight comprehensive methodological stages are added (‘in the lesson’): (1) checking basic meaning, (2) detailing meaning, (3) keeping track through consistency, (4) setting homework, (5) following up with a new lesson, (6) revising complex grammar in the example sentences, (7) encouraging students to use the lexical units taught in their own examples and (8) revision²⁹.

In my experience, having taught English in a variety of forms and for an entire host of purposes (general, academic, business, IT, international exam preparation) for over 20 years and being thoroughly familiar with a lot of major ELT publications from the most prestigious publishing houses (CUP, OUP, Macmillan, Pearson/Longman etc.), I can safely say that Steven Collins’s approach is arguably one of the best – if not the best – when it comes to teaching advanced vocabulary. What makes his method highly original and, in fact, truly unique, is the substantiality of his endeavours and the consistency of his strategy through language recycling; it obviously takes a lot of dedicated work and high quality creative writing to produce an example sentence/paragraph like the following: ‘The England manager passed the buck, blaming many of his players for not pulling their weight. His unwillingness to take responsibility does not bode well for the future of the team, but the Football Association don’t want to ruffle his feathers.’³⁰. This example appears in book 3, at the entry ‘to pass the buck’, also *recycling* previously explained lexical items like ‘to pull one’s weight’, ‘to bode well’ and ‘to ruffle somebody’s feathers’. Moreover, it is worth noting that traditional approaches to advanced vocabulary (e.g. Cambridge English Advanced/ Proficiency preparation books) focus more on high-level *educated/formal* language and less on *everyday/conversational* words and expressions. Therefore, Collins’s adeptness at covering exactly the language used in both colloquial and formal contexts is nothing short of amazing. This is also testified by Dr Juan Coderch’s apposite observation: “Mr Collins’s books cover exactly the gap that foreigners still have to cross in order to pass from just grammatically correct English to real daily English.”³¹. In other words, from a Lexical Approach perspective, fluency and accuracy are appropriately balanced in intent and scope.

Finally, I would offer a couple of suggestions for future editions of all four books in the series, concerning form and usability. In terms of form (treatment of the example sentences), I think it would be extremely useful if the author highlighted not

only the lexical item in focus (the entry word or expression) but also its collocates and the recycled items as well. Secondly, it would be of great benefit to students if the entire material were digitised in the form of an Android and iOS app containing all the entries in the four books in alphabetical dictionary format, along with all the example sentences, necessarily complemented by a full-text search feature – this would allow the app users to quickly find all the example sentences in which a certain lexical item appears through recycling, as well as the other previously highlighted words (collocates). Namely, such a digital extension of the existing books would make for a perfect reinforcement and reference resource.

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Spiegazione e riformulazione argomentativa nel discorso economico della stampa romena e italiana. Tipi di parafrasi

Explanation and Argumentative Reformulation in Economic Discourse of the Romanian and Italian Press. Types of Paraphrases

Dana-Maria Feurdean*

This article discusses a case study of reformulation in the economic discourse of the Italian and Romanian press, in order to detect, classify and compare the types of paraphrases and their functions in the argumentation mechanism of the two linguistic systems.

economic discourse; explanation; reformulation; paraphrase.

Spiegazione e riformulazione argomentativa. Alcune considerazioni

L'argomentazione come meccanismo del discorso non comprende solamente la persuasione, ma anche la spiegazione e la giustificazione. Anzi, *la spiegazione* è vista da alcuni ricercatori¹ come *la seconda funzione, dopo la persuasione, dell'argomentazione*.

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Essendo considerata uno dei cosiddetti “ruoli di appoggio”² del discorso (insieme a: *l'Accordo, la Giustificazione, la Prova, la Spiegazione, l'Illustrazione (l'Esempio), l'Analogia, la Comparazione, Reductio ad absurdum*), *la spiegazione* ha alla base un ragionamento (“*x è una spiegazione per y per la persona z*”) dal quale emerge il suo carattere soggettivo: è valida per una certa persona, in date circostanze.³ Secondo D. Roventă-Frumușani⁴, questa funzione del discorso va considerata nella sua biplanarità: da un lato ha carattere *cognitivo*, legato all'organizzazione razionale e coerente del referente; dall'altro, è interazionale ovvero legata alla comunicazione e all'argomentatività (“*faire savoir*” + “*faire croire*”).

Una particolare modalità della spiegazione può essere *la riformulazione* (intesa come ‘riformulazione parafrastica’) che svolge un ruolo rilevante nel discorso, impiegando valori metalinguistici e metadiscorsivi e assicurando in tal modo la coesione e lo sviluppo del discorso. Nelle ricerche riguardanti tale fenomeno⁵, gli studi francesi occupano un luogo di spicco grazie soprattutto ai contributi di Catherine Fuchs⁶ che traccia una distinzione tra “parafrasi come fatto di lingua” e “parafrasi come fatto di discorso”, l'ultima evidenziando una prospettiva discorsiva che “comporta il fatto che l'attenzione si focalizzi su colui che produce la divulgazione”⁷ e che “orienterà le sue scelte lessicali ed espressive a seconda del prevedibile «livello di accoglimento»”⁸. In ottica retorica (testuale o discorsiva), *la riformulazione* inquadra altre manifestazioni discorsive come sarebbero *la parafrasi, la glossa, il commento, la ripetizione, la correzione*⁹ alle quali si potrebbero aggiungere, secondo alcuni ricercatori¹⁰, anche *le alternative* e ‘*le alternative riformulative*’. Pertanto, sia *le riformulazioni* che *le spiegazioni* vengono considerate componenti dell'attività parafrastica¹¹, oppure *la parafrasi* è vista come “prodotto dell'attività del riformulare”, sia che si tratti di *riformulazione imitativa, esplicativa e esegetica*, che di *riformulazione correttiva*¹².

Definendo *la parafrasi* “dispositivo elementare usato per chiarire le connessioni tra nessi frasali e interfrasali instaurati da connettivi e proforme e per rendere espliciti i sottintesi (sul piano semantico le presupposizioni, sul piano lessico-grammaticale le ellissi)”¹³, Bice Mortara Garavelli accenna al suo statuto testuale e al suo valore interpretativo¹⁴ (sul quale insisteva del resto anche Fuchs¹⁵) che comporta un certo grado di soggettività. M.Dardano, L.Giovanardi e A. Pelo¹⁶ vedono nella parafrasi “uno strumento fondamentale della riformulazione (intesa come atto discorsivo che riprende un'informazione tecnica per adattarla a una nuova situazione e a nuovi destinatari)” e allo stesso tempo “una traduzione intra-linguistica”.

I fenomeni succitati assumono forte rilevanza soprattutto nel discorso specialistico oppure di divulgazione (scientifica), nel cui ambito si iscrive anche *il discorso giornalistico economico*, sul quale ora ci soffermeremo. Parleremo di *riformulazione* nel suo uso parafrastico e discorsivo (che stabilisce un rapporto di equipollenza tra due enunciati) e proveremo a distinguere, partendo dal modello proposto dagli autori Maurizio Dardano,

Claudio Giovanardi e Adriana Pelo¹⁷, *alcuni tipi di parafrasi* incontrati nei *corpora* degli articoli economici della stampa specialistica italiana e romena. Per la lingua italiana sono stati selezionati 20 articoli (in maggioranza dal quotidiano *Il Sole 24 Ore (SO)*, accanto a pochi selezionati dalla rubrica economica del giornale *Repubblica (R)*), mentre per la lingua romena è stato scelto un numero uguale di articoli ripresi da varie testate giornalistiche (*Capital (C)*, *Ziarul Financiar (ZF)*, *Săptămâna Financiară (SF)*, *Financiarul (F)*). Inoltre, teniamo a precisare che una parte del *corpus* in lingua romena comprende i discorsi dell'economista Daniel Dăianu, apparsi soprattutto su *ZF* oppure (ma in numero limitato) su *Jurnalul Național (JN)*. Gli articoli risalgono al triennio 2007-2010 e trattano vari argomenti collegati alla crisi economico-finanziaria mondiale allora in atto. L'approccio comparativo che ci siamo proposti ha permesso sia di individuare, sulla base dei dati qualitativi e quantitativi raccolti, le funzioni¹⁸ impiegate dai connettori di riformulazioni e dalle parafrasi, sia di rilevare la predilezione per un certo tipo di parafrasi che la cultura italiana e quella romena (tendenzialmente affini) manifestano.

Tipi di parafrasi nel discorso economico della stampa romena e italiana

Dati qualitativi

1. Parafrasi introdotte da connettori di esplicazione e riformulazione

Si tratta di *indicatori di riformulazione* oppure di “marcatori metalinguistici e metadiscorsivi”¹⁹ (“*adică*”/“*cioè*”, “*vale a dire*”; “*altfel spus*”/“*altrimenti detto*”; “*cu alte cuvinte*”; “*in alți termeni*”/“*in altre parole*”; “*in altri termini*”, ecc.) oppure, come direbbe C. Rossari, di “connettori parafrastici”²⁰. Realizzando il passaggio dall'espressione metaforica a quella propria oppure dall'espressione simbolica alla lingua naturale, i connettori impiegano sia *funzione metalinguistica* che *metadiscorsiva*, in quanto possono segnare la distanza dell'enunciatore nei confronti del proprio enunciato ma anche rispecchiare le valutazioni dell'autore del discorso sulle conoscenze dell'interlocutore (oppure del lettore)²¹. Carla Bazzanella²² li include nella classe dei *segnali discorsivi con funzioni metatestuali*, dividendoli in tre gruppi: “*indicatori di parafrasi* (quando si mantiene la corrispondenza tra i due elementi interessati), *di correzione* (quando non si mantiene la corrispondenza) e *di esemplificazione* (quando un elemento è sovraesteso rispetto a quello usato per esemplificarlo)”. Grazie al loro valore discorsivo, sono inclusi da alcuni ricercatori nella “classe dei marcatori «nobili»”²³.

1.1. Funzioni e valori impiegati da “*adică*”/“*cioè*”

Il più frequente connettore con valore esplicativo e riformulativo²⁴ nei *corpora* analizzati è “*adică*”/“*cioè*”, chiamato anche “operatore elucidante”²⁵, che assume *funzioni referenziali e metalinguistiche* quando introduce concetti o termini economici attraverso vocaboli comuni o lessico d'uso (si vedano gli esempi 1-5). Dal punto di vista semantico, secondo Manzotti²⁶, si ha a che fare qui con un segnale metatestuale di

‘identità esplicativa’, un *adică/cioè* ‘definitorio’, in quanto “al termine A segue in B il suo svolgimento definitorio” oppure “una parafrasi approssimata”²⁷.

Ro:

1) “Alți bani, aproximativ cinci miliarde de euro, care vor veni de la Comisia Europeană și din care a sosit doar prima tranșă (de 1,5 miliarde), vor ajunge în trezoreria Finanțelor. Bani care vor acoperi [A] deficitul, [B] adică diferența dintre impozitele pe care le plătim și suma pe care o cheltuim.”²⁸

2) “Cifra care speria cel mai mult în perioada în care economia creștea spectaculos era [A] deficitul balanței de plăți externe. [B] Adică, indicatorul care arăta situația, prezentă și viitoare, a intrărilor și ieșirilor de valută din țară.”²⁹

3) “Cel mai apropiat indicator de acest tip de evaluare, disponibil oricând pe pagina bursei, este [A] P/BV, [B] adică prețul acțiunii raportat la valoarea contabilă a companiei și numărul de titluri.”³⁰

4) “[A] *Profiturile reținute*, [B] adică *ce rămâne după impozitare* și distribuția către acționari a dividendelor, [A] *fac parte din lichiditățile proprii ale băncilor*, [B] adică *se adaugă la capitalul lor propriu*. Prin urmare, „supraimpozitarea” ar afecta numai o mică parte din lichiditățile băncilor - ceea ce nu ar rezolva problema efectelor unei eventuale realocări a lichidității în cadrul unui grup bancar.”³¹

It:

5) “Le banche decisero di detenere quantità sempre crescenti di [A] titoli cartolarizzati, [B] cioè di titoli creati dall'impacchettamento di centinaia o migliaia di mutui sottostanti, oppure di prestiti ai consumatori o alle imprese.”³²

Inoltre, la congiunzione “*adică*”/“*cioè*” può introdurre la riformulazione di un termine inglese, anche associata ad una giustificazione introdotta da “*pentru că/perché*”, come nel seguente esempio in italiano:

6) “[...] banche e shadow banking system avevano fatto un enorme investimento in [A] economic catastrophe bonds, [B] cioè in titoli di fatto rischiosissimi perché davano un rendimento generalmente elevato ma molto basso proprio nel momento peggiore, cioè nel caso di una recessione globale.”³³

Negli esempi 1-6, il marcatore di riformulazione, che espande la connotazione della terminologia anteriormente espressa, svolge funzioni di definizione e di esplicazione, le quali possono essere a volte rinforzate dalla presenza della parentesi:

7) „Anche il “*sistema finanziario ombra*” (cioè composto da istituzioni non bancarie) si ritroverà presto nei guai.”³⁴

La funzione di denominazione del marcatore in discussione si può notare quando esso introduce un termine specialistico oppure una terminologia specifica (come nell'esempio 9) riferita alla spiegazione che stavolta si trova in posizione cataforica, non riformulativa (“*indebitarsi molto per comprare attività finanziarie*”). Una situazione uguale si riscontra anche nell'esempio 8). Nel discorso di alcuni economisti romeni,

come Daniel Dăianu, talvolta la riformulazione può dare luogo al conio di anglicismi in lingua romena, (es. “*barterizat*”) che nella comunicazione tra gli specialisti sembrano esprimere in modo più conveniente certi specifici concetti economici.

Ro:

8) “Pe acest fir revin la aspectul legăturii între finanțe și producție. Rog să se imagineze o economie modernă căreia să-i dispară subit schimbul de produse și servicii prin intermediul banilor (adică să avem o economie barterizată).”³⁵

It:

9) “Con tassi d’interesse molto bassi, l’unico modo di rendere redditizia l’attività d’intermediazione delle banche era *indebitarsi molto per comprare attività finanziarie*, cioè aumentare la leva finanziaria.”³⁶

Il connettore può impiegare la funzione di denominazione anche quando ha come elemento cataforico unanglicismo (si veda nell’esempio 10): “*«la cosiddetta private shadow money»*”). Parafrasi del genere interessano anche i calchi formati sulla base dell’inglese; essi contribuiscono all’arricchimento della terminologia economica romena e italiana riuscendo a consolidarsi nelle due lingue (italiana e romena) anche grazie al precedente della riformulazione di cui il discorso giornalistico economico fa uso.

10) «Sarà importante - spiega - che i governi e le autorità monetarie riducano le politiche di sostegno dell’economia non appena la cosiddetta „private shadow money”, cioè la leva finanziaria, *comincerà a riformarsi nel sistema privato*».³⁷

Nei discorsi degli economisti, soprattutto in quelli dell’economista romeno menzionato, sono invece più frequenti i casi in cui il segnale discorsivo introduce non la traduzione del termine inglese e neanche il suo calco, bensì proprio l’anglicismo che, grazie alla sua impronta internazionale, oltre alla sua brevità e concisione, spesso offre una migliore comprensione, un vantaggio informativo e un’ampia circolazione tra gli specialisti³⁸. Abbiamo a che fare in questi casi con «un segnale metatestuale ‘antidefinitorio’», come lo chiama E. Manzotti³⁹, che “sembra muoversi in senso contrario alla spiegazione, dall’esplicito all’implicito, dal facile al difficile” ma che ha un “valore basico esplicativo, anche se in una particolare accezione”.⁴⁰ Si tratta qui, secondo il ricercatore, di un impiego “polifonico” di questo indicatore, di «‘connivenza’ con il livello più elevato»⁴¹ che spetta una certa classe di interlocutori (qui gli economisti) ricoprendo termini o concetti conosciuti all’interno di una comunità scientifica.

Spesse volte la riformulazione comprende non solo una perifrasi approssimata del termine, bensì una *interpretazione*, una *conclusione* oppure una *consecuzione* che può essere sia espressa nella *modalità predittiva* (“succederà”) del discorso espositivo-argomentativo dello specialista (come si può osservare nell’esempio 11), sia preceduta dalla *modalità ipotetica, possibile* (“potrebbe succedere”) dell’enunciazione: si veda l’esempio 12), che rispecchia un “*cioè interpretativo*”, “il quale esplicita, [...] il senso che il locutore vuol vedere attribuito ad A”.⁴²

11) “O să vedem un «buyers’ market» [A], [B] adică valoarea activelor o să scadă în următoarele luni.”⁴³

12) “Dacă s-ar practica o “supraimpozitare” este probabil ca aceasta să se reflecte în costul creditului și ar duce la un efect contrar celui scontat de autoritățile publice [A]; [B] adică băncile ar primi un motiv suplimentar de a gândi că este mai bine să procedeze la o realocare de lichidități către alte zone din UE.”⁴⁴

Nell’esempio 13) la riformulazione (“*adică o scădere a eficienței*”) entra in una relazione di coreferenza con l’*anafora* dell’enunciato successivo (realizzata tramite il pronome dimostrativo “*aceasta*”), la cui funzione, in prospettiva testuale-discorsiva, è quella di “mantenere e di confermare il focus già stabilito su piano referenziale”⁴⁵.

13) “Am asista la o creștere formidabilă a costurilor de tranzacționare [A], [B] adică o scădere a eficienței. Aceasta ar însemna că la aceleași resurse consumate efectul util să scadă dramatic.”⁴⁶

Negli esempi succitati (11-13) abbiamo a che fare con un “*cioè*”/“*adică*” con funzione di interpretazione, conclusione.

Il segnale discorsivo può introdurre anche un’informazione cognitiva aggiuntiva ma necessaria al processo di interpretazione da parte di un lettore meno esperto, come negli esempi 14)-17). Qui *adică/cioè* impiega funzione di specificazione, la quale spesso viene realizzata dalla presenza di un elemento cataforico: nella citazione 14) tale elemento (“*contului de profit și pierdere*”) viene specificato nella riformulazione “*adică a profitului net pentru exercițiul financiar 2008*” e in quella riportata al numero 15), la struttura cataforica (“*când gap-ul G3 va fi închis*”) viene specificata nella riformulazione “*adică la atingerea valorii de 0,0278*”. Nell’esempio 17) la *funzione di specificazione* della parafrasi (“*cioè l’enorme evoluție del mercato del credito*”) si realizza in rapporto di coreferenza con la catafora (“*uno sviluppo ben più importante*”).

Ro:

14) “[...] prin diminuarea capitalurilor proprii și fără afectarea contului de profit și pierdere, adică a profitului net pentru exercițiul financiar 2008.”⁴⁷

15) “Când să începi să tremuri pentru investiția făcută în RRC cu ocazia acestor „știri”? Dacă nu înainte de ea, atunci *când gap-ul G3 va fi închis*, adică la atingerea valorii de 0,0278.”⁴⁸

16) “O reducere a ratei BCE ar putea duce la continuarea aprecierii dolarului față de euro, cu posibilitatea *depășirii valorilor din octombrie 2008*, adică o cotație mai mică de 1,2 dolari pe euro.”⁴⁹

It:

17) “Ma mentre avveniva questo dibattito, i macroeconomisti hanno perso di vista completamente *uno sviluppo ben più importante*, cioè *l’enorme evoluție del mercato del credito*.”⁵⁰

Gli esempi 18)-19) rispecchiano invece la funzione matematica o di quantificazione (che si realizza qui tramite il calcolo delle percentuali) del connettore in discussione:

Ro:

18) “Indicele BET de la București s-a situat în topul scăderilor: -15,51 %, adică 784,02 puncte, până la 4272,34 de puncte, performanța lui de la începutul anului fiind în prezent de -56,62 %.”⁵¹

19) “Această sumă este mult mai mare decât ceea ce ar însemna finanțarea deficitului bugetar programat pentru 2009, de 2% din PIB (adică, cca. 3 miliarde euro)”.⁵²

It:

20) “Il fatto che giovedì scorso la stessa banca di Francoforte abbia lasciato invariato il costo del denaro all’1 % (cioè a un valore superiore ai tassi Euribor) e non sembri intenzionata per il momento a nuovi tagli contribuisce inoltre a raffreddare nuove aspettative di discesa.”⁵³

1.2. **Funzioni e valori impiegati da** “altfel spus”/“altrimenti detto”; “cu alte cuvinte”/“in altre parole”; “în alți termeni”/“in altri termini”

Considerati da alcuni ricercatori⁵⁴ “connettivi di riformulazione pura (= parafrastica)”, i segnali discorsivi sui quali ci soffermeremo a questo punto segnano un *coorientamento argomentativo*, riuscendo a “cambiare il livello di generalità (astrazione) della prima formulazione argomentativa tramite semplificazione o metaforizzazione”⁵⁵.

Negli esempi 21), 22) le riformulazioni impiegano funzione di conclusione (*basata sull’interpretazione dello specialista*): i marcatori di riformulazione segnano una ripresa metaenunciativa che tradisce la posizione ironica e il disaccordo del locutore nei confronti del contenuto informativo dell’enunciato. L’ironia ha un’efficacia argomentativa, in quanto è portatrice dell’atteggiamento intenzionale dell’emittente ma anche di una certa alterità. Come direbbe Marina Mizzau⁵⁶, “si rapporta all’altro in due sensi: *sull’altro*, come dialogo tra l’enunciato presente e l’enunciato assente evocato, e *per l’altro*, per l’interlocutore”, con scopo persuasivo. Al contempo, l’ironia tradisce la complicità con il lettore che condivide le medesime valutazioni⁵⁷.

21) “[...] guvernatorul Mugur Isărescu a declarat recent că, deși băncile dispun de lichidități, țin banii blocați, refuzând să îi plaseze pe piața monetară pentru a păstra creditarea la un nivel normal. Altfel spus, băncile preferă să țină pentru ele «bani lichizi albi pentru zile negre.»”⁵⁸

22) “Banii suplimentari aruncați în economie, mai ales în România, unde rata șomajului este redusă, se duc fie pe licitarea forței de muncă existente, fie pe cea a factorilor de producție. Guvernul României dă și el o mână de ajutor, fiind principalul angajator de pe piață (1,4 milioane de bugetari). El este, în plus, și cel mai dărnăc angajator, salariul mediu brut din administrație fiind aproape dublu față de cel de pe economie (3.152 lei față de 1.769 lei). Cu alte cuvinte, *statul dictează salariile și în sectorul privat.*”⁵⁹

Negli esempi 23), 24) traspare sempre la funzione di conclusione (e interpretazione) dei segnali discorsivi. Nel 24), l’emittente basa la sua riformulazione *sull’argomento dell’analogia*⁶⁰, frequentissimo nella stampa economica, soprattutto nei discorsi appartenenti ai sottogeneri ibridi come quello dicommento-analisi (della stampa romana) oppure nei commenti o negli articoli di fondo degli specialisti. Si tratta di un argomento in cui alcuni ricercatori⁶¹ vedono un “ruolo argomentativo che serve per ‘spiegare’ certi fenomeni”.

Ro:

23) “Și pe termen mediu și lung, efectele asupra economiei reale-rate ale dobânzii mai mari și reducerea creșterii economice-pot produce pagube care să fie de durată. Iar avantajul presupus al deprecierei, de stimulare exporturilor și descurajare a importurilor, este adesea valabil. Cu alte cuvinte, *acțiunea investitorilor globali de căutare a celor mai mari profituri poate fi destabilizatoare pentru întregi sisteme financiare.*”⁶²

It :

24) “Come le banche devono tornare ad essere più vicine alle imprese, così i mercati devono tornare a funzionare nell’interesse degli investitori finali.[...] In altre parole, *come, dopo la Grande crisi, le nuove regole per gli investitori istituzionali sono state considerate una delle soluzioni fondamentali per costruire un sistema finanziario più equilibrato, così, oggi, dobbiamo pensare quali possano essere le nuove regole per rifondare il sistema del risparmio gestito e riportarlo ad assolvere al meglio il suo compito fondamentale.*”⁶³

25) “La seconda parola d’ordine è: reputazione. I vigilanti devono avere un’alta reputazione. Tutti devono fidarsi non solo delle loro capacità di conoscere banche e mercati ma anche d’intervenire, come si dice, senza guardare in faccia nessuno. In altri termini, occorre che chi controlla - banca centrale o altra autorità finanziaria - sia ritenuto al di sopra di ogni sospetto.”⁶⁴

2. Parafrasi introdotte da verbi

Le parafrasi possono essere introdotte anche da certi verbi come “*a însemna*”/“*significare*”, “*a se traduce*”/“*tradurre*”; “*a fi*”/“*essere*”; “*a fi cunoscut*”/“*esser conosciuto (noto)*”; “*a numi*”/“*chiamare*”; “*a indica*”/“*indicare*”. Negli esempi 26), 27), 28), 29), il verbo “*significare*” introduce *riformulazioni* con valenze di spiegazione e/o interpretazione. “*Tradurre*” diventa (nell’esempio 30) portatore, oltre ad una valenza di interpretazione (*dei fatti*), anche di conclusione che allude a una consecuzione degli eventi. Nell’esempio 31), l’espressione “meglio conosciuto come” introduce una parafrasi con funzione di specificazione, mentre i verbi “*esser noto*” ed “*essere*” danno voce a riformulazioni con funzione di definizione (es.32) che a volte potrebbe essere assecondata da quella di denominazione (come nell’esempio 33)).

Ro:

26) “Rata scăzută a economisirii înseamnă mai mulți bani în circulație, cu consecința creșterii presiunii inflaționiste.”⁶⁵

It:

27) “Nel caso della Bce, invece, si fa un gran parlare di operazione “sterilizzata” sui covered bond. *La sterilizzazione in questo contesto significa che la Bce darebbe liquidità al mercato comprando i bond, ma allo stesso tempo ritirerebbe lo stesso importo (per esempio riducendo gli ammontari collocati in asta):* in questa maniera il bilancio aggregato dell’Eurosistema non cambierà, ma sarà il portafoglio ad essere riallocato. Per l’euro, non è una cattiva notizia sul mercato dei cambi.”⁶⁶

28) “*Costruire un sistema finanziario che pensi soprattutto agli interessi degli investitori significa soprattutto rafforzare il settore degli investitori istituzionali (in particolare, fondi comuni e fondi pensione),* che della crisi attuale sono stati in parte vittime, ma anche corresponsabili, perché non hanno per tempo individuato gli elementi di opacità e rischiosità che si andavano accumulando.”⁶⁷

29) “*Rimuovere le cause che frenano lo sviluppo nel nostro paese significa intraprendere modifiche strutturali;* sconfiggere il prevalere di interessi economici e sociali che traggono vantaggio dalla condizione attuale”⁶⁸

30) “Questo ribasso dei costi degli input, rafforzato dalla domanda debole e dalla feroce competizione globale, *si è tradotto rapidamente in ridotta inflazione anche nelle componenti core* (che d’altronde includono e riflettono i costi dell’energia in quanto loro materia prima).

Ciò si traduce in maggiore potere d’acquisto per le famiglie, come ha sottolineato il presidente della Bce, Jean-Claude Trichet, anche per esorcizzare lo spettro della deflazione, dichiarando appunto che la bassa inflazione fa bene all’economia.”⁶⁹

31) “*L’incentivo fiscale, meglio conosciuto come Tremonti-ter, è, però, revocato, spiega la manovra estiva 2009* licenziata definitivamente il 1° agosto 2009 da Palazzo Madama, qualora i beni oggetto di investimento siano ceduti fuori dallo spazio economico europeo.”⁷⁰

32) “L’annuncio a sorpresa questa settimana dell’avvio di questo inedito programma Bce di credit easing da 60 miliardi sui covered bond, in Italia noti come *obbligazioni bancarie garantite*, è stato accolto molto favorevolmente da trader, investitori e banche, convinti che tutto serve per rivitalizzare un mercato importante.” [...] “I covered bond *dunque* sono obbligazioni strutturate più sicure in circolazione sul mercato: hanno quasi tutti il massimo rating “AAA”. ”⁷¹

33) “*CAMELS è infatti l’acronimo di Capital adequacy (adeguatezza del capitale), Asset quality (qualità dell’attivo), Management (qualità del management), Earnings (utili), Liquidity (liquidità) e Sensitivity to market risk (sensibilità ai rischi di mercato).*”⁷²

Spesse volte tali verbi precedono l’anafora nominale “*ceea ce*”/“*il che*” parafrasando tanto percentuali, quanto il significato delle frasi o di un testo precedentemente espresso (come negli esempi 34), 35). L’anaforico seguito dal verbo “*înseamnă*”/“*significare*” introduce la conclusione dello specialista basata su *interpretazione*.

Ro:

34) “*Banca Japoniei a redus dobânda de referință până la 0,1 % în luna decembrie, ceea ce înseamnă că o nouă tăiere de dobândă nu mai este posibilă*”⁷³

It:

35) “Anche qui non c’è bisogno di inventarsi norme particolarmente severe e complesse: *basta applicare a tutti i mercati, compreso quello dei titoli strutturati, le norme generali pensate per garantire trasparenza e correttezza ai mercati tradizionali delle azioni e delle obbligazioni.* Il che significa *scrivere le norme guardando soprattutto agli interessi degli investitori finali e non solo a quelli della finanza*”.⁷⁴

Questi verbi hanno quindi ruolo metalinguistico, introducendo riformulazioni con funzione di *semplificazione, spiegazione, definizione, interpretazione, conclusione*. Ma bisogna precisare che nel discorso economico la semplificazione non va sempre intesa come una disambiguazione, anzi *rimanda anche a termini noti solo all’interno della comunità scientifica*. Tale riformulazione si basa, molto spesso, sul verbo „*chiamare/a chema/a numi*”, riferito agli specialisti (es.36: “*quello che gli economisti chiamano precautionary saving*”). A volte l’emittente del discorso si include in questo gruppo di specialisti utilizzando il verbo in prima persona plurale – si veda *l’esempio 54*) – „*ciò che chiamiamo inflazione di base*”–, che, in un discorso argomentativo, potrebbe fungere da *garanzia (warrant, nei termini di Stephen Toulmin)*. Spesso il verbo “*chiamare*”/“*a numi*” viene sostituito da *il (i) cosiddetto (i)/la (le) cosiddetta (e)* (si vedano gli esempi 10 e 53) che introduce il termine economico inglese, il che tradisce *l’esistenza di un vocabolario economico internazionale* che conferisce una maggiore precisione nella comunicazione specialistica.

36) “Va poi aggiunto che i consumatori in molti paesi, spaventati dal collasso delle Borse e in qualche caso dalla caduta del valore delle loro case stanno probabilmente aumentando quello che gli economisti chiamano *precautionary saving*, il risparmio a fronte di futuri e non ben precisati imprevisti. Questa crisi ha certo messo in luce che di “*imprevisti*” ve ne possono essere e di grossi!”⁷⁵

3. Parafrasi parentetiche

Nei corpora analizzati, tali parafrasi si incontrano nelle seguenti situazioni:

a) quando introducono il termine inglese, che rende più facile il concetto veicolato o la nozione espressa nella comunicazione tra gli economisti. In casi del genere impiegano *funzione di denominazione* in quanto rimandano al nome originario del concetto economico (si vedano gli esempi 37-41);

37) “Unilateralitatea abordării de până acum este dovedită și de lipsa de reacție la dinamica prețurilor unor active (ca cele imobiliare), a „bulelor speculative” (bubbles) care au fost considerate de unii bancheri centrali (inclusiv de Alan Greenspan, fostul șef al FED-ului) ca fiind de preferat să se spargă singure.” [...] Și lucrurile nu sunt simplu de rezolvat fiindcă absorbția unei cantități de „bani tari” (hard powered money) în exces are consecințe care pot însemna împiedicarea relansării economice.” [...] În condițiile în care s-a dovedit precaritatea ipotezei piețelor financiare eficiente, stabilitatea financiară intră în forță în centrul preocupărilor băncilor centrale. Perioada lungă de inflație în scădere (așa-numita “Great Moderation”), indusă și de importurile masive de produse și servicii ieftine din Asia și credința că inovațiile financiare contribuie la răspândirea și diminuarea riscurilor, la atenuarea riscurilor sistemice, au făcut ca banci centrale mari să privilegieze ținta de inflație.⁷⁶

38) “S-a scurs o lună plină de evenimente în piață: o capcană pentru amatori (bulltrap) în prima zi de tranzacționare, urmată de o scădere până sub minimele din octombrie [...] Deci o primă indicație de revenire a unei economii ar fi o *revenire a prețului* materiilor prime (commodities) de la nivelurile paralizante”.⁷⁷

39) “[...] mă număr printre cei care consideră că activitatea fondurilor de risc (hedge funds) trebuie să fie reglementată, că băncile comerciale și de investiții trebuie să-și transparentizeze expunerile față de diverse plasamente - luând în calcul și ceea ce este în afara bilanțului propriu.”⁷⁸

40) “[...] *limitarea expunerii (leverage)* și cerințe de capital trebuie aplicate tuturor entităților financiare. Un exemplu de împotrivire la reformă privește cât de mult și dacă trebuie reglementate derivatele financiare (over the counter/OTCs). Administrația americană a propus o legislație ce ar impune înregistrarea derivatelor financiare standardizate și tranzacționarea lor în case de compensare (clearing houses).”⁷⁹

41) “În ceea ce privește reforma sistemului de reglementare și supraveghere a piețelor financiare pași înainte s-au făcut; vor intra în vizorul autorităților specializate și fondurile de risc (hedge funds) și de investiții private (private equity funds) și se va acționa pe linia combaterii paradisurilor fiscale. S-a decis formarea unui nou organism privind *stabilitatea financiară la nivel global (Financial Stability Board)*. [...] Când bugetele naționale sunt acelea care suportă costul unor salvări (bail-outs) de mari dimensiuni, nu este nefiresc ca guvernele naționale să solicite orientarea operațiunilor bancare, cu predilecție, către piețele locale - aceasta cu caracter temporar.”⁸⁰

b) oppure quando abbiamo a che fare con il fenomeno inverso: se si spiega il forestierismo (gli anglicismi, i latinismi, gli anglolatinismi) -esempi 42,43-oppure se si introduce il calco: situazioni in cui le parafrasi possono impiegare sia *funzione di definizione, spiegazione* e potremmo dire anche di *denominazione* (nei casi dei calchi,

perché molti termini economici (romeni, italiani) e soprattutto le cosiddette “collocations” si sono formati a base dei calchi e si sono poi consolidati come terminologia anche grazie alla riformulazione).

