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Communication and Management

The Communication Audit as a Company Performance Indicator

Diana Christine Zelter

In an era in which technology has advanced so much that people can communicate wherever they are in a variety of forms, the role of communication in company's activies has increased dramatically. Communication is no longer seen as something which just happens naturally, it has become a strategic instrument which greatly influences the company's performance. More and more studies have shown that there is a clear connection between communication effectiveness and organizational performance. Under the circumstances, the necessity of assessing communication effectiveness and efficiency is becoming a must for all companies, no matter their size or field of activity. The communication audit is the best instrument that can be used in this assessment. In our study, we are going to describe the communication audit from the theoretical point of view, focusing on principles, stages and implementation. Finally, we will be considering a practical situation in the form of a case study on the Romanian subsidiary of a multinational company.

Communication; audit; plan; strategy; performance; principles.

Introduction

The word audit is commonly used in connection with the financial situation of a company. However, there is more to it than just accounting. Audits are also performed in communication, as this is part of a package used to assess organizational effectiveness and efficiency. It is meant to identify the good practices inside and outside the organization and to create a climate in which these practices should be applied in the best possible way.

The communication audit has common features with other types of audit such as:

- Gathering information;
- Projecting management systems meant to control the information flow and the resources for a given period;
- Comparing communication practices with declared standards.

The audit in itself is a communication act. It occurs during a dynamic process based on listening as many organizations admit they have problems but they fail to identify the solutions. Such problems include:

- the precise diagnosis of current communication practices;
- identifying the impact of the measures which are taken in order to improve communication;
- evaluating the contribution communication has in the organizational success.

This is why periodical communication audits are necessary and helpful in assessing the company performance.

The communication audit's objectives

The International Communication Association identified a few key problems that should be assessed in a communication audit:

- the amount of information about major subjects, sources and communication channels;
- the quality of the information which is communicated;
- the communication relationships;
- the operational communication networks;
- information restrictions and issues;
- positive and negative communication experiences;
- organizational structures related to communication.

Such problems can be overcome through the internal communication audit, which offers a link between reality and managers' expectations. It analyzes an organization's practices in order to assess their efficiency and effectiveness.

Chenetet all (2004) identified a series of elements which a communication audit should include: symbols, structures, practices, discrete messages, interactions, relationships, narratives, meetings, formal and informal networks, rituals, myths or stories, speeches. It is almost impossible for an audit to comprise all these issues. It all depends on the current situation of the company. The nature of the audit will depend of the organization type, its values, its needs and its problems.

The most common situations that require a communication audit are: management changes, new market conditions, a merger or an acquisition, a new organizational structure, increased competition etc. All these represent changes and the audit works as a catalyst for the process of organizational change bringing forward problems which had not been identified until then. Practically, an audit tells the organization with whom it communicates theoretically and with whom it communicates practically, what it should communicate, how it should communicate and how it really communicates (Hargie&Tourish, 1993)

The audit may identify various problems such as: information deficit, the power of rumors, faulty upward communication, poor communication channels, unproductive meetings etc. The audit objectives depend a lot on considering communication as a vector of information transmission where information is seen as data which has to reach a recipient. Information means not only transmitting, it means adapting the message to the professional situation, to the professional recipient and the significance of the message. Internal communication should be a way of creating participation and information exchange between the members in order to build a common vision on work situations, problems and possible solutions.

The principles of the internal communication audit

Several researchers have looked into the matter of which principles should be guiding the internal communication audit. We consider Alex Muchielli's approach (2005) as particularly relevant, although there are things which could be updated in the light of latest developments in information technology.

The first principle he established is the principle of collective management of information problems. It has to do with downward communication, the role of management in informing subordinates and in communicating decisions. Basically, the principle refers to formal hierarchical communication and the problems which appear in these situations. The question is whether these problems should be solved by operational services or should be the object of collective analysis and decision involving the management as well.

This is one of the major questions an audit should address because it refers to a classical situation in many organizations in which managers are overwhelmed by the amount of information they receive. They are blamed that they cannot manage the information flow. Although there is no miracle solution, an option would be to involve all managers in order to find solutions at the level of the entire organization and not only in their own departments. Top management plays a very important part in this process; their lack of involvement might show that they do not consider the management of information as an essential issue.

The quality of information is equally important; this is why a communication audit should also investigate this matter and address questions such as: "Are the senders preoccupied by their receivers? Are there periodical meetings and discussions to improve the conditions of message transmission and understanding?"

Thus, managerial communication is central in the audit process. Which is the role of management in informing the subordinates? Is the management concerned with the quality of the information transmitted to subordinates? All the messages sent by management are "read" in an organizational context; they become responsible for the communication system and have to create such systems in their departments and in their teams.

The way decisions are communicated must also be examined. This is not only about feedback or about sensitive decisions; it is also about designing a strategy for implementing the changes resulting from these decisions.

The second principle elaborated by Muchielli refers to taking into consideration the receivers' situation. Here we are dealing with an issue we researched in a previous paper and that is the importance of context in organizational communication. The meaning of a message depends on the context in which the receiver reads it. This is why the sender must take into account not only the form of the message or its content but also the meanings the receivers may associate to the message and the context in which the message is received. Many problems could appear if this principle is not respected. A question the audit might address here is: ”Do senders formulate the information taking into account their receivers' situation?” This principle may help analyze the written communication in a company, for instance.

Two more principles are based on semantics. The first one takes into account the semio-cognitive elements. Although a classical audit would be based on Laswell's communication scheme, in professional communication one should also consider the fact that not only coding and transmitting a message are important, but also its interpretation. The message acquires meaning by contextualization. For example, a manager sends a memo; they formulate the message in the way in which they see its meaning in the context of their activity. The subordinates will read the message in the context of their work, so if they give it another interpretation according to their situation, the message will acquire another meaning. Therefore, the same message in different work-related situations may have different meanings. It is very important that the receiver should be capable of understanding what they have to do in order to act according to the information they received.

Under the circumstances, the audit should see the extent to which the information becomes quality information considering the elements which we have just mentioned. The method of communication must be also analyzed; it is essential that the method should be chosen by taking into account what we want the receiver to do. The chosen method should be the most economic one and it should transmit the message clearly and coherently.

The second semantic principle takes into consideration the contextual elements. It means that each situation may be divided in separate contexts such as: the context of identity, the cultural reference context, the social context, the special context, the physical context etc. (Muchielli, 2008). It is a very detailed method, which is difficult to apply to an entire organization. However, it can be used to analyze particular communication situations that can provide solutions to certain issues. New premises may be created in this way for an audit, which would cover three main dimensions:

- the integration and presentation of the information
- the quality of the communication method
- the importance of communication contexts

The principles mentioned above comprise all these dimensions and they are useful both for the communication audit of a company but also for the analysis of particular communication situations.

The implementation of the communication audit as a strategic instrument

A communication audit should follow a number of stages such as:

- selecting the subject/topic
- establishing performance criteria and standards
- discussing the standards which the management team thinks should be adopted and attained
- identifying the contact people between the company and the audit team

The organization should be prepared for the audit; the general manager usually informs the staff involved in the process, who should respect the ethical standards of the organization. The confidentiality issue is essential and the participants must be ensured that their answers are confidential. They will be selected randomly (if possible) and only the audit team will have access to the questionnaires. The report will avoid any reference to the respondents' identity and the audit instruments will be administered without the managers' interference.

The data collection will have two stages. Firstly, a number of short interviews will familiarize the audit team with the staff and managers' views. The feedback obtained will help draw up the questionnaire or an already existing questionnaire could be used. A preliminary focus group may also be organized. In this stage, the following issues can be dealt with: how decisions are made, communication channels, communication relationships, communication barriers, organizational structure, the quality of the information flow, crisis communication.

In the second stage, the questionnaire will be tested in order to detect potential problems. Then other focus groups may be organized on different levels or different departments. After that, the questionnaire will be distributed either online or physically; the answers will be analyzed, interpreted and a report will be written. It is useful to see whether the results from the questionnaire and those from the focus groups are similar or not.

The results will be communicated to top management orally and in writing. The written report must comprise:

- the scope and the objectives of the audit
- the methods which were used
- the analysis of the communication channels, means and forms within the company
- the analysis of the results from the focus groups
- the questionnaire
- the analysis of the questionnaire results
- suggestions and recommendations.

Case study: communication audit at company R subsidiary from Cluj-Napoca, Romania

Company R (name not given by agreement with the company) is an international group, leader in the field of constructions, automotive and industry, which has over 15,000 employees in 170 locations worldwide. In Romania, the group had 125 employees (before the pandemic, when the study was made) in 3 locations. In Cluj-Napoca branch, there were 30 employees.

In the first stage of the audit we analyzed the documents which regulate internal communication in the group. At the headquarters in Switzerland there is a communication center which is subordinated to the general executive Board and takes care of both internal and external communication. Each strategic business division has its own communication department whose nature may vary according to local specificities. The Corporate Communication Department manages all internal and external communication. Their main aim is to continuously and systematically improve the company brand, which is coordinated with the company potential and leads to corporate identity.

The regional structures may not have their own communication department inside the strategic business unit (in which case communication is managed by the Regional CEO who reports to the communication manager at the headquarters) or they may have their own communication department which is technically managed by the Corporate Communication Department. The regional communication departments are responsible for local publicity and PR in line with the group brand and communication strategy. Once a year they organize a conference for all communication managers from divisions and regions.

The group's official documents specify that the main objectives of internal communication are integrating all communication activities in the brand strategy and synchronizing all communication means' content and presentation with the target groups they address.

The group's Policy addresses the issue of communication firstly in the chapter referring to staff. The staff concept is based on three pillars: performance, open communication and independence. Each employee is free to express their wishes to management according to the principle of "open doors". This shows an open communication climate and a managerial communication oriented towards openness and feedback, as it is also stipulated in the chapter about management and leadership where it is said that leading means communicating.

In the special chapter dedicated to Communication (within the Group's Policy), the idea of direct and open communication is reiterated, both among employees and between employees and management. The emphasis is on information quality and on the importance of informing employees in a timely manner. Another instrument they use is "days for discussing personal issues" which take place once a year in all subsidiaries. A top management member goes to that subsidiary and any employee may have an informal discussion with them on that day, mainly about issues which local management could not solve.

An interesting aspect is represented by the regulations regarding e-mail use in the company. It is stipulated that each employee is responsible for choosing the best communication means for his or her activity and for using it effectively, being it the phone, e-mail or video conference. The e-mail is regarded as an emotional catalyst because it may cause exaggerated reactions if not used properly so the ping-pong type of e-mail exchanges should be avoided by deciding upon the urgency and the necessity of the answer. The rules are clear: any message sent outside the company should respect the rules for external correspondence. Each employee should check their e-mail at least twice a day and it is recommended to use the e-mail for all the requests that do not need an immediate answer by phone. The rules also refer to all types of e-mails which can be sent, their form and editing mode, the number of recipients, attachments, special circumstances, using the intranet etc. We consider that such rules and regulations are necessary in all large organizations and particularly in multinational ones.

In the second stage of the audit we conducted an interview with the manager of Cluj subsidiary. We found out that internal communication takes place mainly via the intranet platform, by e-mail, phone, video-conferencing and there are also a newsletter and a monthly magazine at group level. Managerial communication takes place along the chain of command and is mostly formal; an employee has at least two superiors and has the obligation to address the first one and if this one does not solve the issue, the employee may address the second superior. As feedback modalities, they practice regular reporting and promote the innovation concept. There is also a suggestion box but it is not anonymous. Informal communication is encouraged by organizing events such as the annual feast. Formal meetings take place regularly at department level; they follow a certain protocol and are organized in order to discuss issues or to make decisions.

The manager considers that the cultural dimension is very important as communication represents a real challenge for Romanian companies. This still happens, in his opinion, because there are not rules and principles and communication instruments are not used adequately. The employee should communicate freely, but they should also follow rules. There must be a person who is in charge of communication in each company. Among the communication barriers in the company, the manager identified education, hierarchy and cultural barriers. These barriers may be overcome through open communication and in the case of his subsidiary, the most efficient form is oral communication. Communication skills are essential for a manager; they must be well informed all the time; they must know their people and have a good relationship with them. They should be able to transmit something through their attitude and through the instruments they have as communication is also important in the appraisal process, helping improve performance. At the end of the interview, the manager concluded that there is a permanent evolution of communication both through the development of communication means (electronic ones, in particular) but also through the changes noticed in employees' mentality regarding communication in the workplace.

In the third stage of the audit, we organized a focus group with 6 out of 30 employees who were working at the time in the Cluj subsidiary. They were females, aged 24-40 working in offices. Several questions were discussed and the following information came out:

- Effective communication means providing and receiving clear and complete information, and the main cause for faulty communication is the lack of motivation;
- Without good communication, employees cannot reach their objectives;
- The main sources of information for the participants are: colleagues, superiors, clients and suppliers;
- The participants consider that they spend around 85-90% of their working time engaged in a form of communication, mostly by phone and electronically;
- The organizational climate was characterized as "partially open" both vertically and horizontally;
- Internal communication was described as mostly formal, which depends on the subject a lot;
- Many participants complained about insufficient feedback and delays in sending information which may affect their relationship with the clients;
- Communication with colleagues is affected by lack of discipline, as many are reluctant to rules, which affects everyone's activity. The main problem is the communication between office staff and sales staff;
- The management style was characterized as being democratic and the employees appreciate a lot the open communication managers use;
- Informal communication is also encouraged by events such as parties, trainings, team-building;
- Participants identified as barriers in communication the information overload in comparison with the amount of time they have, shallowness, the fact that not all employees realize how important it is to communicate effectively, language, mentality and cultural barriers.

It can be seen that there is consistency between the information obtained during the focus group and the interview with the general manager. The main issues identified are:

- Mentality
- Horizontal communication
- Feedback

In the light of the interviews, we made the following recommendations:

- Measures to promote feedback: reminders by mail or creating visual materials to encourage feedback such as a post-it or a funny message in the office or in the sales agents' cars to invite them to offer feedback;

- Improving communication between office staff and sales staff by organizing informal activities such as a trip or a team-building/training on a common interest topic/activity;

- Changing mentality is the most difficult issue to solve; however, education about communication and about the importance of rules is essential. Reminding people why it is important to respect the rules would lead in time to the elimination of compromising and an improved attitude towards rules.

In the third stage of audit, we also applied a vast questionnaire to show the connection between communication effectiveness and organizational performance. Out of the 30 employees the subsidiary had at that moment 26 filled in the questionnaire, which is a representative sample for the total number according to Taro Jamane formula. Interpretations were made by using Microsoft excel and SGWIN statistical program.

The questionnaire was a really comprehensive one based on the ICA communication audit standard questionnaire. For the purpose of this paper, we are going to refer to one of the chapters in the questionnaires which contains items about the connection between communication and organizational structure. The chapter contained 10 items under the form of statements and respondents had to express agreement on a scale from 1 to 7 where 1 represents total disagreement and 7 total agreements.

The results showed the following situation for each item. For the first one "The purpose of communication in our company is to determine employees to behave as top management wants", 31% of the respondents chose 7 (total agreement) where as 15% chose 1 (total disagreement), 15% chose 2 and 23% chose 3.

For the second item "Communication in our company goes in one direction: from management to employees", 54% expressed total disagreement (1), 23% chose 2, 8% chose 3 and the rest of 15% chose 5, hence no total agreement.

The third item "Employees rarely receive feedback when they communicate with managers" brought the following responses: 46% - 1 (total disagreement0, 15% - 2, 15% - 3 and the rest of 23% chose 5. Again, no total agreement.

The fourth item "In our company managers use communication to control employees' activity and behavior" reflected the following results: 23% - total disagreement, 31% total agreement and the rest in-between.

For item no.5 "Managers in our company are not interested in the employees' suggestions about improving the company performance", 62% of the respondents disagreed completely, 15% chose 2, 15% chose 4, 8% chose 5 and no total agreement.

Item no.6 is "Communication between managers and employees takes place both upward and downward"; 61% of the participants expressed total agreement (7). No total disagreement expressed.

For item no.7 “The purpose of communication in our company is to help managers be receptive to the employees’ problems” answers varied; the highest percentage of 38% was somewhere in-between participants choosing 5; 23% expressed total agreement and nobody chose total disagreement.

No.8 “Managers encourage employees to express opinion differences” received almost total agreement as 46% chose 6 and 15% chose 7. Nobody chose 1 or 2 (total disagreement).

Regarding item 9 “Employees are informed about the changes which affect their activities before these take place”, 54% expressed total agreement and 15% were close to total disagreement (2). However, nobody chose total disagreement (1).

Item no.10 “Employees are not afraid to express their opinions during meetings with managers” received 46% total agreement, 15% almost total agreement (6), no total disagreement or close to it (1 or 2).

The conclusions, which can be drawn from this part of the questionnaire, show that:

- Communication takes place both ways (downwards and upwards) which is a very good thing;
- Communication is open because managers encourage employees to express opinion differences, employees are not afraid of expressing their opinions during meetings and the purpose of communication is to help managers be receptive to employees’ problems (see percentages for items 7, 8, 10)
- Employees are informed effectively and efficiently (see results for item no 9)

The percentages expressing disagreement for the rest of the items regarding feedback and communication as a form of control confirm the results above showing a high level of effectiveness in managerial communication, which is an essential factor in increasing organizational performance.

As the rest of the questionnaire is very detailed, we are going to present only a few significant results and conclusions. We can notice that there is a balance between the amount of information employees send and the amount they receive. There is a small discrepancy regarding the amount of information employees receive about promotion opportunities. At the same time, there is information overload in the amount sent regarding reporting activities and complaining about work conditions. The results regarding reactions employees have to the information they receive shows that the respondents would like more reaction from their subordinates. The dominant information sources are colleagues, subordinates, direct supervisor, informal communication (the grapevine). Information is generally considered timely and sufficient.

As far as the communication climate is concerned, the answers to this section show that respondents trust a lot their direct supervisor, their colleagues as well as top management. The majority consider they have a satisfying relationship with their boss and with top management.

Organizational results bring satisfaction to employees; however, they are not satisfied with the promotion opportunities as it was also mentioned before in the first chapter of the questionnaire.

The most efficient communication channels in the company are internal written publications, the phone and informal contacts. This fact also results from the small differences between the quantity of information received through these channels and the necessary amount of information. Discrepancies that are more obvious can be noticed in the areas of electronic communication and external media. Therefore, it is necessary to improve communication through these channels by sending more information that would cover employees' needs.

Conclusions

The audit made at Company R subsidiary from Cluj-Napoca followed all the steps indicated by specialized literature. The information obtained from the analysis of the documents, the interview with the general manager and the focus group activity is consistent with the results obtained from analyzing the results of the questionnaire. It shows that this organization grants extensive importance to internal communication. There is a high degree of formalizing communication through rules and a clear reporting structure along the chain of command. However, this is not a barrier in the way of open communication. Management promotes a communicational climate which is as open as possible and encourages upward feedback. The democratic management style is a determining factor for this climate.

As the subsidiary is small, the dominant form of communication is oral communication; however, their problems are common with those of larger organizations. There are issues regarding horizontal communication, between departments and a low level of information and satisfaction regarding promotion opportunities. On the other hand, the balanced scores obtained for the amount of information received and the amount of information needed for particular subjects and from certain sources (colleagues and subordinates) show a high degree of efficiency and effectiveness in sending and receiving information.

The communication audit identified important aspects related to internal communication, both positive aspects (good practices) and problems for which we made observations and recommendations. There is a clear connection between the effectiveness of communication and the performance of the company, as employees feel motivated to perform well because they work in an open climate where feedback and opinions are encouraged.

The audit also identified specific traits of communication in industrial organizations which we also came across in other research performed in similar organizations. Thus, communication has mostly a numeral character and an essential component is communication about work and safety issues. The internal public is heterogeneous from the point of view of education and culture, so communication instruments should be adapted permanently in order to respond to the needs of each category of employees. Operational communication dominates and in small organizations oral communication is vital, so the choice of channels and means of communication depends a lot on the size of the organization. Rules are important all organizations no matter their size, so regulating the way employees communicate plays an import part in improving performance. Internal publications as well as informal or anonymous feedback means (such as suggestion boxes) may contribute to increased efficiency and effectiveness in communication. Collaboration between departments should be improved by organizing more meetings between departments as well as informal group activities. Mentality and education are common barriers in communication in industrial companies so training and rules implementation are recommended.

The importance of communication in achieving high organizational performance is key in an age of tremendous technological development. With people separated physically by the pandemic, online communication has become vital and even in industrial companies; changes have become necessary and urgent. Consequently, this research will be improved by auditing other companies in the future in order to see how communication worked during the pandemic, what challenges occurred and what solutions are necessary.

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Hindernisse des Dialogs in Geschäftskommunikation - durch die Linsen des Fremdsprachenunterrichts / Barriers to Dialogue in Business Communication - through the Lenses of Foreign Language Teaching

Réka Kovács

The paper aims at depicting some of the definitions lying behind the concept "dialogue" along with the factors which facilitate and on the other hand, block the dialogue process. In this respect a greater emphasis is placed on the barriers to dialogue, the presentation of which is rooted in the theoretical considerations of George Kohlrieser and is rendered through the lenses of foreign language teaching.

Dialogue; barriers to dialogue; George Kohlrieser; business communication; foreign language teaching.

Einführung

In dieser Arbeit werden einzelne theoretische Überlegungen in Bezug auf das Konzept „Dialog" behandelt, um danach die verschiedenen Faktoren aufzuzählen, die einerseits den Dialog ins Leben zu rufen, andererseits ihn zu erlöschen vermögen. Dabei wird der Schwerpunkt auf die häufigsten Hindernisse des Dialogs gelegt, mit der Absicht, die Ursachen, die zum Entgleisen der Kommunikation führen können, eingehender zu studieren. Aus dieser Perspektive baut der Artikel auf die Auslegungen vom Organisationspsychologen George Kohlrieser und bemüht sich, den Kommunikationsbarrieren durch die Linsen des Fremdsprachenunterrichts auf die Spur zu gehen. Auch wenn die erwähnten praktischen Beispiele einen künstlichen Schauplatz für die wissenschaftlichen Ausführungen bilden - das heißt, dass sie nicht dem wahren Geschäftsleben entstammen - können sie trotzdem als eindeutige Beweise der Geschäftskommunikation dienen, da sie Verhaltensweisen, sprachliche Ausdrücke und Formulierungen darlegen, die im unternehmerischen Umfeld stets auftauchen können.

Theoretischer Rahmen

Wenn wir über „Dialog“ sprechen, denken wir im Allgemeinen an Gespräche, Konversationen und Diskussionen, an denen sich mehrere Personen beteiligen und währenddessen gewisse Interaktionen in mündlicher oder schriftlicher Form stattfinden. Laut dieser Sichtweise deutet der „Dialog“ auf Tätigkeiten mit Sinngehalt, die sprachlich durch Wörter, Begriffe und Symbole vermittelt werden (Linell, 2009) und stützt sich auf menschliche Beziehungen, die den Dialog hervorbringen beziehungsweise ihn vorantreiben können (Shields & Edwards, 2005). So setzt der Dialog das gegenseitige Aufeinanderwirken der Teilnehmer voraus, die sich durch ihren Diskurs (Grauman, 1995) in der Kommunikation miteinander verknüpfen.

Zudem sind andere Interpretationen zum Konzept zu berücksichtigen, die es mit weiteren Bedeutungen ergänzen. Isaacs (1999) betrachtet den „Dialog“ als das Erlebnis von sich selbst und den Mitmenschen, indem man gemeinsam zu erfahren versucht und das Denken einsetzt. (Isaacs, 1999) Seiner Definition gemäß (wie zitiert in Herzka, 2013) geht es um „ein Gespräch mit einem Zentrum, aber ohne Parteien (Herzka, 2013, S. 95), das heißt, dass der Dialog nicht unbedingt zu einer Zustimmung führt (Satinder, 2015) oder Einfluss auf die Dialogpartner ausübt (Bray, Lee, Smith & Yorks, 2000), sondern eher einen Zusammenhang herstellt, in dem neue Gedanken, Gefühle und Einigungen generiert werden können. Durch diese Art der Erwägung von Alternativen und Unterschieden kann ein erneutes Verständnis der Situationen erfolgen. (Isaacs, 1999)

Zusätzlich strebt der Dialog nach Gleichheit, besser gesagt nach einer gleichwertigen Teilnahme der Personen im Kommunikationsprozess. (Maranhão, 1990) Dementsprechend kann das Vertrauen zu den anderen Kommunikatoren das gegenseitige Lernen ermöglichen. So wird der Dialog Widersprüche auflösen und Verschiedenheiten überbrücken können (Barrera & Kramer, 2017) und funktioniert wie ein Binder, der sowohl die Menschen miteinander vereint als auch neue Perspektiven, Denk- und Handlungsweisen hervorruft. (Isaacs, 1999)

Auf diese Weise ordnet sich dem Dialog kein bestimmtes Ziel unter, da er sich nicht für eine Argumentation eignet, vielmehr dient er zum Mitteilen gemeinsamer Gedanken und Meinungen. Um einen Dialog in diesem Sinne zu erleben, sollen die eigenen Standpunkte der Sprecher beiseitegestellt werden (Bohm, 2014), indem Respekt vor den anderen Kommunikatoren erwiesen wird (Knight, 2014) und dadurch den

Teilnehmern zugehört wird. (Bohm, 2014) In diesem Punkt unterscheidet Bohm (wie erwähnt in Ankener, 2004) den „Dialog“ von der „Diskussion“, wobei der Letztere polarisierende Merkmale aufweist. In anderen Worten werden Meinungen derart vertreten, dass die Diskussion Sieger und Verlierer ergeben kann. Im Gegensatz dazu kann man in einem Dialog nur gewinnen, da innerhalb der Gruppe zusammengewirkt wird. (Ankener, 2004)

Wie dargestellt, beziehen sich die letzteren Beschreibungen des studierten Begriffes auf einen sogenannten „echten“ oder „idealen“ Dialog, der durch Empathie, Offenheit, Symmetrie und Verbundenheit gekennzeichnet wird (Linell, 2009) und der den Nährboden für zwischenmenschliche Zusammenarbeit bieten kann. (Kohlrieser, 2013) Als Nächstes wird in dem vorliegenden Artikel das Konzept im Sinne des „idealen“ Dialogs verwendet und parallel veranschaulicht, welche Faktoren den Dialog fördern beziehungsweise blockieren können. Es ist jedoch hervorzuheben, dass im Zentrum unseres Interesses die Hindernisse des Dialogs stehen, derer Untersuchung ausführlicherer Bemerkungen bedarf und sich an die Betrachtungsweise vom Organisationspsychologen George Kohlrieser anlehnt.

Zweifellos, um einen Dialog aufzubauen, wird einerseits Unterstützung, Bestätigung und Ermutigung vonseiten der Partner erfordert, andererseits das Vorhandensein gewisser Bedingungen und Fähigkeiten, die im Dienste der Wirksamkeit und dem Gleichgewicht stehen können. Isaacs (wie erwähnt in Benesch, 2020) zählt vier Praktiken, nämlich Zuhören, Respektieren, Suspendieren und Artikulieren auf (Benesch, 2020), die der Entwicklung des Dialogs zugrunde liegen. Während Zuhören auf eine solche Eigenschaft hinweist, mithilfe derer man nicht nur den anderen Sprechern, sondern den eigenen Gedanken, Reaktionen und inneren Stimmen zuhören lernt (Isaacs, 1999), deutet Respektieren auf die Anerkennung der Identität des anderen Kommunikators. (Barrera & Kramer, 2017) Unter Suspendieren (wie erwähnt in Buhl-Böhnert, 2008) versteht man das Beiseitesetzen der eigenen Meinungen, damit eine Öffnung zum Gegenüber zustande kommen kann. (Buhl-Böhnert, 2008) Nicht zuletzt wird mit Artikulieren (wie erwähnt in Herzka, 2013) der Ausdruck der eigenen Stimme erklärt. (Herzka, 2013) Selbstverständlich können noch weitere Aspekte in diese Liste aufgenommen werden und hinzu kann eine Vielzahl von Auffassungen präsentiert. Da diese nicht im Fokus dieses Beitrages stehen, werden sie aus diesem Grund nur am Rande behandelt.

An nächster Stelle wird besondere Aufmerksamkeit den Blockaden des Dialogs geschenkt, wobei wir diese aus dem Blickwinkel von George Kohlrieser beleuchten. In dieser Hinsicht bezeichnet Kohlrieser (2013) Passivität, Abwertung, Ablenkung und Überausführlichkeit als Aspekte, die den Dialogprozess hemmen. Dazu werden noch sechs andere sekundäre Hindernisse zugeordnet, und zwar Über-Rationalität, Über-Emotionalität, Verallgemeinerung, Abstrahierung, Mangel an Direktheit und schließlich Mangel an Ehrlichkeit. Offensichtlich können diese Blockaden in zwei Richtungen ihre

Wirkungen ausüben. Teils kompromittieren sie den Inhalt und damit den Informationsfluss, teils beeinträchtigen sie die emotionale Zusammengehörigkeit unter den Sprechern. (Kohlrieser, 2013)

Lassen Sie uns nun die oben erwähnten Barrieren näher analysieren, derer Darstellung zur besseren Verständigung der verschiedenen Kommunikations-schwierigkeiten führen kann. Das erste Hindernis, Passivität schlägt sich in einer deutlichen Zurückhaltung bezüglich der eigenen Gefühle und Bedürfnisse nieder (Pfeiffer, 2010), das heißt, dass die Kommunikatoren ihre Meinungen häufig unterdrücken, in der Überzeugung, dass diese wertlos oder unangemessen seien. (Watson, 2019) Überdies neigen die Sprecher dazu, die an ihre Person gerichteten Beleidigungen außer Acht zu lassen. (Brandt, 2013) Während die Abwertung aus der Geringschätzung des Kommunikationspartners besteht, zeigt sich die Ablenkung in der Vermeidung von unerwünschten, unangenehmen oder störenden Elementen, die man ungern mitteilt. Die vierte Blockade, Überausführlichkeit gilt als ein typisches Zeichen für Situationen, wenn der Dialog feststeckt, da sich wegen der vielen Details die Kerninformationen verlieren. (Kohlrieser, 2013)

Die weiteren sekundären Hindernisse können genauso beträchtlich den Dialog eindämmen. Die erste Barriere aus der Reihe, Über-Rationalität kann das Scheitern des Dialogs zur Folge haben, weil sie die emotionale Bindung zu den Sprechern vernachlässigt. (Haas, 2014) In gleicher Weise kann die Über-Emotionalität den Dialog einschränken, und zwar, indem sich die von Emotionen gefesselten Kommunikatoren von der Problemlösung distanzieren. (Hasson, 2012) Auch Verallgemeinerungen können dem Dialog schaden, wobei man sich auf gewöhnliche, generelle Aussagen konzentriert und so von der wahren Problemstellung absieht. (Kohlrieser, 2013) Abstrahierung kann in dem Fall vorkommen, wenn die Formulierungen in einem Gespräch undeutlich lauten und folgendermaßen das Verständnis der Mitteilungen verhindern. (Andrews, 2008) Die letzten zwei Blockaden, nämlich der Mangel an Direktheit und der Mangel an Ehrlichkeit können weiterhin die offene Kommunikation bremsen. Genauer gesagt verweigert man mit ihnen die aufrichtigen Gedanken und maskiert die echten Gefühle. (Haas, 2014)

Aus diesen Überlegungen wird ersichtlich, dass mehrere Hindernisse im Wege des Dialogs stehen können, die unter anderem im Stande sind, Mitteilungen zu deformieren, den Fokus des Gesprächs zu verschieben, Wesentliches zu vernebeln, die Dialogpartner zu beleidigen oder menschliche Beziehungen zu überschatten. Mit verschiedenen Praktiken, mit Selbstreflexion, mit Innehalten und Zuhören beziehungsweise mit dem Auflösen des Egos kann erlernt werden, manche Blockaden zu verwischen. Dadurch wird der Dialog neue Perspektiven eröffnen sowie einen vertieften Anblick in die Situationen bieten.

Praktische Bemerkungen

Mit Rücksicht auf die theoretischen Erklärungen beschäftigt sich der praktische Teil der Arbeit mit der Beobachtung der Dialogblockaden durch die Linsen des Fremdsprachenunterrichts. Einerseits setzt er sich zum Ziel, die Hindernisse der Dialogsituationen durch sprachliche Mittel, Formulierungen und Ausdrücke wiederzugeben. Andererseits versucht er zu ermitteln, auf welche Art und Weise Gespräche eingegrenzt werden. In diesem Kontext interpretieren wir die Resultate in Anlehnung an die von George Kohlrieser verwendeten Barrieren.

Zu unserem Zweck wurden die Arbeiten einer Anzahl von 20 Studierenden der Fakultät von Wirtschaftswissenschaften und Unternehmensführung erforscht. Obwohl die analysierten Gespräche in schriftlicher Form stattfanden und deswegen manche Charakteristika der mündlichen Kommunikation sich abgesplittert haben, können sie wichtige Belege dazu liefern, aus welchen Gründen Dialoge missglücken können. Außerdem ist es noch hinzuzufügen, dass die einzelnen Beispiele nicht dem wahren Geschäftsleben entstammen. Doch da sie im Rahmen der Wirtschaftsenglischseminare angeführt wurden, können sie zurückgeben, welche Formulierungen in der Praxis auftreten können, wenn der Dialog den Halt verliert.

Um die angemerkten Aspekte zu verfolgen, wurde den Studierenden eine Aufgabe ausgeteilt, in der sie eine bestimmte Situation fortsetzen sollten. Diese lautete wie folgt: *„Sie arbeiten mit einem Kollegen an einem Projekt zusammen. Ihnen ist es misslungen, die Arbeit rechtzeitig anzufertigen. Sie bedauern das und haben sich bei Ihrem Kollegen für das Versäumnis entschuldigt. Dennoch behandelt Sie der Kollege ironisch und erinnert Sie daran, dass Sie einen Fehler begangen haben.“*

In den Arbeiten der Lernenden wurden die Dialogblockaden dermaßen zum Vorschein gebracht. Die erste Barriere, Passivität trat in folgenden Ausdrücken auf: *„Ich weiß, ich weiß ...“*; *„Was sollte ich dazu sagen?“*; *„Schreiben Sie mir einfach die Schuld zu! Ich verdiene das.“*; *„Dann was soll ich machen?“*; *„Nichts.“*; *„Ich weiß es nicht, was ich noch sagen soll.“*; *„Ich kann nichts dagegen machen.“; „Selbstverständlich, selbstverständlich ...“*; *„Das interessiert mich nicht, wie ...“*; *„Ich mache es wieder gut.“*; *„Egal!“*; *„Vergiss es!“*; *„Sind Sie ernst damit? Nein.“* Abwertung konnte mittels dieser Formulierungen unter die Lupe genommen werden: *„Machen Sie sich keine Sorgen. Ich habe gute Ideen. Das ist ein Kinderspiel!“*; *„Ich glaube nicht, dass aus Zeitmangel ...“*; *„Sie hätten schon längst mit der Arbeit fertig sein sollen. Wir können nicht weitergehen, weil das Projekt noch nicht fertig ist.“*; *„Ich kann das nicht begreifen. Was ist denn mit Ihnen los?“*; *„Ihretwegen sind wir mit dem Projekt nicht fertig.“*; *„Ich bin nicht nervös, aber ich mag es nicht, wenn Leute ihre Arbeit nicht rechtzeitig erledigen.“*; *„Die Entschuldigung wird uns nicht helfen.“*; *„Ihre Entschuldigung wird nichts ändern.“*; *„Sagen Sie das bitte einem anderen Kollegen. Ich werde mit Ihnen nicht mehr an einem Projekt zusammenarbeiten.“*; *„Ich werde Ihnen verzeihen.“*; *„Wie kann ich Ihnen noch vertrauen?“*; *„Wie oft werde ich noch das hören?“*; *„Sie haben den falschen Partner für* *das Projekt gewählt."*; *„Ich habe aber mehr Erfahrung als Sie."*; *„Für Sie war das nur ein einfaches Projekt, aber ..."*; *„Ihre Ausreden interessieren mich nicht."*; *„Sie sind kein guter Teamkollege."*; *„Das ist ein Arbeitsplatz. Es ist kein Kindergarten!"*; *„Oh, es ist einfach ausgezeichnet! Es fühlt sich so gut, wenn man die ganze Arbeit alleine ausführen soll. Meine Bemühungen haben keine Früchte getragen, da Sie die Arbeit ruiniert haben."*; *„Benehmen Sie sich wie ein Mensch!"*; *„Ich weiß es nicht, was ich mehr bedauere, dass ich meine Arbeit nicht rechtzeitig beendet habe oder dass ich hier mit Ihnen bin."*; *„Ich bin sicher, wie Sie sich um ein künftiges Projekt kümmern werden."*; *„Wissen Sie, Henrik, ohne meine Ideen wird die Arbeit nicht so aussehen, wie sie sein sollte."*

Ablenkung war auch wahrzunehmen, und zwar: *„Ich bin fast fertig, aber gerade jetzt fällt mir ein dass ..."*; *„Ich habe Probleme zu Hause gehabt."*; *„Ich glaube, ich werde an den künftigen Projekten mit jemand anderem arbeiten."*; *„Leider konnte ich die Projektarbeit nicht ausführen. Ich hatte so viel zu tun. Ich wusste nicht, wo mir der Kopf steht."*; *„Es hätte mich erstaunt, wenn Sie die Arbeit rechtzeitig beendet hätten."*; *„Immer wenn ich mich an die Arbeit machen wollte, ist etwas dazwischengekommen"*; *„Ich bin mit der Arbeit noch nicht fertig. Am Wochenende hatte ich viel zu tun."*; *„Es war nur ein einfacher Fehler."*; *„Ich habe sehr viele Probleme in letzter Zeit gehabt."*; *„ ... aber ich musste auch für meinen Test studieren"*. Überausführlichkeit wurde auch veranschaulicht: *„Als ich am Gymnasium war, habe ich ungern an Projekten gearbeitet und ..."*; *„Als Studentin habe ich keine Auswahl gehabt, als ..."*; *„Ich weiß, dass die Leistungen nachgelassen haben."*; *„Es tut mir leid, mir ist es nicht gelungen, den Plan umzusetzen. Ich muss die Aufgaben priorisieren und darüber hinaus den richtigen Mitarbeiter für die Aufgabe finden. Es ist einfach zu viel Arbeit für eine Person."*

Über-Rationalität hat den Dialog folgendermaßen blockiert: *„Deine Probleme interessieren mich nicht."*; *„Ich arbeite seit fünf Jahren hier und ..."*; *„Übung macht den Meister, wissen Sie?"*; *„Sie sollten sich beruhigen und Ihren Fehler akzeptieren."*; *„Wir müssen über das Projekt sprechen. Da Sie für das Projekt zuständig sind, sollen Sie die Mitarbeiter koordinieren. Keiner von ihnen weiß Bescheid, welche Rolle sie im Projekt übernehmen sollen. Was ist die Erklärung dazu?"*; *„Vielleicht sollten Sie kündigen!"* Über-Emotionalität kam weiterhin ans Licht: *„Seien Sie bitte nicht zornig! Ich werde versuchen, meine Arbeit rechtzeitig zu machen."*; *„Seien Sie nicht nervös! Ich werde heute Nacht alles erledigen!"*; *„Können Sie meinen Fehler nicht vergessen?"*; *„Sie hätten verstehen sollen, dass ich am Wochenende viel zu tun hatte."*; *„Ich kann das nicht glauben!"*; *„Wir leiden aber wegen Ihres Fehlers."*; *„Ich bin sehr verärgert."*; *„Sie sollen nicht so unhöflich sein!"*; *„Sind Sie sauer auf mich?"*; *„Ich schwöre, ich werde das richten."*; *„Es war eine unerwartete Katastrophe für uns."*; *„Ich hoffe, Sie wissen, warum ich zornig bin."*; *„Ich habe Vertrauen zu Ihnen gehabt und habe meine Hoffnungen in Sie gesetzt."*; *„Ich habe das Vertrauen zu Ihnen verloren."*; *„... deshalb schreie ich Sie an"*. Dazu sind noch Verallgemeinerungen aufgetaucht: *„Im Allgemeinen* *bin ich pünktlich und fleißig.“*; *„Selbstverständlich kommt immer etwas herauf.“*; *„Sie konnten Ihre Arbeit nicht erledigen, da Sie sich sowieso immer verspäten.“*; *„Ich mag es nicht, wenn Leute ihre Arbeit nicht rechtzeitig erledigen.“*; *„Selbstverständlich bin ich immer rechtzeitig mit meiner Arbeit fertig.“*; *„Immer Anna, Anna, die ausgezeichneteste Mitarbeiterin, die immer alles rechtzeitig erledigt!*; *„Sie wissen, dass ich immer eine gute Arbeit geleistet habe.“*; *„Ich habe immer alles erledigt.“*; *„Jetzt können keine Fehler gemacht werden.“*; *„Immer kommt etwas dazwischen.“*. Mangel an Ehrlichkeit erschien lediglich in zwei Beispielen: *„Mir geht es gut. Ich habe aber die Arbeit nicht beenden können.“; „Alles ist in Ordnung mit der Arbeit.“* (Früher gesteht aber die sprechende Person, dass sie ihre Arbeit noch nicht begonnen hat.) Schließlich sollte es auch nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dass zwei Blockaden, nämlich Abstrahierung und der Mangel an Direktheit in den Arbeiten nicht vertreten waren.

Der Blick auf die von den Studierenden verfassten Gesprächssituationen zeigt, dass ihre Dialoge anhand mehrerer Hindernisse zum Halt gebracht wurden. Die Vielzahl von angewandten Ausdrücken kann meisterhaft sowohl den reichen Wortschatz der Lernenden als auch das Arsenal der kreativen Formulierungen widerspiegeln. Was die vorgekommenen Dialogblockaden anbelangt, ist festzustellen, dass die meisten von ihnen zu identifizieren waren, wobei Abwertung und Ablenkung offensichtlich die Liste dominiert haben. Jedoch gab es einige, und zwar der Mangel an Ehrlichkeit und der Mangel an Direktheit gering oder gar nicht zu treffen. Eine plausible Erklärung könnte dazu sein, dass unsere Dialoge in schriftlicher Form vermittelt wurden und daher die Elemente der Mündlichkeit nicht mehr in den Vordergrund rücken konnten. Ebenso war Abstrahierung nicht vorhanden, da wahrscheinlich wegen der englischen Sprache die Dialoge eher in ein informelles Umfeld eingebettet wurden.

Auf Basis der Auswertungen scheint es naheliegend, dass die Dialogblockaden sogar mittels Aufgaben und Übungen im Rahmen der Wirtschaftsenglischseminare Platz finden können. Der realistische Kontext des Fremdsprachenunterrichts kann dazu beitragen, möglichst echte Lebenssituationen nachzubilden, Sprache zu üben und in gleicher Zeit die Dynamik und den Aufbau des Dialogs zu verfolgen.

Zusammenfassung

Dialoge und implizite menschliche Beziehungen haben oft zu leiden. Der Überfluss an Emotionen und Einzelheiten, die passive, abwertende oder ablenkende Haltung des Kommunikators den anderen Sprechern gegenüber, die allzu rationale Denkweise und Redeart, Verallgemeinerungen, Abstrahierungen mitsamt einem Mangel an Direktheit und Ehrlichkeit zählen zu den Hindernissen, die den Dialogprozess zerstören und dadurch die emotionalen Bindungen verletzen. Richtiges Zuhören, gegenseitiger Respekt sowie Fokus auf die Mitmenschen können ausgewogene, friedliche und reichhaltige Dialoge ergeben.

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Kompetenz im digitalisierten Unterricht / Competence in digitized teaching

Fatima Saham

How is the Corona crisis affecting our education system?
Due to the pandemic, the education environment (traditional classroom or blended teaching mode) has been turned upside down. It's time for a digitized education system, which is considered as a big challenge for both teachers and students.
The learning outcomes are put at risk. Thus, E-learning is necessary to make lessons successful.
How do teachers and students plan online lessons?
How to use the media to enhance teaching and learning?
The answer to such questions as well as the discussion about professional competence becomes the topic of "Competence in digitized teaching".

Digital; Teaching; Competence; Quality; Educational process.

Einleitung

Die Weiterentwicklung des Bildungssektors ist der Stolz jeder Nation und jedes Landes. Marokko versucht, wie alle anderen Länder der Welt, diesen Sektor zu verbessern und seine Qualität durch Projekte und Reformen zu erhöhen, um (ansonsten Wiederholung) mit dem wissenschaftlichen und technologischen Fortschritt Schritt halten und die Probleme des Arbeitsmarktes für Menschen mit Hochschulabschluss lösen zu können. Zu diesem Zweck wurden alle personellen, finanziellen und logistischen Ressourcen gesammelt, um das Bildungssystem trotz aller Hindernisse der Ignoranz, des Analphabetismus, der Schulschwänzer/Schulabbrecher und des niedrigen Budgets zu einem Erfolg zu machen, da eine ihrer Prioritäten, insbesondere die der Hochschulbildung, darin besteht, das Personalwesen in allen Bereichen des Wissens und der Disziplinen zu schulen, die wissenschaftliche Forschung zu fördern und an den meisten wissenschaftlichen und technischen Veranstaltungen im In- und Ausland teilzunehmen. Aus diesem Grund hat Marokko eine Reihe von Reformen durchgeführt, von denen die jüngste das Reformprogramm 2015-2030 ist, das wiederum durch Stolpersteine wie Überbelegung, Mangel an Ressourcen und Ausrüstung und schlechte Planung ausgebremst wird, wobei die größte Herausforderung der mangelhafte Wissensstand unter den Studenten ist, insbesondere das Problem der mangelnden Fremdsprachenkenntnisse, da gute Fremdsprachenkenntnisse zusammen mit den erhaltenen Zeugnissen zum Schlüssel für den Zugang zum (nationalen und internationalen) Arbeitsmarkt geworden ist.

Angesichts dieser Probleme und des Versuchs, Lösungen zu finden, ist die Welt von der Pandemie Covid 19 überwältigt, die nahezu alle Bereiche lahmgelegt und ihre Spuren hinterlassen hat, insbesondere bei armen und bedürftigen Familien und Menschen mit niedrigem Einkommen. Es besteht kein Zweifel, dass auch der Bildungssektor mit all seinen Verbindungen sehr gelitten hat, da der Übergang vom Anwesenheitsunterricht zum virtuellen Unterricht ohne jegliche Vorwarnung, daher ohne Vorbereitung oder vorherige Abstimmung innerhalb des Bildungssystems erfolgt ist. Das Bildungssystem wurde damit auf den Boden der Tatsachen gebracht, vieles ist dem Zufall überlassen und man sucht Patchwork-Lösungen, um zu retten, was durch den gravierenden Mangel an Grundausstattung und -techniken in einer Zeit gerettet werden kann, in der viele Industrienationen voller technischer und informationspolitischer Impulse ist, gleichzeitig leiden aber einige Länder wie zum Beispiel Marokko an technischer Armut und Informationsanalphabetismus.

Welche Auswirkungen hat die Krise auf die Bildung (in Marokko)? Wie war der Übergang zur Teilnahme am virtuellen Unterricht geplant? Wie wurden im nächsten Schritt Professionalität und Fähigkeiten entwickelt, um digitale Bildung zum Erfolg zu führen? Was ist digitale Kompetenz überhaupt? Welche sind die Schwierigkeiten, Mängel und Hindernisse?

Konzept der digitalen Bildung

Sobald die Covid-Pandemie im Land ausbrach, verhängte die Regierung schnell Quarantäne, setzte Flüge aus, sagte Kundgebungen ab und erlaubte nur diejenigen mit außergewöhnlicher Lizenz, ihr Unternehmen zu führen.

In der Tat hatte das Bildungsministerium Jahre zuvor begonnen, den Lernenden digitale Kompetenzen zu ermöglichen, indem es Lektionen für die Grundschulbildung programmieren ließ, damit jeder am Computer arbeiten und alles lernen konnte, was damit zusammenhängt; einen Anteil hatte auch das Angebot an Bildungsprogrammen auf den öffentlichen Fernsehkanälen.

Die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung Marokkos istfür Technologien offen, und wir wissen auch, dass marokkanische Bürger in den letzten Jahren in allen Bereichen, einschließlich im Bildungssystem, einen großen Sprung gemacht haben. Durch neue Technologien öffnet sich eine neue Ära der digitalen Bildung.

Was ist also digitale Bildung?

Digitale Bildung ist eine Ausbildung, die sich deutlich von der traditionellen Studie über die Teilnahme in einer Abteilung einer Bildungseinrichtung unterscheidet, wo die Zeit variiert und mehrere Orte und vielleicht nach Umständen und Fähigkeiten, wie sie mit elektronischen Mitteln wie Computern, Smartphones, elektronischen Tabletts und dergleichen über das Internet, Webkonferenzen, audiovisuelle Bänder, Radio- und Fernsehsender, über die eine Person individuell interagiert oder eine Gruppe von Personen mit pädagogischen Inhalten, die vom Professor oder Vorgesetzten bestimmt werden, ob es sich um einen Unterricht oder ein Seminar oder eine Ausbildung handelt.

Aus diesem Grund hat das Ministerium verschiedene Mittel angenommen, einschließlich des Tilmid TICE-Portals, das ohne die Nutzung eines geheimen Passwortesaber kostenlosen Kanals und ohne Internetkredit zugänglich ist.Darüber hinaus hat das Ministerium den in das Taalim.ma-Track-System integrierten partizipativen Teamdienst ins Leben gerufen, um direkt zwischen Lehrern und Schülern über virtuelle Seiten zu kommunizieren, um den Unterricht zu verfolgen und alle Anfragen zu beantworten; alle Infos speichern und die Lehrer flexible Kommunikation mit ihren Schülern umgehen.

Besonderheiten und Vorteile der digitalen Bildung

Einer der Vorteile der digitalen Bildung besteht darin, den Zugang zu Informationen mit voller Geschwindigkeit und mit weniger Aufwand zu erhöhen, die Barriere von Zeit und Raum aufzuheben und sie jederzeit beizubehalten und darauf zu verweisen, indem sie durch Diskussion und Dialog innerhalb virtueller Klassen oder Seminare geteilt und mit ihnen interagiert wird. Dies fördert und unterstützt Teilnahme, Kommunikation und Interaktion zwischen den beiden Seiten des Lernprozesses. Natürlichwerden die Fähigkeiten von Lernenden entwickeln, neue erwerben, ihre Effizienz steigern. Sie werden motiviert innovativ zu sein, indem sie moderne digitale Technologien nutzen, und sich ermutigen ihre Fähigkeiten durch Selbstlernen zu entwickeln. Um diese Ziele zu erreichen, bedarf es jedoch guter Kenntnisse und einer Vorkonfiguration mit dieser Technologie durch genehmigte Mittel wie Netzwerke, partizipative Dienste, Computer, Smartphones und Schul- oder Universitätsplattformen. Ohne sie und ohne ein gutes pädagogisches Umfeld und angemessene Bedingungen ist es unmöglich, ein positives Ziel der digitalen Bildung zu erreichen. Daher ist digitale Bildung der einzige Weg, um unter diesen Umständen weiter zu lernen. Außerdem bleibt die Rolle des Lehrers sehr wichtig und wesentlich, um mit den Lernenden Schritt zu halten, sie zu betreuen, ihre Fähigkeiten zu entwickeln, mögliche Fragen zu beantworten und ihren Lernfortschrittzu bewerten.

Diese Art der Bildung erfordert jedoch Strategien und Quellen, die aktiviert und fokussiert werden müssen, um digitale Lernziele auf dem Höhepunkt der Covid-19-Krise zu erreichen. Zu diesen Strategien gehört die Strategie der Selbstaktivitäten, so dass der Lernende oder Student dank der erlernten Werkzeuge und Anwendungen, die von der Technologie zur Verfügung gestellt werden, seine eigenen Fähigkeiten selbstständig weiterentwickeln kann und viele Hindernisse autonom überwinden kann.Darüber hinaus können Bildungskanäle, ob es Fernseher- oder YouTube-Programme, vom Lernenden gespeichert und bei Bedarf genutzt werden. Außerdem bieten auch Universitäten die Möglichkeit für Fernunterricht an.

Mängel der digitalen Bildung

Trotz der Vorteile und Ziele, die die digitale Bildung erreichen will, gibt es einige Hindernisse, die den Erfolg behindern, wie der Mangel an Computern, die Langsamkeit oder ständige Unterbrechung der Internetverbindung und seine hohen Kosten für bedürftige Familien, ganz zu schweigen von Dörfern und abgelegenen Gebieten, von denen die meisten unter Armut und Fragilität leiden und die einfachsten menschenwürdigen Lebensgrundlagen haben, wovon aus sie Zugang zu Computern, Smartphones oder sogar dem Internet haben. Menschen, die elektronische Geräte nicht beherrschen, können mit der digitalen Bildung nicht Schritt halten, und nicht jeder Lehrer ist eifrig dabei, von der traditionellen Anwesenheitsstunde zum virtuellen digitalen Unterricht überzugehen. Darüber hinaus wurden die Kosten für die Anbindung an elektronische Netzwerke und die Ausstattung spezieller digitaler und virtueller Bildungsräume mancher Bildungseinrichtungen nicht zur Verfügung gestellt, hinzukommt ein Mangel an adäquater Ausbildung von Lehrern auf diesem Gebiet.Der virtuelle Unterricht erfordert zusätzlich eine intensive Vorbereitung, eine überlegte Organisation und Gestaltung sowie die Teilnahme von Lehrenden an digitalen Kursen, die flächendeckend nicht geleistet werden kann. Das Ministerium hat sich für den Grundsatz der Fairness und Chancengleichheit für alle Lernende eingesetzt, aber dies steht nicht allen zur Verfügung. Dazu die mangelnde Interaktion zwischen Lehrern und Lernenden, so dass diese an einen traditionellen städtischen Bildungsstil gewöhnt sind, und die Methodik der Unterrichtsbereitstellung sich variiert. Die Ausstrahlung von Studienmaterialien auf Fernsehsendern wurde von bedürftigen Familien häufig nicht genutzt, da ihre Kinder nicht in der Lage sind, ihren Unterricht zu verfolgen, da sie nur über ein Fernsehgerät verfügen.

Der Online-Unterricht beeinflusst Leben und Arbeit vieler Menschen, die Situation verändert sich wegen der Pandemie: weniger Bewegung, lange Sitzzeiten vor dem Bildschirm, Störungen und Geräusche durch Familienangehörige, Mitbewohner oder Nachbarn am Sitzplatz, Überfüllung des Lehrprogramms, weniger Beratung in Bezug auf

Dienstleistungen, Mangel an Konzentration und vor allem schlechte Internetverbindung und fehlende digitale Kompetenz.

Lehrende und Lernende vermissen den affektiven und persönlichen Kontakt zu ihren Kollegen und Kommilitonen, das Plaudern miteinander in den Pausen, das Zusammenfinden bei Festen und Veranstaltungen. Beim Fremdsprachenunterricht z.B. sinkt die Qualität der Verwendung von Fremdsprachen, es mangelt besonders an sprachlicher Korrektheit wegen weniger Übungsmöglichkeiten, das Hören und Lesen wird kaum geübt, dazu fehlt die Motivation, Fremdsprachen zu lernen.

Digitale Bildung und Professionalität

Eine der Voraussetzungen für den Erfolg der digitalen Bildung, wie wir bereits angedeutet haben, ist die Notwendigkeit, moderne Technologien und Ausrüstungen zu nutzen und dann den Lehr- und Bildungsprozess durch Vorbereitung, Planung, Umsetzung und Bereitstellung von Materialien zu organisieren. Diese Organisation als Selbstregulierung erfordert eine hohe technische Kompetenz sowohl seitens des Lehrers als auch des Lernenden wegen der erforderlichen Pünktlichkeit, Homogenität und Interaktion zwischen den beiden.Die Bildung hat sich trotz der Umstände der Covid 19 von der Indoktrination zu einem kompetenten Ansatz gefordert, vor allem in der Nationalen Charta im Rahmen der strategischen Vision 2015-2030, wo es ihr Ziel war, sich der Welt der Technologie zu öffnen und dem Lernenden oder Studenten Fähigkeiten und Kenntnisse, die ihm später den Einstieg in den Arbeitsmarkt helfen, zu erwerben.Um eine gute Ausbildung zu erreichen, müssen beide Seiten des Lernprozesses, d.h. sowohl der Lehrer als auch der Lernende, ihre Kompetenzen und Fähigkeiten entwickeln.

Das Problem spiegelt sich in der digitalen Herausforderung wider, denn Bildung aus Sicht der Stakeholder erfordert grundlegende Kompetenzen für den Unterricht in der digitalen Welt wie Planung und Entwicklung sowie die Entwicklung digitaler Bildungsszenarien.

Digitale Kompetenz

Digitale Kompetenzen sind heute genauso wichtig wie das Lernen vom Lesen, Schreiben und Rechnen, mit denen jeder vertraut sein sollte. Sie sind sowohl

> bei Individuen verfügbaren oder durch sie erlernbaren kognitiven Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten, um bestimmte Probleme zu lösen, sowie die damit verbundenen motivationalen, volitionalen und sozialen Bereitschaften und Fähigkeiten um die Problemlösungen in variablen Situationen erfolgreich und verantwortungsvoll nutzen zu können. (Weinert, 2001, S. 27f.)

Als auch „kontextspezifische kognitive Leistungsdispositionen, die sich funktional auf Situationen und Anforderungen in bestimmten Domänen beziehen. (Klieme & Leutner 2006, S. 879).

Alle Lebensbereiche erfordern jetzt ein Minimum an Präsenz dieser Fähigkeiten, weil sie sicherstellen, dass jeder die Chancen hat, im Zeitalter des kontinuierlichen digitalen Prozesses erfolgreich produktiv und kreativ zu sein. Die digitalen Kompetenzen, die wir heute benötigen, unterscheiden sich von den Fähigkeiten, die wir vor paar Jahren angesichts der rasch entwickelnden Technologie und Kommunikation benötigten. Die Kompetenz ist dann mit fachlichem Wissen und Fähigkeit fachlicher Inhalte wirksam. Diese Fachlichkeit ist so interessant und wichtig laut des Unterrichtsforschers Andreas Helmke: „Überspitzt ausgedrückt: Fachliche Korrektheit ist zwar nicht alles, aber ohne fachliche Richtigkeit und Genauigkeit ist alles andere nichts.“[1]

Die Herausforderung, die die ganze Welt kennt, besteht darin, Wissen in Frage zu stellen, das zum Selbstzweck geworden ist und nicht nur ein Mittel, um neue Herausforderungen und Veränderungen in der Rolle des Lehrers und des Lernenden aufzuzeigen, damit der Bildungsprozess auf diese Veränderungen reagiert und von der Globalisierung und den Anforderungen der digitalen Gemeinschaft profitieren kann.

Um das zu verwirklichen und zu schaffen, muss das BildungssystemLehrpläne, Kurse, Humanressourcen, Kalendermethoden und Infrastruktur überprüfen.Die strategische Reformvision (2015-2030) legt auch die Notwendigkeit fest, sich durch vier Einträge aktiv in der wissensbasierten Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft zu engagieren[2]:

- Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologie,
- Die am häufigsten verwendeten Sprachen in der Welt,
- Wissenschaftliche und technische Forschung,
- Akademische und Ausbildungsexzellenz.

Die Integration von Technik und Digitalisierung wurde als entscheidende Voraussetzung für die Erneuerung, Förderung und Entwicklung des Bildungssystems angesehen. Trotzdem zeigt die Realität eine Reihe von Hindernissen und Herausforderungen, die zu bewältigen sind. Davon nennen wir z.B.:

[1] Helmke, A. In: Ebel, C. (2010).*Welche Einstellungen und Kompetenzen braucht es für individuelle Förderung?*Zentrum für digitale Bildung und Schule im Kreis Gütersloh gGmbH.In:https://schule21.blog 2010/05/06.
[2] Charte nationale d'éducation et de formation 1999. In: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca
الرؤية الاستراتيجية للإصلاح (2015-2030)، المجلس الأعلى للتربية والتكوين والبحث العلمي، المغرب. In: https://www.csefrs.ma Vision_VF_Ar.pdf

Pädagogische digitale Inhalte

Die Produktion nationaler digitaler Inhalte ist nach wie vor bescheiden und es gelingt nicht bis zum erforderlichen Niveau, wobei die meisten pädagogischen digitalen Inhalte und Anwendungen importiert werden. Des Weiteren stellt sich das Problem der Angemessenheit dieser Inhalte an die nationale Privatsphäre sowie an nationale Bedürfnisse und Erwartungen. Es stimmt, dass es einige Versuche auf dieser Ebene gibt, wie z.B.:

- Schaffung eines virtuellen Campus, der darauf abzielt, digitale Netzwerke zu teilen, den Studierenden den Zugang zu digitalen Diensten zu ermöglichen und eine Bibliothek mit Lektionen und Multimedia-Dokumenten einzurichten.

- Einige marokkanische Universitäten haben auch Initiativen zur Fernausbildung durch einige Anwendungen gestartet, wie die MOOC-Anwendung, (Massive Open Online Courses), eine Open-Source-Online-Gruppenstunde, die auf Online-Studiengängen basiert, sowie die Möglichkeit Ausbildungskurse vorzubereiten.

- Auch die Einrichtung eines Labors für digitale Ressourcen LNRN ist eine der vielen Maßnahmen, die ergriffen wurden, um Bildungsmechanismen zur Verbesserung des Lernens zu schaffen[3].

- Neulich wurde das erste digitale-pädagogische Produktionsstudio an öffentlichen Universitäten im Rahmen einer am 19. Juni 2020 unterzeichneten Partnerschaft zwischen dem Ministerium für nationale Bildung, Berufsbildung, Hochschulbildung, wissenschaftliche Forschung, der Mohammed VI. interdisziplinären Universität und der Al-Sharif Phosphate Stiftung gegründet, um die Digitalisierung des Fernunterrichts und die Produktion digitaler pädagogischer Inhalte sowie ein nationales Zentrum für Digitalisierung und Fernunterricht zu fördern[4].

Trotz dieser Initiativen bleibt die Produktion digitaler Inhalte sehr gering und es fehlt ihr auch an Bewertungsmethoden und sie trifft ferner nicht die national- curricularen Bildungserwartungen. Das Ministerium sollte dafür die Schaffung moderner digitaler Inhalte fördern und Forschungsstudenten mit Hilfe ihrer Professoren unterstützen und ermutigen, kreativ und innovativ zu arbeiten.

Personalausbildung

Die Ausbildung von Humanressourcen ist eines der Hindernisse und Herausforderungen, an denen das Bildungssystem leidet, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Ausbildung von qualifizierten Spezialisten für digitale Lerndidaktik. In diesem Zusammenhang muss das Ministerium die Aus- und Weiterbildung des Lehrpersonals und aller Beschäftigten im Bildungssektor ermöglichen, einschließlich der Lehrer, der Inspektoren, der Leitung von Bildungseinrichtungen. Ziel sollte sein, den Einsatz

[3] Guide pédagogique TICE (2012).In:http://www.taalimtice.ma
[4] http://www.men-gov.ma 18. Juli 2021.

moderner Technologien zu fördern, um die erforderliche Menge an Komponenten in diesem Bereich bereitzustellen, um Lehrern den Einsatz dieser Techniken zu ermöglichen. Dies ist eine nationale Notwendigkeit und Aufgabe, um mit den digitalen, globalen Transformationen Schritt zu halten.

Regulatorische und logistische Herausforderungen

Die Integration digitaler Mittel stößt auf eine Reihe regulatorischer und logistischer Hindernisse:

- Die Schwierigkeit, alle Schüler mit digitalen Endgeräten auszustatten.

- 81 % der Bevölkerung in den Industrieländern nutzen das Internet, mehr als doppelt so viel wie in den Entwicklungsländern (40 %).

Es gibt die Herausforderung eine Internetverbindung bereitzustellen, "Wilan" der Lan- Technologie in Schulen und Universitäten einzuführen und für alle zur Verfügung zu stellen. Aus dem UN-Bericht über den Zustand der Kinder und Jugendliche von 2017 geht hervor, dass in Afrika 3 von 5 (im Alter von 15 bis 24 Jahren) nicht vom Internet profitieren[5].Computertechnologie wird ständig weiterentwickelt, so dass der Erwerb von Software, die für alle Arten von Geräten kompatibel ist, nicht möglich ist. Außerdem ist der Erwerb neuer Geräte eine finanzielleHerausforderung.

Lehrpersonal: Rollen und Verantwortlichkeiten

Die digitale Revolution macht es notwendig, dass der Lehrer mit diesen Veränderungen Schritt halten muss und seine Rolle und Verantwortlichkeiten ändern muss. Neue Rollen müssen übernommen werden, die den Anforderungen des digitalen Zeitalters entsprechen. Der Lehrer hat jetzt eine neue Aufgabe, nämlich dem Lernenden zu helfen, zu forschen. Der Lehrer muss seine Schüler betreuen und für sie ein pädagogisches Umfeld vorbereiten, das die Bildung unterstützt. Der Lehrer spielt nun die Rolle eines Mentors bei der Beschaffung, Sichtung und Auswertung von Informationen[6]. Er soll fünf Anforderungen beim Unterrichten erfüllen:

- ✓ Er soll motivierende Strategien im Unterricht anwenden.
- ✓ Er soll seine Leistungen evaluieren und auswerten und die Fehler erkennen.
- ✓ Er soll sein Unterricht durch eine gute curriculare Planung gut strukturieren.
- ✓ Er soll mit Heterogenität gut umgehen, indem er verschiedene Methoden und Maßnahmen im Unterricht verwendet.
- ✓ Er soll seine Klasse von allen Störungen fernhalten.

[5] UNICEF, 2017.*State of the World Children Report, Kinder in einerdigitalenWelt.*In:www.aljazeera.net 13. März 2018.

[6] Al-Rahiwi Abdel Karim, (2013). *Digital Education and Education Rehabilitation*, Journal of Education Sciences, Issue 57, Marokko. S. 47.

Studenten Zielkompetenzen

Der Lernerfolg entwickelt sich individuell und unterscheidet sich sowohl von einem Lernenden zu einem anderen, als auch von einem Fach zum anderen je nach Leistung, Fähigkeit und Sprachfertigkeiten.Jeder Lernende benötigt bestimmte Fähigkeiten, er soll fähig sein selbst und flexibel zu lernen und sich an neue Situationen anpassen, kreativ und innovativ lernen, gut kommunizieren, über kritisches Denken, medien- und digitale Kultur verfügen, seine Lebens- und Karrierefähigkeiten entwickeln und verbessern, produktiv sein und Verantwortung für das eigene Lernen übernehmen.

Die Studenten müssen selbst neue Lernstrategien entwickeln; selbstverständlich mit digitalen Medien gut umgehen können, sie bedienen und anwenden können; Informationen mit Hilfe von digitalen Medien recherchieren und verarbeiten, das erworbene Wissen analysieren, diskutieren und dann anwenden; mit anderen Schülern und Lehrerndigital kommunizieren und kooperieren. Dies hilft ihnen bei der Entwicklung ihrer Persönlichkeit und ihrer Leistung.

Positive Effekte sind vor allem das Ausfallen von jeder Art von Störungen wie Geräusche, verbale und nicht-verbale Kommunikation zwischen den Lernenden. Außerdem können sie ihre Rückfragen über die Chatfunktion hemmungslos und ohne Schüchternheit stellen.

Fazit

Dank der digitalen Revolution erlebt die Welt ständig Veränderungen auf allen Gebieten. Die technische Entwicklung hat zu einem qualitativen Sprung im Bildungsprozess beigetragen und neue Bildungsmuster geschafft. Die heutigen Schulen und Universitäten sind nicht mehr wie früher, Lehrer und Lernende auch. Eine Reihe unterschiedlicher Erfahrungen hat die Wirksamkeit dieser Art von Bildung gezeigt, dass der Staat

- die Reform des Bildungssystems überdenken muss, indem er die Qualität der technologischen Kompetenzen überprüft und sie in allen öffentlichen Einrichtungen insbesondere in allen Bildungsinstitutionen einfügt und integriert,
- angepasste Curricula und qualifizierte Ausbildungen, die Lehrer und Lernende motiviert, gemeinsam an der Entwicklung digitaler und pädagogischer Inhalte zu arbeiten und zu forschen,
- Bildung und Ausbildung von spezialisierten Teams zur Erstellung neuer pädagogischer Inhalte, die sich jeder neuen Phase anpassen,
- die Chancengleichheit zwischen ländlichen und städtischen Gemeinschaften muss bei der Integration der neuen Technologien berücksichtigt werden.

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Verbale Kombinationspartner von *mască – Maske-Mund-Nasen-Schutz*. Eine Analyse aus phraseologischer Sicht[1] / Verb Combinations with *Maske-Mund-Nasen-Schutz*. An Analysis from a Phraseological Point of View

Maria Parasca

The main aim of this paper is to present the results of a phraseological analysis of words combinations that are made up with the noun "mască" (mask). This is a prototypical word for the way in which Covid Pandemics has influenced language. The example-based analysis of the word mask has shown that there have been semantic changes both on the word level and word combination level to which they belong to.

Collocation; phraseology; pandemic vocabulary; semantic analysis, noun-verb-combination.

0 Einleitung und Zielsetzung

Wir befinden uns gerade (September 2021) in Rumänien auf der 4. Welle der Corona-Pandemie, so dass wieder überall nach der Sommerpause über die

[1] Die vorliegende Arbeit stellt die bearbeitete Version des Vortrages mit dem Titel: „Verbale Kombinationspartner von „mască – Maske - Mund-Nasen-Schutz". Eine kontrastive Analyse aus phraseologischer Sicht", dar, der im Rahmen der Tagung: Language, Identity And Communication In Contemporary Society, Cluj-Napoca, 1.-2. Juli 2021 gehalten worden ist.

Schutzmaßnahmen gesprochen wird, insbesondere über den Mund-Nasen-Schutz, den man zur Eindämmung der Pandemie und zum Schutz anderer Personen tragen muss.

In der Zwischenzeit liegt es aus der Hand, dass die Corona-Pandemie in vielerlei Hinsicht unsere Kommunikation und unsere Sprache beeinflusst hat. Das Institut für deutsche Sprache Mannheim erarbeitet zum Beispiel eine Liste vom Corona-bedingten Wortschatz, die im Juli 2021 bereits mehr als 1600 neue Wörter und Wortverbindungen[2] rund um die Pandemie im Bestand hatte. Auch eine Abfrage im cOWIDplus Viewer[3] der Suchmuster[4] *Mund-Nasen-Schutz* und *Maske* zeigt einen steilen Anstieg der Frequenz dieser Wörter während der Pandemie.

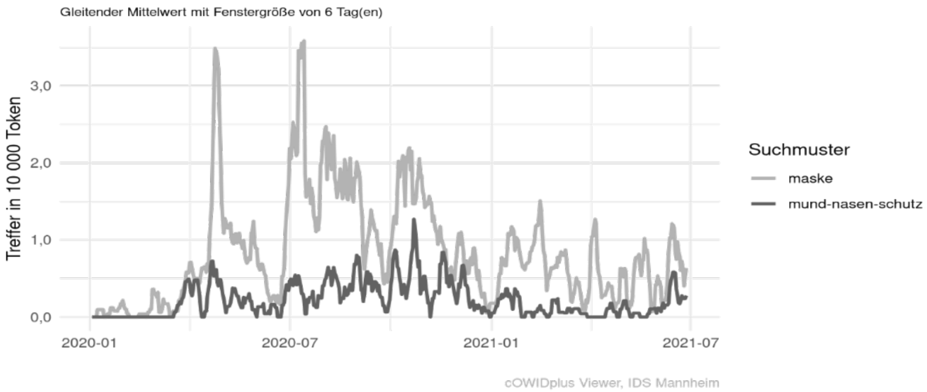

Abbildung 1 Auftreten von Maske / Mund-Nasen-Schutz in „RSS-Feeds von 13 deutschsprachigen Onlinequellen“[5] im cOWIDplus Viewer des IDS (Suchanfrage am 16.09.2021)

Für die rumänische Sprache konnte ich keine der deutschen entsprechenden Statistik zum Nomen *mască* finden, kann aus persönlicher Erfahrung bestätigen, dass sich dieses Wort aktuell in aller Munde ist, unabhängig davon, ob es um ein Konzert oder einen Schulbesuch handelt. Überall geht es nun darum einen *Mund-Nasen-Schutz zu tragen,* und den sozialen Abstand zu anderen Personen zu halten.

Diese Wörter werden aber in der Kommunikation nicht einzeln verwendet, sondern müssen mit anderen Wörtern kombiniert werden. So besteht zunächst für den Textproduzenten einen Bedarf an passende Verben, so dass er Sätze bilden und somit auch unterschiedliche Sachverhältnisse zum Ausdruck bringen kann.

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[2] Vgl. Möhrs (2021)
[3] https://www.owid.de/plus/cowidplusviewer2020/, abgerufen am 16.09.2021
[4] Das cOWIDplus Viewer zeigt im Ergebnis, „alle Wörter, in denen das Suchmuster in eine Wortform eigebettet ist“ Möhrs (2021, S. 40)
[5] Vgl. Klosa-Kückelhaus (2021, S. 1)

Die vorliegende Arbeit setzt sich zum Ziel, die Nomen-Verb-Wortverbindungen des rumänischen Substantivs *mască* (Dt. *Mund-Nasen-Schutz / Maske)* aus einer phraseologischen Perspektive zu analysieren. Während der Corona-Pandemie unterlagen viele Wörter einem Bedeutungswandel[6]; dieser Wandel ist aber nicht nur auf der Wortebene, sondern auch auf der Ebene der mehr oder weniger festen Wortverbindungen zu merken.

Im Mittelpunkt der Analyse werden somit die Wortkombinationen, in denen das analysierte Nomen vor und während der Pandemie zusammen mit einem Verb kombiniert auftritt, gestellt. Von Interesse sind insbesondere die Verben, da diese eine wichtige kommunikative Funktion erfüllen, indem sie das sprachliche Handeln hervorheben. In diesem Sinne schließen wir uns u.a. der Meinung von (Sommerfeldt, 1993, S. 48) an: „Das Verb wird nicht immer das erste Wort sein, in dem das Gemeinte (zum Teil) aufgeht: aber das Verb ist immer das wichtigste."

Die Arbeit wird wie folgt strukturiert: im ersten Teil wird der theoretische Rahmen gelegt, indem die untersuchten phraseologischen Einheiten als sprachliche Erscheinung definiert und klassifiziert werden. Der zweite Teil der Arbeit wird der empirischen Analyse gewidmet, indem das zugrunde der Analyse gelegte sprachliche Material aus Wörterbüchern und Korpora gewonnen und aus phraseologischer Sicht analysiert wird.

1 Theoretischer Rahmen

Die mehr oder weniger festen Wortverbindungen einer Sprache gehören bekanntlich zum Forschungsgegenstand der Phraseologie. Als Oberbegriff für all diese sprachlichen Einheiten wird der Begriff Phraseologismus verwendet. In der Forschungsliteratur werden die Phraseologismen aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven definiert und beschrieben. Trotz dieser Vielfalt an Termini und Definitionen zu dieser sprachlichen Erscheinung, gibt es ein paar Merkmale, die den „roten Faden" darstellen.

Zu diesen Merkmalen gehören: die Polylexikalität, die Festigkeit und die Idiomatizität. Die Polylexikalität besagt, dass ein Phraseologismus aus mindestens zwei Autosemantika[7] bestehen soll. Ferner stellen die Phraseologismen feste Ausdrücke dar, wobei die Festigkeit sich auf die syntaktischen Merkmale bezieht, und steht dafür, dass sie als solche gelernt, wiederholt und weitergegeben werden und „weder abwandelbar noch erweiterungsfähig sein". (Valentin, 1999, S. 19).

Die Idiomatizität ist eines der häufigsten und repräsentativsten Merkmale, die in der Literatur zur Definition von Phraseologismen vorkommt. Man definiert eine Wortkombination als idiomatisch, „wenn sich die wendungsexterne Gesamtbedeutung nicht auf formalem Wege aus den Teilbedeutungen der lexikalischen Bestandteile

[6] Vgl. dazu auch Pană Dindelegan (2020)
[7] Inhaltswörter, auch Autosemantika genannt […] werden meist als Wörter mit einer eigenen Bedeutung definiert. Donalies (2009, S. 8)

deduzieren lässt, es besteht ein ‚irreguläres Verhältnis' (Fleischer) zwischen der Bedeutung der Wortkomponenten und der Bedeutung der ganzen Wortverbindung." (Łabno-Falęcka, 1995, S. 167)

Es besteht Einigkeit darüber, dass Idiomatizität ein graduelles Merkmal ist und dass die Wortkombinationen unterschiedliche Grade an Idiomatizität aufweisen können. Darauf begründet die folgende Einteilung der Phraseologismen: vollidiomatisch, halbidiomatisch /teilidiomatisch und nicht-idiomatisch.

Als vollidiomatisch gelten Wortkombinationen, wie zum Beispiel *die Flinte ins Korn werfen,* deren Bedeutung nicht aus den Teilbedeutungen durchsichtig ist, Wortkombinationen wie *blinder Passagier*, im Rahmen, denen ein Bestandteil seine wörtliche Bedeutung behält und der andere Bestandteil eine neue, kombinationsspezifische Bedeutung bekommt, werden als halb-idiomatisch eingestuft. Zur letzten Kategorie gehören Wortkombinationen wie *Maßnahmen treffen*, die semantisch „transparent" und leichter zu verstehen sind.

Die halbidiomatischen Wortverbindungen werden Kollokationen genannt. Im Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit schließe ich mich der Definition der Kollokationen von Hausmann an:

> Kollokationen (Beispiele: *confirmed bachelor, to lay the table / célibataire endurci, mettre la table / eingefleischter Junggeselle, Tisch decken*)[8] sind normtypische phraseologische Wortverbindungen, die aus einer Basis und einem Kollokator bestehen. Die Basis ist ein Wort, das ohne Kotext definiert, gelernt und übersetzt werden kann (*bachelor, table*)[9]. Der Kollokator ist ein Wort, das beim Formulieren in Abhängigkeit von der Basis gewählt wird und das folglich nicht ohne die Basis definiert, gelernt und übersetzt werden kann. (Hausmann, 2007, S. 218)

Mit dieser Definition hebt Hausmann ein wichtiges Merkmal der Kollokationen hervor, und zwar die Tatsache, dass sie mehr als andere Wortkombinationen im sprachlichen Kontrast ersichtlich werden. Den Muttersprachlern fallen sie nicht auf, da sie natürlich darüber beim Sprechen verfügen. Als problematisch erweisen sich die Kollokationen beim Ausdruckbedarf in einer Fremdsprache, wenn der Sprecher von

[8] Eigene Hervorhebung
[9] Idem 9

vielen potenziellen Wörtern das passende Wort als Partner in einer bestimmten Kombination wählen muss. Auf Anfängerniveau ist die Textproduktion in der Fremdsprache in der Regel mit einem (wortwörtlichen) Übersetzungsprozess aus der Muttersprache verbunden.

2 Das Substantiv *mască* und seine deutschen Entsprechungen

Schlägt man das Wort *mască* in dem Kleinen Wörterbuch der Akademie[10] nach, so findet man, dass dieses Wort in der rumänischen Sprache aus der Deutschen *Maske*[11] oder aus dem Französischen *masque* stammt. In der Definition werden 28 Lesearten des Suchwortes verzeichnet. Bemerkenswert ist, dass als erste Leseart des Wortes, ein „Stück Stoff, das dazu verwendet wird, um das Gesicht voll oder teilweise zu verbergen, damit die tragende Person nicht anerkannt wird“ verzeichnet wird. Die Leseart, die die Bedeutung „Stück Stoff, die man in der Chirurgie verwendet, um das Gesicht des operierenden Personals zu schützen“[12] wird auf Platz 25 verzeichnet. Bei dieser Leseart wird das Substantiv durch das Adjektiv *medicală* 'ärztlich /medizinisch' bestimmt. Die deutsche Entsprechung dieser Leseart ist das Wort *Mund-Nasen-Schutz.*[13]

Wie die obige Statistik zeigt, verliert das Wort *Mund-Nasen-Schutz* an Frequenz im Sprachgebrauch und dessen Bedeutung wird eher durch das Wort *Maske* übernommen. Wenn am Anfang der Pandemie mehr darüber die Rede war, einen *Mund-Nasen-Schutz* zu tragen, hört/liest man heute häufiger *eine Maske tragen.*

In dem Neologismen-Wörterbuch[14] zu Corona findet man die Formen *Mund-Nasen-Schutz, Mund-Nasen-Schutz-Maske und Mund-Nasen-Schützer.* Bei allen drei Wörtern ist folgende Definition zu lesen: „die untere Gesichtshälfte bedeckende Maske (aus Vlies oder Stoff), die die Verbreitung von Viren verhindern soll“[15]

Aus dem DUDEN Online-Wörterbuch wurden folgende verbalen Kollokatoren der analysierten Wörter exzipiert:

1.*den Mund-Nasen-Schutz aufsetzen (seltener anlegen)*
2.*den Mund-Nasen-Schutz wieder abnehmen*
3.*eine Maske tragen*
4.*sein Gesicht erstarrte zur Maske*
5.*die Maske fallen lassen*

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[10] Sala (2010)
[11] Dieses Wort wird im DUDEN, das Online-Wörterbuch wie folgt definiert: „vor dem Gesicht getragene, das Gesicht einer bestimmten Figur, einen bestimmten Gesichtsausdruck darstellende [steife] Form aus Pappe, Leder, Holz o. Ä. als Requisit des Theaters, Tanzes, der Magie“[11]. Mit dieser Bedeutung entspricht das deutsche Wort der ersten Leseart des rumänischen Wortes *mască.*
[12] Eigene Übersetzung; Originaltext: „Bucată de pânză folosită în chirurgie pentru izolarea feței personalului medical care operează“ https://dexonline.ro/definitie/masc%C4%83/1130099, abgerufen am 23.09.2021
[13] Vgl. Zifonun (2020)- erklärt, warum der *Mund-Nasen-Schutz* im Deutschen so heißt und nicht 'Mund-Nase-Schutz'
[14] https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#
[15] https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#mund-nasen-schutz, abgerufen am 22.09.2021.

6.die Maske von sich werfen

Das Wort *Maske* wird in dem Neologismen-Wörterbuch zu Corona nicht als solches verzeichnet, sondern tritt in mehr als zwanzig Komposita[16] auf: *Mask-have, Maskenaffäre, Maskenakne, Maskendisziplin, Maskenempfehlung, Maskenflickenteppich, maskenfrei, Maskengebot, Maskengegner, Maskenkultur, Maskenmode, Maskenmoral, Maskenmüdigkeit, Maskenmuffel, Maskenpflicht, Maskenpflichtverstoß, Maskenpickel, Maskenregel, Maskentragedisziplin, Maskentrottel, Maskenvermeidungsesser, Maskenverstoß, Maskenverweigerer, Maskne, Maskomat.* In allen diesen Komposita steht *Maske* mit derselben Bedeutung wie für das Wort *Mund-Nasen-Schutz.*

3. Verbale Kombinationspartner von *mască*

3.1 Verbale Kollokatoren des untersuchten Wortes vor der Pandemie

Eine in dem CoRoLa[17] durchgeführte Abfrage zum Wort *mască* lieferte für das Suchwort 26 Ergebnisse[18]. Bei der Durchsicht der gelieferten Belege[19] für den Gebrauch von *mască* fällt es auf, dass das untersuchte Wort meistens in übertragener Bedeutung, in voll-idiomatischen Wortkombinationen verwendet wird. Dieser Gebrauch des untersuchten Wortes stimmt mit den im Wörterbuch verzeichneten Wortkombinationen überein. Diese Wortkombinationen, die aus phraseologischer Sicht als vollidiomatisch gelten, werden unten aufgelistet.

1.a purta mască

2.a-și da jos masca

3.a-și scoate / arunca / lepăda masca

4.a ridica / lua / smulge masca (cuiva de pe față)

5. a rămâne mască

6.a-i cădea / a i se lua cuiva masca

In allen fünf oben aufgelisteten Ausdrücken werden beide Bestandteile in übertragener Bedeutung verwendet. Diese Phraseologismen bedeuten, so viel wie „sein wahres Gesicht verbergen“ für *a purta mască,* „sein wahres Gesicht zeigen” für *a-și da jos masca, a-și scoate / arunca / lepăda masca,* „jemanden dazu zwingen, sein wahres Gesicht zu zeigen, seine verborgenen (bösen) Intentionen zeigen” für *a ridica / lua /*

[16] https://www.owid.de/docs/neo/listen/corona.jsp#, abgerufen am 22.09.2021.

[17] The CoRoLa corpus is now the reference corpus for contemporary Romanian. It is the largest one, containing 1,257,752,712 tokens for the written component and almost 152 hours of recordings for the oral component (the detailed structure is presented below). The texts cover all language styles, four major domains for which 71 subdomains were defined, thus ensuring a wide vocabulary coverage. The corpus can be reliably used as a basis for the creation of dictionary entries, grammar studies, other language reference materials, as well as for training and testing algorithms and systems for language processing. Verginica Barbu Mititelu, Dan Tufiș, and Elena Irimia (2018, S. 1178)

18 Vgl. https://korap.racai.ro/?q=masc%C4%83&ql=poliqarp&cutoff=1, abgerufen am 23.09.2021

[19] Die Belege stammen aus Texten, die zwischen 2011-2017 veröffentlicht wurden, widerspiegeln somit den Wortgebrauch von der Pandemie

smulge masca (cuiva de pe față), „die Lüge/ das betrügerische Verhalten einer Person ans Licht bringen“ für *a-i cădea / a i se lua cuiva masca.*

3.2 Verbale Kollokatoren des untersuchten Wortes während der Pandemie

Da die Presse ständig aktuelle Ereignisse in einer Gesellschaft und in der Welt widerspiegelt, eignen sich die Pressetexte sehr gut für linguistische Analysen, da sie die sprachlichen Veränderungen einerseits als Erste erfassen, andererseits den aktuellen Gebrauch von Wörtern verzeichnen. In der Presse werden einerseits die brennenden Themen in einer Gesellschaft zur öffentlichen Diskussion gestellt, andererseits informieren wir uns alle über das Weltgeschehen aus der Presse. Dabei werden des Öfteren auch Modewörter übernommen und verbreitet.

Eine Suchanfrage auf DIGI24.ro[20], eine der größten Nachrichten-Plattformen in Rumänien, ergab 1650 Beiträge, die *mască* als Schlüsselbegriff (Keyword) beinhalten. Mithilfe von TEXTStat[21] wurde ein Korpus mit allen Artikeltiteln, die in der Zeitspanne 01.01.2021-22.09.2021, veröffentlicht wurden, erstellt. Diese Titel sind zu diesem Zeitpunkt auf die ersten 41 Seiten der Ergebnisse zu finden. Alle diese 41 Internetseiten wurden per Internetadresse zu TEXTStat importiert, so dass ein Korpus mit 35540 Wörter entstanden ist. Eine Suchanfrage nach dem Wort *mască,* ergab, dass das Suchwort 113 Male im Korpus vorkommt.

Die folgende Tabelle zeigt die verbalen Kollokatoren:

Nr.	Verb	Beleg[22]
1	*a purta mască*	*Bărbatul le ceruse să poarte mască 01.09.2021* *Anchetă la Poliția din Arad, după ce un polițist ar fi bătut o femeie pentru că nu purta mască 13.05.2021* *Mahler: Să privim cu precauție măsurile de relaxare, pandemia nu s-a terminat. Unde nu se poate păstra distanța, să purtăm mască 14.05.2021* *Student împușcat pe stradă în Kinshasa de un polițist pentru că nu purta mască 25.07.2021* *Raluca Turcan a fost amendată pentru că nu a purtat mască la plantat copaci. Au primit amendă și cei care erau cu ea în camionetă 01.04.2021*

[20] https://www.digi24.ro/cautare?q=masc%C4%83

[21] TextSTAT ist ein einfaches Programm zur Analyse von Texten. Es liest Text-Dateien (in diversen Kodierungen) und HTML-Files (auch direkt aus dem Internet), und es erstellt Wortfrequenz-Listen und Konkordanzen von diesen Files. TextSTAT hat einen eigenen Web-Spider, mit dem Sie eine beliebige Anzahl Seiten einer bestimmten Website zu einem TextSTAT-Korpus zusammenstellen können. Hüning (S. 1), http://neon.niederlandistik.fu-berlin.de/textstat/, abgerufen am 23.09.2021

[22] Die Belege stellen Titel der Beiträge, die auf der Plattform in der analysierten Zeitspanne veröffentlich worden sind. Hinter jedem Titel steht auch das Datum, wann der Beitrag veröffentlicht wurde, so dass der Beitrag schnell auf der Plattform gefunden werden kann.

		Polițiștii din București acuzați că au torturat doi tineri care le-au atras atenția că nu poartă mască au fost trimiși în judecată 09.07.2021 *Ministrul Culturii propune spectacole-test la care publicul vaccinat să nu poarte mască de protecție 26.04.2021* *Primul spectacol-test din București va fi în 15 mai la Teatrul Național. Caramitru: Spectatorii pot să poarte mască doar dacă vor 06.05.2021* *Angajatul unei benzinării a fost împușcat mortal de un client care a refuzat să poarte mască, în Germania 21.09.2021*
2	*a sta cu/fără mască*	*Se discută dacă turiștii pot sta pe plajă fără mască 11.04.2021*
3	*masca costă*	*Purtarea măștii FFP2 a devenit obligatorie în Austria. Cât costă o astfel de mască 26.01.2021*
4	*a apărea cu/fără mască*	*Premierul Thailandei a fost amendat cu 160 de euro după ce a pus pe Facebook poze în care apare fără mască 26.04.2021* *Brazilia depășește pentru prima dată pragul de 2.000 de morți într-o zi. Jair Bolsonaro apare cu mască în public, moment rarisim 11.03.2021*
5	*masca rămâne obligatorie*	*Decizie CMBSU: Masca rămâne obligatorie în apropierea școlilor și în spațiile aglomerate 15.05.2021*
6	*a organiza cu mască (obligatorie)*	*Școala începe în 13 septembrie în format fizic. Festivitățile de deschidere, organizate cu mască obligatorie și durată limitată 20.08.2021*
7	*masca redevine obligatorie*	*Masca va redeveni obligatorie în apropierea școlilor, în București. Stoica: Măsura e necesară 08.09.2021*
8	*a scăpa de mască*	*Rafila: De mască am putea scăpa prin toamnă sau când imunizăm 10 milioane de persoane 05.04.2021* *Elevii ar putea scăpa de mască la orele de sport 10.02.2021*
9	*a se întoarce la mască*	*Ne vom întoarce la mască atunci când va veni valul 4? Explicațiile lui Valeriu Gheorghiță 11.07.2021*
10	*a fi fără mască*	*Vlad Voiculescu recidivează: „Să nu cumva să intre cineva să mă vadă că sunt fără mască când e cineva lângă mine" 11.04.2021*
11	*masca protejează*	*Raed Arafat: O mască chirurgicală protejează mai mult decât o mască de stofă, iar masca FFP2 protejează mai mult decât una chirurgicală 23.01.2021*

12	*a renunța la mască*	*Florin Cîțu: În toamnă putem renunța la mască dacă mergem cât mai mulți să ne vaccinăm 27.03.2021* *Florin Cîțu: Ne gândim să renunțăm la mască după ținta de 10 milioane de persoane vaccinate 22.04.2021* *Condițiile în care americanii vaccinați cu ambele doze pot renunța la mască în aer liber. Recomandările CDC 27.04.2021* *Condițiile în care se renunță la mască în birou 27.05.2021* *Prefectul Capitalei: Companiile pot decide dacă renunță la mască în birourile cu angajați vaccinați 15.05.2021* *OMS avertizează: Țările care renunță la mască trebuie să țină cont de gradul de vaccinare a populației 14.05.2021* *Ministrul Sănătății: Renunțarea la măști în spațiile deschise și neaglomerate este fezabila de la 1 august 05.05.2021*
13	*a desena o mască pe față*	*Profesor cu o mască desenată pe față. Fotografia editată a însoțit un comunicat al IPJ Suceava privind o acțiune în școli 27.03.2021*
14	*a filma (pe cineva) fără mască*	*O femeie a devenit agresivă când a fost filmată fără mască în autobuz. Niciun călător nu a reacționat 19.02.2021*
15	*a vorbi fără mască*	*Vorbitul fără mască poate fi mai contagios decât tușitul în spații închise. Studiu privind transmiterea SARS-CoV-2 31.01.2021*
16	*a respira fără mască*	*Titi Aur, bolnav de COVID: Nu mă simt bine, nu pot respira fără mască. Am plămânii afectați 03.04.2021*
17	*a fi surprins fără mască*	*Bode, despre miniștrii surprinși fără mască: „Nu sunt adeptul sancțiunii de dragul sancțiunii. Toți răspundem în fața legii" 31.03.2021*
18	*a vinde măști*	*Percheziții la Brigitte și Florin Pastramă. Cei doi sunt acuzați că vindeau măști de firmă contrafăcute 22.07.2021* *Au fost găsiți suspecții care au vândut măști fake Spitalului "Victor Babeș" din Timișoara. Polițiștii fac zece percheziții 15.02.2021*
19	*a avea măști la dispoziție*	*Sorin Cîmpeanu anunță că școlile vor avea la dispoziție 30 de milioane de măști pentru copiii care „n-au, le-au uitat sau le-au rupt" 01.09.2021*
20	*a asigura măști*	*Cine le va asigura măști sanitare elevilor și profesorilor săraci? Cîmpeanu: Stocul este de cel puțin 37 de milioane 05.02.2021*

21	*a exporta măști*	*China a exportat 224 de miliarde de măști, câte 40 pentru fiecare om de pe glob 14.01.2021*

Analysiert man die oben aufgelisteten Kombinationen mit dem untersuchten Nomen, so fällt es zunächst auf, dass der Suchbegriff nicht mehr mit einer übertragenen Bedeutung verwendet wird, sondern die im Wörterbuch auf Platz 25 stehende Leseart als ausschlaggebend für den Gebrauch des Wortes während der Pandemie geworden ist.

Infolge dieses Bedeutungswandels von dem vollidiomatischen Gebrauch zu einem wort-wörtlichen Gebrauch wird das analysierte Wort nicht mehr mit den vor der Pandemie üblichen Verben kombiniert, sondern mit anderen, wie es die obige Tabelle zeigt.

Von den 18 exzipierten Kombinationen mit verbalen Kollokatoren, sind mehr als die Hälfte (10 Kombinationen) nicht idiomatisch, da sowohl das untersuchte Substantiv als auch die dazu kommenden Verben ihre wortwörtlichen Bedeutungen bewahren:

1. *a purta mască*
2. *masca rămâne obligatorie,*
3. *a organiza (un eveniment) cu masca obligatorie,*
4. *a desena o mască pe față,*
5. *masca redevine obligatorie*
6. *a filma pe cineva cu/fără mască*
7. *a respira cu/fără mască*
8. *a vinde măști*
9. *a avea măști la dispoziție*
10. *a exporta măști*

Im Rahmen der anderen 8 Kombinationen erfährt der verbale Kombinationspartner eine neue kombinationsspezifische Bedeutung, so dass diese Kombinationen aus phraseologischer Sicht als Kollokationen eigestuft werden können. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören die folgenden Wortverbindungen:

1. *a sta cu/fără mască*
2. *a apărea cu/fără mască*
3. *a scăpa de mască*
4. *a se întoarce la mască*
5. *a fi fără mască*
6. *a renunța la mască*
7. *a respira fără mască*
8. *a asigura măști*

Im Rahmen der oben aufgelisteten Wortkombinationen des analysierten Nomens bewahrt das untersuchte Wort seine wörtliche Bedeutung, und zwar als 'Mund-Nasen-Schutz zur Verhinderung der Virusverbreitung', so dass es als Basis im Sinne der Hausmannschen Definition einer Kollokation fungiert.

Hausmann betrachtet die Kollokationen aus der Perspektive eines Fremdsprachen-Lerners, so dass diese problematisch werden, wenn der Lernende Texte in der Fremdsprache produzieren muss. In diesem Sinne bereitet *mască* keine Schwierigkeiten, da sich auch im Deutschen schon das Wort *Maske* mit derselben Bedeutung etabliert hat.

Problematisch sind in diesem Kontext die vorkommenden Verben, die nun im Rahmen der neu eingegangenen Kombinationen entweder neue Bedeutungen zugeordnet bekommen oder Bedeutungen ans Licht bringen, welche die Verben bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Kombination mit anderen Nomen aktualisiert haben.

Betrachtet man nun diese verbalen Kollokatoren in Kontrast mit der deutschen Sprache, so steht es fest, dass diese Verben nicht wortwörtlich ins Deutsche übersetzt sein können. Das rumänische Verb *a sta* darf ins Deutsche nicht mit dem Verb 'halt machen' übertragen werden, da es im Rahmen der Kollokation nicht mehr diese Bedeutung hat, sondern eine neue Bedeutung zugeordnet bekommt, und zwar 'aufgesetzt', sprich *die Maske nicht abnehmen.*

In der Kollokation *a se întoarce la mască* merkt man den gleichen Idiomatisierungsprozess des verbalen Kollokators, da man nicht wortwörtlich zur Maske 'zurückkehrt', sondern *das Tragen der Maske wird wieder verpflichtend sein.* Wird das Tragen einer Maske wieder pflichtig, so darf man 'die Maske nicht fallen lassen' oder kann man 'der Maske nicht entkommen'. *A scăpa de mască* bedeutet, dass man wieder ohne einen aufgesetzten Mund-Nasen-Schutz an bestimmten Tätigkeiten/Veranstaltungen teilnehmen darf, sprich die Pflicht einen Mund-Nasen-Schutz zu tragen wird aufgelöst.

3.3 Vergleich der Wortkombinationen des untersuchten Wortes vor und während der Pandemie

Das analysierte Wort bietet ein gutes Beispiel dafür, wie die Corona unsere Sprache beeinflusst. Wie oben erwähnt, trat das analysierte Wort vor der Pandemie in vollidiomatischen Wortkombinationen auf, in denen die beiden Bestandteile idiomatisiert waren. Sprach man über *eine Maske tragen* vor der Pandemie, so war es gemeint, dass die betroffene Person entweder etwas zu verbergen hatte oder sich nicht so vor den anderen zeigen wollte, wie sie wirklich war. Heute gilt es überall: *Tragen Sie bitte eine Maske!*, dabei wird aber wortwörtlich gemeint, den Mund-Nasen-Schutz zu tragen, um eine Verbreitung der Corona zu verhindern und nicht wie früher sein wahres Gesicht zu verbergen.

In der Pandemie wird *mască* mit ihrer fachspezifischen Bedeutung aus der Chirurgie verwendet. So wird das Fachwort *mască* zu einem Gemeinwort, wobei diese neue Bedeutung als die ausschlaggebende nun für den gemeinsprachlichen Usus etabliert wird.

Erwähnenswert ist auch die Tatsache, dass zusätzlich zum Bedeutungswandel, die Wörter auch neu, entsprechend der aktuellen epidemiologischen Lage, kombiniert werden. So muss man aktuell ständig und überall eine Maske tragen und nicht abnehmen (*a sta cu mască)* und auch nicht auf das Tragen eines Mund-Nasen-Schutzes „verzichten“ (*a renunța la mască),* also *man darf nicht, die Maske abnehmen.* Diese durch die Sprache abgebildete Verhaltensänderung könnte den Ausgangspunkt für ein zukünftiges Forschungsvorhaben darstellen, da wie (Ghitan, 2014, S. 212) es hervorbringt: “The way people greet each other when they meet or they say goodbye says a lot of things about their relationship but also about the society they are living in.”

Wie Pană Dindelegan[23] in ihrem Vortrag über die rumänische Sprache, Juli 2020, gezeigt hat, gilt für die rumänische Gegenwartssprache „eine Dynamik und eine Evolution, die vorher nie gegeben hat“, die „spektakulär nicht durch deren Umfang sind, sondern auch durch die Geschwindigkeit, mit der diese stattfinden“[24] Die vorliegende Arbeit nimmt für sich in Anspruch, eine empirische Analyse für diese Dynamik vorzulegen.

4 Ausblick

Die vorliegende Arbeit setzte sich zum Ziel eine exemplarische Analyse der verbalen Kollokationspartner des für die Corona-Zeit ausschlagegebenden Wortes *Maske* durchzuführen. Die Analyse hat hervorgebracht, dass nicht nur die Wörter, sondern auch die Wortkombinationen, bzw. die Kollokationen, die diese eingehen, einem semantischen Wandel unterliegen.

Die Analyse hat ebenfalls gezeigt, dass der semantische Wandel der analysierten Wortkombinationen in beiden Richtungen verlaufen ist. Einerseits kann man den Weg vom idiomatisch, übertragen, zu dem wortwörtlich Gemeintem beobachten (z.B. *a purta mască, eine Maske tragen, a-și da jos masca die Maske abnehmen),* andererseits ist der Weg von der wortwörtlichen Bedeutung zu einer übertragenen Bedeutung ersichtlich (*a nu sta fără mască / die Maske stets tragen, a se întoarce la mască / das Tragen der Maske wird wieder verpflichtend).*

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Derivation from Foreign Words and Acronyms Borrowed in Arabic

Reima Al-Jarf

Derivation is a major word-formation process in Arabic, in which words are formed from a root consisting of three or four consonants and a set of vowels that alternate with the root consonants. Different derivational patterns are used to derive action nouns, adjectives, agents, patients, nouns of place, time, occupation, appliances, tools, diseases, the diminutive and others. The application of derivational patterns to loanwords constitutes a unique linguistic phenomenon in Arabic, especially when Arabic derives forms from borrowings that have no derivatives in the donor language, via English. For example, *Facebook* is a noun in English and no other forms are derived from it, but in Arabic, Facebook users who are common people have derived the verb *يفسبك (*to Facebook),* an action noun *فسبكة (*Facebooking),* and agents/doers *فيسبوكيون (*Facebookers).* The acronym *Laser* was borrowed from English and the verb *ليزر*, adjective *مليزر*, action noun *ليزرة*, plural *ليزرات* were derived, although no forms are derived from *Laser* in English. A corpus of borrowings which have no derivatives in the donor (source) language but has derived forms in Arabic (the recipient language) was collected and analyzed. This phenomenon cannot be generalized to all borrowings in Arabic. There are variations in how many forms can be derived *(NATO, Mafia, federal, tension, nervous, hysteria, maquillage, aristocracy).* The study gives examples of borrowings in Arabic with different forms derived from them and explores why some borrowings are derivable and productive, others are not.

Loan words; Acronyms; Phonological adaptation; Morphological adaptation; Derivation from loan words; Derivation from acronyms.

Background

Diglossia in Arabic

Arabic is a diglossic language, i.e., it has two forms: a Standard Arabic (SA) form used in formal situations such as conferences, lectures, TV news channels and print materials (books, magazines, and newspapers), and a non-standard, Colloquial Arabic (CA) form used in daily communication with family members, friends, when shopping, in talk shows and so on. Each Arab country has its own dialect (colloquial form) such as Saudi, Egyptian, Tunisian, Moroccan, Syrian, Lebanese, Jordanian, Iraqi and Sudanese

Arabic, and there are also regional sub-dialects within each Arab country such as Najdi, Hijazi, Alexandrian, and Cairene Arabic (Al-Jarf, 2016; Al-Jarf, 2011).

Derivation in Arabic

Like other languages, Arabic has numerous word formation processes for generating new lexical items, the most productive of which is derivation in which words are formed from a root consisting of three or four consonants and a set of vowels that alternate with the root consonants. There are different derivational patterns (paradigms) used to derive agents, patients, relative adjectives, abstract nouns, nouns of place, time, occupation, appliances, tools, diseases, the diminutive and others (Al-Jarf, 2015; Al-Jarf, 1994a; Al-Jarf, 1994c).For example, many words are derived from the verb كتب *wrote* such as: كتاب *book;* كتب *books;* كتيب *booklet;* مكتب *desk, office;* مكتبة *library, bookstore;* كتابة *writing;* كاتِب *male author;* كاتبة *female author;* كتّاب *male authors;* كاتبات *female authors;* كتابات *writings, publications;* كتاتيب *Quranic schools;* مكتوب *letter, written;* كاتَب *corresponded with;* كتّب *to make someone write;* استكتب *wrote to another person asking for something;* استكتاب *writing to a person asking for something;* اكتتب *subscribed;* اكتتاب *subscription;* انكتب *was/has been written.* Verbs can be also derived from nouns, and even some acronyms, through the process of back-formation as in باب *chapter (*بوّب *organize into chapters, classified, tabulated);* فهرس *index,* يفهرس *to index,* فهرسة *indexing,* مفهرس *indexed;* كهرباء *electricity,* كهرب *electrify,* مكهرب *electrified.*

Acronyms in Arabic

In addition to derivation, Arabic has blends, clippings/shortening, abbreviations and acronyms. Arabic blends are created by clipping and blending elements of a complex phrase like كهروطيسي *electromagnetic;* أوراسيا *Eurasia;* بسمل *(to say in the name of Allah).* Some Arabic blends were even created and used more than 1000 years ago, such as the religious blends *(*سبحل ،هلل*)* سمعل، حوقل and blends from surnames and tribe names, in the era before Islam *(*عبقسي، عبشمسي*).*In clipping, one or more syllables are deleted from a word such as *phone, photo, math, fax, ad,* ادع، قاض، خاليا فاطم، عبعزيز . In abbreviations, part of a word or term is deleted and another is retained as in جمهورية مصر العربية (ج م ع) *Arab Republic of Egypt;* شركة مساهمة محدودة *(*ش م م*) Joint Stock Company Ltd;* وكالة *(*واس *)* الانباء السعودية *Saudi News Agency;* نصف قطر *(*نق*) radius;* كيلوغرام *(*كغم*) kilogram;* قبل *(*ق.م *)* الميلاد *B.C.* and others (Altakhaineh, 2017; Moszczynski, 2014; Fandrych, 2008; Al-Jurf, 2002; Al-Jarf, 1994c).

As for acronyms and initialism, Arabic has a limited number, although they are widely used in English. Arabic acronyms appeared quite recently due to globalization and contact with other foreign languages, mainly English via media (radio, TV, newspapers), social media, trade, science, and technology. Arabic acronyms are uniquely and spontaneously created by native speakers. As in English, Arabic acronyms consist of the initial letters of longer phrases or compound nouns such as names of organizations, companies, industries, trade names, businesses, educational institutions, government agencies and others. They are also used in medicine, technology, social media, politics, economics as well as common language. In Arabic, there are 3 types of acronyms: (i) original Arabic acronyms for names of companies, associations, organizations, political movements, and news agencies such as جستن *Saudi Association for Education and Psychology*, حماس *Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement),* واس *Saudi New Agency*; (ii) borrowed acronyms pronounced as a word *الناتو NATO, أرامكو ARAMCO, اليونسكو UNESCO, الفاو FAO, اليونيسيف UNICEF, ناسا NASA*; (iii) transliteration of English acronyms of names of Arabic news agencies, companies, organizations and universities as in كاوست *KAUST,* سانا *SANA,* صدق *SIDC,* and أحسن *AHSAN.* Acronyms are either pronounced letter by letter as in (ص.ب *P.O. box*), or as a word as in داعش *ISIS;* قسد *Forces of Democratic Syria;* الأسيان *ASEAN;* الفيفا *FIFA;* أياتا *IATA*). Since Arabic generally connects consonants in writing, most acronyms look like words and are pronounced as words adding unwritten short vowel diacritics to break consonant clusters as in داعش and قسد.

Acronymization in Arabic is subject to certain rules, some of which are: The phonological combinations should be formed on the basis of Arabic patterns, i.e., should be compatible with Arabic phonotactics. Consonant clusters should be broken up by inserting vowels. Acronyms should conform to the Relevance Theory, i.e. should be homophonous to existing Arabic words to maximize their contextual effects with a minimum processing effort (Altakhaineh, 2017). Additional rules about acronymization in English mentioned by Fandrych (2008) apply to Arabic:(i) the ordering of letters in an acronym can be changed to facilitate pronounceability and homonymy as in *MISHAP ‘Missiles High-Speed Assembly Program*’; AHSAN أحسن, SIDC صدق. (ii) Acronyms behave like normal lexemes, i.e., they can be inflected with a plural suffix, as in *TVs, UFOs,* and *PCs;* جيمسات *GMS’s,* سيديهات *CD’s.* (iii)Unlike English, in Arabic other forms can be derived from some acronyms as in *laser* ليزر ليزرة (iv) Acronyms can become part of new compounds (*CD-Rom;* قسد-داعش); prefixation (*Un-PC;* اللاداعشي *none-ISIS);* suffixation (*Foi-able, MSTies, OK-ness;* رادارات *Radars);* reverse acronyms *(ABC, PLAN, whizzo, yummies;* فتح *Fatah)*. Sometimes there is no apparent link between the acronym and the full form as in *PIN* and *‘personal identification number’;* داعش *Daesh ISIS* in Arabic which is more commonly used than the full name *‘Islamic State in Iraq and Syria’.*

Borrowings in Arabic

Arabic has ancient borrowings from Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Hindi, Hebrew, Nabataean, Coptic, Turkish, Negro, Berber, Pahlavi, and Indian languages some of which were Arabized, i.e., phonologically, and morphologically adapted, and were used even in the Holy Quran as in سندس استبرق (types of fabric). It also has modern borrowings from contemporary languages such as: English, French, Turkish, Farsi and others. Arabic borrows common words as well as technical terms in various disciplines as in*federal, pasteurization, internet, oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, carbohydrates, Corona, hormone, vitamin, Internet, Facebook, kilometer, kilogram, mile, iPad, Pfizer* (Al-Jarf, 1994c). In this respect, borrowings, as Al-Qinai (2000) indicated, are a natural by-product of translation in which technical, and culture-specific terms for which ready-made equivalents are either unavailable or unpopular, are adopted.

Derivation from borrowings

When foreign words are borrowed in any language, some usually undergo phonological, morphological and/or semantic adaptations (Al-Jarf, 2021). In Arabic, borrowings either remain as they are in the donor (source) language or undergo partial or full phonological and morphological alterations to fit the Arabic phonological and morphological systems as in the derivation of plural forms, verbs, action nouns, abstract nouns, adjectives, and others following Arabic derivational rules. In some cases, Arabic derives forms from borrowings that have no derivatives in the donor language, via English. As a result, they are integrated into the Arabic lexicon and are used naturally like other native Arabic words.

Literature Review

Borrowings in Arabic have been the subject of research for a very long time. A review of the literature has shown numerous studies that investigated the phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptations of loanwords in Arabic. For example, Al-Qinai (2000) examined the systematic phonological changes of loanwords in Arabic to determine whether segmental or suprasegmental changes/alterations in loanwords follow the Arabic phonological rules. He found that phonological changes range from assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, and elision, doubling or replacing one or more segments of the original word in the donor language. Similarly, Ottoman Turkish words borrowed in Arabic have undergone phonological changes in order to substitute sounds not available in Arabic. Although some sound changes appear quite regularly, there are no phonetic rules for them since there are so many exceptions and no conformity in sound changes among the different Arabic dialects (Procházka, 2009). Moreover, Hafez (1996) reported that English loanwords in Egyptian Arabic underwent phonological adaptations that included consonant and vowel alteration, addition of intrusive vowels and consonants, gemination, syllable omission, stress shift and metathesis. Zibin (2019) indicated that young Jordanians, especially females, add the Arabic suffix /-?k/, which is used as a feminine second person singular pronoun or a as possessive pronoun, and that the final consonant in the loanword is adapted to the addition of the suffix /-?k/ depending on its syllable structure, i.e., whether it is monosyllabic and disyllabic.

The degree of integration or adaptability of loanwords in Arabic is affected by linguistic, extra-linguistic and sociological factors. The linguistic factors include words whose phonological structure does not conform to the Arabic phonological system; words whose stress pattern does not conform to the Arabic stress patterns; those whose phonology follows a segmental pattern that has a particular function in Arabic morphology; and words that contain foreign sounds, foreign markings, or proper names that remain as they are or are partially adapted. Words that end in a vowel tend to get fully adapted to trigger syntactic and gender distinctions. The extralinguistic and sociological factors include speakers' attitude toward the donor language, Arabic speakers' tendency to give loanwords an Arabic identity, how long the lexemes have been borrowed, and frequency of use of the loanwords (Bueasa, 2015; Hafez, 1996).

As for morphological adaptation of loanwords in Arabic, the literature review has revealed numerous studies that investigated this issue such as: morphological adaptation of Italian loanwords in Libyan Arabic (D'Anna, 2018); loanword adaptation in Jordanian Arabic (Badarneh, 2007; Al-Saidat, 2011); morphological changes in English loanwords used by Kuwaitis on Twitter (Dashti & Dashti, 2017); loanwords in the medical field in Iraqi Arabic (Al-Quraishi & Mansour (2020), morphological integration of loanwords in Egyptian Arabic (Havez, 1996) and others. Most studies found that loanwords go through inflectional adaptations such as gender and number assignment, plural formation, addition of possessive pronouns, word-formation, attachment of the definite article /ʔal/ to nouns, prefixing demonstratives and prepositions, using Arabic negatives, and prefixing collectives to nouns. All foreign words are treated like Arabic words. Arabic native speakers follow a form that is standardized by SA or is used in their local dialects when they add Arabic suffixes to borrowings. Prior studies also found consistency in assigning number and gender to loanwords (Mohammed & Samad, 2020; Al-Quraishi & Mansour, 2020; Dashti & Dashti, 2017; Hamdi, 2017; Laks, 2014; Al-Saidat, 2011; Badarneh, 2007; Hafez, 1996).

At the semantic level, Al-Athwary (2016) analyzed English loanwords in Arab Gulf States newspapers with regards to semantic change, semantic domains, and the phenomenon of synonymy resulting from lexical borrowing. The analysis revealed that English borrowings in Arabic media language occur in fifteen distinctive semantic domains: technical and scientific nature (9%-18%), nontechnical elements (1%-8%) with computer and technology loanwords as the most dominant domain (18%). In addition, extension, restriction, amelioration, pejoration, and metaphorical extension take place in Arabic media language borrowings. Factors such as need, semantic similarity, and psychological and social factors, such as prestige and taboo, seem to affect semantic change. A problem of synonymy was found in loanwords that have "Arabic equivalents".

A third line of research in the literature focused on acronyms. A study by Famian & Sokhanvar (2016) compared the structure and frequency of acronyms in Persian, English, Arabic and Turkish and found that English has the highest number and highest frequency of acronyms, followed by Turkish, then Persian and Arabic. The authors found that more than 50% of the acronyms consist of three letters. The alphabet typology plays a more significant role in producing and using acronyms than the morphological typology.

A similar study by Hamdan & Fareh (2003) compared acronyms in English and Arabic in terms of the mechanisms of acronym formation and the contexts in which they are used. Results of the comparison showed that Arabic acronyms are less frequent and more context-restricted than English acronyms. This might be attributed to linguistic, cultural, and scientific factors.