Ro:

42) “Unul dintre principalii beneficiari ai crizei în 2008 a fost moneda americană, care a fost avantajată de investițiile cu activ suport pe dolar, considerate **safe heaven (fără risc)**”⁸¹

43) “Vreau să spun că, din păcate, logica «prior action» (condiții prealabile de îndeplinit) a funcționat neșurund sarcina de a limita stricăciunile provocate de declinul brutal al economiei.”⁸²

c) si incontrano le parafrasi parentetiche (con *valore esplicativo* ma anche *di denominazione*) anche quando si spiega una sigla, un'abbreviazione (es.44, 45) ma anche viceversa, quando viene introdotta la sigla (es. 46):

44) “Questo sistema finanziario ombra è formato da istituzioni che, come le banche, ottengono prestiti a breve termine e forme liquide, mentre concedono prestiti o investono a lungo termine in asset molto meno liquidi. Questo sistema include i Siv (i veicoli di investimento strutturali) [...] e i conduit (**veicoli finanziari extrabilancio**), i fondi monetari [...]”⁸³

45) “Le carte che danno molta autonomia nella gestione dei pagamenti hanno un Taeg (tasso annuo effettivo globale) superiore al 20 per cento.”⁸⁴

46) “Dal canto suo, il team manager delle cartolarizzazioni discute con i suoi collaboratori per stabilire come impacchettare i mutui, anche subprime: di lì a poco nasce l'Asset backed security (Abs).”⁸⁵

d) quando viene spiegata/definita una certa terminologia economica/un certo concetto economico, casi in cui la parafrasi parentetica può essere rinforzata dal connettore *cioè*, che impiega *funzione di spiegazione/definizione* (si veda l'esempio 7).

e) quando *vengono interpretate le cifre o le percentuali (funzione matematica)*(es. 47), a volte rafforzate dal segnale discorsivo *cioè* (come nell'esempio 20).

47) “E in calo, se pur lieve, è il valore delle operazioni concluse con le revolving in Italia: 10,6 miliardi di euro nel 2009 (-0,6 % rispetto all'anno precedente) e 1,6 miliardi nei primi due mesi del 2010 (-7,7 %).”⁸⁶

f) quando tali parafrasi impiegano *valore di specificazione*:

48) “La teoria prevalente era che la cartolarizzazione permettesse di spandere il rischio dei vari tipi di credito al di fuori del sistema bancario, cioè **da** soggetti

ad alta leva finanziaria a soggetti (come fondi pensione e fondi del mercato monetario) a bassa leva finanziaria.”⁸⁷

49) “La prima tranche (junior tranche) è la più rischiosa; se qualche mutuo sottostante va in default, la prima a esserne toccata è la junior tranche. L’ultima tranche (senior tranche) è apparentemente molto poco rischiosa: comincia a perdere valore solo se più del 10 % dei mutui va in default - una percentuale impensabile fino a tre anni fa.” [...] Ma mentre i titoli più rischiosi (le junior tranche) vanno a ruba perché, essendo più rischiosi, danno rendimenti più alti, le senior tranche spesso rimangono nei portafogli delle banche o delle entità fuori bilancio.”⁸⁸

4. Parafrasi appositive

Ci riferiamo qui a *parafrasi espresse tramite un’apposizione* (introdotta da segnali interpuntivi come la virgola, i due punti e a quello che la grammatica romana chiamerebbe “reale apposizione”⁸⁹), in particolare alle *apposizioni giustapposte al termine tecnico*, che svolgono il ruolo di *spiegare/definire/denominare* sia un forestierismo (si vedano gli esempi 50-53, ma anche 36)) oppure un termine tecnico, che un’abbreviazione/una sigla. Non prendiamo qui in considerazione le *parafrasi parentetiche*, alle quali si accenna al punto precedente (3).

Ro:

50) “Fondurile de investiții nu stau cu mâinile în sân alergând după „distressed assets”, active a căror valoare s-a diminuat mult și se află, eventual, sub garanții.”⁹⁰

51) “Problema a fost și va rămâne timing-ul: când intri și când ieși din piață”.⁹¹

It:

52) “[...] Washington Mutual, la più grande cassa di risparmio degli Stati Uniti [...] anche lei affondata dal crac dei mutui, dal crollo del mercato immobiliare, e da un portafoglio-titoli pieno di strumenti derivati altamente speculativi, il cui valore è ormai indefinibile. Li chiamano „toxic assets”, attivi finanziari tossici, *come scorie contaminate di una discarica: dei mostri mutuanti che sono infilati anche nei portafogli di molti americani, e non solo americani*”.⁹²

53) “In questa fuga verso titoli di qualità – merce sempre più rara - si sta prosciugando anche il mercato dei cosiddetti „commercial paper”, quelle cambiali negoziabili a breve scadenza che sono indispensabili per finanziare l’attività quotidiana delle imprese.”⁹³

Nell’esempio 52) la riformulazione in forma appositiva (“*attivi finanziari tossici*”) è seguita dall’*argomento del confronto basato sulla metafora* (“*come scorie contaminate di una discarica*”) e da una *parafrasi appositiva interpretativa* (“*dei mostri mutuanti che sono infilati anche nei portafogli di molti americani, e non solo americani*”) che danno

forza argomentativa al discorso dell’analista economico e orientano l’interpretazione del lettore a scopo persuasivo.

5. Parafrasi anteposte

54) “Energia, prețurile la produse de bază, toate se scumpesc, ceea ce atrage o sarabandă a creșterii prețurilor. Factorii sezonieri au tendința să-și durabilizeze impactul, ceea ce afectează și ceea ce numim inflația de bază.”⁹⁴

55) “Germania insistă pe implicarea sectorului privat (deținători de titluri suverane) în procesul de restructurare a unor obligațiuni - așa-numitul «haircut»”.⁹⁵

Dati quantitativi

Corpus italiano: *Il Sole 24 Ore, Repubblica*

Numero articoli: 20 articoli

Numero parole: 21.510 parole

- “Cioè”: Nr. totale di occorrenze: 23, con funzione: di specificazione (7 occorrenze); di spiegazione (9); di denominazione (2); di definizione (2); di conclusione, a base di interpretazione (2); funzione matematica (1).

- “vale a dire” (sinonimo di *cioè*): nr. totale di occorrenze: 4, con funzione: di spiegazione: (2), di specificazione (2).

- “In altre parole”: 1, con funzione: di conclusione (a base di interpretazione).

- “In altri termini”: 1, con funzione: di conclusione (e interpretazione).

- Parafrasi introdotte da verbi: *significare*: nr. totale di occorrenze: 7 (6 con funzione di spiegazione (+ interpretazione), 1 – conclusione); *si traduce*: 1, con funzione di spiegazione (interpretazione); *noto (noti) come*: 1, con funzione di denominazione.

- Parafrasi parentetiche: 70.

- Parafrasi appositive (giustapposte al termine tecnico): 2 occorrenze, con funzione: definizione, spiegazione.

- Parafrasi anteposte: 1.

Corpus romano: *Capital (C), Ziarul Financiar (ZF) Săptămâna Financiară (SF) Financiarul (F), Jurnalul Național (JN)*

Numero articoli: 20

Numero parole: 18.006

- “Adică”: Nr. totale di occorrenze: 26 con funzione di: specificazione (5 occorrenze); spiegazione (9); denominazione (1); definizione (5), di conclusione, basata su interpretazione (3), funzione matematica (3).

- *Cu alte cuvinte*: 2 occorrenze, con funzione di conclusione (basata su interpretazione).

- “Altfel spus”: 3 con funzione di conclusione (a base di interpretazione).

- “*inseamnă*” 2 con funzione di spiegazione; “*a se numi*” (2) “*a numi*” (1), con funzione di denominazione.

- Parafrasi parentetiche: 124.

- Parafrasi appositive 2 occorrenze, con funzione di definizione, spiegazione.

-Parafrasi anteposte: 3.

Conclusioni

Secondo i dati (sia qualitativi, che quantitativi) raccolti dall’analisi dei corpora, possiamo affermare che il maggior numero di parafrasi è quello delle *parentetiche* (124 nel corpus romeno, 70 in quello italiano) – che impiegano varie funzioni (denominazione, specificazione, definizione, spiegazione, conclusione, matematica) – seguito poi da quelle introdotte dal connettore discorsivo *cioè/adică* (26 occorrenze nel corpus romeno, 23 + le 4 occorrenze del sinonimo “vale a dire”, in quello italiano), da quelle introdotte da certi verbi, dalle appositive (con un numero uguale di occorrenze in italiano e romeno) e dalle parafrasi anteposte (3 occorrenze nel corpus romeno, 1 in quello italiano). Le funzioni delle parafrasi rivelano l’importanza del processo della riformulazione nel meccanismo argomentativo del discorso giornalistico economico delle due lingue neolatine. Tale fenomeno discorsivo offre dinamismo al discorso, essendo collegato all’intenzione dell’enunciatore-riformulatore di definire, spiegare (termini tecnici, forestierismi), denominare concetti economici, rinforzare il lessico specialistico e imporre il suo uso, interpretare cifre, percentuali, fare previsioni e veicolare il massimo dei contenuti nel minor numero di parole (facendo quindi ricorso alla terminologia economica internazionale caratterizzata da concisione). In altre parole, aiuta il parlante ad adattarsi all’uditorio, a stabilire un contatto con il lettore, a costruire insieme a lui la realtà del discorso e a ottenere la sua adesione.

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şi 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

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- 3 *idem*, 76.
- 4 D. Roventă-Frumușani, *Semiotica discursului științific* (București: Ed.Științifică, 1995), 170.
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- 6 Catherine Fuchs, *La Paraphrase* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (PUF), 1982); *Paraphrase et énonciation* (Paris: Ophrys), 1994.
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- 8 Jacobi (1984), apud M. Dardano, C. Giovanardi, A. Pelo, *op.cit.*, 154.
- 9 L. Hoinărescu, *op.cit.*, 3.
- 10 Emilio Manzotti, “Spiegazione, riformulazione, correzione alternativa: sulla semantica di alcuni tipi e segnali di parafrasi” in *Parafrasi. Dalla ricerca linguistica alla ricerca psicopedagogica*, a cura di Lucia Lumbelli e Bice Mortara Garavelli (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 1999), 169-206.
- 11 *op.cit.*, (1999), 169-206.
- 12 Bice Mortara Garavelli, “Per una retorica della parafrasi”, in *Parafrasi. Dalla ricerca linguistica alla ricerca psicopedagogica*, a cura di Lucia Lumbelli e Bice Mortara Garavelli (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 1999, 93-108), 94-96.
- 13 Bice Mortara Garavelli, *op.cit.* (1999), 98.
- 14 *ibidem*: “la parafrasi possiede d’essere operativa testuale per eccellenza in quanto costitutiva di testi (*text forming*), e metatestuale perché atta a descriverne la struttura”.
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- 16 Maurizio Dardano, Claudio Giovanardi e Adriana Pelo, *op.cit.*, (1988), 153.
- 17 *ibidem*.
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- 23 Ariadna Ștefănescu, “Rolul inferențial al conectorilor pragmatici și efectele lor discursive”, in *SCL*, XLIX, nr. 1-2 (București, 1998, 327-337), 335.

- 24 E. Manzotti (*op.cit.*, 192-194) dubita dell'impiego puramente riformulativo di *cioè*, pur considerando la riformulazione una delle modalità della spiegazione. Secondo la sua opinione, *cioè* ha "un'identità esplicativa" (p. 194), mentre *in altri termini, in altre parole, altrimenti detto, ecc.* sono "connettivi di riformulazione pura (= parafrastica)" (p. 192).
- 25 Daniela Roventă-Frumușani, *Semiotica discursului științific* (București: Ed.Științifică, 1995), 171.
- 26 Manzotti, *op.cit.*(1999), 189.
- 27 *ibidem.*
- 28 "Ce facem cu banii de la FMI", *Capital* (3 08 09), 12.
- 29 "Sectorul privat a trecut testul", *Capital* (24 08 09), 12.
- 30 "La ce te uiți în bilanț când vrei să cumperi", rubrica "Burse", *Capital* (25 05 2009) 26.
- 31 Daniel Dăianu: „Supraimpozitarea” băncilor: unde dai și unde crapă!, in *ZF*(24 mai 2009) <http://www.zf.ro/opinii/daniel-daianu-supraimpozitarea-bancilor-unde-dai-si-unde-crapa> (ultima visualizzazione il 7 ago, 2020).
- 32 R. Perotti, "Economisti alla sbarra, ecco l'atto di accusa" in *SO*, <https://st.ilssole24ore.com/art/SoleOnline4/dossier/Economia%20e%20Lavoro/2009/lezioni-per-il-futuro/27-maggio/economisti-sbarra-atto-accusa.shtml> (ultima visualizzazione il 7 ago 2020).
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- 34 Nouriel Roubini, *idem*, <http://www.repubblica.it/2007/09/sezioni/economia/euro-dollaro/dodici-tappe/dodici-tappe.html>. (ultima visualizzazione il 7 ago.2020).
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- 39 E. Manzotti, *op.cit.* (1999), 191.
- 40 *Idem.*
- 41 *Ibidem.*
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- 43 *Capital* (30 10, 08), 8.
- 44 Daniel Dăianu, "«Supraimpozitarea» băncilor: unde dai și unde crapă!, în *ZF* (24 mai 2009) <http://www.zf.ro/opinii/daniel-daianu-supraimpozitarea-bancilor-unde-dai-si-unde-crapa> (ultima visualizzazione il 7 ago, 2020).
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- 49 analiza "Dobânda BCE, punct cheie pentru evoluția euro/dolar", in *Capital* (15 01, 09), 26.
- 50 Roberto Perotti, "Economisti alla sbarra, ecco l'atto d'accusa", in *SO*, <https://st.ilssole24ore.com/art/SoleOnline4/dossier/Economia%20e%20Lavoro/2009/lezioni-per-il-futuro/27-maggio/economisti-sbarra-atto-accusa.shtml> (ultima visualizzazione il 7 ago, 2020).
- 51 analiza "Burse Central și Est-Europene", in *Capital* (25 09 08), 26.
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- 55 D. Roventă-Frumușani, *op.cit.* (1995), 166.
- 56 Marina Mizzau, *L'ironia: La contraddizione consentita* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1984), 45.
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Zur Motivation von Studierenden während der Corona-Ausgangssperre

Aspects of Student Motivation during the Coronavirus Lockdown

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The paper aims at highlighting some of the changes in the teaching-learning process, brought about by the coronavirus pandemic. With an insight into the various interpretations of the term “crisis”, the article is meant to depict some of the advantages and disadvantages online teaching presented. It also describes how student motivation was influenced by the new circumstances during the lockdown period.

coronavirus pandemic; lockdown; isolation; crisis; online teaching; student motivation, emotions; classroom community.

Einleitung und Zielsetzung

Die COVID-19-Pandemie hat das Leben überall in der Welt auf den Kopf gestellt. Sie hat eine solche wirtschaftliche, gesellschaftliche und menschliche Krise ausgelöst, dass man gezwungen war, damit umzugehen. Wie ein Wirbelwind hat sie unser tagtägliches Leben durchgefegt und hat unter anderem unbekannte, unerwartete, unberechenbare, unkontrollierbare Situationen, Verzweiflung, Unsicherheit, Pessimismus, Angstgefühle, verschiedene Einschränkungen, harte Verhältnisse, neue Regeln und Verhaltensweisen mit sich gebracht. Der große Informationsfluss, die Lawine von widersprüchlichen

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Nachrichten oder im Gegenteil der Mangel an zuverlässigen Hinweisen haben die Verwirrung noch erhöht.

Umso stärker und empfindlicher waren die negativen Auswirkungen und Emotionen dieser Periode, da keine oder nur geringe Rezepte und Stützen vorhanden waren, nach denen man sich richten konnte. In dieser Lage befand sich auch das Bildungssystem, das den Sprung vom Face-to-Face-Unterricht zum Online-Unterricht machen musste. Auf einmal mussten die im bekannten und „gemütlichen“ Bereich des Unterrichtsprozesses agierenden Teilnehmer sich mit dem Fremden beziehungsweise mit dem teilweisen Fremden auseinandersetzen, das heißt, sie mussten sich mit unbekanntem oder selten verwendeten Lehrmethoden und Lernstrategien vertraut machen und diese in die Praxis umsetzen.

Der virtuelle Unterricht, der zeitweilig ohne direkten sozialen Kontakt, mit fehlender Körpersprache und mit unzureichender gegenseitiger Kommunikation verlaufen ist, hat die Regeln des herkömmlichen Klassenspieles umschrieben. In der Krise der Epidemie ist die Normalität zugleich verschwunden und die Werte, die früher von Bedeutung waren, haben ihre Gültigkeit verloren. Anschließend muss in der Zeit der Anomalie erlernt werden, wie man sich an die neue Welt anpassen kann¹.

Die vorliegende Arbeit versucht die Motivation der Studierenden während der Periode der Corona-Ausgangssperre darzustellen, ihr Verhalten gegenüber den neulich entstandenen Verhältnissen unter die Lupe zu nehmen und nicht zuletzt ihrem Bewusstsein für das eigene Lernen zu folgen. Kurz, es wird darauf eingegangen, wie der Online-Unterricht auf den Lernprozess im Fach Wirtschaftsenglisch gewirkt hat, nämlich was für Vor- und Nachteile er aufgewiesen hat. Hinsichtlich geht der Artikel davon aus, was unter Krise verstanden wird und wie eine schwierige Situation die Lernmotivation umgestalten beziehungsweise verändern kann.

Theoretischer Hintergrund

Im Allgemeinen deutet das Wort „Krise“ auf eine schwierige und gefährliche Situation beziehungsweise Periode hin, auf die man schnell und selbstsicher reagieren soll.² Der Begriff wurde ursprünglich vom Gebiet der Medizin übertragen, wo man damit den Höhepunkt einer schweren Lage bezeichnet, der entweder einen völligen Zusammenbruch oder eine Verbesserung zur Folge haben kann. Ein kritischer Zustand ist durch einen hohen Schwierigkeitsgrad gekennzeichnet, währenddessen man zwischen Überleben und Verfall pendelt³.

Die Krise bezieht sich auf ein außergewöhnliches Ereignis, das überwältigend wirkt und das ein großes Risiko, Schaden und Verlust vorbringt⁴. Auf diese Weise hebt die

Krise die Kontrolle und die Sicherheit auf einmal auf und gilt als ein solches vehementes Ereignis, das imstande ist, all die anderen Probleme des Lebens zu verkleinern. Unter krisenhaften Umständen wird es einem bewusst, dass die ursprünglichen Verhältnisse unumkehrbar sind⁵.

Im alltäglichen Gebrauch werden unter Krise solche Situationen verstanden, die eigentlich Probleme, Hindernisse, Konflikte und schlechte Erfahrungen verursachen. Hermann Charles F. nach enthält die Krise drei Elemente, anhand derer sie sich von unangenehmen Ereignissen unterscheiden lässt. Diese umfassen Überraschung, Bedrohung und kurze Reaktionszeit. Derart hat die Krise die Macht, unerwartet und ungeplant zu überraschen. Sie wirkt bedrohend und ihr muss so schnell wie möglich begegnet werden⁶.

Krisen können in allen Lebensbereichen auftauchen und alle Leute treffen. Unabhängig davon, ob es sich um eine persönliche, gesellschaftliche oder Unternehmenskrise handelt, verfügt die Krise über vier gemeinsame Kennzeichen, und zwar über den die Krise auslösenden Grund, die bedrohende Kraft, die Herausbildung von unkontrollierbaren Situationen und schließlich die Notwendigkeit, die erfordert, dass eine gewisse Aufmerksamkeit dem neulich entstandenen Zustand geschenkt werden soll⁷.

Jedoch soll die Krise nicht ausschließlich aus negativem Blickwinkel betrachtet beziehungsweise bewertet werden, da sie auch zu einer Gelegenheit, zu einer neuen Chance führen kann.⁸ In einer krisenhaften Situation können sich Perspektiven verbergen, die das Entstehen von neuen Prozessen und Verhaltensweisen ermöglichen können⁹. Eine Lösung kann zustande kommen, falls man kreativ mit der Krise umgehen kann und man dadurch die Situation zur Entwicklung verwendet¹⁰, darüber nachdenkt beziehungsweise daraus lernt¹¹. Eine Krise kann Innovation erzwingen, neue Chancen anbieten, um komparative Vorteile aufzuweisen¹².

Wie bereits erwähnt, kann eine Krise in allen Gebieten und Etappen des Lebens auftreten und so kann sie einen maßgeblichen Einfluss auf die menschliche Motivation im Allgemeinen und im Besonderen auf die Lernmotivation ausüben. Im Folgenden wird die Aufmerksamkeit einigen theoretischen Aspekten bezüglich der Motivation gewidmet, indem der Schwerpunkt einerseits auf den Zusammenhang von Motivation und Emotionen und andererseits auf die Rolle der Gemeinschaft in der Gruppe gelegt wird. Da die obengenannten zwei Themenkreise vom Standpunkt der vorliegenden Forschung von Wichtigkeit sind, werden lediglich diese Segmente aus dem umfangreichen Fachgebiet der Motivation ausgrissen.

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass die weitreichenden Effekte der Corona-Krise auch im Falle des Bildungswesens wahrzunehmen sind. In der Zeitspanne, in der eine

Ausgangssperre in vielen Ländern eingeführt wurde, musste sich der „klassische“ Face-to-Face-Unterricht von Grund auf ändern. Er wurde ungeplant und unvorbereitet völlig oder teilweise durch den Online-Unterricht ersetzt und es hatten infolgedessen auch viele Elemente des Klassenzimmers darunter zu leiden. Gleichzeitig hat diese emotionsgeladene Krise die Motivation der Studierenden wesentlich beeinflusst und damit unter anderem die Klassengemeinschaften und das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl inmitten der Gruppe verletzt.

Ohne Weiteres ist die Motivation die Triebkraft aller Handlungen und so gewinnt sie Bedeutung in den vollbrachten menschlichen Leistungen. Sie beruht auf Emotionen und trägt dazu bei, ein gewisses Ziel zu verfolgen und es anzustreben¹³. Da das menschliche Verhalten, die Gedanken, die Aufmerksamkeit, die Taten emotional geprägt sind, können die Gefühle stark motivierend wirken¹⁴.

In Hinsicht auf den Unterricht, auf den Lehr- und Lernprozess sind nicht nur die Emotionen und die Motivation eng miteinander verbunden, sondern auch die Klassengemeinschaft kann einen bedeutsamen Beitrag leisten. In diesem Sinne kann die im Klassenzimmer gegründete Gemeinschaft die günstigsten Bedingungen für die Lernmotivation schaffen, unter denen die Studierenden nicht nur verschiedene Aufgaben ausführen sollen, sondern sich innerhalb der Gruppe bequem, wichtig und geschätzt fühlen können. Das so entstandene Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl und die positiv erlebten Emotionen bewirken, dass starke soziale Beziehungen zwischen den Unterrichtsteilnehmern hergestellt werden können, indem Verantwortung füreinander und für die ganze Gruppe übernommen werden kann¹⁵. Diese Kohäsion der Gruppe, das Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit, das Wohlbefinden können dazu beitragen, dass sowohl die Lernmotivation gesteigert als auch der Lernprozess gefördert werden kann.

Wie beschrieben, auch wenn die Krise meist als ein negatives Phänomen betrachtet wird, weist sie nicht nur ihre Schattenseiten auf. Falls auf eine kritische Situation rechtzeitig geantwortet wird, falls die richtigen Schlussfolgerungen gezogen werden, kann die Krise auch Lösungen anbieten und als lehrhaftes Beispiel den künftigen Verhaltensweisen zu Hilfe kommen. Anpassungsfähigkeit, der Wille zum Lernen, Offenheit für Neues könnten einem die zur Verfügung stehenden Wegweiser sein.

Zur Forschungsmethode

Dieser Teil setzt sich zum Ziel, die Lernmotivation der Studierenden zu untersuchen und ihr Verhalten den im virtuellen Klassenzimmer entstandenen Umständen gegenüber zu schildern. Da diese turbulente Zeitspanne die Lernenden emotional stark berührt hat, wird im Folgenden auf die Frage eingegangen, ob es ihnen gelungen ist, sich an die ungewöhnlichen, sozusagen atypischen Unterrichtsstunden anzupassen. Zusätzlich

wurde beobachtet, ob und wie sich die Motivation der Studierenden in Bezug auf den Lernprozess geändert hat und schließlich, welche Elemente des Online-Studiums sie als vorteilhaft beziehungsweise als nachteilig betrachtet haben.

Die Teilnehmer für diese qualitative Analyse wurden aus den Studierenden an der ungarischen Studienlinie der Fakultät für Wirtschaftswissenschaften und Unternehmensführung (in Cluj-Napoca, Rumänien) ausgewählt. Um ihre Lernmotivation und Einstellung bezüglich des Online-Unterrichts genauer zu veranschaulichen, wurde im Rahmen der Wirtschaftsenglischseminare eine kurze Umfrage durchgeführt. Daran hat eine ganze Lerngruppe, das heißt eine Anzahl von 43 Studierenden von der Fachrichtung Wirtschaftsinformatik teilgenommen.

Die Umfrage bestand aus fünf offenen Fragen, auf die die Befragten einen freien Text formulieren sollten. Die aufgeworfenen Fragen lehnten sich an folgende Gesichtspunkte: 1) wie sich die Isolierung auf das Lernen in Wirtschaftsenglisch ausgewirkt hat; 2) ob die Studierenden ernsthafter bzw. verantwortungsvoller geworden sind; 3) wie motiviert sie sich gefühlt haben; 4) welche die Vorteile und die Nachteile des Online-Unterrichts im Falle von Wirtschaftsenglisch waren. Die so erhaltenen Daten wurden im Rahmen einer qualitativen Analyse bearbeitet, mit der Absicht, die subjektive Sichtweise der Zielgruppe zu erfahren und zu interpretieren.

Auswertung der Ergebnisse

Die Untersuchung führte zu folgenden Ergebnissen.

1) Die Auswirkungen der Isolierung auf das Lernen von Wirtschaftsenglisch

Die Mehrzahl der Studierenden war der Meinung, dass die Isolierung ihr Lernen positiv beeinflusst hat. Da sie sich zu Hause befanden, ließen sie sich nicht ablenken, im Gegenteil, sie konnten sich die Zeit besser einteilen und haben so mehr studiert als zuvor. Einige Lernende haben betont, dass sie sich sonderlich und bewusst angestrengt haben, um ihre Leistungen zu steigern. Manche haben auch festgestellt, dass diese krisenhafte Periode die Ursache dafür war, dass sie Fortschritte gemacht haben. Sie haben tatsächlich begriffen, dass diese Gelegenheit ergriffen werden soll, damit sie ihre Kenntnisse vertiefen. In den Antworten der Befragten ist es außerdem zum Vorschein gekommen, dass sie ihre frühere Lebensweise und den „herkömmlichen“, persönlichen Unterricht mehr zu schätzen begannen. Es muss dagegen nicht außer Acht gelassen werden, dass es ein kleiner Teil der Studierenden als besonders schwer empfunden hat, allein zu lernen und so den Schritt mit dem Lernstoff zu halten. Sie haben sich beschwert, dass sie mehr Unterstützung von Seiten der Lehrerin benötigt hätten und empfanden, dass der Online-Unterricht die wirksame und prompte Kommunikation oft erschwert hat.

2) Verantwortung für das eigene Lernen

Was die Verantwortung für das eigene Lernen anbelangt meinten die meisten der Studierenden, dass sie unabhängiger, fokussierter und ernsthafter geworden sind. In dieser Zeitspanne haben sie fleißiger, gewissenhafter studiert sowie ihre Hausarbeiten und Aufgaben rechtzeitig abgegeben. Darüber hinaus haben sie noch ihren Gesichtspunkt zum Ausdruck gebracht, wie Verantwortung für das eigene Studium übernommen werden soll. Selbstverständlich gab es etliche Stimmen, die nichts Besonderes bezüglich ihrer Verantwortung wahrgenommen haben.

3) Motivation in Wirtschaftsenglisch

In Sachen Motivation waren in den Antworten die beiden Extremen angegeben, das heißt, die Lernenden fühlten sich fast in gleichem Maße entweder stark motiviert oder völlig demotiviert. Ungefähr die Hälfte der befragten Personen haben die Ansicht vertreten, dass sie konzentrierter gearbeitet haben und dass ihr Interesse an Wirtschaftsenglisch offensichtlich gestiegen ist. Demgegenüber meinte fast die gleiche Anzahl von Studierenden, die Motivation und Begeisterung verloren zu haben. Gründe dafür waren das zu intensive Online-Lernen, die mangelnde persönliche Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Lernenden und der Lehrkraft, die Müdigkeit, die Monotonie, das Gefühl der Isolation, Einsamkeit und die durch den virtuellen Methoden erschwerte Kommunikation. Zu der dritten Gruppe gehörten wenige Studierende, die eingestanden haben, dass sie sich am Anfang der Corona-Ausgangssperre mehr motiviert betrachtet haben, jedoch hat ihre Motivation bis zum Ende des Semesters sichtbar nachgelassen.

4) Vorteile und Nachteile des Online-Unterrichts in Wirtschaftsenglisch

Der Großteil der Lernenden glaubte, dass der Online-Unterricht ihren Lernprozess in Wirtschaftsenglisch gefördert hat. Sie haben wirksamer gelernt, mehr Schreiben geübt und aus den häufig in schriftlicher Form erhaltenen Rückmeldungen gelernt. Sie waren ebenso überzeugt, dass sie die von dem Coronavirus verursachte Krise zugunsten des Studiums ausgenutzt haben. Im Gegenteil hat der Rest der Studierenden die Meinung geäußert, dass sie das Lernen in dieser Zeitspanne besonders anstrengend gefunden haben, da ihnen weitere Erklärungen, Antworten auf Fragestellungen nicht immer innerhalb kürzester Zeit angeboten wurden. Über einen Punkt waren sich trotzdem beide Seiten einig, nämlich, dass der Online-Unterricht langfristig nicht als eine haltbare Lehr- und Lernmethode funktionieren kann, da der physische Kontakt, die verbalen Interaktionen, die Beziehungen zu den Freunden, die während der Stunden entstandene Gruppengemeinschaft verlorengehen.

Wie dargestellt hat der „klassische“, persönliche Unterricht in seinem Übergang zum Onlinebereich viel Unerwartetes, Unübersichtliches, Ungewöhnliches und oft Problematisches erfahren. Trotz aller Änderungen und Hindernisse ist es den meisten Studierenden gelungen, ihr Studium fortzusetzen und Erfolge zu erzielen. Ohne Zweifel hat sich eine große Wandlung in Bezug auf ihre Motivation vollzogen. In anderen Worten haben während dieser widersprüchlichen Zeitspanne hervorgebrachte Emotionen zwei extreme Verfassungen ausgelöst. Einerseits war eine hohe Motivation und andererseits das völlige Fehlen der Motivation zu beobachten. Offensichtlich geht dieses Phänomen Hand in Hand mit den erlebten Gefühlen, nämlich jede Person hat höchstwahrscheinlich mit eigenen Überlebensstrategien auf die kritische Situation reagiert. Am Rande sei auch erwähnt, dass der persönliche Kontakt, die lebendigen zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen, das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl innerhalb der Gruppe am schwersten leiden zu haben schienen.

Schlussfolgerung

Eine Krise kann unseren Alltag auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise betreffen. Sie hat die Macht, Gewohnheiten zu zerstören, Werte zu vernichten und Menschen zu entwurzeln. Trotz der negativen Auswirkungen kann sie ebenso als eine Abrechnung, als ein Spiegel oder bestenfalls als eine Lehre dienen. Was für eine Bedeutung sie gewinnt, hängt davon ab, ob sie als eine Bedrohung, eine Gefahr beurteilt oder ob sie als eine Chance, eine neue Möglichkeit verstanden wird. Dahingehend kann mit Verständnis und mit Anpassung erreicht werden, eine krisenhafte Situation als Gelegenheit zu ergreifen. Auf diese Weise könnte auch der Online-Unterricht als eine solche Alternative betrachtet werden, aus welcher man profitieren kann.

Notes

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Ellipse et tolérance dans le discours

Ellipsis and Tolerance in the Discourse

Sergiu Zagan*

In this paper, we argue that tolerance and intolerance are elliptical terms because they have the same referent but one can have a different vision towards it, and because tolerance and intolerance are sometimes interchangeable terms. The recovery of the ellipsis is possible only by a dual approach to the same referent, sometimes perceived as a negative aspect, sometimes as a positive one. We envisage the reading of the novels in which intolerance is the main topic, as a possibility of learning to be tolerant but, again, this is an elliptical possibility because the borders between these aspects are still maintained, Tahar Ben Jelloun introducing only a part of what tolerance-intolerance is. We believe that consensus is the key and that learning about how we can recover what is missing by reading novels about intolerance can lead us to recover what is missing in our own discourse, which we consider coherent.

tolerance; intolerance; ellipsis; violence; consensus; boards; frustration; recovery.

La question à laquelle nous voulons répondre dans cet article tient à la frontière entre tolérance et intolérance. Est-ce qu'il y a vraiment une frontière entre ces deux concepts ? Nous soutenons qu'une telle frontière existe seulement temporairement et spatialement. Nous nous appuyons sur ces aspects : il y a des personnes, des cas où des situations non-tolérées à un moment donné (les Hongrois ou les Allemands) sont devenues tolérées (nous avons un premier ministre nommé Ludovic Orban tandis que le président de la Roumanie est Klaus Werner Johannis), et il y a des cas où un même phénomène est considéré toléré ou intoléré, en fonction de l'espace où un certain processus se déroule.

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Le vice-versa existe aussi : des situations longtemps tolérées (les voitures anciennes) deviennent brusquement non-tolérées (les voitures peuvent être immatriculées si elles ont au moins Euro 5). Est-ce qu'une même situation peut être tolérée et non-tolérée dans des moments ou des espaces différents ? En d'autres termes, toléré = non-toléré ? Nous croyons qu'il s'agit seulement de l'optique. Voilà un exemple : si un sujet « détient » les concepts A et B, et que l'identité A et B soit informative pour lui, alors A et B sont des concepts différents pour lui, comme dans le cas de Hespérus = Phosphorus, où il s'agit d'un même référent, Vénus, avec des sens différents (Hespérus, *l'astre du soir*, Phosphorus, *l'astre du matin*). Si un sujet ne sait pas que Hespérus = Phosphorus, il croira que Hespérus ≠ Phosphorus. La tolérance ≠ l'intolérance est une dichotomie temporaire. Les deux ont le même référent : la croyance (positive ou négative) d'un certain sujet. C'est pour cela que ce qui est toléré peut vite devenir non-toléré et vice-versa. De plus, quoi tolérer ? Le toupet doit être toléré ou non ? Quelques politiciens diraient *oui*, d'autres répondraient *non*. Le voile pour les filles musulmanes dans les écoles de France devrait être toléré ? Les Arabes disent *oui*, les Français disent *non*. L'homosexualité devrait être tolérée ? De plus en plus de Roumains diraient *oui*, l'église orthodoxe répondrait *non*. Ce sujet semble sans fin, et seulement à cause d'un regard elliptique. Tolérance ≠ intolérance signifie une vision elliptique. Tolérer signifie accorder un privilège ou renoncer à un privilège. Cela devient synonyme avec manque, avec perte, avec absence. Pour que la tolérance ne soit pas la naissance d'une frustration, l'intoléré doit renoncer lui-même à quelques privilèges, à quelques éléments de fierté. Le manque est ainsi complété par l'offre de l'autre, l'ellipse n'existe plus et la complétude devient ainsi l'élément qui détruit les frontières entre la tolérance et l'intolérance.