Further studies in the literature, such as Kamel (2017); Humeid & Altai (2013); Al-Jarf (2010); Al-Qinai (2007) and Mousli (2002), investigated the difficulties that Arab college students have in translating English acronyms to Arabic. Some of the problems found were inserting English acronyms and single words/terms from the source text in the Arabic translation using Roman letters, in addition to issues of equivalence and similarity between English abbreviations and acronyms and their Arabic Translation.

Regarding the morphological, graphic, and semantic changes that acronyms undergo, the influence of the acronym graphic form on its lexicalization, and the factors that affect the entrance of acronyms as independent lexical units, results of a study by Bennane (2019) revealed that the relation between an acronym and its meaning is stronger than that between the acronym and its full form. The acronym's graphic form affects its lexicalization in English. The use of an acronym frequently, constantly and in many domains and aspects of daily life helps in acronym lexicalization. Acronyms written in lowercase like *laser* and *radar* are accepted in English. In another study by Izura & Playfoot (2012), analysis of 146 acronyms indicated that acronym naming is a complex process affected by variables such as age of acquisition, orthographic and phonological length, bigram, and trigram frequencies, number of orthographic neighbours, frequency of usage, voicing characteristics print-to-pronunciation patterns and imageability.

Aims of Study

The above literature review shows that prior studies have investigated numerous aspects of the inflectional adaptation of loanwords in SA as well as some dialects such as Jordanian, Iraqi, Moroccan, Egyptian and Libyan Arabic. Prior studies have also compared acronyms in some languages, the problems of translating acronyms, inflectional, graphic, and semantic changes in acronyms and the factors that affect acronym naming. However, the literature review revealed lack of studies that investigate the issue of derivation from loanwords and loan acronyms in Arabic, particularly those that have no derivatives in the donor language. Therefore, the aims of the present study are: (i) to show examples of borrowings(loanwords) of different types (letters, prefixes, prepositions, proper nouns referring countries and cities, and acronyms), examples from several domains and several languages which have no derivatives in the donor language; (ii) to show derivability, i.e., how many forms are derived from each borrowing and variability in the number of derivatives and why some borrowings are derivable, others are not; and (iii) to give some implications for language and translation pedagogy.

Since the study of morphology, as Al-Jurf (2002) and Al-Jarf (1994a) indicated, includes *derivation* (process of forming words from bases or roots by adding affixes, by internal phonetic change that involves a change in the word class), *inflection* (change in the word form that indicates number, gender, case, tense, voice, mood, aspect, transitivity and comparison), and *compounding* (groups of two or more elements joined together and treated as a unit), this study will only focus on the derivation of nouns such as agents, patients, action nouns, abstract nouns of quality, nouns of manner, place, time, occupation, instruments, appliances, tools, flow, diseases, the diminutive, relative adjectives and/or adverbs. It will also focus on the derivation of any kind of verbs like transitive and intransitive verbs, verbs of reciprocity, movement, intensive, reflexive, estimative/declarative, causative, factive, numerically or temporally extensive verbs, verbs showing movement towards a place, entering a period of time, getting into a state or condition, acquiring a quality, and/or those expressing color, sound or movement. The inflected forms of loanwords such as the attachment of the definite article, derivation of feminine, passive, active, comparative, superlative, imperative, and subjunctive forms, verb tenses, case, and use of loan words in compounds will not be the focus of the study. Only occasional plural forms (broken and sound masculine) will be described when necessary.

Data Collection

A corpus of 176 borrowed words and acronyms with 475 derived forms in Arabic but no derivatives in the donor language was collected from informants (relatives, friends, colleagues, students), internet websites[1], TV shows, social media such as Facebook and Twitter and some dictionaries such as Abu-Hashimah's (2007) *"Word origins: dictionary of foreign words in Arabic"*. The corpus covers borrowed letters, prefixes, prepositions, proper nouns (cities, countries, people), acronyms, common words as well as technical terms from social media, political, medical, and psychological fields. It covers loanwords from English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Farsi and Turkish. The corpus included words from SA as well as CA, especially the Saudi dialect. All the borrowings in the data are commonly used in everyday speech by educated, uneducated, specialized, and non-specialized native speakers of Arabic.

To be included in the corpus, each borrowed lexical item should have at least one derivative in Arabic but no derivatives in the donner language. For example, *filter, calcium, oxygen and hydrogen* are borrowed and used in Arabic but they were not included in the corpus because they have derivatives in both English and Arabic (*to filter* يفلتر *, filtration* فلترة *, calcify* يكلس *calcification* تكلس*; oxidize* يؤكسد*, oxidation* أكسدة*,* oxygenate يؤكسج, *hydrogenate* يهدرج *hydrogenation* هدرجة*, hydrogenated* مهدرج*)*. Arabic has borrowings from Japanese such as كايزن *kaizen,* كيمونو *kimono,* جينكو *ginkgo,* ساموراي *samurai,* تشيتاكي *shiitake,* سوشي *sushi,* ترياكي *teriyaki,* توفو *tofu,* ميكادو *Mikado,* جيجوتسو *jujutsu,* جودو *judo,* كاراتيه *karate,* شينتو *Shinto,* انمي *anemi,* ايموجي *emoji,* كاميكاز *kamikaze,*

ريكشة *rickshaw,* تسونامي *tsunami* and others but they were not included in the corpus because they do not have any derived forms in Arabic, the recipient language. Similarly, بالكون بلكونة *Balcón* and صالة *sala* are borrowed from Spanish but they were not included in the corpus because they do not have derived forms in Arabic.

This study does not claim that the sample of borrowings with derivatives in Arabic but no derivatives in the donor languages is all-inclusive due to time constraints while collecting the sample, and insufficient and inadequate resources.

While searching for loanwords from different languages, the author faced the following problems: (i) lack of resources that show all borrowings in the Arabic language from all languages or from a single language; (ii) a limited number of old borrowings from Farsi and Turkish or borrowings from English and French available in some Arabic online discussion forums, and Arabic language websites which duplicated the same list of borrowings, i.e., they copy and paste from each other; (iii) Paucity of Arabic dictionaries of etymology. The only dictionary of etymology that the author found was that by Abu-Hashimah's (2007), but the dictionary focuses more on borrowings from ancient languages. Some of the borrowings listed from those languages are not currently used by Arabs and the author herself never heard of those. Only few borrowings from modern languages such as English, French, Spanish, and Italian, are listed. Although Al-Maany Online dictionary, the largest and most comprehensive Arabic language dictionary, which combines a number of dictionaries together, and has monolingual and several bilingual dictionaries only lists the different meanings of a word according to its part of speech but rarely shows its origin even if it is a borrowing. (iv) While trying to validate the borrowings and their donor languages, their original form in the donor languages, the author faced a problem in finding an authentic, accurate resource in which she can check the origin of the word and the language from which it was borrowed. The author had to ignore some borrowings from Latin and Greek, because she could not verify the original word, (i.e., the exact Greek and Latin source word) due to the phonological changes that were made in the borrowed word in Arabic.

Data Analysis

All borrowed items were entered into a table with all the Arabic derived forms next to each. The borrowings were classified according to the type of item borrowed, area of specialty in which the borrowing is used and the donor language. In the results tables, each loanword and derivative was translated to English and was marked according to its parts of speech: V (Verb), TV (Transitive Verb), IT (Intransitive Verb), N (Noun), Adj (Adjective), Adv (Adverb), Pl (Plural), MSP (Masculine Sound Plural), or BP (Broken Plural).

The study did not focus on phonological adaptation of the loanwords in the corpus nor on the semantic changes that have taken place in some borrowings.

Results of the analysis are reported qualitatively and quantitatively. In reporting the results, examples of borrowings that also have derivatives in the donor language, viz

English, like *democratize* يدقرط *democratization* دمقرطة*, oxidize* يؤكسد*, oxidation* أكسدة*, Americanize* يؤمرك*, Americanization* أمركة*, pasteurization* البسترة*, hydrogenated*مهدرج **,** *hydrogenation* هدرجةwere not included in the corpus but are mentioned in the results for comparison purposes only.

Validity and Reliability

Borrowings in the corpus and their derived forms were verified in some Arabic dictionaries such as Al-Munjid dictionary and the *Dictionary of Foreign Words in Arabic* by Abu-Hashimah's (2007), and as mentioned in some online discussion forums and Arabic Language Websites. The derived forms listed were verified by 5 professors of English and Arabic linguistics who are native speakers of Arabic, as well as 5 Arab senior college students majoring in English and translation. Disagreements were solved by discussion.

Results

Results of the data analysis showed that 42% of the lexical items in the sample were borrowed from English, 11.5% were borrowed from Turkish, 11% from French, 10.5% from Greek and Latin, 10% from Farsi,4% from Italian and Spanish, 3.4% Aramaic, 4.6% were acronyms, and 3% from other languages. The author found 1 borrowed letter, 1 prefix, 1 preposition, and 7 acronyms (See Table 1).

Foreign Units Subject to Derivation

Table (1) shows derivatives from borrowed letters, prefixes, and prepositions. In colloquial, informal Arabic, people would say *"أكّست عليه" (to delete or cross out).* In English, letters are usually used as a noun such as a Z score, and no verbs are derived from letters.

In English, *hyper* is used as a prefix in *hypermarket* and *hyperactive*, but it is never used in isolation and no forms are derived from it. In CA, people have derived a verb هيبر *(overact),* a noun هيبرة *(overacting),* and an adjective مهيبر *(agitated, edgy);* two adjectives مأوْفِر (exaggerating) and مأوْفَر (exaggerated); and an adjective from *nano-* following Arabic derivational rule. These forms are used in spoken CA but not in formal SA.

As for *"day off'*, some EFL students and lecturers pluralize the preposition making it a Feminine Sound Plural *(أوفّات),* although the correct English plural is *"days off", not "day *offs".* Using an Arabic plural for *"day"* sounds weird and unacceptable to them.

Table (1): Derived Forms from Borrowed Letters, Prefixes & Prepositions

Category	Borrowings	Derivatives and Their Meanings in English
letters	X	يؤكس عليه (to put an x on something, to delete or cross it out, V)
prefixes	Hyper-	يهبر (V, overact); هيبرة (N, overacting); مهيبر (Adj, agitated, edgy)
	over	مأوْفِر (N, exaggerating), مأوْفَر (Adj, exaggerated)
	Nano-	ناناوي (Adj, related to nano)
prepositions	days off	أوفات (off's, fem. Sound Pl)

In Table (2) derived forms from a few English acronyms borrowed in Arabic are displayed together with their derivatives. In English, the donor language, no verbs are derived from acronyms except for *CC'd*. There are few examples of acronyms which are inflected with the plural and possessive suffix/-s/as in *UNESCO's, CDs, FAO's, T.V.'s, UN's*, *Radar's* and others, whether they are pronounced as a word or single letters. Only 2 examples of English acronyms with a derived noun referring to persons belonging to the *TESOL* organization and *COLT*[1] were found.

In addition, Table (2) shows that verbs, adjectives, and abstract nouns have been derived from a few native Arabic acronyms that are pronounced as a word such as *Hamas, Fatah* and *Daesh* داعش *ISIS*. Although داعش appeared during the Arab Spring, it is very prolific as more than 30 forms have been derived from it.

Similarly, Table (2) shows few examples of loan acronyms from which Arabic speakers have derived verbs, nouns, and adjectives, but those acronyms have no derivatives in English, the donor language. The number of derived forms varies from one acronym to another. *Laser*, which entered the Arabic language decades ago, has numerous derivatives as the verb ليزر, adjective مليَزر, action noun ليزرة, and agent مليزِر. Arabic speakers have derived an adjective, and a verb from AIDS. On the other hand, Arabic speakers have not derived forms from most acronyms such as *UNESCO, UNICEF, FAO, OPEC, CEDAW*, *OPEC* and others probably because of the length of some acronym, some acronyms do not match any native Arabic word in pronunciation, for phonotactic reasons or the contexts in which such acronyms are used do not require the use of any derived forms, i.e., there is no need to use a derived verb or a noun. Although *NASA* has the same length as and rhymes with *nano, WATA* and *NATO*, no forms have been derived

[1] College of Languages and Translation at King Saud University.

from it by Arabic speakers. *GMC, CD* and *Radar* are not derivable and they can only be inflected the Feminine Sound Plural suffix /-a:t/.

Table (2): Derived Forms from Borrowed Acronyms

Types of Units	Examples Derivatives
Derived forms from English acronyms	TESOL, TESOLers; COLT, COLTies; UNESCO's; CDs, CD's; FAO's; UN's; Radar's; AID's; CC'd
Derived forms from native Arabic acronyms	Hamas[2] حمساوي (Adj/N, member of Hamas); حمساوية (N, Pl, members of Hamas
	Fatah[3]فتحاوي (Adj/N, member of Fatah); فتحاوية (N, members of Fatah)
	ISIS استدعش استدعاش دعشنة داعشية داعش دواعش دعششة دعشاوي داعشي
Derived forms from borrowed acronyms	NATO ناتاوي (Adj, belonging to, or having the characteristics of NATO)
	WATA[4] واتاوي (Adj, member of WATA)
	LASER ليزر (V, use laser); مليزر (Adj, treated with laser); ليزرة (N, laser treatment)
	AIDS مأيدز (Adj, infected with AIDS); أيدز (V, caught AIDS)
	CD سيديهات (N, Pl) only
	GMC جيمسات (N, Pl) only
	Radar رادارات (N, Pl) only

As a general rule in Arabic, it is possible to derive a relative adjective referring to the people belonging to any country. But as seen in Table (3), Arabic speakers have derived verbs and action nouns from the names of some countries such as *Turkey, Uzbekistan*, and *Kyrgyzstan*. Although it is possible to derive a verb and a noun from the name of any country in the world as in *Ukraine* and *Denmark*, those are not actually used by native speakers in daily communication, nor by the media. Nouns and verbs derived from countries and cities such as *Britain, Korea, Russia, Iran, India, China, Indonesia, Holland, Russia, Beijing* and *Tokyo* are not acceptable to Arabic speakers for phonotactic reasons, even when it is possible to delete certain consonants from long names such as *Indonesia* and *Singapore*, the resulting forms are not used by Arabic speakers. When a noun is derivable from a city or country name in English such as *Londoner, New Yorker* and *Californian*, the derivation of an Arabic equivalent is plausible and easy.

[2] Arabic acronym meaning Islamic Resistance Movement.
[3] Arab back acronyms meaning National Palestinian Liberation Movement.
[4] World Arab Translators' Association.

Similarly, native speakers of Arabic can derive words from proper nouns referring to people such as names of politicians, philosophers, scientists, and others *(Chavez, de Gaulle)*. Thus, Arabic has derived adjectives referring to followers of a certain personality, or a noun of quality referring to the movement, philosophy or phenomenon created by a person. Arabic does not delete the French preposition '*de'* from *'de Gaulle'* like English. So English says *Gaulism*, whereas Arabic combines the preposition *'de'* and the proper names and says *الديجولية*. Here again, if a proper noun referring to a person is derivable in English, it is derivable in Arabic as in *Trumpism, Bushism, Reaganism, Thatcherism* and *Hitlerism*.

Table (3): Derived Forms from Borrowed Proper Nouns (Names of Countries& People)

Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
Uzbekistan	يؤزبك (V, to naturalize, make Uzbek in form or character)
Turkey	تتريك (V, to naturalize, make Turkish in form or character)
Kyrgyzstan	يقرغز (V, to naturalize, make Kyrgyz in form or character)
Londoner	لندني (N, Person from London)
New Yorker	نيويوركي (N, Person from New York)
Chavez	شافيزية (N, philosophy, phenomenon of); شافيزي (Adj, follower of/related to Chavez)
de Gaulle	ديجولية (N, Gaullism); ديجولي (Adj, related to/follower of de Gaulle)

Arabic Derivatives from Borrowings According to Discipline

Interestingly, Arabic has derived forms for some social media terms for which there are no derivatives in English as shown in Table (4). Since each of those terms is a compound, Arabic has derived a verb from the first element in *Internet*, a plural agent was derived from the first element, second element or even both elements in *Snapchat*; and an adverb of manner in *WhatsApp*. Since *Facebook* and *hashtag* are long words (each containing 4 consonant phonemes), the consonants in each were isolated to form a root (a base form) and short vowels were added following the Arabic rules for deriving verbs and nouns from quadriliteral roots. The plural forms were then formed by adding the Sound Plural suffixes.

Although *media* in Table (4) has 2 syllables in Arabic, an adjective was derived following the same derivational pattern for words ending with a long /a:/ or /o/like *WATA* and *NATO* in Table (2), *mafia,* in Table (5) and *nano*- in Table (1), the latter of which also has a derivational rule in Arabic related to final vowels.

Table (4): Derived Forms from Social Media Borrowed Terms

Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
Facebook	يفسبك (V, to browse FB); فسبكة (N, browsing FB); فيسبوكيون (N, Sound Pl, Fb users)
Internet	يؤنتر (V, to post on the Internet)
hashtag	يهشتق (V, to create a hashtag); هشتقة (N, creating a hashtag); هاشتاقات (N, Pl)
Snapchat	سنابيون/سنابتشاتيون/شاتيون (N, M Sound Pl, Snapchat users/lovers)
WhatsApp	واتس أبيا (Adv, through WhatsApp)
media	ميدياوي (Adj, related to media)

The derivation of nouns and verbs from loanwords in Arabic is not limited to common words but it is also applied to borrowed technical terms in CA and SA. For example, the adjective derived from *mafia* follows the same pattern as *WATA, NATO, Fatah* and *Hamas.* Like English, *liberal, federal* and *ideology* have a full range of derivatives, but with 2 derived verb forms: a transitive (VT) and intransitive verb (IT). However, *strategy, logistics, imperialism, imperialize, confederal* do not have any Arabic derivatives. Like English, Arabic has numerous derivatives from *democracy* with 2 derived verbs *دقرط، دمقرط* depending on which consonants were selected to form the root. Interestingly, both English and Arabic have no derivatives from *aristocracy, bureaucracy, autocracy,* and *technocrats* (See Table 5). This is probably due to the phonotactics of those words, lack of need for using derivatives from them, and lower usage frequency than *democracy* in the language. The derivatives shown in Table (5) are used in both CA and SA, in the media and social media.

Table (5): Derived Forms from Borrowed Political Terms

Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
mafia	مافياوي (Adj, related to mafia, conducting mafia activities, looks like mafia)
tactic	يتكتك (V, to make/prepare a tactic); تكتيك (N); تكتيكات (N, Pl); تكتيكي (Adj)
liberal	لبرنة (N, liberalization); يلبرن (TV, liberalize others); يتلبرن (IV, to become liberal);ليبرالي (Adj, liberal); ليبرالية (N, liberalism)

federal	فدرل (TV, made federal); تفدرل (IV, become federal); فدرلة (N, federalization); مفدرل (Adj, federalized)
ideology	أدلجة (N, ideologization, ideologizing); يؤدلج (TV, to ideologize others);تأدلج (IV, to ideologize oneself); مؤدلج (Adj, ideologized)
democracy	دمقرط (V, to democratize); دقرط (V, to democratize); دمقرطة (N, democratization); دقرطة (N, democratization)

In medicine, native speakers of Arabic have derived verbs and adjectives from diseases such as the *flu, corona, cancer, AIDS, gripe (Fr),* which are used in CA but not in SA. Arabic speakers have also derived verbs and action nouns from *doctor, capsule, vaccine, virus*, *hormone,* in addition to an adjective from *gypsum*. But no words are derived from medical terms like *protein, insulin, vitamin, rheumatism* for phonotactic reasons (See Table 6). Arabic speakers probably do not feel they need to derive other forms from them, and words like *protein, insulin, vitamin* are names of objects.

Table (6): Derived Forms from Borrowed Medical Terms

Borrowings	**Arabic Derivatives**
flu	فلوز (V, caught the flu); مفلوز (Adj, having the flu)
corona	كورن (V, caught corona); مكورن (Adj, having corona)
cancer	كنسر (V, got cancer);مكنسر (Adj, having cancer)
gripe	(Fr) كرّب (V, caught the flu); مكرب (Adj, having the flu)
aids	أيْدَزَ (V, caught AIDS); مأيْدِز (Adj, having AIDS)
doctor	يدكتر (V, call/treat someone doctor); دكترة (N calling someone doctor)
capsule	كبسولة (N, capsule); كبسل (V, to put in a capsule)
Covid	كوفيدية (Adj, related to Covid)
vaccine	يتفكسن (V, take the vaccine); فكسن (V, took the vaccine, gave the vaccine)
virus	يتفيرس (V, catch a virus)
gypsum	جبّس (V, to put in a cast); تجبيس (N, the act of putting in a cast); مجبس (Adj, state of being in a cast)

hormone	يهرمن (V, to add hormones); مهرمنة (Adj, with added hormones)

Although the words *tension, nervous* and *hysteria* have no derived verbs and action nouns in English, users of Arabic have derived verbs and action nouns from them (See Table 7 below and discussion of *hyper* before Table 1 above). Such forms are commonly used in CA but not in SA. It seems that Arabic speakers find it easy to derive verbs and adjectives from them because they rhyme with native Arabic words like متنح، متربس، مشرشر، مغبر, in addition to their acceptable phonotactic structure. It is easy to isolate the consonants in each and combine them in a tri- or quadriliteral root to derive from.

Table (7): Derived Forms from Borrowed Psychological Terms

Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
tension	متنشن (Adj, tense); تنشنة (N; becoming tense); تنشن (V, to become tense)
nervous	نرفز (V, to lose temper); نرفزة (N, losing temper);منرفز (Adj, has lost his temper)
hysteria	هستر (V, lost his mind); هسترة (N, losing one's mind, becoming hysterical);مهستر (Adj, hysterical, out of his mind)

Arabic Derivatives from Borrowings According to Language

After the phonological adaptation of the word *puncture* into بنشر by deleting the consonant /k/ and reducing /tʃ / to /ʃ/, a verb, action noun and a Broken Plural were derived. Similarly, verbs and action nouns were derived from *cushion, chic, cellophane, gender, carton, parking, ceramic.* Such words are derivable in Arabic because the combination of consonants that form the root is similar to words already used in Arabic such as شرشر, يتشكل, يتشكون, يسمن, طنجرة, مجدرة, كردن, سودن,متبرك, كركب, فبرك.Out of all measuring units, only *meter*, which originally came from Italian *metrone*, is derivable probably because the measuring tape is also called *meter* in CA which is very often used in measuring fabric and other things (See Table 8).

Table (8): Examples of Borrowing from English with Their Arabic derivatives

Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
puncture	بناشر (N, Pl, punctures);يبنشر (V, to have a flat tyre);مبنشر (N, having a flat tyre)
cushion	مكشنت (Adj, having/using a cushion); كشنت (V, had/used a cushion)

chic	يتشيك (V, to dress up); شياكة (N, elegant); متشيك (Adj, dressed up/elegant)
cellophane	يسلفن (V, to cover with cellophane); مسلفن (Adj, covered with cellophane)
gender	جندرة (N, act of discrimination based on gender); جندري (Adj, related to gender); الجندرية (N, state/study or gender);
carton	يكرتن (V, to put in boxes)
parking	يبركن (V, to park); مبركن (Adj, parked); متبركن (Ad, parked)
ceramic	سرمكة (N, act of covering with ceramics); يسرمك (V, to cover with ceramics)
meter	متر (N, meter);تتمير (N, act of measuring in meters); يمتر (V, measure)

As in English borrowings, borrowings from French have similar derived forms in Arabic. Some borrowed French terms used in film-making and movie production *(doublage, sous-titrage, montage)* and those used in beauty salons (*macuillage, manicure, séchoir*) have a full range of derivatives (See Table 9). A verb has been derived from *chauffeur*. Verbs and adjectives were derived from *millionaire* and *billionaire* but not *milliardaire* and *trillion* which are also used in Arabic. Arabic has a full range of derivatives from *manicure* but no derivatives from *piedicure,* although they have the same structure, probably due to frequency of usage and phonotactic structure. Furthermore, Table 9 shows two verbs from *cologne* depending on the consonants extracted to form the root verb. *Etranger* entered the Arabic language long ago and all its derivatives are used in SA, especially in historical contexts. *Douche, garage, cologne*, *manicure*, *chauffeur*, and their Arabic derivatives are used in CA. Since *sous-titrage* has repetitive consonants, only 4 consonants were extracted and combined to make the root verb سترج. The combination of sounds in it /s t r j/ resembles those in native Arabic words such as سراج سرج ستر.

Table (9): Borrowings from French with Their Arabic derivatives

Borrowings	Arabic derivatives
macuillage ماكياج	ماكياج (N, makeup); مكيج (V, to wear makeup, put makeup for somebody); ممكيجة (Adj, wearing full makeup)

doublage دوبلاج	دوبلاج (N, dubbing) دبلج (V, dub); مدبلَج (Adj, dubbed); مدبلِج (N, person who dubs);دبلجة (N, act of dubbing)
sous-titrage سترجة	سترجة (N, act of subtitling), سترج (V, to subtitle)
montage مونتاج	مونتاج (N, editing); يمنتج (V, to edit); ممنتِج (N, editor); ممنتَج (Adj, edited)
millionaire مليونير	ملين (V, became a millionnaire); مملين (N, a person who has millions); مليونية (N, millionism)
billionaire بليونير	بلين (V, became a billionnaire);مبلين (N, a person who has billions)
chauffeurشوفير	يشوفر (V, to drive someone around)
coiffeur كوافير	يكوفر (V, to do hair and makeup)
manicureمانيكير	مناكير (N, nail polish); يمنكر (TV, to put on nail polish for somebody); تتمنكر (IV, to put on nail polish for oneself); متمنكر/ممنكر (Adj, wearing nail polish)
séchoir سيشوار	سيشوار (N, hair dryer); يسشور (V, to blow dry); مسشور (Adj, have been bkow-dried)
douche دوش	دوش (N, shower); يدوش (V, to take a shower)
cologne كولونيا	يتكلن (V, to put perfume); تكلون (V, to put perfume)
garage كراج	كراج (N, garage); يكرج السيارة (V, to park in the garage)
étranger الافرنج	الافرنج (N, The Franks); الفرنجة(N, The Franks); يتفرنج (V, bahave/act like westerners); فَرْنَجة (N, foreignization); فرنجَ (V, foreignize); مُفَرْنِج (N, foreignizer); مفرنَج (Adj, foreignized)

After phonological adaptation, borrowed Italian and Spanish words shown in Table (10) were subject to derivation. Derivatives of *fattura* are used in SA, especially by mobile companies, whereas those of *moda, antica, vernice,* and *sigarro* are used in CA. Most have a full range of derivatives.

Table (10): Borrowings from Italian and Spanish with their Arabic derivatives

Source Language	Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
Italian	moda	موضة (N, fashion); مموضة (Adj, fashionable); تتموض (V, follows fashion)
	antica	أنتيكا (N, antique); مأنتك (Adj, classy, luxurious, splendid); أنتكة(N, splendour); يتأنتك (V, dress up)
	fattura	فاتورة (N, bill, invoice); مفوتر (Adj, billed);يفوتر (V, to bill); فوترة(N, billing)
	vernice	ورنيش (varnish); ورنش (V, cover with varnish)
Spanish	sigarro	سيجارة (cigarette); يسجر (V, to smoke a cigarette)

Almost all borrowings from Greek and Latin displayed in Tables (11) and (12) entered the Arabic language long ago. These words and their Arabic derivatives are used in SA. The word *asphalt*, has two adapted forms اسفلت & زفت depending on the regional dialect used in. *مقندل* which is derived from *قنديل (lantern)* is used figuratively in CA to mean *'soaring'*. The rest of the Greek and Latin words have a full range of derivatives and they are all used in SA.

Table (11): Borrowings from Greek with their Arabic derivatives

Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
Ekleipsis	كسوف (N, eclipse);كسف(V, to)
Keranis	قرميد (N, brick); يقرمد (V, to build with bricks)
Chartes	قرطاس (N, paper); يقرطس (V, to wrap in paper); مقرطس (Adj, wrapped in paper); قرطسة (N, act of wrapping in paper)
Kalo -pous	قالب (N, mould); قولب (V, to shape by putting in a mould); قولبة (N, act of shaping by putting in a mould
Pandochaion	فندق (N, hotel); فندقة (N, study of hotels)
Spodos	سماد (N, fertilizer);يسمد(V, to fertilize);تسميد (N, fertilizing);اسمدة(N, pl, fertilizers)
Zone	زنار (N, belt); يزنر (V, surround); مزنر (Adj, having something around)
Asfaltos	زفت /أسلفت (N, asphalt); يزفت/يسفلت (V, pave with asphalt); تزفيت/سفلتة (N, act of laying a layer of asphalt)
Balsamon	بلسم (N, balsam); يبلسم (V, treat hair with balsam, heal wounds); بلسمة (N, act of treating hair with balsam or healing wounds)

Table (12): Borrowings from Latin with their Arabic derivatives

Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
Sapo-onis	صابون (N, soap); يصبن (V, clean with soap); مصبنة (N, factory for making soap)
Centenarium	قنطار (N, 1000 pounds); مقنطرة (Adj, F, large quantity);قناطير (N, pl)
Candela	قنديل (N, lantern); مقندل (Adj, loud and clear, soaring)

Borrowings from oriental languages such as Aramaic, Farsi, and Turkish are presented in Tables 13, 14, 15. Borrowings from Aramaic are the oldest, followed by Farsi, then Turkish words borrowed during the Ottoman Empire which ruled Arab countries for more than 400 years. After partial or full phonological adaptation, especially in Turkish words, and some semantic changes in the meaning of some such as *Pharo*, most of the words have a full range of derivatives and are used in SA except for *شوب (warm weather), بخت(luck), كريك(shovel), بقشيش(tip), برواز(frame)* that are used in Arabic dialects as there are SA equivalents for them. All derived forms were based on isolating and combining of consonants from the loanwords to form a root verb, then different forms were derived following Arabic derivational patterns.

It is noteworthy to say that borrowings from oriental languages have more derived forms than borrowings from western languages.

Table (13) Borrowings from Aramaic5 with their Arabic derivatives

Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
Pharos	فرعون (N, Pharo, dictator); فرعنة (N, behaving arrogantly,); تفرعن (V, to behave arrogantly); فراعنة (N, Pl, Pharos)
Trap	فخ (N, trap); يفخخ (V, to trap); مفخخ (Adj, bombed car); تفخيخ (N, trapping, car-bombing)
Dye	صبغة (N, dye); يصبغ (V, to dye); صباغ (N, a person who dyes); مصبغة (N, a place for dyeing/cleaning)
Broker	سمسار (N, broker); يسمسر (V, charge a brokerage fee); سمسرة (N, brokerage)
Warm weather	شوب (N, hot weather); مشوب (Adj, feeling hot); شوّب (V, to feel hot);
Juggler humbug	دجال (N, sorcery, juggler); دجل (N, telling lies and tricks); يدجل (V, tell lies and plays tricks)

[5] English translation of the borrowed Aramaic words is given due to unfamiliarity with Aramaic alphabet.

Table (14) Borrowings from Farsi6 with their Arabic derivatives

Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
Luck بخت	يبخت (V, give luck, be fortunate)
Spice بهار	بهارات (spices);يبهر (V, to add spices); مبهر (Adj, spiced)
Index فهرست	فهرس (N, index) ; يفهرس(V, index); فهرسة (N, indexing);مفهرَس(Adj, indexed);مفهرِس (N, indexer)
Teacher أستاذ	يؤستذ (V, call somebody teacher); أستذة (N, giving title of teacher)
Form نمودن	نموذج (N, form, model); نمذجة(N, modelling); نماذج(N, Pl, forms, models)
Trench كندک	خندق (N, trench); خندقة (N, trenching); يخندق (V, dig a trench)
Garden بوستان	بستان (N, garden); بستنة (N, gardening); يبستن (V, to garden)
Glass بلور	يبلور (V, elaborate); بلورة (N, elaboration)
Program برنامه	برنامج (N, program); يبرمج (V, program); مبرمَج (Adj, programmed); مبرمِج(N, programmer) ; برمجة (N, programming)
Soldiers لشكر	عسكر (N, Broken Pl, soldiers); عسكرة (N, militarization);عساكر (N, Broken Pl soldiers); عسكريين (N, Sound Pl, soldiers);العسكرية (N, the military)

Table (15): Borrowings from Turkish with their Arabic derivatives

Borrowings	Arabic Derivatives
Takin (set)	مطقم (Adj, wearing a set or matching clothes, dressed up); يطقم (V, match clothes); طقم (N, set)
Baltaci	بلطجي (Adj/N, bully, thug); بلطجية (N, Pl, thugs); بلطجة (N, bullying thugging); يبلطج (V, bully)
Zımpara (emery sand paper)	صنفرة (N, emery);يصنفر (V, smoothen with sand paper);مضنفر(Ad, smoothened with sand paper)
Pervaz (frame)	برواز (N, frame); مبروز (Adj, framed);يبروز (V, to frame)
Kirbac (whip)	كرباج (N, whip); كربجَ (V, beat with a whip); كربجةً (N, beating with a whip); مُكربِج (N, person who whips); مُكربَج (Adj, person who has been whipped)

[6] Farsi uses the Arabic Alphabet. The English translation of the Farsi words is given.

Kurak (shovel)	كريك (N, shovel); يكرك (V, to shovel soil); تكريك (N, act of shovelling soil)
Gümrük (customs)	يجمرك (V, charge tax); مجمرك (Adj, taxed); جمارك (N, Pl, customs)
Bahşiş (tip)	بقشيش (N, tip); يبقشش (V, give tip)

Discussion

This study analyzed a corpus of borrowings collected from nine western and oriental languages. The borrowings represent different types of lexical units, and common as well as technical terms from some disciplines (See Tables 1 to 15). All the borrowings have no derivatives in their donor languages but have at least one derived form in Arabic, the recipient language.

When words are borrowed in a foreign language, it is phonologically, morphologically and sometimes semantically adapted to the recipient language's phonological, inflectional and derivational systems (Al-Jarf, 2021). In Arabic, borrowings may be phonetically adapted in order to fit the Arabic pronunciation system. Then, they are inflectionally adapted by attaching Arabic markers of number, gender, case, tense, voice, mood, aspect, transitivity, or comparison to them. Almost all borrowed nouns in Arabic can be pluralized, and a possessive pronoun can be attached to borrowed nouns following the Arabic language rules. An attributive adjective can be derived from many borrowed nouns by adding the suffix /-iy/ as in هيدروجيني, جندري, هرموني.

Before deriving verbs, nouns and adjectives, the consonants in a borrowing are extracted, put together to form a root verb (a base form), and vowels are inserted to facilitate the pronunciation of the root and make it sound Arabic. Transitive and intransitive verbs, action nouns, agents and/or adjectives are derived following the Arabic derivational paradigms.

Findings of the present study have shown that derivation from borrowings in Arabic is spontaneous. Common people derive some forms from borrowed words and acronyms that are used in daily language. Although Arabic has a prolific derivational system, the number of forms derived from borrowed words, acronyms, letters and even some native Arabic words varies from one word to another even when several words have the same length, and structure.

Data analysis has demonstrated five levels of derivability: (i) cases where a full range of forms can be derived *(federal, tension, nervous, hysteria, maquillage, sechoir);* (ii) cases when only one form is derived *(NATO, Mafia)*; (iii) cases where forms are derived and used *(Turkish, Uzbekistan);* (iv) cases where derivation is feasible, but the resulting derived forms are not in common use *(Japan, Holland, Sweden, Finland)*; (v) cases where it is not possible to derive any forms from borrowing (*Singapore, Indonesia, imperialism, confederal, bureaucracy*).

In addition, data analysis has revealed that derivability (selection of the derivatives) is not random. It is a complex process affected by a number of variables/factors. Those factors are consistent with findings of prior studies in the literature such as Bennane (2019) Altakhaineh (2017), Lak (2014), Izura & Playfoot (2012), Bueasa, 2015; Hafez, 1996; although the focus in those studies is on acronym formation, acronym naming, plural formation, and phonological adaptation. The same generalizations made in those studies can be applied to derivation from borrowings, regardless of the kind of borrowed unit. Those factors include:

1) properties of the base, i.e., the number and type of consonants in the borrowing and whether it is similar to consonant combinations in Arabic words. The pronunciation of the borrowing should be compatible with the Arabic phonotactics. The borrowing should conform to Relevance Theory, which states that derived forms should be homophonous to existing words. In يفدرل، فدرلة which are derived from *federal*, the triliteral root */f d r/* was extracted which is similar to */j dl/* in */jadwal/ "schedule'.*

2) whether internal modifications can be made in the borrowed words to allow the creation of derivatives, i.e., whether the morphological mechanism can adjust borrowed words into any of the Arabic derivational patterns with or without the deletion of a syllable and/or some of the consonants. Thus, some consonants should be deleted from *Indonesia* and *democracy* to form the quadriliteral and quantiliteral verbs دقرط أندس، ، ، هلند دمقرط، can be derived from *Holland* but هلند & أندس are not used. No words can be derived from *Singapore* سنغافورة, because it is not possible to derive a root from the consonants /s n g p r/ in *Singapore* especially that the adjacency of /n g/ are not phonetically acceptable in Arabic.

3) how long the lexemes have been borrowed, and frequency of use of the loanword and its derived forms. If the derived forms are frequently and constantly used in many aspects of daily life, this will help in its lexicalization. This means that borrowings that are used frequently, constantly and in several domains will be treated as any other lexicalized item in Arabic. For example, the word *democracy* is older and more frequently used than *aristocracy, autocracy*, and *bureaucracy*. It is used in CA as well as SA. It is used in many contexts and in all types of media. *NATO* has a derived adjective in Arabic, but *NASA* does not, probably because *NATO* is more frequently used than *NASA* in the media and social media. The adjective derived from *NATO* appeared during the Arab Spring when NATO forces entered Libya and some people approved the NATO intrusion in Libya, others did not. Some journalists coined the adjective and were using it sarcastically by saying *'the NATO Arabic Spring'*.

4) derivatives should be phonetically acceptable to the Arabic speaker's ear. Derived forms from *China* صنن تصنين, *Japan* يبن تيبين; *Russia* تروس روسن روسنة; and *Iran* أرّن تأرين أيرنة; *Britain* برطن بيرطن برطنة *bureaucracy* بيروقراطية, especially derived verbs, are not

phonetically acceptable to the Arabic speaker's ear; whereas forms derived from *Italy* *طلين طلينة & France فرنسة فرنس*are. It seems that faithfulness constraints that require identity between a base and its derived forms and consideration of derivational paradigm restrictions in Arabic apply to these examples.

5) if the borrowing has derived forms in the donor language, it would have derived forms in Arabicas in *democracy* but not *aristocracy, bureaucracy, autocracy*.

6) the need for using derived forms seems to affect derivability. For example, there is a need for using verbs, nouns, or adjectives from words like دبلجة دبلج مدبلَج مدبلِج derived from *doublage.* By contrast, there is no need for using a verb and a noun referring to naturalization in the case of *Singapore, Indonesia, Russia,* and others. When journalists needed a form from *NATO* to use in a sarcastic context, they created the adjective ناتاوي from it.

By contrast, factors such as word length, the number and types of syllables and the position of stress in the loanword which affect the phonological adaptation and plural formation in borrowings, mentioned by the above studies, do not seem to affect derivability. This is evident in cases where borrowed words of the same length, same structure and same stress pattern are not equally derivable: one case is derivable, the other is not as in *manicure* & *pedicure*; *nano, WATA, NATO & NASA.*

Furthermore, there are no unified rules that govern derivability of borrowings in the present study because there are so many exceptions, and no conformity in the degree of derivability, i.e., number and type of derived forms from borrowings, and whether a borrowing is derivable or not. This finding is contradictory to findings of prior studies that found consistency in assigning number and gender markers to loanwords such as Mohammed & Samad (2020); Al-Quraishi & Mansour (2020); Dashti & Dashti (2017); Hamdi (2017); Laks (2014); Al-Saidat (2011); Badarneh (2007) and Hafez (1996).

Conclusion

Findings of the present study have shown that some derivatives of borrowings are used in CA only, others are used in SA. They have also revealed variations in the types of borrowings (letters, acronyms, words), areas of specialty (common and technical borrowings), the donor languages, and how many forms are derived from each. Therefore, this study recommends raising language and translation students' awareness of the following issues:

1) Which derived forms are used in SA, which ones are used in CA and should not be used in SA contexts (*See Tables 1-15 for examples)*.

2) Some derived forms used in CA should not be used in English because they are considered ungrammatical as in *day*ofs & to *x.*

3) Some borrowings do not have the same meaning in Arabic as in the donor language, due to semantic change. For example, نرفزة نرفزمنرفز that are derived from

nervous and mean *"lose temper"* in CA, whereas in English, *nervous* means "*being worried and afraid."*

4) The students should practice translating derivatives from acronyms, proper nouns, general lexemes, and specialized terms for which there are no derivatives in the donor language(s) especially in Arabic-English translation as in *laser* مليزر ليزرة; *NATO* ناتاوي; *Nano,* نانـاوي. In this case, the mean can be shown through collocations, explanatory equivalents and word order.

5) In English-Arabic translation, students should not use borrowings nor derived forms used in CA, especially when the borrowings and their derived forms have equivalents in SA as in (*chic* شياكة متشيك تشيكت; *manicure* تمنكرت متمنكرة). The students can be instructed to use Arabic collocations instead of forms derived from borrowings used in CA. Instead of saying مقلوز قلوز; مكرب كربت, they can use the SA expression عنده نزلة برد *having the flu.*

Secondly, the current study focused on borrowings from nine languages only: English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Farsi and Turkish only. So future researchers are encouraged to collect borrowings from other languages such as Japanese, Chinese, Malay, Indian, Polish, Hungarian, Dutch, Serbo-Croatian, and others, find out if they have derivatives or not, kinds of adaptations they undergo, and whether the same derivability generalizations can be made about derivation from borrowings from the new languages.

Thirdly, the current study was based on 176 borrowing with 475 derivatives only due to the dearth of dictionaries and scanty resources that contain an exclusive list of borrowings from as many languages as possible. Lists of borrowings in Arabic are also scattered in online discussion forums, Arabic language websites and newspaper articles. Those lists are incomprehensive, cover old borrowings and cover a limited number of borrowings from modern languages such as English and French. There is a dearth of resources showing all borrowings, and only one inadequate dictionary of Arabic etymology by Abu-Hashimah's (2007) is available. Therefore, Arab linguists, translators, lexicographers, and researchers are encouraged to expand the current list of borrowings compiled by the author by compiling a comprehensive dictionary of borrowings and etymology in Arabic that covers all borrowings from as many languages as possible. The list of borrowings should be organized in the form of a dictionary or glossary with entries. Each entry should include a borrowing, its origin, i.e., the language from which it was borrowed, whether it is used in CA or SA, its derivatives in Arabic, the part of speech of each derivative and its meaning. This dictionary can be monolingual or bilingual.

Finally, to expand the derivatives of borrowings in Arabic, a test of derivability can be given to a sample of language and translation students. The test may contain derivatives from unfamiliar borrowings and unused derived forms. The students can be asked to make judgments as to why some forms can be derived and used, others cannot and why. This would lead to a deeper understanding of the derivability issue as used by native speakers.

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The UK Events Industry in the Covid World: Challenges and Lessons in Management

Faisal Shaukat

This article is focused on the UK events industry, challenges faced after Covid19 and lessons learned for the future. It's an attempt to draw conclusions by considering the facts and first-hand information gathered by ISP Events by analysing how things were in the pre-Covid world and how Covid19 impacted one of the most severely affected industries. Throughout the years, cultural events acquired a major part in everyday life, attracting large audiences worldwide. While 2020 has seen a major shift in work processes across various sectors, the events industry has suffered a major blow and event professionals have had to innovate throughout this pandemic, embracing change and shifting business models as imposed by the new realities. In hindsight, distances have become irrelevant and it is now a norm to attend online events, a thing that turned out to be an excellent outlet for events management organisations to present virtual events, providing artists with far more opportunities to reach out to global audiences from the comfort of their living room. In this paper, our goal is to demonstrate that strong management skills and the openness to change have proven effective for our company, ISP Events, and for the wider UK events management sector.

Covid19; ISP events; management; challenges; pandemic; business; economy; events industry.

Impact of Covid19 on events industry

UK events industry is one of the most hard-hit by Covid19, just like aviation, hospitality and travel and tourism. The pandemic halted the entire industry after the country went into lockdown; it not only put breaks to the cultural and social scene but also made life difficult financially to those who are connected directly or indirectly with the events industry.

UK events industry

As a country, UK is amongst the world's leading tourist destinations, its capital city being one of the topmost places in the world for entertainment and events business too.

> There are over 25,000 businesses in the sector including event organisers, venues, destination marketing organisations (DMOs), destination management companies (DMCs), exhibition contractors, event production companies, and a whole plethora of suppliers: transport operators, telecommunications and IT companies, interpreters and translators, speciality caterers, event insurance specialists, and many others. (https://www.eventbrite.co.uk, 2018)

There are thousands of people working full time or part time in the UK events industry and contributing towards the arts & culture-driven sector of the economy. According to a report by Business Visits and Events Partnerships,

> It is estimated that UK's events industry is worth £70 billion in direct spend, accounting for over 50% of the UK visitor economy. Over £31 billion of this total is comprised of business events, principally meetings, conferences, and exhibitions, while almost £39 billion is contributed by leisure events, including arts and cultural events, music events and festivals, and sporting and recreational events. (Business Visits and Events Partnerships, 2020).

From management to events management: connecting dots

It's important to understand the link between the classic concept of management and what's involved in events management. Management is a process of planning, decision making, organising, leading, motivation and controlling the human, financial, physical, and information resources of an organisation to reach its goals efficiently and effectively. (Alexander Jonas, The five functions of Fayol's management, 2021). With this in mind, it is imperative for an organisation to establish its own set of management principles, rules and procedures encompassing traits such as leadership, direction, delegation, empowerment, trustworthiness, consistency, mentoring and discipline.

Derived from Management, Events management can be defined as the process of planning an event, which could be in-person, virtual or hybrid. Depending on the type of the event, there are many aspects to consider while planning and executing an event since, in addition to its commercial outcome, it also has a social impact that should not be ignored. "The idea of an event's social value is generally grounded in the anthropological theory that highlights the concepts of liminality and communitas." (Turner, 1969, 1974). Taking a lead from classic management, events management also revolves around similar principles but there's no fixed set of rules because each event is different from the other and has its unique attributes. From seminars to conferences, exhibitions to product launches, concerts to theatres, fashion shows to gala dinners, award ceremonies to literature festivals, each type of event has its own planning and execution.

Towns, cities, countries develop a portfolio of events to establish their authenticity and make citizens, especially tourists, understand their distinctive character. London is, we believe, an example for the whole world in this respect. "The endeavour of places to develop event portfolios lies upon the alignment of their event strategies with their policy agendas. In so doing, the underlying rationale is to create a diversified portfolio of events that take place at different times of the year and that appeal to audiences across the span of consumer profiles which a host destination seeks to target." (Chalip, 2004; Getz, 2013; Ziakas, 2014)

ISP Events' strategy

No matter how big or small the event is, it needs to be conceptualised first. There may not be any details at the beginning, but ideas are the foundation of any event planning. Whether the idea comes from a need or a client, it's always the initial discussion that sets the scene. Event planning is about putting the idea/concept into reality by identifying each component and stakeholders, defining the timeline, quantifying logistics, recognising any hurdles and showstoppers, coming up with a plan B.

Designing is the process of visualising the concept and crafting a blueprint. Bearing in mind the goals to achieve and audience to reach, the entire design of the event will establish the environment for the execution. Once the initial plan is mapped out, it is vital to identify roles, delegate responsibilities, set deadlines and establish a monitoring mechanism to ensure timely execution of the plan. By departmentalising and compartmentalising jobs and people, the event gets broken down into its components and individuals/departments devise relevant strategies.

Depending on the nature of the event, the physical movement of goods, equipment, transportation, accommodation and other physical aspects are taken care of. Suppliers, contractors, vendors, artists, musicians, technicians and others all get their acts together and coordinate with the relevant team/department, which is engaging and dealing with them. Commercial or non-commercial, each event needs its marketing, branding and promotion. To reach out to its audience, promotional and advertising campaigns get launched and trigger the audience's interest to either buy tickets or register to attend. Strong and visible campaigns help in reaching out to masses and creating a hype about the event. From traditional platforms like TV, radio, newspapers, magazines, billboards and others to digital and social media, each component has its segment and market share, which is to be captured for that event.

On the day of the event, all planning, designing and strategy comes into place. Every component gets together to bring life to the idea conceived in the beginning and responsibilities are allocated to those who are running “the show”. From back-end to the front of house teams, technicians to musicians, producers and directors to curators, all get their heads together and deliver the event. Everyone’s effort is channelled in the process. And when it comes to joint endeavours, we find it relevant to use Stokes’ reference to the event tourism networks; with a reference to this, he mentioned three main factors influencing the nature of inter-organisational relationships: “the impact of power and political issues; the importance of trust; and the importance of a shared commitment” (Stokes, 2007).

We live in a world of information, the most valuable resource for any organisation. Other than the execution of the event, which requires all the effort and attention, it is imperative to conduct a post-event analysis and evaluation. With a view to this, one should compare the plan versus its execution, the things that went right versus the things which didn’t, collect feedback from the audience, stakeholders and staff to ensure and overcome any setbacks in the future.

Challenges of Covid

The biggest challenge the world has been facing since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic is uncertainty. No matter what profession or industry you are in, the insecurity of losing your job and not having any work brought up fears and people started panicking. One way to combat this uncertainty is to reskill. Master of one and a jack of many trades is, we believe, the way forward. Work from home allows flexibility to employers and employees but, at the same time, it brought a challenge regarding the best ways to work independently, have discipline and self-control. This has its own challenge but in totality, work from home has changed the whole idea of working, especially in an office. Organisations realised they no longer need to invest in brick and mortar but in people, motivating them, investing in them and getting the maximum productivity.

For many organisations, Covid brought a closure, simply because they were not ready to adapt. During this turmoil, organisations that were flexible and ready to experiment survived, thinking out of the box and not sticking to the standard principles of management, which work better with face-to-face working. People lost jobs and a source of income. Many are still struggling to keep a roof above their heads and, in doing so, are suffering emotional and physical stress. With organisations and not only with isolated individuals, innovation and creativity is the key. Acknowledging the threats, businesses got geared up with the latest technology to ensure the ball is rolling, encouraging their staff to get trained.

To illustrate the way events management organisations navigated this critical period, we will use the example of ISP Events, an enthusiastic London-based events management company specialising in high-profile events and off-the-charts happenings since 2003. ISP Events took events management to a whole new level, becoming one of Britain's key players and expanding its portfolio to include and accommodate diverse clients, while also building strategic partnership across international borders.

In one of his songs, Billy Ocean wisely concluded that "When the going gets tough, the tough get going". This line rightly reflects ISP Events' ethos; we didn't panic during the pandemic and came up with our own **R6** plan:

- Panic brings chaos so it's important to **relax** in the most difficult of times. We put our mind and energy together to combat the most unfamiliar situation of Covid19.
- We r**evisited** our pre-Covid strategies after **reassessing** the current situation in order to devise new ones to stay abreast with the ever-changing situation. Here, we were guided by Tienne & Mallette's remarks: "Factors which affect the innovation processes in organisations are multiple and complicated. External factors include market competition conditions, technologies, government activities, industry/sector life cycle stage, the dynamics of the environment and its uncertainty." (Tienne & Mallette, 2012).
- We **reinvented** plans and procedures to address issues and **redesigned** the whole events management paradigm.
- This not only allowed us to stay alive during the most difficult period of our existence but also made us feel **rejuvenated** with new energy.

Actions taken by ISP Events

Challenges of Covid

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Cultural identity, Global Citizenship and Sustainable Development Goals in Morocco: Challenges and Possibilities

Aicha Adoui

This paper aims at seeing the Moroccan cultural identity in relation to global citizenship. How both paradigms intersect, influence, and at times empower the sense of national and global identities and/or citizenships alike. On another scope, as Morocco has adopted the sustainable development goals, we will see the achievements Morocco has obtained. Additionally, we will dwell upon the potentials of certain sustainability processes in the contexts of cultural identity and global citizenship paradigms.

Identity; cultural identity; Moroccan cultural identity; global citizenship; sustainable development; sustainable goals.

Introduction

Although Moroccan cultures might seem so much alike on the surface, their diversity, richness, and even problematics are incontrovertible. Each culture is unique, which adds a great deal of miscellany within a community. As a number of international organizations and cultural research specialist asset; the true richness within any country lies in its cultural diversity. Nonetheless, questions of belonging, pure race, or ethnicity in the Moroccan sphere have had a commonly large presence. Such issues have brought upon a great deal of divisions at times, they have caused the marginalization of groups and their cultures, while sometimes a number of groups were benefactors of such divide. As a result, there has been a large debate and many issues were raised in terms of human rights in Morocco. For instance, the cultural issues of the Rif region have been the focal point. Thus, the problematics of culture and categorization in Morocco are of paramount importance.

In the purest sense, the categorization– for instance Amazigh/Arab- comes from an awareness of personal identity and belonging. According to many studies in the field of psychology, it has been proven that individuals tend to feel a personal need in categorizing themselves, the need of being a part of something. The question of the 'Us' and 'Them' has always been a somewhat biological threat of human beings, and 'Othering' has always been present. The issue of identity has been tackled to some extent in the Moroccan constitution, which states in the second preambular paragraph that:

> [Morocco is a] sovereign Muslim State, attached to its national unity and to its territorial integrity, the Kingdom of Morocco intends to preserve, in its plentitude and its diversity, its one and indivisible national identity. Its unity, is forged by the convergence of its Arab-Islamist, Berber [Amazighe] and Saharan-Hassanic [Saharo-Hassanie] components, nourished and enriched by its African, Andalusian, Hebraic and Mediterranean influences […]. (S. Hein & Co & J. Ruchti, 2012, p.3)

The recognition of Tamazight is quite a shift; as recently as 2005, when Amazigh activists Ahmed Dgharni and Omar Louzi attempted to launch a political movement advocating Amazigh identity. Their Moroccan Amazigh Democrat Party (PDAM) was banned by the Ministry of the Interior in 2007. Consequently, it was legally dissolved on the grounds that ethnic-based parties were (and are still) prohibited in Morocco.

Moroccan Amazigh did not cease to call for their rights and they are still demanding recognition. The monarchy on its part has indeed taken few progressive initiatives in order to support rights of minorities becoming, therefore; one of the leading countries in the region where rights have been put to the forefront. However, despite such progress public authorities still perceive cultural and ethnic differences as a security concern and pursue practices of deliberate discrimination and persecution. America as a leading country in the world, for example, is also guilty of such a type of issue. For instance, the rise of Trump has led America towards discriminating minorities and forwarding legal action against, as in getting immigrants out of the country. Thus, it is not a problematic exclusive only to countries like Morocco. It is a global dilemma that needs to be seriously addressed.

Nevertheless, with countries assuming a constitutional and legal right that protects and assures rights of minorities, such contradictory attitudes contribute to a growing sense of cultural and linguistic alienation and exacerbate feelings of exclusion. A vivid example in Morocco is that of Moroccan Amazighs. However, this paper does not aim only at raising such an issue, but the objective is to investigate the potential of a culturally diverse Morocco, where identity and difference are rather levelers and potential allies in the global citizenship and sustainable development efforts taken by the country.

Research on the intersection of issues of cultural identity, global citizenship, and sustainable development in Morocco are relatively underdeveloped. To attempt at answering some of the issues in this regard, I have relied in my research on secondary data collection techniques and critical observation. I have relied on secondary qualitative and quantitative data in order to attempt at answering the research questions.

Initiatives launched by the Royal Institute

The first important royal move took place in 1994, when on August 20th the King Hassan II called for the Amazigh language to be integrated into the educational system. 2001 witnessed the adoption of a televised evening news in Tarifit, Tamazight and Tachelhit. Within the same year, King Mohammed VI backed up and supported the linguistic and cultural rights of Amazighs in Morocco and later on established in Rabat the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture. In 2003 experimentation of teaching Amazigh language started in 120 schools across Morocco.

The Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture issued the "*Grammar Reference Book for the Amazigh Language*" in 2008. Additionally, during the same year a plan was approved to establish a television channel broadcasting in Tamazight, which began diffusion in June 2009.

The attitudes of Moroccan public authorities

Despite the progressive steps taken by the monarchy, the attitudes of public authorities never ceased to contradict. Regardless of law and constitutional rights the situation on the ground has not changed as much. Oppression, prohibition and confiscation continued to be a normative act when dealing with Amazigh. Such attitudes, thus, reflect the cultural and ethnic oppression based on security concerns propaganda, which therefore restricted Amazighs of their rights. As a result, there has been a number of efforts made, and steps taken, in order to contribute to a peaceful and civil representation.

The attitudes of Amazigh actors

In their struggle for their basic rights, the Amazigh have embraced the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They stressed the need for cultural and linguistic rights within a context of coexistence. Such coexistence could only be achieved through equality and equity between languages and cultures in Morocco. The Amazigh Declaration was published in 2000, and had been signed by a large number of Amazigh activists. It emphasized the following points:

- The need for Tamazight to be recognized as an official language of the state through the constitution.
- The adoption of a development program for poverty-stricken Amazigh areas.
- The re-writing and "correction" of Moroccan history in school curricula.
- The launch of an Amazigh television channel.

- The licensing of Amazigh names.

Nonetheless, the lack of faith in elections led to a boycott. A large number of Amazigh associations called for rejection of the elections in 2009, since they were far-removed and did not meet any of the aspirations of the Amazigh people. As the situation kept going in the same direction a need for civil society response came about.