Aujourd'hui, quand le monde semble de plus en plus tolérant, le nouveau COVID 19 a montré que les gens réagissent sans tolérance. Pourquoi ? Parce qu'il y a un effort soutenu de compléter les espaces libres et, juste au moment où la cohérence s'établit, un autre manque est créé par une information contradictoire. Ce vain effort des gens d'essayer la récupération de l'antécédent pour créer de la cohérence qui finalement aboutit à l'incohérence est une source de l'intolérance.

D'après Jean-François Jeandillou¹, la cohérence n'est pas directement soumise aux propriétés linguistiques du texte : seul le jugement du récepteur permet d'évaluer l'adéquation de ce dernier par rapport à la situation d'énonciation. L'acte de parole sera estimé cohérent ou non en fonction d'une attente, d'une demande d'information plus ou moins précise. La cohérence est considérée pour le texte ce que la grammaticalité est pour la phrase : le critère qui permet de déterminer si une séquence de phrases ou d'énoncés est ou non texte. L'anaphore, les connecteurs pragmatiques ou discursifs et l'ellipse sont les marqueurs de cohésion d'un texte et ils imposent de la cohérence dans le texte où ils apparaissent. Il y a des textes cohérents qui sont dépourvus de marqueur de cohésion : « Pendant le dîner, Matthew s'est brûlé la langue. La soupe était chaude. », et des textes

qui ont des marqueurs de cohésion, mais sont dépourvus de cohérence : « Jean a acheté une vache. D'ailleurs elle est rousse comme un écureuil. Il vit dans la forêt et hiberne l'hiver. Mais il est très froid dans la région ». Les relations de cohérence ne s'appliquent guère ou seulement dans l'isolement pour les premières phrases d'un roman : « Il y avait d'abord ce visage allongé par quelques rides verticales, telles des cicatrices creusées par de lointaines insomnies, un visage mal rasé, travaillé par le temps »². Ce *ce* cataphorique permet à l'auteur de faire deux choses : caractériser un objet (le visage) en le présentant comme l'exemplaire d'une classe qu'il reconstruit. Ce *ce* cataphorique permet aussi aux gens de ne plus caractériser une situation connue par tous : « Coronavirus : «Ce confinement [...] nous invite à revenir au sens premier du ramadan», estime l'imam Kahina Bahloul »³ ; « Ce virus qui rend fou » – livre par Bernard-Henri Lévy ; « Cette augmentation du nombre de personnes hospitalisées, déclarées le 18 septembre par cet établissement ne reflète pas de nouvelles hospitalisations »⁴.

La tolérance implique toujours un consensus. Sans ce consensus, on arrive à être frustré ou violent. Prenons le cas des Hongrois de Transylvanie. Ils se considèrent souvent sans droits. Nous ne soutenons pas que, dans certains cas, leurs droits n'ont pas été violés. Nous soutenons qu'il y a des cas où ils sont intolérants (les Roumains romano-catholiques de Transylvanie ne peuvent pas participer chaque jour, comme dans d'autres régions, à une messe en langue roumaine) et alors, le sujet peut être débattu toujours, mais en vain, car le manque de concessions implique souvent des violences. Être tolérant implique toujours deux parties actives, deux parties qui offrent l'une, la compréhension des besoins de l'autre, et l'autre, la compréhension des raisons pour lesquelles celui nommé « intolérant » agit d'une manière intolérante. La tolérance signifie un abandon réciproque. Sur *Facebook*, il y a un group nommé *Cu botniță* [Avec musée] et un autre groupe nommé *Fără botniță* [Sans musée]. Ces deux groupes se querellent, se menacent et ne voient que, dans chaque cas, il y a un manque qui ne peut pas être récupéré correctement. Jean Michel Adam considère que l'utilisation de l'ellipse est une règle du discours, en vertu d'une loi d'économie du langage qui permet de ne pas tout dire. Le présupposé joue un rôle essentiel dans la construction de la cohérence textuelle. Pour progresser, le texte s'appuie sur une information posée/dite qu'il transforme ensuite en présupposé. Sans cela, on aurait seulement une chaîne d'énoncés sans aucune liaison.

Les présupposés sont préconstruits, construits avant l'énoncé :

- soit ils ont été posés dans la partie du texte qui se trouve en avant ;
- soit il s'agit d'une proposition déjà acceptée par l'interlocuteur ;
- soit il s'agit d'une proposition qui doit être acceptée d'une manière universelle.

Dans le cas du COVID-19, c'est le dernier préconstruit qu'on doit prendre en considération. Même s'il s'agit du discours didactique ou du discours médiatique, l'ellipse est une nécessité qui ne doit pas être regardée comme une tâche pour l'interlocuteur, mais comme un moyen par lequel celui-ci arrive à des connaissances qu'il n'avait pas

avant l'occurrence de ce phénomène qu'est l'ellipse; l'incomplétude qui est une règle du discours devient ainsi un complètement des espaces libres par l'intermédiaire des inférences. Il est impossible que l'énonciateur connaisse exactement ce qui est admis ou non par le destinataire. Il est obligé de faire des présuppositions liées à ce sujet. Dépendant des conditions d'interprétation d'une suite d'énoncés selon un contexte donné, la cohérence n'est pas directement soumise aux propriétés linguistiques du texte : seul le jugement du récepteur permet d'évaluer l'adéquation de ce dernier par rapport à la situation d'énonciation. C'est l'acte de parole lui-même qui sera estimé cohérent ou non en fonction d'une attente, d'une demande d'information plus ou moins précise.

Devenir tolérant par la lecture et par l'analyse des romans qui présentent l'intolérance comme un mal de l'humanité semble être un autre pas important pour détruire les frontières de l'intolérance, à condition que l'on lise et que l'on comprenne le message. Le roman de Tahar Ben Jelloun, *Le Racisme expliqué à ma fille* peut être perçu d'une part comme un simple roman, et d'autre part comme l'Évangile de la tolérance. Il est devenu plus qu'un livre, il est devenu un guide pour les enfants à l'école. Trois problèmes liés à la tolérance sont principalement mis en évidence dans les romans de Tahar Ben Jelloun : l'intolérance envers les immigrés, l'intolérance dans la société, dans la famille arabe et implicitement l'intolérance vis-à-vis de la femme musulmane et l'intolérance chez les enfants. Dans *Le Racisme expliqué à ma fille*, l'écrivain parle de l'intolérance en général, mais il est elliptique, et cet Évangile de la tolérance risque de devenir un Évangile apocryphe, pas à cause de l'intolérance des lecteurs, mais à cause de la tolérance vis-à-vis de quelques éléments d'intolérance grave. Soutenir la tolérance, d'accord, mais jamais la tolérance de l'intolérance ! Nous allons aborder ce sujet dans les paragraphes suivants. Avant tout, une remarque s'impose : si tout ne peut pas être dit concernant un certain sujet, il résulte que tout sujet devient elliptique, notre article étant certainement inclus dans cette catégorie. Le roman de Ben Jelloun est lui-aussi elliptique, même si nous pouvons ajouter que, du point de vue syntaxique, *Le Racisme expliqué à ma fille* est pauvre en ellipses.

Tout d'abord, nous devons prendre en considération un aspect essentiel, c'est-à-dire l'ellipse. *Ellipse, effacement, manque, absence, ambiguïté*. Quel est le terme qu'il faut adopter dans une situation particulière ? Un terme peut-il être remplacé par l'un des autres termes dans la même situation ? L'ellipse n'est jamais considérée comme source d'une ambiguïté potentielle : au contraire, elle paraît soit immédiatement intelligible, soit totalement hermétique. Il y a des linguistes qui soutiennent que l'ellipse n'est pas une absence (on pourrait parler seulement d'une absence du signifiant). Michèle Noailly⁵ se consacre au problème théorique de l'absence ou de la *place vide* dans certains types de complémentation, notamment de l'adjectif. Quant à la représentation que l'on se fait de la complétude de la phrase, l'ellipse est un cas particulier de la relation entre présence et absence dans la langue et/ou le discours : il est connu que tout ce qui est présent

dans un énoncé n'est pas forcément indispensable (c'est la redondance) et que certains éléments, pas forcément inutiles, sont cependant absents (c'est l'implicite). L'ellipse est souvent une réponse à l'intuition d'un vide. Si elle constitue un cas particulier de l'implicite, s'agit-il d'une absence (par rapport à un modèle canonique de la phrase) ou d'un manque (écart par rapport à une norme de discours) ? En étudiant un grand nombre de textes qui contenaient le terme *ellipse*, nous avons constaté une grande fréquence de contextes, tels que : *E est une ellipse*. Il arrive souvent que de tels emplois impliquent que ce que les auteurs veulent dire (et, effectivement, ce qu'il leur arrive de constater de temps en temps), c'est que : *E, bien sûr, est une ellipse*. Puisque, dans de tels contextes, on ne définit le terme que rarement, il est implicitement admis que : *et tout le monde sait ce que c'est qu'une ellipse*. De ce point de vue, quelqu'un pourrait dire *E, bien sûr, est une ellipse, car on ne saurait introduire dans un roman tous les exemples de racisme ou d'intolérance*. En ce qui concerne les problèmes liés à l'immigration, Tahar Ben Jelloun propose que l'État s'occupe des immigrés et trouve une nouvelle pédagogie pour apprendre à vivre ensemble. La nécessité d'écarter l'inégalité, le conflit, le malheur dans la société constituent un constat qui s'impose clairement parce que l'on doit expliquer aux immigrants leurs droits et leurs devoirs, mais aussi les règles du pays. Il faut parler aux Français, leur expliquer la présence des immigrés et le fait qu'ils ne sont pas de perturbateurs ou d'agents d'insécurité nationale. De ce point de vue, l'écrivain a raison, car il parle d'un consensus, d'une obligation pour les deux parts, les immigrés et ceux qui devraient accepter les immigrés. Malheureusement, cette chose ne se produit pas dans l'œuvre *Le Racisme expliqué à ma fille*. Là, il s'agit seulement du racisme et de l'intolérance envers les Musulmans et les Juifs, sans parler des raisons qui ont conduit à des violences.

La conclusion est que dans les romans de Tahar Ben Jelloun, la présentation des situations qui décrivent l'intolérance, le racisme, l'humiliation est elliptique. En d'autres termes, on parle de Hespérus, mais on oublie Phosphorus. On dit tout, mais pas vraiment tout. Ce sont les narrateurs qui reconnaissent qu'ils ne disent pas tout. La thérapie par la lecture des romans de Ben Jelloun semble intéressante, mais pas suffisante. Le lecteur doit compléter les espaces libres, il doit répondre à des questions comme : *Pourquoi l'intolérance ?* Certes, il y a des cas où l'auteur offre des explications, liées notamment à la religion et la culture musulmane. L'écrivain et le lecteur complètent l'ellipse, mais cette chose n'est pas suffisante pour apprendre à être tolérant. Pour ne plus parler d'intolérance, il faut détruire les frontières entre la tolérance et l'intolérance par le consensus, qui fait qu'une perte soit complétée par une autre perte, la perte que l'autre doit subir. Dans la littérature, le premier pas pour la destruction de ces frontières est la présentation de deux points de vue : de celui qui souffre, qui est intoléré, et de celui qui fait souffrir l'autre. Sans prendre en considération cet aspect significatif, on arrive à des situations comme celle du groupe *Cu botniță* [Avec museau], qui présente une situation

en noir et une autre en blanc. Dès que l'on surfe sur l'autre groupe, *Fără botniță* [Sans museau], on voit que la situation est « grise » ou renversée. Reste que le lecteur complète les espaces libres, l'ellipse, mais dans une telle situation, on ne pourra jamais parler d'une destruction des frontières entre tolérance et non-tolérance.

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Notes

- 1 Jean-François Jeandillou, *L'Analyse textuelle* (Paris : Armand Colin, 2006), 54.
- 2 Tahar Ben Jelloun, *L'Enfant de sable* (Paris : Seuil, 1985), 7.
- 3 <https://www.francetvinfo.fr/sante/maladie/coronavirus/coronavirus-ce-confinement-nous-invite-a-revenir-au-sens-premier-du-ramadan-estime-l-imame-kahina-bahloul_3932463.html>.
- 4 <<https://www.gouvernement.fr/info-coronavirus/carte-et-donnees>>.
- 5 Michelle Noailly, « Sur une place vide », dans : Pitavy et al., *Ellipse et effacement* (Université de Saint Étienne, 2008), 254.

Classification typologique des langues atlantiques parlées au Sénégal en fonction du système Temps-Aspect-Mode

Typological Classification of the Atlantic Languages Spoken in Senegal According to the Tense-Aspect-Mood System

Epimaque Nshimirimana et Mamadou Ndiaye***

The state of description of the Atlantic languages spoken in Senegal shows that very little work is concerned with the typological comparison of these languages. The objective of our study is to classify the Atlantic languages spoken in Senegal according to the Tense-Aspect-Mood system in its temporal expression function. Using a comparison which takes into account the type of marking and the temporal expression both deictic and aspectual, the Atlantic languages of the Northern branch spoken in Senegal are divided into two types, namely aspectual languages and aspect-tense languages. The majority of the Atlantic languages are aspect-tense. Only Pulaar and Badiaranke are aspect languages while all the others are aspect-tense languages. Each of the languages considered falls into its linguistic type with its specificities.

Atlantic Languages; Tense-Aspect-Mode; type of marking; aspect languages; aspect-tense languages.

Introduction

Le terme langues atlantiques désigne une famille de langues africaines parlées le long de la côte atlantique de l'Afrique occidentale, de l'embouchure du fleuve Sénégal

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jusqu'au Libéria¹. Ainsi, le domaine des langues atlantiques couvre les pays comme le Sénégal, la Gambie, la Guinée-Bissau, la Guinée, la Sierra Leone et le Libéria. L'état actuel des descriptions des langues atlantiques atteste que la classification typologique ne bénéficie pas de beaucoup d'attention de la part des chercheurs. En effet, une description² typologique du système des classes nominales des langues atlantiques semble être la grande réussite dans ce domaine. D'autres aspects de la description linguistique ne font pas encore l'objet d'études typologiques très détaillées. Ainsi, à la suite d'une étude³ qui traite la flexion verbale des langues atlantiques et bantoues d'une manière générale, aborder le TAM (temps, aspect, mode) des langues atlantiques parlées au Sénégal sous l'angle typologique contribue à combler ce vide.

Dans la littérature, les langues atlantiques sont souvent présentées comme étant des langues essentiellement aspectuelles. Mais, le problème consiste à savoir si toutes les langues atlantiques sont aspectuelles au même degré. En d'autres termes, le problème consiste à considérer ou non que toutes les langues atlantiques sont des langues aspectuelles de façon à ne pas attester des différences significatives entre elles. Si différences il y a, celles-ci occasionneraient de nouveaux regroupements typologiques.

Dans ces langues, du fait que tout énoncé verbal comporte un verbe prédicatif, il est normal que même l'énoncé le plus simple soit porteur de valeurs à la fois temporelle, aspectuelle et modale. Celles-ci sont toujours présentes partout où le verbe atteste une flexion. Autrement dit, l'existence du temps grammatical suppose en même temps celle de l'aspect et du mode. En effet, les analyses des différents corpus ont montré qu'il est impossible de les étudier séparément, c'est-à-dire de distinguer les emplois temporels et les emplois modaux comme le fait la grammaire traditionnelle, ce qui déforme les réalités⁴.

Dans une telle analyse, chacune des trois composantes du TAM apporte sa pierre à l'édifice dans l'expression temporelle associée à un énoncé verbal. En effet, l'aspect est toujours caractéristique du noyau verbal, le temps est caractéristique de l'ensemble du phrasème et non pas seulement du lexème verbal du fait que c'est tout le contenu propositionnel qui est situé dans une époque de référence⁵. Quant au mode, il imprime à l'énoncé la marque du locuteur qui choisit par exemple de situer son énoncé dans la réalité ou dans l'éventualité, l'imaginaire ou de marquer sa réserve.

De là, nous tirons notre hypothèse qui consiste en ce que, si l'on considère le TAM des langues atlantiques concernées comme un tout et non comme une somme du temps, de l'aspect et du mode pris séparément, ces langues n'appartiennent pas à un même type. Une telle hypothèse correspond à notre objectif à savoir classer les différentes langues atlantiques de notre échantillon en types linguistiques en fonction de leur TAM. La vérification de notre hypothèse s'appliquera sur un échantillon de langues atlantiques parlées au Sénégal. Les langues retenues dans la présente étude le sont parce qu'elles sont relativement bien décrites et parce que la documentation nous est accessible.

1. Méthodologie

La démarche adoptée dans la présente étude s'inscrit dans la ligne de la typologie linguistique qui s'occupe des variations structurelles des langues pour établir des types linguistiques c'est-à-dire les langues qui présentent un ensemble de traits communs⁶. Elle part du principe selon lequel toutes les langues ont en commun certaines catégories d'expression qui semblent répondre à un modèle constant. La typologie linguistique retient ainsi les ressemblances entre les langues et les particularités de chacune pour procéder à une classification en types.

La typologie opère par la technique de comparaison des sous-systèmes qui aboutit à l'établissement d'un certain nombre de types basés sur des similarités et des différences entre les langues. Quatre raisons peuvent être à la base des similarités enregistrées⁷. Premièrement, les similarités peuvent être dues au hasard. Deuxièmement, elles peuvent être dues au fait que les langues étudiées sont génétiquement apparentées. Troisièmement, elles peuvent être le résultat d'un contact ancien ou récent entre les langues en question. Quatrièmement, les similarités peuvent être des universaux du langage absolus ou tendancielles.

Dans toute démarche typologique, toute étude typologique des catégories grammaticales doit obéir à deux étapes importantes⁸. D'une part, il est question de l'identification de la catégorie grammaticale dans des langues particulières. D'autre part, il s'agit de l'identification de la même catégorie grammaticale commune à un ensemble de langues. Ainsi, à base des structures communes ou différentes attestées par les langues comparées, il devient possible de les regrouper en types.

La démarche adoptée obéit au principe selon lequel la typologie doit commencer par établir des types de structures dans les différents sous-systèmes qui constituent une langue, et non pas de types de langues, car deux langues peuvent avoir le même type de structure dans certains domaines, mais des types de structure différents dans d'autres domaines⁹. Pour ce, nous identifions d'abord la catégorie flexionnelle (temps, aspect, mode) dans les langues particulières, puis nous classons les langues de notre échantillon respectivement aux points de vue du type de marquage et de la fonction du TAM. Enfin, nous récapitulons la classification en fonction des différents critères combinés. Cette démarche est une approche inductive où le TAM est considéré dans sa fonction d'expression temporelle rendue effective par la flexion verbale.

La présente approche typologique du TAM qui sera appliquée aux langues atlantiques parlées au Sénégal opère ainsi à base de deux critères, à savoir le type de marquage du TAM et la fonction temporelle du TAM. En effet, le TAM obéit au principe selon lequel on ne reconnaît la valeur sémantique dans un énoncé que dans la mesure où l'on est capable d'identifier un marqueur spécialement consacré à son expression¹⁰. Pour

cette raison, la fonction du TAM est déterminée à la fois par les contextes morphologique (pour la forme du signifiant) et syntaxique (pour la combinaison des marques).

Au cours de cette tâche de comparaison, il sera rare de trouver un type linguistique qui totalise à cent pour cent les caractéristiques typologiques de tel type. Pour remédier à ce problème, la notion de dominance¹¹ d'un élément par rapport aux autres éléments sera prise en compte. Autrement dit, si un trait typologique recherché est prédominant dans un certain nombre de langues, ce trait peut être considéré comme caractéristique du type auquel appartiennent ces langues.

Cette démarche méthodologique est appliquée à une douzaine de langues atlantiques parlées au Sénégal. Celles qui sont retenues relèvent des quatre groupes (sénégal-gambien, cangin, bak, tenda) de la branche atlantique nord¹². Les différentes langues sont choisies à raison de trois langues par groupe linguistique en fonction de la disponibilité des descriptions y relatives. Ainsi, notre échantillon est constitué de trois langues sénégal-gambiennes (pulaar, sérère, wolof), de trois langues cangin (laala, noon, palor), de trois langues bak (pepel, balante, diola) et de trois langues tenda (mancagne, badiaranké, bainounk).

Signalons que le terme diola ne se réfère pas à une seule langue, comme on le suppose souvent, surtout pour les non-spécialistes, mais à un groupe de langues et de variétés qui forment un continuum dialectal¹³. Ainsi, le groupe diola comporte notamment le diola banjal, le diola karon, le diola fogny, le diola kujireray, le bayot, etc.

2 Le type de marquage du TAM

En examinant les différentes façons de marquer le TAM offertes par les descriptions grammaticales, les langues atlantiques parlées au Sénégal attestent trois types de marquage. Il s'agit du marquage synthétique (morphèmes affixés ou libres), du marquage analytique (constructions à auxiliaire verbal, constructions présentatives) et de la reduplication du radical verbal. En rapprochant les types de marquage des différentes langues observées, les langues atlantiques peuvent être regroupées en trois types en fonction du type de marquage dominant.

2.1 Langues à marquage analytique

Ces langues ne sont pas nombreuses car, dans notre échantillon, seul le mancagne privilégie le marquage analytique. En effet, à côté des constructions analytiques, qui sont les plus nombreuses dans le marquage du TAM, la littérature sur la question révèle l'existence de deux marques affixales en mancagne. Il s'agit du préfixe *k-* pour marquer l'aspect imperfectif et du suffixe *-i* qui sert de marque de l'aspect perfectif. Dans tous les autres cas, le TAM est marqué au moyen des constructions verbales à auxiliaire, soit *auxiliaire + auxilié*. En (1), nous observons des cas où le TAM est respectivement exprimé au moyen d'une marque affixale (1a) et d'un auxiliaire (1b).

(1) Mancagne

a.

šaaš	a-keč-i ¹⁴
son père	SUJ-mourir-PFV
Son père est décédé	

b.

ba-ñaan	mënt	a-do	bi	dat-dat	baka ¹⁵
PN-person	DEM	SUJ-INCH	PAS	choose-choose	OBJ
These people he had already chosen					

Dans l'exemple (1a), le morphème suffixé *-i* sert à marquer l'aspect perfectif absolu. Dans le (1b), nous observons deux marques de TAM distinctes, mais dont la valeur résulte de la combinaison des deux. Le verbe *-do* 'commencer' est un auxiliaire servant à exprimer l'aspect inchoatif, tandis que *bi*, qui signifie 'venir' lorsqu'il est employé comme verbe principal, est utilisé dans le contexte présent comme un auxiliaire à valeur de passé.

En analysant le nombre de marques de TAM utilisées par le mancagne, la langue atteste treize constructions analytiques et deux marques affixales. En d'autres termes, le mancagne est à plus de 85 % une langue à marquage analytique, tandis que le marquage morphologique de TAM ne représente que moins de 14 %. Au vu de ces proportions, le mancagne est une langue caractérisée par un marquage analytique très dominant.

Nous considérons que les deux morphèmes aspectuels affixés *k-* (imperfectif absolu) et *-i* (perfectif absolu) ne jouent pas un rôle de premier plan. En effet, ils sont des variantes combinatoires d'autres marques aspectuelles. Le morphème *k-* n'est utilisé que dans des propositions subordonnées ou lorsqu'il est combiné aux marques de futur. Ailleurs, l'imperfectif absolu est morphologiquement non marqué. S'agissant du suffixe *-i*, il ne s'emploie qu'au présent du fait qu'il est incompatible avec les marques de passé et de futur. Autre part, le perfectif absolu s'exprime au moyen de l'auxiliaire *ba* 'finir'.

2.2 Langues à marquage synthétique

Les langues à marquage synthétique se servent des morphèmes agglutinés avec le radical verbal ou des morphèmes libres. Ces marqueurs de TAM peuvent se combiner entre eux ou non, selon le cas. Un tel type de marquage caractérise le pulaar parmi les langues de notre échantillon. En effet, pour marquer chacune des composantes du TAM, le pulaar dispose des marques morphologiques bien distinctes.

En pulaar, chaque marque aspectuelle a une forme qui dépend à la fois de la série d'imperfectivité/perfectivité et de la voix (active, moyenne, passive). Par exemple, pour marquer l'imperfectif de la deuxième série, le pulaar distingue les marques suffixées au verbe *-a/-oo/-ee* qui correspondent respectivement aux voix active, moyenne et passive.

Il en est de même pour la troisième série perfective où les marques correspondant aux trois voix sont respectivement *-ii/-iima/-aama*.

(2) Pulaar

a.

angel	ñaam-a ¹⁶
PRON.SUJ	manger-IPFV2
Il est en train de manger	

b.

hannde	mi	iaam-ii	law ¹⁷
aujourd'hui	PRON.SUJ	m a n g e r - PFV3	tôt
Aujourd'hui j'ai mangé tôt			

Dans l'exemple (2a), la marque *-a* traduit l'imperfectif de la deuxième série à la voix active (non marquée). La combinaison du pronom sujet *angel* avec la marque de l'imperfectif *-a* aboutit à l'aspect duratif. Dans (2b) où *-ii* est la marque du perfectif de la troisième série à la voix active, ladite marque renvoie à une idée de passé grâce à la combinaison de la marque de personne *mi* et de celle du perfectif.

En plus des marques morphologiques d'aspects, le pulaar a une marque temporelle *-no* qui exprime l'antériorité et des marques modales *yo(o)* pour le subjonctif et *woto/hoto* pour le prohibitif. Au moment où les marques aspectuelles s'excluent mutuellement dans une même forme verbale, ces marqueurs de temps relatif et de mode sont employés en combinaison avec les marques imperfectives et/ou perfectives comme c'est le cas en (3a) et, respectivement, (3b). Seulement, il nous faut préciser que les marques perfectives n'entrent pas en combinaison avec les marques modales.

(3) Pulaar

a.

o	yan-ii-no ¹⁸
PRON.SUJ	tomber-PFV3-ANT
Il était tombé	

b.

woto	mi	loot-at ¹⁹
PROH	PRON.SUJ	laver-IPFV3
Que je ne lave pas d'habitude		

Signalons enfin que, dans cette langue, il n'est attesté aucune construction de type analytique pour exprimer le TAM. Les morphèmes libres servant de marques modales ne peuvent pas être considérés comme des auxiliaires du fait qu'ils ne subissent pas de flexion verbale. Cette dominance des marques de TAM de type affixal fait ainsi du pulaar une langue à marquage synthétique.

2.3 Les langues à marquage mixte

Les langues à marquage mixte attestent au moins deux types de marquage différents. Un élément de différence entre les langues atlantiques concernées à ce niveau, c'est la reduplication du radical verbal comme moyen d'expression du TAM. En fonction de ce type de marquage, les langues atlantiques attestant ce redoublement du radical connaissent aussi les marquages analytique et synthétique. Les langues qui n'attestent pas ce redoublement du radical verbal se caractérisent par les marquages analytique et synthétique.

La majorité des langues où le redoublement du radical est une des stratégies de marquage de TAM est formée des langues diola (banjal, karon, bayot, fogny) auxquelles s'ajoute le bainouk. Le cas le plus simple consiste en un simple redoublement du radical verbal pour exprimer l'aspect grammatical comme en diola karon (4). Dans certaines langues, des morphèmes spécifiques de TAM affixés s'associent à la reduplication pour exprimer l'aspect grammatical comme c'est le cas en bainouk (5).

(4) Diola karon

tooma	a-laan-laan	e-laan ²⁰
Thomas	SUJ-boire-boire	PN-alcool
Thomas boit (habituellement) de l'alcool		

(5) Baïnouk guñaamolo

silah-kanam	g-a-nuy-oo-nuy ²¹
bras-POSS	FOC-SUJ-faire.mal-HAB-faire.mal
Son bras lui fait mal	

De par l'exemple (4), en diola karon, le seul redoublement du radical *-laan* 'boire' permet d'exprimer l'aspect habituel. À la différence de ce qui se passe en diola karon, l'exemple (5) montre qu'en baïnouk le redoublement du radical est combiné à un morphème aspectuel *-oo-* pour exprimer davantage l'idée d'habitude. Le diola karon et le baïnouk se retrouvent dans le même type par ce fait qu'ils font tous recours au redoublement du radical pour exprimer le TAM, malgré les particularités de chacune de ces langues.

L'autre catégorie comporte des langues qui se caractérisent à la fois par un marquage morphologique (usage des affixes et/ou des morphèmes libres) et un marquage analytique. Au sein de ce type de langues, l'on rencontre des langues sénégalo-gambiennes (wolof, sérère), des langues cangin (noon, palor, laala), des langues bak (pepel, balante) et une langue tenda (badiaranké). Certaines des langues de cette catégorie admettent des constructions analytiques indirectes et/ou présentatives. Considérons les exemples proposés en (6), (7) et (8).

(6) Pepel

nji-uh	ya	ɔ-feeru	məntɔŋ ²²
SUJ-PAS	aller	PN-marché	hier
J'allais au marché hier			

(7) Sérère

nang-a- am	o	ret-aa	no	qol ²³
H A B - AFF-SUJ	CON	partir- IPFV	PREP	champ
Je vais habituellement au champ				

(8) Laala

enoh	f-ii	(i)	f-ii	pagii ²⁴
vache	P P - DEM	PRES	P P - DEM	herbe
La vache mange de l'herbe				

En (6), nous constatons que le pepel utilise un auxiliaire *-ili* pour marquer le passé récent. Dans cette construction, l'auxiliaire est directement suivi du verbe auxilié *ya* 'aller' ; il s'agit d'une construction analytique directe. En (7), le sérère atteste une construction analytique indirecte : l'auxiliaire *nang-* (marque de l'aspect habituel) est relié au verbe auxilié *ret-* 'partir' par l'intermédiaire du morphème connectif invariable *o* ; la marque de personne est portée par l'auxiliaire tandis que l'auxilié porte une marque de TAM. En (8), le marquage du TAM est constitué d'un formatif (*i*) et d'un morphème formé de l'indice de classe du sujet suffixé de la marque de détermination spatiale *-ii* (exprimant la proximité) le tout antéposé au radical verbal, pour indiquer un événement inachevé au moment de l'énonciation.

3 L'expression temporelle

Pour classer les langues atlantiques en types en fonction de l'expression temporelle, nous combinons l'expression temporelle déictique et l'expression aspectuelle. On parle de l'expression déictique lorsque les époques sont définies par rapport au locuteur et à son présent, qui sert de point de référence et permet de situer le passé et le futur²⁵. Lorsque la valeur temporelle du TAM dominante correspond à l'aspect, on parle d'expression aspectuelle. Grâce à la combinaison de ces deux faces de l'expression temporelle, nous aboutissons à un regroupement des langues atlantiques en deux types, à savoir les langues aspectuelles et les langues aspectuo-temporelles.

3.1 Langues aspectuelles

Dans la littérature, une langue aspectuelle est toute langue où le temps déictique n'est pas morphosyntaxiquement exprimé, mais où, par contre, toute la flexion du verbe concourt à l'expression dominante de l'aspect sous ses différentes formes. Ainsi, une langue aspectuelle est « une langue où la forme verbale permet de statuer sur le déroulement d'un procès plutôt que sur l'époque à laquelle ce procès a lieu, étant bien entendu que les notions de présent, de passé ou de futur existent dans la langue et sont déterminés par la situation du discours²⁶ ».

Par rapport à cette définition, le pulaar et le badiaranké sont en quelque sorte des langues aspectuelles. En effet, ces deux langues privilégient l'expression aspectuelle à laquelle elles superposent une certaine idée de temps facultatif. La caractéristique principale d'un tel temps est de ne jamais donner lieu à la représentation des classiques oppositions passé/présent/futur du temps déictique en dehors du discours.

En ce qui concerne l'expression temporelle, le pulaar et le badiaranké se caractérisent par deux éléments typologiques essentiels. En premier lieu, elles connaissent toutes les deux des systèmes aspectuels dans lesquels une opposition perfectif/imperfectif est toujours attestée. En effet, en pulaar, l'aspect est toujours associé à la voix et les différentes subdivisions de l'aspect perfectif/imperfectif sont des constructions du discours résultant de la combinaison de l'aspect, de la personne, de la voix et du mode. Les exemples (9a) et (9b) illustrent respectivement les aspects imperfectif et perfectif au moyen des marques affixales *-at/-aani* (série 3) et *-i* (série 2).

(9) Pulaar

a.

mi	wind-at	mi	janng-aani ²⁷
PRON.SUJ	écrire-IPFV	PRON.SUJ	lire-IPFV. NEG
J'écris, je ne lis pas			

b.

hombo	sood-i	puccu ²⁸
PRON.SUJ	acheter-PFV	cheval
Il a acheté un cheval		

Du côté du badiaranké, cette langue a un système aspectuel qui atteste l'opposition perfectif/imperfectif/prospectif. Les différentes subdivisions de l'imperfectif (absolu, progressif, habituel) sont nettement distinctes. Les trois exemples proposés en (10) illustrent, respectivement, l'expression des aspects imperfectif, perfectif et prospectif au moyen des marques affixées au verbe.

(10) Badiaranké

a.

ha:	to:	mpə-pe:s ²⁹
until	today	SUJ.IPFV-sweep
She's still sweeping		

b.

wa:	ri:-se	bo:li	sē ³⁰
what	do-PFV	bowl	DET
What happened to the bowl?			

c.

ka-kər-e	kilome:tr	ma:e	mpə-re:	(pudō) ³¹
INF-run- INF	kilometer	two	SUJ.IPFV- come	(next.year)
He'll run two kilometers (next year)				

En deuxième lieu, en ces deux langues, le temps associé à l'aspect a toujours la valeur d'antériorité. Ce temps passé n'a pas de valeur déictique ; il ne s'oppose ni au présent, ni au futur. Il a toujours une marque morphologique bien distincte. Ainsi, le pulaar a le morphème *-no* comme seule marque de l'antériorité. Cette marque *-no* correspond à une antériorité simple du fait qu'elle s'associe indistinctement à l'aspect perfectif ou à l'aspect imperfectif, selon les besoins du locuteur. L'exemple (3a) illustre le cas où la marque du perfectif se combine avec la marque de l'antériorité pour exprimer une idée temporelle que l'on traduirait en français par le plus-que-parfait.