Responses from civil society

To trace the shifts within Moroccan civil society and their interactions with the Amazigh issue, a number of examples from the press and human rights organizations are considered. Said Bennis (2009) observed that:

> […] the Moroccan press, both party-affiliated and independent, refuses to defend the Amazigh language arguing that the Amazigh attack and systematically exclude the Arab component from their own discourse. The advocates of Arabization go as far as portraying the advocates of Amazigh language and cultural rights as extremists and racists. (Bennis, 2009)

Excluding 'Diversity' and 'Exclusive-izing' of Morocco to an Arab cultural affiliate has been a central issue. Instead of embracing diversity and its richness, there had been a sabotaging culture where anything different was viewed as a danger to national stability, and thus, a force that should be terminated. Nonetheless, efforts on the parts of civil society didn't cease to make a stand.

The role of human rights organizations

In 2005, the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) published a report which stated that:

> On January 7, 2004, King Mohammed VI created Morocco's Equity and Reconciliation Commission (ERC). This was an unprecedented development in the Middle East and North Africa, and Moroccan authorities presented it as proof of the country's commitment to political reform. (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2005)

The FIDH has also noted the continued marginalization of the Amazigh culture in the media and administration. It has led the federation to advice the Moroccan government to work on stopping the discrimination against the Amazigh population. Thus, to invest in the cultural richness of the country. Moreover, the 2007 annual report of the Moroccan Association for Human Rights demanded the release of students in Agadir who were affiliated with the Amazigh Cultural Movement. It stressed the need for the acceleration in the process of legalizing the Amazigh Language, as well as recognizing it as an official language alongside Arabic. In other words, there has been an urgent call to embrace diversity and cultural specificities.

Moroccan cultural uniqueness lies in its diversity, which is mainly composed of two cultural and linguistic paths (Arab and Amazigh). It is inevitable to conclude thereof that the ‘Attitudes based concerns’ for security is a systematic exclusion and/or cultural hostility to either of the components of the Moroccan identity. It breaks the society apart and prevents human ties and relations, which suspends the rights of groups and marginalizes Moroccan citizens on baseless security concerns. As a result, it unsettles social cohesion and unity and goes against basic human rights of the Moroccan people.

Identity is not necessarily shaped by ethnicity only. Moroccan national identity doesn’t inevitably mean having a one-way holistic identity that encompasses all groups of people. In fact, there could be as many identities as there are Moroccans, there are identities for groups of Moroccans; such as Rifians, Fassis, Soussis, Moroccans living abroad, nonbelievers, urban elites, rural poor, Moroccan artists, Moroccan entrepreneurs, Moroccan women, Moroccan youth, Islamists, secularists, and so on. Any Moroccan is likely to belong to one or a number of these groups; as they are a representation of the Moroccan identity, an identity that is changing and evolving –alike with its parts- through time.

Moroccan National Identity in the Context of Global Citizenship

Today, the boundaries of citizenship have been expanded beyond the city-as-community to the nation-state-as-community. Legally, the term citizenship now denotes a constitutionally defined relationship between an individual and a nation-state, in which the individual receives a guarantee of certain civic rights in exchange for certain civic duties and responsibilities. The term “global citizenship” is becoming a significant discursive construct that can play an important role in the creation of a more peaceful and just global order. In this context, the term “global citizenship” provides a new way of thinking and talking about our global relationship to others, about our place in the world, about our perceived interests and, most fundamentally, about our identities. (Walter, 2016, p. 42)

The love for other cultures, the ability to see beyond racial and ethnic belonging, to empathize and sympathize for the world, to identify as human before any other identity – before country boundaries, culture, and religion--to go beyond Xenophobia and Ethnocentrism, to proudly declare “I’m a citizen of the world”. This could be seen therefore as the purest -if not the most simplistic- essence there is to global citizenship. Some claim that global citizenship is a pseudo-intellectual tool promoting a culture over the other and broadening the gabs of the so-called high-class and low-class cultures. Others, however, assume that global citizenship is about you have your culture and I have mine but at the end of it we are meant to coexist and add to each other's experiences, to help, educate, and empower one another.

According to a BBC World Service poll that took place in 2016, the findings have fostered the idea that people are increasingly identifying themselves as global rather than national citizens. The poll targeted over 20000 people in over 18 countries. This rise of interest in global citizenship doesn't cease to bring up the question: is global citizenship a mere new wave?

To answer the question, it is without a shadow of a doubt that global Citizen is, indeed, an old idea and not a new finding. It has been popularized by the likes of Albert Einstein and Thomas Paine. Einstein moved to the United States in 1933, after fleeing Nazi Germany. At the time he commented, "As long as I have any choice in the matter, I will live only in a country where civil liberty, tolerance, and equality of all citizens before the law are the rule." (American Museum of Natural History, n.d.) He became an American citizen seven years later.

Global citizenship started as a political movement desiring to create a literal world government, and later on moved on to a much more simplistic view which emphasizes universal values and common humanity. What started as utter insanity has shifted gradually towards a concept that is bringing people of the world together and fosters world peace, dialogue, and understanding.

Global citizenship, therefore, didn't come to oppose and replace national identity, it is in fact a manifestation of a much more open and global perspective that encompasses, respects, and seeks to empower national and individual identities, fostering global peace, understanding, and creating chances for dialogue and exchange.

If we apply this concept to the Amazigh identity in Morocco, one can see that it has been fostered and put to the forefront due to many reasons. One of the main reasons is the international view many Amazigh activists hold—that is belonging to the world. Additionally, they believe in the need of fostering minority and human rights as a whole. They view themselves as belonging to a larger scope which is the world. Empowering, thereof, their Amazigh identity, Moroccaness, and global identity all together.

Global citizenship is not an endangerment to identities or a fostership to powerful cultures over the weak. It is a view scope that enhances global belonging, cultural and linguistic exchange. Global citizenship brings up what's local to the global and what is global to the local. This would lead us to question in what ways do identity and global citizenship contribute to sustainable development? Taking into account that cultural stability is a major player when it comes to prosperity. Morocco has taken several sustainable development initiatives, especially in the field of tourism, which focus on identity/ cultural aspects and exchanging cultural characteristics.

Sustainable development goals in Morocco

Morocco has adopted the sustainable development goals and has taken an effort in reaching both millennium and sustainable goals, taking on a global view to sustainably and taking on a promise of participating into the global sustainable development efforts. The King Mohammed VI supported such goals at the UN Summit on Millennium Development Goals, held in New York from September 20 to 22, in 2010, he stated that:

> […] we need to anticipate potential problems and start thinking about the broad lines of our action beyond 2015, so as to ensure the continuity of our endeavors and be prepared to meet new challenges. **We should do this through collective action to strengthen the foundations of a global, harmonious, solidarity-based system to promote sustainable human development,** in which efficient, equitable governance should play a key role so that we may offer upcoming generations a dignified life and build a future of peace, stability, progress and prosperity for all. (Kingdom of Morocco High Commission of Planning, 2015)

Interestingly, Morocco has developed international partnerships mainly with the United Nations. A good example is the Global Partnership for Sustainable Tourism which was conglomerated with the Ministry of Tourism in Morocco and few other countries. The project aims to transform the way tourism is done worldwide. It has done so via building partnerships to support the implementation of sustainable tourism practices. It has created destinations through adoption of effective policies, innovative and transformative projects, sharing of knowledge and experience. The implementation-oriented approach focuses on building effective partnerships. The Coordinating Office of the Global Partnership is jointly managed by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). Morocco as well joined as a partner of the International Year of Sustainable tourism for development in 2017 organized by UNWTO.

Morocco has taken part in various international partnerships and has created many national initiatives, fostering and supporting several sectors in the country towards sustainability. According to the 2015 national report on the Sustainable Development Goals in Morocco, the report stated that:

> The government devotes more than half of its general budget to the financing of social sectors. Education and health, two key sectors in the achievement of MDGs, directly involved in the achievement of four goals, have benefited from substantial budget increases these last years. Thus, the budget allocated to these two sectors increased by 48% and 61% respectively throughout the period 2008-2015, with an average annual growth rate in the range of 5.7% and 7%. (Kingdom of Morocco High Commission of Planning, 2015)

The same report has also showcased that the cost of compensation followed an upward trend, affecting heavily the budget balance and public accounts. From 2002 to 2012, the compensation cost rose from 4 billion DH to 56.3 billion DH, thus going from 0.9% to 6.8% of GDP. In 2013, it reached 44.4 billion DH, representing thus 5.1% of GDP. Throughout the period 2009 - 2013, the combined amount of the compensation cost reached a total of 194.8 billion DH, of which 162.2 billion DH, that is 83.3%, for petroleum products, 19.5 billion DH, that is 10 %, for sugar, and 13.1 billion DH, that is 6.7%, for flour.

According to the National Initiative for Human Development (INDH) throughout the period 2005-2015 about 38,341 projects have been launched within the framework of the INDH. A number of 12,868 projects included were for fighting poverty in rural areas. For instance, 6,388 basic social amenities projects were programmed as part of the fight against social exclusion in urban areas. Additionally, the positive effect of the INDH has led to the launch of a second phase over the period 2011-2015, with a budget of 17 billion DH dedicated to the extension of targeted areas, of which 9.4 billion DH constitutes the contribution from the government general budget, that is 55.3%.

Evolution of allocated budget to the second phase of INDH *(in millions DH)*

Source/Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
Government general budget	1,680	1,780	1,880	1,980	2,080	9,400
Local authorities	1,100	1,105	1,145	1,130	1,120	5,600
Public institutions	200	200	200	200	200	1,000
International Cooperation	200	200	200	200	200	1,000
Total	3,180	3,285	3,425	3,510	3,600	17,000

Source: INDH.

Morocco has taken on challenges of sustainability and has kept working on them through a global perspective. Consequently, Morocco has been working to promote values of global citizenship, as well as cultural understanding and exchange.

Global citizenship is, indeed, a leveler and a revelation to issues we face as global citizens. It helps us become more knowledgeable and appreciative of ourselves as global citizens and as a global body. It helps us become more aware of our "interconnectedness" and belonging to a global community that impacts cross-interchangeably.

To conclude, Morocco's national identity, its cultural diversity and uniqueness are indeed levelers to a much more inclusive and diverse society. Despite the fact that Morocco still has a long way to go in fostering rights of Amazigh and minorities in the country; it has been taking a few steps towards recognizing and lawfully protecting rights of people. Moreover, there has been a rise of national and identity awareness, as well as the growing views towards a more international perspective and openness to global citizenship. All of which are fostering Morocco's development, and they are indeed putting issues of human rights to the forefront in order to create better living conditions for Moroccans.

Indeed, such openness has unlocked Morocco's eyes to the global vision and is leading the country towards working –alongside the international community- into achieving sustainable development goals. Questions of identity and culture are levelers to sustainability, as they provide broader views the world needs in order to plan, execute, and take actions towards sustainability. Consequently, they contribute to the breaking of the one-way scope to the world, and enriching the global scope through diversity. All in all, global citizenship and cultural understanding are indeed basic grounds fostering sustainable development. A development which is achieved through working together. Elcheroth, Doise, and Reicher (2011) have stated that "institutionalized social structures allow narratives about collective identities and shared values to be concretely enacted and social norms to become relevant in the light of concretely experienced patterns of **interdependence**" (Elcheroth, Doise, & Reicher, 2011, p.742) showing here the focal point of interdependence the global community holds.

Conclusion

Questions of culture, identity, and global citizenship in sustainable development have not been given due importance. However, culture and identity are focal elements in the global citizenship scene. Thus, the diversity of culture and uniqueness of the Moroccan identity(ies) are supporting Morocco's international stand, and they are ought to be better invested at on a national level as well. Overall, Morocco carries serious potential for sustainable development. Yet, there has to be a solemn consideration of the major three key elements along the process: cultural diversity, cultural identity, and global citizenship.

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The Implementation of Soft Skills for Education and Career Success: Case Study of Science and Technical Higher Institutions in Morocco

Fatima Zohra Kroum

Today, one of the most important areas of concern is employment. The most crucial question to ask is "do institutions of higher education respond the society's social and economic needs". This paper attempts to explore the importance of soft skills for students in relation to education and employment. It also explores the students' assessment of hard and soft skills; a case study of science and technical higher institutions in Morocco. This paper uses a quantitative design to answer the research questions followed by an analytical discussion of the findings.

Employability; soft skills; corporation companies; higher education; quantitative design.

1. Introduction

The labor market recruitment is gradually changing its employment criteria from requiring knowledge to requiring skills. Therefore, soft skills have become crucial for employers when it comes to assessing which candidate will be the best profile within a given team or within a larger company setting. Soft skills are very much a "crucial topic" in almost every walk of life. The question that should be asked is: why have soft skills become so important?

Recently, career achievement in a given position appeared to be based solely on the technical ability to perform certain tasks. Thus, most recruiters look for candidates who have these skills. Nevertheless, the workplace now has remarkably evolved and changed since 1970s. Companies have now have experienced a big progress and advancement in the pace of economic and technological changes (Majid, Liming, Tong & Raihana, 2012).

2. Technical Skills

Technical skills are very important, especially digital literacy, but they are no longer sufficient. Soft skills are seen as the key for people and organization to adapt, and stay relevant in today's fast-changing landscape.

Having a college diploma or a technical degree does not guarantee that a person has enough competencies to be successful in the work environment, nor does it guarantee a job. Although a degree is important to employers, a diploma is not always a guarantee that a person is fully equipped with the skills to meet the needs of the job market (ATD, 2012). Darr (2006) explained that in the past, the work environment of an engineer was in isolation with minimum interaction with coworkers and clients. Today, an engineer has to be in ongoing communication with clients and other coworkers, which means that he or she must have strong interpersonal abilities as well as technical skills to perform his or her job effectively (Hilton, 2008).

3. The Importance of Soft Skills in Higher Education

A study by Hodges and Burchell (2003) investigated the perceptions of business employers regarding the importance of different skills. It has been found that eight out of top ten abilities were soft skills which included the ability and willingness to learn, teamwork, assertiveness, self-management, cooperation, interpersonal communication, energy and passion, and problem-solving skills. Therefore, employers are looking for people who can offer hard skills as well as soft ones.

Today's workplace requires personnel who can operate in a team environment and interact effectively with others. Hilton (2008) provided an example of a significant lack of soft skills from professionals in biotechnology. Hilton asserted that doctoral training in the field provides limited opportunities to work with others and to develop teamwork skills.

Hilton affirmed that despite of the fact that professionals in biotechnology are trained to be highly skilled and competitive, they are not trained enough to have a thorough understanding of the wide range of the marketable applications of biotechnology. The lack of soft skills for scientists in the biotechnology field may create some problems since today's biotech positions require highly developed skills in a complex mix of social networking, interpersonal relations, and technical ability.

Based on the 2015 PISA indicators, scientific literacy competencies focus on three aspects, namely identifying scientific issues, explaining scientific phenomena, and making scientific conclusions. These three competencies have indicators related to soft skills. These components produce abilities related to soft skills including: communication skills, argumentation, critical decision making, and problem solving. So, the application of these indicators as a reference in soft skill-based learning becomes an essential factor to improve students' soft skills.

According to Peter Cappelli (2015), soft skills training is poorly done in some higher educational institutions, leaving graduates with weaknesses in facing the demands of the workforce. Nealy (2005) suggested that because the 21^{st} century workforce and classroom demographics have changed, faculty members need to undergo a transformation in order to provide future business leaders with skills that meet business and industry demands.

4. Soft Skills for Employability and Job Market

Robles (2012) evaluated some executives perceived as top 10 critical skills that an employee or a college graduate must have, so that colleges and universities can prepare students properly and increase their employability chances. Robles recognized these soft skills in the following order of importance: (a) integrity, (b) communication, (c) courtesy, (d) responsibility, (e) interpersonal skills, (f) professionalism, (g) positive attitude, (h) teamwork and social interaction, (i) flexibility, and (j) work ethic.

Soft skills will help students in a lot of the situations that will face them in the working environment

Soft skills help graduate students to know how to deal with lot of situations that they might face in their working environment.

Without soft skills, each graduate engineer is faced with too many problems in their professional life, because he can't communicate effectively, team work and solve problems – thus, students should acquire soft skills prior that they graduate.

Without soft skills, graduate engineers will have to face too many problems in their professional life, because he or she can't communicate effectively, team work and solve problems, thus, students need to be equipped with necessary skills and abilities before graduating.

Students before graduating, should be more involved in smaller projects, that enable them to participate based on already acquired professional knowledge in order to feel useful and with faith that they are really up to the task. Also, it will be an open opportunity for the student to communicate clearly their ideas to others, and also for the establishment of new forms of cooperation (Pezer, 2015).

5. Methodology

This paper used a closed ended questionnaire to investigate the students' perception of the importance of soft skills in relation to their education and professional achievement. This instrument was also used to explore the students' assessment of hard and soft skills.

150 questionnaires were distributed to collect data from undergraduate engineers of science and technical majors from different higher institutions in Morocco, i.e., Hassan II Institute of Agronomy and Veterinary Medicine (IAV) in Rabat, and the Faculty of Science and technology (FST) in Tangier Morocco. The questionnaire consisted of multiple choice and rating assessment scale questions to solicit responses. Most of the questions were close-ended, and were addressed to undergraduate students of different field of specialty such as: agricultural engineering, food industry engineering, industrial engineering, topography engineering and electrical engineering.

6. Findings

6.1. The Importance of Soft Skills

The findings showed that the students were really aware of the importance of soft skills in relation to their academic and professional paths, and they had recognized the importance of soft skills in the following order (See Figure 1):

1- Self-management
2- Career advancement
3- Find a job
4- Academic performance
5- Get along with people

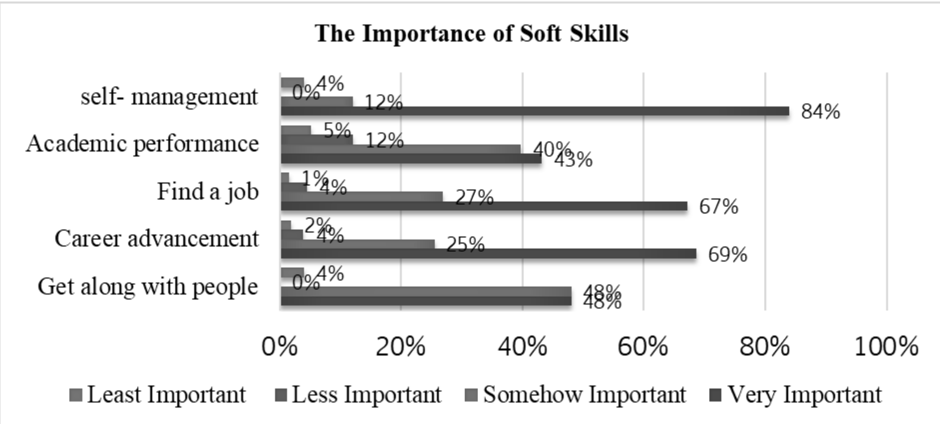


Figure 1. The Importance of Soft Skills

6.2. Students' Assessment of Hard Skills

The graph shows that a larger population approved a moderate level of hard skills. In other words, students were able to apply knowledge and skills acquired related to their field of study, to answer and give specific practical explanations related to their specialty, and able to design and implement a field of study related to their subject area (See Figure 2).

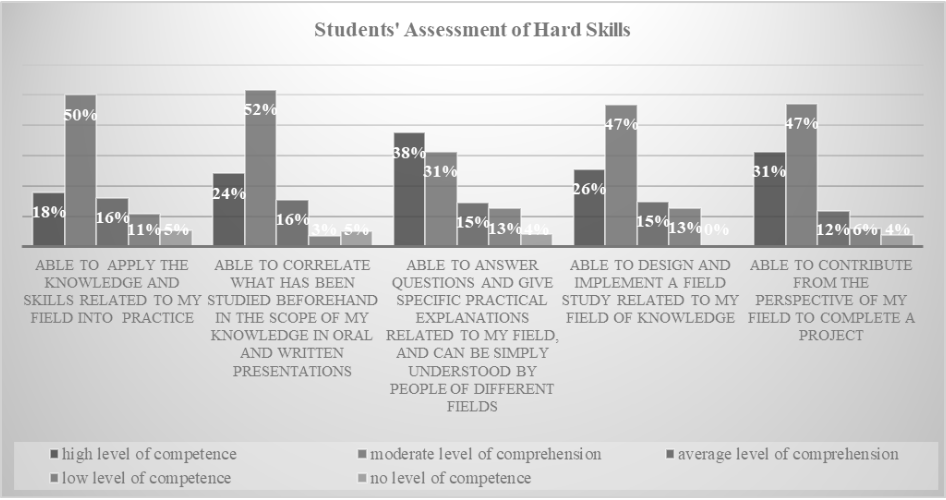


Figure 2. Students' Assessment of Hard Skills

6.3. Students' Assessment of Soft Skills

6.3.1. Communication Abilities

Over two thirds of the population affirmed a good level of speaking and communication. This means that lot of students were able to speak, discuss and convince others about their standpoints related to their field of discipline, however; many students approved an average level when it comes to written communication such as writing letters of interests, proposals and business reports. In a nutshell, writing abilities are mandatory techniques of communication for undergraduate students to learn because these skills are considered a corner stone of any profession (See Figure 3).

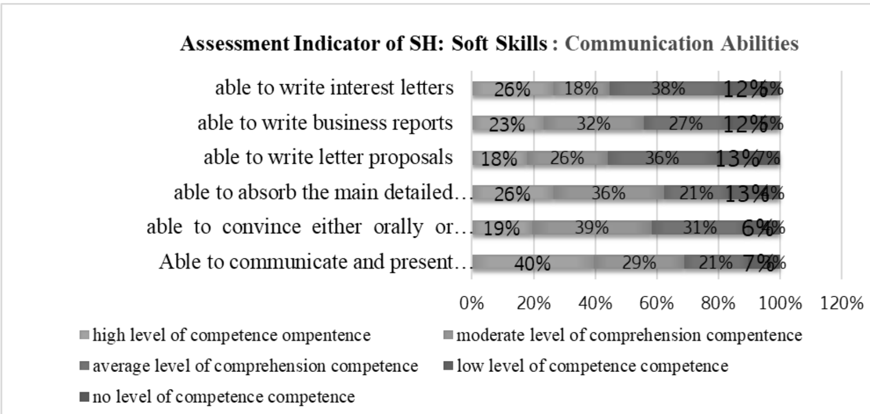


Figure 3. Communication Abilities

6.3.2. IT and Numeric Abilities

Students performed a moderate level of IT and Numeric abilities. Lot of students were able to use digital software tools to present, and explain data in relation to their field of study, however most students scored an average level to handle the time and meet deadlines when doing assignments. To sum up, undergraduate students of different specialties encountered problems of managing the time and meet target dates of projects and assignments given. Educators and teaching staff should integrate in their course content lessons that focus on study skills to help students manage their learning in an efficient and effective way (See Figure 4).

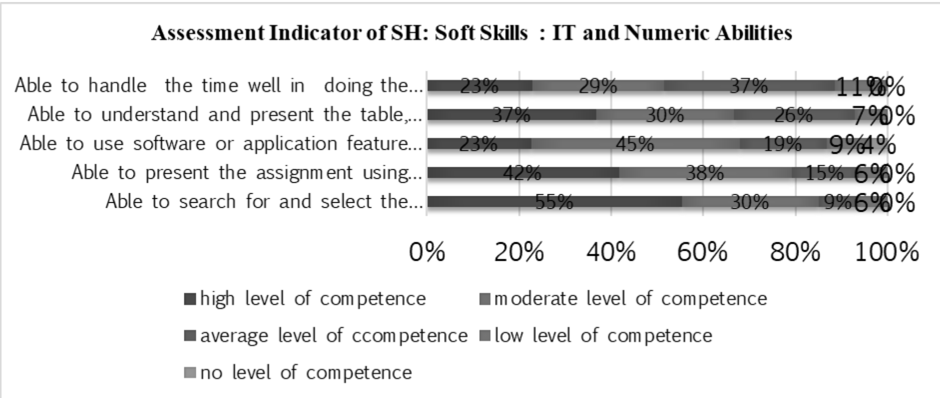


Figure 4. IT and Numeric Abilities

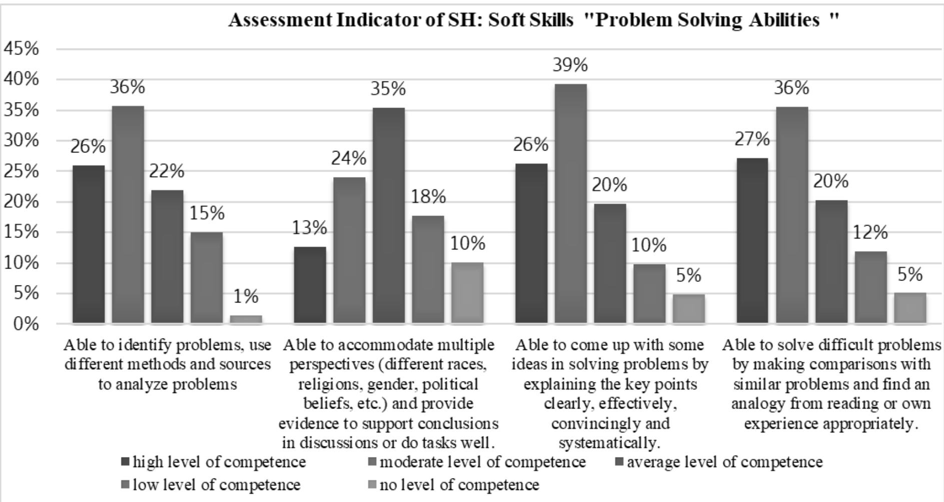


Figure 5. Problem Solving Abilities

6.3.3. Problem Solving Abilities

The findings show that the students asserted a moderate level to identify problems and use different method sources to analyze problematic issues, and to come up with some ideas by explaining the key points clearly. In addition to that, many students affirmed an average ability to accommodate multiple perspectives such as: race, gender and politics to support their arguments and draw conclusions. Some also found it difficult to solve challenging problems by making comparisons with similar ones (See Figure 5).

6.3.4. Teamwork abilities

A larger population of students approved an excellent and even good level of competence of teamworking. Many students were able to resolve problems, and provide constructive feedback. However, it has been noticed that lot of students confirmed average abilities to maintain team motivation and enthusiasm to achieve better results. Also, some students were unable to contribute as team leaders to complete tasks or projects assigned (See Figure 6).

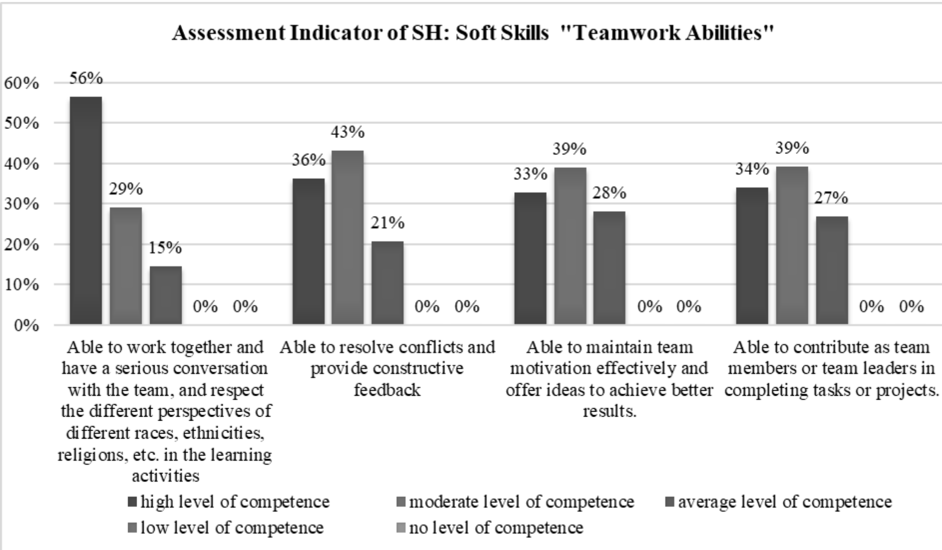
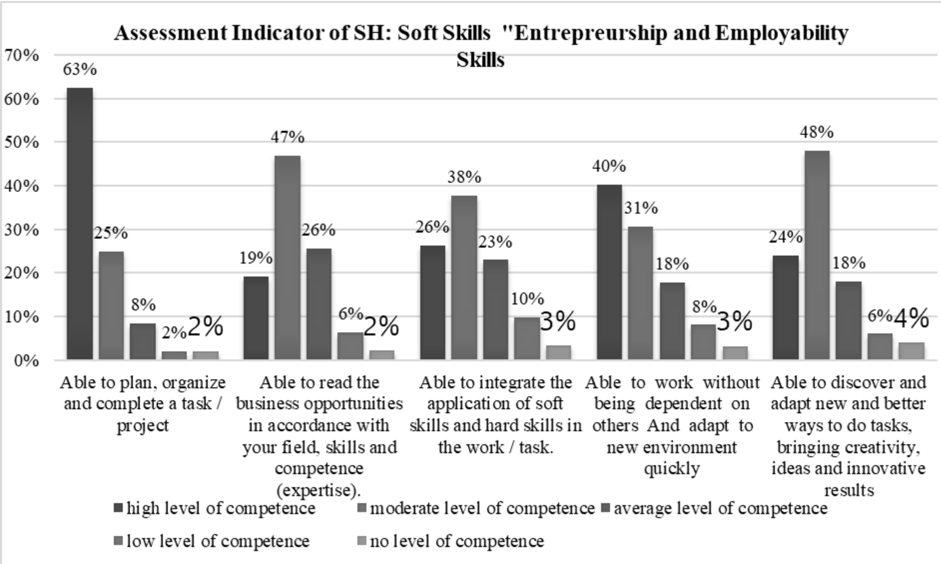


Figure 6. "Teamwork Abilities"

6.3.5. Employability abilities

Many students were able to plan, organize and complete tasks. They also approved a good ability to work without being dependent on others and able to adapt to new environments quickly. However, a lot of students found it difficult to read business opportunities in accordance with their field of study. A larger population of students viewed that the lack of preparedness for their first jobs is a “serious problem”. Students need to be fully equipped with necessary abilities and assign practical activities which require the students to understand the market world and identify the challenges that he or she might face in professional contexts (See Figure 7).



7. Discussion

The study shows that the students were really aware of the importance of soft skills in their academic and professional paths. They had recognized the importance of soft skills in the following order: a) self-management, b) career advancement, c) find a job, d) academic performance, and e) get along with people. Many students approved that their actual soft skills were less than the desired level. Students of technical and science schools approved good level of some abilities, but still lack many competences that they wish to improve in future.

The findings also reveal that students approved good technical skills related to their field of discipline. Students were able to apply knowledge and skills acquired related to their specialty, to answer and give specific practical explanations associated to their subject area, and able to design, and implement a field of study affiliated to their discipline. Technical skills are mandatory abilities for students to achieve brilliant opportunities for employment, internships and business.

Colleges and universities must prepare future productive members of the society and must meet the demands of job market. Therefore, having a college diploma or a technical degree does not guarantee that a person has enough abilities to be successful in the work environment, nor does it guarantee a job. Although a degree is important to employers, a diploma is not always a guarantee that a person is fully equipped with the skills to meet the needs of the job market (ATD, 2012). Beside technical skills, students must be equipped with soft skills related to the personal development, autonomy, communication, reflection and management of emotions.

The research shows that science and technical students approved average level of soft skills related to communication, It-numeric, problem solving, teamwork and employability competences. Students affirmed a good level of speaking and communication. This means that lot of students were able to speak, discuss and convince others about their standpoints related to their field of discipline, however; many students approved an average ability when it comes to written communication; they lacked professional writing as an illustration: letters of interests, proposals, and business reports.

A lot of students were able to use It-numeric and digital software tools to present, and explain data in relation to their subject-area; however, most students scored an average level to handle the time effectively and meet deadlines when doing assignments. Concerning problem solving skills, students approved a moderate ability to identify problems and use different method sources to analyze problematic issues, and to come up with some ideas by explaining their standpoints clearly. Nevertheless, many students approved average ability to accommodate multiple perspectives in relation to race, gender and politics to support their arguments and draw conclusions. Some~~,~~ also found it difficult to solve challenging problems by making comparisons with similar ones.

A larger population of students asserted good teamworking abilities. Many students were able to resolve problems and provide constructive feedback. However, some students approved average abilities to maintain motivation, positive attitude, and enthusiasm to achieve better results. Educators and instructors should integrate in their course syllabus lessons of self-management and teamworking skills which will enable students to deal with a lot of situations that they might face in their working environment in the future.

Last but not least, some students found it difficult to read business opportunities in accordance with their field of study. Students viewed that the lack of preparedness for their first jobs is a “serious problem”. Overall, students need to be fully equipped with necessary abilities and assign practical activities which require the students to understand the market world and identify the challenges that he or she might face in a professional setting. Employability skills are very crucial for the students to make them employable. In addition to technical knowledge, learners must be equipped with skills that companies expect them to have, and be prepared to face the challenges of the working environment.

8. Conclusion

This paper aimed to explore the importance of soft skills for students in relation to their academic and career advancement. It explored the students’ assessment of hard and soft skills; a case study of science and technical higher institutions in Morocco. The findings show that students were aware of the importance of soft skills in relation to their academic and professional paths. The results revealed that students had good knowledge and deep understanding of their subject area.

Concerning the students' assessment of soft skills, the findings show that learners had good verbal communication, and able to express and defend their standpoints with their classmates, Nevertheless, lot of students encountered serious problems such as: writing professionally, time management, and meeting deadlines. In addition to that, students found it difficult to accommodate multiple perspectives in relation to race, gender and politics to support their arguments and draw conclusions.

To conclude, due to the rapid change of the labor market, higher education and institutional programs must redirect, and re-evaluate their curriculum resources to employment-based approach through workshops, simulations and internships in order to enhance students' soft skills and help them face the challenges of the employment. According to Tang (2019), training and education in participatory approaches can be considered an effective method to generate the required soft skills development. Therefore, there is a need for the implementation of soft skills namely communication and interpersonal, personal development, team-working, and critical thinking and problem-solving skills into the curricula.

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Culture and Language

Alexandru Balaci e la comunicazione interculturale italo-romena / Alexandru Balaci and the Intercultural Communication between Italy and Romania

Anamaria Gebăilă
Aurora Firța-Marin
Corina Anton

The article presents the essential role played by professor Alexandru Balaci in the intercultural communication between Italy and Romania in the communist period. The first part focuses on his relationship with communist censorship. Thanks to his membership in the Communist Party, as well as to his high position in the academia, Balaci sometimes manages to evade censorship and to promote works of art which were considered subversive by the authorities. Two examples illustrate his prestige and influence in the cultural scene. Balaci introduces information about Pasolini's *Il Decameron* in an interview in *Cinema*, a film magazine which never mentions this famous masterpiece. He even manages to have Francesco Jovine's *Terre del Sacramento* published, after having been initially rejected by censors. The second part of the article presents the activity carried out by Balaci in Rome, as director of the Accademia di Romania, and the difficulties encountered in the relationship with the Romanian institutions.

Intercultural Communication; Communist Romania; Censorship; Accademia di Romania in Roma.

1. Introduzione e obiettivi

Il ruolo rivestito dagli accademici romeni nella diffusione delle culture straniere in Romania durante il regime comunista è innegabile. In particolar modo, la divulgazione della letteratura e della cultura italiane tramite traduzioni ed eventi culturali organizzati a Bucarest (ad esempio la celebrazione di Dante Alighieri) godette del notevole contributo di Alexandru Balaci (1916-2002), accademico e critico letterario romeno del Novecento, docente presso il Dipartimento di Italiano dell'Università di Bucarest e dirigente di alcuni enti statali che gestivano la politica culturale della Romania comunista, nonché amico di numerosi intellettuali con incarichi importanti nell'apparato dello Stato comunista.

Sull'importanza di Balaci nel mondo culturale comunista si possono citare le testimonianze di Zamfir (2002) ed Elian (2016), nonché un articolo sulla sua attività in quanto mediatore culturale tra l'Italia e la Romania pubblicato di recente sulla rivista *Mondo Contemporaneo* (Firța-Marin, Gebăilă & Anton, 2020).

Il presente contributo propone una descrizione dell'apporto di Balaci alla divulgazione della cultura italiana in Romania, ma anche della cultura romena in Italia, attraverso alcuni aspetti meno noti della sua attività, come la segnalazione delle novità del cinema italiano, la sua lotta per far pubblicare dei testi rifiutati dalla censura comunista e il suo arduo lavoro in quanto direttore dell'Accademia di Romania in Roma. Per condurre la presente ricerca ci si è avvalsi di fonti archivistiche, giornalistiche e degli scritti di Balaci.

2. Breve biografia di Alexandru Balaci

La folgorante carriera di Alexandru Balaci prese avvio negli anni successivi alla Seconda Guerra Mondiale[1]. Laureato in Lettere e Filosofia nel 1938 presso l'Università di Bucarest, Balaci conseguì un dottorato di ricerca in filologia nel 1943. Grazie alla sua iscrizione al Partito Comunista Romeno (1946), occupò successivamente una serie di incarichi che gli permisero non soltanto di dedicare la sua vita a far conoscere l'Italia al pubblico romeno, ma in una prima fase di difendere addirittura e presumibilmente di salvare il Dipartimento di Italiano dell'Università di Bucarest. Negli stessi anni in cui l'ex capo del Dipartimento, Alexandru Marcu, si trovava in carcere a causa del suo coinvolgimento politico nel regime precedente, soprattutto in quanto sottosegretario nel Ministero della Propaganda del Governo Ion Antonescu[2], Balaci, che era diventato professore associato nel 1948, portava avanti la tradizione dello studio dell'italiano presso l'ateneo bucarestino. Egli ebbe incarichi altrettanto importanti come il suo predecessore: diventò preside della Facoltà (1960), prorettore dell'Università, membro del Consiglio Nazionale per la Ricerca Scientifica e socio corrispondente (1965) dell'Accademia

[1] Una biografia attendibile di Balaci si trova in Dobre (coord.) (2004, pp. 80-81), fonte onlinehttp://www.cnsas.ro/documente/2004%20-%20Membrii%20CC.pdf (ultima consultazione: 01/09/2021, 12:45). V. inoltre Firța-Marin, Gebăilă & Anton (2020). Attori della mediazione culturale tra l'Italia e la Romania comunista: il caso di Alexandru Balaci. *Mondo Contemporaneo*, 2-3/2020, 103-122 e Elian (2016). In memoriam: Alexandru Balaci, il Professore che iniziava la giornata leggendo Dante. *Orizzonti culturali italo-romeni*, 7-8/2016, online http://www.orizonturiculturale.ro/it_interventi_Smaranda-Bratu-Elian-4.html (ultima consultazione: 01/09/2021, 13:30).

[2] Sull'operato di Marcu v. Turcuș (2004).

Romena, nella quale fu ammesso come titolare nel 1994. Inoltre, Balaci fu caporedattore dell'Editrice dello Stato per la Letteratura e l'Arte (ESPLA, 1954, 1957-1960), vicepresidente del Comitato per la Cultura e l'Arte (1965-1969), vicepresidente dell'Unione degli Scrittori (dal 1981) e direttore dell'Accademia di Romania (1969-1973). Balaci dominò per più di quattro decenni l'italianistica romena e contribuì in maniera decisiva alla diffusione della cultura italiana in Romania.

Il coinvolgimento di Alexandru Balaci nel sistema non sfuggì agli organi di controllo e, in effetti, il suo nome compare negli appunti informativi dell'agente Anton della Securitate, il servizio segreto che controllava dell'attività dei cittadini romeni durante il comunismo. Sotto lo pseudonimo *Anton* si nascondeva il critico dell'arte e il saggista Petru Comarnescu, il quale, come menzionato nel volume curato da Lucian Boia (2014), riteneva che Balaci fosse "un om curat", 'un uomo senza macchia', con tutta la polisemia che *curat*, letteralmente 'pulito', aveva nel linguaggio della Securitate, ossia senza dissidenze rispetto alla linea ideologica del comunismo. Tuttavia, come anticipato nell'introduzione, dalla presente ricerca si evincerà che Balaci manifestò alcune azioni di resistenza al sistema.

3. Il grande promotore dell'italianità in Romania

Dai dati raccolti mediante i documenti archivistici, la sua attività di divulgazione della cultura italiana in Romania sembra la più cospicua svolta da un accademico nel periodo comunista. Balaci pubblicò diversi volumi che raccolgono i suoi articoli su periodici del tempo, in cui descrive aspetti della cultura italiana, dai grandi maestri dell'arte rinascimentale fino ai politici comunisti come Togliatti o Gramsci. Inoltre, contribuì alla diffusione della letteratura italiana attraverso più di venti traduzioni di opere dei grandi autori italiani[3], ma anche di autori meno conosciuti oggi, però importanti per il loro rapporto con il regime comunista, come Silvio Micheli[4], il quale aveva fatto dei viaggi in Romania e aveva pubblicato sul giornale comunista *L'Unità* diversi articoli sui progressi della Romania comunista[5].

Balaci fu anche un prolifico autore di prefazioni per opere tradotte da altri, in cui inseriva nozioni di civiltà italiana pur intrecciate con nozioni dell'ideologia comunista, come le prefazioni alle opere di alcuni scrittori appartenenti a correnti e periodi dei più svariati quali Dante Alighieri, Vasco Pratolini o Cesare Beccaria[6].

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[3] Tra i volumi tradotti da Balaci vale la pena di citare almeno Luigi Pirandello (1966). *Șalul negru: nuvele alese*. București: ELU; Goffredo Parise (1971). *Crematoriul din Viena*. București: Univers; Giuseppe Ungaretti (1981). *Carnetul bătrânului. Cu mărturii ale prietenilor străini ai poetului*. București: Univers.

[4] Il cui volume *Tutta la verità*, con il titolo in traduzione *Adevărul*, fu pubblicato a Bucarest presso ESPLA, nel 1955, con la traduzione di Balaci stesso.

[5] Archivi Nazionali della Romania, Istituto Romeno per le Relazioni Culturali con l'Estero (IRRCS), busta 279/1955-1962, ff. 231-261.

[6] Dante Alighieri, *Divina comedie* (1954-1957). Vol. 1-3, trad. di George Coșbuc, studio introduttivo e commenti di Alexandru Balaci, București: ESPLA; Vasco Pratolini, *Cronica unei familii* (1965). Trad. di Tatiana Popescu-Ulmu, premessa di Alexandru Balaci, București: Ed. Tineretului; Cesare Beccaria, *Despre*

3.1. La passione per il cinema

Un aspetto alquanto marginale nell'attività di Balaci, ma non perciò meno interessante per il pubblico, fu la sua passione per il cinema italiano, del quale non si riteneva uno specialista, bensì un grande amante. Egli stesso dichiarò di aver coltivato il gusto per l'arte cinematografica insieme a un altro personaggio di spicco nel mondo culturale del periodo comunista, ossia lo scrittore e sceneggiatore Mihnea Gheorghiu, dal 1973 presidente dell'Accademia di Scienze Sociali e Politiche, insieme al quale Balaci andava a guardare i film presso la *Telecinemateca* bucarestina negli anni in cui entrambi erano studenti[7].

In alcuni brani del *Jurnal italian* [*Diario italiano*] già si accennava alla cinematografia (Balaci 1973: 72, 113-114), ma il testo più rappresentativo secondo le autrici di questo studio è l'intervista rilasciata da Balaci a Romulus Rusan, pubblicata sul primo numero del 1972 della rivista *Cinema*. Compare qui un'idea ricorrente nei suoi scritti divulgativi, ossia la sostanziale similitudine tra la cultura italiana e quella romena, che dovrebbe facilitarne il dialogo e la conoscenza reciproca. Nella succitata intervista, Balaci coraggiosamente inserì anche una segnalazione riguardante *Il Decameron* di Pier Paolo Pasolini, presentato durante la Mostra del cinema di Venezia nel 1971 e del tutto taciuto dalla rivista *Cinema*, nonostante il servizio dedicato alla Mostra:

> În *Decameronul*, selectând zece din cele o sută de nuvele ale capodoperei narative a lui Giovanni Boccaccio, Pier Paolo Pasolini a izbutit să creeze o panoramă luminoasă a vieţii oamenilor Italiei în zorile Renaşterii. În filmul său, P.P.P., ca şi marele narator italian care l-a inspirat, consideră iubirea ca o lege naturală, fără de frână, fără de limite, şi descrie, cu îndelungi voluptăţi imagistice, triumful final al iubirii într-o epocă în care Italia întorcea spatele Evului Mediu ascetic şi contemplativ. ("Iubiţi filmul, Alexandru Balaci?", intervista realizzata da Romulus Rusan, *Cinema* 1/1972)
>
> [Ne *Il Decameron*, attraverso la selezione di dieci delle cento novelle del capolavoro narrativo di Giovanni Boccaccio, Pier Paolo Pasolini è riuscito a creare

infracțiuni și pedepse (1965). Trad. di Armand Roșu, prefazione di Alexandru Balaci, studio introduttivo di Vasile Papadopol, București: Ed. Științifică.

[7] Le confessioni sul rapporto di amicizia con Mihnea Gheorghiu si ritrovano nell'intervista rilasciata a Romulus Rusan per la rivista *Cinema* (1/1972), di cui si tratterà in seguito.

un panorama luminoso sulla vita degli italiani agli albori del Rinascimento. Nel suo film, P.P.P., proprio come il grande narratore italiano che gli fece da spunto, vede l'amore come una legge della natura, senza freni, senza limiti, e descrive, in voluttuose immagini, il trionfo definitivo dell'amore in un tempo in cui l'Italia voltava le spalle al Medioevo ascetico e contemplativo.][8]

Per cogliere meglio l'impatto che una tale intervista poteva avere sul pubblico, si deve menzionare che la rivista *Cinema*, che andava a ruba negli anni '70, con una tiratura di 250.000 copie, era stata insignita del premio per il miglior periodico cinematografico alla Biennale di Venezia del 1966. Nonostante la rigorosa documentazione degli articoli e gli sforzi di presentare un panorama ampio della cinematografia romena ma anche europea, sui numeri del 1971 non c'è notizia sul film di Pasolini. Quindi, dall'alto del suo prestigio di accademico, Balaci scelse di sottolineare il valore di un film che a causa delle sue scene *osé* non avrebbe mai potuto superare il filtro della censura comunista; tuttavia, il suo testo venne pubblicato, malgrado la censura che controllava anche le riviste culturali, il che dice tanto sul prestigio di cui godeva Alexandru Balaci nel mondo culturale.

3.2. La lotta contro la censura: il caso della traduzione di *Terre del Sacramento* di Francesco Jovine

Come accennato nell'introduzione, l'attività editoriale di Balaci fu benefica anche grazie ai suoi incarichi istituzionali e soprattutto grazie al coinvolgimento nel sistema editoriale romeno, presso l'ESPLA, dove, come dichiarava nell'introduzione al volume *In fluxul spiritualității* [*Nello scorrere della spiritualità*], contribuisce alla pubblicazione di opere dei classici della letteratura romena e universale:

> […] ca redactor-șef al E.S.P.L.E.I., care era o editură gigant (60% din producția de carte literară și de artă îi aparținea) am activat, bineînțeles, pentru lansarea colecțiilor academice, ori de opere complete ale scriitorilor români. Alte mai inițiative ale acelor ani au fost editarea clasicilor literaturii universale în tiraje impresionante. (Balaci, 1987, p. 13)

[8] Le citazioni in romeno sono corredate da una traduzione italiana ad opera delle autrici di questo contributo.

> [in quanto caporedattore dell'ESPLA, la quale era un'editrice gigantesca (il 60% della produzione letteraria e sull'arte vi veniva pubblicato), ho militato ovviamente per fondare delle collane accademiche oppure delle opere complete di scrittori romeni. Altre iniziative di quegli anni sono state le edizioni di classici della letteratura universale in tirature altissime.]

È in quest'ambito che si svolge un evento insolito per i tempi del comunismo romeno: si tratta dello sforzo di Balaci in quanto redattore principale dell'ESPLA affinché venisse pubblicato il romanzo di Francesco Jovine, uno scrittore membro del Partito Comunista Italiano. Il titolo del romanzo è *Terre del Sacramento*, con la variante romena *Pământuri blestemate*, una traduzione da cui scompare qualsiasi connotazione religiosa, meramente implicita anche nell'originale visto che *Sacramento* è soltanto il nome di una tenuta, senza ricadute religiose vere e proprie. La traduzione era stata realizzata da Alexandru Duiliu Zamfirescu, il figlio di madre italiana del noto scrittore romeno degli inizi del Novecento.

In una prima tappa, la Direzione Generale per la Stampa e le Pubblicazioni, la cosiddetta DGPT, ossia la Censura comunista, aveva respinto la proposta di pubblicazione di questo romanzo presso l'editrice Tineretului, rifiutandogli il nulla osta affinché andasse sotto i tipi – il famoso visto "si stampi/bun de tipar" – perché, come si può leggere in una nota che si trova presso l'apposito fondo archivistico custodito dagli Archivi Nazionali Centrali, la trama si svolgeva nell'Italia fascista, dal romanzo venivano fuori un sostanziale appoggio dei giovani al fascismo nonché una relazione piuttosto cordiale tra le classi agiate e quelle povere, mentre la prefazione, a firma di Balaci stesso, non riusciva a sottolineare sufficientemente il divario e il conflitto tra i ceti sociali:

> Acțiunea romanului se petrece în Italia meridională după primul război mondial și în timpul fascismului. Romanul are drept scop demascarea exploatării și mizeriei țăranilor italieni. Volumul nu a primit „bun de tipar" deoarece mișcarea fascistă era insuficient demascată, ba mai mult uneori reieșea că aceasta a fost sprijinită de tineret. Relațiile de clasă dintre țărani și latifundiari sînt prezentate a fi fără divergențe. Prefața semnată de Al. Balaci nu elucidează suficient problemele ridicate de roman.[9]

[9] A.N.I.C., Inv. 2571, DGPT=Direcția Generală pentru Presă și Tipărituri [Direzione Generale Stampa e Pubblicazioni] 1944-1977, 44/1960, f. 56.

[L'azione del romanzo si svolge nell'Italia Meridionale, dopo la Grande Guerra, durante il fascismo. Lo scopo del romanzo è di denunciare lo sfruttamento e la povertà in cui vivevano i contadini italiani. Il volume non ha ricevuto il visto "si stampi" perché il movimento fascista era insufficientemente denunciato, anzi, a volte si evinceva che esso fosse stato appoggiato dai giovani. Le relazioni tra i contadini e i latifondisti vengono presentate come se fossero prive di dissensioni. La prefazione a firma di Al. Balaci non chiarisce abbastanza i problemi presentati nel romanzo].

Come reagì a questo divieto di pubblicazione Alexandru Balaci, il quale senz'altro apprezzava il valore letterario di Jovine, il cui romanzo *Terre del Sacramento*, pubblicato a poco tempo dalla sua morte, aveva vinto il Premio Viareggio nel 1950? Ne fece una presentazione e criticò aspramente l'atteggiamento della DGPT in una riunione comune con i censori, come si evince dai verbali reperibili negli stessi fondi archivistici[10]. Grazie all'insistenza di Balaci, il romanzo venne pubblicato, un paio d'anni dopo essere stato respinto, pertanto, il pubblico romeno degli anni Sessanta ebbe accesso a un volume ritenuto sovversivo dalla censura comunista.

Questo caso illustra il coinvolgimento di Balaci nella promozione della letteratura italiana in Romania e al contempo è un'altra prova del potere che il redattore principale dell'ESPLA aveva all'epoca: egli era riuscito a imporsi davanti a un ente statale le cui decisioni erano in genere definitive, come ci fanno vedere le centinaia di opere della letteratura romena e universale che non furono mai pubblicate per via delle note negative della DGPT.

4. L'attività a Roma

L'attività di mediazione di Alexandru Balaci tra la cultura italiana e quella romena fu integrata da quella di promotore della cultura romena in Italia durante il mandato di direttore della Biblioteca Romena di Roma – l'attuale Accademia di Romania in Roma – nel periodo 1969-1973.

A cominciare dal bimillenario della nascita di Ovidio, nel 1957 (Caroli, 2009, 446-456) e con i festeggiamenti dedicati al Centenario dell'Unità d'Italia anche a Bucarest (Caroli, 2009, 464-465), le relazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche italo-romene

[10]A.N.I.C., Inv. 2571, DGPT 1944-1977, 44/1960, ff. 52-53, 56.

avevano preso un nuovo slancio. Nel 1964 la rappresentanza diplomatica d'Italia nella capitale romena fu elevata da legazione ad ambasciata (Guida, 2015, 227-228). Nello stesso anno fu firmato a Roma, a novembre, il III programma di collaborazione scientifica e culturale tra i due Stati (Caroli, 2009, 470). Un anno prima, a settembre, era stato tracciato un nuovo programma di scambi culturali, che stabiliva la cooperazione tra i due Paesi a livello universitario, borse di studio, visite reciproche ecc.

In questo contesto, come affermato, Alexandru Balaci fu inviato a Roma con l'incarico di direttore della Biblioteca Romena di Roma. Per approfondire l'attività di mediazione culturale che svolse in questo periodo ci si è avvalsi dei Fondi dell'Archivio Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri della Romania, del *Jurnal italian*, del volume *Accademia di Romania din Roma* curato da Veronica Turcuş, Mihai Bărbulescu e Iulian Damian (2012), nonché del capitoletto *Secvențe italiene* [*Sequenze italiane*] pubblicato sul volume *În fluxul spiritualității* [*Nello scorrere della spiritualità*] (Balaci, 1987, pp. 43-51).

Per tutta la durata del suo mandato quadriennale a Roma Balaci curò i rapporti con le università italiane e con l'editoria, cercò di arricchire il patrimonio della Biblioteca con libri adatti e iniziò numerosi progetti culturali: conferenze, mostre di pittura e scultura, incontri cinema. Si propose di offrire alla piccola comunità romena e agli italiani interessati alla cultura del nostro spazio prodotti culturali di buona qualità che rappresentino adeguatamente il Paese. L'abbondante epistolario ufficiale con le istituzioni romene dimostra il modo in cui il direttore – con l'aiuto della sua squadra poco numerosa – cercava di anticipare e di risolvere gli eventuali problemi. È notevole il tentativo di Balaci di separare la cultura dalla politica e di dare precedenza alla prima, ai fini di ottenere anche una maggiore autonomia dell'istituzione che dirigeva, come d'altronde si evince anche dal precedente studio di Firța-Marin, Gebăilă & Anton (2020).

I piani di attività della Biblioteca[11] e i documenti contenenti proposte di progetti inviati di solito annualmente, ma a volte perfino due volte all'anno a Bucarest testimoniano l'intensa attività culturale svolta nel periodo in cui Balaci fu direttore.

Come precisato anche altrove (Firța-Marin, Gebăilă & Anton, 2020), nel 1972 ad esempio l'attività dell'Accademia di Romania proponeva delle celebrazioni di mezzo secolo dalla fondazione dell'Accademia di Romania, numerose conferenze e mostre, tavole rotonde, convegni anniversari, quattro concerti, cinque eventi cinematografici, corsi di lingua romena, importazioni di periodici, traduzioni, presenza della Romania alla radio e alla televisione italiana, soluzioni per migliorare i rapporti con l'emigrazione romena, gestione dell'attività dei borsisti e dei lettorati romeni in Italia, gestione della biblioteca e collaborazioni con le più famose case editrici italiane del tempo come Bompiani, Einaudi, Mondadori o Fratelli Fabbri.

[11] Archivio Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri della Romania, Bucarest, Fondo Italia (1972), ds. 1477, ff. 7-19.

Per evitare che i progetti proposti fossero rifiutati, e forte delle esperienze degli anni precedenti, il direttore Balaci inviò il Piano di attività della Biblioteca Romena di Roma per l'anno 1972[12] senza precisare i nomi degli invitati romeni, da completare in seguito alle proposte e alle approvazioni delle istituzioni romene collaboratrici (Accademia della Repubblica Socialista Romania, CCES – Il Consiglio della Cultura e dell'Educazione Socialista, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione). Il documento è preceduto da una lettera dettagliata contenente gli aspetti che rallentavano e rendevano difficile, a volte impossibile, organizzare in maniera soddisfacente gli eventi della Biblioteca e gli incontri degli invitati romeni con la parte italiana. Chissà se la rilevazione di queste sincopi organizzative – d'altronde comprensibili visto che la Biblioteca aveva ripreso l'attività da non molti anni – non abbiano contribuito al ritorno in patria del professore. Egli metteva in risalto la tardata comunicazione dei programmi e dei nomi delle persone che arrivavano presso la Biblioteca con approvazione da parte di altre istituzioni romene, il rifiuto di alcune di queste personalità di collaborare con la Biblioteca, la mancanza di informazioni concrete relative al numero, peso, contenuto dei pacchi per le mostre d'arte, tutte informazioni necessarie per sbrigare le pratiche doganali ai fini di evitare costi aggiuntivi, il mancato arrivo di alcuni film promessi alla Biblioteca e altri aspetti di natura pratica.

È ovvia la costante preoccupazione per la qualità del materiale documentario e propagandistico realizzato con il concorso di istituzioni romene e presentato al pubblico italiano. Ad esempio, il direttore critica la scarsa qualità di alcuni documentari realizzati da UNITELFILM di Roma con il concorso dell'ONT (Organizzazione Nazionale per il Turismo della Romania).

Su *Jurnal italian* viene menzionata una lunga serie di attività culturali svolte a Roma o in altre città italiane. Ne riportiamo a modo di esempio alcune, poche, del 1970, ai fini di ricordare la costanza dell'impegno di Balaci e della sua squadra, la varietà dei progetti e il loro gran numero: la rassegna del cinema romeno all'Esedra; la mostra di pittura di Luky Galaction-Passarelli; le visite del regista italiano Ferdinando de Cruciatti, con un'attività importante in Romania, che definiva una "țară de vis" [un Paese da sogno] (Balaci, 1973, p. 60); gli incontri commuoventi con Dina Cocea e Radu Beligan; la visita al rettore dell'Università di Roma Pietro Agostino d'Avack e la conversazione sulle rivendicazioni degli studenti che aspiravano "spre negarea societății de consum, spre întoarcerea către bucuriile elementare ale vieții, către natură" [a negare la società del consumo per ritornare alle gioie elementari della vita, alla natura] (Balaci, 1973, p. 62); il pranzo con il direttore dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Vincenzo Cappellatti, e con lo storico del Risorgimento, il professor Alberto Ghisalberti, vicedirettore della Società Dante Alighieri (Balaci, 1973, p. 63); la mostra *La Civiltà Romana in Romania* al Palazzo delle

[12] Archivio Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri della Romania, Bucarest, Fondo Italia,1972, ds. 1477, ff. 1-2.

Esposizioni in Via Nazionale, “sinteză a originii poporului român” e “important semn al dezvoltării actuale a relațiilor între Italia și România” [sintesi dell’origine del popolo romeno e segno importante dello sviluppo attuale delle relazioni tra Italia e Romania] (Balaci, 1973, p. 64), nonché prova dell’ottimo livello delle scuole scientifiche nella Romania dei tempi. Le numerose attività di promozione della cultura romena non cessano mai: una visita di Ana Aslan, uno spettacolo sperimentale nella regia di George Teodorescu realizzato con l’aiuto dei borsisti Vasile Pârvan e un concerto (Balaci, 1973, pp. 69-76); una conferenza sulla Transilvania del professore Constantin Giurescu, presentata “cu ardoarea patriotului iluminat” [con la passione del patriota illuminato] (Balaci, 1973, p. 77), la visita di Alexandru Rosetti; il viaggio di Balaci a Torino come risposta all’invito di Ovidiu Drimba che insegnava romeno presso l’Università della città piemontese, un’occasione per evocare gli insigni professori che vi propagarono la cultura romena: il fondatore Giovenale Veggezzi Ruscalla e Mario Ruffini, traduttore di Eminescu ed esegeta di Dimitrie Cantemir (Balaci, 1973, p. 78). La visita ebbe come scopo due conferenze di Balaci sulle relazioni romeno-italiane, dai titoli *Nicolae Bălcescu in Italia* e *Dante Alighieri in Romania*. Seguì un’intervista per la Radio Romena su Raffaello, l’evocazione con partecipazione italiana e romena della figura del Principe Alexandru Ioan Cuza presso l’Accademia di Romania.

Su *Jurnal italian* Balaci sottolineava come numerosi storici mettevano in risalto la matrice latina/romana dei due popoli e delle due lingue e gli elementi comuni o le somiglianze tra i destini dei due popoli in epoche più recenti. Evocando Alexandru Iona Cuza, dalla nascita del quale si festeggiavano 150 anni, si rilevava che il principe era vissuto in un periodo in cui il popolo romeno e quello italiano lottavano per lo stesso ideale – la libertà nazionale e sociale, per l’unificazione.

In tutti gli anni del mandato di Balaci particolare interesse viene conferito alla storia e alla letteratura italiana e romena, in contesto accademico. Si segnalano la pubblicazione in Italia dell’opera *La letteratura romena* di Gino Lupi (1968), docente di lingua e letteratura romena a Milano, Padova e Venezia (Balaci, 1973, p. 86); l’incontro di Giancarlo Vigorelli con Gellu Naum (Balaci, 1973, 88); la visita all’Accademia di Romania degli studenti del corso di lingua romena di Padova; l’evocazione di Ramiro Ortiz, professore a Padova e fondatore del Seminario di Lingua Italiana dell’Università di Bucarest (Balaci, 1973, p. 89); la conferenza, in latino, del professore N.I. Barbu all’Accademia di Romania (Balaci, 1973, p. 91). Balaci ricordò anche la Biblioteca del Seminario di Lingua Italiana a Bucarest di cui ebbe l’onore di essere custode tra il 1938 e il 1941 e dove preparò la tesi di dottorato: *Giovanni Pascoli nel neoclassicismo italiano* (Balaci, 1973, p. 95). Inoltre, nei suoi scritti non mancano i riferimenti alle traduzioni in romeno di opere di classici della letteratura italiana come la *Divina Commedia* tradotta da George Coşbuc o le *Rime* di Francesco Petrarca nella traduzione di Eta Boeriu.

Spesso e volentieri Balaci promosse in Italia la cultura romena in prima persona: scrisse e tenne delle conferenze su Mihai Eminescu, ma anche su *Dante Alighieri in Romania* (Balaci, 1973, p. 78); studiò la vita Nicolae Bălcescu e fece un viaggio a Palermo sulle tracce del patriota romeno. Com'è noto, la città siciliana ospita la salma di Bălcescu, spirato nel 1852, sebbene in luogo ancora ignoto. In seguito al viaggio, Balaci ipotizzò che la salma si trovasse in un ossuario comune al Monastero dei Cappuccini – secondo registri ivi consultati e secondo la ricevuta per la tassa pagata per il funerale – e non al Cimitero Rotoli, come si pensava comunemente (Balaci, 1973, p. 35). Sull'argomento, il professore aveva scritto anche un articolo nella rivista italiana *Il pensiero mazziniano* (1958) e aveva tenuto la suddetta conferenza a Torino, intitolata *Nicolae Bălcescu in Italia*.

5. Conclusione

Alexandru Balaci fu uomo di grande cultura, con un'attività cospicua, la quale dimostra una grande capacità di lasciarsi incantare, pur soltanto a livello dilettantistico, da tutti gli aspetti interessanti del mondo letterario e da vari risvolti della civiltà; aveva delle vaste conoscenze e passioni che non si limitavano alla letteratura italiana, romena e universale, ma si estendevano al cinema, alle arti e alla storia.

Per la sua attività ricevette dei riconoscimenti da parte dell'apparato governativo romeno e da parte di alcuni rappresentanti del mondo accademico e culturale italiano. L'Ambasciata d'Italia a Bucarest lo propose, già nel 1969, per l'Ordine al Merito della Repubblica Italiana data la sua vasta attività scientifica e visto il suo apporto allo sviluppo delle relazioni culturali e scientifiche italo-romene[13]. Nel 1970 il professore diventò membro dell'Accademia Internazionale di Propaganda Culturale (Classe Lettere).

Tanto in Italia quanto in Romania, i suoi numerosi scritti e interventi, alcuni di stampo ideologizzante, trasferiscono oltre il mondo accademico l'ovvia vocazione didattica tramite l'opera divulgativa della cultura e della letteratura italiana in Romania e viceversa. Tuttavia, il suo stile di rado lascia trapelare le manipolazioni della censura, che lui aggirava anche grazie all'importanza dei suoi incarichi presso le istituzioni pubbliche romene.

L'ottima reputazione ideologica di Alexandru Balaci e le alte posizioni da lui rivestite all'interno dell'università e nelle cerchie politiche comuniste garantirono la continuità dell'insegnamento di lingua e cultura italiana a Bucarest e fecero sì che le lettere italiane fossero più protette, quindi più libere rispetto ad altre discipline, in quel difficile periodo segnato da censura e delazione.

[13] Archivio Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri della Romania, Bucarest, Fondo Italia (1968), ds. 1071, f. 1.

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A New Age for Intercultural Dialogue through the Arts

Gabriela Ioana Mocan

In recent years, culture has seen a growing pervasiveness in the field of international relations, the arts playing a key role across national boundaries, laying a good foundation for stable international cooperation. With a view to this, cultural diplomacy and arts management have fought many winning battles, fostering a deeper understanding of otherness through meaningful intercultural and transcultural dialogue. In an increasingly diverse and fragmented world, paradoxically united by the proliferation of mass communication technology, the aim of this paper is to find the silver lining in the cloud of 'quarantined' international cooperation, proposing new methods for artistic exchange through an innovative project developed online during the first months of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Culture; identity; cultural diplomacy; arts management; intercultural dialogue; transcultural communication; digital diplomacy; Covid-19 pandemic.

Until recently, culture was the trademark of cultural anthropology, mainly associated with exotic rituals defining so-called primitive societies. From the concept of enclosed culture, seen as a given for a particular social group, to a broader but still limited concept that looks at culture as ascribed to a space - be it geographical or linguistic -, the mid-90s, characterised by the dynamism and mobility of economic, political and social structures, led to the perception of culture as an extended, open, transnational, dynamic network. Culture, therefore, "should not be understood as a one-off historical feat or a museum artefact, but rather as a dynamic, functional system, able to adapt" (as cited in Alexandru, 2011). It is this very adaptability we will reflect upon to make a case for what we are, here, calling a "new age" for intercultural dialogue, ingredient without which the new realities imposed by the widespread digitalisation of our current lives would be so hard to navigate.

Through culture, people benefit from a meaningful context in which to meet, engage in self-analysisand confront the outer world. In Ralph Linton's words, "A culture is a configuration of learned behaviors and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by members of a particular society" (1945, p. 32). To further explain this notion of learned behaviours, Clifford Geertz looked at culture as "a pattern of historically transmitted meanings, embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions, expressed in symbolic forms through which people communicate, transmit, and develop their knowledge and attitudes about life" (1973, p. 89). Culture is, therefore, a basic interpretation of the fundamental meanings through which communication articulates the coexistence of individuals shaped by the same enculturation.

Whether we speak about intercultural communication or the arts, two of the key concepts outlining our research, we inevitably operate with the notion of culture. To visually encompass the many layers and complexity of culture as a central concept to our study, we will resort to the 'Cultural Iceberg' model developed by interculturalist Gary Weaver in 1986. Weaver distinguished between elements of surface culture such as food, language, holidays, arts and crafts or literature, to name but a few, and elements of deep culture, the less visible dimensions that require a deeper mutual understanding: communication styles and rules, notions of leadership or friendship, concepts of time, family or self, attitudes towards work, elders or authority, approaches to religion, marriage or problem solving, among many others. In 2021, we believe this model is still relevant as a tool for cultural appreciation and it can effectively serve anyone seeking to learn about or explore a different culture.

The dialogue between cultures is an interpretive dialogue in which individuals belonging to different cultures translate the meanings of a foreign culture in their own 'language', reducing it to their own comprehension. Understanding the vastness of symbols, myths, meanings of a culture is, therefore, a prerequisite for intercultural communication. As for multiculturalism, it is based on a decree of political correctness that requires respect for otherness without devoting any effort to integrating it, so as to ensure, through a superior code common to all cultures defining a space, the unity of their coexistence. Culture, as such, simultaneously refers to a basic similarity of individuals but also to everything that sets them apart, hence being a creator of difference.

So how do we bring together two different cultures, how do we encourage meaningful dialogue between them? When the participants in a communication process come from different cultures, it is less likely that the attempt to convey a meaning will be effective if the cultural iceberg is ignored. Relying solely on one's linguistic competences would be a terrible mistake for, just as cross-cultural researcher Milton Bennett pointed out, "To know another's language and not his culture is a very good way to make a fluent fool of yourself" (as quoted in Fantini, 1997). That is why it's important to remember that, when it comes to intercultural dialogue, people carry meanings within themselves; that is to say they construct meanings based on their language, attitudes, but mostly their interpersonal and cultural knowledge and experience. Hence, an individual's cultural environment shapes the meaning given to the world and this is the core idea we started from when we created what eventually became a pertinent example of digital cultural diplomacy: the Romania Rocks project, a groundbreaking Romanian-British Literary Festival meant to stimulate a genuine andsubstantial dialogue between Romania and the UK through the two countries' foremost authors, translators and artists.

Cultural Diplomacy: a brief history

Since the onset of globalisation, culture has become an integral part of prominent discourses worldwide, from the self-representation of corporations to the worldview of cultural minorities or to the way in which nation-states negotiate their image abroad. Thus, culture has acquired various meanings that require reflection and analysis, not least because of its major implications in shaping and defining identity, as well as its power to facilitate meaningful dialogue between peoples.

Given our academic background and the valuable first-hand experience acquired by leading the Romanian Cultural Institute in London's literary and artistic programme between 2013 and 2019, cultural diplomacy as a field of study has recently become our main research interest. Often positioned as the largest sub-area of public diplomacy and most commonly defined as the exchange of ideas, information, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples with a view to fostering mutual understanding (Cummings, 2003), cultural diplomacy has proved to be an ever-stronger mode of communication between nations, constituting a mechanism of exposure and influence. Its uttermost importance as a tool of foreign policy has become even more obvious in recent years, with the geopolitical uncertainty and corroding international relations looming at every corner.

From its governmental institutionalisation in the 1920s, when Foreign Ministries set up their Departments of Cultural Affairs and started funding the activities of private cultural institutions abroad, to the critical need to articulate the arts as an instrument for international reconciliation following the Second World War, cultural diplomacy has seen a shift in perspective after the 1960s, when some of the most powerful states took on the role of social organisations or corporations. In the UK, for instance, a good example is the linguistic dissemination programmes of the British Council.

At present, however, cultural diplomacy has seen an exponential growth, starting with the multiplication of its actors on diverse scales and levels in the 2000s and continuing with the latest developments since the outbreak of Covid-19. Over a decade ago, a particular impetus could be observed in Eastern Europe and Asia, where countries that historically were 'receivers' of cultural diplomacy started to focus their attention on strengthening their foreign policies. Romania's network of Cultural Institutes abroad is a good example here - the Romanian Cultural Institute in London, for instance, opening its doors no sooner than 2006 -as is, a continent apart, the recent development of China through its extensive network of Confucius Institutes, created in 2008.

All of the above led to a process of decentralisation, international cooperation nowadays taking place on various levels and not being restricted to a handful of major cultural production centres, as it was the case in past decades. The pandemic stepped in to reinforce this idea, with more and more cultural entrepreneurs taking arts management and cultural diplomacy to a whole new level; in this respect, the spirit of soft power (Nye, 1990) has already fuelled many new initiatives in the virtual space.

"In today's global information age, victory often depends not on whose army wins, but on whose story wins." These words from American analyst John Arquilla (as cited in McClory, 2018) found us at the right time, when the whole world was put on hold by a merciless virus. As firm believers in the power of art and culture to transcend borders and create meaningful connections between peoples, legitimised by a great passion for international cultural experience and exchange, we decided to look at this pandemic as a blessing in disguise and stepped up our efforts to champion Romania's rich cultural heritage and tell its story.

Cultural Diplomacy: a practical approach in pandemic times

The journey started with THE ROMANIAN RIVETER, the first issue of a British literary magazine entirely dedicated to Romania and the eighth in the European Literature Network (ELNet)'s series celebrating Europe's literary traditions. The fruit of our long partnership with ELNet and a plan mapped out long before the pandemic, the magazine, featuring poets, prose writers, dramatists, essayists, translators and publishers, many of whom published in English for the first time, was partially dedicated to the city of Timişoara and funded by the Timiș County Council. We had the great pleasure of taking on the role of guest editor for the other section of the magazine, focused on Romanian literature at large, and worked through the very first months of the pandemic to see the end result at the beginning of September.

Much anticipated, The Romanian Riveter was launched at London's Romanian Cultural Institute on 30 September and, with it, came the launch of the aforementioned literary festival, ROMANIA ROCKS. Co-curated and produced by the present paper's author, organised exclusively online during the Covid-19 pandemic, the festival – an absolute premiere – took place under the auspices of the Romanian Cultural Institute in London, with support from London's European Literature Network. This is, in our view, a very good example of cultural diplomacy tailored to the new online realities and, we dare say, its astounding success can serve as an example for any future initiatives on cultural diplomacy's digital stage.

Running for four weeks between mid-October and mid-November 2020, the festival brought together 92 voices (authors, translators, publishers and artists) in 30 events, ranging from discussions, poetry readings, film screenings, interactive workshops and seminars on translation, publishing & the Romanian Blouse, children's activities, a number of special events including British Voices in Romania and Romanian Voices in Britain, as well as a rock concert on the last day.

Among the various types of events in the calendar, the main focus was the "Rock Talks" interview series that featured some of the most famous authors from both Romania and Britain, paired to discuss their work, their countries and those issues close to their hearts, more general topics of current global interest. The protagonists of the series were Elif Shafak and Matei Vișniec, Ben Okri and Norman Manea, David Mitchell and Andrei

Codrescu, Fiona Sampson and Ana Blandiana, Paul Bailey and Marius Chivu, Deborah Levy and Magda Cârneci, A.L. Kennedy and Ioana Pârvulescu, as well as Ian Rankin and Bogdan Teodorescu, all of whom delighted the online audiences with their zesty interventions.

When envisaging this interview series, we started from Fons Trompenaars's realisation according to which "The international manager reconciles cultural dilemmas" (2000, p. 2) and, as the managers behind this project, asked ourselves how we could potentially integrate the different ways of thinking pertaining to the two cultures to form a larger whole. It was the first time ever when star authors from Romania and the UK were brought together and in such a visible and relevant context, so we committed ourselves to making the most of it. From the outset, we aimed to turn this into an instrument of cultural diplomacy and use the opportunity to strengthen the relations between the two countries. From intercultural communication, with its focus on the sharing and interpretation of meaning and messages, we took this one step further to transcultural communication, believing that the authors' joint construction of cultural practices and representations 'in situ' (Baker & Ishikawa, 2021), through the chosen discussion topics, would better serve our purpose.

The future of soft power: concluding remarks

As set out in the introduction, the aim of this paper was to offer a broad look at the way in which the pandemic has impacted the practice of cultural diplomacy and arts management, while proposing new methods for international collaboration.

In the concluding remarks of a recent report analysing the future of soft power, Jonathan McClory highlighted that "Those working in the fields of public diplomacy, cultural relations, and international engagement are unlikely to experience another disruption equal in scale and duration to that of the COVID-19 pandemic" (2021, p. 46). However, in spite of this disruption and the many challenges it has posed, the advantages brought about by the online are no less important. From the reduced budgets invested in implementing such an ambitious project, thing that opened the door to more participants and allowed for more events, to the realisation that online content is the most enduring legacy (visit RCI London and ELNet's YouTube channels), our cultural product had a much broader impact than physical events before it did. It reached wider and more diverse audiences, stimulated the need for meaningful encounters across the borders and paved the way for future exchanges.

The future is hybrid, for sure, and all we need is some audacity for fuel and a functional charging station to live up to it!

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Considérations sur la novlangue : entre préciosité et le politiquement correct / Considerations Regarding Newspeak: Between Preciosity and Political Correctness

Nicolae Etmond Şera

The term «newspeak» was first used by George Orwell in his famous 1984 and it designates a new type of speech based on eliminating concepts and semantic nuances, as well as on using grammatical structures brought to an almost infantile level. The present study analyses the linguistic mechanisms of this type of speech while mirroring the similarities between 17th century excessively precious language and 20th and 21st century politically correct discourse. Furthermore, the paper looks into the features of this new type of speech, based on conventions and eliminating nuances, as well as its presence in different types of discourse (press, management, etc.)

Newspeak ; Preciousness ; Political correctness ; Euphemism ; Language.

« A votre avis: Qu'est-ce qu' « un Bloc mucilagineux à effet soustractif »?

Il est vrai que les femmes de ménage étaient devenues des « techniciennes de surface » et les aveugles des « malvoyants » , et les sourds depuis longtemps des malentendants…

Poursuivre à la lettre nos nouveaux enseignements... Voilà qui devrait ravir les amoureux de la langue française...

Et contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait penser, il ne s'agit pas d'une "évolution de la langue", mais de "prospective positive modernisée d'un mode de communication orale... !

J'ai aussi appris que je n'étais pas petite mais « de taille modeste » et qu'un nain était une « personne à verticalité contrariée ». Si, si !

J'étais déjà tombée de ma chaise pendant une soirée de parents quand la maîtresse a écrit sur le tableau que nos enfants allaient apprendre à manier « à manier l'outil scripteur » au lieu de tenir un crayon.

Je me suis habituée au fait que les rédactions sont des « productions écrites », les sorties en groupe des « sorties de cohésion » et les élèves en difficulté ou handicapés des « élèves à besoins éducatifs spécifiques».

Donc, demain l'élève n'apprendra plus à écrire mais à « maitriser le geste graphomoteur et à automatiser progressivement le tracé normé des lettres ».

Il n'y aura plus de dictée, mais une « vigilance orthographique ».

Quand un élève aura un problème on tentera une « remédiation ».

Mais curieusement le meilleur est pour la gym…Oups pardon !!! pour l'EPS (Education physique et sportive).

Attention, on s'accroche : courir c'est « créer de la vitesse », nager en piscine c'est « se déplacer dans un milieu aquatique profond standardisé et traverser l'eau en équilibre horizontal par immersion prolongée de la tête », et le badminton est une « activité duelle médiée par un volant »..

Les "précieuses ridicules" de Molière sont détrônées !

Alors, les amis, ne perdons pas ce merveilleux sens du burlesque et inventons une nouvelle catégorie : la « personne en cessation d'intelligence » !

Signé Martine Meunier, mère d'une élève. Ah ! non, re-pardon… Martine Meunier « génitrice d'une apprenante ».

Donc n'oubliez pas: un « outil scriptuaire », c'est un stylo, un « référentiel bondissant », c'est un ballon, et, pour finir et revenir à l'objet de ce courriel, un « bloc mucilagineux à effet soustractif », c'est… une gomme ! » (Qu'est-ce qu' « un Bloc mucilagineux à effet soustractif ?, n.d.)

Stendhal inscrit avant la lettre, en tête d'un de ses chapitres, dans le Rouge et le Noir que « La parole a été donnée à l'homme pour cacher sa pensée » (Stendhal, 2011, p. 207). Là gît la véritable clef de la langue du néoparler : l'homme, dès lors qu'il ne se sent plus libre de s'exprimer, au sens plein du terme, cesse d'utiliser la langue comme un miroir (selon la célèbre formule de Stendhal); il la manie plutôt comme un leurre et en joue comme d'un masque pour de différentes raisons.

Terme inventé par Georges Orwell dans son roman célèbre *1984*, the Newspeak (la novlangue ou le néoparler) est une nouvelle manière de parler soutenu par l'élimination des concepts de des nuances sémantiques. Nous analysons les mécanismes linguistiques de ce néoparler tout en faisant une parallèle avec le langage de la préciosité du XVIIe siècle et son prolongement, voire évolution aux XX-XXIe siècles par l'art de s’exprimer politiquement correct (politically correct) – expression qui en français n’a pas de sens, au moins non pas le sens de l’anglais. Avant l’analyse des traits caractéristiques du néoparler, basé sur des conventions, sur l’élimination de la finesse linguistique, des nuances, tout comme la récurrence dans les différents types de discours (de la presse, du management, de la publicité, etc.), quelques définitions s’imposent.

Définitions

Traduction du mot anglais Newspeak (« nouveau parler ») créé par George Orwell (1903-1950) dans son roman dystopique *1984*, publié en 1949, le novlangue (nom masculin) est la langue officielle d'Océania, imposée par les dirigeants. Son objectif est de restreindre le domaine de la pensée et son indépendance par la réduction au strict minimum du nombre de mots utilisés (notamment la suppression des termes conceptuels) et par des structures grammaticales de base. Les finesses du langage sont éliminées et le nombre de concepts avec lesquels les habitants peuvent réfléchir est restreint, ce qui évite toute formulation de critiques :

> « L'idée fondamentale du novlangue est de supprimer toutes les nuances d'une langue afin de ne conserver que des dichotomies qui renforcent l'influence de l'Etat, car le discours manichéen permet d'éliminer toute réflexion sur la complexité d'un problème : si tu n'es pas pour, tu es contre, il n'y a pas de milieu. Ce type de raisonnement binaire permet de favoriser les raisonnements à l'affect, et ainsi d'éliminer tout débat, toute discussion, et donc toute potentielle critique de l'État.
>
> [.]
>
> L'idée sous-jacente au novlangue est que si une chose ne peut pas être dite, cette chose ne peut pas être pensée durablement faute de renforcement par l'échange du dialogue. » (Novlangue, 2021, para. 1).

Par extension et parce que le concept décrit dans le roman est intuitivement plausible, le mot novlangue, devenu féminin, désigne un langage épuré, convenu, rigide, destiné à dénaturer la réalité. Il permet de critiquer, avec une connotation fortement péjorative des discours « politiquement corrects » en les comparant au système totalitaire du roman *1984*.

Domaines à l'encontre desquels le mot novlangue est parfois utilisé : discours politiques, communication des firmes multinationales, management en entreprise, journalisme, publicité, mouvements sectaires.

> La préciosité est un art de vivre et une esthétique qui s'épanouit entre 1650 et 1660 au sein de l'aristocratie parisienne. Les codes de ce courant de pensée s'élaborent dans des salons, tel que celui de Madeleine de Scudéry, qui réunissent les écrivains et beaux esprits du temps. La préciosité, dominée par les femmes, se caractérise avant tout par un raffinement extrême du comportement, des idées et du langage. Les Précieuses affectionnent les jeux de l'esprit et mettent la subtilité de la pensée au service d'un discours sur l'amour. Les Précieuses, attachées à l'élégance et à la singularité de l'expression, auront une influence sur le langage et la production littéraire du temps. Un langage précieux apparaît, caractérisé par la recherche de l'effet. (Mongrédien, G., 1947)

L'expression « politiquement correct » est apparue aux Etats-Unis (politically correct) à la fin du XXe siècle, pour dénoncer ou se moquer d'une attitude qui cherche à n'offenser ni dénigrer aucune minorité. Elle est utilisée pour qualifier une façon socialement acceptable de s'exprimer.

En français, le « politiquement correct » est une forme de langage ou de discours normatif qui cherche à ne déplaire à personne, à ne froisser aucune susceptibilité, en particulier dans les groupes ou catégories minoritaires perçues comme désavantagées, et à éviter de faire sentir à quiconque sa différence comme une infériorité ou un motif d'exclusion. (Geoffroy, M., 2015)

Les mots considérés comme offensants ou péjoratifs sont remplacés par d'autres exempts de préjugés et le recours à l'euphémisme, à des périphrases, à des circonlocutions.

Le langage politiquement correct est utilisé, par exemple, en matière de races, d'ethnies, de cultures, de religions, de sexes, d'infirmités, de classes sociales.

Néoparler et la préciosité du XVIIe siècle : l’art de la périphrase

La préciosité a engagé au XVIIe siècle une réforme du langage. En voulant mettre leurs paroles en harmonie avec la subtilité de leurs pensées, les précieuses ont crée un langage particulier à l'usage des cercles qu'elles fréquentent. Elles ont bouleversé les usages de la langue, en intégrant notamment des tournures qui bannissent tout prosaïsme. On note également un enthousiasme pour les néologismes, ainsi que pour les termes et les locutions à la mode. Le langage précieux se caractérise avant tout par la recherche de l'effet. Somaize, dans son *Grand dictionnaire des Précieuses*, note que les précieuses sont « celles qui inventent des façons de parler bizarres par leur nouveauté et extraordinaires dans leur signification. » (Somaize, 1856). Cette nouvelle langue, le langage des précieuses, compliqué et codé, se veut hermétique pour les non-initiés. En effet, les précieuses réservent le sens de leurs propos à un groupe restreint. Elles ne peuvent donc se contenter d'un langage ordinaire. Somaize raille les Précieuses pour cet emploi nouveau et élitiste de la langue.

C'est ce goût du raffinement et de la singularité du langage qui est caricaturé par Molière dans *Les Précieuses ridicules* (I,6) :

MAGDELON. (...) Vite, venez nous tendre ici dedans le conseiller des grâces. MAROTTE. Par ma foi, je ne sais point quelle bête c'est là : il faut parler chrétien, si vous voulez que je vous entende.

CATHOS. Apportez-nous le miroir, ignorante que vous êtes, et gardez-vous bien d'en salir la glace par la communication de votre image. (Molière, 1998, p. 22)

La pièce de Molière donne un aperçu des procédés du langage précieux en les grossissant. On peut noter l'emploi de néologismes (« un nécessaire » pour « un valet »), d'adjectifs substantivés (« le doux, le tendre, le passionné »), d'adverbes hyperboliques (« furieusement », « terriblement », « effroyablement »), de périphrases compliquées (« Voiturez- nous ici les commodités de la conversation » pour « Apportez-nous les fauteuils ») ou d'expressions précieuses à la mode (« Le moyen de souffrir cela ! »). On pourrait ajouter à l'inventaire des procédés précieux les antithèses et les oxymores qui participent à la recherche de l'effet, les métaphores et les allégories qui permettent de contourner l'objet du propos, et surtout l'art de la pointe.

Pour illustrer, voici quelques expressions précieuses tirées du *Grand dictionnaire des Précieuses:*

le chapeau : l’affronteur des temps

le soufflet : la petite maison d’Éole

la cheminée : l’empire de Vulcain

Les choses que vous dites sont fort communes : les choses que vous dites sont du dernier bourgeois

la main : la belle mouvante

les pieds : les chers souffrants

le pain : le soutien de la vie
le fauteuil : les commodités de la conversation
un verre d'eau : un bain intérieur
la perruque : la jeunesse des vieillards
se farder : lustrer son visage
se délabyrinther : se peigner
les joues : les trônes de la pudeur
rire : exciter le naturel de l'homme
la lune : le flambeau de la nuit
la musique : le paradis des oreilles
le nez : les écluses du cerveau (Somaize, 1856)

Néoparler et politiquement correct : le lissage du langage

Le politiquement correct est l'attribut d'un discours parlé ou écrit convenu, figé, incantatoire, délivrant un message coupé de la réalité, n'apportant aucune information nouvelle ou intentionnellement truqué, voire manipulatoire.

C'est une forme d'expression employée par les hommes politiques, les responsables d'entreprises, les technocrates, dans le but de :

- masquer une absence d'information précise,
- éviter de répondre à des questions embarrassantes,
- ne pas attirer l'attention sur un argumentaire défaillant,
- ne pas choquer un interlocuteur,
- dissimuler une vérité désagréable tout en feignant de la décrire,
- cacher des objectifs réels inavouables,
- imposer une idéologie ou une vision du monde.

Il s'agit d'adoucir les formulations, termes ou expressions qui pourraient heurter un public catégoriel. Autrement dit, il s'agit de désigner de façon non discriminante les catégories ou groupes d'individus identifiés par leur origine ethnique, leur culture, leur profession, leur handicap. Assimilé à la « langue de bois », celui-ci se reconnaît à l'une ou plusieurs de ces caractéristiques :

- complexification du style,
- flot de paroles inutiles (logorrhée) dans le but de noyer l'auditeur,
- confiscation de la parole et absence d'échanges réels,
- vision binaire et manichéenne de la réalité,
- utilisation abusive de :
  - stéréotypes exprimés de manière pompeuse (banalité, cliché. Ex : les temps sont durs)
  - pléonasmes (expressions superflues, redondantes. Ex : projet d'avenir),

- o barbarismes (mots inventés ou détournés de leur sens. Ex : solutionner, finaliser),
- o euphémismes (atténuation d'une réalité brutale ou d'une idée désagréable. Exemple : un non-voyant pour un aveugle),
- o mots peu usités et prétentieux (Ex : systémique, paradigme),

- la voix passive qui ne permet pas de savoir qui est responsable,
- expressions figées (sorte de formules magiques) ou vagues,
- expressions facilement mémorisables pour frapper les esprits,
- mots sortis de leur contexte.

Quelques exemples d'expressions du néoparler, utilisées dans la politique, dans les entreprises, dans l'économie de marché, dans les médias (Geoffroy, M., 2013):

Création de valeur	Profit
Décomplexifier	Simplifier
Déficit d'image de marque	Mauvaise réputation
Déréglementation	Loi de la jungle
Excellence durable	Demander l'impossible
Frappe chirurgicale	Bombardement d'un endroit précis.
Nettoyage ethnique	Génocide.
Optimisation des capitaux	Encore plus de profit
Partenaires sociaux	Syndicalistes
Plan social	Licenciement.
Relais de croissance	Tout va mal
Senior confirmé	Vieux cadre de plus de cinquante ans
Travail dissimulé	Travail au noir.
Travailleur involontairement privé d'emploi	Chômeur victime d'un licenciement.

Corollaire – caracteristiques du néoparler : « a-nommer »

Comment se construit le langage politiquement correct ? En réalité c’est assez simple : il suffit de remplacer chaque mot devenu gênant ou trop connoté par d’autres mots moins évocateurs. En rhétorique, on parle en ce cas de périphrase. La périphrase est une figure de style qui consiste précisément à remplacer un mot par un groupe de mots signifiant approximativement la même chose (par exemple, déménager devient *« procéder à une réorganisation de l’espace »* ; jardinier devient *« animateur d’espaces verts »*).

La périphrase facilite le recours à l’euphémisme, une autre figure de style consistant à atténuer ou modérer une idée déplaisante. Par exemple, le chômage devient *« l’évolution du nombre de demandes d’emplois non satisfaites »*.

C'est le principe dans la pratique de l'A-Nommeur : *A-nommer* une chose, c'est « faire disparaître du langage le mot qui la désigne, et donc s'obliger à la décrire d'une façon inhabituelle. » (Longhi, J., 2012). Dans le sillage de cette définition, en changeant la façon dont nous parlons, nous pouvons alors modifier la façon dont nous percevons le réel.

En maquillant leurs pensées, en usant de formules sophistiquées pour parler de choses souvent banales, en *a-nomant* chaque élément de la réalité qu'ils prétendent décrire, les utilisateurs créent un univers métaphorique plus proche de la poésie que du discours du réel.

On sait qu'une simple traduction ne redéfinit pas le terme initial, et transforme encore moins la réalité. Le signifiant change, mais pas le signifié. Or, le problème réel ou supposé porte sur le signifié, c'est-à-dire *la chose existante*, et non le signifiant, c'est-à-dire tel ou tel *mot*. Cela revient, en somme, à ne pas nommer directement le « mal » que l'on désigne. En voici quelques exemples tirés du *Nouveau Dictionnaire de novlangue* de Michel Geoffroy de 2013 :

agression : incivilité
aveugle : non-voyant
avortement : interruption volontaire de grossesse
balayeur : technicien de surface
ballon : référentiel bondissant
bombardement : frappe chirurgicale
cancre : élève en difficulté, ou: élève en situation d'échec scolaire
censure : faire preuve de retenue
criminalité : insécurité
cancer : longue maladie
criminel : victime de la société
chômeur : demandeur d'emploi
clochard : SDF
coups et blessures : incivilités
débile : handicapé mental
dégâts collatéraux : morts d'une bataille
droguer (se) : pratiques à risque
élève : apprenant
envoi de troupes : ingérence humanitaire
être handicapé : être diminué
femme de ménage : technicienne des sols, employée de maison
guerre : intervention, ingérence
immigration : diversité
immigré clandestin : sans-papiers
infirme : handicapé moteur ou mieux : personne à mobilité réduite
insulte : incivilité

invalide, impotent : handicapé
libre : non-occupé
métissage : diversité
mensonge : contre-vérité
misère, pauvreté : exclusion
mort : départ
mourir: s'en aller, partir
nain : personne de petite taille, ou mieux, personne à verticalité contrariée
nomades : gens du voyage
noir : personne de couleur
obèse : enveloppé
parents d'élèves : géniteurs d'apprenants
pornographique : au contenu explicite
prison : espace carcéral
pauvre : handicapé économique
promiscuité : mixité sociale
prostituée : travailleuse du sexe
recherche d'emploi : projet professionnel
réfugié : demandeur d'asile ou encore mieux requérant d'asile
remariage : famille recomposée
sourd : malentendant
traîner : être en déshérence sociale
vieillesse : troisième âge (Geoffroy, M., 2013)

Cette étrange expression d'« A-nommer » une chose, c'est faire disparaître du langage le mot qui la désigne et, de là, s'obliger à la décrire d'une façon inhabituelle. Changer le nom des choses change la façon dont nous les percevons, désigner de manière poétique chaque élément du quotidien revient à ré-enchanter celui-ci, à redonner un peu de magie, humour parfois, à tout ce qui nous semble désormais banal et sans vie.

Les mots appartenant à la novlangue dans le roman d'Orwell étaient divisés en trois classes distinctes, connues sous les noms de vocabulaire A, vocabulaire B (aussi appelé mots composés) et vocabulaire C (les mots techniques). Le vocabulaire A comprenait les mots nécessaires à la vie de tous les jours, par exemple pour manger, boire, travailler, s'habiller, monter et descendre les escaliers, aller à bicyclette, jardiner, cuisiner, et ainsi de suite, et leur sens était délimité avec beaucoup de rigidité. On les avait débarrassés de toute ambiguïté et de toute nuance. La grammaire novlangue renfermait aussi la particularité essentielle d'une interchangeabilité presque complète des différentes parties du discours, à savoir, tous les mots de la langue pouvaient être employés comme verbes, noms, adjectifs ou adverbes.

Pour conclure, revenons à la poésie avec Guillaume Apollinaire qui, dans son célèbre poème *Zone*, dit que le soleil est un « *cou coupé* », comme celui d'un géant décapité, et renversé dans le ciel, qui ferait ainsi apparaître un disque rougeoyant en guise de coucher de soleil. Pareil dans la novlangue, où l'on rencontre tout autant d'images ou d'abstractions, parfois drôles ou dérangeantes, mais toujours surprenantes.

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La risemantizzazione nella terminologia delle arti visuali / Resemantize in the Terminology of the Visual Arts

George Dan Istrate

The terminology related to the visual arts includes within it many terms that are used in both specialized and common language. However, only a part of the terminology of this field can be characterized by univocity and monoreferentiality, given that some lexemes have multiple meanings, which constitutes, in principle, a factor of ambiguity. In fact, in these cases, through a terminological metaphor, the transfer of the name of one object to another is carried out, based on a similarity between them. The phenomenon can be considered a fundamental process in the formation of the metaphorical terminological lexicon. The transfer mechanism combines two notions by virtue of their common elements, neglecting the differences. Specialty studies believe that each metaphor will therefore contain three elements: the entity to be named, the one that gives it its name, and the comparable characteristic, which makes the analogy between the two possible. The analogies on the basis of which the semantic transfer is made in the visual arts are of a referential type and refer, in general, to the shape, that is to the appearance of an object, sufficient to characterize it externally. In the sector we want to analyze, the most frequent lexicalized translations concern the human body (*colo, rib, rib, foot, shoulder, head, nail*), plants and trees (*almond, leaf, stem*), animals (*goat, truss , mare, stork, bull, dovetail, bear*), the geometric shape (*band, ovolo, pillow, cube, strip*).
All these terms are created on the basis of a replacement procedure, possible thanks to an analogy between one word present and the other absent, but necessary in the specialized lexicon to name a new object. Practically, through the attribution of a new meaning to an existing lexical element, resemantize (or semantic redetermination) occurs.

Terminology; Resemantize (or Semantic Redetermination); Metaphor; Semantic Transfer; Visual Arts.

1. Nella letteratura specialistica, *i linguaggi settoriali* sono considerati "una varietà di lingua dotata di un lessico specifico che viene utilizzato da particolari gruppi di persone, di solito socioprofessionali, in determinate situazioni, per comunicare contenuti, nozioni, argomenti specialistici" (Treccani.it/enciclopedia online). Vengono chiamati usualmente anche con termini come *linguaggi* o *lingue speciali*, *sottocodici* o *tecnoletti.* In senso lato, possono essere anche considerati una particolare tipologia di *lessico gergale* in quanto spesso non risultano comprensibili interamente ai non addetti ai lavori di un certo settore di attività (Berruto, 2004, p. 114). A talproposito, basti pensare ai muratori itineranti medioevali i quali, per meglio custodire i segreti del loro mestiere, avevano inventato un codice professionale segreto volutamente incomprensibile per escludere dalla comunicazione gli stranieri o le persone non desiderate.

2. La terminologia relativa alle arti visive comprende al suo interno molti termini che vengono usati tanto nel linguaggio specialistico quanto in quello comune. Solo una parte della terminologia di questo campo può tuttavia essere caratterizzata da univocità e monoreferenzialità, in quanto alcuni lessemi possiedono più significati, cosa che costituisce, in linea di principio, un fattore di ambiguità. Anche se esistono lessemi che hanno a che fare con altri settori (*forma, contenuto, idea, rappresentazione, composizione, distanza, perspettiva, angolo, menisco*), il significato viene a definirsi contestualmente, fatto che rende possibile il processo di *disambiguazione*. Il contesto situazionale, cioè tutti i fattori esterni che, in un dato momento e luogo, condizionano la produzione e la compressione di un messaggio linguistico, elimina gli eventuali equivoci semantici. Esistono spesso interferenze lessicali con le scienze umanistiche (*accento, contenuto, espressione, gamma, forma, tema, idea...*) e, sporadicamente, si accertano termini tangenziali con altre discipline, come sarebbe la chimica, la fisica, la mineralogia, la matematica (*additivo, alluminio, alabastro, altezza, anilina, asse...*). Infine, vi sono termini poco conosciuti o sconosciuti ai non specialisti che si dimostrano semanticamente univoci (*tuttotondo*, *statua, ritratto, bassorilievo...*) cosa che ci permette di considerare la terminologia delle arti visuali, anche se composta da un numero limitato di voci, alla stregua di un codice chiuso, caratteristica specifica dei linguaggi settoriali (Istrate, 2018, p.149).

3. La presente ricerca prende spunto dai termini da noi elencati nel *Glossario delle arti visuali* (2020). Tralasceremo i tecnicismi che appartengono esclusivamente all'ambito settoriale visivo, i quali, di solito, sono monosemantici, e prenderemo in considerazione i termini che sono esito di un processo di *risemantizzazione (*o *rideterminazione semantica*). Si tratta di un *cambiamento di significato* di una parola, definito tecnicamente *risemantizzazione funzionale*. In pratica, come afferma Gheno (2020, n.d.), viene esteso o ridotto il settore di realtà che una particolare parola va a indicare oppure muta alcune sfumature del significato. La conseguenza diretta è la creazione di nuovi tecnicismi in un dominio scientifico tramite un *prestito terminologico interno*. Nel linguaggio specialistico il fenomeno si chiama *terminologizzazione* e consiste nel denominare con una parola dell'uso comune un concetto nuovo apparso in un certo settore.

3.1. In questi casi, tramite una *metafora terminologica* (Bădulățeanu, 2018, p. 38; Feurdean, 2015, p. 177; Mincu, 2017, p. 271) si realizza il trasferimento del nome di un oggetto a un altro in base a somiglianza o ad analogia. Il fenomeno può essere considerato fondamentale nella formazione del lessico terminologico metaforico. Il meccanismo del trasferimento abbina due nozioni in virtù dei loro elementi comuni, trascurando le differenze. Gli studi specialistici ritengono che ogni metafora contenga tre elementi: l'entità da nominare, quella che le dà il nome e la caratteristica comparabile, che rende possibile l'analogia tra i due. Le analogie in base alle quali si fa iltrasferimento semantico nelle arti visuali sono di tipo referenziale. Tale fenomeno è maggiormente comprensibile grazie alla teoria della comunicazione di Roman Jakobson (1963), secondo cui la *funzione referenziale* (o *denotativa*) si realizza quando il messaggio è orientato prevalentemente sul *referente*, per cui un oggetto viene reso noto al destinatario in forma puramente denotativa. A differenza della metafora letteraria, che può avere varie interpretazioni, la metafora terminologica mantiene dunque la funzione referenziale, in quanto questa viene assicurata da un'analogia che domina grazie alla sua "trasparenza" (Bidu-Vrănceanu, 2012, p.34). Spesso, dunque, il nuovo significato convive con la parola del lessico comune senza creare confusione. Ecco un esempio illustrativo: 1. Paganini suonava il *violino*. 2. Lo scultore lavora il marmo con il *violino* (1. strumento musicale; 2. un tipo di trapano con la forma simile allo strumento musicale). Il risultato del processo metaforico è facilmente riconoscibile per i parlanti di una certa lingua madre. Invece, per uno straniero, il nuovo significato non può essere tradotto, perché il meccanismo metaforico non funziona più nell'altro sistema lessico-semantico e dunque diviene intraducibile. Ciò avviene in quanto i termini di origine metaforica mostrano un significato deviato ed esprimono connotazioni particolari tramite l'uso figurato della parola base.

3.2. Secondo le teorie di Lakoff e Johnson (Lakoff & Johnson, 2007, *pass.*) la metafora rappresenta uno strumento linguistico che funziona nel linguaggio quotidiano come mezzo analogico per esprimere i nostri pensieri, ma costituisce, al tempo stesso, un elemento costitutivo fondamentale della nostra esperienza cognitiva. Il suo utilizzo in un certo campo lessicale mira alla precisione terminologica e alla sistematizzazione concettuale. L'interpretazione e la decodifica della metafora terminologica non richiede uno sforzo intellettuale particolare, poiché, al momento della sua introduzione, l'analogia su cui si basa facilita la comprensione. Quindi, dopo la sua consacrazione mediante una *metafora convenzionale (*es.: *il piede di un mobile* = la parte sulla quale un oggetto poggia, come il corpo sui piedi), l'analogia viene riconosciuta come pertinente sia per gli esperti del settore, ma spesso anche per il parlante comune. Il fatto è possibile proprio perché vengono usati vocaboli del lessico quotidiano e la nuova accezione semantica, cioè il nuovo termine, viene compresa intuitivamente.

3.3. Il processo di risemantizzazione può avere due dimensioni:

a) *Dimensione verticale*, quando una voce della lingua comune passa ad una lingua settoriale. Per esempio, la parola *èlica* (dal lat. *helix -ĭcis*, gr. ἑλίκη e ἕλιξ -ικος «spirale, voluta», dal tema di ἑλίσσομαι «girare, volgersi») può denominare nelle arti visuali, per analogia, sia una s*cala a elice* (scala a chiocciola che gira intorno a un muro o intorno a un sostegno cilindrico), sia ciascuna delle volute minori del capitello corinzio (Vocabolario Treccani online, s.v.).

b) *Dimensione orizzontale,* quando un termine appartenente a una certa lingua speciale passa ad un'altra: *diagonale*, per esempio, è un vocabolo usato in geometria, che viene prestato nel campo del disegno e dell'architettura.

3.4. La metafora rappresenta per i parlanti un'efficace modalità di comunicazione, avendo come effetto l'organizzazione sistematica della nostra quotidianità. Il pensiero e il linguaggio dell'uomo sono condizionati dalla sua percezione del mondo: il processo percettivo opera la sintesi delle informazioni sensoriali in forme fornite di significato, cui appartengono anche le metafore. Nella terminologia delle arti visuali in particolare le metafore riguardano specialmente la *forma*, più precisamente l'aspetto di un oggetto, sufficiente a caratterizzarlo esteriormente.

4. L'associazione tra le immagini percepite e quelle ritenute pertinenti avviene per somiglianza o analogia e, a livello denominativo, si materializza tramite l'estensione semantica. Alcuni di questi termini traslati/figurati hanno perso il loro aspetto linguistico inventivo e sono diventati parte del lessico comune. Di solito, esiste una motivazione esterna del fenomeno. Tenendo conto che in linguistica la metasemia è il mutamento del significato di un vocabolo, si può parlare di una motivazione metasemica, che produce l'offuscamento del significato primario della parola e determina l'apparizione di significati derivati.

5. Nell'evidenziazione dei termini risemantizzati, partiamo dal significato proprio (o letterale) dei vocaboli, specialmente quando sono poco noti, e poi segnaliamo il significato figurato che essi assumono (conforme alla definizione registrata soprattutto nel *Vocabolario Treccani* online e nell'*Enciclopedia italiana Treccani* online). Quest'ultimo rimane legato ugualmente al significato proprio, in base a somiglianze e analogie tra certi tratti costitutivi del semema. Nel settore che abbiamo studiato, le forme traslate più frequenti diventano termini per via di un numero limitato di classi omogenee, come risulta dall'elenco che proponiamo:

A. tramite metafore antropomorfiche*,* vale a dire termini legati a una forma desunta dal corpo umano:

- **Capitèllo** s. m. (latino *capitĕllum*, diminutivo di *capitŭlum*, che a sua volta è diminutivo di *caput, -pĭtis* «capo»). Parte superiore della colonna o del pilastro, su cui poggia l'architrave o l'arco, con funzione decorativa.

- **Capriccio s.m.** (dalla forma antiquata *caporiccio;* probabilmente composto di *capo* e *riccio*[1]) 1. Voglia improvvisa e bizzarra, spesso ostinata anche se di breve durata**;** 2. Nelle arti figurative, composizione, trovata, modo di esecuzione inconsueti, immaginosi; espressione artistica estrosa, ricca di fantasia; invenzione bizzarra: *capricci* *dell'architettura barocca***.** 3. Nell'arredamento, tipo di mantovana drappeggiata in tessuto pesante, spesso ricadente in due bande ai lati della finestra.

- **Collarìno s.m.** (Derivato diminutivale di *collare*[1]; dal latino *collare*, forma neutra di *collaris*, tratto da *collum* 'collo[1]') 1. Piccolo collare; 2. *(per estensione*) In architettura, elemento di raccordo tra capitello e fusto; così chiamato in *analogia con collo***,** come capitello, richiama la testa e fusto il busto; piccola membratura terminale di colonne o pilastri, che separa il fusto dal capitello; 3. nome di membrature di forma analoga e con funzioni non diverse in balaustrate, cornici e simili organismi architettonici.

-**Collo s.m.**1. La regione interposta fra la testa e il tronco. 2. *(per estensione)* Parte inferiore del capitello.

-**Costola s.f.** (latino tardo *costŭla*, diminutivo di *costa*). **1.** Sinonimo di *costa* nel significato anatomico; è forma meno comune nel linguaggio medico ma più diffusa nel linguaggio corrente.2. **(**In architettura) *costola di una volta* denomina la nervatura sporgente dalla superficie d'intradosso, detta più comunemente *costolone*.

- **Costolóne s. m. (**accrescitivo di *costola*) **(**In architettura) Nervatura in pietra o in mattoni, liscia o ornata delle cupole o delle volte, che risalta dalla superficie sulla linea di congiunzione delle vele, con funzione strutturale e decorativa.

- **Facciata** s. f. (derivato di *faccia*) La parte esterna anteriore, frontale, o comunque principale, di un fabbricato, sia come struttura murale, sia nelle sue soluzioni architettoniche.

- **Frontone s.m**. (derivato accrescitivo di *fronte*) Decorazione, solitamente triangolare, posta a coronamento della facciata di un edificio o di porte, finestre.

- **Lingua s.m.** Dicesi della parte rovesciata delle foglie del capitello corinzio o composito

- **Orecchione s.m.** (accrescitivo di *orecchio)* Elemento decorativo a forma di orecchia, sporgente lateralmente ad una membratura riquadrata (porta, portale, finestra).

- **Piede s.m.** L'ultimo segmento dell'arto posteriore; (*per estensione*) la parte più bassa di un oggetto, sulla quale l'oggetto stesso poggia o sembra poggiare (come il corpo sui piedi); base, sostegno.

- **Pedata s. f.** (derivato del latino *pes, pedis* «piede»). – 1. Orma, impronta del piede; 2. (*per estensione)* La superficie orizzontale del gradino delle scale, sufficientemente estesa per consentire l'appoggio del piede di un uomo.

- **Sottogola s.m**. (composto di *sotto-* e *gola*) Gola sotto i dentelli nella cornice classica.

- **Spalla s.f**. 1. Il segmento corporeo di unione tra l'arto superiore e il torace; 2.*(per estensione*) L'elemento la cui funzione statica consiste nel sostenere la struttura dell'opera; ciascuno degli elementi verticali costituiti dallo spessore del muro nella parte in cui sono aperti dei vani e servono d'appoggio all'architrave; o *arco* o *piattabanda.*

- **Spalletta s.f.** (diminutivo di *spalla*) Ciascuno degli elementi verticali tagliati obliquamente al vano; servono a reggere gli infissi*;* anche il parapetto in muratura di ponti e lungo le rive dei fiumi.

- **Testa s.f**. 1. Parte del corpo umano; 2.*(per estensione*) rappresentazione figurata della testa umana o animale, specialmente a scopo artistico: *scolpire una testa in bronzo*.

- **Trespolo s. m**. (dal latino tardo *trespes' -pĕdis*, forma popolare per il latino class*ico tripes, -pĕdis*, compostodi *tres* «tre» e *pes* «piede») Arnese formato di un piano, o altro supporto, sostenuto *da tre (o anche quattro) piedi;* anche *cavalletto, sgabello, treppiedi.*

- **Tronco s.m**.1.Torso, busto umano; 2. (*per estensione*) frammento di statua priva di testa e di arti: *un tronco marmoreo di Afrodite.*

- **Unghia s.f**. 1. Ciascuna delle formazioni epidermiche cheratinizzate poste sulle estremità delle dita dell'uomo o degli animali; 2. *(senso figurato)*, oggetto o parte di oggetti che abbia qualche somiglianza con l'unghia dell'uomo o degli animali: a) la parte estrema di un attrezzo, che termina con taglio obliquo rispetto al resto: *l'unghia dello scalpello*, *della leva*; b) arnese, o parte di arnese, fatti a forma di artiglio o di uncino, usati per afferrare, trascinare; vedi *bisello;* i diminutivi *unghina****,*** *unghiétta****,*** *unghiétto* denominano, in particolare, piccolo attrezzo d'acciaio con un'estremità a unghia per lavorare il marmo e altri materiali; altri alterati diminutivi o accrescitivi usati anche in senso estensivo e figurato, specialmente per indicare arnesi o parti terminali di arnesi a forma di artiglio: *unghièlla****,*** *unghièllo****,*** *unghiòlo,unghióna****,*** *unghióne****,*** *unghiàccia****;*** c) ciascuna delle quattro parti in cui è suddivisa la volta a crociera.

- **Unghiatura s.m.** (derivato di *unghia*).1. Taglio o incisione a forma di unghia; 2. (in architettura) lo stesso che *augnatura* (tecnica: taglio obliquo, atto a facilitare la connessione dei diversi componenti di una struttura).

- **Unghietto s.m**. (derivato di *unghia*).1. La parte estrema di un attrezzo, che termina con taglio obliquo rispetto al resto: *l'unghietto dello scalpello*, *della leva;* 2. una specie di scalpello schiacciato ed acciaiato in punta somigliante allo scalpello subbia ma più lungo e stretto; serve per lavorare nei fondi e nei sottosquadri del marmo.

- **Vena s.f**. 1. Vaso sanguigno in cui scorre il sangue in direzione centripeta; 2. (*per estensione*) Rigatura o segno di colore differente da quello della base, che, nei marmi, prende il nome di *venatura*.

- **Venatura s.f. (**derivato di *vena*[2], *venato)* Complesso di segni, di solito di tinta diversa, che si ramificano con andamento ondulato o serpeggiante su una superficie; segni di colore differente che attraversano in tutta la profondità le lastre nel marmo di fabbrica.

B. tramite metafore di natura zoomorfa (di forma desunta attraversoanalogia con la forma di alcuni animali):

- **Becco di civetta** (*sintagma*) (*per analogia*) Terminazione appuntita, punta; (in architettura) modanatura composta da due curve, una convessa e una concava, che si intersecano a spigolo vivo; membro della modanatura che ha la forma di un quarto di cerchio convesso e ricorda per il suo aspetto *il becco di una civetta.*

- **Capra s.f**. 1. Mammifero. 2. Elemento costruttivo, formato da quattro gambe, costituito da una barra che poggia alle estremità su due sostegni a forma di V rovesciata usato da muratori e imbianchini. 3. Struttura costituita da tre pali uniti a piramide recante al vertice un meccanismo atto a sollevare pesi; vedi *cavalletto.* 4. Arnese di legno che serve a sostenere il quadro o la statua.

- **Capriata s.f.** (derivato di *capra*) Nome di sostegni vari**;** struttura portante di coperture di edifici, di forma triangolare, in legno, ferro o cemento armato; preferita in passato, per la sua semplicità, nelle chiese francescane; si chiamano *incavallature* o *capriate* quelle particolari travature, generalmente reticolari, che servono quali strutture maestre per il sostegno delle coperture e che, poste in piani verticali, si susseguono a distanze variabili.

- **Cavallétto** s. m. (diminutivo di *cavallo***)** 1. Elemento di sostegno costituito da una traversa orizzontale sorretta ad ogni estremità da gambe a forma di V rovesciata; 2. sostegno in legno, a due o tre gambe, usato dai pittori per appoggiare la tavola o la tela da dipingere.

- **Cavalla s.f. (**dal latino *caballum* 'cavallo da lavoro') 1**.** La femmina del cavallo.2**.** In falegnameria, ciascuna delle assi verticali che, in scaffalature o altri mobili, hanno funzione divisoria e di sostegno.

- **Cicogna s.f.** 1. Le cicogne sono grandi trampolieri a becco e gambe assai lunghe.2. *(per estensione)* Ferro che s'inchioda o si mura alla gronda (secondo la struttura di questa) e ha una sporgenza piegata a semicerchio concavo verso l'alto, sulla quale viene adagiato il canale di gronda e fermato con legatura di filo zincato: *cicogna per grondaia*: traversa di legno che sostiene la campana.

- **Coda di rondine s.f.** (*sintagma; per analogia*) Si dice di qualsiasi oggetto che termini con due punte; in particolare di uno speciale incastro, detto *a coda di rondine*, utilizzato in falegnameria per unire in modo saldo due elementi, che vengono lavorati uno con una serie di incavi e l'altro con sporgenze a doppia punta nel punto di giunzione.

- **Corno s.n.** 1. Formazione variamente configurata, di origine ossea, cornea o tegumentale, situata nella zona frontale della testa dei mammiferi ungulati; 2. (*per analogia*) Parte sporgente e appuntita di alcuni oggetti; l'angolo sporgente dell'abaco nel capitello ionico e corinzio.