En badiaranké, l'antériorité prend deux formes dont l'emploi n'est pas fonction de l'opposition perfectif/imperfectif. La forme *-ako-* est associée au perfectif absolu (11a) et au progressif ; la forme *-akəd* est associée à l'imperfectif absolu (11b), à l'habituel et au mode (subjonctif, hortatif). Cette antériorité du badiaranké exprime une idée de passé comme en pulaar, mais aussi une idée modale. C'est cette dernière idée qui est responsable de la distribution des formes de l'antériorité en badiaranké. En effet, la forme *-ako-* correspond à l'idée du réel, tandis que *-akəd-* correspond à l'idée de l'irréel³².

(11) Badiaranké

a.

dāt-ako-bē-mā	de ³³
say-ANT-SUJ.PFV-OBJ	AFF.DECL
They (had) said it.	

b.

pudō	bē-karaŋ-akəde	de ³⁴
next.year	I PFV-study-ANT	AFF.DECL

Next year they should have studied (but they won't).	
--	--

3.2 Langues aspectuo-temporelles

Les langues aspectuo-temporelles sont des langues qui n'arrivent plus à séparer le temps déictique de l'aspect chaque fois qu'une forme verbale subit la flexion. Ainsi, une langue aspectuo-temporelle est celle où :

Il n'est pas toujours aisé de démêler l'aspect et le temps, mais l'on peut toujours dégager formellement des catégories d'unités même si l'aspect et le temps constituent deux faces intimement liées pour l'expression du procès, celui-ci étant souvent envisagé à la fois par rapport à la place qui lui revient dans la chronologie (temps) et par rapport à son déroulement interne (aspect).³⁵

Contrairement à ce qui se passe dans les langues aspectuelles, l'expression du temps n'est plus optionnelle en langues aspectuo-temporelles ; elle est obligatoire en même temps que l'aspect. De plus, au moment où le temps qui est susceptible de s'associer à l'aspect en langues aspectuelles est toujours un temps relatif exprimant l'antériorité, le temps des langues aspectuo-temporelles est un temps déictique. Le type aspectuo-temporel regroupe toutes les autres langues atlantiques (wolof, sérère, palor, laala, noon, pepel, balante, langues diola, mancagne, baïnouk) ne faisant pas partie du type aspectuel. Par exemple, le diola karon a un système temporel constitué du présent marqué de l'auxiliaire *-oop-*, du passé (subdivisé en passé immédiat marqué par *iñce*, en passé récent marqué par *-a* et en passé éloigné marqué par *impi*), ainsi que du futur marqué par *ifi*. Toutes ces nuances temporelles sont respectivement exprimées à travers les exemples donnés en (12).

(12) Diola karon

a.

e-yen-ya	y-oop-y-a	ti-hili ³⁶
PN-chien-DET	SUJ-être.en.train. de-CL-a	INF manger
Le chien est en train de manger		

b.

e-puuk-ya	iñce	ka-ŋot-a ³⁷
PN-enfants-DET	PAS1	SUJ-dormir-PFV
Les enfants se sont déjà endormis		

c.

esaama	ya-ket-a ³⁸
Esaamaye	SUJ-mourir-PAS2
Essamaye est mort	

d.

uni	impi	u-kin-a-kin	takaal ³⁹
nous	PAS3	SUJ-habiter-PFV- habiter	Dakar
Nous habitons à Dakar			

e.

ifi-u-kaay	ti	lekool	tanta ⁴⁰
FUT.AFF- SUJ- partir	LOC	école	après demain
Nous irons à l'école			

En observant ces exemples proposés en (12a-e), on constate que les marques temporelles et les marques aspectuelles se combinent dans une même forme verbale avec leurs valeurs respectives. C'est le cas du passé immédiat *iñce* associé au perfectif *-a* en (12a) et du passé éloigné *impi* combiné au perfectif *-a* en (12d). Ce type de combinaison, tant du côté des marques que du côté du sémantisme, justifie que le diola karon est une langue aspectuo-temporelle.

En considérant le présent comme le temps de référence du système déictique, on distingue deux types de schémas complets du système temporel déictique. D'une part, on a un système temporel déictique où, par rapport au présent, le nombre de subdivisions du passé est égal à celui du futur (sère, bayot, baïnouk, diola fogny, wolof, pepel, diola banjal). D'autre part, il y a un système temporel déictique où le nombre de subdivisions du passé n'est pas égal à celui du futur (mancagne, balante ganja, diola karon).

En associant l'expression temporelle déictique et l'expression aspectuelle, le type aspectuo-temporel peut être subdivisé en deux sous-types. D'un côté, il regroupe des langues à système aspectuel à deux éléments (perfectif + inaccompli) et à système temporel déictique dont les subdivisions du passé et du futur sont égales (sère, bayot, fogny, noon, pepel, banjal, wolof) ou à système déictique dont les subdivisions du passé et du futur sont inégales (balante ganja, diola karon). De l'autre côté, le type aspectuo-temporel comporte des langues à système aspectuel à trois éléments (perfectif + imperfectif + aoriste/prospectif) et à système déictique où les subdivisions du passé et du futur ne sont pas égales (laala, palor, baïnouk).

3.3 Particularités du wolof

En wolof, le présent et le futur ne sont pas définis dans l'absolu, ils sont indistinctement couverts par le non passé marqué par Ø. Cela revient à dire que le présent et le futur ne se réalisent qu'en discours. Le présent se construit au moyen de la combinaison du non-passé et de l'imperfectif. En effet, « l'usage le plus marquant du suffixe *-y* est de permettre de former le présent des verbes discrets (ou discrétisés) et de ramener en T0 ces procès qui, du fait de leur caractère discret, prennent à l'accompli

une valeur passée »⁴¹. À ces deux éléments de base, il s'ajoute un marqueur modal pour exprimer le présent déictique. Par exemple, le présent inaccompli peut être exprimé au moyen de l'imperfectif *di/-y* combiné à l'emphatique du verbe *da(fa)* comme en (13).

(13) Wolof

dafa-y	yaar	ay	xari	sarax ⁴²
S U J . EmpV-IPFV	élever	IDF	mouton	sacrifice
Il élève des moutons destinés aux sacrifices				

Pour construire son futur, le wolof recourt aux marqueurs des modes présentatif et projectif combinés au non-passé. Ainsi, le futur déictique en wolof se subdivise en deux : le futur immédiat marqué par *ngi* (marque du présentatif) et le futur éloigné marqué par *dina* (marque du projectif). Ces marques de mode ne s'adjoignent pas de marqueurs d'aspect, ils sont simplement combinés à la marque zéro du non passé. Le futur immédiat traduit la nuance 'être sur le point de' (14a) tandis que le futur éloigné est le futur sans équivoque (14b).

(14) Wolof

a.

maa	ngi	dem ⁴³
SUJ	PRES	partir
Je pars/Je suis sur le point de partir		

b.

dina-a	gis	Omar ⁴⁴
PROJ-SUJ	voir	omar
Je verrai Omar		

En wolof, le passé absolu est composé du passé marqué par *-oon* (15a) et du passé habituel marqué par *-aan* (15b). Le passé habituel est défini comme un passé antérieur lointain, l'autre passé est un antérieur proche⁴⁵. Cependant, il est impossible de fixer une ligne de démarcation entre les deux passés. Il y a, parfois, un chevauchement entre les deux passés du fait que le passé habituel traduit des nuances d'imprécision temporelle, d'habitude ou d'itération. Cela nous conduit à considérer les deux passés comme un seul passé antérieur dont les marques sont employées distinctement en fonction du contexte morphosyntaxique.

(15) Wolof

a.

demba-a	fi	fent-oon	woy	wi	daaw ⁴⁶
d e m b a - EmpS	ici	composer-PAS	poème	DEF	a n n é e dernière

C'est Demba qui avait composé ici le poème l'année dernière			
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b.

bu	ma	góob-aan ⁴⁷
TEMP	SUJ	moissonner-PAS.HAB
Chaque fois que j'avais moissonné		

Le passé ainsi présenté est en situation de rupture par rapport au non-passé⁴⁸. Il faut attendre les réalisations concrètes de discours pour remplir ce vide sur l'axe de temps. Ainsi, la revue de la littérature sur la question montre que le marqueur du parfait *na* (16) a une valeur de passé récent. Celui-ci correspond à un parfait utilisé lorsqu'un état est considéré comme le résultat d'une situation passée. Cela est d'autant plus vrai du fait que, en wolof, le parfait permet de mettre en relation le fait constaté avec ce qui précède, tout en le présentant comme le résultat de celui-ci⁴⁹.

(16) Wolof

Yewwi	na-a	la	léegi ⁵⁰
détacher	PFT-SUJ	te	maintenant
Je t'ai détaché maintenant			

4. Récapitulation de la classification

Le regroupement typologique des langues atlantiques parlées au Sénégal tient compte des affinités qu'elles manifestent. En combinant les deux critères (type de marquage du TAM et expression temporelle déictique/aspectuelle), on remarque une certaine corrélation entre l'expression temporelle et le type de marquage. En effet, d'une part, nous observons que les langues atlantiques aspectuo-temporelles sont essentiellement à marquage mixte ; il n'y a aucune langue aspectuo-temporelle qui se caractérise par un marquage synthétique uniquement. D'autre part, une langue à marquage synthétique ou mixte, mais sans temps déictique, est impérativement une langue aspectuelle.

Ainsi, de cette association de critères, nous déduisons les différentes caractéristiques typologiques des langues atlantiques considérées dans cette étude. Les langues aspectuelles du Sénégal se caractérisent par : (i) une expression aspectuelle prédominante, (ii) une expression de l'antériorité facultative et un marquage synthétique (pulaar) ou mixte (badiaranké). Les langues aspectuo-temporelles du Sénégal se caractérisent par : (i) une expression aspectuelle obligatoire, une expression temporelle déictique obligatoire et (iii) un marquage analytique (mancagne) ou mixte (wolof, sérère, palor, noon, laala, baïnounk, pepel, balante, diola). Aucune de ces langues atlantiques n'exprime le temps déictiques uniquement.

De par ces différents traits typologiques, l'on constate vite que les types de langues retenues le sont en fonction de l'expression temporelle, mais non en fonction du type de marquage. En effet, la fonction des éléments prime sur leurs marques respectives du fait que la fonction fournit au linguiste une échelle de valeurs qui résistera obstinément à toute tentative de la part du théoricien pour soumettre les faits aux exigences d'une méthode⁵¹. La fonction est, donc, ici le critère de la réalité linguistique que le linguiste doit décrire ; les marqueurs ne sont que des supports de cette fonction.

Au niveau de l'expression temporelle, nous constatons également que l'expression aspectuelle est attestée dans toutes les langues considérées du fait que c'est l'aspect grammatical qui se trouve à proximité du noyau de la phrase⁵². Autrement dit, il reflète le plus directement ce noyau du schéma événementiel contrairement aux temps et mode qui traduisent, respectivement, le moment de la parole et l'acte du langage. De plus, le système temporel déictique est une innovation faite par certaines langues après avoir hérité leur système aspectuel du proto-Niger-Congo⁵³.

Conclusion

La démarche méthodologique que nous avons déroulée nous a fait aboutir à un regroupement des langues atlantiques parlées au Sénégal en deux types. Le pulaar et le badiaranké sont du type aspectuel, tandis que toutes les autres langues appartiennent au type aspectuo-temporel. Cela permet de confirmer notre hypothèse posée dès le départ. En observant le nombre de langues qui constituent chaque type, nous constatons que les langues aspectuo-temporelles sont plus nombreuses que les langues aspectuelles. Ceci est une preuve que les langues examinées ne sont pas aspectuelles au même degré. Le temps déictique se superpose obligatoirement à l'aspect dans la majorité des langues atlantiques examinées pour former des langues aspectuo-temporelles.

Le temps-aspect-mode considéré comme un tout a l'avantage d'étudier la fonction du TAM tel qu'il se présente dans des actes concrets de la parole. De cette façon, la valeur temporelle n'est ni celle de l'aspect isolé, ni celle du temps isolé, ni celle du mode isolé. C'est cela qui fait que le wolof présenté dans l'absolu comme une langue à un système déictique à deux termes (passé *versus* non passé) passe à une langue à système déictique à trois termes (passé-présent-futur).

Abréviations

AFF : marqueur de l'affirmatif
 ANT : marqueur d'antériorité
 CL : marqueur de classe
 CON : connectif
 DECL : marqueur du déclaratif
 DEF : marqueur du défini

DEM : démonstratif
 DET ; déterminant
 EmpS : emphatique du sujet
 EmpV : emphatique du verbe
 FOC : focalisateur
 FUT : marqueur de futur
 HAB : marqueur de l'habituel
 IDF : marqueur de l'indéfini
 INCH : inchoatif
 INF : marqueur de l'infinitif
 IPFV : imperfectif
 LOC : locatif
 NEG : marqueur de négation
 OBJ : marqueur d'objet
 PAS : marqueur du passé
 PFT : marqueur du parfait
 PFV : perfectif
 PN : préfixe nominal
 POSS : marqueur du possessif
 PP : préfixe pronominal
 PREP : préposition
 PRES : marqueur du présentatif
 PROH : marqueur du prohibitif
 PROJ : marqueur du projectif
 PRON : pronom personnel
 SUJ : indice sujet
 TEMP : marqueur du temporel

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Mirror, Mirror on the Wall ... A Practical Comparison between Literary Originals and Translations

*Diana V. Burlacu**

The idea of the present article budded not long ago, while writing “In Other ... Romanian Words. Practical Considerations on Translating” (published in Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies, Lund University, Vol. 1, No. 3/2020). Whereas the focus there was the Romanian translation of five texts excerpted from Adam Fletcher’s bilingual guide, **How to be German in 50 new steps/ Wie man Deutscher wird. In 50 neuen Schritten** (2016), our emphasis now is a practical comparison, based on the same book – yet on merely the first two topics – among the English original, the German translation and the Romanian indirect translation from German. Several lexical, grammatical, semantic and pragmatic divergences resulting throughout the translating process(es), as well as certain cases of non-equivalence, will be compared and analyzed with a view to revealing not only the losses, but mainly the gains triggered by any piece of translation.

language; meaning; non-equivalence; indirect translation.

The aim of any rather experienced translator is to render a source-language text as natural as possible into a target language, by skilfully manipulating “the linguistic material in order to produce an appropriate target text”¹. By means of comprehension and production strategies, practiced translators thus try to erase the linguistic traces of the original text, the so-called *translationese*, viewed as “the set of *fingerprints* that one language leaves on another when a text is translated between the two”².

Bluntly put it, translating has always been a sort of a niche-activity, outshined by the ‘noble’ writing of the author. Generations of readers have read Cervantes, Camus, Shakespeare, Kafka or Chekhov in thousands of translated versions all over the world. It has always been due to the outstanding work, talent and effort of the translators, that billions of people worldwide not able to read such works in original thus gained access to

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them. Nevertheless, how many of them/us have even read the translator's name in small font (yet on the first page), just below the title of the translated work? Moreover, what credit should a translation of a translation get? Not to mention the fact that, in our case, a first-rate translation (English – Romanian) would certainly have been viable at any time³. Yet, the appeal to the indirect translation (English – German – Romanian) has had certain pedagogical reasons, to be explained in what follows.

The present study aims to parallel two original texts in English (abbreviated O), their German translations (further T1) and the respective indirect translations into Romanian (marked T2). The texts, extracted from Adam Fletcher's *How to be German in 50 new steps. A Guide from Adventskranz to Tjal Wie man Deutscher wird. In 50 neuen Schritten* (2016) and continuing the *50 easy steps* to becoming German (2013), have met the selection criteria for our approach: topic-variety and -independence, the relationship between text and graphics, linguistic non-equivalence and length. Focusing on the smooth integration of foreigners in Germany, Fletcher's bilingual guide tackles on several stereotypes or *locus communis*, among others:

- the Germans' expressionlessness, their pessimism or their "pure, unbridled curiosity"⁴;
- their love of brevity, norms, wood, cash and "money-saving tips"⁵, *Volkshochschulen* (People's Universities), Scandinavia, Christmastime, mustard, coffee and cake;
- their reticence to Oktoberfest, patriotism, cards or microwaves.

The two texts, *Poker Face* (Topic 1) and *Find the Beauty in Brevity* (Topic 2), changed to authentic German interpretations due to the renowned literary translator Ingo Herzke. The German versions were collectively translated into Romanian, in 2019, at Leipzig University, within a B2-C1 *German-Romanian Translation Course* (the five Erasmus students and their teacher being native speakers of the Romanian language).

After some brief remarks on the principles of literary translating, the article continues with a practical comparison of the texts under analysis, considering aspects such as omissions or insertions, lexical enhancement and debasement, grammatical and stylistic alterations, non-equivalence and culturally related vocabulary. The study aims to draw attention to the fact that "[i]n a translation context, [...] the 'original' may also fluctuate"⁶ and that the newly translated texts will start living on their own, even if still bound to the original on the level of ideas.

Professional literary translating heavily relies on talent and work, rather than on guides or instructions. In the chapter "A day in the life of a literary translator"⁷, Landers provides various details about the daily tumult of translating literary texts. He would concurrently ponder upon lexical and register choices, the condensation/omission of words (certain dishes or animal species, natural in Portuguese, but awkward in English), partial synonymy or non-equivalence, denotations and connotations in both source

and target language. In addition to the estimated overall knowledge of the readers, as well as their "discernment to fill in the gaps"⁸, translators, in general, should consider all the encyclopaedic references, real street maps or actual quotations, further literary associations, words/phrases in another language, not to forget the author's style. At the end of such a challenging day, Landers genuinely admits:

"My hair grew 0.0082", my fingernails 0.0027", my heart beat 4320 times, I expended 659 calories, breathed 10,450 times, and translated 10 pages, making 4289 decisions in the process. I'm tired"⁹.

However, out of didactic reasons, the "Hieronymic Oath" for translators, paralleling the Hippocratic Oath, valid for doctors, should balance such an informal, yet inspiring confession. Andrew Chesterman's oath, comprising nine values, may be also opportune for an introductory translation course¹⁰:

- commitment
- loyalty
- understanding (*I will use my expertise to maximize communication and minimize misunderstanding across language barriers.*)
- truth
- clarity (*I will respect my readers by trying to make my translations as accessible as possible, according to the conditions of each translation task.*)
- trustworthiness
- truthfulness (*I will be honest about my own qualifications and limitations; I will not accept work that is outside my competence.*)
- justice
- striving for excellence (*I will do all I can to maintain and improve my competence, including all relevant linguistic, technical and other knowledge and skills.*)

The Hieronymic oath actually points out to a crucial characteristic of translations (no matter the type of translated texts), namely *readability*, clarified in a guideline on translating reports issued by The European Parliament: "make any stylistic changes that you deem necessary: e.g. feel free to split or join sentences or use paraphrases. However, the content should always be rendered with precision and without additions or omissions. You should also take care to reproduce the nuances of meaning, such as the positive/negative connotation of the words used."¹¹. Thus, first should translations be readable, retaining the target-language specificity (in our case, German or Romanian) rather than the exact wording in the source language (English). Naturally, "[t]here are alterations from one language to another. The mother tongue's perspective confronts the different outlook of the foreign language"¹². To what extent such variations – be they lexical, grammatical, semantic or stylistic – occur in T1 and T2 will be demonstrated below, in the concrete textual analysis of the three texts in the mirror – T1 as a reflection of O, and T2 as an image of T1.

As stated before, both selected topics include a visual display. In the author's view, the poker face (Topic 1) mainly describes Germanness. Eight duplicate faces (present only in the German text, not in the English original, hence Dollerup's *changing target text* mentioned above) illustrate happiness, sadness, indifference, disappointment, concern, joy, surprise and scorn, in comparison to the one different desperate face, wittingly reading as: *Kein Bier da./ No beer*. Topic 2 (*Find the Beauty in Brevity*) emphasizes a further characteristic of Germans, namely concision. Reading as a graphic counterpoise – since this time it is present in the English text and absent in the German translation, the crossword puzzle puns on the polysemy of the word *Bitte*, a ten-time valid answer for:

Oh, it was really no problem at all!

Knock yourself out.

Pardon?

After you.

The pleasure was all mine.

Go ahead.

I'm sorry?

Here you are.

Please stop that!

Please.

Naturally, our article will not reproduce here but the texts as such, namely the O's and T1's published in Munich, by C.H. Beck Publishing House, and the unpublished T2's, resulted within a practical translation course held in an academic context and mainly addressing Romanian Erasmus students at Leipzig University.

Moreover, Fletcher employs quite a lot of German words in the English original, although these lexical items do have parallels in English (they will be certainly rendered as such in T1, yet no longer italicized, since they are now included in a German text). Fletcher's appeal to German lexemes in his writing – actually a humour strategy – reads as an integration proof: all expats (the author included) should demonstrate, at all costs, their familiarity with the German society and culture.

Topic 1:

Poker Face

I would never say that Germans are less emotional than other nations. To typecast eighty million people like that? Never. Absolute no-go. However... now, **wait**, hear me out... while Germans *have* emotional *lives* just as dramatic, fantastic, and varied *as anyone else on the planet*, I would say that they're much less inclined to **show** it via their faces. The German *Nationalgesicht*, if there were such a thing, would be a poker

face – a restrained expression that gives away as little as possible. If the eyes really are *the windows* to the soul, the German *window comes* equipped with *Rollos*.

It's not that Germans don't smile, or gesticulate with their hands when **lost** in explanation or emotion. *They just want* those physical expressions – when they do *bring* them out of the bag – to have an impact. If everyone just went around giving smiles out *total kostenlos* because they've found a euro on the ground, or it's only two days until the weekend, or they are thinking about a loved one – well, that could weaken the whole emotional economy! People *might* begin smiling at even the **smallest** provocation and everyone else would, in turn, be forced to keep up, and that could trigger Hyper Emotion Inflation. There's been **more than enough** hyper-inflation in this country already, thank you **very much**. We might become Italy, where *buying* a loaf of bread requires a fifteen-minute-long mime performance. No, that won't do. To be German is to be *an M&M* – hard on the outside, soft in the middle.

Ofcourse, all this might be a problem for you, what with your *Migrationshintergrund*. Rein it in, buddy! *Because* living here is awesome, you **might be tempted** to show that by turning your mouth up at the edges, or widening your eyes in a commonly accepted display of joy, wonder, and happiness. **Don't**, *Poker Face*.

Pokerface

Ich würde niemals behaupten, dass Deutsche weniger emotional sind als andere Nationalitäten. Wie kann man achtzig Millionen Menschen so über einen Kamm scheren? Geht gar nicht! Niemals. Absolut verboten. Allerdings ... nein, **Augenblick**, lasst mich doch ausreden ... *das Gefühlleben* der Deutschen *ist* zwar ebenso dramatisch, fantastisch und abwechslungsreich wie das *aller anderen* Bewohner *dieses Planeten*, doch ich würde sagen, sie neigen weniger dazu, es sich ins Gesicht zu **schreiben**. Gäbe es ein deutsches Nationalgesicht, es wäre ein Pokerface – eine zurückhaltende Miene, die so wenig wie möglich verrät. Wenn die Augen tatsächlich *das Fenster* zur Seele sind, so *wurden die* deutschen *Fenster* von Anfang an mit Rollos ausgestattet.

Es ist nicht so, als würden die Deutschen überhaupt nicht lächeln oder gestikulieren, wenn sie vom Erklärungsbedürfnis oder einem Gefühl **mitgerissen** werden. Aber *diese körperlichen Ausdrucksformen sollen*, wenn sie denn mal aus dem Sack *gelassen werden*, auch Wirkung entfalten. Wenn alle Leute einfach Gratislächeln verteilen würden, nur weil sie einen Euro auf dem Boden gefunden haben oder es bloß noch zwei Tage bis zum Wochenende sind oder sie an einen geliebten Menschen denken – das könnte die ganze emotionale Volkswirtschaft schwächen! *Womöglich* fangen die Leute dann bei **erstbester** Gelegenheit an zu lächeln, und alle würden sich verpflichtet fühlen mitzumachen, und das könnte eine emotionale Hyperinflation auslösen. **In diesem Land** hat es **wahrlich** genug Hyperinflation gegeben, vielen Dank **auch**. Wir könnten zu einer Art Italien werden, wo *man* eine fünfzehnminütige Pantomime aufführen muss, um einen Laib Brot

zu erwerben. Nein, so geht es nicht. Deutsche sind wie **Smarties** – außen hart glasiert, innen süß schmelzend.

Für dich mit deinem Migrationshintergrund, lieber foreigner, könnte das natürlich ein Problem darstellen. Reiß dich zusammen, Kumpel! Sicher, das Leben hier ist so toll **und** du **würdest das gern** zeigen, indem du die Mundwinkel ein bisschen nach oben ziehst oder die Augen aufreißt als allgemein anerkannter Ausdruck von Freude, Begeisterung und Glück, aber: **Lass es**, Pokerface.

Poker face

N-aș fi crezut vreodată că nemții sunt mai puțin expresivi, în comparație cu alte naționalități. Oare cum *am putea* să punem în aceeași oală 80 de milioane de oameni? Chiar *n-am putea*. Nu-nu, niciodată! Exclus! Și totuși ... *stați* o clipă, să termin ... pe cât de dramatică, nemaipomenită și diversă este viața emoțională a germanilor (la urma urmei, la fel ca viața celorlalți locuitori *de pe această planetă*), pe atât constat că aceștia tind să-și exprime mai puțin trăirile. Dacă ar exista o expresie facială tipic nemțească, aceasta ar fi *poker face* – o mină reținută, care trădează cât mai puțin posibil. Dacă ochii sunt într-adevăr **oglinza** sufletului, atunci **oglinzile** nemților *ar fi acoperite* de la bun început.

Nu e ca și când nemții nu ar zâmbi sau nu ar gesticula chiar deloc, atunci când e absolută nevoie să dea o explicație sau să își exprime vreun sentiment. Dar și aceste forme de exprimare nonverbală ar trebui să aibă un efect, atunci când sunt produse spontan. Dacă toți oamenii ar zâmbi pur și simplu, în stânga și-n dreapta, doar pentru faptul că au găsit un euro pe jos, mai sunt doar două zile până la weekend sau se gândesc la o persoană dragă lor, atunci întregul sistem de emoții s-ar destabiliza la nivel național! Dacă am începe să zâmbim de la prima ocazie, toți ceilalți s-ar simți obligați să ne întoarcă zâmbetul, iar lucrul acesta ar putea declanșa o hiperinflație emoțională. De altfel, am avut parte de destulă hiperinflație în țara asta, mulțumim! Am putea ajunge să ne asemănăm într-o oarecare măsură cu Italia, unde trebuie să faci pantomimă un sfert de oră, ca să îți câștigi pâinea. Nu, așa nu merge. Pentru că nemții sunt ca bomboanele Smarties – tari pe dinafară, moi pe dinăuntru.

Pentru tine, dragul meu străin, care provii dintr-un mediu migrațional, aceasta ar putea fi, cu siguranță, o problemă. Vino-ți în fire, amice! Bineînțeles, viața este extraordinară aici, asta ai și vrea să ne arăți, ridicându-ți puțin colțul gurii sau **făcând** ochii mari, în încercarea de a afișa expresia, unanim recunoscută, de bucurie, entuziasm și fericire! Dar lasă, mai bine *poker face*!

	O (English) 309 words	T1 (German) 316 words	T (Romanian) 356 words
1. Complete alterations			
0.1. idioms/fixed expressions	3	3	3
0.2. singular occurrences	2	2	-
2. Lexical changes		9	4
3. Grammatical alterations		20	6
4. Stylistic changes			
3.1. insertion of modifiers	1	7 + 1	9 + 2
3.2. emphatic inversions		3	

* *The numbers in the table refer to the occurrences in the text, rather than to distinct lexical items.*

Table 1

1. Complete alterations

0.1. Idioms/(semi-)free translations (lexemes semantically adjusted to the target languages, the first example being a stance of complete deviation):

Paragraph 1: Engl. *to typecast*/ Germ. *über einen Kamm scheren* [lit. to have one's hair cut by the same comb]/ Rom. *a pune în aceeași oală* [lit. to place someone in the same pot as somebody else]

Paragraph 2: Engl. *giving smiles out*/ Germ. *einfach Gratslächeln verteilen* [lit. simply sharing out smiles for free]/ Rom. *ar zâmbi ... în stânga și-n dreapta* [lit. smiling to the left and to the right]

Paragraph 3: Engl. *Rein it in!*/ Germ. *Reiß dich zusammen!* [Pull yourself together!]/ Rom. *Vino-ți în fire!* [lit. Regain your consciousness/ Pull yourself together!]

0.2. Singular occurrences – lexical items to be found exclusively in O, T1 or T2:

O. **Paragraph 2:** Engl. (gesticulate) *with their hands* (sensed as pleonastic in both T1 and T2) and *went around* (omitted in T1 and T2, but implied by the verb *to share* in T1 and by the adverbial *to the left and to the right* in T2).

T1. **Paragraph 2:** Germ. [außen hart] *glasiert* (glazed) and [innen] *süß* [schmelzend] (sweetly, pleasantly)/ probably excessive in O and surely a stance of translationese in T2.

1. Lexical changes

O – T1

Paragraph 1:

wait – *Augenblick* (just a moment)/ sharing the same semantic domain, but lexically and grammatically different (verb - noun)

to show – *schreiben* (to write)

Paragraph 2:

lost – *mitgerißen* (carried away)/lexical enhancement in T1

smallest [provocation] – *erstbester* (the very first)

more than [enough] – *wahrlich* (truly, indeed)

[thank you] *very much* – *auch* (too)

M&M – *Smarties*/ although an Englishman himself, Fletcher favours the American brand M&M, whereas Herzke prefers the British Smarties. *De gustibus non est disputandum* ...

Paragraph 3:

[you] *might be tempted* [to show] - du *würdest das gern* [zeigen] (you would like to show)/ external temptation in O versus a personal choice in T1

Don't ... – *Lass es* ... (Forget it/ Stop it ...).

T1 – T2

Paragraph 1: In T2, the windows become *mirrors* (singular *oglinza*, plural *oglinzile*) to the soul, as it is common in the Romanian language. Therefore, the verb ‘equipped’ (with roller blinds) makes no longer sense, being replaced by the verb ‘covered’ (*acoperite*).

Paragraph 3: *Widening* your eyes semantically changes into the literal ‘making your eyes big’ (*făcând ochii mari*).

2. Grammatical changes

O – T1

Paragraph 1:

Germans have emotional lives just as dramatic, ... as anyone else on the planet – *das Gefühlsleben der Deutschen ist zwar ebenso dramatisch, ... wie das aller anderen Bewohner dieses Planeten* (the Germans’ emotional life is just as dramatic, ... as the one of all the other inhabitants of this planet)/ different subjects in O and T1, three Genitives in a row in T1.

[*the eyes really are*] *the windows to the soul, the German window comes equipped with Rollos* – [*die Augen tatsächlich*] *das Fenster zur Seele sind, so wurden die deutschen Fenster von Anfang an mit Rollos ausgestattet* (the eyes really are the window to the soul, so were the German windows equipped with roller blinds from the very beginning)/ plural and singular form of ‘window’ in O versus singular and plural form of ‘window’ in T1; present tense in O, past tense in T1.

Paragraph 2:

They just want those physical expressions – when they do bring them out of the bag ... – *Aber diese körperlichen Ausdrucksformen sollen, wenn sie denn mal aus dem Sack gelassen werden ...* (but these physical expressions should, when they are left out of the bag ...)/ different subjects in O and T1, verb ‘want’ versus modal verb ‘should’, demonstrative ‘those’ versus ‘these’, active versus passive voice.

People might begin ... - *Womöglich fangen die Leute dann ...* (Maybe people begin ...)/modal verb ‘might’ semantically rendered by the adverb *womöglich* (possibly, maybe).

where buying a loaf of bread requires a ... performance - wo man eine ... aufführen muss ... (where one/we must perform a...)/different subjects in O and T1, noun ‘performance’ vs. verb ‘perform’.

To be German is to be an M&M – Deutsche sind wie Smarties (Germans are like Smarties)/subject (infinitive), singular copulative verb and complement vs. plural subject (noun), copulative verb and complement in the plural.

Paragraph 3:

Because living here is awesome, you ... – *... das Leben hier ist so toll und du ...* (life here is awesome and you ...)/causal sentence (subject = present participle) + main clause in O vs. two main clauses (subjects = noun and pronoun) linked by ‘and’ in T1.

T1 – T2

Paragraph 1: In T2, the unreal situation expressed by the present conditional ‘would + verb’ (*I would never say that ...*) has been translated with the past conditional ‘would have + past participle’ (*n-aş fi crezut/I would have never believed that ...*), thus describing an impossible situation. Such a choice turned to be the most appropriate, semantically and stylistically, in the translation context; however, the primary meaning was not completely altered, given the author’s ulterior explanations (he does believe that Germans are less emotional than others, at least manifestly).

Moreover, the real situations conveyed in T1 by the present tense of the verb ‘can’ and ‘work’ are rendered in T2 by the double present conditional, given the rhetorical question: ‘How could we typecast ...? We could never.’ (The variant *It doesn't work at all!* in O would have been here an odd-man-out). Interestingly enough, each text makes use of a different subject: an impersonal infinitive in O (*To typecast ...?*), the neutral pronoun *man* (anyone) in T1 (*How can anyone typecast ...?*) and the first-person plural inclusive pronoun *we* in T2 (*How could we typecast ...?*). Another case in point relates to the Germans’ opaque (covered) mirrors/ windows to the soul, still sensed in T2 as hypothetical (*ar fi acoperite/would be covered*).

At the same time, even not considering O at all, T2 blended an O-variant and a T1-choice: *However... wait A MOMENT/ A SECOND* – a softer imperative, and *the Germans’ emotional life is just as dramatic, ... as the one of all the other inhabitants ON*

this planet, the presence of a third Genitive being regarded as excessive in an informal text.

4. Stylistic changes

4.1. Insertion of modifiers

O: 1 modifier

Paragraph 2: well

T1: 7 modifiers + 1 sentence

Paragraph 2: überhaupt (ever, at all), *nur* (only), *noch* (still), *zu einer Art* (to some extent, somehow)

Geht gar nicht! (It doesn't work at all!) emphasizes the impossibility to typecast the entire German population, actually a singular occurrence in T1, but sensed as a further sentential intensifier, together with the negative expressions *never* and *Absolute no-go*.

Paragraph 3: *lieber foreigner* (dear foreigner), *sicher* (certainly), *aber* (but)

T2: 9 modifiers + 2 connectors

Paragraph 1: *oare* (possibly, ever), *și* (and), *la urma urmei* (eventually), [*de la*] *bun* [început] (*from the very beginning*)

Paragraph 2: *chiar deloc* (at all), *absolută* (utter), *pur și simplu* (simply)

The conjunction *because* (*pentru că*) and the intersentential connector *anyway* (*de altfel*) are inserted in T2 in order to provide textual cohesion: *Pentru că nemții sunt ca bomboanele Smarties* (Because Germans are like the Smarties candies) or *De altfel, am avut parte de destulă hiperinflație în țara asta* (Anyway, we have had enough hyper-inflation in this country).

Paragraph 3: [*dragul*] *meu* [*străin*] (my *dear foreigner*), *mai bine* (better/ rather)

Such modifying words typically moderate the ideas or the statements present in each text (e.g. T1 prefers a partial comparison to Italy or a direct addressing to the foreigner), with the exception of the negative sentence in T1 (*Geht gar nicht!*/It doesn't work at all!), acting as an intensifier, not a softener. Aware of the cultural and social distance between Germans and foreigners, and careful not to offend (also by preferring the English term to the much blamed *Ausländer*), the German translator inserts the friendly *dear foreigner*, actually absent from O. The Romanian team of translators has come even closer to the imaginary foreign interlocutor, by further introducing the possessive pronoun "my" (its absence would generate a slightly ironical occurrence in the Romanian language).

3.2. Emphatic inversions

O – T1

Paragraph 1:

Germans have emotional lives ... – das Gefühlsleben der Deutschen ist ... (the Germans' emotional life is ...)

Paragraph 2:

They just want those physical expressions ... – ... diese körperlichen Ausdrucksformen sollen ... (these physical expressions should ...)

There's been more than enough hyper-inflation in this country – In diesem Land hat es wahrlich genug Hyperinflation gegeben (in this country there has been enough hyper-inflation indeed).

In T1, the focus shifts to the concrete aspects of Germany (*emotional life, physical expressions*), which have become subjects, and to the country itself, which has been placed on the first position in the sentence.

As we can easily notice from Table 1 and the previous analysis, T1 is usually the boldest translation in terms of deviating from O – due to Herzke's expertise in literary translating, and T2 the meekest (with the exception of modifier-insertion, when T2 holds the record), given its didactic context.

Topic 2:

Find the beauty in brevity

Brevity is not just about the **face**. While *some cultures might rush* to fill their sentences and silences with inane chatter, here, people have realised that there **is** a certain noble beauty to brevity. Just because you're **out** with your *Ehepartner* in a restaurant doesn't mean you have to talk to each other. What have you to say that *you've not already said?* Exactly. Nothing. Just because you *have had* a feeling, it doesn't mean you should automatically feel a need to share it. **Everyone** has feelings. Big deal. See someone you know in the *Hof*? Don't **have** an awkward conversation about the weather. Just "*Guten Tag*" them and get on with your day. **So what if** they're your next-door neighbour? There will be plenty of other chances **to talk** to them then, **won't there?** You might have heard the English expression "loose lips sink ships." Here, it's more like "loose lips sink *friendships*."

Because words are precious, *don't cheapen* them with poly-sentence-filla. Short and sweet is fine. If there's not enough time for that, just go with short. Short and sour usually also works, in case you're **wondering**. I could say more, but really, why? Let's stop here and both enjoy the beauty of brevity. *Ende der Diskussion*.

In der Kürze liegt die Würze

Dabei geht es nicht nur ums **Mienenspiel**. Während *man* in manchen Kulturen **immerzu** jeden Satz und jede Stille mit fadem Geschnatter *füllt*, haben die Menschen hier erkannt, dass in der Kürze eine gewisse edle Schönheit **liegt**. Bloß weil du mit deinem Ehepartner im Restaurant **sitzt**, müsst ihr ja nicht miteinander reden. Was habt ihr schon zu sagen, *was noch nicht gesagt wurde*? Eben. Nichts. Bloß weil du ein Gefühl *hast*, musst du es ja nicht unbedingt gleich teilen. **Gefühle** hat jeder. Große Sache. Du siehst im Innenhof jemanden, den du kennst? **Fang** kein unbeholfenes Gespräch über das Wetter **an**. Einfach «Guten Tag», und weiter geht's. Dann ist es eben dein Wohnungsnachbar – **ja und**? Da hast du ja noch reichlich Gelegenheit **für Gespräche, oder**?

Weil Worte kostbar sind, *sollte man* sie nicht mit Satz-Moltofill entwerten. Kurz und süß ist wunderbar. Wenn die Zeit dafür nicht reicht, dann eben nur kurz. Kurz und sauer geht meistens auch, falls du das **fragen wolltest**. Ich könnte dir noch viel mehr erzählen, aber warum eigentlich? Halten wir inne und genießen gemeinsam die Schönheit der Kürze. Ende der Diskussion.

Vorba multă, sărăcia omului

Nu e vorba, în cazul de față, doar despre mimică. Dacă în unele culturi se obișnuiește ca fiecare propoziție și fiecare moment de liniște să fie urmate de vorbe goale, oamenii locului, adică nemții, și-au dat seama că în concizie se ascunde o anumită noblețe.

Doar pentru că *ești* într-un restaurant cu soțul sau soția, nu înseamnă că trebuie să vorbești neapărat unul cu celălalt. Ce mai aveți să vă spuneți și *nu v-ați spus* deja? Tocmai. Nimic. Doar pentru că simți ceva anume, nu trebuie să și împărtășești imediat acest lucru. **Toată lumea simte**. Mare lucru! Vezi un cunoscut prin curte? Nu începe vreo discuție banală despre vreme. Un simplu *Bună ziua și atât*. Dar este vorba chiar despre vecinul tău – și ce? **Nu** aveți destule ocazii **să tot vorbiți**?

Deoarece cuvintele sunt prețioase, nu ar trebui să le devalorizăm prin fraze interminabile. Vorba dulce, scurt și la obiect, **mult aduce!** Când nu-ți ajunge timpul, atunci mai bine numai scurt și la obiect. În egală măsură, merg și vorbele tăioase, în caz că tocmai te întreabai. Încă ți-aș mai putea spune **câte ceva**, dar la ce bun? Mai bine să le păstrăm pentru noi și să ne bucurăm de frumusețea conciziei. **Punct**.

	O (English) 214 words	T1 (German) 189 words	T 2 (Romanian) 207 words
1. Complete alterations			
1.1. idioms/fixed expressions	1	1	1
1.2. singular occurrences	6 + 7 (2 sentences)	2	5

2.	Lexical changes	10	6
3.	Grammatical alterations	5	2
4.	Stylistic changes		
3.3.	insertion of modifiers	5	1 connector
3.4.	emphatic inversion	1	

* The numbers in the table refer to the occurrences in the text, rather than to distinct lexical items.

Table 2

1. Complete alterations

0.1. Idioms/ free translations (lexemes semantically adjusted to the target languages):

Although lexically different, the three titles represent happy choices in each language, since they are culturally related proverbs: *Find the beauty in brevity*/Germ. *In der Kürze liegt die Würze* [rhyming idiom: brevity is the soul of wit]/ Rom. *Vorba multă, sărăcia omului* [idiom: too much speaking leads to poverty].

0.2. Singular occurrences – lexical items to be found exclusively in O, T1 or T2.

O. Paragraph 1:

(Just because you're out ...) *doesn't mean* (you have to talk to each other)

(Just because you have had a feeling), *it doesn't mean* (you should automatically feel a need .../the two-time occurrence *it doesn't mean* might have been perceived as redundant in T1

(Just "Guten Tag") *them* (and get on) *with your day*./ Fletcher humorously uses the Good-Day greeting as a verb – 'just good-day them'

(... plenty of other chances to talk) *to them* .../O focuses on the interlocutor, T1, on the speaker

You might have heard the English expression "loose lips sink ships." Here, it's more like "loose lips sink friendships." There would have been no rhyme or reason to translate such a section, therefore it lacks completely in T1 (and naturally in T2), due to its semantic and pragmatic difficulties, a challenge any expert translator would hardly face. Rendered in another language, not only the pun and the alliterations would be lost, but also the readability of the translated text – the translator thus overlooked them completely, preferring quality and professionalism to quantity and translationese.

T1. Paragraph 1:

In order to disambiguate the context, the German translator added the adjective *Innen-*, to the noun *Hof* present in O (Engl. farmyard, farm or yard), thus restricting the rather elusive meaning to courtyard (*Innenhof*).

Paragraph 2: (Ich könnte) *dir* noch viel (mehr erzählen) – I could tell you much more .../ this time, O focuses on the speaker, while T1, on the interlocutor (direct addressing).

T2. Paragraph 1:

The adverb *here* in the sentence *here, people have realised ...* is rather ambiguous, most likely referring to Romanians, given the Romanian translation. This is the reason why there is a new occurrence explaining it: (people here, *namely the Germans – adică nemții*, have realised ...)

Paragraph 1/2 (detached from Paragraph 1, since it introduces a new idea):

The *Ehepartner* translates as ‘spouse’ (either male or female) rather than ‘husband’, so we felt the need to insert the feminine noun in T2, *soția* (wife), next to the masculine counterpart, out of political correctness. Interestingly, the above-mentioned verb (Just because you’re out ...) *doesn’t mean*, present in O, also appears in T2, yet not in T1.

Paragraph 2/3:

The clear-cut sentence in O and T1 *Short and sweet is fine*. would unfortunately make no sense as such in T2, so we appealed to a proverb: *Vorba dulce, scurt și la obiect, mult aduce!* (lit. Sweet talk brings a lot!), that we actually cleaved by the adverbial *scurt și la obiect*, in the attempt to retain the very idea of terseness present in O and T1 – hence: Sweet talk, *brief and to the point*, brings a lot!)

1. **Lexical changes**

O – T1

Paragraph 1:

brevity – dabei (thereby)/ O refers to the main idea of the text, whereas T1, to the proverb-title

face – Mienenspiel (facial expressions)/lexical enhancement in T1

[While some cultures might] *rush* – [Während man in manchen Kulturen] *immerzu ... füllt* (While in some cultures one always fills ...)/O focuses on the speaker’s futile haste of their filling the pauses with chatter, whereas T1 actually states his/her routine-like filling them with prattle.

[there] *is* [a certain noble beauty] – [eine gewisse edle Schönheit] *liegt* (a certain noble beauty lies in .../rather formal style in T1

[Just because] *you’re out* [...] – [Bloß weil du ... im Restaurant] *sitzt* (you are sitting ... in a restaurant)/more concrete in T1

Don’t *have* an awkward conversation ... - *Fang* kein unbeholfenes Gespräch ... *an* (Don’t start any ...)/ a more appropriate verb in T1

So what if they’re your next-door neighbour? – Dann ist es eben dein Wohnungsnachbar – *ja und?* (lit. It is just your next-door neighbour – yes, and?)/a

very common informal expression in T1

There will be plenty of other chances *to talk ...*, *won’t there?* - Da hast du ja noch reichlich Gelegenheit *für Gespräche, oder?* (lit. But of course you have plenty of occasions for talks, or?)/the verb and the noun share the same semantic domain, while the tag-question is rendered colloquially in T1.

Paragraph 2:

Short and sour usually also works, in case *you’re wondering* – Kurz und sauer geht meistens auch, falls du das *fragen wolltest* (... you wanted to ask)/a different nuance in T1

T1 – T2

Paragraph 1:

Un simplu *Bună ziua și atât*. (lit. A simple Good day and *enough/ that’s it.*)/an implied verb in a concise sentence

Nu aveți destule ocazii să tot vorbiți? (*Don’t* you have enough chances *to talk again?*)/ a third variant of a rhetorical question, using a negative verb

Paragraph 2:

Vorba dulce, scurt și la obiect, mult aduce! (Sweet talk, brief and to the point, *brings a lot!*)/a rhyming paraphrase of the original *Sweet and short is fine*.

Încă ți-aș mai putea spune *câte ceva* ... (I could still tell you one or two things more ...)/authentic rendering in T2

Punct. (Full stop.), as a more suitable variant for *Ende der Diskussion* (End of discussion.)

2. **Grammatical changes**

O – T1

Paragraph 1:

While *some cultures might* *rush* – Während *man* in manchen Kulturen *immerzu ... füllt* (While in some cultures *one* always *fills* ...)/different subjects, modal verb in O, present tense in T1

What have you to say that *you’ve not already said?* – Was habt ihr schon zu sagen, *was noch nicht gesagt wurde?* (What do you still have to say that *hasn’t been said yet?*)/ active vs. passive voice

Just because you *have had* a feeling ... – Bloß weil du ein Gefühl *hast* ... (Just because you *have* a feeling ...)/present perfect vs. present

Paragraph 2:

Because words are precious, *don’t cheapen* them ... – Weil Worte kostbar sind, *sollte man* sie nicht ... entwerten. (Because words are precious, one *should not cheapen* them ...)/ imperative vs. modal verb (recommendation).

T1 – T2**Paragraph 1/2:**

Doar pentru că *ești* într-un restaurant ... (Just because you *are* in a restaurant ...)

Ce mai aveți să vă spuneți și *nu v-ați spus* deja? (What do you still have to say to each other and *you've not already said*?) T2 retains the active voice in O, thus deviating from T1.

4. Stylistic changes**4.1. Insertion of modifiers****O – T1****Paragraph 1:**

... müsst ihr *ja nicht* miteinander reden (you don't *really* have to talk to each other)

... musst du es *ja nicht* unbedingt gleich teilen (*actually* you shouldn't automatically share it at once)

Dann ist es *eben* dein Wohnungsnachbar (But they're *exactly* your next-door neighbour)

Da hast du *ja noch* reichlich Gelegenheit für Gespräche, oder? (lit. But you *surely* have plenty of chances for talks, or?)

Paragraph 2:

Ich könnte dir noch *viel* mehr erzählen ... (I could tell you much more ...) / the intensifier *much*, in comparison to the neutral *I could say more* in O.

T1 – T2**Paragraph 2/3:**

Although there are quite a few modifiers in T2, they are actually no new occurrences, but counterparts of the modifiers in T1 (still, exactly etc.), so they will not be taken into account here. The only modifier, the connector *În egală măsură* (at the same time), in front of *Short and sour usually also works*, overtly achieves textual cohesion.

4.2. Emphatic inversions**Paragraph 1/2:**

Everyone has feelings. – *Gefühle* hat jeder (*Feelings* has anyone.) – Toată lumea *simte* (All the people *feel*.) / both O and T1 make use of the noun 'feelings', emphasized in T1, whereas T2 employs the verb 'to feel'.

From a translating perspective, Topic 2 is slightly different from Topic 1 – although the German text is still the more deviant, the English original has the most singular occurrences (13) and the most words (214) of the three texts, due to the two omitted sentences in T1 (and logically in T2).

The present article has attempted to demonstrate the linguistic beauty of rendering identical ideas in three different languages: an English original, a German translation and a Romanian indirect translation. The primary literature represented two informal texts tackling on the stereotypical apathy and terseness of Germans, each original text reflecting in a double mirror – through the German-language lenses, which further replicate a Romanian linguistic image. Landers's assertion that such a second-hand translation is a pitiable copy of a copy (2001: *passim*) should be to some extent reconsidered, since interlanguage translations cannot be reduced to mere frozen images, nor to one-to-one Excel tables. Every translated text is to become, after countless revisions, a completely autonomous version – the English *ideata* accordingly rendered into English, German and Romanian *data*.

As illustrated in the concrete analyses above, there have been times when the translations broke loose from their respective 'original' or when the Romanian indirect translation incredibly remade the English original texts, although not considering them at all during the translating process. At the same time, the fact that T1 and T2 are typically more expressive than O triggers the conclusion that translators tend to be more vigilant to stylistic accuracy. The German translator's expertise also reads in the many alterations in T1, in comparison to the fewer changes occurring in T2. Moreover, for the sake of keeping the translation readable and authentic, Herzke omitted a substantial amount from the source-text, favouring comprehension over translationese.

No matter how analogous or dissimilar the three textual versions are, they should always be perceived independently, as meaningful entities in the target language. As to our indirect translations, we can admit that every final choice was filtered through the native speaker's reason and intuition, since the latter plays a crucial role in translation. Concerning the query at the beginning of our present study, *Mirror, mirror on the wall/ Who is the fairest of them all?*, we hope that it has just acquired the function of a rhetorical question.

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Notes

- 1 Andrew Chesterman, *Memes of Translation. The Spread of Ideas in Translation Theory*. (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016), 89.

- 2 Iørn Korzen, Morten Gylling, "Text Structure in a Contrastive and Translational Perspective. On Information Density and Clause Linkage in Italian and Danish", in *Translation: Computation, Corpora, Cognition* (TC3), Vol. 2, No. 1, Mainz: Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität, Jul 2012), 29.
 - 3 Sapiro in Magda Jeanrenaud, "Câteva reflecții cu privire la starea traductologiei românești", in *Diacronia* 2, 17 July 2015, 8, <http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/journal/issue/2/A20/ro/pdf> discusses on the statuses of languages in the translation studies, English occupying a *hyper-central* position, followed by German, French and Russian, on a *central* one; some others are situated on a *semi-peripheral* place, whereas all the others covering less than 1 % of the translation market classify as *peripheral* languages. In our opinion, Romanian may be included among the (semi-)peripheral languages.
 - 4 Adam Fletcher, *How to be German in 50 new steps/Wie man Deutscher wird. In 50 neuen Schritten* (München: C. H. Beck, 2016), 54.
 - 5 *idem*, 42.
 - 6 In "The Vanishing Original" (2004), Dollerup signals the existence of 'changing originals' (e.g. literary translations) and 'changing target texts' (e.g. tourist brochures), even of 'absent originals' (e.g. installation manuals).
- Cay Dollerup, "The Vanishing Original", in *Hermes, Journal of Linguistics*, no. 32-2004, 189.
- 7 Clifford E. Landers, *Literary Translation. A Practical Guide* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2001), 38-44.
 - 8 *idem*, 43.
 - 9 *ibidem*, 44.
 - 10 Andrew Chesterman, *Memes of Translation. The Spread of Ideas in Translation Theory* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016), 192-193.
 - 11 *** Council of the European Union. General Secretariat. *Brief for Translating Reports. Instructions for Translators*, <<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/trad/etu/pdf/Brief%20for%20translating%20reports.pdf>>, 30/01/2020, 1.
 - 12 Herta Müller, "În fiecare limbă sunt alți ochi" (*Each Language with Its Own Eyes*), *Lettre Internationale* – Romanian Edition 41-42/2002, 77, <<https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=126000>>.

Game of Thrones – A Conceptual Framework

Bettina Ene*

The study displays the conceptual framework, the assumptions that underpin and detail our perspectives on constructed language use both in the worlds of fiction and actual world, and the scientific rationale behind the present investigation. Our research objective was to point out the perspicuous distinctions between the employment of constructed languages within fiction, respectively fictional worlds, and their use in the actual world. The aim of the present chapter was to clearly state our ontological and epistemological perspectives on the nature of our target languages, and argue the proposition according to which these languages do not exist beyond the worlds of fiction and we only have a fragmentary understanding thereof. The study acknowledges the fact that our perception of the fictional world is an absolutely limited one and all the evidence we currently own is based on what we were able to retrieve from our research data (written and audio materials). However, we cannot neglect or ignore the possibility of the existence of other phenomena in the worlds of fiction that we have no understanding of. The focal interest of our thesis was to explore the plural worlds of fiction and the notion of transfiction or the transfiction use of our target constructed languages. Under these considerations, we wished to offer a broader theoretical overview of the most relevant concepts that we adopted to the context of our investigation and relate to our research objectives.

fictional worlds; plural worlds of fiction; constructed languages; Game of Thrones; Dothraki; High Valyrian; counterpart theory; transworld identity.

1. Introduction

The present study wishes to offer an in-depth description of the theoretical framework that underpins our hypothesis and perspectives on constructed language use within the worlds of fiction and the actual world. In the present paper, we wish to address the theories, concepts and 'tools' that we have employed throughout our investigation and describe the relevance thereof to our research objectives.

Our study is based on the premise according to which there is a clear distinction between the use of our target constructed languages in the worlds of fiction, namely the use of the Dothraki and High Valyrian languages by the fictional Dothraki people (and/or some other characteres from the TV series), respectively their employment in

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the actual world by social media users. Let us note that we did not only diagnose the employment of Dothraki and Valyrian in the GoT¹ fanbase members' discourse, but also the reconstruction thereof to a certain extent. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that our investigation is a sociolinguistic excursion into these online communities' language activity, where we scrutinized their discourse patterns with regard to constructed language employment within online social media platforms, displayed through different posts and comments in their interpersonal communication.

We must specify that our research standpoint is from the actual world's perspective, according to which there is a "bridge" that connects the actual world to the world or worlds of fiction, that the specialized literature refers to as counterpart theory or transworld identity. However, we are going to address this topic later in this chapter.

In order to have a clear view on the above-mentioned phenomena, we must have a solid grasp of the notion of fiction first. We know that fiction describes a world or worlds of fiction and the collected empirical research data (audio materials in Dothraki and High Valyrian) belong to this world of fiction. It is important to understand that these written and audio materials we scrutinized in the present research paper do not exist in the actual world, but they completely belong to the world of fiction, a world which does not exist. On such grounds, we must also point out the fact that the images and fictional discourse presented in a visual form (the HBO TV series, *Game of Thrones*, in our case) lack the capability of capturing everything. We only know what is displayed on screen, what we are able to see and hear and what is being captured in a few images or sounds. However, this very limited access of ours to the world of fiction does not rule out the possibility of the existence of other things that we do not have knowledge of. This fact leads us again to the conclusion that we have a restricted perception and access to the world of fiction.

We must also point out the fact that our target languages are not fully-developed languages; they have restricted grammar, vocabulary and phonetics. This is an important detail which justifies the reason why the focal interest of our study was to attempt to 'fill in the missing gaps' – the things that images and sounds cannot fully capture. Therefore, we worked with what we had understanding of, with what was *explicit* in the TV series/text, namely the Dothraki people, their culture and language.

However, our investigation does not only refer to the worlds of fiction, but also to the actual world, where digi-citizens of various social media platforms try to fill in the missing details, too, by re-constructing the Dothraki and Valyrian languages within various fanbases on social media platforms. They have no solid knowledge of the real nature of these conlangs², therefore they can only *assume* by scrutinizing the restricted grammar, vocabulary, phonetics thereof, but also taking into account culture-related details that help them create a similar Dothraki and Valyrian to the ones employed in the TV series. By adding new words, grammar rules and structures to these conlangs, the members of the GoT fanbase are essentially creating completely new languages.

The newly created conlangs might bear several striking similarities to the original ones, however they are two distinct languages.

Essentially, what is happening during the re-construction phase of Dothraki and Valyrian within these online digital platforms, is basically the production of another Dothraki and Valyrian language. What is noteworthy to mention, however, is that we are unable to verify the veracity or correctness of the Dothraki and Valyrian version created by the digital fanbase's members, therefore we cannot claim whether it is right or wrong. Because we find ourselves in the impossibility of verifying certain phenomena, we consider it important to point out the fact that our hypotheses and statements are pure *speculation*. Consequently, we tried to scrutinize those fictional elements that captured certain *salient features* that helped us construct, respectively re-construct, our target languages.

In order to have a better understanding of the above-discussed issues, we propose that in the following part of our paper we discuss some of the most relevant theories suggested by the leading proponents of fictional worlds and plural worlds of fiction, and argue the reasoning behind one particular theoretical framework selection that align with our epistemological position. We will also try to describe the most relevant tools and concepts that helped us have a clearer view of the topic under investigation.

Fiction has always been a highly topical issue amongst the most important scholars and philosophers. After a closer literature review, we can easily observe that there are several disputes over the topic of fictionality of certain phenomena, and all of the hypotheses are logically argued. Therefore, we found it very difficult to identify that one theoretical framework that was perfectly compatible with our viewpoint and try to address our topic from the right theoretical perspective.

In his book entitled *Topics in the Semantics of Names and Discourse*, Oltean³ makes an account of the most remarkable names in the specialized literature and their views on fiction. One of the philosophers who firmly expressed his standpoint on the logic of fiction was Gottlob Frege (1960 [1892]), who considered that "reference can be only to that which exists, and that existence is identical with being actual or occurring in the physical world, he denied fiction the capacity to refer, given that its sentences are about imaginary entities". Bertrand Russell (1919) continues along the same line, asserting that "only one world exists" limiting existence to the actual world⁴. Oltean explains that "this reflects a basic position on the question of reference (and truth), which is defined as a relation between linguistic expressions and their denotata in the real world. In this view, fiction has no extension in the actual world, and so it does not refer"⁵.

The third viewpoint on fiction is asserted by Alexius Meinong⁶, who "advanced the idea that discourse can be about 'nonexistent objects', e.g. "the golden mountain", "the round square", noticing that common thinking ranges beyond what actually exists⁷. It is interesting to notice, however, how highly contradictory the above-stated theories

are, but somehow they make perfect sense when taken individually. Oltean concludes that "there are two types of entities – those in the actual world, endowed with existence, and those deprived of existence – , fiction might be taken to refer to something that does not exist"⁸.

However, Meinong's previous position was strongly disapproved by Russell, asserting that "Meinong's theory violates a 'robust sense of reality'"⁹, that what exists with regard to myth or fiction are the thoughts of a person about such things. So, our actual world would not include Hamlet, but only Shakespeare's thoughts when he wrote the play or our thoughts when we see it¹⁰.

In the next part of the paper, we will illustrate a very interesting, but controversial perspective with respect to fictional realities and truth in fiction amongst scholars. Oltean¹¹ proposes an answer to the question of fictional realities, respectively truth in fiction from the possible worlds semantics perspective. According to him, 'within this framework reference/extensionality is no longer an actual world characteristic, but it expands, encompassing an *unlimited* or *infinite* number of *worlds* or *situations*, relative to which semantic values can be assigned not only to referential, but also to non-referential terms (e. g. names of fictional entities, such as *faery* or *unicorn*, which have, in this account extensions of a corresponding type in worlds different from the actual world).'

In this respect, we might consider applying this particular 'lens' on our research topic at this point, since we deal with extensions/references in worlds different from the actual world, such as the *Dothraki people*; *Khal Drogo*¹²; *Khal Fogo*¹³; *Khal Saddo*¹⁴; *khal*¹⁵; *khaleesi*¹⁶; *dosh khaleen*¹⁷; *maegi*¹⁸; *khasar*¹⁹; *dothrakhqoyi*²⁰, etc. These are all non-referential terms – they are all fictional entities that do not exist in the actual world – but they do have "extensions of a corresponding type in worlds different from the actual world"²¹ – in the *Game of Thrones*' universe in our case, where horselords, sorceresses or dragons are accepted entities within the world of fiction.

However, before concluding whether this particular theoretical framework applies to our topic of investigation or not, we suggest delving into the notion of possible worlds more deeply and have a closer look at the theories proposed by logicians and semanticists in the field. Oltean²² illustrates the above-stated theory by giving the following examples:

- 1) *The Chancellor of Germany is a woman.*
- 2) *President Barack Obama is on planet Mars.*
- 3) *The Pope is a woman.*

According to his observations, each of the above-listed sentences "describes a situation, but only (1) corresponds to what is actual, i.e., what is real and what can be verified". He concludes that "the sentence is true, its truth-value is 'true'". Interestingly, the second sentence describes a non-actual, but possible, situation (e.g. in the future or

in some fiction). The third sentence describes a similar situation (i.e. non-actual, but possible, in the future, for instance); its truth value is "false", which means false at the actual world²³.

Oltean concludes by asserting that "the three sentences illustrate the fact that situations can be temporally located – (1) is true at present, but false in the past –, spatially unlimited (2) and non-actual (3). While the first situation is actual or real, the last two are *possible situations* or *possible worlds*. Possible worlds are thus *alternative circumstances*"²⁴, or in Lewis's view²⁵, "a way things might be, not necessarily the way they are". In Portner's view²⁶, however, such situations are "partial descriptions of some worlds, with lots of details left out, while worlds are complete ways in which the world could be".

Taking into account all the theories and assumptions with respect to possible worlds or/and situations, we conclude that this theoretical framework cannot be applied to our topic of investigation because of a couple of reasons. Firstly, even if we consider the *Game of Thrones* universe a situation that partially describes some worlds, in reality it does not correspond to any of the above-discussed options. Let us consider the following example: "The Dothraki language is spoken by the Dothraki: a population of loosely confederated bands of horse-riding warriors who make their home on the steppes of Essos. Dothraki is a lightly inflectional language related to the Lhazareen language, and can be used by a number of residents of the Free Cities, many of whom live in fear of Dothraki raiding parties."²⁷ We can observe that the above-illustrated example describes at least four different situations:

- 1) The Dothraki language is spoken by the Dothraki.
- 2) The horse-riding warriors make their home on the steppes of Essos.
- 3) The Dothraki language can be used by a number of residents of the Free Cities.
- 4) The residents of the Free Cities live in fear of Dothraki raiding parties.

Considering these situations according to the theories and assumptions with respect to possible worlds, we can easily notice an undeniable fact, namely that all the above-illustrated examples from the *Game of Thrones* universe, unlike the ones illustrated earlier in the paper, cannot be possibly verified at the actual world. Either situation we take as an example (1-4), we cannot possibly apply any of the already-stated theories to it.

Let us consider the third situation: "*The Dothraki language can be used by a number of residents of the Free Cities.*". If we were to explain this given situation from the possible worlds perspective, we would reach the following conclusion: 1) we cannot conclude that the sentence is true and its truth-value is *true*, since the Dothraki language and the residents of the Free Cities are absolute fictional entities, thus they do not exist;

2) the sentence describes a possible situation (only in fiction), but never an actual or temporary one; 3) the third explanation would be that the given sentence describes a non-actual, but also impossible situation in the future, for instance, because its truth-value is false, which means that it's *false* at the actual world.

To conclude, if we apply Oltean's²⁸ analysis to our example, we observe that the sentence cannot be temporarily located (because it is neither true in the present, nor in the past). It might, however, be spatially unlimited (i.e. *the Free Cities*), and non-actual (but with the absolute impossibility of becoming actual, unlike Oltean's²⁹ earlier suggested example "*the Pope is a woman*" – which might become possible at a given point in the future, for instance). In this respect, we conclude that the theory of possible worlds does not apply to the present situation, because our examples describe neither actual, nor possible situations/ possible worlds or "alternative, counterfactual circumstances"³⁰.

Oltean³¹ asserts that "while with nonfictional narratives the notion of possible world can be expected to be operational and useful, in the case of fiction its application runs into what might seem unsurpassable difficulties, which raises the question of how relevant such an approach is". Currie³² and Pavel³³ claim that "among the major reasons are the *indeterminacy* with respect to truth and the possible *inconsistency* or *contradictory* nature of fictions"³⁴. However, what *could* be applied to the above-described situation, is the theory of *impossible worlds*; or "worlds in which the sum of the angles of a triangle is 90 degrees"³⁵; in the present case, worlds in which "the Dothraki language exists and it is spoken by the Dothraki people", "the horse-riding warriors make their home on the steppes of Essos"³⁶ or "the Dothraki language is used by a number of residents of the Free Cities"³⁷. *Impossible Worlds* "enable us to work with the *reductio ad absurdum*"³⁸.

In the upcoming part of our paper, we suggest considering a few different standpoints with regard to possible worlds. Kripke³⁹, for instance, developed a theory within the modal semantics framework, in which he "defined the formal structure of the theory as an ordered triple consisting of a set of possible worlds, of the actual world, and of a relation of relative possibility or accessibility defined over worlds, meant to capture the fact that some worlds are *accessible* from the world one starts with"⁴⁰. Oltean makes an account of some other of the proponents of this particular theory of possible worlds, and he claims that beside Kripke, "for Robert C. Stalnaker⁴¹ as well as for Nicholas Rescher⁴² or Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet⁴³ possible worlds are abstract objects which are produced, rather than discovered, 'through human activities' such as "using language and interpreting expressions" or dreaming, and fantasizing⁴⁴.

Plantinga⁴⁵, however, has a completely different view on the matter, finding similarities between possible worlds and the actual world. According to him, "possible worlds are *complete* or *maximal*, and are consistent, containing only states of affairs that do not violate the laws of logic; they can be identified with the concept of universe"⁴⁶. He continues along the same line claiming that possible worlds

contain states of things that can be verified and are determinate with respect to truth⁴⁷, in that any proposition is either true or false in them. The actual world is an example of this kind: it is *complete*, *logically consistent*, and determinate with respect to truth; consequently, any proposition about it (e.g. *The Earth is round*) is either true or false; in it we witness an infinite proliferation of truths⁴⁸. Likewise, it is unfocalized, containing all kinds of individuals and events.⁴⁹

Applying Plantinga's theory to our topic of investigation was again an unsuccessful attempt. We found that his bold statements, which raised vehement objections amongst scholars, were not compatible with our initially stated propositions. As we have illustrated earlier, Plantinga claims that possible worlds contain only states of affairs (or situations/ truth-makers) that *do not violate the laws of logic* and contain states of things that *can be verified* and are determinate with respect to truth, in that any proposition is either true or false in them. Then, he suggests that the actual world, which is *complete*, *logically consistent* and *determinate with respect to truth*, is an example of this kind.

Our motive for disagreeing with Plantinga's theoretical framework was that it was simply not compatible with our ontological and epistemological perspectives. As we have already pointed out earlier in this chapter, we found ourselves in the impossibility of verifying certain phenomena related to our topic of investigation, therefore all our hypotheses and statements were pure *speculation*. We underlined the fact that our research data was based on those fictional elements that contained or captured some salient features that helped us construct, or re-construct, the Dothraki and Valyrian languages.

Conclusively, we cannot acknowledge Plantinga's theory with respect to possible worlds, because of the mere fact that everything we have knowledge of when it comes to the *Game of Thrones* fictional world, cannot be verified. Therefore, we cannot assert that we have a world that contains only states of affairs that do not violate the laws of logic and things that can be verified and are determinate with respect to truth like in the actual world, because the *Game of Thrones* fictional universe might not be a complete and logically consistent world like the actual world, that is why we are trying to fill in the missing 'gaps' as we move forward with our investigation.

One of the scholars who rejected Plantinga's theory was Daniel P. Noolan, according to whom "possible worlds are fictional entities, in that they simply do not exist. Therefore it is inappropriate to think (cf. Lewis) that a situation has a specific mode of existence because it is possible". Noolan concludes that "theories that accept nonactual, but possible, worlds, situations or entities are wrong"⁵⁰.

We must acknowledge the fact that Noolan's theory is somewhat closer to our perspective than Plantinga's because of the mere fact that we cannot unequivocally assert

such thing as, say, "the Dothraki people speak the Dothraki language" or these "horse-riding warriors make their home on the steppes of Essos", and claim that these things can be verified or any of these propositions are either true or false. Since we cannot verify their truth condition, we cannot claim that they are true or false. We can only assume certain things about these fictional entities, but we do not know anything certainly about them.