- **Cornucopia s.f**. (dal latino tardo *cornucopia*, classico *cornu copiae* ‘corno dell'abbondanza’; in origine, uno dei corni della capra Amaltea, nutrice di Giove) Decorazione a forma di corno ripieno di frutta, simbolo di cibo ed abbondanza.

- **Echino s.m.** (dal greco *ekhînos* ‘riccio[2]) Vocabolo di origine greca, che significà propriamente quel ‘riccio spinoso’, rappresentato dalla castagna mezzo aperta; tale ornamento architettonico è convesso, ed intagliato a forma di altrettante uova poste in fila; parte del capitello dorico a profilo curvilineo convesso.

- **Incavallatura s.f.** (<*incavallare* = derivato di *cavallo*, col prefisso *in-*[2] , nel significato di ‘dotare di cavalli’) Struttura portante per coperture, detta anche *capriata*.

- **Orsatura s.f.** (derivato di *orso*) Levigatura di materiali lapidei, ottenuta mediante sfregamento con una pietra dura, detta *orso.*

- **Orso s.m**. 1. Mamifero; 2. *(per estensione)* Un attrezzo manuale di pietra dura, con cui la superficie viene sgrezzata (Le origini del suo nome si perdono tra varie leggende: per il rumore che emette durante l'uso, per la forma del ferro che tiene stretta la pietra molare o forse per la fatica che serve a spingerlo su e giù per ore).

- **Ossatura s.f.** 1. Il complesso delle ossa che costituiscono lo scheletro di un corpo; 2. *(figurato)* Struttura portante di un edificio, di un apparecchio; anche, qualsiasi serie di elementi la cui funzione sia riconducibile a quella di struttura: lo *scheletro di una costruzione*, come ad esempio gli archi diagonali, gli archi doppi, o sporgenti, quelli della volta, e tutte le altre nervature.

- **Toro androcefalo** (*sintagma*) Motivo decorativo frequente soprattutto nell’arte mesopotamica che raffigura un toro con testa umana.

- **Zoccolaturas.f. (**derivato di *zoccolo***)** Motivo architettonico o decorativo realizzato per lo più in funzione protettiva, nella parte inferiore di una parete; collegamento tra la pavimentazione e la parete.

- **Zoccolo s.m.** (dal latino *sŏccŭlus*, diminutivo di *soccus*). 1. Calzatura leggera e bassa; 2 (*figurato)* Basamento o piedistallo di un monumento, di una scultura, di un edificio; anche, piccola striscia in legno, marmo, plastica, posta alla base delle pareti interne delle case, con funzione protettiva o decorativa; *battiscopa***.** 3.(*per analogia)* la decorazione della parte inferiore delle pareti nei vani interni degli edifici.

C. tramite metafore fitomorfe (di forma desunta dal mondo vegetale, avente funzione decorativa o strutturale):

- **Baccelletto s.m.** (derivato di *baccello*<dal latino *bacillum* ‘bastoncino’) 1. Frutto delle leguminose; 2. (in architettura) motivo ornamentale a forma di baccello vegetale stilizzato.

- **Carota s.f.**1. Pianta coltivata per la radice ingrossata (detta anch'essa *carota*), di colore per lo più giallo arancio; 2. (in funzione di aggettivo invariabile) del colore giallo-rossiccio della carota: *giallo carota.*

- Fiorone s.m. (accrescitivo di *fiore*) Motivo ornamentale in forma di fiore stilizzato.

- **Foglia s.f**. 1. Organo fondamentale delle piante cormofite; 2. Motivo ornamentale utilizzato in tutti i campi dell'arte, nonché nella scrittura calligrafica del sec. XII, per le lettere maiuscole.

- **Fogliame s.m.** (derivato di *foglia*, col suffisso *-ame*) 1. Il complesso delle foglie di una pianta; 2. Decorazioni scultoree ispirate alle foglie di piante ed alberi; alcune foglie sono caratteristiche di uno stile, perché cresciute proprio laddove si è sviluppato tale stile; ad esempio: lo stile egizio usava principalmente il papiro e il loto, quello greco e romano la palma e l'acanto, il gotico le foglie della flora nordica, come quercia, faggio, prezzemolo.

- **Fusto s.m.** 1. La parte assile, che porta il fogliame; 2. (*per estensione*) Parte centrale della colonna, compresa tra la base e il capitello; il fusto fascicolato non è liscio, ma formato da un fascio di elementi verticali semicilindrici, a imitazione dei tronchi di una pianta.

- **Lobo s.m.**1.In biologia, e particolarmente in botanica, suddivisione di un organo piano; 2. Nei trafori gotici si dice *lobo* l'elemento architettonico a forma di piccolo arco, lo spazio traforato o semplicemente profondato compreso nella cornice degli archi, che secondo il numero dei lobi si chiamano *trilobi, quadrilobi, polilobi.*

- **Mandorla s.f.** (dal latino tardo *amandŭla*, variante di *amygdăla*, dal greco *amygdálē*) 1. Il frutto del mandorlo; 2. Nell'iconografia medioevale, sorta di aureola schiacciata, formata da rami di palma, che sta a simboleggiare la maestà e la gloria divine; nella pittura e nella scultura a bassorilievo, specialmente gotica, è l'inquadratura formata da due archi che s'intersecano in alto e in basso, in cui viene posta la figura scolpita o dipinta; era collocata sopra porte, finestre, tabernacoli. Celebre rimane quella sopra la *porta,* detta appunto della *Mandorla del Duomo di Firenze*; nell'iconografia medioevale, sorta di aureola schiacciata, formata da rami; più genericamente, modanatura romboidale, quasi in forma di mandorla, in lavori di legatoria e simili.

- **Vitìccio** s. m. (derivato di *vite*[1], forse già presente in latino nella forma **viticeus*) 1**.** Nome con cui si indicano comunemente i *cirri*, organi di attacco della vite e di altre piante rampicanti**.** 2. (*per estensione*) Motivo ornamentale in pitture decorative, elementi architettonici, ispirato alla forma spiroidale del viticcio, già presente nell'arte dell'antico Egitto e micenea, e, inciso, dipinto o stampato, molto diffuso negli ornati del sec. 18°; 3. Il termine è usato a indicare anche le volute del capitello ionico e, più propriamente, quelle del capitello corinzio.

D. tramite metafore desunte dalla forma generalmente geometrica:

- **Bandinella s.f.** 1**.** Asciugamano lungo, che gira intorno a rulli infissi nelle pareti; 2. Drappo con cui si ricopre il leggio nelle chiese; 3. Decorazione a forma di nastro usata nel periodo rinascimentale.
- **Campanulata agg.** (derivato dal latino tardo *campanŭla* 'piccola campana') Di fiore o corolla che ha l'aspetto di campana; dicesi della forma a campana, che prende il capitello di una colonna, sopra il collarino.
- **Conchiglia s.f.** (dal latino *conchylium*, dal greco *konkhýlion*, derivato di *kónkhē* 'concavità') Ornamento nella scultura, imitante la conchiglia marina, molto usato nel Rinascimento aureo e nel barocco.
- **Cratere s.m. (**dal latino *crater, -eris*, dal greco *kratḗr -êros* 'grande vaso') 1**.** Nei vulcani, la cavità, per lo più a forma d'imbuto; 2. Grande vaso a larga imboccatura, di terracotta decorata, argento, bronzo e anche marmo, con o senza anse, nel quale, in Grecia e in Roma antiche, si preparava la miscela di vino e acqua da servire nei banchetti.
- **Crocetta s.f.** (derivato diminutivale di *croce)* 1. Strumento di pena; 2.*(per estensione*) Strumento che consentiva all'artigiano abbozzatore di avvicinarsi maggiormente al modello eseguito dall'artista.
- **Cubetto s.m. (**diminutivo di *cubo*) Di forma più o meno esattamente rispondente al cubo; piccolo blocco di granito, porfido o simili, usato nella pavimentazione stradale in pietra.
- **Cuscino s.m.** (dal latino medievale *coxinum*, derivato di *coxa* 'coscia', originariamente 'cuscino per sedersi') 1. Sacco di stoffa o di pelle variamente imbottito, per appoggiarvi la testa; 2. *(per estensione)* Ultimo elemento lapideo del montante verticale su cui si appoggia il primo cuneo dell'arco; nel capitello ionico il cuscino è la parte su cui poggiano le volute; 3. particolare tipo di bugna con superficie a vista lisciata, arrotondata e smussata.
- ***Cyma*** **s.m.** (dal greco ***:*** *kymàtion* s. m. «onda») Termine che indica una modanatura con andamento concavo e convesso, formata da elementi che si raccordano tra loro formando una sorta di S (come se fosse il movimento delle *onde)*; cfr. *cimazio, cimasa*.
- **Elica** (antiquato **èlice**) s.f. (dal latino *helix -ĭcis*, greco ἑλίκη e ἕλιξ -ικος «spirale, voluta», dal tema di ἑλίσσομαι «girare, volgersi») 1.Voce greca che significa una specie di edera, che ha lo stelo attorcigliato**;** 2. Linea a spire che si avvolge su una superficie cilindrica o conica; 3. Ciascuna delle volute minori del capitello corinzio.
- **Fascia s.f.** 1. Striscia di tela o di altra stoffa compatta e resistente che serve ad avvolgere, stringere e ornare; 2. Motivo ornamentale architettonico a foggia di cornice piana; modanatura piana, rettangolare, poco aggettante rispetto alle superfici circostanti, utilizzata per ornare finestre, portali e archi.

- **Fazzolétto** s. m. (derivato diminutivale di *fazzolo*, *fazzuolo*)1. Quadrato di tela (per lo più di lino o cotone), bianco o colorato, variamente ricamato o rifinito, adoperato per soffiarsi il naso; 2. Nel linguaggio dell'arte tessile, piccolo taglio di tessuto in cui per prova sono accostati vari disegni e colori**.** 3. Nelle costruzioni metalliche, la piastra di collegamento delle aste nei nodi delle travature reticolari.

- **Goccia s.f**. (o *gocciola)*. 1. Piccolissima quantità di liquido, di forma tondeggiante; 2. (*per estensione)* Elemento (singolo o in serie) di motivo ornamentale, a forma di goccia.

- **Lancetta s.f**. (derivato diminutivale di *lancia*[1]) Piccola lama sottile montata su manico di legno, con cui si esegue l'incisione nella calcografia.

- **Listello s.m**. (diminutivo di *lista;* dal tedesco **līsta* «orlo, striscia»)1. Genericamente, sottile striscia di legno (o anche di altro materiale), usata per ornamentazione, per rinforzo, per colmare una commessura, o in un lavoro d'intarsio; nelle costruzioni in legno, sinonimo di *cantinella.*

- **Maglia s.f.** (dal provenzale *malha*, dal latino *macŭla* 'macchia[1])1. Ciascuno degli elementi, in forma di cerchio o di poligono, che costituiscono un intreccio di fili, una rete, un reticolo; 2. (*per estensione) maglia strutturale*: l'insieme di elementi strutturali quali pilastri, archi o travi che compongono una struttura in calcestruzzo o acciaio.

- **Menisco s.m. (**dal greco *mēnískos* 'lunetta', diminutivo di *mḗnē* 'luna') 1.In geometria, solido limitato da due porzioni di superficie sferica, una concava e l'altra convessa; 2.Elemento aggettante a forma di mezzaluna convessa, che ha la funzione di proteggere statue ed elementi decorativi.

- **Ovàto agg**. (dal latino *ovatus*, derivato di *ovum* 'uovo') Che presenta un contorno più o meno paragonabile alla sezione longitudinale di un uovo; da *uovo*, dicesi di apertura a forma ellittica, ricavata specialmente in siepi e pergolati ornamentali.

- **Palmetta s.f.** (derivato diminutivale di *palma*[2]) Motivo decorativo che imita le foglie di palma a forma di ventaglio composto da un numero dispari di lobi o petali che hanno per base un bottone o una voluta; tipico dell'arte classica e neoclassica, ma veniva utilizzato già dalle antiche civiltà orientali e nell'arte cretese-micenea, in quella greca ed in quella etrusca; *palma.*

- **Pannocchia s.f.** (dal latino tardo **panucŭla*, derivato diminutivale di *panus* 'pannocchia di miglio') 1.la spiga composta del granturco; 2. (*per analogia*) Termine che si riferisce a un motivo decorativo a forma di una infiorescenza composta, costituita di un grappolo che ha i peduncoli fiorali a loro volta ramificati.

- **Pennàcchio s.m.** (dal latino *pinnacŭlum* 'pinnacolo[1]) 1.Mazzo di penne usato come ornamento; 2.(*figurato*) Oggetto o formazione che nell'aspetto ricorda in qualche modo un pennacchio; arte di una volta costituita dalla superficie di raccordo fra i piedritti, e la forma rotonda o poligonale della volta.

- **Spicchio s.m**. (dal latino *spicŭlum* ‘punta’, diminutivo di *spica* ‘spiga’) 1. Parte di sfera compresa tra due semipiani che si intersecano lungo uno stesso diametro; 2. Ciascuna delle sezioni della volta a crociera: le *cupole a spicchi*, care al Brunelleschi, nelle quali la calotta risulta suddivisa da una serie di nervature raggianti.

- **Stalattite s.f**. (dal greco *stalaktós*, derivato di *stalázō* ‘gocciolo’, col suffisso -*ite*) 1. Concrezione calcarea a forma di colonna che pende dal soffitto delle grotte carsiche; 2. *(per analogia)* Motivo decorativo caratteristico dell’architettura islamica.

- **Tenia s.f. (**dal latino *taenia*, che è dal greco *tainía* ‘benda, nastro’) 1**.** La benda di cui, in età classica, si cingevano il capo il sacerdote, il vincitore negli agoni, e che indicava protezione delle divinità; 2. (*per analogia*) in archittetura, nell'architrave, modanatura piana sporgente tra due fasce; modanatura liscia con cui l’architrave della trabeazione dell’ordine ionico e corinzio è suddiviso.

E. tramite metafore che proiettano le nostre esperienze quotidiane nel campo terminologico visivo:

- **Arriccio s.m.** (derivato di *arricciare,* cioè assumere forma di *riccio*).1. Arricciato; 2. Il termine indica il secondo dei tre strati fondamentali della tecnica storica per l'affresco o per la finitura di mura grezze; ha probabilmente origine dall'aspetto ruvido che la lavorazione col taglio della cazzuola conferisce alla superficie.

- **Avventurina s.f. (**derivato di *avventura*, attraverso il francese *aventure*, perché l'avventurina artificiale risulta da pagliuzze di rame gettate a caso, cioè ‘alla ventura’) Minerale appartenente alla famiglia dei quarzi, nasce perché sulla superficie presenta disposte in una maniera apparentemente casuale delle scagliette, cioè incrusioni di altre pietre. Quando in un qualsiasi ambito vi era una mancanza di struttura precisa (anche solo in apparenza) gli italiani dicevano *“à l’aventure”* che significava appunto “a caso”; l’*avventurina* fu poi d’ispirazione per dare il nome a un particolare *vetro verde-bruno* nato a Murano, verso la prima metà del ‘600.

- **Cascame s.m.** (derivato di *cascare*; lo stesso che *cadere*, ma più familiare e più espressivo)1. Residui, in particelle più o meno grandi, utilizzabili che provengono dalla lavorazione di un altro prodotto (legno, fibre tessili, carta); 2. *(figurato)* La parte o l'aspetto meno pregiato della produzione di un artista o di un movimento culturale.

- **Cenacolo s.m**. (dal latino *cenacŭlum* ‘stanza da pranzo’)1. Presso gli antichi Romani, luogo in cui si cenava; sala da pranzo; 2. (*per antonomasia*) luogo in cui Gesù consumò con gli Apostoli l'ultima cena; 3. (*per estensione*) dipinto che rappresenta l'ultima cena di Gesù e degli Apostoli, spesso collocato nei refettori dei conventi: *il cenacolo di Leonardo***.**

- **Corridietro s.m.** (composto di *correre* e *dietro*) Motivo architettonico ornamentale che riproduce un nastro ondulato a forma di "S" in sequenza.

- **Frullino s.m. (**derivato di *frullare*)1. Arnese di cucina; 2.(*per estensione*) Denominazione corrente della molatrice o smerigliatrice elettrica portatile usata per lavori di finitura o di taglio (il nome commerciale è *smerigliatrice angolare*).

- **Fuoco s.m**. 1. L'insieme degli effetti calorifico e luminoso della combustione; 2. (*figurato*) Un punto verso il quale le linee parallele sembrano convergere; 3. *(particolarmente) fuoco delle pietre preziose*: la lucentezza e il gioco dei colori degli esemplari sfaccettati, dovuto a fenomeni di riflessione e dispersione della luce.

- **Fusarolo s.m. (**o *fusaiolo***)** (derivato di *fuso*<latino *fūsus*) 1. Arnese di legno usato nella filatura per produrre mediante rotazione la torsione del filo e intorno al quale il filo stesso si avvolge. 2. Decorazione in uso nell' architettura classica con raffigurazione schematica di fusi e dischi.

- **Giornata s.f**. (derivato di *giorno*) 1. Con riferimento all'attività che vi si svolge o al modo in cui viene trascorsa 2. Il lavoro compiuto da un operaio in un giorno e il salario relativo; 2. (*per estensione*) Superficie di un affresco terminata nell'arco di una giornata (l'affresco veniva suddiviso in più porzioni, dette appunto*giornate*, che dovevano essere completate in una giornata, prima che l'intonaco si asciugasse).

- **Graffito s.m.** (derivato di *graffiare*) Tecnica pittorica che consiste nel *graffiare* con una punta uno strato di colore fino a rivelare il colore sottostante; si ottiene così un segno deciso, ma che può essere anche molto delicato a secondo dei materiali usati.

- ***Grattage*** **s.m.** *(francese)* (letteralmente 'grattamento', 'raschiamento') Una tecnica della pittura surrealista che consiste nel "grattare" con vari strumenti la pittura ancora fresca stesa sulla tela o altro materiale (la metonimia, figura retorica si attua su un rapporto tra i due termini di causa>*grattare* ed effetto>*grattage***)**

- **Grottesca s.f.** (derivato di *grotta*) Nome (usato per lo più al plurale) con cui è stato designato un particolare tipo di decorazione parietale, derivante da quelle della *Domus aurea* dell'imperatore Nerone, le cui volte, sepolte sotto le rovine delle terme di Traiano e di Tito, furono esplorate come *grotte* (e di qui il nome) dagli artisti del Rinascimento.

- **Lunetta** (diminutivo di *luna*) (In architettura) apertura a forma di arco o parte di muro delimitata da un arco che si trova sopra una porta o una finestra; mosaico, affresco o bassorilievo che spesso orna l'omonimo elemento architettonico: le *lunette* del castello.

- **Macchiaiolo s**.m. (derivato di *macchia*, nel significato che ha in pittura). Artista appartenente a una scuola pittorica toscana della seconda metà dell'Ottocento, che si avvaleva di una tecnica fondata sull'impressione immediata dell'immagine, resa mediante macchie contrastanti di colore; il termine, usato dapprima in senso spregiativo (sulla *Gazzetta del popolo*, in occasione della prima mostra del 1861), indica il mezzo espressivo preferito per tradurre il valore soggettivo dell'impressione, cioè la macchia di colore, il chiaroscuro, i toni.

- **Madonnaro s.m. (**derivato di *Madonna***)** I madonnari sono artisti di strada, così chiamati dalle immagini, soprattutto sacre e principalmente Madonne, che sono soliti disegnare per strada.

- **Mole s.f.** (dal latino *moles* 'mole, massa pesante') 1. Massa compatta o voluminosa, che spesso suggerisce l'idea di un peso o di una forza eccezionali. 2. Costruzione monumentale di notevole massa e di grande imponenza: *Mole Adriana*, il mausoleo dell'imperatore Adriano in Roma, comunemente noto col nome di *Castel Sant'Angelo*; *Mole Antonelliana*, il caratteristico monumento di Torino costruito dall'architetto A. Antonelli (1798-1888), che coi suoi 167 metri di altezza era, nel sec. XIX, la più alta costruzione in muratura esistente in Europa.

- **Monaco s.m.** 1. Religioso che, isolato o nell'ambito di una comunità, si dedica alla pratica della devozione. 2. In architettura, l'elemento centrale verticale e solitario nel mezzo della capriata.

- **Oleografia s.f.** (composto di *oleo*- e *–grafia*)1**.** Procedimento di stampa di tipo cromolitografico, diffuso nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, impiegato per ottenere la riproduzione di un dipinto a olio che risultasse simile all'originale grazie all'uso di una carta sulla quale era preventivamente impressa un'impronta che simulava la trama della tela. 2.a**.** La riproduzione stessa ottenuta con tale procedimento; b. In senso *figurato e spregiativo*, dipinto a olio (e, *per estensione*, anche ritratto, scultura, o descrizione letteraria, scena teatrale o cinematografica) privo di originalità, manierato, convenzionale, di scarso valore artistico.

- **Ombreggiare vb.** (derivato di *ombra*) 1. Coprire d'ombra, rendere ombroso. 2. Nella tecnica del disegno, dell'incisione, della pittura, dare rilievo alle immagini con le ombre e il chiaroscuro.3. Colorare in maniera leggera o sfumata con toni scuri.

- **Ombreggiatura s.f**. (derivato di *ombreggiare*) L'operazione e il modo di ombreggiare, di rappresentare cioè il rilievo nel disegno, nell'incisione, nella pittura, mediante ombre o toni scuri ottenuti col tratteggio o con la tinta; in disegno e in pittura, distribuzione delle ombre e dei toni scuri mediante il chiaroscuro o il tratteggio, allo scopo di suggerire il rilievo e la profondità.

- **Onda s.f.**1.Oscillazione di una massa d'acqua che si alza e si abbassa al di sopra e al di sotto del livello di quiete per azione di agenti esterni; 2.(*per estensione*) un motivo decorativo ondulato, genericamente a forma di «S», simile al rincorrersi delle onde del mare con la cresta che si avvolge; in sintagma *onda corrente* o *can corrente* o *fregio undato (*o *corridietro*) o *fregio vitruviano.*

- **Orditura s.f.** (derivato di *ordire)* 1. Nella tecnologia tessile, operazione consistente nel disporre l'uno vicino all'altro, svolgendoli dai rispettivi rocchetti, tutti i fili necessari a costituire l'ordito di un tessuto, 2. L'insieme degli elementi che costituiscono la *struttura* portante di un tetto.

- **Picchetta** s.f. (derivato regressivo di *picchettare*, cioè bloccare con un picchetto, unpaletto appuntito, di legno o di metallo, che si pianta nel terreno per segnare il tracciato di edifici) Un martello molto simile a quello dei muratori, molto più robusto e resistente, terminante con una punta aguzza e ricurva fatta di acciaio, con un manico di legno di quercia.

- **Picchiatura s.f**. (derivato di *picchiare*) Lavorazione delle pietre con bocciarda per renderle scabre.

- **Picchierello s.m.** (derivato diminutivale di *picchiare*) Martellino d'acciaio a due punte, usato dagli scultori per lavorare il porfido.

- **Pietà s.f.** (latino *piĕtas*, derivato di *pius* 'pio[3]') 1. Sentimento di dolorosa e premurosa partecipazione all'infelicità altrui; 2. Nell'iconografia cristiana, l'immagine della Madonna che tiene in grembo Cristo morto.

- **Saetta s**.f. (dal latino *sa(g)itta*) 1. Freccia; 2. Armada getto; 3. *Arnese di ferro a punta*, usato per lavori di intaglio e di scultura; utensile da trapano a punta piramidale usato per operazioni di alesatura.

- **Sassofono s.m.** (dal francese *saxophone*, composto del cognome del suo inventore A. *Sax* e di *-phone* '-fono') 1. Strumento musicale a fiato in ottone, a forma di pipa ; 2. Nella fase di lucidatura di una scultura viene utilizzata una spazzola a stracci applicata all'estremità di una molatrice chiamata per l'appunto *sassofono*.

- **Scalpellino s.m. (**derivato di *scalpello*) 1**.** Chi lavora, intaglia, squadra pietre o marmi a colpi di scalpello; 2**. (***spregiativo*) scultore di poco o nessun valore.

- **Serpentino agg.** 1**.** Relativo o proprio dei serpenti; 2**.**Tipo di marmo di colore verde intenso (da cui il nome, in *analogia* alla pelle di taluni serpenti), particolarmente adatto come materiale da costruzione e da rivestimento.

- **Statuario s.m.** (dal latino *statuarius*, derivato di *statua* «statua»)1. Relativo alla fattura di statue: arte statuaria (o *la statuarias.f.*). 2. Marmo adatto alla scultura delle statue: *marmo statuario* (denominazione di una varietà di marmo di Carrara bianchissimo, traslucido, a grana fine, facilmente e perfettamente scolpibile); 3. Scultore, autore di statue; 4. *(per estensione*) Che riflette i caratteri solenni e maestosi di una statua; 'bellezza'.

- **Tìmpano s. m**. (dal latino *tympănum*) 1. Strumento a percussione costituito da un bacino emisferico di metallo chiuso da una membrana tesa da un cerchio mobile e alcune viti; 2.In architettura, la parete triangolare compresa tra le cornici inclinate e quella orizzontale del frontone dei templi dell'antichità classica, spesso decorata con sculture o con basso o alto rilievo; in epoca classica è la superficie, in genere decorata con bassorilievi, racchiusa fra la cornice e i due rampanti del frontone; nel periodo romanico e gotico il timpano era la superficie in forma di ogiva o di semicerchio compresa fra l'archivolto e l'architrave dei portali. Probabilmente, fin dall'antichità, il termine è stato usato in architettura *per analogia* con lo strumento musicale, riferendosi al diaframma murario – liscio, scolpito o dipinto – che, come una membrana, chiude lo spazio altrimenti vuoto delimitato dalla cornice del frontone.

- **Tòro**[2]**s. m**. (dal latino *torus*, propriamente «cordone»). Modanatura convessa di profilo più o meno esattamente semicircolare, che si indica anche con altri nomi, quali *astragalo* nell'architettura classica, *cordone* quando è isolata e di grosso spessore, e *bastone*, o *tondino*, quando è sottile e unita ad altre modanature.

- **Tremolo s.m., agg.** (variante di *tremulo*) (dal latino *tremŭlus*, derivato di *tremĕre* «tremare»).1**.** agg. Che tremola, tremolante **(**nell'esecuzione musicale) 2. *(per estensione)* Tipo di decorazione incisa con un tratto a zig zag.

- **Ungino s.m**. (derivato da *ungere*) Per trasportare il marmo dalle cavi con la lizza, accanto al capolizza, lavorava l'ungino che spalmava/ungeva di sapone i parati per ridurre lo sfregamento. (* PARATI =Nelle cave di marmo, ciascuna delle travi di legno su cui si fanno scorrere verso valle i massi caricati sulle lizze)

- **Veduta s.**f. (dal verbo *vedere,* participio passato) (*per estensione)* Disegno, dipinto, stampa, fotografia che rappresenta un paesaggio, un monumento (più propriamente, in pittura, rappresentazione di paesaggio in cui prevale l'elemento architettonico sul naturale o in genere si riproduce topograficamente la realtà).

- **Violino s.m. 1.** Strumento a corde e ad arco costituito da un corpo di legno su cui sono tese quattro corde;2. (*per analogia*) Un tipo di trapano utilizzato in passato.

6. Per concludere, riteniamo che la metafora terminologica nell'ambito delle arti visuali sia ben rappresentata, dato che queste si suddividono in numerosi settori: pittura, scultura, ceramica, architettura, design. Possiamo affermare che abbiamo a che fare con modelli analogici che riproducono e concettualizzano le relazioni e le strutture del mondo circonstante e funzionano in base al principio di economia che si manifesta anche a livello linguistico. Grazie alla risemantizzazione si ottiene, come diceva André Martinet (1960), un miglior risultato funzionale nel linguaggio, con il minore sforzo possibile.

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Le français est-il toujours attractif pour les étudiants ? / Is French still attractive to students?

Sergiu-Eugen Zagan

This paper is a continuation of the previous article entitled *Some Considerations on the Decline of the French Language in the Romanian Education*. In that article, we theoretically showed that Romanian students choose German more than French, that most of the French multinational companies established in Romania do not require knowledge of French from their employees and that the political, economic and educational factors play a decisive role in the decline of the French language in the Romanian education. In this paper, we want to see if the three points of the conclusion of the previous article are successfully verified through a questionnaire addressed to 243 students. The economic situation, the lack of involvement of France in the award of scholarships or the implementation of a few programs such as *Work and Travel*, plus the fact that French is considered a difficult language to learn are the main reasons why students choose to study a modern language other than French. Between French and German, students choose German, mostly because German companies in Romania require knowledge of German when hiring, while French companies in Romania ask candidates to know English. Beyond the influence of the economic environment, due to which the number of students who choose French cannot increase, there is an important conclusion: the teaching style, the updated textbooks, the listening exercises, focusing on conversation rather than grammar, all these aspects can make the number of students who choose French not decrease.

French; decline; economic; attractive; survey; teaching; education; students.

Le titre de notre étude, *Le français est-il toujours attractif pour les étudiants ?* a reçu la forme finale après de nombreuses questions que nous nous sommes posées pour identifier les causes pour lesquelles la plupart des étudiants de la Faculté des Sciences Économiques et de la Gestion des Affaires ne désirent pas étudier la langue française.

Il y a deux ans, nous avons entrepris une démarche de recherche sur le déclin de l'étude de la langue française dans l'enseignement roumain. Cette présentation fait suite à l'article écrit alors et intitulé *Quelques considérations sur le déclin de la langue française dans l'enseignement roumain*.

Mais, nous avons aussi l'intention de continuer cette étude réalisée avec l'appui des étudiants et des anciens étudiants de la Faculté des Sciences Économiques et de la Gestion des Affaires et nous volons rédiger un questionnaire adressé aux étudiants des autres facultés économiques du pays et un questionnaire adressé aux étudiants de quelques facultés économiques de l'étranger – dans le futur.

Parmi les conclusions auxquelles nous sommes parvenus dans l'article précédent, nous pouvons énumérer :

a. les sites officiels nous informent que la langue française a encore un statut privilégié tandis qu'en réalité, les étudiants roumains choisissent plutôt l'allemand que le français. Comme exemple, nous avons vu la situation des étudiants de la Faculté des Sciences Économiques et de la Gestion des Affaires, où ils choisissent de suivre les études plus en allemand qu'en français ou, s'ils sont à la filière roumaine, la langue allemande comme langue étrangère davantage que la langue française.

b. les sites des sociétés multinationales françaises, dans leurs offres d'emploi, ne demandent pas de connaître la langue française, tandis que les sites des sociétés multinationales allemandes prétendent la connaissance de l'allemand pour le poste à poursuivre.

c. les facteurs politiques, économiques et éducationnels ont un rôle décisif dans ce déclin de la langue française dans l'enseignement de Roumanie.

Le premier article étant théorique, nous avons voulu voir si les prémisses ou les conclusions ci-dessus (a, b et c) sont vérifiées, dans un questionnaire intitulé *Le français est-il toujours attractif pour les étudiants ?*

C'est pourquoi, nous avons élaboré un questionnaire, nous l'avons publié en ligne sur *google forms* et nous avons obtenu un total de 354 réponses valides. Afin d'avoir des résultats concluants, nous avons créé quatre questionnaires, à savoir :

1. un questionnaire pour ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté aussi ;
2. un questionnaire pour ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté ;
3. un questionnaire pour ceux qui n'ont étudié le français ni au lycée, ni à la faculté ;
4. un questionnaire pour ceux qui sont des anciens étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée et à la faculté.

Les deux premières choses assez choquantes sont qu'une moitié de ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et à la faculté ne situe pas le français sur la première place, tandis que les anciens étudiants le situent sur la quatrième place.

Question: Sur quelle place est la langue française en tête de vos préférences? Vous pouvez choisir entre l'anglais, le français, l'allemand, l'italien et l'espagnol.	La majorité	Suivie par
1 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté.	**2 (50%)**	1 (32%)
2 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté.	3 (29.9%)	4 (26%)
3 Ceux qui n'ont étudié le français ni au lycée, ni à la faculté.	5 (32.3%)	3 (22.6%)
4 Ceux qui sont des anciens étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée et à la faculté	**4 (29.4%)**	3 (23.5%)

L'idée qui s'impose lors de la question suivante est que le français a perdu la deuxième place, en faveur de l'allemand peut-être.

Question: Selon vous, sur quelle place se trouve la langue française dans les entreprises qui embauchent et qui demandent la connaissance d'une langue étrangère ?	**La majorité**	**Suivie par**
1 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté.	**3** (47.1%)	2 (44.1%)
2 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté.	**3** (41.6%)	2 (24.7%)
3 Ceux qui n'ont étudié le français ni au lycée, ni à la faculté.	**3** (48.4%)	2 (25.8%)
4 Ceux qui sont des anciens étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée et à la faculté	**3** (38.2%)	2 (32.4%)

Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté considèrent que le français n'est pas choisi parce qu'il est difficile et l'accent est trop mis sur la grammaire, tandis que ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté considèrent que les entreprises de France venues en Roumanie n'exigent pas à l'embauche la connaissance du français. La même opinion est soutenue par ceux qui sont des anciens étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée. Ceux qui n'ont étudié le français ni au lycée, ni à la faculté considèrent, outre la difficulté de la langue, que le français et l'allemand sont plus difficiles à apprendre que les autres langues modernes, mais l'allemand est plus recherché dans le milieu d'affaires de Roumanie.

Question: Selon vous, quelles sont les raisons pour lesquelles les étudiants ne veulent pas étudier le français?		
	La majorité	Suivie par
1 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté.	Le français est difficile et l'accent est trop mis sur la grammaire.	Les entreprises de France venues en Roumanie n'exigent pas la connaissance du français à l'embauche.
2 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté.	Les entreprises de France venues en Roumanie n'exigent pas la connaissance du français à l'embauche.	Le français est difficile et l'accent est trop mis sur la grammaire.
3 Ceux qui n'ont étudié le français ni au lycée, ni à la faculté.	Le français est difficile et l'accent est trop mis sur la grammaire.	Le français et l'allemand sont plus difficiles à apprendre que les autres langues modernes, mais l'allemand est plus recherché
4 Ceux qui sont des anciens étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée et à la faculté	Les entreprises de France venues en Roumanie n'exigent pas la connaissance du français à l'embauche.	Le français est difficile et l'accent est trop mis sur la grammaire.

À la question : *Croyez-vous qu'une association puisse être faite entre le fait que les entreprises françaises implantées en Roumanie n'exigent pas la connaissance du français et le fait que le français n'est plus souhaité comme langue d'étude ?*, la majorité a répondu affirmativement. Mais, on doit savoir que c'est presque impossible qu'une société française demande aux interviewés la connaissance de la langue française à l'embauche mais de la langue anglaise, quand ils font la même chose dans leur pays. Dans *Le Figaro*, selon une étude réalisée par l'institut OpinionWay pour Monster, « un salarié français sur deux se sent freiné professionnellement par une maîtrise insuffisante de l'anglais. Dans le monde de l'entreprise, mondialisation oblige, le recours à l'anglais est quasi inévitable. Ainsi, seuls 23 % des salariés affirment n'en avoir jamais besoin ». (Ceilles, 2014)

Le *coach* de carrière allemand Chris Pyak a déclaré : « J'interviewe régulièrement des entreprises qui embauchent des professionnels pour tous ces postes – et elles font un excellent travail en anglais. Le défi : Seulement 1 % des entreprises allemandes sont tellement avant-gardistes qu'elles embauchent en anglais. La plupart des services RH insistent encore sur la maîtrise de la langue allemande. »

De plus, selon *The Economist*, il y a des sociétés qui offrent des bonus pour la connaissance des langues étrangères. Ainsi, pour la connaissance de la langue française, on offre 2,5 % bonus au salaire annuel, tandis que pour la connaissance de la langue allemande, on offre 4 % (Pyak, 2019)

Question : Croyez-vous qu'une association puisse être faite entre le fait que les entreprises roumaines n'exigent pas la connaissance du français et le fait que le français n'est plus souhaité comme langue d'étude ?		
	OUI	NON
1 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté.	91.2%	8.8%
2 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté.	75.3%	24.7%
3 Ceux qui n'ont étudié le français ni au lycée, ni à la faculté.	77.4%	22.6%
4 Ceux qui sont des anciens étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée et à la faculté	73.5%	26.5%

Ainsi, nous pouvons voir que la plupart des étudiants considèrent l'implication de l'État français (en proposant des bourses, en organisant des concours dont les lauréats visitent la France gratuitement, en créant un programme similaire à celui américain, *Work and Travel*, etc.) essentiel pour que le français redevienne parmi les premières options des étudiants.

Une autre remarque est que les anciens étudiants ont senti, lors de leur embauche, une frustration à cause du fait que les entreprises n'exigent pas la connaissance de la langue française.

Jusqu'à maintenant, nous avons toujours pensé que les manuels ne sont pas adéquats en comparaison avec ceux anglais, la partie audio manque ou elle contient peu d'exercices, mais voilà que les étudiants placent le style d'enseignement avant les manuels.

Question: Selon vous, qu'est-ce qui devrait changer pour que le français soit parmi les premières options d'étude?					
	situation économique (les entreprises exigent la connaissance de la langue française lors de l'embauche).	livres des étudiants	style d'enseignement	exigence des enseignants.	implication de l'Etat français en proposant des bourses, en organisant des concours dont les lauréats visitent la France gratuitement, en créant un programme similaire à celui américain, Work and Travel, etc.
1 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté.	2	4	3	5	1
2 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté.	2	4	3	5	1
3 Ceux qui n'ont étudié le français ni au lycée, ni à la faculté.					
4 Ceux qui sont des anciens étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée et à la faculté	1	4	3	5	2

À la question : *Sur quoi doit l'enseignant mettre l'accent pour que le français soit plus souhaitable comme langue d'étude pour les élèves/étudiants ?*, les réponses ont été : plusieurs exercices d'écoute, leçons interactives, sans trop de grammaire, communication sur des sujets actuels, jeux, concours, interactions avec des étudiants francophones.

Même si la situation économique et l'implication de l'État jouent un rôle important dans le choix d'une langue vivante, on constate que près de la moitié de ceux qui étudient le français à la faculté voient un lien entre le style d'enseignement et leur choix. Pourquoi est le pourcentage si bas, 21,2 %, en comparaison avec les étudiants actuels, pour les anciens étudiants ? Parce que les anciens étudiants ont perdu la relation avec leurs professeurs et ne voient pas une liaison directe entre les deux, mais ils voient comment le fait qu'ils ont étudié la langue française n'a aucune importance dans la vie courante.

Question: Croyez-vous qu'une association puisse être faite entre le style d'enseignement du professeur de français et le fait que le français n'est plus souhaité comme langue d'étude?		
	OUI	NON
1 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté.	48.5%	51.5%
2 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté.	54.5%	45.5%
3 Ceux qui n'ont étudié le français ni au lycée, ni à la faculté.	40%	60%
4 Ceux qui sont des anciens étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée et à la faculté	21.2%	78.8%

À la question : *Si vous étiez maintenant à l'école générale (vous pouvez choisir deux langues modernes, entre l'anglais, le français, l'allemand, l'italien et l'espagnol), choisiriez-vous également le français ?*, ce que l'on remarque ici, ce sont deux choses : une moitié des étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté ne choisira plus le français. Cela veut dire que ceux qui ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté l'ont fait pour deux raisons principales : la première – ils aiment l'anglais, peu importe le français, et la deuxième – ils aiment l'anglais et ils n'aiment pas le français.

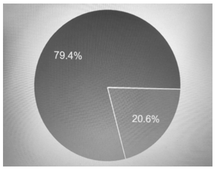
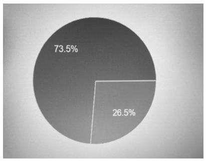
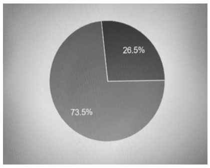
Question : Si vous étiez maintenant à l'école générale (vous pouvez choisir 2 langues modernes, entre l'anglais, le français, l'allemand, l'italien et l'espagnol), choisiriez-vous également le français ?		
	OUI	NON
1 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté.	87.9%	12.1%
2 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté.	50%	50%
3 Ceux qui n'ont étudié le français ni au lycée, ni à la faculté.	31%	69%
4 Ceux qui sont des anciens étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée et à la faculté	69.7%	30.3%

Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté et sont encore des étudiants, ont de l'espoir, parce qu'une moitié des anciens étudiants qui ont eu le français comme langue d'étude pendant le lycée et la faculté, ont perdu l'espoir que cette langue les aiderait.

Si vous vouliez émigrer, quelle langue vous serait la plus utile ?	Le français	L'allemand
1 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi le français à la faculté.	82.4%.	8.8%
2 Ceux qui ont étudié le français au lycée et ont choisi l'anglais à la faculté.	41.6%	27.3%
3 Ceux qui n'ont étudié le français ni au lycée, ni à la faculté.	19.45%	54.8%
4 Ceux qui sont des anciens étudiants qui ont étudié le français au lycée et à la faculté	44.15%	38.25%

Questions pour les anciens étudiants

Pour les anciens étudiants, on remarque que la majorité n'a eu besoin de la langue française ni dans le milieu professionnel, ni dans un autre milieu. On remarque aussi qu'on leur a demandé lors d'une embauche la connaissance d'une autre langue que le français.

Après la fin de vos études, avez-vous eu besoin de la langue française dans le milieu professionnel ?	OUI  NON
Après la fin de vos études, avez-vous eu besoin de la langue française dans un autre milieu que celui professionnel ?	OUI  NON
Après la fin de vous études, avez-vous été mis dans la situation que des sociétés vous demandent la connaissance d'une autre langue étrangère que la langue française ?	OUI  NON

Conclusions

1. Les trois points de la conclusion de l'article précédent ont été vérifiés avec succès dans ce questionnaire.

2. La situation économique mondiale, le manque d'implication de l'État français dans l'octroi de bourses d'études ou l'implémentation de quelques programmes comme *Work and Travel* et le fait que le français est une langue difficile sont les principales raisons pour lesquelles les étudiants choisissent d'étudier une langue vivante autre que le français.

3. Entre le français et l'allemand, les étudiants choisissent plutôt l'allemand car les entreprises allemandes en Roumanie exigent la connaissance de la langue allemande lors de l'embauche, tandis que les entreprises françaises en Roumanie demandent plutôt que les candidats connaissent l'anglais.

4. On constate une différence de perception de l'importance de la langue française entre ceux qui sont maintenant étudiants et qui ont choisi le français, et les anciens étudiants. En effet, les anciens étudiants ont déjà poursuivi leurs études, sont passés dans le domaine professionnel et ont constaté que le français ne leur était pas utile, tandis que les étudiants actuels ont encore de l'espoir.

5. Au-delà de l'influence de l'environnement économique, en raison duquel le nombre d'étudiants qui choisissent le français ne peut pas augmenter, il y a une conclusion importante : le style d'enseignement, les manuels mis à jour, les exercices d'écoute, la concentration sur la conversation plutôt que sur la grammaire, tous ces aspects peuvent faire que le nombre d'étudiants qui choisissent le français ne diminue pas.

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Critical Discourse Analysis of Language Policy Voices in the Tunisian Higher Education Context

Aicha Rahal

The current linguistic situation in Tunisia is characterized by diversity including three main languages, namely Arabic, French and English. However, there is no clear governmental policy regarding the status of French and English. The present study investigates language policy voices in Tunisian higher education using Norman Fairclough's (2003) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach. It examines a number of language policy documents, namely language policy reports, political speeches and an interview. It concludes that there are three prominent voices, including Arabization, the preservation of the French language and the promotion of the status of English.

Tunisian higher education; Language policy documents; CDA.

1 Introduction

Tunisia has a rich sociolinguistic repertoire. Its linguistic history has been marked by diversity and multiplicity (Daoud, 2011). Nowadays, Tunisia has three main languages, Arabic, French and English. Since 1994, there have been various decisions to change language policies in Tunisia. These language policies include Arabization, the preservation of French and the promotion of English. Some researchers (e.g. Salhi, 1984) argue that language policy in Tunisia is not clear because the status of foreign languages are not explicitly specified or mentioned in the Tunisian constitution and language education laws.

Given this situation, the current study is an attempt to present an analysis and interpretation of language policy documents for the purpose of showing the different voices in Tunisian higher education regarding the status of languages. The study tries to shed light on the position of English in particular. The selected language policy documents include official higher education documents, political speeches and an interview. Methodologically, the study leans on Norman Fairclough's (2003) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework which consists of three stages, namely description, interpretation and explanation. The analysis also relies on Cameron's (2003) concept of 'language ideology'. The selected documents are analyzed through a CDA. The study may contribute to the growing literature in this field of research.

2 Literature Review

2.1 The Sociolinguistic profile in Tunisia

Sociolinguistically, Tunisia is a highly multilingual country. It has a multilingual linguistic scene, including Berber, Punic, Latin, Greek and Arabic (Daoud, 2001). The first language was Lybic which is the language of the Berbers, the indigenous people (Daoud, 2001). This language is also called Amazighe (Bahloul, 2001). During the Carthaginian Empire that reigned from 814 to 146 BCE, the Lybic language was mixed with the Punic, the language of the Phoenicians, and then with Latin in the Roman rules (146 BC-349 CE). Subsequently, the Byzantine Empire took place which brought the Greek language to the linguistic profile of Tunisia (Daoud, 2001). The Arabic language brought to Tunisia with the coming of Islam to North Africa. Arabic then became the official language of Tunisia by the 11th century (Daoud, 2001). Daoud (2001, p. 5) argues that "the linguistic scene was therefore a rather multilingual one made up of Berber, Punic, Latin, Greek and Arabic".

With French colonialism in 1881, the French language gained a position in the linguistic landscape of Tunisia. It became the official language for administration and in public schools. After independence in 1956, French was prevailing in the educational system. Daoud (2001, p. 8) stated "it is currently difficult for academics and journalists to clearly distinguish its status as a second or foreign language". The current sociolinguistic situation is characterized by the existence of three languages, namely Arabic, French and English. Arabic is considered as the official language of Tunisia according to the first article of the Tunisian constitution. French is seen as the second language of Tunisia and English is considered a foreign language.

2.2 Languages in Tunisian Higher Education

In higher education, Arabic is used as the medium of instruction for the Arabic language and literature and Islamic studies. French is the dominant language; it is the language of instruction of all sections. Recently, a national report from the Tunisian Ministry of Higher Education (2019) has presented the languages of instruction, stating that Arabic, French and English are used in higher education. Therefore, English also becomes a medium of instruction in Tunisian higher institutions, namely in Tunis Business School and the Mediterranean School of Business.

2.3 Definition of Language Policy

Language Policy (LP) is defined as “official planning, carried out by those in political authority, and has clear similarities with all other forms of public policy. As such, LP represents the exercise of political power, and like any other policy, may be successful or not in achieving its aims” (Ager, 2001, pp. 5-6). It refers to the decisions that are made to determine the preferred languages that should be used, taught, etc. Along the same line as Ager (2001), in this research, language policies refer to the regulations taken by policy makers towards languages and their status.

2.4 Language Policies in Tunisia

According to Daoud (2001), language policies in Tunisia have been applied to three domains, involving the promotion of the Arabic language and this policy is known as Arabization, the preservation of French as the language of modernization and the promotion of English as the language of technology and academic research. The promotion of English is demonstrated in foreign attempts like British-Tunisia cooperation in higher education.

2.4.1 Arabic

On June 25, 1958, former President Bourguiba stated that Arabic should be used as the language of instruction unless the circumstances urge us to use French (Daoud, 1991). The period from 1970 to 1997 is called the ‘Arabisation Era’, which started in 1970 with the Tunisian minister of Education Mohamed Mzali. Arabization, is a language policy taken by the Tunisian government for the purpose of enhancing the position of the Arabic language.

In 1971, the first year of primary education was fully Arabized, and the second and third year were Arabized in the academic year 1976 and 1977. In 1999, the Prime Minister decided to implement Arabization in the field of administration. One of Ben Ali’s, the president of Tunisia at that time, most important decisions regarding the Arabic language was made in his 1992 educational reform. In this reform, Ben Ali (1992) highlighted the importance of Arabic and asked for using Arabic in teaching scientific subjects. So, the Arabic language was extended from teaching human sciences to teaching mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. In 1997, Arabic was still the language of instruction even if some subjects were taught in the French language, including mathematics, natural sciences, and physics

On 23 July 2002, an educational law was adopted attempting to ensure that the Arabic language was taught well in schools but it also enforced the teaching of at least two foreign languages. After the revolution, Ennahda, a political party in Tunisia, emphasized the need for promoting Arabic and mainly Modern Standard Arabic. In the transitory period, the political discourse of President Marzouki also highlighted the importance of the Arabic language and called for its promotion.

2.4.2 French

After the Independence in 1956, French was introduced as a foreign language in the third year of primary school. In 1981, French became a second language in secondary and higher education where it is still used to teach scientific subjects, such as biology, technology, physics, chemistry and mathematics because of the lack of qualified teachers and the lack of Arabic textbooks (Aouina, 2013). Therefore, French has gained an important role as the second language of teaching. In higher education, it is the dominant medium of instruction.

A recent reform is demonstrated in introducing French in the 2nd year of primary education, in the academic year 2019-2020. This can be considered a strong decision towards showing the real position of French in Tunisia as a francophone country. This decision also reflects the idea that there is a competition between French and English.

2.4.3 English

After the Independence, English was also introduced into Tunisian schools. At that stage, English was taught exclusively as a subject in secondary education. To develop the teaching of English, in 1980, the government launched a project called the Pioneer Secondary School for the purpose of introducing English as the medium of instruction for all subjects. In 1988, the project was abandoned by a political decision due to the strong relationship with France. Teaching English as a Foreign Language went through promising changes in the 1990s. This includes the new locally-produced textbook series introduced in 1993 to achieve the communicative approach. Another crucial change took place when English became compulsory for all students and sections of the secondary and tertiary levels.

The 1984-2000 period was also characterized by education exchanges for students and especially students who studied the English language, British and American language and literature. Many Tunisian students were sent to study in the UK in the 1980s. Within the UK-Tunisia cooperation, two agreements were signed in 1991. The first agreement was between the Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences, Manouba and the Central London Polytechnic and the University of Manchester. This agreement encouraged the exchange of UK students as well as Tunisian students. The second agreement was between the University of Manouba and Birkbeck College, University of London, to integrate Tunisian and British academic staff into one another's departments, respectively.

Developing foreign languages was officially introduced in the Education Act (2002) which emphasizes teaching foreign languages for different purposes. These include improving communication, enriching national culture and promoting interaction with the global culture. Based on this decision, the Ministry of Higher Education and

Scientific Research began to make some changes in the teaching of the English language at university. It introduced English for Specific Purposes (ESP) in all universities to help students broaden their research scope. The 2002 law, which is still in effect today, highlights the promotion of foreign languages but it does not mention any decision about the use of English as a Medium of instruction in higher education.

The promotion of English is also demonstrated by the foundation of the 'Language Village Nabeul' (LVN), a summer school for students studying English. The period from 2000 to the present day is also characterized by the creation of many associations to improve English language teaching, including the Tunisian Association of Teachers of English (TATE), Teachers' Association Tunisia TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), and The Tunisian Association of Young Researchers (TAYR). These associations work together with the British Council in organizing professional events. Nowadays, English becomes the medium of instruction in two Tunisian higher education institutions, namely Tunis Business School and the Mediterranean School of Business.

The education policy background demonstrates that Tunisia does not yet have an explicit language policy. Arabic has a very limited role in the Tunisian higher education system. French is the dominant language of instruction and English is gaining ground and spreading broadly (Daoud, 2011). Moore (2007) claims that language policy, in Tunisia, seems to have greater power at the social level rather than the political one. The present study is an attempt to explore language policy voices in Tunisian higher education through the use of Norman Fairclough's (2003) CDA approach.

3 Methodology

3.1 Data Type

In this study, three data types are analyzed, including language policy documents, political speeches and an extract from an interview. The first three texts are taken from the same reference. They are extracts from an official document of the Tunisian Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, entitled 'Overview of the Higher Education System: Tunisia' which was published in February 2017. This document is written in English. The fourth text includes three speeches: two speeches of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the president of Tunisia before the revolution. The speeches focus on the president's attitudes towards foreign languages. The first speech deals with the benefits of acquiring a second language which is English. The second speech presents the benefits of the French language. The third speech is of the Tunisian president, Moncef Marzougui. His speech took place in 2011. It seems that the main aim of his speech is to promote Arabic. The speeches were conducted in Arabic and they were translated into English (Aouina, 2013 & Daoud, 2001). The last text is an extract taken from an interview conducted with one of the Tunisian ministers of higher education. The interview was published on 9 April 2014 entitled ‘A Conversation with Tunisia’s New Higher-Education Minister: Tawfik Jelassi’. It was conducted in English.

3.2 Data Analysis: Fairclough’s Method of Critical Discourse Analysis

In the present study, Norman Fairclough’s (2003) CDA model is used which includes three stages:

1- Analysis of the text (description).
2- Analysis of discourse practice (interpretation).
3- Analysis of social practice (explanation).

According to Janks (2001), this approach assists the analyst to focus on the important elements that make up the text, the specific linguistic choices, their association, and sequencing their design. The CDA framework is used to examine the selected documents. The textual analysis of the language policy documents involves description with some interpretation. In the analysis, Fairclough‘s (2003) concept of ‘intertextuality’, Cameron’s (2003) expression ‘language ideology’ are also used.

4 Analysis and Interpretation

4.1 Policy Documents

The first text from the Tunisian Ministry of Higher Education (2017) mentions two languages, namely Arabic and French. It is clearly stated that Arabic is the official language in Tunisia:

> Arabic is the official language; Tunisian Arabic is the national, vernacular variety of Arabic used by the public. French also plays a major role in the Tunisian society, despite having no official status. It is widely used in education, in the press and in business. Shop signs, menus and road signs in Tunisia are generally written in both Arabic and French. (p.5)

French is presented as ‘having no official status’ but it is a dominant language. This is shown by the use of verbs of action ‘plays, is used’. It dominates the field of education, business and even the everyday life of Tunisians, including ‘shop signs, menus and road signs’. It appears that French has greater power in the social realm. We can also notice that Arabic and French are associated together in all fields which emphasizes the powerful position of French.

It appears that there is ambivalence. In the first text, policy makers state that French has no official position. Then, in the second text, they say that French is the language of instruction next to Arabic. We can also see that French was put before Arabic. This order can confirm the ambivalence about the visibility of French in Tunisian life. Such wordings reveal that French is gaining a powerful position at the expense of Arabic. The second text issued by the Tunisian Ministry of Higher Education (2017) establishes a hierarchy of languages which implicitly shows the hegemony of the French language. This document seems to focus on language ideology (Cameron, 2003) conveying the 'francophone ideology' which works to preserve the position of its language in its former colonies.

> The languages of instruction are French and Arabic, but the institution may organize some courses in English or another foreign language. In fact, most programmes include an English module as a second foreign language. (p.12)

The use of the modal auxiliary 'may' shows possibility. It does not indicate a strong commitment to the integration of English. English can be seen as a recommendation; no action and no implementation need to be taken. However, English maintains a privileged status and this is clearly shown by the use of the disjunctive phrase "English or another foreign language" which conveys that English is still more valued than other foreign languages. Moreover, the repetition of the word 'English' two times is used to present an implicit argument for the changes in the languages of instruction.

The most prominent voice which is directly or actively present in the third text is a call for promoting foreign languages. The Tunisian Ministry of Higher Education (2017) gives the impression that there is an intention towards multilingualism. The expression "foreign languages" is repeated seven times:

> Following the Tunisian curriculum, foreign languages (French and English) are taught at an early stage of the primary level. Other foreign languages (German, Italian or Spanish) are taught at the secondary school as optional third foreign languages. The Tunisian educational system puts much emphasis on learning foreign languages. Each of the Tunisian universities has at least one institute

> specialized in foreign languages studies. Different national programmes and regional actions, involving HEI specialised in languages, are intended to offer courses for the public. These involve LLL activities and evening courses meant to teach and improve foreign languages for pupils, students, employers, young and old peoples, etc. For instance, Bourguiba School (IBLV: Institut Bourguiba des langues vivantes), is a public institute which belongs to the university of Tunis El Manar and has a network of 24 regional centres ensuring different levels of foreign languages teaching (essentially English). (p.25)

This reflects the new vision of the Tunisian government which encourages the teaching of foreign languages in higher education. It also shows the raising awareness of the Tunisian policy makers towards the importance of teaching foreign languages, English in the first place. From the content analysis, it becomes evident that there is an agreement on the need to promote foreign languages in Tunisia.

The expressions ‘foreign languages’ and ‘other foreign languages’ make the distinction between the status of different languages. This language hierarchy shows that French and English are the official foreign languages in Tunisia. German, Italian and Spanish, on the other hand, are the optional ones. This hierarchy is based on the position of these languages in the educational system. Furthermore, it is clearly stated that the optional language is considered a ‘third’ language which seems obvious that French is the first language and English is regarded as the second language. The question which is worthy being raised here is: why did they denote ‘foreign languages’ for both French and English?

4.2 Political Speeches

The first selected speech of the President of Tunisia before the revolution, Ben Ali, took place in 2008. In his speech, we can find in the first sentence, the use of the verb to be ‘is’ which functions as an identifying process. It makes ‘mastering a second language’ as the solution to social issues, such as employment and communication:

> Mastering a second language or more is, for learners, a valuable gain and an added value in their training and culture, offering them large prospects for employment and vast opportunities for communication with the other. Therefore, to increase

> the employability of the graduates of our education and training system, we call for granting further attention to the teaching of languages and for adopting the necessary measures to develop language teaching and to bring the students' acquisitions in this field up to the current international standards.