Amongst Oltean's⁵¹ observations with respect to possible worlds, he states that "it is worth mentioning that logically impossible things can occur in fictions, such as access to transcendental worlds that may be endowed with temporal dimensions governed by physical laws different from those in the actual world [...], or they may be inhabited by objects with conflicting properties, like square circles"⁵². He continues explaining that "it is impossible to determine, for example, such aspects as the number of Lady Macbeth's children, since the play only mentions that she had children; in this respect, the sentence "Lady Macbeth has three children" is neither true, nor false, in the worlds of this fiction as it cannot be verified". He concludes by stating that "a world of fiction is not maximal, but *incomplete* or *minimal* ('small world')⁵³, and is *focalized*; as such it displays a *limited number of truths*, unlike the actual world"⁵⁴.

If we scrutinize our topic of investigation under these considerations, we observe a compatibility to a certain extent, in that our fictional world is inhabited by several entities with *conflicting properties*, such as "Vezhof" (the Dothraki equivalent for "the Great Stallion" – "a horse god"), "Stone Men", "White Walkers" or "The Children of the Forest" (see **Pictures 1, 2, 3 and 4** below):



Picture 1.



Picture 2.



Picture 3.



Picture 4.

Picture 1. A Stone Man

Picture 2. Closeup of the grayscale scars that mark the left side of Princess Shireen Baratheon's face and make her look like a Stone Man.

Picture 3. The White Walker's king, The Night King

Picture 4. Leaf, Child of the Forest

All the above-illustrated examples are fictional entities that have extensions of a corresponding type in worlds different from the actual world (i.e. in the *Game of Thrones* fictional world), however we cannot claim that these states of affairs do not violate the laws of logic, or the world they belong to contains states of things that can be verified. Furthermore, as we have already described Currie⁵⁵ and Pavel's⁵⁶ viewpoints earlier in this chapter, we learned that among the major reasons why the notion of possible world cannot be expected to be operational and useful (in our case, as well) are the *indeterminacy* with respect to truth and the possible *inconsistency* or *contradictory* nature of fictions⁵⁷.

In this respect, we might argue that fictional entities such as *White Walkers* or *Children of the Forest* do violate the laws of logic, because we know that there is no such thing as formerly-human ice creatures with glowing blue eyes and mummified humanoid appearance, that died thousands of years ago but came back, killing all in their path and reanimating the dead as wights to serve as their footsoldiers in their army of dead⁵⁸; or non-human creatures with pale grey-green skin, with a rough to wrinkly texture, that are similar in appearance to plants (see **Pictures 3 and 4** above).

The second aspect we pointed out earlier about the nature of possible worlds, beside the fact that they may be inhabited by objects with conflicting properties, is the impossibility of determining certain facts in/about them. Similar to the example given by Oltean⁵⁹ with respect to the unspecified number of Lady Macbeth's children, we encounter a similar example in *Game of Thrones*, related to the unknown number of the

White Walkers. The plot mentions the *Army of the Dead* multiple times, which is the army of the White Walkers, however

the show never stated how many White Walkers existed in total or showed all the White Walkers in one onscreen shot. Usually a single White Walker or small groups were shown at one time, making it hard to establish how many White Walkers existed. Twelve White Walkers are shown in the background when the Night King turns Craster's last son. It's also unknown how many sons Craster sacrificed to the White Walkers. Additionally, four White Walkers were killed on screen at different points in the series: one killed by Sam with a dragonglass dagger, one killed by Meera with a dragonglass spear, and two by Jon with Longclaw⁶⁰. During the Battle of Winterfell, twelve White Walkers enter Winterfell along with the Night King to kill Bran Stark. All the White Walkers were destroyed after Arya Stark killed the Night King.

To conclude, the above-illustrated situation is perfectly compatible with the one exemplified by Oltean⁶¹ with respect to the number of Lady Macbeth's children. It is important to mention, however, that we only have knowledge of the things that are either shown or told us. Such as, the fact that in the *Game of Thrones* TV series there are some creatures that are identified as the *White Walkers* and there is an entire army of them, but nobody knows how many White Walkers exist exactly. In this respect, we might assert that there are only 12 White Walkers in the series, because that is the predominantly discussed number. Or, we might claim that there are thousands of White Walkers in the *Game of Thrones* series, because of the mere fact that only 12 White Walkers cannot possibly form an entire army.

Under these considerations, we might conclude that, since we cannot verify the truth condition of these sentences, we cannot claim that they are true or false. We can only assume that there is an entire army of White Walkers in the *Game of Thrones* TV series that consists of thousands of wights, however we cannot verify the truth-condition of this statement. Therefore, the sentence "There are only 12 White Walkers in the *Game of Thrones* series" is neither true, nor false, because it cannot be verified. Consequently, the possible worlds theoretical framework cannot be applied to our topic under investigation because it is not compatible with our epistemological perspectives.

2. David Lewis and Gregory Currie on truth in fiction

In the second part of the present paper, we propose an account of the theories and standpoints stated by David Lewis⁶² and Gregory Currie⁶³ with respect to truth in fiction and plural worlds of fiction, which are different from the earlier described theories in the paper. According to Oltean⁶⁴,

given the deficiencies of the fictional worlds approach, Currie proposes a more complex account that draws basically on Lewis and holds that truth in fiction is a function of what is true in *various possible worlds*. In this conception, truth in fiction depends not so much on what is in the story or fictional text, but rather in a *world compatible with the story* or a *story world*.

What makes this particular theory different from the ones stated earlier in this chapter is the fact that "it applies to a world in which the text of the story or what is explicit in the story is told as *known fact*, that is, it is taken to be true"⁶⁵. According to Lewis⁶⁶ states of things known to the narrator are thereby presented as if they were true. So the "act of story-telling", which is just like one in the actual world, is "truth-telling" about things of which the teller has knowledge⁶⁷.

Currie argues that "the plural form of worlds in this account is meant to reflect that there will be *many worlds in which the same story is told as known fact*, and these worlds may differ significantly from one another over matters that concern the story, but about which the text is silent or inconclusive"⁶⁸. Currie continues along the same line explaining that "all these worlds have in common is that what is explicit in the stories is told, in those worlds, as known fact. For that reason, it won't do to say that what is true in fiction S is what is true in all the S-worlds, for that would reduce truth in fiction to what is explicit in the text"⁶⁹.

Consequently, if we apply Lewis's theory to our topic under investigation, we get the following situation: the *Game of Thrones* world belongs to some world of fiction, in which we have an author, or some kind of entity that acts like an author, who relates events that happen in some S-world as known-facts or facts that are compatible with his own beliefs. Therefore, our text (or audio-visual material – the *Game of Thrones* TV series) becomes our *S-world* (the world of the story) where the text of the story is uttered as known fact by the above-mentioned author.

In the following section, we wish to offer additional insight into Currie's theory with respect to truth in fiction and truth in fictional worlds. He argues that "we call something true when it is true in the actual world. But if there are worlds other than the actual world, presumably there are things true in those worlds but not true in the actual world"⁷⁰. Therefore, if we take the *Game of Thrones* world with all its fictional entities, such as *dragons*, *White Walkers*, *Children of the Forest* or *Dothraki people*, we might conclude that these might be true in some worlds other than the actual world, but they are not true in the actual world.

It is clear at this point why our ontological and epistemological perspectives were not compatible with the possible worlds theoretical framework described in the first part of the present paper. However, we find Currie's theory more compelling and feasible with respect to our target topic. According to him,

fictional worlds, if there are any, cannot be assimilated to possible worlds. The few clear principles we have to regulate our thinking about possible worlds could not apply to fictional worlds. Possible worlds are *determinate* with respect to truth; every proposition is either true or false in a possible world. They are *consistent*; nothing logically impossible is true in a possible world. But fictional worlds are always indeterminate and sometimes inconsistent. Fictional worlds are indeterminate because there are questions about fictions that have no determinate answer.⁷¹

On such grounds, we consider applying the theoretical framework proposed by Currie and Lewis with respect to plural worlds of fiction to our topic under investigation, given the fact that in our S-world, the *Game of Thrones* fictional world, none of the propositions is either true or false, and the hypothetical questions with respect to certain things in the storyline have no determinate answer, in that they cannot be verified. Therefore, everything we do have knowledge of is a pure speculation or assumption.

3. Transworld identity and counterpart theory

In the third part of the present chapter, we wish to propose an account of transworld identity and counterpart theory from Currie⁷² and Lewis's⁷³ perspectives. According to Lewis

we should not suppose that we have a problem with identity [...]. Identity is utterly simple and unproblematic. Everything is identical to itself; nothing is ever identical to anything else except itself. There is never any problem about what makes something identical to itself; nothing can ever fail to be. And there is never any problem about what makes two things identical; two things never can be identical.⁷⁴

Opposed to Lewis's view on the matter, Currie assumes the possibility of "transworld individuals", asserting that "the same individual exists in many worlds"⁷⁵. However, as he admits it himself, this assumption is thought by some to be extremely problematic and he points at "advocates, like David Lewis, of counterpart theory, prefer to think of individuals as *world-bound*". In Lewis's view, "an individual can exist in one world and exist according to another by having a counterpart at that other world"⁷⁶. According to his counterpart theory, "each world has its own domain of individuals, disjoint from the domains of individuals in all other worlds. But an individual in one world may have a counterpart in another"⁷⁷.

Currie admits that "someone who believes in strict transworld identification of individuals faces a problem identifying a particular individual who, say, is Holmes in many different worlds. There will be different candidates for being Holmes in

different worlds, with nothing to choose between them'; therefore, he concludes that 'we cannot speak of *the* Holmes of the story"⁷⁸. However, counterpart theory may be the solution to this problem, because it "offers a more yielding way"⁷⁹, in that "the relation of qualitative similarity must, according to counterpart theory, replace the (spurious) relation of transworld identity"⁸⁰. This means, Currie explains, that "identifying Greg Currie in a nonactual world is just a matter of identifying in that world an individual (if there is one) whose qualitative similarity to me is strong, and at least as strong as that of anyone else in the same world"⁸¹.

Therefore, Lewis raises the following questions: "Is it ever so that an F is identical to a G? That is, is it ever so that the same thing is an F, and also a G? More simply, is it ever so that an F is a G?" Lewis concludes that "the identity drops out"⁸². He explains that "counterparts need not be exact intrinsic duplicates, so, of course, an individual (i.e. Humphrey) and his counterparts can differ in their intrinsic properties"⁸³. Lewis continues along the same line claiming that "the different shapes, and the different temporary intrinsics generally, belong to different things [...]. We endure; we are made up of temporal parts, and our temporary intrinsics are properties of these parts, wherein they differ one from another". He concludes that "there is no problem at all about how different things can differ in their intrinsic properties"⁸⁴.

It is interesting to notice Lewis's position with respect to trans-world individuals, which he does not deny their existence, and yet he claims that "they cannot possibly exist"⁸⁵. He argues that "it is possible for something to exist iff it is possible for the whole of it to exist. That is, iff there is a world at which the whole of it exists [...]. That is, iff the whole of it is among the parts of some world. That is, iff it is part of some world – and hence not a trans-world individual". Lewis concludes that "parts of worlds are possible individuals; trans-world individuals are therefore impossible individuals"⁸⁶.

However, we suggest that we review the counterpart theory, more precisely, the difficulties that it might face, as Currie puts it. He raises the problem of references in counterpart theory, arguing that if *A* in *w1* and *B* in *w2* both satisfy the individual's description (i.e. the Holmes description), then *A* and *B* are counterparts. If they are not, we shall get a different end result, depending on whether we start at *w1* or at *w2*⁸⁷. He concludes that "counterpartness is determined by overall qualitative similarity"⁸⁸.

It is noteworthy to remark Currie's counterpartness by acquaintance theory, in which he asserts that "in some non-actual worlds – worlds where the Holmes story is told as known fact" (see Lewis's plural worlds of fiction theory above) – *I am* getting veridical information from those stories. In those worlds I'm learning, from a reliable source, about the activities of a great detective. In such world there is someone whose adventures I learn about. In different such worlds these are different people. But these people are counterparts for me [...].

Let us stop for a moment and try to make an analogy here. Let us suppose that we have the *Game of Thrones* non-actual world where the story of, say, the Dothraki is told as "known fact". Consequently, we are getting veridical information from those stories. In those worlds, as Currie explains, we are learning, from a reliable source, about the activities of these nomadic horse-mounted warriors, who sweep across the vast central plains of Essos and speak their own language, which is quite different from the Common Tongue of Westeros⁸⁹. Therefore, in such world there is someone whose adventures we learn about. However, in different such worlds these are different people. As Currie explains, these people are counterparts for us. Let us see what Currie means exactly by counterpart theory by acquaintance here.

He claims that "these people differ in various ways; from the point of ancestry, birth, and childhood, they are, or may be, very different from one another [...]. But they are counterparts by acquaintance for me. They are alike concerning their epistemic relations to me; they are all of them, in their own worlds, the person about whom I learn when I read the text"⁹⁰.

We continue our analogy by trying to give an even more concrete example, in order to see whether Currie's counterpart by acquaintance theory applies to our situation. Let us take Khal Drogo, the chieftain of the Dothraki khalasar⁹¹, and Jason Momoa, who portrays Khal Drogo in the *Game of Thrones* HBO television adaptation. If we apply Currie's theory, we learn that these two individuals differ in various ways, however they are counterparts by acquaintance for us, due to their similarity concerning their epistemic relations to us; they are all of them, in their own worlds, the person about whom we learn when we read the text or, in our case, watch the TV series.

However, Currie points out an important aspect of counterpartness by acquaintance. He argues that "counterparts by acquaintance are counterparts by acquaintance for a given subject. Two things that are counterparts by acquaintance for me may not be counterparts by acquaintance for you"⁹². This means that when we think of Khal Drogo, we all think of Jason Momoa portraying him, not somebody else. Therefore, Jason Momoa, for us readers/fans, is Khal Drogo. Lewis suggests the following:

consider counterpartness by acquaintance for the *community* rather than for the individual members of our community. That is, consider worlds in which members of our community read about the adventures of a real person called 'Holmes', and in which this is overtly believed in the community. Identifying those persons called 'Holmes' across worlds as counterparts by acquaintance for the community gives us Sherlock Holmes.⁹³

We must bear in mind, however, Lewis's insistence that "what we should take to be a counterpart of what depends on context"⁹⁴. Consequently, counterpartness is

context-dependent. Currie concludes that "when we identify who it is I am reading about when I read the Holmes story we consider counterparts by acquaintance for me (or for the community)"⁹⁵. Currie admits that he does not accept counterpart theory "as a viable alternative to strict transworld identification of individuals"⁹⁶. However, a complete survey of the topic is beyond the scope of the present chapter⁹⁷.

4. Conclusions

The study proposed an account of the literature review, along the assumptions that underpinned and detailed our perspectives on constructed language use both in the worlds of fiction and actual world, applying different theoretical frameworks to the topic under investigation. Our research objective was to point out the perspicuous distinctions between the employment of constructed languages within fiction, respectively fictional worlds, and their use in the actual world, applying the theories suggested by the biggest proponents of fictional, possible and plural worlds, such as Gottlob Frege, Bertrand Russell, Daniel Noolan, A. Plantinga, Gregory Currie or David Lewis.

The first part of our paper displays different standpoints thereof with respect to the application of the possible worlds framework, more precisely, it argues the inapplicability of the possible worlds framework to our research topic, arguing the scientific rationale behind it.

In the second part of the present investigation, we wished to offer an insight into the theories elaborated by Currie and Lewis with respect to the notion of truth in fiction and plural worlds, followed by the third part, in which we discussed and prioritized Lewis's counterpart theory opposed to Currie's transworld identity theory, trying to find matching fundamental aspects thereof to our research questions. Key concepts, such as 'world-boundness of individuals', 'trans-world individuals', 'counterpartness by acquaintance' or 'transworld identification' have been conceptualized and explained, along with examples.

To conclude, the present study wished to offer an excursion into the different theoretical frameworks of possible, plural and fictional worlds highly debated by scholars and philosophers. In the present investigation, we attempted to apply various theoretical frameworks, in order to observe which complies best with our previously stated ontological and epistemological perspectives. Taking into consideration that our topic under investigation deals with fictional worlds, the possible worlds framework failed to match, because of the impossibility of verifying certain aspects within the worlds of fiction. Therefore, we applied the plural worlds theoretical framework proposed by Lewis⁹⁸ and Currie⁹⁹, which we found a more yielding one, and according to whom

the notion of world of fiction applies to some world in which the text of the story is told as *known fact*, i.e. it is believed to be true. Because of the textual gaps, however, several worlds are compatible with the same fiction and, as such, different *facts* or *realities* can be entertained. Thus, truth in fiction itself becomes a function of what exists or takes place in various worlds.¹⁰⁰.

However, after our attempt to apply different theoretical frameworks to our research topic and try to find as many matching points as possible between the elaborated concepts and theories by the proponents thereof and our research perspectives, we agree with Oltean's viewpoint, according to whom "applying the framework of possible world semantics to an analysis of fiction is not an easy undertaking"¹⁰¹, and we might add, that in our case, it is almost impossible.

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Notes

- 1 GoT = *Game of Thrones*.
- 2 Conlang – constructed language.
- 3 Ștefan Oltean, *Topics in the Semantics of Names and Discourse* (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2015), 70.
- 4 *Ibidem*.
- 5 *Ibidem*.
- 6 *Ibidem*.
- 7 *Ibidem*.
- 8 *Ibidem*.
- 9 Charles Crittenden, *Unreality. The metaphysics of fictional objects* (Cornell University Press, 1991), 10, apud. Ștefan Oltean, *Topics in the Semantics of Names and Discourse* (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2015).

- 10 *Idem*, 71.
- 11 *Idem*, 73.
- 12 Dothraki male name.
- 13 Dothraki male name.
- 14 Dothraki male name.
- 15 Khal = the leader of a Dothraki horde.
- 16 Khaleesi = queen, wife of a khal.
- 17 Dosh khaleen = council of crones; group of widowed khaleesisi.
- 18 Maegi = witch; sorceress.
- 19 Khasar = small group of protectors; bloodriders.
- 20 Dothrakhqoyi = bloodrider.
- 21 Ștefan Oltean, *Topics in the Semantics of Names and Discourse* (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2015), 73.
- 22 *Ibidem*.
- 23 *Idem*, 74.
- 24 *Idem*, 75.
- 25 David Lewis, "Possible Worlds", in Michael J. Loux (ed.), (1979[1973]), *The Possible and the Actual: Readings in the Metaphysics of Modality* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 182-189.
- 26 Paul H. Portner, *What is meaning? Fundamentals of Formal Semantics* (Oxford: Oxford Blackwell, 2005), 14-15.
- 27 David J. Peterson, *A Conversational Language Course Based on the Hit Original HBO Series Game of Thrones* (Random House LLC, 2014), 6-7.
- 28 *Idem*, 74.
- 29 *Idem*, 73.
- 30 *Idem*, 17.
- 31 *Ibid*.
- 32 Gregory Currie, *The Nature of Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- 33 Thomas G. Pavel, *Fictional Worlds* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1986).
- 34 *Idem*, 77.
- 35 *Idem*, 17.
- 36 In *Game of Thrones*, Essos is an immense landmass located to the East of Westeros, extending into the far east of the known world. <<https://gameofthrones.fandom.com/wiki/Essos>> Accessed on 1 July 2020.
- 37 In *Game of Thrones*, The Free Cities are nine powerful independent city-states located across the Narrow Sea from Westeros. They occupy the Western end of the massive continent of Essos, and are engaged in extensive trade contact with the Seven Kingdoms and lands further east. Each of the nine Free Cities has its own unique history and distinctive culture. <https://gameofthrones.fandom.com/wiki/Free_Cities> Accessed on 1 July 2020.
- 38 *Idem*, 17.
- 39 Saul Kripke, *Naming and Necessity*. In Donald Davidson and Gilbert Harman (eds.) *Semantics of Natural Language*, (Dordrecht; Reidel, 1972).
- 40 *Idem*, 74.
- 41 Robert C. Stalnaker, *Pragmatic Presupposition*. In Steven Davis (ed.) *Pragmatics. A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, (1991[1974]), 471-482.
- 42 Nicholas Rescher, *Questions About the Nature of Fiction*. In Călin-Andrei Mihăilescu, Walid Hamarneh (eds.), *Fiction Updated. Theories of Fictionality, Narratology and Poetics* (Toronto: University Press of Toronto, 1996), 30-38.
- 43 Gennaro Chierchia, Sally McConnell-Ginet, *Meaning and Grammar: An Introduction to Semantics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2000), 260-261.
- 44 *Idem*, 75.
- 45 Alvin Plantinga, *The Nature of Necessity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).
- 46 *Ibid*.
- 47 Currie, *idem*, 54.

- 48 Nicholas Rescher, "The Ontology of the Possible". In Michael J. Loux (ed.), (1979[1973]). *The Possible and the Actual: Readings in the Metaphysics of Modality* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 166-181.
- 49 *Id.*, 75.
- 50 *Idem*, 76.
- 51 *Idem*, 77.
- 52 Thomas G. Pavel, *Fictional Worlds* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1986), 48.
- 53 Umberto Eco, *The Limits of Interpretation* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 74.
- 54 *Idem*, 78.
- 55 Gregory Currie, *The Nature of Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- 56 Pavel, *ibidem*.
- 57 *Idem*, 77.
- 58 <https://gameofthrones.fandom.com/wiki/White_Walkers> Accessed on 3 July 2020.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 77.
- 60 Longclaw = Valyrian steel bastard sword that was the ancestral weapon of House Mormont. <<https://gameofthrones.fandom.com/wiki/Longclaw>> Accessed on 3 July 2020.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 77.
- 62 Lewis, *ibidem*.
- 63 Currie, *ibidem*.
- 64 *Idem*, 79.
- 65 *Ibid.*
- 66 David K. Lewis, *On the Plurality of Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 266.
- 67 *Ibid.*
- 68 *Idem*, 62.
- 69 *Idem*, 63.
- 70 *Idem*, 53.
- 71 *Idem*, 54.
- 72 Currie, *ibidem*.
- 73 Lewis, *ibidem*.
- 74 Lewis, *idem*, 192.
- 75 Currie, *idem*, 136.
- 76 *Idem*, 214.
- 77 *Idem*, 136.
- 78 *Idem*, 137.
- 79 *Ibid.*
- 80 *Ibid.*
- 81 *Ibid.*
- 82 *Idem*, 193.
- 83 Lewis, *idem*, 202.
- 84 *Idem*, 204.
- 85 *Idem*, 211.
- 86 *Ibid.*
- 87 Currie, *idem*, 137.
- 88 *Idem*, 138.
- 89 <<https://gameofthrones.fandom.com/wiki/Dothraki>> Accessed on 4 July 2020.
- 90 *Idem*, 139.
- 91 Khalasar = a Dothraki clan or tribe.
- 92 *Ibid.*
- 93 *Ibid.*
- 94 *Idem*, 140.
- 95 *Ibid.*
- 96 *Ibid.*

- 97 Lewis, *ibidem*.
- 98 David Lewis, "Possible Worlds", in Michael J. Loux (ed.), (1979[1973]), *The Possible and the Actual: Readings in the Metaphysics of Modality* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 182-189.
- 99 Currie, *ibidem*.
- 100 Oltean, *idem*, 89.
- 101 *Idem*, 78.

Le Prix de la littérature policière octroyé à un antihéros d'origine roumaine

The Detective Literature Prize Awarded to an Antihero of Romanian Origin

Alexandra Viorica Dulău*

The paper presents Jean-Christophe Rufin and his antihero from the detective novel written in French (*Le Suspendu de Conakry* [The Hanging Man from Conakry]) in 2018. Aurel Timescu is born in a multiethnic family in Ceaușescu's Romania, where he lived and was formed before he went to France. Becoming a French consul by marriage (exiled in Africa), he solves the enigma of The Hanging Man from Conakry.

antihero; Arsène Lupin Prize; detective novel; J.-C. Rufin; Romanian.

L'« irresistible [*sic*] antihéros »¹ d'origine roumaine Aurel Timescu est le personnage principal d'une trilogie conçue par Jean-Christophe Rufin sous un titre commun (*Les Énigmes d'Aurel le Consul*), dont le premier volume, *Le Suspendu de Conakry*², a reçu le Prix Arsène Lupin³ en 2018, étant suivi par *Les Trois Femmes du Consul* (2019) et *Le Flambeur de la Caspienne* (2020).

Quelques détails⁴ sur l'auteur : Jean-Christophe Rufin (né en 1952), médecin (neurologue, chef de clinique), écrivain (plus de vingt publications) et diplomate français (ambassadeur de France au Sénégal et en Gambie), devient en 2008 le plus jeune membre de l'Académie française⁵. Ancien président d'*Action contre la faim*, il a été – en tant que médecin – l'un des pionniers des *Médecins sans frontières* (beaucoup de missions en Afrique de l'Est et en Amérique latine). Ayant également suivi des études politiques, Rufin

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deviendra conseiller du secrétaire d'État aux Droits de l'homme, pour deux ans. Puis, il va rédiger le « rapport Rufin » : *Chantier sur la lutte contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme*. Après l'assassinat de quatre touristes français en Mauritanie, il participera à la poursuite des fuyards d'Al-Qaïda. Il a été aussi directeur de recherche (à l'Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques), maître de conférences (à l'Institut d'études politiques de Paris, puis à l'Université Paris 13 et à l'École de guerre), et cette liste d'occupations tellement différentes l'une de l'autre pourrait continuer.

Les organisations non gouvernementales au Nicaragua, en Afghanistan, aux Philippines, au Rwanda et dans les Balkans dans lesquelles il a travaillé pendant plus de vingt ans ont offert à J.-C. Rufin l'occasion non seulement de connaître bien des coins du monde, mais aussi d'en parler dans ses écrits littéraires, car depuis 2006 il se consacrera davantage à l'écriture.

En ce qui concerne sa manière d'écrire, l'auteur a déclaré, dans un article intitulé « Mon seul regret », que : « J'ai été déformé dans le sens du visuel. », tout en citant le génie de la littérature tchèque : « Comme le disait Kundera, il y a deux sortes d'écrivains : l'écrivain musicien et l'écrivain peintre. Moi, je suis peintre. » ; pour clarifier son idée, il insistera : « Quand on écrit, soit on écoute, soit on voit. On ne peut pas faire les deux à la fois. », ce qui explique son intérêt pour l'adaptation en vue du tournage d'un film d'après un de ses livres⁶ (2018).

Sa vie extraordinaire fera de lui un homme promis aux plus hautes distinctions : Docteur *honoris causa* de l'université Laval (Québec) et de l'université catholique de Louvain (Belgique) ; Chevalier des Arts et des Lettres ; Officier de la Légion d'honneur ; Commandeur de l'ordre national du Lion du Sénégal, sans oublier les prix (Prix Jean-Jacques Rousseau, pour *La Dictature libérale* en 1994) et, surtout, ceux littéraires : Prix Goncourt du premier roman et Prix Méditerranée, pour *L'Abyssin* (1997) ; Prix Interallié et Prix Erwan-Bergot, pour *Les Causes perdues* (1999) ; Prix Goncourt et Grand prix de l'Académie de marine, pour *Rouge Brésil* (2001) ; Plume d'Or de la Société des auteurs savoyards (2001) ; Prix du Roman historique et Prix littéraire Jacques-Audiberti, pour *Le Grand Cœur* (2012) ; Prix Nomad's et Prix Pierre-Loti, pour le récit *Immortelle Randonnée : Compostelle malgré moi* (2013) ; Prix Litté et Prix Maurice-Genevoix, pour *Le Collier rouge* (2014) ; Prix Grand Témoin de la France Mutualiste, pour *Checkpoint* (2015) ; Prix Arsène Lupin de la littérature policière, pour son roman *Le Suspendu de Conakry* (2018).

De la sorte, nous sommes tombée de nouveau sur notre antihéros roumain. Selon une encyclopédie en ligne, on « peut considérer quatre types principaux d'antiéros [dont] le héros « décalé », un personnage ordinaire, sans qualités, qui par les circonstances se trouve plongé dans une situation extraordinaire. »⁷. Or, Aurel Timescu est justement ce héros « décalé », il est réellement ce personnage ordinaire, qui semble ne pas avoir de qualités, et qui, grâce à des circonstances extraordinaires, se retrouve dans une situation

d'exception. Né en Roumanie⁸, Aurel provient d'une famille qui représente parfaitement – par sa multiethnicité – le multiculturalisme de notre pays :

Il pouvait par exemple rester des heures devant une photo de classe qui représentait son aïeul, le père de sa mère, qu'on appelait le rabbin Kahen, avec ses élèves à l'école juive de Timisoara [*sic*]. [...] Parfois, c'était sa grande famille paternelle, assemblée autour du prêtre pour une fête catholique, qu'il regardait. Son père était facteur, huitième enfant d'une fratrie de douze. Tous les ans, il se rendait à la campagne près de Brasov [*sic*] et se devait de participer au grand rassemblement familial qui se tenait à la fin de l'année.⁹

Le « grand rassemblement familial » de fin d'année signifie clairement la Noël qui est toujours fêtée en famille en Transylvanie et l'a été de la sorte même sous les communistes. Aurel Timescu se déclare roumain, mais les Roumains de Braşov sont soit des orthodoxes, soit des gréco-catholiques. Si la fête est « catholique », il peut s'agir d'une famille appartenant à l'Église romano-catholique¹⁰ et, alors, la famille devrait être allemande ou hongroise ; mais, le grand nombre d'enfants renvoie à des Roumains, tout comme le prénom, Aurel. Les choses sont, en fin de compte, rendues claires par l'écrivain lui-même : « Dans la campagne roumaine où il était né [...] Mais dans la branche paternelle, à la fois valaque et magyare [...] »¹¹, car il a fait son personnage venir au monde en Valachie et lui a donné probablement une seule aïeule hongroise, étant donné le nom de famille, Timescu.

Formé dans une telle famille, il en gardera, même à l'étranger, toutes sortes de traditions et de faiblesses comme : la manière de s'habiller qui « lui venait de sa mère »¹² ; le « cozonac¹³ [...] cuisiné » par lui-même à la manière de « sa grand-mère paternelle »¹⁴ ; « le vin¹⁵ de Tokay, les vignes d'Europe centrale, une immense nostalgie de ces terres où se mêlaient pour lui une abjecte barbarie et la civilisation la plus raffinée »¹⁶ ; sa croyance « à la présence des morts »¹⁷, aux « pratiques magiques » que la famille de sa mère méprisait¹⁸, d'ailleurs ; mais, il en gardera également, les principes : « Aurel se souvenait de sa propre enfance, des longs après-midi chez sa tante maternelle qui détaillait pour lui le comportement de tous leurs voisins pendant la guerre : « Celui-là, le chef de section du Parti, n'oublie jamais qu'il a dénoncé ton cousin Schlomo. Mme Unetelle, en revanche, a caché deux familles jusqu'à la Libération. »¹⁹. Après son arrivée en France, la DST et les « services français voulaient lui faire espionner la diaspora roumaine. [...] mais il avait rapidement pris ses distances et, là, les relations s'étaient tendues. Il avait connu les menaces, le chantage aux documents administratifs, la surveillance. »²⁰, qu'il connaissait déjà de Roumanie : « Il avait une image fugitive des geôles de Ceausescu [*sic*], où, triste privilège, il avait été retenu plusieurs fois et accusé de « conduites antisociales ». »²¹, tout comme il connaissait sa valeur exacte (12 000 dollars) aux yeux des communistes : « Si

l'on avait de la famille à l'Ouest, on pouvait obtenir un visa pour la rejoindre, moyennant une certaine somme d'argent. »²², car « certains pays vendaient leurs ressortissants »²³, y compris la Roumanie.

Être formé dans son pays natal lui sera utile autant dans la vie (« La Roumanie de Ceausescu [*sic*], où il avait grandi, était à cet égard une école d'une exceptionnelle rigueur, qui armait à jamais contre la bêtise et le mépris. »²⁴), que dans la carrière diplomatique (« Aurel soupira, avec l'air navré qu'il prenait devant des officiels, à l'époque communiste en Roumanie, quand il ne connaissait pas l'opinion de son interlocuteur. »²⁵). Cette éducation *roumaine* l'aidera à jouer un peu de théâtre devant son interlocuteur (« Il s'était exercé très tôt, sous la botte de Ceausescu [*sic*], à cet exercice et savait composer le visage qui convenait. Étonnement, approbation, soumission et terreur devaient être nettement perceptibles par l'interlocuteur »²⁶) ou, bien, lui fait faire sans aucun problème – pour la stupéfaction des gendarmes – des heures supplémentaires²⁷ ; et, à la fois, cela lui a permis de percevoir la duplicité des gens : « Quand il vivait en Roumanie, Aurel s'était habitué à ce mariage permanent de la respectabilité et du crime. Les dignitaires communistes avaient tous l'air de mériter Marx sans confession. Et pourtant, ils cachaient sous ce masque la corruption, le mensonge, la violence. »²⁸.

Ce personnage sans âge, au « crâne dégarni entouré d'une couronne de cheveux frisés poivre et sel »²⁹, de « petite taille » et aux « membres fins »³⁰, qui – à un moment donné – « ôta ses lunettes et découvrit deux petits yeux timides »³¹, essaie de garder un certain statut que J.-C. Rufin s'amuse à décrire :

[...] il lui fallut déployer beaucoup d'efforts pour s'extraire de la voiture³². [...] Aurel se comportait comme s'il s'était agi d'une grosse berline : il faisait basculer le siège du passager et s'asseyait sur la banquette arrière prévue pour un enfant en bas âge. Il s'installait avec dignité, les genoux à la hauteur du menton et la tête touchant le plafonnier. Il en ressortait avec le même air d'importance. Après tout, « Sévère » était un des titres des empereurs romains, tout comme « Félix » d'ailleurs. Aurel n'avait jamais perdu de vue cette leçon de l'Histoire : la dignité comme le bonheur sont des attributs de la souveraineté. Chacun d'entre nous peut s'en saisir, s'il en a la volonté. C'est digne et heureux que le Consul s'avança [...]»³³

Bien que Rufin ait voulu satiriser ici les démonstrations concernant l'origine latine du peuple roumain typiques en Transylvanie, nous devons souligner que le nom de Sévère renvoie à la Pannonie, tandis que celui de Félix à la Dacie trajane ou *Dacia felix* [Dacie heureuse], nom donné dans les temps au territoire actuel de la Transylvanie (où se trouve la ville de Braşov). Dans cette province, les Roumains avaient l'habitude de donner à leurs enfants des prénoms latins (notre Aurel le confirme d'ailleurs) afin d'éviter la magyarisation, dont l'objectif était d'assimiler les habitants à la population

hongroise au XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle, habitude roumaine gardée jusqu'à la fin du XXe siècle (lorsque l'anglicisation a commencé à prendre la relève).