According to the president, teaching foreign languages has two aims: the first aim is to help graduates find jobs and the second aim refers to the fact that foreign languages are necessary for intercultural communication. This political speech is a kind of response to 'globalization' which in fact needs English. The text suggests that being able to communicate in a foreign language (English) is an essential skill that represents the means to meet global needs. This speech can also be read as a call for a reform of language policy stakeholders but there is no real implementation. The use of the personal pronoun 'we' and the possessive pronoun 'our' also indicates inclusivity, taking the citizens' agreement granted. It is a policy of including all people in the process of improving the teaching of languages.

However, two months later, in October 2008, President Ben Ali gave another speech and he supported 'the Francophony', stating:

> Boosting co-operation in the education field within the sphere of the Francophony represents, in this respect, a considerable asset for our countries which benefit from the use of the French language, a tool for exchanging and sharing knowledge.

The use of the word 'asset' shows that French is a part of the Tunisian identity. The president considers the French language to be part of the national identity. In his speech, he also presents French as an instrument or a tool 'for exchanging and sharing knowledge', as he stated. Therefore, there is a kind of material process which is associated with French. This clearly shows the hegemony of this language. Furthermore, the use of the noun phrase "our countries" is rather ambiguous. The questions which should be raised here are: Does this expression refer to all francophone countries? Why did he put it in the plural form? The ambiguity of the discourse seems to reflect the idea of 'Francophone identity'. More importantly, this 'collective reference' makes Tunisia seen as part of the francophone world on equal standing bracketing the question of the historical reason for this inclusion otherwise it would not be possible to promote the policy of preserving its language. French is presented to mean an essential part of the Tunisian linguistic identity.

After the Tunisian revolution in 2011, President Marzouki explicitly called for Arabization, which implicitly challenged the historical legacy of French. His political discourse proposed the following points on language policy: (1) Enhancing translation into Arabic; (2) Encouraging digitization of Arabic books; (3) Promoting the use of Arabic in science; (4) Banning the single-foreign-language system that makes the Maghreb Francophone and the Mashreq Anglophone; and (5) Teaching different foreign languages to different groups of students (Daoud, 2001).

The word 'Arabic' is repeated three times which stresses the need for change. The president encourages the promotion of Arabic and calls for 'Arabizing' scientific subjects. The text presents a hierarchy of languages where Arabic was put in the first and foreign languages are put at the end. Moreover, his argumentation is rather ambiguous; he puts the expression 'different foreign languages' in general without stating them. It seems that the implicit message is that Arabic is the only official language in Tunisia which must be the medium of instruction. We can also perceive ambivalence in his speech when he stated 'Banning the single-foreign-language system that makes the Maghreb Francophone and the Mashreq Anglophone'. It appears that he intends to say that Tunisia which is in the Maghreb is Francophone and no has need for English which is considered the language of the Mashreq. It is not clear if the presidents are in support of Arabic or French.

4.3 Interview

In an interview published in Al-Fanar Media on 9 April 2014, the minister of higher education uses deontic modality 'must' in his speech to demonstrate the opinion of the Tunisian government towards the teaching of English and its importance. English is regarded as a way to help graduates have jobs. It is clear, therefore, that the exertion of the top-down authority is often established by the use of obligation. This is presented in the following speech:

> Up to now there has been a disconnect between the universities and the economic eco-system. We need to create links and synergies between the two. One way is to encourage more vocational training. Also, we must foster English-language training, because our graduates have job opportunities abroad—mainly in the Gulf region—but they do not speak good English.

It is important to notice the use of the word 'disconnect' and the impersonal sentences 'there has been a disconnect…' and 'one way is to encourage more vocational training' which seem to reflect the idea that nobody is responsible for this disconnect and the mismatch between 'the universities and the eco-system.' The use of the pronouns 'we' and 'our' also demonstrates that the speaker intends to state that it is a common responsibility to promote English language trainings. In other words, the minister's form of address can be seen as more inclusive and does not limit its coverage only to policy makers, but expands it to cover all Tunisians. This style can be explained on the lines of that the promotion of English is the responsibility of everyone. A close look at the speech of the minister of higher education, the core of the language might be the ideology that Tunisia should maintain. The minister suggests revising the current language policy documents. What is worthy is the fact that the analyzed documents primarily focuses on encouraging the teaching of foreign languages, mainly English. The minister overemphasizes the importance of English by giving it prominence over any other language. It is also worth noting that the last text appears to make a shift in the ideological standpoint of the policy makers in Tunisia which shows a political awareness of the need for English.

5 Discussion

When exploring the analyzed language policy documents, we can see that there are multiple voices. More specifically, it appears that Tunisian language policy is dominated by three prominent voices: the policy of Arabization, the preservation of French and the call for the promotion of English in particular and foreign languages in general. It is worth mentioning that there is no clear official declaration regarding the position of French and English. The assumption that French is the first foreign language and English is the second seems to reflect the order in which these languages are introduced in the educational system.

It is true that the politically motivated awareness and preference towards English started a long time ago but policy makers have different priorities and are still not implementing a new policy that promotes the status of English unequivocally. It seems that policy makers do not maintain this policy due to the strong historical relationship with France. Their standpoint has an ideological orientation towards the preservation of French because Tunisia is described as “a profoundly Frenchified country” (Daoud, 2001).

From the analysis, we can also note the rivalry between Arabic and French, on the one hand, and French and English, on the other hand. This rivalry is demonstrated in the position of these languages in the higher educational system and in terms of identity. The link between French as a foreign language and identity (Cameron and Kulick, 2003) demonstrates there is ‘a war’ between Arabic and French, to use Daoud's (2001) term.

6 Conclusion

The analysis of the language policy documents demonstrates the absence of clear and official declaration of the status of foreign languages in Tunisia. On the basis of the results, Arabic is the native language and French and English are considered foreign languages. Although we perceive a common agreement on the promotion of foreign languages, we also notice the hegemony of the French language. This language ideology is rooted in Tunisia due to the historical relationship with France.

The findings discussed in this study can contribute to the field of language policy in Tunisia. It can pave the way for future studies on analyzing language policy documents in primary and secondary education. It can also emphasize the need for studies on the perception of Tunisians regarding the recent situation of language policies and the possibility of implementing the policy of internationalization in higher education.

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Success and Failure of Hybrid Education in Moroccan Engineering Classes

Ahmed Tounssi

The pandemic has deeply forced educational systems across the world to change face-to-face education practices policies. It has also forced the online education systems practices among Moroccan higher education institutions. With the spread of the COVID-19 all over, the Moroccan education system circumstances did not allow face-to-face education neither did it allow online education as solutions. As a matter of fact, hybrid learning remained the best proposed alternative as suggested in literature. The present paper investigated higher education English learners' attitudes towards hybrid education. After using a qualitative method, the findings suggested that Moroccan higher education learners showed that hybrid education did not support the majority of participants' learning process. However, the hybrid learning was to an extent a successful process to a number of other participants. Unsatisfying quality of the internet remained an issue to be sorted out in the future among other issues. Laziness to attend the online morning classes was also an evidence why hybrid learning is the main challenge. The learners favoured face-to-face classroom-based instruction then blended learning regardless of the advantages of the latter. A great portion of the population favoured face-to-face rather online learning. The learners also got confused using hybrid model. Last, it was evidence that the learners preferred face-to-face model as their best model to use in many cases.

Blended learning; E-learning; Higher Education; Online learning.

Introduction

With the spread of Covid-19 all over the world and what has resulted, educational systems were forced to change (Tounssi, 2021). Since then, e-learning[1] education has become the focus of stakeholders, educators, and ministries of education all over the world. However, many educational institutions and families were not ready to adopt the online teaching method. Those who were ready for the online teaching and were well equipped could carry on their education regularly. On the other hand, many learners could not benefit from their online education due to the lack of equipment. These issues and others have led to the raise of remote education, particularly in higher education context.

[1] e-learning and online education are used interchangeably.

The background and definitions

The important need for learners to carry on their education, regardless of the health crise all over the world, has pushed higher education institutions to adopt online education. Since the beginning of the Covid-19 and adaptation of online learning, learners have experienced it differently. On the other hand, the spread of the virus and its high contagious nature has also pushed for more strict measures to be followed and respected: few examples like social distance, mandatory mask etc. These restrictions would highly change the traditional mode of learning. With the latter variable on hands, learners were offered two modes of learning and eliminated the traditional one. To illustrate, face-to-face mode has had no chance to be adopted. As a matter of facts, *online* and *hybrid* modes were the alternative. With the latter framework, various types of education were immerged. These types of learning modes are different. The present article deals with hybrid learning in higher education.

Concerning the different modes of learning, face-to-face, e-learning, blended learning, and hybrid Education; they are shortly defined in the following lines. To start with, generally, Fact-to-face refers to the very traditional way of learning and teaching. It requires the physical presence of both the instructor and the learners in a classroom environment. Secondly, e-learning has been defined as "electronic learning forms of learning in which the teacher and the student are separated in space or time and connected using online technologies. E-learning includes web-based learning, virtual classrooms, digital collaboration, and delivery of content through the internet (Richards & Schmidt, 2010, p. 191). This mode of learning can combine with face-to-face mode as well. When it does, it becomes blended learning. The latter refers to "a combination of technology-based resources and conventional teacher or book-based learning. Parts of a foreign language course might be provided through a textbook, for example, and the rest delivered online" (Richards & Schmidt, 2010, p. 58). Finally, when both face-to-face and e-learning modes are combined in one context, it leads to hybrid mode. Thus, hybrid education "does not assume either a fundamentally on-campus or fundamentally online model but is designed for easy student transition between the two. Hybrid teaching consists of a mixture of digital and on-campus activities or face-to-face, where students may be able to attend on-campus sessions, digital sessions in the same time zone, or digital sessions in a different time zone. (What is hybrid teaching?, 2021)

Methodology

In this section, we discuss tool, the population, and the data analysis used for the data collection. First, the collected data used an online questionnaire with close-ended questions, adopting Likert Scale with four items to choose from strongly disagree to strongly agree was adopted. Second, about 280 learners participated in this study then a focused group of 35 participants were asked for more in-depth information. The respondents' responses were collected, organized, categorized, and analysed using the

SPSS program. Third, the population is a middle class one, which means that they have the technology required to carry on their higher education comfortably.

Data Presentation and Discussion

To start with, the participants were first asked about their attitude toward the different modes of learning. More than 280 participants responded to the questions; their responses were as follows. Firstly, the majority of the learners attend their online classes regularly with a mean of 3.45 as shown below.

I attend all my online classes regularly

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	9	3.2	4.1	4.1
	Disagree	19	6.7	8.6	12.7
	Agree	56	19.8	25.3	38.0
	Strongly agree	137	48.4	62.0	100.0
	Total	221	78.1	100.0	
Missing	System	62	21.9		
Total		283	100.0		

Secondly, participants were about their online learning experience compared to face-to-face one, the result was negative. The majority disfavoured the online learning experience with a mean of 1.87. Compared to the face-to-face learning experience, the learners favoured the latter mode with a mean of 3.21. Thirdly, the collected data also shows that the hybrid learning has supported the participants in their learning experience by offering them opportunities to receive feedback regularly from their instructors with a mean of 2.55 and allows them to learn at their own pace with a mean of 2.73. The hybrid mode has supported them to feel at ease in their classes as the majority agreed with a mean of 2.56. Among 283 participants, only 172 expressed their attitudes as shown below.

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
I feel at ease with the hybrid learning Model	172	2.56	.950
Valid N (listwise)	172		

Data analysis

Types or factors influencing learners' attitude toward the different modes of learning

In order to know in details the participants' factors influencing their attitudes, a focused group of 35 learners was adopted. After that, the data was collected and organised into four categories: *1) psychological, 2) Technical, 3) organizational and 4) pedagogical,* and *5) not mentioned*. The participants were asked the following question: If you are to choose among these, which one would you prefer? Why?

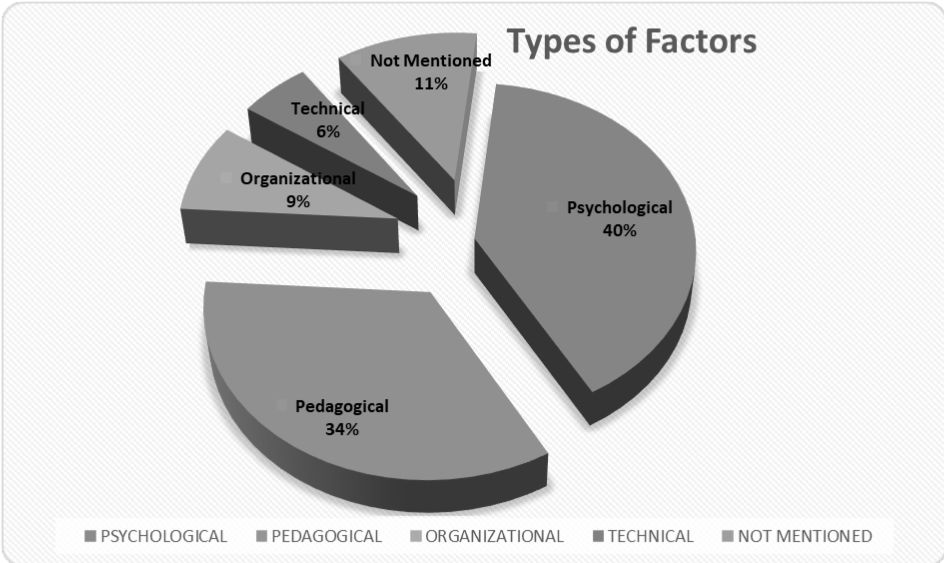

Figure 1: Type of Factors

Generally, the gathered data was organised into three sets: 1) positive attitude, 2) Negative attitude, and 3) other. The result has shown that overall attitude towards the hybrid learning mode is positive among the studied population for the aforementioned reasons. The most important factors impacting the learners' attitude were pedagogical and psychological. Some of the pedagogical factors influencing learners' negative attitude towards the hybrid mode are illustrated in the learners' reasons below. There are other examples of psychological like lack of attention, tiredness, motivation, sleeping issues etc.

Learner A: A lot of people get lazy and they may have internet problems sometimes teachers just don't give students online attention as much as they give it to students in class , because it's hard not just for us but also for them to focus on two classes at the same time , yes it give us time to rest from going to school all the time , the studying became more comfortable specially for students with social problems or anxiety but it make us more lazier , more irresponsable , more detached and it’s confusing and we lose that desire for studying - sorry for my bad english :D

Learner B: I feel like there is less interaction between the teacher and the student during online classes, that's why I prefer face to face. But we still learn from the slides etc, so it's not too bad.

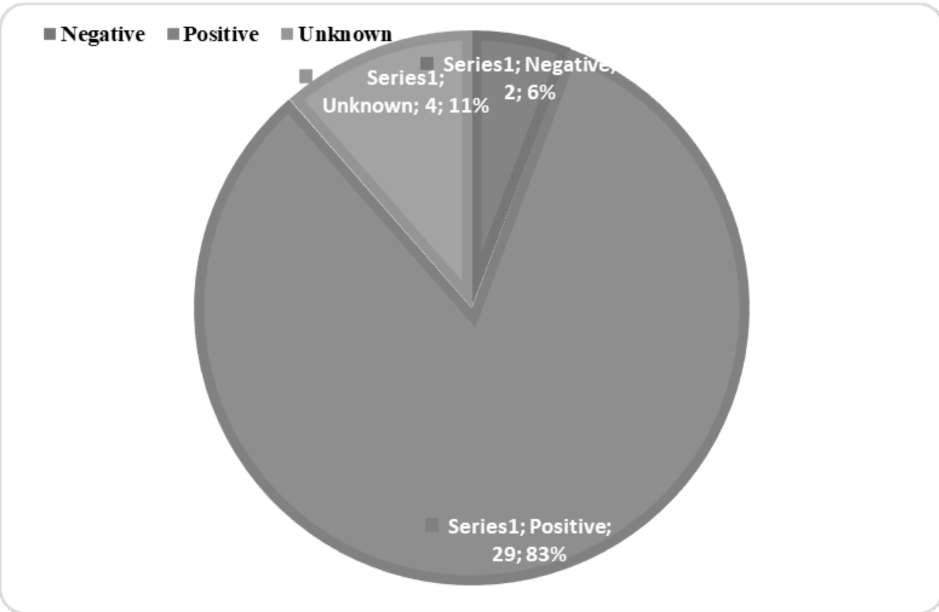

Figure 2: Learners’ attitude toward hybrid learning mode

As to the positive factors supporting the hybrid mode, they are numerous. As discussed earlier in Figure (3), the most common reasons are the pedagogical and the psychological ones like illustrated by the following learners’ responses.

Learner C: u feel more productive

Learner D: I feel more comfortable.

Learner E: it makes you depend on yourself sometimes and so you learn more and faster

Learner F: Because I feel more comfortable in learning by hybrid and i can progress with my own method of learning

The correlation

In this section, we are going to use descriptive statistics to provide a correlational analysis to some variables in the study. The data will be processed using SPSS 26. We compared the learners’ preferred mode of learning and online classes. The data shows that there is a relationship, as it is a linear and positive one as the $r=1$ and $r^2= .058$. The correlation, thus, is a perfect one.

Learners' atmosphere and online engagement

Concerning the learners' atmosphere and their online engagement relationship, it has been shown that there is a perfect linear relationship between the two variables. However, p-value of the significance between the two variables is not significant as p=.0. That is, cause and effect between the variables is not known. As to the relation between the atmosphere and learners' attention, the data shows that <r=.917>. That is, there is a strong positive correlation between the variables and the changes in the atmosphere are strongly correlated with the changes in the learners' attention. To illustrate, when the atmosphere positively changes, the learners' attention also positively changes. Furthermore, there is a statistically significant correlation between the atmosphere and the learners' attention, as Pearson correlation stands at <r=.917> and the significance is higher than .05 *p-value* = .00.

In the same vein, it has been observed that there is a relationship between the atmosphere and learners' feeling asleep when learners are online as Pearson <r=.917> and there is a statistically significant correlation between the two variables as *p* value stands at <.000>.

As to the relationship between the atmosphere, where learners spend their time studying at home and the hybrid mode, it has been observed that there is a strong correlation between the two variables as <r=.876> and the relationship is a positive one.

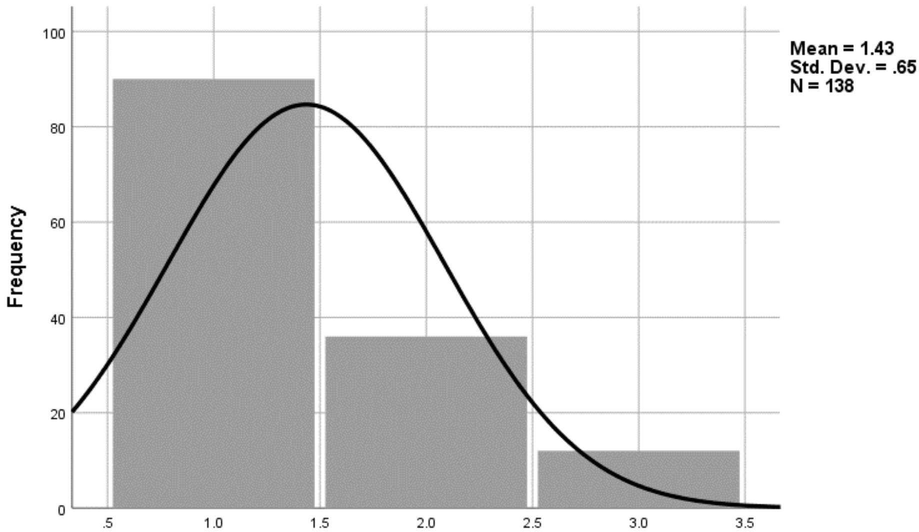

Figure 4: favoured mode of learning for higher education learners

Finally, the participants were asked “if you are to choose among the modes, which one is your favourite?”. The collected data have shown the following information. The choices were presented in the following set: 1 = Face-to-Face, 2 = Hybrid, 3 = Online. The figure (4) represents the higher education learners’ favourite learning mode. Clearly, the population has favoured face-to-face mode of learning with a mean of 1.43 and a standard deviation of .65.in other words, 64.7 preferred the face-to-face mode as expressed below.

If you are to choose among these, which one would you prefer?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	183	64.7	64.7	64.7
	2	69	24.4	24.4	89.0
	3	31	11.0	11.0	100.0
	Total	283	100.0	100.0	

Conclusion

As a conclusion, the launched project has shown the following points. First of all, hybrid learning has to be further researched. This project is a descriptive and not inferential research. Second, technical issues (bandwidth) have to be sorted out so learners get access to the internet more appropriately. Thirdly, the hybrid mode satisfies some individual learning styles. Many learners are introvert; their learning style has to be met as well. Then, face-to-face remains the favourite mode of learning for a great number of the studied population. Furthermore, online learning satisfies some learners’ learning styles too. Finally, the learning environment plays an important role in the hybrid learning process.

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La langue française dans les disciplines scientifiques: facteur de réussite ou d'échec ? / The French language in scientific disciplines: a factor of success or failure?

Ayoub Bouazizi

This article is part of a qualitative study that looks at the specifics of students' use of French in communication skills and entrepreneurship modules in the first year of the course: Technicians specializing in Hotel Management within Specialized Institute of Technology in Hotel and Tourism -Agadir. Our study is based on a qualitative and quantitative comparison of students' language practices using sociolinguistic methods and databases such as participant observational surveys and semi-open questionnaires. Through this research, we hope to demonstrate how the use of the French language in class is influenced by the disciplinary context in which it is used, as well as the representations that students have of general French and French as a specialty language. The article concludes with recommendations for a comprehensive review of the problem of scientific discipline language instruction, bringing together the disciplinary and linguistic perspectives.

Scientific discipline; Representation; Sociodidactics; French; Linguistic competence; Disciplinary competence.

Introduction

Depuis les années soixante, le Maroc s'est engagé dans une panoplie de réformes du secteur éducatif. Ainsi, plusieurs mesures ont été prises dont l'objectif principal était de rendre le système d'enseignement plus efficace et capable d'accompagner le développement scientifique et techniques du pays. Cependant, jusqu'ici, l'ensemble des rapports nationaux et internationaux, notamment ceux de l'UNESCO, signalent l'état inquiétant de l'enseignement public marocain enregistrant des taux d'échec et de décrochage très élevés

En réalité, le bilan est plus alarmant lorsqu'il s'agit des résultats des enquêtes effectuées auprès des étudiants marocains en vue d'évaluer leur apprentissage et leur maitrise des langues vivantes. L'apprentissage des langues demeure artificiel, en particulier le français, qui malgré son statut de première langue étrangère du pays et son omniprésence dans plusieurs champs de la pratique sociale quotidienne des marocains n'est pratiquée par les étudiants que durant les heures de classe, en dépit d'une minorité dont le rapport intime à cette langue est entretenu à l'extérieur de l'enceinte scolaire. Cet état de chose ne peut aucunement être sans conséquence puisque la langue française reste, dans le système éducatif marocain, l'ultime langue d'enseignement au supérieur dans les filières scientifiques, économiques et techniques.

En réponse à cette situation inquiétante, de nombreux chercheurs et sociolinguistes marocains s'accordent à incriminer la politique d'arabisation du système éducatif marocain que le pays a entamé au lendemain de l'indépendance. Cette politique d'arabisation, qui avait pour objectif de rendre à la langue arabe sa place privilégiée dans la société marocaine a crée de sérieuses difficultés aux étudiants marocains scientifiques. En effet, les étudiants marocains reçoivent, depuis l'école primaire jusqu'au baccalauréat, un enseignement en langue arabe et se trouvent dans l'obligation de poursuivre leurs études supérieurs en langue française. Cette langue, enseignée jusqu'au baccalauréat comme une langue étrangère dans le cadre de "l'insertion du pays dans le courant d'ouverture et de communication au plan mondial" (Ministère d'Education Nationale [MEN], 1999, para.6) devient au supérieur la langue d'enseignement de toutes les matières scientifiques et techniques. Par conséquent, c'est par le biais de cette langue que l'étudiant scientifique va devoir concevoir son nouveau monde estudiantin et professionnel. La langue arabe est désormais définitivement rayée de son nouveau cursus en cédant la place à la langue française qui devient alors sa première langue.

Ce changement de la langue d'études crée chez les étudiants une sorte de fracture linguistique, locution employée métaphoriquement pour "désigner une situation éducative caractérisée par la discontinuité dans la langue d'enseignement des matières scientifiques, entre le cycle secondaire et celui supérieur universitaire au Maroc" (Messaoudi, 2016, p.71). Ainsi, les bacheliers ayant suivi leur cursus scolaire en langue arabe ne parviennent pas à poursuivre leur parcours dans les disciplines scientifiques, nonobstant leurs motivations et leur maitrise des bases de la discipline choisie. Il est ainsi question de maitrise de la langue de médiation de ce savoir et non pas de la maitrise du contenu disciplinaire.

> Il n'y a pas de publications relatives à ce sujet, mais il ressort de certaines études effectuées sur le terrain que la majorité des élèves marocains qui accèdent aujourd'hui à l'Université ont une connaissance très approximative de la langue

> française aussi bien à l'oral qu'à l'écrit. Beaucoup d'entre eux éprouvent d'énormes difficultés à poursuivre leurs études supérieures dans cette langue […] Selon les statistiques de l'Enseignement supérieur, environ 50% des étudiants inscrits en première année quittent l'Université au cours du premier cycle sans diplôme et la moyenne du nombre d'années d'études pour obtenir une licence est de 9.3. (Chami, 2004, p.65).

Sur le terrain, de nombreuses interventions ont été initiées par le ministère de tutelle en vue d'apporter des solutions définitives à cette situation complexe (Instructions officielles, recommandations/orientations pédagogiques, cadres de référence, notes ministérielles…), mais également de la part de certains acteurs du champ éducatif, chercheurs et universitaires. L'étude que nous menons à travers cet article rejoint la même lignée de ces études et volontés. Elle s'inscrit dans une perspectives contextualisantes de terrain qui relève de la sociodidactique et convie à associer le fait didactique au fait sociolinguistique. La sociodidactique a été définie comme :

> …une didactique à forte dimension sociale et sociolinguistique, mais aussi et surtout comme une sociolinguistique qui pense les discours de et sur l'école, en quelque sorte une façon de penser les langues et leur vie sous l'angle de leur dynamisme, de leur transition, de leur enseignement entre autre. (Rispail, 2012, p.99).

Le présent article se contentera de présenter les résultats saillants auxquels notre recherche, sur le terrain, auprès des étudiants de la filière : Technicien Spécialisé en Gestion Hôtelière de l'Institut Spécialisé de Technologie Appliquée Hôtelière et Touristique d'Agadir (ISTAHT) a pu aboutir. Il s'attache à découvrir et expliquer la dissimilitude des interactions verbale en Français langue étrangère, dans un cours de discipline scientifique, l'Entreprenariat comme cas de figure, et dans un cours des Techniques de Communication. Nous essayons de comprendre par la suite les particularités de l'usage d'une même langue reliée à deux situations d'enseignement différentes. Les questions auxquelles nous souhaitons répondre sont les suivantes:

▪ Quels regards, interactions et représentations se font les étudiants du Français en usage dans les deux cours?

▪ S'agit-il toujours des mêmes rapports entretenus avec le Français, dans le Module «Techniques de Communication » et dans le module de « l'Entreprenariat » ?

1. Contexte

Le paysage linguistique marocain est un espace multilingue où plusieurs langues et variations cohabitent et interagissent quotidiennement. De nombreux chercheurs Messaoudi 2002, 2003, 2010, 2013,2014), Boukous (1995, 1996, 1999,2012), Youssi (1989, 1992,2013) et Lévy (1996,2013), ont travaillé sur la question et nous nous appuyons sur leurs travaux dans le dressement de cet aperçu de la situation linguistique au Maroc qui nous parait primordial à la compréhension du contexte de notre recherche.

Au Maroc, nous pouvons distinguer deux grandes catégories de langues : d'une part les langues officielles comprenant l'arabe et l'amazighe et d'autre part les langues étrangères, à savoir le français et l'anglais, auxquelles s'ajoutent l'espagnol, l'italien et l'allemand. En ce qui concerne les langues ayant un statut de jure, depuis l'indépendance en 1956, l'arabe était la seule langue officielle. Actuellement, il n'est plus la seule langue bénéficiant d'un statut de droit au Maroc, vu l'institutionnalisation de l'amazighe en tant que langue officielle et en tant que patrimoine national commun du pays avec l'adoption de la constitution, approuvée par référendum en juillet 2011.

Pour ce qui est des langues étrangères, notamment le français et l'espagnol, la présence de chacune d'entre elles sur l'échiquier linguistique marocain est liée à une phase historique du Maroc. Par ailleurs, la langue française, qui constitue le pivot de cette étude, maintient sa présence après plus de cinq décennies d'indépendance politique, en s'adaptant à l'environnement sociolinguistique et culturel actuel, à l'oral comme l'écrit, dans des situation formelles et non formelles. Par exemple, elle est utilisée pour indiquer des noms de cafés, d'enseignes, de magasins, etc., parfois avec leurs équivalents en langue arabe. Dans le domaine professionnel, sa présence est beaucoup plus visible, particulièrement, dans les secteurs de l'économie, de la littérature (roman, poésie, médias, etc..) et de l'enseignement supérieur (surtout scientifique et technique).

1.1. La langue d'enseignement, un écueil et un défi

La réflexion sur les langues d'enseignement, et plus précisément sur le français en tant que langue d'enseignement des disciplines scientifiques continue de susciter tant de débats où se mêlent l'idéologiques, le religieux, le traditionnel et le didactique. Cette polémique, reprend en écho des affrontements idéologiques qui se réfugient d'emblée dans la problématique globale de l'identité, véritable boite de Pandore. Elle est relayée logiquement par les médias d'obédiences différents au même moment qu'elle est ignorée par les spécialistes, elle se nourrit de passions, de préjugés et de frustrations d'origine et de finalités variées et souvent opposées. Déclenchée en 1957 suite à la proclamation par la commission royale des principes directeurs du système éducatif, récupérée lors de l'arabisation des matières scientifiques au début des années 80 du XXe siècle, reprise lors de la mise en place éphémère de l'expérience des classes option langue française (OLF) durant la rentrée scolaire 1997-1998, la polémique prétend faire appel à des références légitimes ou légitimés (religieuses, constitutionnelles, socioculturelles, juridiques, citoyennes,…) et génère encore un fois des prises de position principalement idéologiques, vêtues de considérations scientifiques vagues ou indéterminées, qui, tour à tour, perturbent davantage la cohabitation des langues en présence dans le paysage éducatif marocain et n'apportent point d'éclairages nécessaires sur les plans linguistiques, didactique ou scientifique.

Les différents textes produits parallèlement aux réformes successives consacrées à l'enseignement des langues et aux langues d'enseignement n'ont pas réussi à dépassionner la polémique et à attribuer un statut reconnu et consensuel aux différentes langues maternelles et étrangères présentes dans le paysage éducatif marocain. La polémique continue ainsi de diviser, loin des institutions spécialisées et des traditions scientifiques, les deux camps qui revendiquent chacun la légitimité et la représentativité socioculturelles et politico-juridiques. Le premier laisse deviner, à travers un discours plutôt fondamentaliste qui prône pourtant une ouverture voulue maitrisée sur les autres cultures et les autres savoirs, que ses principes fondés sur l'essence et l'authenticité de la société marocaine (religion, panarabisme, traditions, position vis-à-vis de la colonisation, etc.), l'autre semble adopter, à travers un discours plutôt moderniste qui affiche quand même du respect critique envers les fondements de la société, des références empruntées aux universalismes économiques, (ouverture sur l'autre, ouverture sur le savoir produit dans ces langues, etc.). Chaque camp semble s'appuyer, non sur une évaluation objective de la pertinence et de l'efficacité de telle ou telle langue dans l'enseignement/ apprentissage des disciplines scientifiques, mais sur des raccourcis idéologiques, nourris de références socio-historiques, qui jaugent les langues maternelles, l'arabe en particulier, à travers le prisme des langues étrangères ou vice versa, au sein d'un marché linguistiques jugé inégal et risqué. Certains continuent à croire que le l'arabisation du système éducatif marocain réalisée comme un accessoire marquant l'indépendance du pays et réappropriant à cette langue son rôle et son statut national en tant que miroir de l'identité culturelle arabo-musulmane a conduit à une faible maitrise, à la fois du français et de l'arabe chez les étudiants poursuivant leurs études dans le secteur de l'enseignement public. D'autres, au contraire, y voient la solution idéale pour l'apprentissage des disciplines scientifiques.

S'ils semblent partiellement d'accord sur les principes, ils s'opposent au niveau des modalités de mise en œuvre et sont sceptiques sur l'avenir et la visée de ce type de décisions qu'une partie de l'intelligentsia littéraire ou académique a contribué à embrouiller, à couds de descriptifs alarmants au goût de la douleur et la déchirure : blessure, sevrage, insécurité linguistique…

2. Méthodologie de recherche

2.1. Statut de la recherche

Il est important de préciser que nous éclaircirons le statut de notre recherche non pas comme un complément de description du contexte. Ce choix s'explique par le fait de ne pas vouloir séparer le travail des facteurs qui l'ont conditionné et du contexte qui l'a abrité.

Nôtre statut de chercheur qui est ici lui-même l'enseignant des deux modules des étudiants informateurs de l'enquête, nous positionne dans une situation intégrant l'acteur-chercheur-observateur et son terrain. Il s'agit, donc, d'une situation partagée entre l'observateur et l'observé où la neutralité et l'objectivité que nous adoptons nous permettra de mener une réflexion relayée par la quête de la compréhension tout en respectant les normes scientifiques en vigueur.

Autrement, nous croyons que notre statut d'acteur-chercheur fournira à notre recherche la crédibilité et l'immunité contre toutes interprétations distanciées qui pourraient être formulaient à son égard.

2.2. Conception de la recherche

Partant de la conviction que seule l'observation des interactions langagières des étudiants dans les deux modules de : l'entreprenariat et des techniques de communication ne peut être fructueuse pour comprendre les particularités de l'usage d'une seule langue (le français dans notre cas) dans deux situations pédagogique différentes. Nous avons opté pour une pluralité d'instruments de recherche, comme suggéré par de nombreux chercheurs, en combinant, à la fois, le qualitative et le quantitative dans une logique de triangulation, et ce afin de mieux cerner le sujet dans sa globalité. Dans ce cadre, nous avons eu recours aux méthodes sociolinguistiques faisant appel à l'enquête par observation participante et questionnaires semi-ouverts comme bases de collecte de données. Dans cette logique, les questions ont été formulées de façon simple, étant donné que les étudiants concernés avaient des niveaux variés de français.

- Par quelle difficulté votre interaction dans le cours de l'Entreprenariat est-elle entravée ??
□ Compréhension orale
□ Compréhension écrite
□ Expression orale
□ Expression écrite
- Trouvez-vous le français scientifique différent du français général ?

Figure 1 : Extrait du questionnaire administré aux étudiants de la filière TSGH

Comme toute enquête a des biais inévitables, la nôtre s'intéresse à la comparaison des interactions et du rapport des étudiants à la langue dans les deux modules. Pour mener à terme notre enquête, nous mettons également en évidence les aspects qualitatifs et quantitatifs que revêt la langue française dans les interactions des étudiants au moment du cours, et ce afin d'éclairer les dissemblances entre le français langue enseignée et le français langue d'enseignement. Les résultats obtenus vont mettre l'accent sur les obstacles et le rôle que peut jouer la langue (facteur de réussite ou d'échec) dans l'enseignement/apprentissage deux modules.

Concrètement, nous avons porté intérêt aux 30 étudiants de la filière TSGH, inscrits en première année à l'Institut Spécialisé de Technologie Appliquée Hôtelière et Touristique d'Agadir. Ce panel est hétérogène en matière de formation suivie, Origines, niveau d'études et niveau en français. Dans le même sens, 20 enseignants des autres modules ont été impliqués dans cette enquête pour répondre à certaines questions spécifiques à leur rôle en tant que formateur et pour vérifier s'il s'agit du même rapport à la langue d'enseignement et des mêmes contraintes discursives rencontrées par les étudiants dans les autres cours.

Notre méthode consistera, tout d'abord, à présenter un bref aperçu sur la filière TSGH. Dans une seconde étape, du fait des avancées de notre problématique de recherche et des résultats obtenus nous proposons des perspectives didactiques en matière de formation des disciplines scientifiques en français à la fin de cet article.

2.3. Technicien Spécialisé en Gestion Hôtelière (TSGH)

Depuis 1950, le tissu éducatif marocain s'est enrichi avec le lancement de nombreuses formations en hôtellerie et tourisme. Dès lors, le Ministère du Tourisme a créé plus de 15 établissements de formation en hôtellerie et tourisme au niveau du royaume : l'Institut Spécialisé de Technologie Appliquée Hôtelière et Touristique d'Agadir est l'un de ces établissements publics qui relève du Ministère du Tourisme, chargé de la formation des cadres moyens et supérieurs dans les différentes branches de l'hôtellerie et du tourisme.

L'Etablissement offre une formation de 3 niveaux: Qualification, Technicien, Technicien Spécialisé. De son côté, la filière Technicien Spécialisé en Gestion Hôtelière, destinée aux jeunes Bacheliers, assure la formation des étudiants dans les domaines de la gestion et de l'hôtellerie. Le contenu enrichissant des cours permet aux étudiants d'apprendre à gérer un établissement d'hébergement, à organiser un congrès, à contrôler des coûts et à gérer un service hôtelier... De plus, grâce à une expérience pratique composée, entre autres, d'un stage en milieu hôtelier ainsi que d'ateliers de mise en situation, ils seront préparés dans des conditions optimales à l'exercice de la profession.

La filière met en application les orientations du Maroc, dans son système éducatif, en matière de formation des ressources humaines, de la carte scolaire et de la formation professionnelle. La formation, dure 2 ans selon l'Approche par compétences (APC). Dans ce sens, les cours sont dispensés dans tous les modules en langue française à l'exception de certains modules de communication professionnelle assurés en Anglais, Espagnol et en Allemand en vue de garantir une ouverture sur le monde et assurer l'adéquation aussi bien qualitative que quantitative de la formation à l'emploi dans la région. Le tableau que nous présentons ci-dessous expose la répartition des disciplines par langue d'enseignement et par masse horaire :

Module	Durée (heures)	Langue d'enseignement
Métier et Formatione	30	Français
Organisation de l'entreprise touristique et hôtelière	45	Français
Calculs Statistiques	45	Français
Marketing opérationnel	60	Français
Techniques de Communication	150	Français
Techniques de réception et d'accueil	90	Français
Santé, hygiène et protection de l'environnement	30	Français
Potentialités touristiques du Maroc	45	Français
Techniques d'hébergement	90	Français
Informatique bureautique	90	Français
Techniques de supervision des activités de l'établissement	45	Français
Planification et organisation du travail	30	Français
Espaces du tourisme international	45	Français
Réglementation	45	Français
Procédures qualité, hygiène, sécurité	30	Français
Suivi commercial	90	Français
Stage d'initiation au milieu du travail	180	Français
Techniques de ventes et de négociation	45	Français
Techniques de restauration	90	Français
Communication professionnelle en Anglais	120	Anglais
Gestion des équipes de travail	30	Français
Comptabilité hôtelière	60	Français
Techniques de cuisine	90	Français
Gestion des approvisionnements	30	Français
Communication professionnelle dans une Troisième langue (Allemand)	120	Allemand
Offre touristique et hôtelière	90	Français
Suivi financier	90	Français

Événementiel	45	Français
Recherche d'emploi et Entreprenariat	90	Français
Stage d'intégration dans le milieu du travail	180	Français
Total enseignements en langue française	1980	
Total enseignements en autres Langues	240	
Total	2220	

Nous constatons que la masse horaire des modules enseignés en langue française est largement en surnombre par rapport aux autres modules enseignés en autres langues. L'étudiant bénéficie tout au long de son passage à l'institut de 1980 heures d'enseignement des disciplines non-linguistiques en français et de 240 heures en d'autres langues. Cette configuration, évoque notamment que cette situation devrait engendrer un double défi pour les étudiants, celui d'une mise à niveau linguistique (maitrise du français dit général) et celui de l'assimilation du contenu disciplinaire en français langue de spécialité, surtout lorsque nous prenons en considération que nous sommes devant une catégorie d'étudiants dont la langue d'enseignement dans les deux cycles : secondaire et le secondaire qualifiant est l'Arabe.

3. Présentation et discussion des résultats

Nous avons mené une recherche exploratoire auprès des étudiants de la première année de la filière Technicien Spécialisé en Gestion Hôtelière relevant de l'Institut Spécialisé de Technologie Appliquée Hôtelière et Touristique d'Agadir au mois de Septembre 2020. Notre objectif été de constituer un corpus pour nous permettre de déterminer les particularités langagières relatives à l'usage du français en tant que langue enseignée et en tant que médium d'enseignement. Dans un premier temps l'enquête s'est appuyée sur une observation participante longitudinale durant toute l'année scolaire 2020/2021. Cependant, face à la grande quantité des informations obtenues lors de cette phase et qui n'étaient pas exploitable en l'état. Il a été donc nécessaire, de procéder avec un questionnaire distribué vers la fin de l'année scolaire. Ceci, nous a permis de bien sélectionner les résultats interprétatifs issus de notre observation dans les deux cours de l'Entreprenariat et celui des Techniques de communication et appuyer notre comparaison sur deux niveaux aspectuels : Le premier niveau, est relatif à la qualité et la quantité de l'expression des étudiants et le deuxième niveau est relatif aux représentations que se font les étudiants de la langue en usage dans les deux modules.

3.1. Quantité de l'expression

La quantité de l'expression, représente le premier niveau aspectuel des interactions verbales que nous souhaitons évaluer dans le module des techniques de communication et dans celui de l'Entreprenariat. Notre objectif est de déterminer qui s'exprime le plus durant les deux cours. Dans ce sens, et en réponse à notre question: « qui prend le plus la parole dans les deux Modules ? », les résultats ont été comme suit :

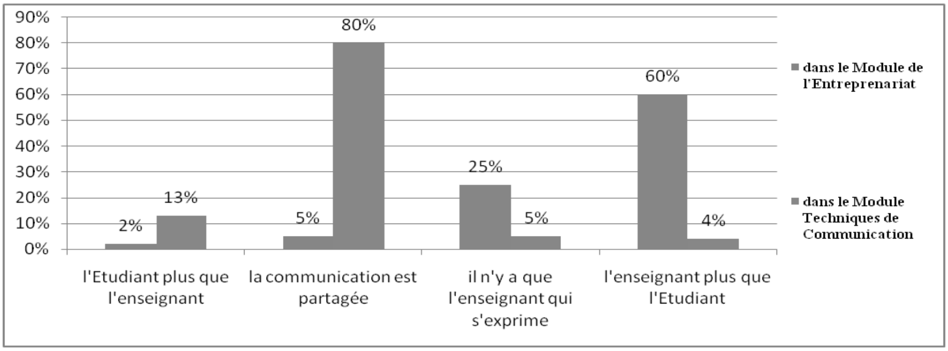

Figure 2: Quantité de l'expression dans le Module de l'Entreprenariat et dans le Module des Techniques de Communication

En se focalisant sur les données déduites du graphique ci-dessus, nous pouvons remarquer que la majorité (60%) des étudiants déclare que l'enseignant s'exprime plus que l'étudiant dans le module de l'Entreprenariat. Alors que 25% de notre population ciblé affirme que seul l'enseignant qui s'exprime dans le même module. Il ressort de ce graphique que l'échange est monopolisé à 85% par l'enseignant. De l'autre coté, 80% des étudiants confirment que la communication est partagée entre l'enseignant et l'étudiant dans le module des techniques de communication, alors que cette interaction ne dépasse pas 5% dans le module de l'Entreprenariat.

Nous constatons donc que la prise de parole et l'interaction entre Enseignant/ Etudiant diffère en fonction du contenu des deux modules. Alors que nous nous retrouvons face à une interaction favorisée par le contenu du module des techniques de communication basé sur l'expression libre de l'étudiant, tout en lui offrant la possibilité de mobiliser ses capacités discursives à l'intérieur de tâches à complexité appropriée. L'interaction, dans le module Entreprenariat parait emprisonnée par les caractéristiques spécifiques liées au contenu disciplinaire et à la conception des programmes d'enseignement sur mesure à partir de documents authentiques et des situations de communications spécialisées guidées par l'enseignant. Ce dernier, s'impose dans ce schéma de communication en tant qu'unique émetteur et seul détenteur du savoir.

En effet, les observations menées tout au long de notre étude nous ont permis de savoir que l'attitude langagière dominante de l'enseignant en tant qu'unique communicant dans le cours de l'entreprenariat est due au fait qu'il se voit non responsable de la non maitrise du médium de l'enseignement de son cours et qu'il ne peut d'aucune manière être correcteur de cette défaillance vu la charge du programme scientifique qu'il doit accomplir. Ceci, aggrave la situation de la majorité des étudiants qui paraissent freinés par une certaine insécurité linguistique et disciplinaire. En revanche, ces mêmes étudiants paraissent se libérer des obstacles qui entravent leur interaction et s'impliquent remarquablement dans l'échange verbal lorsqu'il s'agit du module des Techniques de Communication.

Ce constat, nous a poussés à chercher les causes qui peuvent être à l'origine de cette carence communicationnelle. A cet effet, il s'est avéré que la participation des enseignants des autres modules nous sera bénéfique afin de nous rapprocher des causes de ce blocage. A la question : « les difficultés de l'interaction des étudiants sont-elles dues à une insuffisance langagière ou disciplinaire ? », les données ont été comme suit :

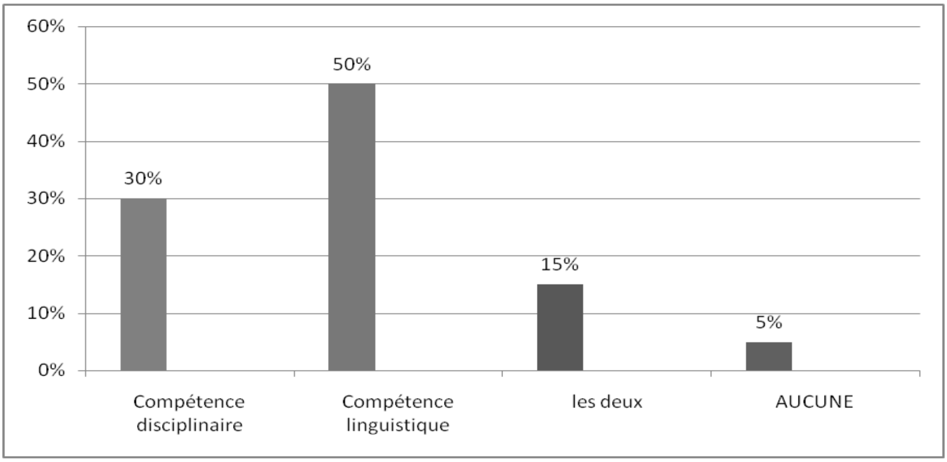

Figure 3: Difficultés langagières dans les Modules des disciplines scientifiques

Il ressort de ce graphique que 50% des informateurs répartis entre des enseignants du même module et des enseignants d'autres modules scientifiques affirment que la faiblesse en compétences linguistiques affecte en premier lieu l'interaction orale des étudiants dans les modules scientifiques un peu plus que la compétence disciplinaire. De même, ces enseignants affirment qu'en s'exprimant, les étudiants n'arrivent pas à adopter un discours conforme au contenu disciplinaire. D'autre part, il faut noter que 30% des enseignants pensent que les problèmes d'interaction en classe sont liés à une incompétence disciplinaire. Autrement dit, cette faible performance langagière est le résultat d'un faible niveau scientifique et technique des étudiants qui inhibe toute tentative d'expressions langagière.

Pour être précis, une approche qualitative de l'expression est également souhaitable dans cette phase, afin de déterminer l'aspect responsable de cette obstruction dans le module de l'entreprenariat sachant que les étudiants semblent ne pas subir le même sort dans le module des Techniques de Communication. À la lumière de ces variables, nous procédons à la suite de notre article en enquêtant la qualité de l'expression langagière des étudiants dans les deux modules.

3.2. Qualité de l'expression

En ce qui a trait aux particularités de la langue française objet ou médium de l'enseignement, nous avons décidé d'amener notre enquête vers de nouvelles perspectives en abordant la qualité de l'expression verbale des étudiants dans les deux modules et en s'interrogeant sur les spécificités de la communication émise par les étudiants dans les deux cours.

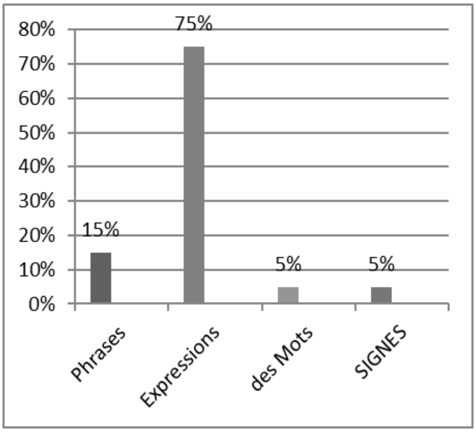

Figure 4 : votre expression dans le Module Entreprenariat est dominée par :

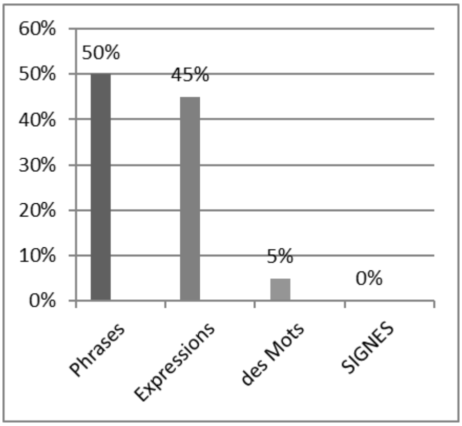

Figure 5 : votre expression dans le Module des Techniques de Communication est dominée par :

En analysant les deux graphiques ci-dessus nous constatons que les étudiants affirment que la qualité de leur communication verbale dans le module des techniques de communication est meilleure que celle dans le module de l'Entreprenariat. Ce constat est bel et bien confirmé par la nature des énoncés utilisés par les étudiants dans ce cours, souvent caractérisés par la dominance des interactions basées sur le recours à l'usage des phrases et des expressions complètes à raison de 95% pour les deux composantes. En revanche, les interventions des étudiants dans le module de l'entreprenariat sont surtout caractérisées par l'usage d'un discours pauvre dominé par l'emploi d'expressions incomplètes à raison de 70% des confirmations. D'autre part, le recours aux énoncés intégraux de type phrastique dans ce cours est moins sollicité par les étudiants dans ce genre de communication scientifique et ne représente que 15% des interventions selon les confirmations des étudiants.

Cette auto-évaluation, nous confirme, cette fois, qualitativement que les interactions verbales dans le module de l'entreprenariat sont remarquablement limitées par rapport à ceux dans le module des techniques de communication chez la même cible et face à la même langue.

3.3. Représentations et apprentissage par/de la langue française

Les représentations des étudiants sur la langue française donnent des informations qu'il importe de prendre en compte avant toute action sur le terrain. Car fondamentalement, les relations que les étudiants entretiennent avec les langues vont bien au-delà des aspects linguistiques. Ils dépendent des: "facteurs sociaux, économiques, idéologiques et affectifs et sont construites à partir des informations dont les apprenants disposent ou dont ils croient disposer sur la langue-cible et leur expérience d'apprentissage. Elles conditionnent fortement le succès ou l'échec des processus d'acquisition " (Castelloti & Moore, 2002, p.9).

Les étudiants construisent des représentations sur la langue française. Ces représentations, impactent le degré de leur motivation à apprendre cette langue ou via cette langue. Partant de ces postulats et émanant de notre propre conviction que toute étude à vocation sociodidactique interrogeant l'usage et le rapport à une langue dans un groupe social ne peut aboutir aux résultats souhaités en ignorant les représentations que les acteurs se font de cette langue. Dans cette optique, nous avons jugé nécessaire de faire un état des lieux des représentations que se font nos informateurs du français en usage dans les deux modules. Ceci, peut, à notre avis, constituer la base de toute réflexion sur les aspects langagiers dans un enseignement/apprentissage des disciplines scientifiques en langue étrangère. En réponse à notre question : « Trouvez-vous que le français de spécialité est différent du français général ?», Les données ont été comme suit :

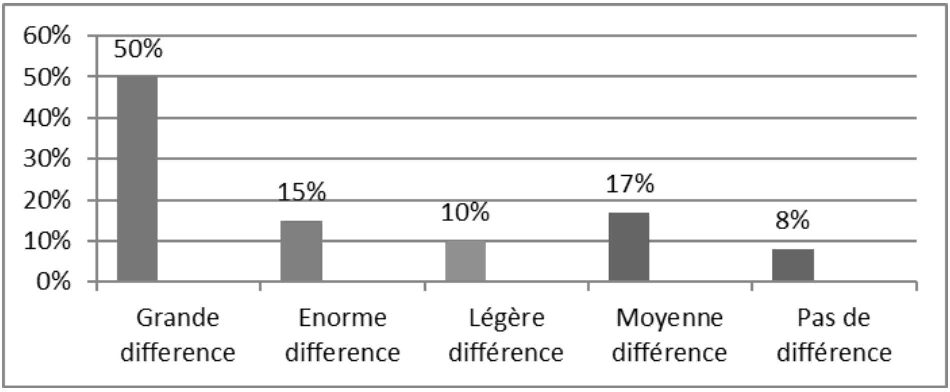

Figure 6 : Degrés de différence entre le français général et le français de spécialité

Nous constatons que la moitié de nos informateurs (50%) trouvent que le français général est totalement différent de celui employé dans les disciplines scientifiques. 27% des étudiants pensent que cette différence est légère ou moyenne. Une autre catégorie d'étudiants pense que le français utilisé dans les cours scientifiques est énormément différent de celui utilisé dans les cours de langue et de communication. Par ailleurs, seule une catégorie de 8% des étudiants inscrits en première année de la filière TSGH qui ne sente aucune différence entre le français général et le français de spécialité.

Si la majorité des étudiants a du mal à suivre les cours des disciplines scientifiques en raison de la grande différence qu'ils pensent avoir lieu entre le français général et le français de spécialité. Une minorité d'entre eux n'a pas de problème à ce niveau. Cette hétérogénéité caractérisant le groupe pose des difficultés pédagogiques et didactiques aux enseignants qui se trouvent à chaque fois dans le dilemme pour choisir entre : donner un cours magistral ou un cours interactif.

Lorsque nous avons demandé au enseignants comment ils faisaient face à cette situation conflictuelle, nous avons obtenu deux catégories de réponses : ceux qui cherchent à adapter leur cours aux difficultés des étudiants et ceux qui s'y refusent. Les partisans de l'adaptation au contexte suggèrent de simplifier les cours, de proposer des contenus progressifs pour faciliter la tâche aux étudiants, voire de recourir à la traduction en arabe et d'offrir aux étudiants des documents adaptés. Quant à ceux qui considèrent que l'hétérogénéité n'a pas d'influence sur la nature ou la préparation des cours, ils considèrent que c'est l'étudiant qui doit fournir des efforts pour suivre le rythme des apprentissages.

3.4. Le paradoxe de l'usage d'une langue

A l'issue de cette enquête, nous tenons de rappeler que l'analyse des données obtenues par le biais de questionnaires s'appuie particulièrement sur les résultats des entretiens semi-directifs que nous avons réalisés au préalable de l'enquête. L'ensemble des données ont été enregistrées et toutes les réponses ont été également transcrites et traduites avant d'être analysées et croisées aux résultats obtenus par observation et par questionnaires. Nous nous sommes également basé sur une observation participante réalisée tout au long des séances de cours et sur nôtre posture d'enseignant/chercheur fortement impliquée dans le processus de l'apprentissage. En quête de solutions, nous nous permettons d'exposer quelques résultats quantitatifs et qualitatifs concernant l'enseignement du/par le français dans la filière TSGH de l'Institut Spécialisé de Technologie Appliquée Hôtelière et Touristique d'Agadir.

Les résultats nous confirment que le rapport à la langue française dans les deux modules de l'entreprenariat et des techniques de communication chez les mêmes étudiants et dans le même contexte socioculturel diverge sur le plan qualitatif et quantitatif. Le contact avec la langue est supérieur dans le cours des techniques de communication que dans celui de cours de l'entreprenariat. De leur côté, les étudiants sont majoritairement convaincus que leurs interactions et leur contact avec la langue française n'ont pas le même aspect dans les deux cours. L'expression favorisée par le cours de la communication a tendance à se rétrécir par une centration sur l'enseignant qui impose son propre discours dans le cours de disciplines scientifiques.

Nous en déduisons également qu'en plus de la divergence du rapport des étudiants à la langue française objet/médium de l'enseignement dans les deux modules, les zones d'ombres qui empêchent les étudiants d'accéder au contenu de la langue française résident dans les représentations qu'ils se font par rapport à leur langue et par rapport à celles des autres, ainsi que par rapport à la divergence aspectuelle de la langue française dans sa forme de langue de spécialité en usage dans le cours de disciplines scientifique. A cela, s'ajoute le filtre qu'ils utilisent, à savoir la langue maternelle qui fonctionne selon des prismes radicalement différents. Nous citerons, à titre d'exemple, certains cas où la différence est fondamentale :

- La dérivation pour la formation des mots.
- Les tournures phrastiques (tournure impersonnelles, voix passive)
- Phrase verbales, phrase nominale.
- Les temps verbaux.
- Etc.