Quant au nom de famille du personnage, Timescu, celui-ci n'existe pas dans les bases de données consultées par Teodor Oancă de l'Université de Craiova, à la différence de 10 309 familles roumaines appelées Tomescu³⁴. Par ailleurs, dans les régions au-delà des Carpates (Transylvanie, Maramureș, Crișana, Banat – où se trouve la ville de Timișoara), les noms terminés en *-escu* n'ont pas été admis avant 1918 par l'administration officielle hongroise, tout comme les noms terminés en *-u*, ce qui a eu comme résultat des noms du type Cojocar, Muntean, Oltean, Tătar, etc.³⁵, au lieu de ceux à sonorité roumaine : Cojocar, Munteanu, Olteanu, Tătaru, etc.

Le « Consul » du titre de la trilogie de Jean-Christophe Rufin, *Les Énigmes d'Aurel le Consul*, est expliqué – avec son persistant accent roumain³⁶ – par le personnage lui-même qui semble être entré très à la roumaine dans la diplomatie française (coutumes communes dues à notre latinité ?) où il devra, désormais, être toléré par ses chefs³⁷ :

– Mon futur beau-père était diplomate. Il venait de prendre sa retraite [...] Il m'a dit qu'une fois que je serais marié avec sa fille³⁸, il se faisait fort d'obtenir rapidement pour moi la nationalité française. Ensuite, il fallait que je passe un petit concours qui serait une formalité. Moins de trois ans plus tard, j'obtenais mon premier poste dans un consulat.³⁹

Si ce mariage, qui allait aboutir au divorce⁴⁰, ouvre sa voie vers le poste de consul au bout du monde, Aurel Timescu l'acceptera à vingt-sept ans afin de sauver son « honneur »⁴¹ le jour où il a « fermé le piano »⁴² du bar dans lequel il jouait à cause d'un client qui y avait vomi⁴³ : « je ne suis plus jamais retourné ni dans ce bar ni dans aucun autre. J'ai recommencé les leçons de piano à domicile, bien décidé à crever de faim, s'il le fallait [...] »⁴⁴. Concernant la musique, c'est le moment de souligner qu'il continuera à jouer du piano chez soi par simple plaisir personnel⁴⁵, pour mieux juger la situation dans laquelle il se trouvait⁴⁶ ou, bien, « pour épancher cet œdème affectif qui, sinon, se serait écoulé en larmes »⁴⁷, but dans lequel il a profité de l'« avantage du Quai d'Orsay, il fallait le reconnaître, [...] [qui] tolérait et même finançait ce genre de caprices. »⁴⁸, c'est-à-dire le transport de son piano droit et, certes, gravement désaccordé⁴⁹. Et, comble de l'ironie de Rufin, son antihéros voudra devenir compositeur d'opéra⁵⁰, après avoir réalisé d'autres *chefs-d'œuvre* à son piano toujours désaccordé : « Aurel redoublait d'enthousiasme au piano. Il chanta une de ses compositions : musique, genre valse hongroise, et paroles sans queue ni tête. »⁵¹.

La tenue de bureau de Timescu le faisait ressembler à un vieillard : « costume rayé à trois boutons, [...] chemise à col pointu à laquelle d'innombrables lavages donnaient des reflets jaunes [...] cravate à rayures rouges et vertes »⁵², pour ne plus rien dire sur

« ses pauvres chaussures »⁵³ : « Imbibées de cirage à longueur d'année, elles avaient ramassé tout le sable de l'allée. On aurait dit de la viande panée. »⁵⁴. Malgré la chaleur,

[q]uand il sortait, il enfilait toujours un long manteau de tweed croisé à larges revers qu'il tenait soigneusement boutonné. Pour protester contre le sort injuste qui l'avait exilé dans cette capitale africaine, il mettait un point d'honneur à ne rien changer à ses habitudes vestimentaires. Il était habillé comme il l'aurait été en plein hiver dans sa Roumanie natale ou, à la rigueur, en France, sa patrie d'adoption, et plus précisément à Paris. Par bonheur, il ne transpirait jamais.⁵⁵

D'une part, le moindre détail compte pour lui ; c'est pourquoi, il utilise pour prendre des notes « un calepin en moleskine et [...] un petit porte-mine en argent »⁵⁶, en contraste total avec sa « paire de lunettes noires. C'était un modèle conçu pour les glaciers [...] Des caches en cuir sur les côtés retenaient totalement la lumière. »⁵⁷. D'autre part, c'est l'héritage mental transylvain qui l'a déterminé à se créer un « foyer Mitteleuropa » qui l'aidait à oublier « tout à fait qu'il vivait en Afrique » « dans la pénombre de ces pièces aux fenêtres envahies de végétation »⁵⁸ : « Sitôt entré chez lui, il se retrouvait, grâce à ses meubles et à ses livres, dans une ambiance d'Europe centrale. Une Europe centrale qui aurait subi l'influence de Paris, mais du Paris qu'il rêvait de connaître quand, adolescent, il subissait la laideur communiste. »⁵⁹ ; sa vie sous ce régime lui a servi afin de se débrouiller dans la « circulation [...] extrêmement confuse »⁶⁰ de l'aérogare africaine, par exemple :

Aurel était habitué à la foule. Il avait été élevé dans un pays désorganisé où il fallait faire la queue à tout propos. Ce qui était difficile pour lui, c'était de conserver dignité et volonté dans de telles ambiances. Son premier réflexe dans la foule était de retrouver la soumission et la passivité que le monde communiste exigeait de ses sujets.⁶¹

De tous ses commentaires concernant la vie de Timescu pendant la dictature de Roumanie cités ci-dessus, il résulte que Jean-Christophe Rufin semble bien connaître non seulement la situation effective du pays⁶² (y compris le genre de films occidentaux importés⁶³), mais aussi la mentalité des gens, modifiée par tout ce qu'ils avaient dû y vivre. Si l'humour est présent sur chaque page, dans ces lignes se manifeste le côté sérieux de l'écrivain, lequel se mêle à l'ironie plus ou moins fine :

Il enfila une chemise blanche dont les manches étaient mal repassées. Ce n'était pas grave car il n'avait aucune intention d'enlever sa veste. Le complet noir croisé qu'il mit par-dessus était un peu élimé aux coudes. Il est vrai qu'il l'avait fait faire à Leipzig chez un de ses cousins tailleurs près de vingt ans auparavant. Il se nouait toujours lui-

même ses nœuds papillons, persuadé qu'en les achetant tout faits il aurait l'air d'un maître d'hôtel.⁶⁴

Aurel a fait tout cet effort pour Jocelyne Mayères, la sœur du décédé, car sa « passion pour Jocelyne était faite d'admiration, de reconnaissance, de respect. Elle était à ses yeux comme la Dame d'un chevalier. »⁶⁵, l'« admiration totale, paralysante et délicieuse »⁶⁶ qu'il lui portait le déterminant à rougir « jusqu'aux oreilles. Jocelyne riait intérieurement. Il était si facile de le bouleverser. »⁶⁷. Pendant que sa tenue renvoie à celle de Columbo, et son attitude envers certaines femmes rappelle Don-Quichotte, le Consul ne peut pas maîtriser ses larmes dans une situation limitée⁶⁸.

Le rêve irréalisé de Timescu d'être policier est expliqué par Rufin avec une certaine sympathie, mais il ne peut point s'abstenir et le prend aussi en dérision :

Aurel avait voulu travailler pour la police. Il ne s'était jamais consolé de ne pas mener d'enquêtes. C'était une vocation contrariée. Il aurait mis là-dedans son sens de l'observation et de la psychologie, sa rigueur de joueur d'échecs. Il était persuadé qu'il aurait eu du génie. Chaque fois qu'il le pouvait, Aurel aimait mener sa propre investigation, en marge de la police et pour son seul profit. C'était un hobby, en somme, mais qui devait rester secret [...]⁶⁹

À part les échecs, le Consul, qui doit « subir son calvaire quotidien »⁷⁰ de la chaleur, est « extrêmement habile au maniement des ordinateurs. Pour être tranquille au bureau, il jouait à celui qui n'y connaissait rien. [...] Le clavier informatique l'excitait autant que celui du piano et, lorsqu'il posait les mains dessus, une joie exubérante s'emparait de lui. »⁷¹. Voilà comment il avait commencé son enquête. Après avoir trouvé la clé du crime, non seulement que tout l'équipement sera retiré, mais il ne pourra dorénavant s'appuyer sur son aide, Hassan, non plus⁷². C'est dans son placard qu'il s'enfermera, jusqu'aux nouvelles énigmes à résoudre, regarder le cliché⁷³ le représentant à côté de la Dame pour laquelle il était devenu *Chevalier*.

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Notes

- 1 Laurence Caracalla, « Le Suspendu de Conakry, de Jean-Christophe Rufin : le consul vous salue bien », in *Le Figaro*, Publié le 5 avril 2018 à 08:00, mis à jour le 9 avril 2018 à 19:40, URL : <<https://www.lefigaro.fr/livres/2018/04/05/03005-20180405ARTFIG00022--le-suspendu-de-conakry-de-jean-christophe-rufin-le-consul-vous-salue-bien.php>>.
- 2 Jean-Christophe Rufin, *Le Suspendu de Conakry* (Les Énigmes d'Aurel le Consul, vol. 1) (Flammarion, 2018), en « Folio », no 6676, 290 p. Traduit en roumain : Jean-Christophe Rufin, *Spânzuratul de la Conakry* (Crime Scene Press, 2019), 208 p.
- 3 « Créé en 2006 sous l'impulsion de l'Association du Clos Arsène Lupin et de Madame Florence Bœspflug, petite fille de Maurice Leblanc, le Prix Arsène Lupin cherche à distinguer, chaque année, un roman policier à la **grande qualité d'écriture**, qui laisse place à l'**humour**, ainsi qu'à l'**astuce** permettant la résolution de l'énigme policière au cœur du livre, tout en s'écartant d'une certaine tendance violente du roman policier contemporain. », URL : <<https://www.babelio.com/prix/107/Prix-Arsene-Lupin>>. [C'est nous qui soulignons.]
- 4 Jean-Christophe Rufin, URL : <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Christophe_Rufin>.
- 5 Au fauteuil d'Henri Troyat.
- 6 Valérie Sasportas, « Mon seul regret », in *Le Figaro*, Publié le 10 août 2007 à 07:00, mis à jour le 14 octobre 2007 à 18:36, URL : <https://www.lefigaro.fr/ouinon/2007/08/10/01009-20070810ARTFIG90132-mon_seul_regret.php>.
- 7 *Antihéros*, URL : <<https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antih%C3%A9ros>>.
- 8 « Roumain. Je suis né en Roumanie. » (Rufin, *Le Suspendu de Conakry*, *op. cit.*, 108.)
- 9 *Idem*, 73.
- 10 À noter pourtant que, pendant la période de dictature (quand l'Église gréco-catholique était interdite – 1948-1989), il y a eu quelques prêtres appartenant à l'Église latine (par exemple, Père Iosif Denderle de l'Église piariste « La Sainte Trinité » de Cluj-Napoca) qui assuraient, le dimanche, une liturgie en roumain pour ceux qui avaient refusé de devenir obligatoirement orthodoxes en 1948 et, le samedi, un endroit plutôt caché pour la catéchèse de leurs (petits-)enfants faite par des religieuses comme Sœur Antonina. (Congregația Surorilor Maicii Domnului, « O viață dăruită aproapei – Sora Maria Antonina – GHERGHEL Elena-Valeria (1924 – 2010) » [La Congrégation des Sœurs de la Mère de Dieu, Une vie donnée à votre voisin – Sœur Maria Antonina – GHERGHEL Elena-Valeria], URL : <<https://surorile-cmd.ro/ro/sora-maria-antonina-gherghel-elena-valeria/>>.)
- 11 Rufin, *Idem*, 98.
- 12 *Idem*, 106.
- 13 En roumain dans le texte. (*Idem*, 120.)
- 14 *Ibidem*.
- 15 « Il boit comme un cochon », dira son chef, sans comprendre « la passion d'Aurel pour le vin blanc ». (*Idem*, 19.)
- 16 *Idem*, 20.
- 17 *Idem*, 98.
- 18 *Ibidem*.
- 19 *Idem*, 89.
- 20 *Idem*, 266.
- 21 *Idem*, 141.
- 22 *Idem*, 109.
- 23 *Idem*, 108.
- 24 *Idem*, 28.
- 25 *Idem*, 31.
- 26 *Idem*, 198.

- 27 *Idem*, 45.
 28 *Idem*, 219.
 29 *Idem*, 15.
 30 *Idem*, 14.
 31 *Idem*, 82.
 32 « Une Cléo à deux portières. » (*Idem*, 14.)
 33 *Ibidem*.
 34 Teodor Oancă, « Nume de familie derivate cu sufixul *-escu*. Considerații statistice » [Noms de famille dérivés avec le suffixe *-escu*. Considérations statistiques] (Editura Mega, 2011), URL : <<http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/indexing/details/V1427/pdf>>, 191.
 35 Oancă, *Idem*, 187.
 36 Rufin, *Idem*, 17. Ou bien : « Avec sa voix qui déraillait, ses « r » roulés et ses intonations de paysan du Danube, Aurel savait qu'il lui était difficile de se présenter à un inconnu au téléphone sous le titre « consul de France ». Cela sentait le canular [...] » (*Idem*, 49).
 37 « Un Roumain, figurez-vous, et qui parle avec son accent terrible. Il est tellement catastrophique que l'on ne peut rien lui confier. Je l'ai relégué dans un placard. Littéralement. Sans téléphone ni ordinateur. [...] Tous ses chefs ont voulu se débarrasser de lui, moi comme les autres. Mais il est fonctionnaire titulaire, hélas. », dira le Consul Général de France à Conakry. (*Idem*, 17.)
 38 « J'ai donné des cours à une jeune fille. À vrai dire, [...] Elle était plus âgée que moi, presque la quarantaine, mais pure, intelligente, sensible. [...] Les autres vous auraient dit peut-être qu'elle était un peu lourde [...] Il y avait aussi ces verrues sur le menton et sur le nez qu'elle aurait dû se faire enlever. Mais elle ne tenait pas compte de ces choses. Ni moi non plus. [...] Elle était si haut à mes yeux, si inaccessible ... » (*Idem*, 180.)
 39 *Idem*, 181.
 40 *Idem*, 181-182.
 41 *Idem*, 179.
 42 *Idem*, 178.
 43 *Ibidem*.
 44 *Idem*, 179.
 45 *Idem*, 47.
 46 *Idem*, 48.
 47 *Idem*, 74.
 48 *Idem*, 47.
 49 *Ibidem*.
 50 *Idem*, 289-290.
 51 *Idem*, 253.
 52 *Idem*, 15.
 53 *Idem*, 26.
 54 *Idem*, 21.
 55 *Idem*, 15. Autre part, Rufin reprend la description des vêtements portés par le consul : « son manteau qui lui descendait aux chevilles » (*Idem*, 18.), « il enfila son veston et son manteau » (*Idem*, 46.) ou : « son nœud papillon de travers, sa chemise amidonnée et le pin's représentant l'aigle de Roumanie au revers de son costume élimé » (*Idem*, 113.). Finalement, l'auteur explique, avec bien de l'humour, les goûts de son personnage en matière de mode : « Aurel s'était fait une certaine idée de l'élégance française. [...] Il en était resté sur ce point à des notions tirées des romans de Maupassant, corrigées par les films des années trente. [...] Mais il imaginait toujours les Français amateurs de costumes de belle coupe et de tissus riches. Ce qu'il avait découvert en arrivant l'avait consterné. [...] De ce point de vue, Aurel se sentait très solidaire des Guinéens, qui, eux, restaient fidèles à une élégance classique. » (*Idem*, 133-134.).
 56 *Idem*, 19.
 57 *Idem*, 25-26.
 58 *Idem*, 47.
 59 *Ibidem*.

- 60 *Idem*, 80.
 61 *Ibidem*.
 62 Cette affirmation est aussi valable pour ce qu'il écrit sur la Guinée. (*Idem*, 20-21, 39, etc.)
 63 *Idem*, 175.
 64 *Idem*, 106.
 65 *Idem*, 175.
 66 *Idem*, 82.
 67 *Idem*, 184.
 68 « J'étais immobile et ... je pleurais. », à côté du piano (*Idem*, 179.). Et, après quelques lignes : « [...] il aurait peut-être même attrapé sa main pour y plonger le nez et sangloter. », à côté de la femme admirée (*Ibidem*.).
 69 *Idem*, 23.
 70 *Idem*, 38.
 71 *Idem*, 43-44.
 72 *Idem*, 288-289.
 73 *Idem*, 289.

Der Beitrag der Banater Schwaben zur Entfaltung des Buchdrucks und der Presse im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert¹

The Contribution of the Banat Swabians to the Development of the Typography and Press in the 18th and 19th Century

*Mihaela Bedecan**, *Veronica Câmpian***

The press in the native language, an area of great importance for the ethnic identity of each nation, was an essential milestone in the life of the German-speaking communities throughout Romania. It was the barometer that faithfully illustrated the wishes, hopes and expectations of this minority in the new constitutional framework. The press also revealed the image, the concerns and the ideological orientations of the population, but also the desired relations with the Romanian state authorities and the links with the German nation. The present article entitled "The Contribution of the Banat Swabians to the Development of Typography and the Press in the 18th and 19th Centuries" offers an overall picture of the most important stages in the evolution of the Banat products of the printing press. The article focuses on the political, social and financial difficulties of the German minority in Banat, as well as their outstanding achievements in the cultural and editorial field.

Banat; Banat Swabians; 18th and 19th century; typography; press products; libraries.

1. Einleitung:

Die kulturelle Entwicklung der deutschen Minderheit war von ihrer eigenen, ethnischen Identität abhängig, die sie permanent prägte. Es gab mehrere kulturelle Kanäle, um die deutschsprachige Identität zu bestätigen, die sich auf unterschiedliche relevante Bereiche konzentrierten, darunter die Erzeugnisse der Druckerpresse und zwar die Presse, Verlage, Bibliotheken, sowie die Kunst mit ihren verschiedenen Manifestationen.

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Das geografische Gebiet, auf das sich die vorliegende Studie bezieht, ist das Banat. Die Kolonisierung der Schwaben im Banat² erfolgte in Etappen, während eines langen Prozesses, der von den kaiserlichen Autoritäten gut durchdacht wurde. Dieser Prozess begann im 18. Jahrhundert, deutlich beeinflusst durch territoriale Veränderungen, die infolge militärischer Konflikte stattfanden. Dies war auch der Fall im Jahre 1718, als das Banat den Grenzen des Habsburgerreiches hinzugefügt wurde oder während des Österreichisch-Türkischen Krieges von 1735-1739, der den Kolonisierungsplan und das Modernisierungsprogramm der Provinz verlangsamte.

Die Geschichtsschreibung liefert widersprüchliche Daten über die demografische Statistik der Schwaben, aber es ist sicher, dass die Bevölkerung im 18. und im frühen 19. Jahrhundert nicht rasch zunahm. Die Erklärung liegt in der Annahme des Konzepts <Einkindsystem>, welches die Geburt eines Kindes, maximal zweier Kinder in jeder Familie förderte. Die Ursache war die Verhinderung einer Verschärfung der materiellen Lage als Folge der Teilung des Vermögens, aber diese Politik hatte negative Auswirkungen auf die Zahl der Minderheit.

Um 1900 zählten die Schwaben 275.662 Einwohner, was 28,7% der Gesamtbevölkerung der Provinz entspricht. Ende des ersten Jahrzehnts des 20. Jahrhunderts stieg die Zahl der Schwaben auf 307.562 Einwohner³. Einer der Faktoren, der die demografische Statistik in den nächsten Jahren negativ beeinflusste, war die Auswanderung nach Amerika. Bis zu Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges überstieg die Anzahl, der aus Kreis Temesch, Caras-Severin und Arad ausgewanderten Schwaben 100.000 Menschen⁴.

Nach 1918 lebten 1.304.981 Einwohner auf dem Gebiet des Banats, die im rumänischen Staat integriert waren. Die Banater Schwaben machten etwa 20% aus, so dass in Rumänien am Ende des dritten Jahrzehnts des 20. Jahrhunderts mehr als 700.000 Deutsche gezählt wurden⁵.

Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges war die Situation im Banat, aufgrund der serbischen und der französischen Besetzungen, die auf diesem Gebiet installiert wurden, aber auch wegen der anhaltenden Territorialstreitigkeiten, äußerst komplex. Das historische Banat wurde von drei Staaten bestritten, von denen jeder versuchte, die internationalen Schiedsrichter, die auf der Pariser Friedenskonferenz zusammenkamen, von der Fairness ihrer gestellten Anträge zu überzeugen. Obwohl Rumänien auf das gesamte Territorium der historischen Provinz bestand, erhielt es nur einen Teil davon, wobei der Rest wurde zwischen Ungarn und Jugoslawien aufgeteilt wurde⁶.

2. Allgemeine Betrachtungen über die Presse

Die Presse in der Muttersprache, ein Bereich, der für die ethnische Identität jeder Nation von großer Bedeutung ist, war ein wichtiger Meilenstein im Leben der deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaften in ganz Rumänien. Sie war das Barometer, welches

die Wünsche, Hoffnungen und Erwartungen dieser Minderheit im neuen staatsrechtlichen Rahmen getreu illustrierte. Die Presse offenbarte das Bild, die Bedenken, die ideologische Orientierungen der Bevölkerung, aber auch die gewünschten Beziehungen zu den rumänischen Staatsbehörden sowie die Verbindungen zum deutschen Mutterstaat. Wir sprechen daher von einem komplexen Phänomen großer Kohärenz, das in den meisten städtischen Gebieten, aber oft auch in ländlichen Gebieten entwickelte⁷. Da Deutschland als Kultur- und Bildungsland galt, war die deutsche Bevölkerung des Banats ein Vorreiter in dieser Region durch die Veröffentlichung von sogenannten Gazetten, die im Bereich der Printmedien als Vorbild dienten. Die geographisch fruchtbaren Gebiete waren Siebenbürgen und das Banat, wo die meisten Presseerzeugnisse aufgezeichnet wurden, wobei diese Provinzen auch diejenigen waren, in denen journalistische Produkte für die Öffentlichkeit viel weiterverbreitet waren als in den anderen Regionen.

In Siebenbürgen wurden, vom 18. Jahrhundert⁸ bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs über 220 Publikationen⁹ gedruckt, wobei die Anzahl der deutschen Wochenpublikationen in den Zwischenkriegsjahren 14 Titel betrug. Zum Vergleich dazu erschienen im Banat in der Zwischenkriegszeit 20 wöchentliche Veröffentlichungen, während für Bessarabien, Bukowina und Sathmar nur 3 bzw. eine Publikation in den letzten beiden Regionen registriert wurden¹⁰.

Um ein getreues Bild der deutschsprachigen Presse zu bekommen, sind die Dokumente der Generaldirektion für Presse und Druck des Außenministeriums relevant. Laut den Statistiken wurden 50 deutschsprachige Publikationen während der Zwischenkriegszeit in Rumänien registriert, 9 davon in den Jahren nach 1918.

Inhaltlich bezeichneten sich die meisten Veröffentlichungen als Quellen der Verbreitung deutscher Kultur und Identität und sie fassten unter diesem Motto abwechslungsreiche Themen zusammen. Bereiche wie Sprache, Kultur, Traditionen bis hin zu politischen Ideen fanden Eingang zum Inhalt der Seiten der Publikationen. Sie veranschaulichten auch die Bemühungen, die deutsche Ethnie im neuen territorialen und gesellschaftspolitischen Rahmen zu organisieren und neu auszurichten. Es gab natürlich auch Publikationen mit einem einzigen thematischen Kern, wie z.B. die Kirche, die Wirtschaft, die Lage der Arbeiter usw., die zur Erweiterung der deutschsprachigen journalistischen Landschaft beigetragen haben.

Es gab konstante Bemühungen seitens der Redaktionen, sich selbst zu finanzieren. Dabei mussten materielle, organisatorische und wettbewerbsfähige Hindernisse überwunden werden. Hinzu kam die Zensur und etliche Verurteilungen wegen Pressedelikten, die es schon immer gab und die wir auch in der Zwischenkriegszeit finden¹¹. Laut den offiziellen Daten betrug die Anzahl der verurteilten Journalisten zwischen 1919 bis 1934 über 600 Personen, von denen 94 Sachsen und Schwaben aus Siebenbürgen und Banat waren¹². Der Auslöser für das Eingreifen der Behörden und die verhängten Maßnahmen sind die gleichen Anschuldigungen, wie auch in den

früheren Zeiten. Die Vorwürfe beziehen sich hauptsächlich auf politische Artikel, die am häufigsten mit der Untergrabung der staatlichen Einheit zusammenhängen. Die Verurteilungen reichen von extremen Strafen, von schweren Gefängnisstrafen bis hin zu Geldstrafen, bei Journalisten ohne Vorstrafen.

Zu den deutschen Zeitungen, deren Redakteure vor Gericht gezogen wurden, gehören „Die Banater Deutsche Zeitung“, das „Temesvarer Volk“, das „Tageblatt Sibiu“ und die „Arader Zeitung“. Die Zensurbeamten waren wachsam und versuchten durch Kontrollen und Drohungen zu verhindern, dass unerwünschte Artikel erscheinen. Diese Maßnahmen wurden auch auf ausländische Zeitungen angewandt, die aus Deutschland nach Rumänien gelangten, mit der erklärten Absicht, die Verbreitung unerwünschter Informationen zu stoppen, so dass es verboten war, Zeitungen aus dem deutschen Raum sowie Reproduktionen oder Übersetzungen von Artikeln aus diesen Zeitungen in den Publikationen des Landes zu veröffentlichen. Diese Art des Eindringens wurde als gefährlich eingestuft, da sie die deutsche Minderheit gegen den rumänischen Staat hätte aufbringen können.

0.1. Die Banater Presse

Aus politisch-militärischen Gründen ist die Presse recht spät im Habsburgerreich im Vergleich zum Rest des Kontinents erschienen. Längere Kriege mit den Türken beeinflussten die allgemeine kulturelle Entwicklung des Imperiums, implizit die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Presse. Neben dem militärischen Faktor gab es noch ein weiteres Hindernis, nämlich die geringe Anzahl von Menschen, die auf Deutsch, Ungarisch, Lateinisch oder Französisch lesen konnten, was die Presse dazu veranlasste, sich mit einer Nischenkategorie, insbesondere dem aristokratischen, elitären Umfeld, zu befassen. Die Entstehung der Banater Presse ist wesentlich mit der Entwicklung des Buchdrucks verbunden, der Teil der allgemeinen Kulturlandschaft war, und dessen Fortschritte später verzeichnen können.

Die erste Zeitung, die in Temeswar erschienen ist, war das „Intelligenz Blatt“ im Jahre 1771. In den folgenden zehn Jahren genehmigten die lokalen Behörden das Erscheinen der ersten politischen Gazetten: es handelt sich um die „Temesvarer Zeitung“ im Jahre 1784 die für einen kurzen Zeitraum von mehreren Monaten existierte, sowie der „Temesvarer Merkur“ (1787). Darüber hinaus hatten alle Zeitungen, die bis Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts veröffentlicht wurden, eine relativ kurze Erscheinungszeit, aber ihre Erwähnung sollte nicht vergessen werden.

Die erste Publikation¹³, die im 19. Jahrhundert veröffentlicht wurde, war die Wochenzeitung „Temesvarer Wochenblatt“, die von Jonas Lajos im Jahre 1805 herausgegeben wurde. Sie erschien nur für eine sehr kurze Zeit, da der junge Redakteur Ende des Jahres starb. Mehr als zwei Jahrzehnte mussten vergehen, bis ein neuer Titel auf dem Temeswarer Markt erschien, und zwar die „Banater Zeitschrift“. Die erste

Ausgabe wurde 1828 gedruckt. Der Verleger und Eigentümer war József Klapka, der auch der Besitzer der Typografie war, in der die Zeitung gedruckt wurde. Es folgten der „Tagesbericht“ (1809) und „Thalia“ (1830).

In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts betrat die deutschsprachige Temeswarer Presse eine neue Etappe. Zu erwähnen ist das Erscheinen der ersten angesehenen politischen Zeitung, der „Temesvarer Zeitung“ (1852-1940; 1944-1949)¹⁴, die 1852 veröffentlicht wurde und die ein langzeitiges Erscheinen haben wird und einen Werdegang, den keine andere Zeitung in der Gegend in dieser Zeit konkurrieren kann. Als offizielle Zeitung der Regierung in Wien war sie ein wichtiger Kanal für die Verbreitung der Regierungsideologie und sie beinhaltete Ankündigungen der staatlichen Behörden. Als Beweis für ihren Wert und Einfluss steht die Tatsache, dass die Publikation für eine lange Zeitspanne veröffentlicht wurde.

Der erste Besitzer war der Journalist Karl Nikolaus Hirschfeld. Eine besondere Etappe in der Geschichte der Zeitung war die, in der die Leitung der Redaktion von Adolf Sternberg¹⁵ übernommen wurde. Zwischen 1871-1887 schaffte er es, die Publikation durch die veröffentlichten Materialien wiederzubeleben. Er schrieb Leitartikel, aber auch Texte über die deutsche Literatur und Kultur. Das Ergebnis seiner Bemühungen war der zunehmende Einfluss der Zeitung in den politischen und kulturellen Kreisen aber auch bei der breiten Öffentlichkeit.

Im 20. Jahrhundert, zwischen den Jahren 1927 und 1940, wurde Josef Gassner¹⁶ zum Chefredakteur ernannt. Die Zeitung wurde in den Jahren des Antonescu-Regimes wegen des Widerstands gegen Hitlers Politik verboten, aber sie tauchte am Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs wieder auf, kurz nach dem Regimewechsel in Rumänien.

Die „Temesvarer Zeitung“ war die bedeutendste deutsche Tageszeitung dieser Zeit, vor allem aus der Sicht ihrer Erscheinungsdauer, ein zeitlicher Bogen von fast einem Jahrhundert, aber auch dank der behandelten Themen und der Art und Weise, wie sie die deutsche Gemeinschaft widerspiegelte und ihre Interessen repräsentierte.

Im Zusammenhang mit diesen Kriterien steht auch der Untertitel der Zeitung „Organ deutschen Denkens und deutschen Kulturgefühls“, der die Sorge der Redaktion um den deutschen Geist und um die Identität der Ethnizität illustriert.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts erscheint der Kalender „Der Beobachter“ mit einer bedeutenden Druckzeit von mehr als einem halben Jahrhundert (1854-1917), der auch auf dem Dorf gelesen wurde. Zusätzlich erscheinen auch weitere flüchtige Publikationen, wie der „Grenzbote“ (1861), das „Temesvarer Wochenblatt für Unterhaltung, Handel, Industrie und Gewerbe“ (1862-1866) oder die „Banater Chronik“ (1867).

Lokale redaktionelle Initiativen mit einer geringen Auflage und an begrenzte geografische Gebiete adressiert, gab es auch in Lugosch, wo Karl Traunfellner 1852 eine Druckerei gründete und wo die Zeitung „Lugoscher Anzeiger“ veröffentlicht wurde. Sie

war ein Mittel zur Verbreitung offizieller Nachrichten und lokaler Ankündigungen. Die erste Serie betrug nur 28 Ausgaben und nach einigen Monaten hat die Zeitung aufgehört zu erscheinen¹⁷. Das Projekt wird auf Initiative von Johann Wentzely erneut belebt, der bis 1861 die Redaktion der Publikation übernahm.

Für ein Gesamtbild sind die Statistiken von István Berkeszi¹⁸ relevant. Laut diesen wurden ab 1771, dem Jahr der ersten Ausgabe der „Temeswarer Zeitung“ und bis Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts 144 Gazetten und Zeitschriften in der Stadt Temeswar herausgegeben, von denen 79 deutschsprachige waren. Im Vergleich dazu wurden 41 Veröffentlichungen auf Ungarisch und 10 auf Rumänisch verfasst, so dass wir eine klare Entwicklung sehen.

Das 20. Jahrhundert bringt einige Veränderungen mit sich, die zweifellos durch den Ersten Weltkrieg und das, was darauffolgte, gekennzeichnet waren. Die deutschsprachige Presse versuchte, sich an der neuen Situation auszurichten und setzte sich selbst zum Hauptziel, den Interessen der deutschen Volkszugehörigkeit zu dienen.

Was das Marktbestehen betrifft, so lassen sich die deutschsprachigen Publikationen in zwei große Kategorien einteilen. Die erste Kategorie besteht aus denen, die weiterhin erscheinen und die Tradition des jahrzehntelangen Bestehens hinter sich haben und als leitende Publikationen auf diesem Gebiet betrachtet werden. Zu der zweiten Kategorie gehören die neu erschienenen Zeitungen, die im ersten und zweiten Jahrzehnt des letzten Jahrhunderts versucht haben, ihren eigenen Weg zu gehen, die Aufmerksamkeit der Öffentlichkeit auf sich zu lenken und die Anerkennung auf dem Markt zu gewinnen.

Das Jahr 1910 brachte das Erscheinen der politischen Publikation „Die Zeitung“, unter der Leitung von Michael Kartye, deren letzten Ausgabe 1919 gedruckt wurde. Eine Statistik der schwäbischen Presse zeigt einen aufsteigenden Trend der Publikationen mit der Ausnahme einiger Jahre, in denen die jährliche Anzahl der Zeitungen niedriger war als in den Vorjahren¹⁹. Das Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs und der Sieg der bolschewistischen Revolution erschütterten die europäische politische Szene und die neue Situation gab der linksorientierten Presse einen Schub. Ein anschauliches Beispiel war die Zeitung „Volkswille“²⁰, ein Presseorgan der Sozialdemokratischen Partei von Temeswar. Sie wurde in „Arbeiter-Zeitung“ umbenannt und die Zeitung wurde vom 1. Mai 1893 bis 1933 in Temeswar veröffentlicht. Sie erschien als Presseorgan der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Ungarns und war die einzige langjährige sozialistische Publikation in der Region, eine wahre Tribüne zur Förderung der sozialdemokratischen Ideologie. Das Erscheinen war zunächst wöchentlich und dann wurden zwei Ausgaben pro Woche gedruckt. Der Krieg reduzierte die Periodizität wieder auf ein wöchentliches Erscheinen, aber ab dem 1. Dezember 1918 verwandelte sie sich in eine Tageszeitung. Zwischen November 1919 und Dezember 1930 erschien die Publikation unter dem Namen „Arbeiter-Zeitung“. Unter den Herausgebern der Zeitung sind der Schriftsteller Zoltán Franya und Josef Gabriel²¹ zu erwähnen. Der letzte hat 1913 die Position des Chefredakteurs übernommen

und die Redaktion bis Anfang des vierten Jahrzehntes geleitet. Aus finanziellen Gründen wurde die Zeitung 1933 geschlossen.

Bedeutend für die deutschsprachige Publizistik der Zwischenkriegszeit waren die „Banater Deutsche Kulturhefte“ (1927-1931), eine Publikation, in der das kulturelle Leben der Schwaben sehr gut wiederspiegelt wurde und die darüber hinaus unter dem Schirm des Banater Deutschen Kulturvereins gedruckt wurde. In den Seiten der Publikation erschienen vor allem Studien, die sich auf die Geschichte der deutschen Ethnie konzentrierten, aber auch Texte, die kulturelle Themen, die Sprachgeschichte, die schwäbischen Dialekte usw. behandelten.

Zwei weitere Zeitungen, die in der Hauptstadt des Banats veröffentlicht wurden, waren das „Banater Tagblatt“, zwischen 1920-1945, welches zweimal in der Woche und dann täglich erscheinen ist und die von Viktor Orendi-Hommendau²² gegründeten Publikation „Von der Heide“ mit einem kulturellem Profil und einer Erscheinungszeit zwischen 1922 und 1937.

1. Die Entwicklung des Buchdrucks

Was das Erscheinen des Buchdrucks betrifft, kennt Temeswar keine sehr lange Geschichte, verglichen mit anderen städtischen Zentren, wie Hermannstadt, Kronstadt oder Klausenburg. Die Erklärung liegt in der Besetzung der Stadt durch das Osmanische Reich²³ genau zu der Zeit, als der Buchdruck in Europa verbreitet wird. Aus diesem Grund wurde die kulturelle Entwicklung der Banatregion nicht begünstigt im Vergleich zu den siebenbürgischen städtischen Zentren. Der erste Versuch, eine Druckmaschine zu errichten, wurde erst 1758 auf Initiative von József Schotter aufgezeichnet, ist jedoch aufgrund der mangelnden Reaktion der lokalen Behörden erfolglos geblieben.

Nach zwei weiteren gescheiterten Versuchen²⁴ erhielt Iosif Mátyás Heimerl 1771 die Genehmigung, einen Buchdruck durch kaiserliches Patent zu errichten, dessen Arbeit sich hauptsächlich auf den Druck offizieller Dokumente konzentrierte. Hier wurde die erste Banater Zeitung, die „Temeswarer Nachrichten“, wöchentlich gedruckt. Die älteste in der Heimerl-Buchdruckerei aufbewahrte Dokument ist ein Leitfaden für die Finanzverwaltung für Offiziere, der im Nationalmuseum in Budapest zu finden ist.

Im Jahre 1787 erscheint die zweite Druckmaschine, diese im Besitz von Iosif Eisenführer, in der mehrere Ausgaben der Wochenzeitung „Temeswarer Merkur“ gedruckt wurden. Diese war eine kurzlebige Zeitung, von der keine Ausgabe aufbewahrt wurde²⁵. Die Druckmaschine war für kurze Zeit im Besitz von Eisenführer, weil sie an zwei andere Besitzer verkauft wurde, so dass sie 1791 Eigentum von Jakab József Jonas (1758-1804) wurde. Bis zur Revolution von 1848 existierte in Temeswar nur diese Druckmaschine. Hier wurden alle offiziellen Dokumente gedruckt, sowie eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Almanachen. Der revolutionäre Geist der Ereignisse von 1848 erforderte eine deutliche Medienberichterstattung und dies aus der Notwendigkeit,

revolutionäre Ideen zu verwirklichen und zu verbreiten. Das führte zur Gründung einer neuen Druckerei in September 1848 unter der Leitung von Ernst Hazay²⁶. Hier wurden zwei Zeitungen herausgegeben, der „Tagesanzeiger“ und „Der Südungar“, in denen die Ziele der Revolution an die Massen weitergegeben wurden, um so viele Anhänger wie möglich zu gewinnen. Aus diesem Grund war der Vertrieb der Zeitungen kostenlos, sie wurden auf die Straße gestellt und die Informationen erreichten die betroffenen Personen. Die Zeitung „Der Südungar“, dessen Besitzer und Verleger Dr. David Wachtel war, erschien dreimal pro Woche mit Artikeln, die die Ideen der ungarischen Revolution und des politischen Liberalismus unterstützten. In diesem typografischen Zentrum wurden viele revolutionäre Manifeste gedruckt, darunter auch das von Lajos Kossuth²⁷. Wie erwartet, verzögerte sich die Reaktion der Behörden nicht, so dass der Gemeinderat nach nur einem Monat beschloss, die Veröffentlichung der Zeitungen im Zusammenhang mit der Einrichtung der Ausgangssperre und der Wiedereinführung der Zensur zu verbieten. Die Druckerarbeiten wurden erst 1850 erneut aufgenommen.

Im 19. Jahrhundert ist der Banater Buchdruck in vollem Gange. Insgesamt 13 Druckzentren, die von echten Fachleuten geführt wurden, wurden parallel betrieben. Einige von diesen hatten eine lange Laufzeit und sie haben Werke von großer Qualität und Bedeutung veröffentlicht²⁸.

Das Jahr 1851 bleibt ein Meilenstein in der Geschichte des Banater Buchdrucks, denn damals wurde die Buchdruckgesellschaft gegründet. In der Stadt Temeswar waren drei Druckereien im Einsatz: eine Außenstelle der Wiener Staatsdruckerei, die Buchdruckerei von Iosif Beichel und die Buchdruckerei „Hazay und Sohn“. In den folgenden Jahrzehnten und bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts erschienen auch andere Druckzentren in der Stadt, wie z.B. die Typografie der Brüder Magyar, 1865, die von Carol Diener, 1867, die Typografie der Karagyorgyevits Partei, die aber nach Serbien verbannt wurde u.a.²⁹.

Zu erwähnen sind auch die Bemühungen in anderen Städten des Banats Druckereien zu eröffnen. Leider, waren die meisten nicht von Dauer. Im Jahre 1852 eröffnete Karl Traunfelner, ein Drucker aus Temeswar, eine Druckerei in Lugosch, wo die Lokalzeitung „Lugoser Anzeiger“ gedruckt wurde. Trotz der Bemühungen war die Zeitung kein Erfolg und der Tod des Besitzers der Druckerei führte im folgenden Jahr zur Unterbrechung der Veröffentlichung.

In der Hauptstadt des Banats entstanden in den 60er Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts dank der Bemühungen der Brüder Magyar (1865), von Karl Diemer (1867) und von Martin Uhrmann (1869) drei Typografien. Es folgten die Druckereien von Leopold Fried (1881), Posaune (1883), die der Familie Steiner mit dem Namen „UNIO“ (1891), das Druckzentrum „Corvia“ (1893) und die Druckmaschine von George Trauttner (1894)³⁰. Mehrere Jahre lang war die bedeutendste Druckerei der Stadt, nach Größe und Leistung diejenige, die Jacob Csendes gehörte und die 1889 gegründet wurde. Ende des 19.

Jahrhunderts betrug die Anzahl der Druckereien in Banat 51 Werkstätten. Diese wurden in 18 Städten eröffnet, was die Entwicklung der Zeitungen, sowie ihre Anzahl stärkte.

2. Die Banater Buchhandlungen

Im Januar 1783 erhielt János Tamás Trattner die kaiserliche Genehmigung zur Eröffnung einer Buchhandlung in Temeswar, die er über zwei Kommissionäre leitete³¹. Am Ende des Jahrhunderts wurde Albert Karlitzky, der auch Inspektor der nationalen Schulen war, zum Zensor der Buchhandlungen ernannt. Er war für die Überwachung des Bücherverkaufs verantwortlich, da der Verkauf vieler verbotener Bücher – heimlich durch Buchschmuggel – gemeldet wurde³². Obwohl es Interesse am Kauf von Büchern gibt, ist die Zahl der Leser gering, da ihre Preise sehr hoch waren.

Im Jahre 1787 eröffnete Josef Eisenführer eine neue Buchhandlung. Im letzten Jahrzehnt des 18. Jahrhunderts zeigen die Dokumente die Existenz einer Druckmaschine und einer Bibliothek im Besitz von Jonas Jakab József (1758-1804), der ein profitables Geschäft entwickelte, da er auch eine Buchhandlung, eine Buchbindung und ein Café besaß³³. In Temeswar gab es 1865 die Bibliothek der Magyar-Brüder und ab 1879 die Buchhandlung von Enric Uhrmann.

3. Fazit

Trotz aller Hindernisse und Grenzen, denen die deutsche Minderheit in Banat ausgesetzt war, versuchte sie im Laufe der Zeit mit aller Überzeugung die Bewahrung der kulturellen und sprachlichen Identität zu erzielen. Ein wichtiger Faktor war die deutschsprachige Presse, die sich aus Publikationen mit wöchentlichen oder zweimonatlichen Auftritten zusammensetzte, welche kulturelle, soziale, politische und sprachliche Themen behandelte. Wir können nicht über die Verbreitung der redaktionellen Erzeugnisse sprechen, ohne die Verlage, Typographien und Bibliotheken zu betrachten. Sie trugen entscheidend zur Bewahrung des deutschen Geistes und der Identität dieser Minderheit bei.

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Notes

- 1 Acknowledgement: This work was supported by a Grant of the Ministry of Research and Innovation CNCS-UEFISCDI, Project Number PN-III-P4-ID-PCCF-2016-0131, within PNCDI III.
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- 3 Ioan Munteanu, *Banatul istoric 1867-1918*. Band. I: *Așezările și populația* (Timișoara: Excelsior Art, 2006), 386.
- 4 Ludwig-Anton Holczinger, Sorin Pribac, *Germanii din Banat. O viziune istorică și socio-antropologică asupra evoluției și existenței unei etnii în Europa de sud-est* (Timișoara: Mirton, 2011), 92-93.
- 5 Cornel Groșoreanu, *Situația politică și culturală a minorităților etnice din România la finea anului 1930* (Timișoara, 1944), 14.
- 6 Die Liste der Ortschaften aus dem historischen Banat, die zu Ungarn und Jugoslawien gehören: Ludwig-Anton Holczinger, Sorin Pribac, *Germanii din Banat. O viziune istorică și socio-antropologică asupra evoluției și existenței unei etnii în Europa de sud-est* (Timișoara: Mirton, 2011), 107-109.
- 7 Nicolae Teșculă, “Presa săsească sighișoreană”, in: *Revista Bistriței*, 2005, XIX, 231-248.
- 8 In 1778 erscheint in Hermannstadt das „Theatral Wochenblatt“.
- 9 Vasile Ciobaniu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea istoriei sașilor transilvăneni, 1918-1944* (Sibiu: Hora, 2001), 337.
- 10 Daniel Hrenciuc, *Germanii din Regatul României întregite (1918-1945)* (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2019), 176-177.
- 11 Marian Petcu, *Puterea și cultura. O istorie a cenzurii* (Iași: Polirom, 1999), 11; Adrian Marino, *Cenzura în România. Schiță istorică introductivă* (Craiova: Aius, 2000), 16; Ștefan Király, „Fonduri secrete sau fonduri interzise? (Schiță istorică despre fondurile secrete de bibliotecă din România)”, in: *Philobiblon*, I, 1995, Nr. 1, 47-55.
- 12 Daniel Hrenciuc, *Germanii din Regatul României întregite (1918-1945)*, (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2019), 177.
- 13 Informationen über die Zeitspanne 1851-1926: Ludovic Magyari, *75 de ani din viața tipografilor timișoreni*, Übersetzung von Carol Spielmann, Dumitru Bozgan.
- 14 Alexander Krischan, *Die „Temesvarer Zeitung“ als Banater Geschichtsquelle (1852-1949)*, (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1969); Luzian Geier, Die „Temesvarer Zeitung“, in: *Die Zeit in der Zeitung. Beiträge zur rumäniendeutschen politischen Publizistik*, Eduard Eisenburger, Michael Kroner (Hrsg.) (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1977) pp. 95-112; Ciprian Glăvan, *Premisele, genza și evoluția presei de limbă germană din Banat între anii 1771-1867*, in: *Analele Banatului. Arheologie-Istorie*, 2011, XIX, 366-367.
- 15 In Budapest geborener Journalist und Schriftsteller. Er hat in Pest studiert und war Mitarbeiter bei mehreren deutschen Publikationen. Er lebte zwischen 1839-1903.
- 16 Josef Gassner (1899-1971), Journalist, in Lovrin geboren. Er hat Wirtschaftswissenschaften in Budapest und Mannheim studiert und hat als Journalist bei der „Banater Deutschen Zeitung“ gearbeitet. Danach war er Chefredakteur bei der „Temeswarer Zeitung“. Er ist aus Rumänien nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg ausgewandert und hat in München gelebt. Siehe auch: Hans Diplich, „Josef Gaßner zum 70. Geburtstag“, in *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahrsblätter*, 1969, Nr. 2, 109-112.
- 17 Patrick Lavrits, *Șvabii din Banat în perioada monarhiei Austro-Ungare* (Timișoara: Eurostampa, 2011), 145.

- 18 István Berkeszi, *Istoria tipografiei și a presei timișorene* (Timișoara: David Press Print, 2013), 91, 239-252.
- 19 Josef Geml, *Alt-Temesvar im letzten Halbjahrhundert: 1870-1920*, (Timișoara: Helicon, 1927), 236-237.
- 20 William Marin, Ioan Lunčan, *Două secole de luptă revoluționară în sud-vestul României (1733-1948)* (Timișoara: Facla, 1984), 57; William Marin, *Unirea din 1918 și poziția șvabilor bănățeni* (Timișoara: Facla, 1978), 123; Michael Kroner, „Die Anfänge der Deutschsprachigen Sozialistischen Publizistik. Die Banater deutsche Arbeiterpresse bis 1918 – der „Volkswille“, in: *Die Zeit in der Zeitung. Beiträge zur rumäniendeutschen politischen Publizistik*, Eduard Eisenburger, Michael Kroner (Hrsg.) (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1977) pp. 128-136; William Marin, „Für Brot und Recht. 80 Jahre seit dem Erscheinen der Temeswarrer Arbeiterzeitung „Volkswille“, in: *Neuer Weg*, 1973, Jahr 25, Nr. 4.
- 21 William Marin, *Josef Gabriel. Leben und Werk in Wort und Bild*, (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1988).
- 22 Viktor Orendi-Hommendau (1870, Dumbrăveni-1954, Bukarest), Journalist und Politiker; vor 1918 arbeitete er bei mehreren deutschen Publikationen. Er ist 1901 nach Temeschwar gezogen, wo er weiterhin bei der Presse tätig war. Nach 1918 positionierte er sich auf der Seite der deutschen Minderheitenelite und vertrat ihre Interessen gegenüber den Behörden. Er wurde vor allem für die Unterstützung der Bildung in deutscher Sprache bekannt.
- 23 Temeswar wurde von 1552 bis 1716 vom Osmanischen Reich besetzt.
- 24 Die Forderungen wurden von Kolb Antal aus Buda und Schotter aus Hermannstadt gestellt.
- 25 Ciprian Glăvan, „Premisele, geneza și evoluția presei de limbă germană din banat între anii 1771-1867“, in: *Analele Banatului. Arheologie-Istorie*, 2011, XIX, 362.
- 26 Typograph, 1819 in Temeswar geboren.
- 27 Nicolae Ilieșiu, *Timișoara, Monografie istorică* (Timișoara: Planetarium, 2003), 245.
- 28 Die Liste aller Typographien der Stadt Temeswar im 19. Jhd. bei: István Berkeszi, *Istoria tipografiei și a presei timișorene* (Timișoara: David Press Print, 2013), 76-78.
- 29 Ein Überblick über die Typographien, welche in Temeswar in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts betrieben wurden, ist im Band enthalten: Ludovic Magyari, *75 de ani din viața tipografilor timișoreni*. Behandelt wird die Zeitspanne zwischen 1851-1926.
- 30 Nicolae Ilieșiu, *Timișoara, Monografie istorică* (Timișoara: Planetarium, 2003), 246.
- 31 István Berkeszi, *Istoria tipografiei și a presei timișorene*, (Timișoara: David Press Print, 2013), 34.
- 32 *Idem*, 34.
- 33 *Idem*, 37.

Un secolo di insegnamento economico superiore – due decenni di didattica dell’italiano per l’economia e gli affari

A Century of Academic Economic Education – Two Decades of Teaching Italian for Business and Economics

Dana-Maria Feurdean*

This article draws attention to the 20th anniversary of teaching/learning the Italian language for economics and business, a process that over the years has adapted to the dynamism of the labor market in order to meet the linguistic and communicative needs of students for employment.

Italian for economics and business; 20th anniversary of teaching.

L’insegnamento della lingua economica e commerciale italiana presso la Facoltà di Scienze Economiche e Gestione degli Affari (FSEGA) dell’Università Babeș-Bolyai si inserisce nella tradizione centenaria di insegnamento economico universitario romeno di Cluj-Napoca, visto che da 20 anni svolge un rilevante ruolo nella formazione degli studenti.

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Nel 2000, lo studio della lingua italiana (come Ls1 o Ls2, ma anche come lingua facoltativa) viene introdotto, nella sua variante di linguaggio specialistico, presso il Dipartimento di Lingue Applicate Moderne e Comunicazione negli Affari. Tali corsi – oltre ai corsi di inglese, francese, spagnolo, tedesco – sono stati indirizzati, per molti anni, a studenti di varie facoltà come, ad esempio, quelle di profilo economico-aziendale, politico-amministrativo, giornalistico e studi europei.

Un anno prima della pubblicazione della *Dichiarazione dei membri del comitato scientifico del convegno di Berlino* (28-30 giugno 2001) – apparsa in concomitanza con l'Anno Europeo delle Lingue –, l'Università Babeş-Bolyai possedeva già i mezzi e i *syllabus* necessari per offrire agli studenti la possibilità di studiare “as many languages as possible – including less widely used and/or less taught”¹, dimostrandosi allineata sin d'allora alla politica linguistica ed educativa europea per il multilinguismo e il plurilinguismo².

Inoltre, il Centro *Lingua* (fondato nel 1999) promuove la politica linguistica e multiculturale dell'università, offrendo alla comunità una gamma di corsi (inclusi quelli di italiano commerciale) e venendo così incontro ai bisogni linguistici sia degli studenti, che del pubblico interessato a sviluppare le proprie competenze linguistiche per motivi di studio o professionali.

Negli anni i contenuti dei *syllabus* sono cambiati in base sia alle offerte educative e formative delle facoltà, che alle sfide del mercato del lavoro. L'italiano è stato per qualche anno anche la linea di studio di due specializzazioni di Laurea Magistrale: *Joint Master in integrazione europea* (una collaborazione tra la Facoltà di Scienze Economiche, quella di Studi Europei e l'Università di Padova) e *Management Performant*, in collaborazione con l'Istituto Pitagora di Brescia.

Attualmente lo studio dell'italiano economico e degli affari si rivolge solo agli studenti delle Facoltà di Scienze Economiche e Gestione degli Affari (sia a quelli della Laurea Triennale, che a quelli della Magistrale) e di Business (a quelli della Laurea Triennale). Per i primi tre semestri (della Laurea Triennale) si insegnano corsi pratici (*Lingua moderna negli affari-italiano*); alla fine del quarto semestre (quando si studia la disciplina *Linguaggio specialistico applicato*) gli studenti devono sostenere un esame di competenze linguistiche in base al quale viene rilasciata una certificazione valida all'ingresso all'esame di laurea (livello minimo accettato B1, livello soglia) oppure all'iscrizione al Master (livello B2). Nel terzo anno di studio, presso la Facoltà di Scienze Economiche, si insegna (per due semestri) la disciplina opzionale *Comunicazione aziendale*, mentre alla Laurea Magistrale si possono frequentare discipline come *Comunicazione interculturale*; *Lingua moderna. Competenze applicate*.

I corsi d'italiano sono ideati a scopi professionali con lo scopo di sviluppare le competenze comunicative (sia orali, che scritte) dei futuri dipendenti o dirigenti, che opereranno nei settori aziendali, commerciali, bancari, finanziari, turistici, del marketing

e della pubblicità o, persino, presso organizzazioni internazionali. A tal fine, nel processo formativo degli studenti, si è prestata attenzione tanto alle attività di comprensione dei testi autentici orali e scritti, quanto a quelle di sviluppo della competenza lessicale specialistica, culturale e interculturale³. Pur avendo come obiettivo principale lo sviluppo progressivo della comunicazione in settori professionali, la grammatica non viene trascurata, ma viene adattata al gruppo target, conoscendo vari metodi (induttivo e deduttivo per i livelli linguistici più bassi e il metodo di apprendimento tramite l'esecuzione di determinati compiti – un processo attraverso il quale la grammatica non è fine a sé stessa, ma è integrata in una lezione basata sul contesto).

Conoscendo lungo gli anni il feedback di molti studenti, che hanno trovato lavoro in varie aziende o multinazionali anche grazie ad una buona padronanza dell'italiano, possiamo affermare che, nella formazione economica dell'università romena, per vent'anni anche l'insegnamento della lingua economica e commerciale italiana ha svolto un ruolo importante nella preparazione degli studenti alla dinamicità del mercato del lavoro.

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Notes

- 1 Draft Declaration of the Members of the Scientific Committee of the Berlin European Year of Languages Conference (28-30 June 2001), <<http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/elc/docs/BDeclEN.pdf>> (ultima visualizzazione sett. 2020).
- 2 Per più informazioni sull'allineamento dell'università Babeş-Bolyai con la politica linguistica europea, rimandiamo a Delia Marga, “Limbile moderne la universitate”, in *Lingua* (1/2002), 7-21.
- 3 Per dettagli relativi ad alcuni contenuti impartiti si può consultare “Comunicare in italiano. Lingua d'uso per la comunicazione nella sfera pubblica e negli affari”, in *Lingua* (Year XII, nr. 2, 2013), 127-131.

Mircea Ivănescu, Altre poesie scelte (1968-1976) (Criterion Editrice, Milano: 2020) [Autres poésies choisies]

Other Selected Poems [Mircea Ivănescu, Altre poesie scelte (1968-1976) (Criterion Editrice, Milano: 2020)]

Letiția Ilea*

The paper analyzes the recent Italian edition of Mircea Ivănescu's poems, translated by Federico Donatiello.

Romanian poetry; Mircea Ivănescu; translation; poetry translation.

Nous signalons en ce qui suit un événement éditorial hors du commun : la traduction en italien du poète roumain Mircea Ivănescu, publiée chez Criterion Editrice, Milano, avec le soutien de l'Institut Culturel Roumain. L'anthologie et la traduction, aussi bien que l'Introduction à l'édition italienne sont réalisées par Federico Donatiello, de l'Université de Padoue. Pourquoi « hors du commun » ? Parce qu'aujourd'hui, de plus en plus, la poésie perd du terrain devant la littérature commerciale, de consommation ; nous dirions que la poésie est une affaire confidentielle, un acte donquichottesque d'écrivains qui diffusent leurs livres auprès d'un public très restreint et qui se lisent, la plupart du temps, entre eux. D'autant plus, l'apparition en Italie d'un livre de

Mircea Ivănescu, poète très important qui, en Roumanie, a commencé à jouir de sa reconnaissance bien méritée seulement pendant les dernières années, est une chose que nous saluons de tout cœur. Jusqu'à présent, la présence internationale de la poésie d'Ivănescu a été assez réduite : le poète roumain figure dans l'anthologie de la poésie roumaine du XXe siècle réalisée par Marco Cugno et, en 2009, il a été traduit en anglais par Adam J. Sorkin et Lidia Vianu.

Dans son Introduction, *L'épique intérieure de Mircea Ivănescu*, Federico Donatiello fait un panorama de la poésie roumaine pendant la période communiste, situant Ivănescu dans le contexte de son époque et essayant d'expliquer le fait que celui-ci a choisi une position marginale (ce qui n'est pas sans expliquer les difficultés de sa réception ultérieure). Federico Donatiello saisit de manière très pertinente les principaux traits de la poésie d'Ivănescu : repliée sur elle-même, renonçant aux questionnements philosophiques qui animaient la poésie roumaine du moment, (auto)-ironique, ludique, usant d'un langage colloquial. Par cela, comme Federico Donatiello l'observe, Ivănescu acquiert sa dimension européenne : « Mircea Ivănescu est, de cette manière, parmi les premiers poètes roumains à ne plus regarder exclusivement en arrière et dans la tradition nationale, se plaçant au contraire avec aisance dans l'horizon européen de ses propres années, caractérisé précisément par une forte vague de rejet du modernisme lyrique et oraculaire. »

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Federico Donatiello a réalisé un choix personnel de la lyrique d'Ivănescu des années '60-'70 ; à la base de sa sélection se trouvent les recueils : *Versuri* (1968), *Poeme* (1970), *Poesii* (1970), *Alte versuri* (1972), *Alte poeme* (1973), *Poem* (1973), *Amintiri* (1973) et *Alte poesii* (1976). Le traducteur italien considère ces recueils comme les plus représentatifs pour Ivănescu.

Pourtant, Federico Donatiello n'a pas cédé à la tentation de traduire ce qui était le plus facile à traduire de la lyrique du poète roumain, mais s'est efforcé à présenter au lecteur italien les poèmes d'Ivănescu dans tout ce qu'ils ont de plus mémorable. Outre les difficultés inhérentes à toute traduction de poésie, la poésie d'Ivănescu présente par endroits une certaine « résistance à la traduction ». Le poète utilise une syntaxe particulière et une ponctuation personnelle ; en même temps il crée des mots, par exemple le célèbre « mopete », anagramme des mots « poet » et « poem ».

En tant que bon connaisseur de la poésie roumaine, amoureux de poésie et excellent traducteur, Federico Donatiello réussit à offrir au lecteur italien une image très proche de l'original de la poésie de Mircea Ivănescu. Par ce recueil – pour lequel il faut être reconnaissants au traducteur, aux éditions Criterion et à l'Institut Culturel

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Roumain –, la réception de la lyrique de Mircea Ivănescu (et implicitement de la poésie roumaine) fait un pas en avant. Et pas des plus petits.

Notes

- 1 Federico Donatiello, *L'epica interiore di Mircea Ivănescu*, in *Mircea Ivănescu, Altre poesie scelte* (1968-1976) (Criterion Editrice, Milano: 2020), 17.

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Oltre i confini. Il dialogo transnazionale nelle discipline storiche e filologiche, a cura di Dan Octavian Cepraga, Sorin Șipoș, Federico Donatiello, Dana-Maria Feudean, Criterion Editrice, Milano, 2020

The Transnational Dialogue in Historical and Philological Disciplines (Review)

*Iulia Cosma**

The contributions collected in *Oltre i confini. Il dialogo transnazionale nelle discipline storiche e filologiche*, as the title itself shows, gravitate around two poles, that of philological-literary research and that of historical criticism. The papers illustrate the semantic potential of the word border and of the different ways of passing beyond, of overcoming the barriers between countries, concrete or abstract, but no less strong and insidious: mental, ideological or cultural barriers, which inevitably mark the human interaction and research.

interdisciplinary; historical studies; philological studies; Romanian studies.

Affermare che i convegni internazionali non sempre riescono ad andare oltre i confini potrebbe sembrare un controsenso, soprattutto a chi non è un abituale frequentatore di simili incontri scientifici. Eppure, spesso non si superano i confini non tanto a causa delle difficoltà del varcarli (da tanti anni ormai nell'ambito della ricerca umanistica si insiste sulla *pluri-*, *multi-* e *inter-* disciplinarità), bensì perché manca uno dei primi requisiti per farlo, ovvero la disponibilità al dialogo che significa più dello stare educatamente a sentire, ma anche accogliere quanto l'altro, inteso qui in senso culturale e non etnico, abbia da riferire: non per piaggeria, o buona prassi accademica, ma come sguardo dal di fuori, così caro all'antropologia, come confronto e scontro equo, senza mai abbandonare

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la verace via del senso critico. Non è un caso, dunque, che nell'introduzione i curatori presentino il volume, originato da un convegno svoltosi presso l'Università di Padova nel 2018, come frutto di uno scambio (che potremmo definire amebeo) tra l'Est e l'Ovest europeo, a partire dal 2009, una collaborazione all'insegna della pluralità prospettica:

[dopo la caduta del comunismo] La ripresa di rapporti storici fra le diverse parti d'Europa aveva reso evidente ai nostri occhi quanto fosse urgente e indispensabile riprendere un confronto tra studiosi dell'una e dell'altra parte nell'ambito specifico delle discipline storiche e filologiche. Si trattava, innanzi tutto, di conoscersi e di ricominciare a parlarsi, per provare non solo a immaginare un comune spazio di dialogo, ma anche per ricostruire, al di là delle vie traverse, una nuova, plausibile mappa intellettuale europea, una delle tante possibili idee d'Europa.¹

E per disegnare questa «nuova mappa» non si potevano escludere gli strumenti 'antichi', quelli della ricerca storica e filologica in quanto discipline che, per loro natura se non per amore, vanno oltre i confini nazionali. In questo senso, non possiamo non notare che se nei manuali e negli studi di filologia romanza le lingue neolatine vengono trattate assieme, com'è naturale che accada, questo purtroppo non si verifica con regolarità nel caso delle culture romanze. Ecco perché un volume che accolga studi di romanistica in senso lato (sia in italiano che in romeno), di filologia e di ispanistica, assume un significato particolare proprio nel conferire maggiore visibilità all'eredità culturale comune europea, all'insegna del multilinguismo e di un'inclusività motivata storicamente, soprattutto in tempi torbidi come quelli che stiamo attraversando.

I contributi raccolti in *Oltre i confini. Il dialogo transnazionale nelle discipline storiche e filologiche*, come risulta dal titolo stesso, gravitano intorno a due poli, quello della ricerca filologico-letteraria e quello della critica storica. Appartengono al primo gruppo gli studi di Zeno Verlato, «Antonio Bastero e la *Crusca Provenzale* (1724)», Luca Morlino, «Così lontano così vicino. Leo Spitzer e la filologia cosmopolita», Federico Donatiello «Nicolae Filimon, un "viaggiatore" musicale europeo», Maura Rossi «El universo concentrationario entre dos exilios y más allá de las fronteras: Max Aub y Jorge Semprún» e Gabriele Bizzarri, «De cajas movidas, hijos abducidos y otras dislocaciones sin importancia: el fantástico "sin fronteras" de Samanta Schweblin». Sul versante storico, numericamente più rappresentato, si collocano gli altri studi: Ion Gumenâi, «Identitatea istorico-lingvistică a populației românești din Basarabia în lucrările autorilor din Imperiul Rus» [L'identità storico-linguistica della popolazione romena della Bessarabia negli scritti degli autori dell'Impero russo], Elena Platon, «Un etnolog pe un vapor. Începuturile românisticii în spațiul ceh» [Un intellettuale su un battello a vapore. Gli inizi della romanistica nello spazio culturale ceco], Liliana Rotaru, «Constituirea corpului academic al școlii superioare din RSS Moldovenească:

între exigențele ideologice și pragmatismul utilitar» [La costituzione del corpo docente per l'istruzione superiore nella RSS Moldava: tra esigenze ideologiche e pragmatismo utilitario], Sorin Șipoș, «Il percorso intellettuale di Silviu Dragomir e le sue ricerche storiche», Cosmin Patca, «Despre Școala Sociologică de la București. Evoluția relației dintre Dimitrie Gusti și Anton Golopenția» [Sulla Scuola Sociologica di Bucarest. L'evoluzione del rapporto tra Dimitrie Gusti e Anton Golopenția], Nicolae Hodor, «Geografie și realitate geografică dincolo de frontierele româno-sovietice. Pătimirile lui Simion Mehedinți» [Geografia e realtà geografica oltre le frontiere romeno-sovietiche. Le sofferenze di Simion Mehedinți], Gabriel Moisa, «Frontiere semantice și mentale ale dialogului româno-ungar în ultima perioadă a regimului comunist. Câteva considerații referitoare la epopeea cinematografică românească» [I confini semantici e mentali del dialogo romeno-ungherese nell'ultimo periodo del regime comunista. Alcune considerazioni relative all'epopea cinematografica romena] e Roland Olah, «Epopee la frontieră. Episoade ale trecerii frauduloase a graniței româno-maghiare în anii '80» [L'epopea di confine. Gli episodi dell'attraversamento fraudolento del confine romeno-ungherese negli anni '80].

I contributi raccolti illustrano le potenzialità semantiche della parola *confine* e delle diverse modalità del passare oltre, di superare le barriere tra paesi, concrete oppure astratte, ma non per questo meno forti e insidiose: barriere mentali, ideologiche o culturali, che segnano inevitabilmente l'interazione umana e la ricerca. Attraverso due figure di filologi, uno meno conosciuto al pubblico italiano, l'erudito catalano del Settecento Antonio Bastero, e l'altro uno dei maestri del Novecento, Leo Spitzer, Zeno Verlato e Luca Morlino prendono in discussione il carattere transnazionale della filologia. Federico Donatiello ed Elena Platon rimarcano la permeabilità dei confini nazionali, illustrando con esempi concreti l'importanza del viaggio nell'Ottocento, sia esso di piacere o con intento etnografico. Roland Olah, invece, si sofferma sui casi concreti di attraversamento fraudolento del confine romeno-ungherese negli anni '80, una questione particolarmente dolente, visto il numero di vittime. Cosmin Patca e Sorin Șipoș dedicano i loro contributi a figure di intellettuali romeni di spicco che hanno svolto un ruolo determinante nello sviluppo della ricerca storica e sociologica, spostando così i confini di queste discipline. Ion Gumenâi, Liliana Rotaru, Nicolae Hodor e Gabriela Moisa indagano su questioni di tipo ideologico, portando alla luce casi di censura e falsificazioni di dati ravvisabili nella letteratura scientifica, oppure manipolazioni più subdole messe in atto nel reclutamento delle élites o tramite la produzione cinematografica. Maura Rossi e Gabriele Bizzarri affrontano la questione delle frontiere nella letteratura ispanica, o per meglio dire i confini forzati, attraverso la lente della scrittura dedicata a temi come l'esilio e il trauma.

A mo' di conclusione, riprendiamo il paragrafo finale del saggio di Zeno Verlato, perché secondo noi, pur riferendosi in primis alla figura filologo, racchiude in sé lo spirito con cui è stato ideato e realizzato questo volume collettivo:

[...] il filologo è uno studioso che accumula conoscenze a mano a mano che legge, studia e interpreta i testi, i quali sono la guida stessa alla ricerca. Tanto che per quanto sia brillante una tesi interpretativa, sarà la capacità di leggere i testi senza tradirli a dare ad essa forza; così come solo il rispetto filologico delle fonti può dar luogo a brillanti interpretazioni. La filologia “ama il discorso”, di un amore che non è pura contemplazione ma ascolto profondo, e – vincendo la ricerca di solitudine propria dello studioso – ascolto comunitario.²

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Notes

- 1 Octavian Cepraga, Sorin Șipoș, Federico Donatiello, Dana-Maria Feudean (eds.), *Oltre i confini. Il dialogo transnazionale nelle discipline storiche e filologiche* (Mialno: 2020), 8.
- 2 *Idem*, 57.