Dans cette perspective, nous pensons qu'il y'a lieu de culpabiliser, également, les pédagogies d'enseignement adoptées dans les deux cours. Deux approches didactique s'imposent dans ce contexte et agissent respectivement sur l'interaction langagière des étudiants. L'une est focalisée sur la langue en tant qu'objet d'apprentissage favorisant l'expression libre des étudiants. L'autre est centrée sur le contenu disciplinaire en donnant plus de valeur à l'expression de l'enseignant qui s'impose en tant qu'ultime contrôleur du contenu disciplinaire. Ainsi, il est donc question, à ce niveau, de repenser didactiquement l'enseignement des disciplines scientifique en langue étrangère et voir s'il est possible d'enseigner un contenu disciplinaire en adoptant d'autres alternatives focalisées sur la libre expression des étudiants, la création d'une atmosphère adaptée à leurs niveaux, à leur attentes et aux exigences du savoir des matières scientifiques.

4. Recommandations didactiques

Comme nous l'avons montré, ci-dessus, les problèmes rencontrés pour comprendre et s'exprimer en français impactent la réussite des étudiants dans les disciplines scientifiques et peuvent être considérés comme responsables de nombre d'abondons. De ce fait nous avons demandé aux enseignants et aux étudiants d'expliciter des solutions qu'ils proposaient en vue de réduire les écarts qui dissocient le discours de l'enseignant de celui des étudiants dans le cours des disciplines scientifiques. Les réponses peuvent être classées en quatre grandes thématiques que nous avançons sous forme de recommandations.

4.1. La prise en compte de l’étudiant

Plusieurs propositions insistent sur la nécessité de sensibiliser les étudiants à l’intérêt et au rôle de la langue française dans leur réussite dans leurs études supérieurs. Etant convaincus de l’ampleur de ce problème, les enseignants souhaitent que les étudiants prennent en mais leurs difficultés linguistiques pour s’améliorer, d’autres valorisent la prise de parole en public et dans les cours comme moyen de remédiation. L’objectif est de créer chez les étudiants l’envie de participer, d’entrer dans l’échange et de s’imposer devant les autres. Certains soulignent l’importance de séduire l’étudiant pour l’inviter à assister au cours de langue française. Il faudrait, selon eux, partir des besoins, des attentes, et surtout du niveau des étudiants pour les impliquer sans les traumatiser psychologiquement. De notre part, nous pensons que la pédagogie de l’erreur s’avère pertinente à ce sujet, du fait qu’elle aide les étudiants à s’accepter et à s’assumer pour pouvoir s’améliorer. Les enseignants dans ce cadre prétendent impliquer les étudiants en s’appuyant sur leurs affects. Cependant, il est noter que nous restons bien dans le déclaratif et qu’aucune piste n’est donnée concernant les moyens de moyens de mise en œuvre.

4.2. Perspectives didactiques

Au regard des résultats, nous pouvons avancer que toute conception didactique visant la réduction des écarts séparant le discours de l’enseignant de celui des étudiants dans le cours des disciplines scientifiques devrait impérativement prendre en considération le volet technolecte et le vocabulaire caractérisant le français en tant que langue de spécialité. Ceci passe par une sorte de transposition didactique de la langue de spécialité à travers des pratiques de classe qui se démarquent du cours magistral unidirectionnel.

Plusieurs propositions didactiques ont été soulevées, dans ce sens, que nous pouvons synthétiser ainsi :

- Prévoir un module d’autoformation en langue française.
- Programmer des séances de rédaction, de synthèses de textes en français
- Traiter des articles scientifiques
- Inviter les enseignants à simplifier le langage utilisé lors des cours pour s’adapter aux capacités réceptives des étudiants. Ceci, invitera les étudiants à participer davantage et à évoluer en conséquence lorsqu’ils commenceront à comprendre le discours enseignant.

4.3. Engagements institutionnelles

Au-delà des propositions de programmes complémentaires, la majorité des propositions insiste sur la francisation du cursus scolaire et universitaire au lieu d’une arabisation qui a montré ses limites malgré les efforts conjugués pour la moderniser en allégeant sa structure syntaxique et en introduisant des néologismes pour répondre aux exigences communicationnelles contemporaines, notamment dans les études scientifiques. En effet, nous sommes, aujourd'hui, invités à une révision des curricula qui devront désormais être élaborés de manière à tisser des liens rapprochant le disciplinaire et la linguistique.

Conclusion

Dans cette étude, notre objectif était de mettre en évidence les particularités de l'usage de la langue française dans les deux modules de l'entreprenariat et des techniques de communication chez les mêmes étudiants et dans le même contexte socioculturel. Cet article qui se veut une étude de terrain, interpelle en comparaison les pratiques langagières des étudiants dans les deux modules.

Nos résultat confirment les résultats de nombreuses études similaires (citons par exemple Bensfia et al 2013 et Cortier et al 2013) et rejoignent une préoccupation répandue au Maroc concernant l'insécurité linguistique des étudiants à tous les niveaux et le sentiment d'impuissance que les enseignants éprouvent à ce sujet. A ce stade, l'ensemble des recommandations que nous avons mis en avant en vue de faire face cette situation complexe invitent à : revoir la place de l'arabe en tant que langue d'enseignement des disciplines scientifiques, repenser les méthodologies adoptées pour l'enseignement de ce genre de disciplines et mettre en question les aspects du français en tant que langue de spécialité.

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Transcreated Advertisement as an Identity Determiner

Lalia Belabdi

Purpose: This study aims to investigate the transcreated advertisement, in order to highlight the use of identity features in its conception. Furthermore, it studies their effect, to provide a baseline understanding on how to translate for the target audience, where identity is the main element to be manifested in the communicative message of marketing purposes.
Methodology: This research follows the qualitative approach to examine some advertisement figures in terms of their transcreation. The reason behind it is in demonstrating the variables in how and why both translation and creation were applied for conceiving exclusive advertisements.
Findings: The results indicated that in transcreating advertisements, changes on the level of the source message were strongly related to the social and cultural references that built and identified the target expression system. Moreover, the results demonstrated the mechanism of the target expression and how far identity can have an impact on the target audience by using specific codes in the conception of the advertisements.
Practical implications: The research provided some guidelines about the applicable procedures that the transcreator should be aware of to better address the target audience.
Originality/ value: This investigation is in line with some prior research that discusses the topic of transcreating an LSP (Language for Specific Purposes). It is also to shed light on and enrich the literature about the rendition for exclusive advertisements in contemporary societies, and to expand the focus on theories and approaches of free and creative translations.

Transcreation; Identity; Communication; Advertisement; Marketing purposes.

1. Introduction

Translation has always been described as the bridge that connects two different speaking communities; not just languages that happen to be different but also cultures and space-time framings. These elements are all included in the context of the communicational exchange between the speakers. Yet, before crossing that bridge, the translator finds him/herself in a position where one paramount perspective should be taken in charge. It is whether in: (1) focusing more on *the transmission of the source message,* because it is purely a matter of a linguistic transfer, or in (2) considering more *the reception of the target message*, because it is a matter of receiving the intended effect behind that expression. Therefore, the purpose behind translating should be first reflected, and then a decision should be taken right after, of whether the translator should carry the expressional luggage of the source expression and keep it as it is in meaning to the target expression, or he/she should be making some adjustments on the source expressional luggage, so that it should not be tagged as strange, confusing or sound incomprehensible when received in the target expression system.

To epitomize, translation has two directions to take: (1) to start from the source expression in order to transmit directly the same conception to the target expression. In other words, this statement refers to the transfer of words and their exact meaning from the source expression, regardless of the transfer of an adequate effect, or (2) to start from the source expression in order to create a target expression. Or, properly speaking, the transfer of the effect is the element that should be transmitted to the target audience, based on the target expression system, and regardless of the same exact words of the source message. This situation has divided the audience of translation evaluators into two groups, where some advocate *the faithful transfer* such as Newmark (1988) and Taber and Nida (1982). Others support more *the adequate transfer* such as Nord (1997) and Reiss and Vermeer (1984/2014). However, from a critical eye, there is always something that falls when translating a communicative expression of cultural background effect. It is not because of the inability of the translators to fulfil their task of translating properly, but it is more of the complexity of the communicative expression, where many shareholders own shares in the construction of the source expression, because it is beyond being counted as a linguistic expression only, starting from: (1) the author and his exact intentions, and these are the hardest parts to deal with while translating, (2) the circumstances that are related to space, time and the targeted audience, and also (3) to the mechanisms of the target expression system. But this last part is, most of the time, very well managed by the translators under the rules of grammar.

Further questions arise too, prompting a debate about whether to take into consideration the source or the target expression. The following problematics and their hypotheses aim to clarify the path of this study.

(1) Do translators have the right to make changes while translating? We cannot assume anything from now but probably, yes, especially when the translators are creating a language for specific purposes.

(2) What could possibly be that purpose? It is hypothesized that the identity aspect is incorporated e.g. in the socio-cultural traits, to communicate better with the target audience, i.e. in the advertisement expression.

(3) What is the appropriate translation technique to apply when opting for creating a new target expression? Presumably, transcreation technique is considered as the most adequate method to adopt, because it translates and creates expressions that fit more the purpose of communicating better with the new audience, and this is what generates the adequate transfer in the target expression.

2. Literature Review

The target-oriented approach of Toury (1977) and the Skopos theory of Vermeer (1978) and Reiss (1984) are actually the fruit of research of these functionalist and pragmatic scholars who have been enriching the literature of translation studies ever since. The list goes on and on of other scholars who followed the same path of research. Their studies are manifested in the translator negotiations approach, turns approach, shifts approach, theory of culture and Skopos theory explained. In addition to that, transcreation technique is also counted, where it showed up in the late fifties in Lal's (1957) academic studies and poetic writings, and later on in the studies of Haroldo de Campos (1969), as cited in (Gaballo, 2012, p. 97). Transcreation technique follows the same direction as the target-oriented approach and Skopos theory do. Therefore, translating for the targeted audience varies from translating directly without paying attention to the reception of the source message. At this stage, many changes have to take place in the original version, in order to create the adequacy of the effect notion in another adjusted version. The following approaches and theories will demonstrate the research in translation studies that legitimised the modification aspects in the source expression, in order to create a new original version for the target audience.

2.1. Negotiations of the translator

Umberto Eco (2003) saw that before translating, the text should be fragmented. The translator, at each sentence, should take a decision and transmit the meaning or the effect that should be building the target expression. In more precise words, he said that: ‹‹ [t]o choose a target- or source-oriented direction is, once again, a matter of negotiation to be decided at every sentence›› (Eco, 2003, p. 82). These negotiations are also held on the level of language to language (for example, in translating or not a brand's name), addressor to addressee (in focusing more on the addressor's intentions or the addressee's supposedly received effect) and culture to culture (in domesticating or foreignizing cultural notions in the target expression). Eco (2013) added that: ‹‹ [t]he possibility, and even the advisability of a negotiation does not exclude the presence of rules or of conventions›› (Eco, 2003, p. 31), therefore, these negotiations are held in the presence of criteria that the translator should be respecting, such as the conventions and the rules of the target expression.

Translation has witnessed many changes in practice as in academia during the last decades. Researchers shed light on issues that were facing the application of translation on some specific texts or to some specific receivers under some specific circumstances. Each study tried to put aside translation as a discipline on its own. It has ever since not been regarded as a sub-discipline of linguistics, but more than that, where many other disciplines such as economy, sociology, psychology, politics, cultural nuances ... etc. took part and affected on the translation of these kinds of texts because of multidisciplinary affiliation. Cyrus (2009) said that: ‹‹ [s]lowly but surely translation studies developed into an independent academic discipline that emancipated itself from linguistics and today deals with a great variety of questions, including questions of gender or postcolonial power relations›› (Cyrus, 2009, p. 88). Therefore, translation studies have been through progressive changes in academia, because the act of translating becomes considered more than a linguistic transfer of words. In fact, translation nature is quite complex. It is a specialised vocation, a science and a work of art.

2.2. Translation turns

Regarding the translation turns in Snell-Hornby's (2006) book, she saw that: ‹‹ [t]ranslation turns into a kind of "transformation", the concept of equivalence is invalid, and the translator becomes a visible and active participant in this transformation›› (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 62). According to this statement, the translator becomes on his/her turn, an author/creator as well, because he/she is making changes in the source expression during the process of translating, or as she named it, the process of *the transformation*. It is also important to note that the invalid equivalent that Snell-Hornby (2006) meant is of the words, but the equivalent of effect is the one that should be created during this transformation. Therefore, these changes are, inevitably, necessary. As a matter of fact, languages for specific purposes require some modifications so that the content becomes much more understood, where the translator should maintain a communication of quality with the writer and the audience. Four years later, she wrote in her article *The turns of Translation Studies* (2010: 366-369) about the same concept, and she described it again as follows: ‹‹ [t]he concept of the "turn"… is ideally a paradigmatic change, a marked "bend in the road" involving a distinct change in direction, as was the case with the "pragmatic turn"›› (Snell-Hornby, 2010, p, 366). In the same article, she also listed the following turns that all had an impact on the process of translating during the past decades, respectively. They are then: the cultural turn, globalisation turn, empirical turn, iconic turn and socio-cultural turn.

2.3. Translation shifts

Turns or shifts are both terms of the same meaning. Both refer to the change of orientation in translating, by taking other elements, rather than the source expression into consideration, such as the text type, the receiver, the target expression...etc. These orientations occurred due to translation trends in each period of time. It focused more in the past, after its liberation from linguistics, on cultural intervention, on globalisation and localisation where the modern economic revolution set them in the worldwide markets and then on the sociocultural references that were manifested in the use of identity features and so on and so forth. The shift concept was discussed to add more resources to the same line of thoughts of the previous scholars, where this time, Cyrus (2009) said that:

> The focus of attention in translation studies moved away from these narrowly linguistic and basically source-oriented approaches, which were accused of prescriptivism […]. Instead, the focus shifted towards the target culture and towards the function and place that a translation has in it. (Cyrus, 2009, p. 88)

Therefore, all these approaches are trying to highlight parts that are having an effect on the source expression, and they may require certain changes if transferred to the target expression, on one hand. On the other hand, they all proved that translation does not stop at words rendition. It is rather beyond a mere linguistic processing, because the complexity of the expression to be translated is formed of socio-cultural traits where the identity features are obviously different from one community into another.

2.4. Theory of culture

From negotiations, to turns, to shifts, these approaches all came after the settlement of two fundamental theories that gave the chance to translators and translation to be regarded differently from what was presumed earlier. Skopos theory and theory of culture are two theories that helped a lot in the development of these approaches. In addition to that, the target-orientedness of Toury (1977) in translation also made things clear toward the decision taking about what to transmit directly and what to modify in the source expression, in order to better fit the requirements of the target expression system.

Theory of culture, according to Nord (1997), focused more on the cultural background of the source and the target expression especially, because the new receiver needs to understand the communicative message of cultural nuances within his/her expression system. She said that:

> [T]ranslation cannot be considered a one-to-one transfer between languages. Within the framework of such a comprehensive theory of human communication, a translation theory cannot draw on a linguistic theory alone, however complex it may be. What is needed is a theory of culture to explain the specificity of communicative situations and the relationship between verbalized and non-verbalized situational elements. (Nord, 1997, p.11)

Therefore, to understand the target expression system as a whole, from its verbal to non verbal elements, a theory of culture can shed light on concepts, their meaning and value according to their effect on the receiver, because there is always a strong cultural bond between the local culture and the local people.

2.5. Skopos theory

Skopos theory is a functional theory, or a theory of action as named by its theoretician Vermeer (1978). This theory opened a wide door in front of the translators who felt the need for transmitting a fit expression, and eventually their passage had been marked while translating. Some kinds of texts needed to be transmitted to the target audience with modifications, especially the communicative ones that seek a response from the audience. The reason behind it is that the direct translational process did not reach the level of translating properly, where there was always something that dropped from the source expression and never got to the target expression. As a consequence, maintaining the same effect on the receiver seemed to be very hard. Nord (1997) thinks that:

> This is why Vermeer calls his theory *Skopostheorie, a theory of purposeful action*. In the framework of this theory, one of the most important factors determining the purpose of a translation is the addressee, who is the intended receiver or audience of the target text with their culture-specific world-knowledge, their expectations and their communicative needs. Every translation is directed at an intended audience, since to translate means ‘to produce a text in a target setting for a target purpose and target addressees in target circumstances” (Vermeer, 1987 as cited in Nord, 1997, p.12)

Skopostheorie is focused more on the purpose of translation, where many essential elements appeared very influential in parts of the source and target expression alike, such as: the target audience, the target culture, the target expression and the target circumstances. These elements are all involved in the process of translating. Each one affects the target expression with varying calibre. They, eventually, should be framed under the target space and time features.

2.6. Translation directions and target-orientedness

In addition to these functional theories, the target-oriented approach of Toury (1977) came in the same decade as the Skopostheorie did. It is obvious that the need for such kind of theories and approaches required this kind of studies. They were the results of earlier studies and practices of translation that tried to unchain translation from the linguistic processing. Schleiermacher, as cited in Eco's book (2003) *Rat or Mouse: Translation as Negotiation*, said that:

> The translator either disturbs the writer as little as possible and moves the reader in his direction, or disturbs the reader as little as possible and moves the writer in his direction. The two approaches are so different that no mixture of the two is to be trusted. (Eco, 2003, p.82)

With Schleiermacher, the binary road is also obvious in his studies, where the translator has first to decide which one to take, but it is impossible to walk on them both at the same time, because the findings would not be the same.

Toury (1995) clarified the coincidence that joined him with Vermeer for launching studies that share the same principles during the same decade, where he said that:

> Interestingly, the first formulations of *Skopostheorie* by Hans J. Vermeer (e.g., 1978) almost coincided with the beginnings of my own realization that a switch to target-orientedness was imminent (Toury 1977) – which sheds interesting light on how changes of scholarly climate occur, especially considering that for quite a while the two of us were practically unaware of each other's work, moving as we did in different academic and institutional circles. Finally, our roads crossed, and the two of us identified some common grounds right away. The shared elements notwithstanding, there remained at least one major difference between the interests of the two target-oriented paradigms, which also accounts for the different assumptions each of them has chosen to proceed from: whereas mainstream *Skopos*-theorists still see the ultimate justification of the frame of reference they

> are busy establishing in developing a more true-to-life way of dealing with problems of an applied nature. (Toury, 1995, pp.19, 20)

In fact, all of the above stated approaches and theories were all applicable and so valid to the requirements of the translation market. Therefore, translating advertisements needed this ground of theoretical and practical approaches, in order to clarify the rendition process under modifications, because the advertising expression is as complex as translating poetry for the particularity of its expression.

2.7. Transcreation technique

Later on, transcreation technique came into practice, starting first on poetic contents to later reach the advertising world. These two types share a lot of aspects in common, such as the complexity of the expression used and its connoted meaning. Regarding transcreation, many scholars avoided giving a closer meaning or a definition to this technique due to the confusion that existed with other terms that may do partially what transcreation does, such as adaptation, localisation or foreignisation and domestication. But Gaballo (2012) described it as follows:

> Transcreation is an intra-/interlingual re-interpretation of the original work suited to the readers/audience of the target language which requires the translator to come up with new conceptual, linguistic and cultural constructs to make up for the lack (or inadequacy) of existing ones. (Gaballo, 2012, p. 111)

It is obvious that from Gaballo's statement, the transcreation technique is a kind of translation but instead of the direct transfer of all the source expression content, there has to be a translation but with necessary changes. These changes are preferably called creations, so that the created conception fits the target expression system and especially the target audience.

2.7.1. Advertisement and transcreation

To sell on a global level, advertisements are inevitably translated into the local language or into a widely understood language; even if it is a foreign language. But this foreign language has to be presented with a local thinking. This is what is known as an intra-lingual translation that is, in its turn, a type of transcreation. It is also important to note that this is what HSBC Bank has preferred while conceiving the advertisements in this study. Print and audiovisual advertisements were all presented in English, where the targeted countries did not have English as a native language. This negotiation, about the fact of selecting English, has started from the position that the targeted communities have a sufficient command of English; the so-called lingua franca.

An advertisement is an expression that can be presented in verbal or non verbal codes, where its powerful message can maintain its influential function. The rendition of the conception of these messages requires teamwork, composed of copyrighters, art directors and translators, as recommended by De Mooij (2004: 196). But the dimensions of the socio-cultural references, which imply the use of identity features in advertisements for new local markets, can only be deciphered and recreated by a transcreator. So the transcreator should think and act as a copywriter, a cultural anthropologist or a marketer, so he/she can end up creating a conception that resonates with the target language receiver (Benetello, 2018: 41, 42). It is now obvious that transcreation is a free technique in creating new original conceptions that ring properly with the target expression system and the target audience reading. But this freedom is framed under teamwork conditions and the visions behind the conceptions of the advertisement. In addition to that, it has to be framed based on local laws and regulations, where censorship plays a major role. Torresi (2014: 8) suggested that the transcreator should: (1) be aware of the laws and restrictions on advertisements in the target language countries, and (2) have successful relations with the local clients. Al-Omar (2020: 53) also added very interesting points, such as: (1) having a team mentality, (2) proximity to the customer, and (3) in-country reviewers who may ensure transcreation quality, because according to him, there could be global products but not global people (2020: 63). As a matter of fact, people always want to be regarded as unique or different. The differences are the representations of our identities. Identity has an enormous weight of value in people's hearts. Therefore, it should be introduced or discussed with an attentive sensibility. In advertisements it is important to capture people's attention through what they admire or what they believe in. Therefore, who addresses the heart, gets the mind successively following. Therefore, the marketing purposes are: winning people's hearts and building emotional connections between the brand and the customer.

2.7.2. Advertisement and identity use

Advertisements are conceptions that incorporate identity features in its message, in order to attract the target audience's attention by presenting to them a comprehensible message. Identity is manifested in the local language or the local understanding of the communicative expression, local expression system as a whole, local culture, local society norms, local regimes and local common sense...etc. These features raise the comprehensibility rate and beyond, where emotions play an important role at this stage. Martin (2006) said that:

> Advertisers contribute to this ever-evolving linguistic construction of identity by continually pushing the envelope in terms of creative expression, producing imagery-enhanced multilingual messages that are seductive, meaningful, and entertaining. Indeed, with a repertoire of communicative strategies that reach far beyond those available in other forms of discourse, those who design advertising copy are keeping their finger on the pulse of society and have found ingenious ways of marketing identities through language. (Martin, 2006, p, 21)

So, the identity concepts are represented in verbal or non verbal expressions, and in a creative way that makes of the target audience very interested in its content. Cronin (2006) said that:

> Views of identity are, of course, in part determined by local place and local histories [...]. The ways in which people represent themselves to each other and themselves is not just a function of different histories; it is also bound up with the way in which in the contemporary world they are invited, encouraged or obliged to participate in the economy and society. (Cronin, 2006, p. 02)

Identity features are not just the past representations of a given community but also the new features of the contemporary world. Every person should be adapting, to be able to understand and coexist with other people from different identity backgrounds, in the modern world. This openness may decrease identity conflicts among nations. The identity used in advertisements, for example, according to Cronin (2006), has a mission: ‹‹ the temptation is to reach for a notion of identity which is wholly concerned with economic entitlement ›› (Cronin, 2006, p. 03). So, the use of identity concepts should win economic entitlement in order to be able to achieve the marketing goals. In other words, attracting clients to buy the product or the service under an identity bond to make the new clients committed to the brand.

3. Methodology

This investigation has followed the qualitative approach in order to demonstrate the application of transcreation technique on advertisements. It takes identity as an asset for the purpose of transcreating to the target expression. The transcreated advertisement, subsequently, becomes an identity determiner through the use of specific conceptions that have identifying features of the receptive culture. Cronin (2006) sees that:

Part of the task of translation studies is to show that translation questions often arise when they are least expected and that a translational and intercultural perspective on canonical texts, for example, can lead to new readings, not least those which highlight the vital connection between translation, identity and power. (Cronin, 2006, p. 93)

Therefore, translation, for its multidisciplinary nature, dealt with expressions of different contents. Advertisement, in its turn, is a conception that demonstrates the identity of each country through verbal or non verbal expressions that indicated the originality in each version.

4. Results/ Analysis

The following advertisement figures, that are going to be analysed, were strictly selected for educational purposes and no promotional intentions are held. Here is an overview of HSBC "The World's Local Bank" from its official website:

"HSBC is one of the world's largest banking and financial services organisations. We serve [...] customers through our global businesses [...]. Our network covers 64 countries [...].

Our purpose – Opening up a world of opportunity – explains why we exist. We're here to use our unique expertise, capabilities, breadth and perspectives to open up new kinds of opportunity for our customers. We're bringing together the people, ideas and capital that nurture progress and growth, helping to create a better world – for our customers, our people, our investors, our communities and the planet we all share" (About HSBC, n.d.)[1]

The following figures will demonstrate the strategy of marketing of HSBC Bank in different countries. Transcreation technique is the applied process in conceiving advertisements based on the target expression system, despite the use of the English language. It is also important to note that figure 1, 2, 3 and 4 were all posted at the airport, and this is what explains the use of the English language.

[1]*About HSBC*. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.about.hsbc.co.uk/

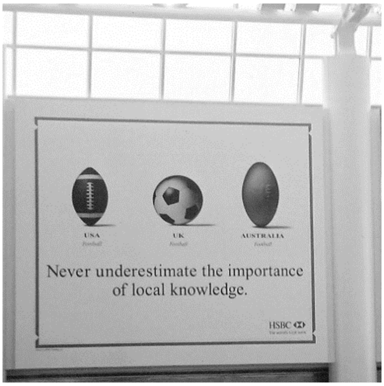

Figure 01: HSBC football theme.

The advertisement script	USA football – UK football – Australia football. Never underestimate the importance of local knowledge. HSBC. The world's local bank.
The transcreation	Non verbal transcreation: changing the ball for each country according to how the target audience identifies the football theme.
Identity concept	Different national games for different national identities.

Table 01: Analysis of the transcreated advertisement of the HSBC football theme figure

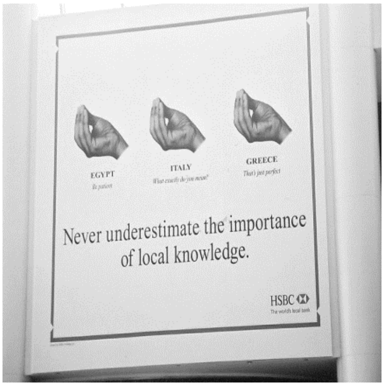

Figure 02: HSBC Hand gesture theme.

The advertisement script	Egypt: Be patient. Italy: What exactly do you mean? Greece: That's just perfect. Never underestimate the power of local knowledge. HSBC: The world's local bank.
The transcreation	Interpretative transcreation: the meaning of the same manual expression changes according to how the target audience identifies it, regarding their target expression system.
Identity concept	Distinctive expressional interpretation for each distinctive country.

Table 02: Analysis of the transcreated advertisement of the HSBC hand gesture theme figure

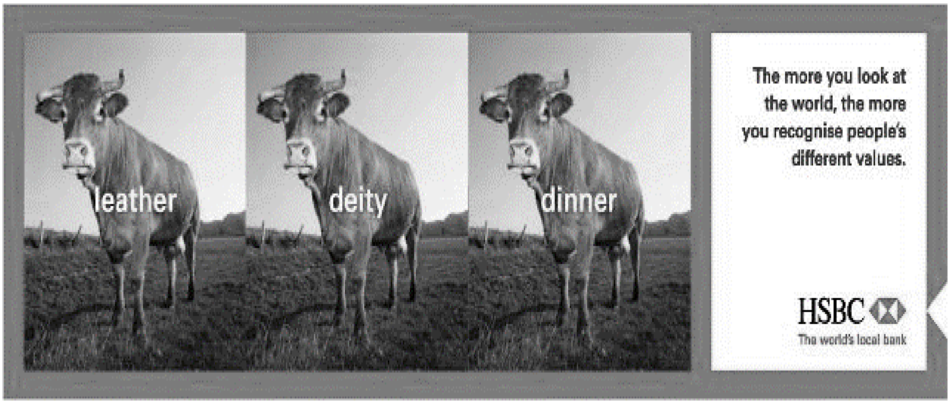

Figure 03: HSBC values theme: the signified cow.

The advertisement script	Leather. Deity. Dinner. The more you look at the world, the more you recognise people's different values. HSBC: The world's local bank.
The transcreation	Interpretative transcreation: changing the meaning of the signified cow according to how the target audience visualise it, based on its value to them.
Identity concept	Distinctive values: it depends on the target community; it could be for business, religion or food.

Table 03: Analysis of the transcreated advertisement of the HSBC values theme: the signified cow figure

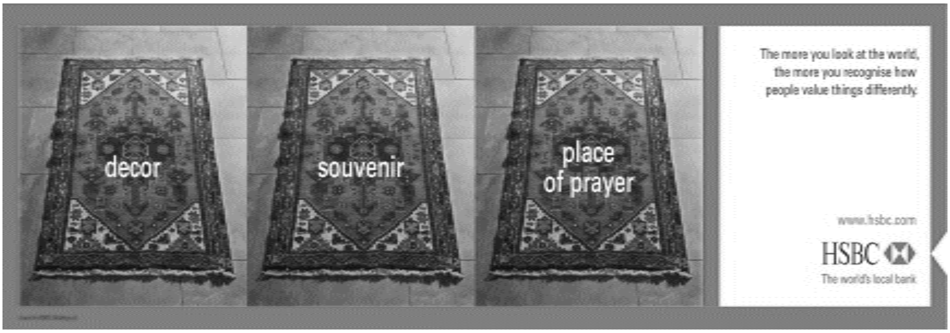

Figure 04: HSBC values theme: the signified carpet.

The advertisement script	Decor / Souvenir / Place of prayer. The more you look at the world, the more you recognise how people value things differently. HSBC: The world’s local bank.
The transcreation	Interpretative transcreation: changing the interpretation of the signified carpet according to how the target audience value it.
Identity concept	Different visions for different values.

Table 04: Analysis of the transcreated advertisement of the HSBC values theme: the signified carpet figure

Figure 05: HSBC wrong flower theme figure (the video in screenshots –the short version) .

The advertisement scenario in the video	[The foreign man is a tourist in Italy. He was holding a map and looking for a store.] Store owner: - Ciao, Sofia! [Goodbye, Sofia!]. [Sofia the Italian girl was in the store, but when she was leaving, she bumped into the foreign man, the moment he was entering the store.] Tourist, the foreign man: - Oops, sorry! Sofia, the Italian girl: - Niente! [It is okay!]. Tourist: - Sorry! [The tourist bought some chrysanthemum flowers for Sofia, to express his apology again, differently.] Narrator: In Italy, different flowers have different meanings. Narrator: Chrysanthemums, for example, are associated with funerals and sadness. [A lorry hit Sofia's motorcycle in front of her door. The motorcycle and the flowers felt down. Sofia's neighbours thought she had died.] Sofia's neighbour: Sofia morta! [Sofia is dead!]. [The neighbours brought more chrysanthemum flowers and candles. They put them in front of her door. When Sofia went out, she was astonished by the flowers in front of her door. But when her neighbour saw Sofia, she ran away, because she thought she was a ghost.] Narrator: At HSBC, we never underestimate the importance of local knowledge. Narrator: HSBC, the world's local bank.
Misinterpretation Vs transcreation	Different cultures generate different visions. The tourist ignored the connotation of the chrysanthemum flowers, which resulted in a misunderstanding of the local culture in Italy. HSBC transcreated the advertisement content by paying attention to the target audience reading from the use of the wrong flower.
Identity concept	Italian vision of flowers meaning for special occasions.

Table 05: Analysis of the translated advertisement of the HSBC wrong flower theme figure

5. Discussion

Translating accordingly requires transcreating. Socio-cultural identity is a set of different norms that identify the visions of the target community. These differences belong to and distinguish one community from another. The prudent use of stereotypes helps the transcreator to conceive advertisements of deep impact due to the use of an expression of value to the target audience.

In figure 01, the transcreator changed the visual element in the advertisement, because people from three different countries were targeted. The advertisement subject was about a football theme for the advertisement of HSBC Bank. But since each audience visualises the football theme differently, the change in the visual element was very important, because each community has its own representation of the football game.

In figure 02, the transcreator changed the interpretation of the manual gesture, depending on the targeted community visions. Such a change is very important to the conception of the transcreated advertisement, because the audience is different; therefore, their expression system is also different. It requires a deep knowledge of how the locals express a given concept.

In figure 03, the transcreator illustrated with the signified *cow* that has three different meanings for each targeted community, based on how they value the *cow* theme. But it is important to note that the signifier was only one; the physical existence of a cow. This is what transcreation is for: creating advertisements that do not generate misunderstanding and do value all different cultural visions.

In figure 04, the transcreator illustrated this time with the signified *carpet* that has three different meanings for each targeted community, based on how they visualise the *carpet* theme. The signifier was just one; a carpet. For some people, it means a decoration, for others, it means a souvenir, and for others, it means a place for prayers.

In figure 05, the translator, at this time, illustrated with a foreign tourist who came to Italy, but was not aware of cultural differences. In the scenario of the advertisement, it showed that he offered chrysanthemum flowers to an Italian girl to express his apology to her for the incident, but chrysanthemums, particularly in Italy, refer to sad events. The secret behind this advertising conception and the misunderstanding of the local culture is in demonstrating the importance of conceiving advertisements based on a solid local knowledge of the target audience and their expression system. And this is what HSBC Bank, consciously, is trying to do; understanding the local clients' need under the rules and the norms of the local culture, by conceiving transcreated advertisements.

Transcreation is simply a technique that was applied to the conception of HSBC advertisements. It made the advertisement an original copy to each targeted community. The reason behind it is in the use of the identity features that the target audience is known for. It was all inspired by the local culture...etc. So the differences between cultures create different identities. In this study, identities made distinguish each advertisement with original aspects from the local expression system.

6. Conclusion

The local language, local culture and local norms, in general, are the framings that identify a community from another because there is a set of differences. Therefore, these framings are determiners of the targeted audience. They are very important to the process of understanding people's identity attributions. These expressions make a deep impact on the target audience for their distinctive socio-cultural values in each community, where communication becomes fluent and fruitful and, much more importantly, influential.

Transcreation is a translation technique that creates a conception from the target expression for the purpose of conceiving, at the end, a message that speaks the target language in its actual system. The relationship between language, culture and identity determines how identities are expressed via verbal or non verbal codes and under the system of the local thinking in the studied advertisements.

Notes

Figure 1: http://www.rushhourgraphics.com/images/gallery/airport%20signs/lrg/HSBC-JFK.jpg
Figure 2: http://www.rushhourgraphics.com/images/gallery/airport%20signs/lrg/hsbc.jpg
Figure 3: http://chordstriking.blogspot.com/2012/05/perspective-iii.html
Figure 4: https://isuarts.files.wordpress.com/2009/11/08mat.jpg
Figure 5: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sdCyLMWiDWU&list=PLAEKUX2eV4jJEqwQnxJjXjlz09G7GGk7f&inde =3

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Literature and Cultural Studies

Kazuo Ishiguro's Unreliable Narrators

Ana Maria Hopârtean

The present paper investigates unreliability in Kazuo Ishiguro's novels. From his award winning *The Remains of the Day* to his most recent *Klara and the Sun*, Ishiguro excels at building characters who unwillfully bend reality while being true to themsleves and at the same time hiding behind their own identity. This dichotomy of being authentic and unreliable allows Ishiguro's characters to take their stories to unanticipated levels of depth and relevance for the world we live in.

Unreliable; subjective; authentic; relevance; memory.

The world is full of unreliable narrators so that it can be stated that miscommunication is a part of communication. Trust is, however, the necessary starting point for any relationship, and any deviation from it is perceived as such due to the absence of trust. The exploration of unreliability is, to some extent, an analysis of the storyteller's psychology. Like in detective stories, unreliable narrators usually have the motive, the means and the opportunity to deceive.

Wayne C. Booth (Booth, 1983) defines the "unreliable narrator" in The Rhetoric of Fiction as follows: "I have called a narrator reliable when he speaks for or acts in accordance with the norms of the work (which is to say, the implied author's norms), unreliable when he does not". (158–9)

According to M. H. Abrams' A Glossary of Literary Terms:

> The fallible or unreliable narrator is one whose perception, interpretation, and evaluation of the matters he or she narrates do not coincide with the implicit opinions and norms manifested by the author, which the author expects the alert reader to share. (Abrams, 1993, p. 168)

According to Vera Nunning, there are two types of unreliable narrators - those who want to deceive and those who set out to tell the truth but are unable to do so

(Nunning, 2015, p. 27) the reasons for the latter being manifold: emotional involvement, lack of insight, a general inability to interpret what is going on.

The characteristic feature of first-person autobiographical narrative, as Stanzel says, is the internal tension between the self as hero (protagonist) and the self as narrator, or what is called the experiencing self and the narrating self (Stanzel, 1984, p. 212). "In some respects", Cohn argues, "a first-person narrator's relationship to his past self parallels a narrator's relationship to his protagonist in a third-person novel" (Cohn, 1978, p. 143). However, there is an obvious and crucial difference between their relationship. In third-person novels, according to Cohn, it is the purely functional relationship that binds the narrator to the protagonist, while in first-person novels it is the 'existential relationship' that unites the two selves. Since this existential unity 'imitates the temporal continuity of real beings', the narrating self's motivation to narrate is accordingly existential (Cohn, 1978, p. 144). What is important here is how this motivation or the present context on the part of the narrating self creates the tension between two selves and how it is reflected in narrative reliability.

Unreliable narrators are fertile ground for gaining insight into the psychology of the narrator, the character (when the narrator is a character) and ultimately into the implied author's. Why not, through interpretations such as these, also into the implied reader's.

As we shall see, Ishiguro's narrators misread the world because reading it properly would be too painful. Telling stories through them is ultimately a means through which conflicts within characters are brought to the surface. In the three novels that I had in my mind for this paper, we are dealing with Stevens's different facets of his self-delusion, Ryder's own limitations in terms of memory and identity, and cognitive and emotional limitations in Ishiguro's latest character/ narrator from *Klara and the Sun*.

Ishiguro filters the world through his unreliable narrators in very different ways. There are considerable differences between Ishiguro's protagonists. Stevens' account of a reasonably straightforward world in The Remains of the Day (1989) is quite different from the fictional universe of The Unconsoled (1995), which is so utterly strange as to make Ryder's narrative quite incomparable with any of the Ishiguro's previous narrators. Klara's condition is even more unprecedented as she is a robot meant to learn how to be human, but undeniably subject to cognitive and emotional limitations that become increasingly apparent as the story progresses. Ishiguro's different approaches to his narrators' identity and dimensions for unreliability makes him a particularly valuable contemporary British writer.

Moreover, it is not just the different facets of unreliability that Ishiguro explores through his character narrators, but also the degree to which he stretches the definition of unreliability itself. In his narrators' case, it is not simply a matter of not trusting story tellers because they have several issues which make them limited. It is about understanding the extent to these limitations, of buying into the character/narrator's psychology to such an extent that as a narratee you want to believe them because you get to see the world through their eyes, empathize with them because their reasons for being limited are so defining for their identity that without doing so, you as a narratee refuse to be at the receiving end of the story. It is as if at first the reader recognizes the conflict between reality and the narrator's interpretation of reality, and yet further decides to overlook it because this shift is essential in order to understand the character and implicitly the story.

Ishiguro's third novel is also the most highly praised work for reasons that range from character to story and narrative technique.

Kathleen Wall shows in her article "The Remains of the Day and its Challenges to Theories of Unreliable Narration" that Stevens's "verbal habits or tics", i.e. his narrative style, his frequent shifts from 'I' to 'one', his obsession with dignity and professionalism, his defensiveness and denial alert the reader and signal to the distance between reality and Stevens's evaluation of reality. One can only truly understand Stevens if one ascertains his unreliability, his distorted view on Lord Darlington's moral and political worth, his repressed feelings for Miss Kenton and his general self-delusion regarding his own life. And yet, one can only assess this distance if one goes to the other side, to Stevens's reality or rather his interpretation of reality. It is this move between the narrator's reality to what the reader establishes to be reality based on the narrator's distorted interpretation that awards the reader the "pleasure of deciphering". This distance, however, is not as large as in the case of narrators who set out to deceive the reader from the beginning, the irony is almost non-existing and therefore it is more natural for the reader to empathize with the character.

In Wall's words, *The Remains of the Day* presents us with a fairly conventional form of unreliable narration. Stevens' narrative not only informs the reader of his version of the events but also indirectly provides information about what 'really happened' and about the narrator's moral and psychological frame of mind.

Published right after the Man Booker Prize winning *The Remains of the Day, The Unconsoled* is Ishiguro's way of doing away with rules, of taking metaphorical writing to a whole new level, nothing short of experimental and bewildering. Kellaway anxiously asks: "What has gone wrong? […] It's almost as if the elegant butler in *The Remains of the Day* […] has suddenly thrown his sleek, constraining waistcoat away, stripped off and gone on a dangerous, unruly bender." (Lewis, 2011)

Ryder's identity is discontinuous and fragmented, almost un-narratable. The entire novel tests the reader's (Ryder's?) limits by constantly deconstructing what is being said to the extent that one can no longer trust time, space or anyone at all, let alone the narrator.

Ryder, a musician known as "the world's finest living pianist […], perhaps the very greatest of the century", arrives in this imaginary unnamed central European city without precise location to give a performance that may be the most important performance of his life. To confuse matters even more, Ryder is an amnesiac who cannot remember the exact nature of the performance he is supposed to give or the details of his extremely tight schedule. He seems to have visited the place before, he even discovers he has a wife and a boy in this city. Ryder is repeatedly startled by figures from his past who appear surreally in the town's labyrinthic streets. Much like in a dream, Ryder cannot remember what he or these people are doing there, but everyone remembers him. They visit him, peruse albums of clippings from his career and judge piano rehearsals. He, on the other hand, is expected to reconcile estranged families, plead the case of a disgraced orchestra conductor and even attend, as the guest of honour, the funeral of a perfect stranger. Or so the reader is lead to believe. In short, Ryder is expected to restore the morale of a community gripped by a deep despair, a suffering that affects the most intimate corners of the victims' lives. This is a community that idolizes its artists and suffers a collective breakdown when its idols fail.

As Ryder desperately attempts to fulfill his responsibilities, i.e. listen to all the characters' speeches, save the community from spiritual failure, it becomes clear that he is, just like the others, a tragically limited being, unable to communicate, a failing messiah. Much like Stevens, the main character from *The Remains of the Day*, he is obsessed with duty, a character both a beneficiary of social order and its victim.

Memory, one of the main themes of Ishiguro's fiction, receives new nuances in *The Unconsoled.* Ryder is both an amnesiac and blessed with unusual extrasensory perceptions. He can access the memories of other people, he reads their minds, knows their thoughts, fantasies and disappointments and he can report conversations out of his listening range. Still, more often than not, he fails to catch the essence of what is happening next to him. He can only access fragments, he does not have access to the whole.

"His memory does not work in the usual way, but I was trying to do something a bit odd here", says Ishiguro. "I was trying to compress the way most of us go through a lifetime just in those few days. So it's a bit like that experience of getting to a certain point in your life and suddenly finding that you've got various people attached to you, wondering, not quite knowing, how you got into that situation. It's that sort of thing, except here it happens literally. I mean: the whole thing takes place. I wanted to use that kind of dream world to express it. It's not literally a dream, but I wanted to use some of the things that happen in dreams, which I thought most people will be – on some level – familiar with" (Shaffer, 2008).

This new level of fictionalization prevents the reader not only from establishing the coordinates of reality, but also from placing the character/ narrator and his limited world-view within this reality.

Despite this, just like *The Remains of the Day*, *The Unconsoled* can be meaningfully deciphered through the lens of Ryder's traumatised psychology, once the reader detects it as such.

Ishiguro's latest novel, *Klara and the Sun* also contains this distance between what must be reality and what is presented as reality: "Josie and I had been having many friendly arguments about how one part of the house connected to another. She wouldn't accept, for instance, that the vacuum cleaner closet was directly beneath the large bathroom." This time, however, the reader starts off within much higher hopes for reliability and omniscience, for the narrator is a robot.

But in *Klara and the Sun* the unreliable narrator is hiding in plain sight (Wood, 2021) for most of the beginning of the novel, until the reader can gather their data and realize not only what AFs are, but also that they have certain inbuilt limitations due to their features. Yet, Klara's innocence in wanting to become as human-like as possible is what makes her endearing as a character and provides the incentive for the reader to walk that distance from reality as narrated to reality as evaluated by the reader.

The novel opens with Klara waiting in a shop to be chosen by Josie, estimated in that initially misleading objective manner to be "fourteen and a half". She has been called a robot version of Stevens and a fast learner, but still limited to what her algorithms allow. The reader navigates through a fictional universe very much like our own reality, filled with technology (people use handheld oblongs) and follows Klara as she learns about the world, while seeing reality through her interpretation. When Klara is taken for a drive, she wonders at the cars on the other side of the road "in the far distance and come speeding towards us, but the drivers never made errors and managed to miss us." She interprets people's emotions in a way that makes the reader empathize with her effort, especially in comparison with her robot companion Rosa, while acknowledging her limitations: "I would try to imagine what a passer-by would look like with his or her face distorted in rage. Most of all – and this Rosa would never have understood – I tried to feel in my own mind the anger the drivers had experienced. I tried to imagine me and Rosa getting so angry with each other we would start to fight like that, actually trying to damage each other's bodies."

Almost everything Klara witnesses qualifies her as an objective observer. However, it is precisely this objectivity that makes her unreliable, as the reader already knows she can only be as objective as her features. Klara is aware of her limitations and it is this awareness and innocence that make her even more endearing. When Josie's mother tells her "It must be nice sometimes to have no feelings. I envy you", she responds "I believe I have many feelings. The more I observe, the more feelings become available to me". Later on, we learn that Josie suffers from an illness and we discover that Klara is meant to comfort her. Late in the book, we also find out that Artificial Friends are subject to a "slow fade" thus becoming useless and replaced by newer models. Klara is solar powered so she assumes that Josie can be saved by the sun's "special kind of nourishment". So Klara prays to the Sun: "Please make Josie better. ... Josie's still a child and she's done nothing unkind."

Whether readers empathize with narrators and to what extent is ultimately up to them. The unreliable narrators I attempted to analyze in this paper are a special breed, as although unreliable in a strictly technical sense, the way they tell their stories and their stories themselves are a reminder of our limited grasp on reality. Their estrangement becomes our estrangement.

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The Library of the Exile

Emilia Andreea Motoranu

The objects are an inventory of memory explored episodically. The "memories" and the autobiographical detour of the property allow short expeditions in the past and serve as therapy, reactivating places and people. Objects are the double of life whose fabric we can identify and reconstruct. For writers in exile, objects (especially books) left in the country are practically lost forever. The writer in exile is a collector looking for objects that can be included in his exploration program. The world of the diaspora seeks to fill the mental space with talisman objects (books, photo albums, memories), personal keys to another spiritual level. Libraries and books are the core of a people's identity that protects them from the homogenizing tendencies of extremist regimes. By destroying these objects, a favorable environment is created for the propagation of ideology. By using the notion of libricide, Rebecca Knuth puts the destruction of written culture alongside that of crimes against humanity.
My work will follow the memorialistic discourse of several writers in exile (Alexandru Ciorănescu, Ștefan Baciu, Stefan Zweig, etc.), who, once they left their country of origin, lost not only contact with their loved ones, but also with objects that they belonged to them.

Exile; books; memorialistic; identity.

In my paper I tried to show the deep connection between books, libraries (as objects and toposes) and writers in the exile, looking for an “El Dorado” of soul and mind.

> Cărțile sunt obiecte care trebuie salvate sunt fără îndoială purtătoare de sens. Ele pot stârni întrebări despre memorie, schimbare (de la evoluția gusturilor la schimbările individuale profunde), despre relația cu semenii noștri în general. Exterioritatea lor reflectă în cele din urmă modul în care se deplasează frontierele lumii noastre interioare (Banu, 2016, p. 7).

Objects are a memory inventory that we sometimes explore episodically, never completely. Objects seem to be fingerprints that we can examine by involving and reactivating what persists in our intimacy.

Objects forbid time to disappear, but also to solidify. They allow it to beat like a heart that animates the bloodstream of duration, sometimes distant, sometimes immediate. Remaining spatially immobile, I am walking around in a mobile time: the objects serve as witnesses and, at the same time, as concrete evidence of some past experiences. They are not neutral, but absorb, retain and preserve the subjectivity of the one who acquired them. ”The books were next to the one who owned them and, in turn, the collector was their partner; a personal, individual and unique relationship was established between them” (Banu, 2016, p. 9).

Exile and emigration involve breaking away from the familiar space, including personal objects; wandering in search of a new place to live, with temporary fixations that can sometimes become permanent and finding the point - on the globe, from a certain country - that proves to be auspicious and future-giving.

The writers exiled during and after World War II either choose to remain abroad, never returning to their country of origin when they were recalled from diplomatic jobs, or leave due to racial restrictions; they represent the population that is characterized by a generally high level of education, associated with a certain material wealth.

The word exile is borrowed from French and in French, the word exill is mentioned for the first time in Chanson de Roland, having a double meaning: “misery” and “expulsion”; later variants essil, eissil refer to “banishment”.

For the writers in exile, objects (especially books) left in the country are practically lost forever. The writer in exile is a collector looking for objects that can be included in his exploration program. The collector does not get lost, for him the road is paved and what he is passionate about is to recognize his landmarks in the clutter of antique shops and libraries. The world of the so-called “diaspora” seeks to fill the mental space with talisman objects (books, photo albums, memories), personal keys to another spiritual level. For many of them, the library is a “graveyard of ideas”, but also “a circle of friends who only talk to you when you ask them” (Dragotă, 2008, p. 5).

The worst fall in the world history will be exacerbated by the education reform, the suppression of press freedom, private foundations and publishing houses, the introduction of censorship, the publication of banned books (always added with new titles) and the purge of libraries.

In my work I aimed at how the uprooting phenomenon and forced abandonment of dear objects and places can be identified in the memorialistic writings of some Romanian and foreign writers.

Since 1945, in Romania, Alexandru Ciorănescu was already on the list of the banned writers. Between 1945-1989, ten titles of his work were banned by the communist censorship (Caravia, 2000): *Attraverso la Romania in mezz' ora*, București, 1942; *La culture roumaine et l'Europe*, București, Cartea Românească, 1942; *La tradizione storica e le origini del popolo romeno*, Bucarest, 1942; *La Roumanie. Vues générales*, București, Editura Dacia, 1943; *Rumanien. Eine Ubersicht*, Bukarest, 1943 ; *Teatrul românesc în versuri și izvoarele lui*, București, Casa Școalelor, 1943 ; *La tradition historique et l'origine des Roumains*, Bucarest, 1943 ; *La Roumanie vue par les étrangers*, Editura „Luceafărul”, 1944 (Se vor elimina paginile 9, 126, 130,131); *Lettres* *d' Emery Bigot à Ottavio Falconieri 1661-1675*, București, 1943; *Corespondence de Daniel Démétrius Phillippidés et de J. B. Barbie (1794-1819)*, Institute for Balken Studies, 1965.

At the beginning of 1948, Ciorănescu family was in Paris and the situation was very difficult, Alexandru had lost his father, he had been dismissed from the position of cultural attaché, in Paris, the children were in the country, the savings had been lost. In Bucharest, his library remained, comprising approximately 22 thousand volumes which he will never be able to see again or consult: "The Communists [...] destroyed a library of over 20,000 volumes in Romania; they destroyed my family, they ruined my purpose, they stole my house" (Ghilimescu, 2008, p. 161).

Regarding this period, in *Monitorul oficial* from July 7, 1948, a new law on the loss of Romanian citizenship can be consulted, a measure aimed almost exclusively against Romanians abroad:

> Conform acestei legi, sînt deposedate de cetăţenia română : (1) persoanele care au servit un stat străin, fără autorizaţia R.P.R. ; (2) persoanele care se află în străinătate şi nu revin în R.P.R. în termen de două luni de la rechemarea lor ; (3) persoanele care se fac vinovate în străinătate de infidelitate faţă de R.P.R. ; (4) persoanele care părăsesc clandestin ţara ; (5) persoanele care nu revin în R.P.R. după expirarea valabilităţii documentelor de călătorie ; (6) persoanele care au obţinut prin fraudă cetăţenia română. Bunurile tuturor celor care şi-au pierdut cetăţenia română trec în proprietatea R.P.R. În baza acestei legi, în cursul anului 1948 şi-au pierdut cetăţenia mai mulţi diplomaţi, oameni de afaceri, scriitori, profesori universitari şi chiar persoane particulare aflate deja în străinătate, ca de exemplu G.T. Galin, Jean Pangal, Raul Bossy, Max Auschnit, Elena Lupescu, Ion Sân-Giorgiu, Constantin Marinescu, Petre Sergescu, Sever Pop, Scarlat Lambrino sau Grigore Gafencu (Manolescu, 2015, p. 11).

This will also be Alexandru Ciorănescu's case, who will lose his Romanian citizenship, and his goods (library) and properties (the house in Bucharest on Știrbei Vodă Street) will be confiscated by the state; in the country, Ciorănescu was considered a war criminal by the imposed regime and because of this his return would have been impossible.

Since 1948, Alexandru Ciorănescu has settled in Tenerife, the Canary Islands. To the question of whether the distance from the great centers of culture and the relative isolation helped him in his activity or constituted a “barrier”, Alexandru Ciorănescu answered Pavel Chihaia, in a conversation, that in Santa Cruz he felt somehow limited, but that it is easy for him to adapt anywhere, feeling at home; however, the comparison excludes identity, meaning that he is nowhere at home. The distance from a great capital, the metropolis, meant the absence of the “temptation to be tempted”. Of course, the lack of family and friends was painful: “I missed people and I miss them much more than objects, insofar as there is a deep meaning of contact” (AA.VV., 1991, p. 192).

Of course, from here, the disadvantages of settling in the Canary Islands emerge: isolation, the impossibility of communication with the family, but also with the Western intellectuals, the limitation of research. Thus, Alexandru Ciorănescu’s decision to settle in the Canary Islands could have cost him his career. However, far from the great libraries, so necessary for his study, the Romanian professor managed to impose himself, becoming a “Benedictine” of writing. About the curiosity and taste of going through archives and libraries, Professor Ciorănescu himself explained:

> Îmi place să scormonesc, să-mi bag nasul prin lucruri prost interpretate sau neîmplinite. Când văd o carte, […] eu încep imediat s-o răsfoiesc. Chiar dacă subiectul mi-e cunoscut (Ștefănescu, 2000, p. 24).

After settling in the Canary Islands, Alexandru Ciorănescu will often return to Paris, where he will continue his research and work on the colossal *Bibliografie a literaturii franceze*, spread over three centuries: the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth.

In Tenerife, Alexandru Ciorănescu became a “messenger” of the book, especially of the French literature books, contributing in a remarkable way to the endowment of the island libraries, where he was an assiduous reader. The Romanian writer was convinced that access to valuable books lies in the fact that they must circulate without any limitation.

In 1948, when he settled in Tenerife (the Canary Islands), Alexandru Ciorănescu did not know that he was entering a reborn University, after the Spanish Civil War and after the Second World War.

Of course, there were the hard years after the war, the university lacked the tools of scientific research. The library of the Faculty of Letters had a small number of books, and the library of the Institute of La Laguna, assigned to the University, consisted of monastic funds of old books, which had no didactic utility. In this library, Alexandru Ciorănescu worked for years, being a space dominated by a conventual peace and solitude so necessary for study.

After 1990, Alexandru Ciorănescu returned to Romania, but he was disappointed by the situation in the country and intrigued by the authorities' lack of interest in the fate of his library in Tenerife, which he would have wanted to bring it entirely to Bucharest, along with other documents, paintings, diplomas, memories, personal items:

> În străinătate, am avut nevoie, pentru cercetările mele, de multe cărți de specialitate, literatură și istorie, puține romane, poezie – pentru că mi-a plăcut poezia totdeauna! Sunt cărți remarcabile, fie prin autori, fie prin prezentare, fie prin vârstă. Și eu m-am obligat să le aduc în țară. Nu toate, fiindcă nu am pentru aceasta posibilitatea materială. […] Nu pot să plătesc ca să aduc din Tenerife două tone de cărți, de la opt mii de kilometri. Am abandonat ideea asta și am ajuns la concluzia că din cărțile mele nu voi aduce la București decât cărțile care sunt ale mele, în sensul că sunt scrise de mine (Ghilimescu, 2008, p. 150).

Right after the 1989 Revolution, Ciorănescu was thinking of repatriating, wishing to establish his permanent residence in Romania, where he would bring the entire treasure of books, documents, manuscripts, objects from his personal archive, but the lack of interest of the Romanian state determined him in 1998 to give up this desire, preferring to sell this patrimony to the authorities of Tenerife (Cabildo Insular), comprising 5,896 books, 1,523 units classified as periodicals (Fondo hemerográfico), and 28 files, comprising 836 units (personal documents , photographs, articles from the local press, correspondence, notes of some studies, files, manuscripts, annotations, etc.).

Currently, the library, the personal documents of Alexandru and Lyda Ciorănescu, the photographs, the articles from the local press regarding the writer, the correspondence from 1945-1998, the worksheets, etc. (meaning the entire Alexandru Ciorănescu Fund) are preserved kept within Tenerife Espacio de las Artes - TEA center, in the capital of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Canary Islands, Spain.

Another representative of the Romanian exile, the poet Ștefan Baciu recalls, in the biographical novel Mira, the last day spent in the country, a gloomy and rainy Sunday and the painful separation from dear objects and places:

> Cea mai mare parte a timpului a fost ocupată de facerea bagajelor [...] Ni se spusese că puteam lua cu noi oricât bagaj am fi dorit, putând să umplem cabina care ni se rezervase, încât valizele au fost făcute și refăcute de mai multe ori, părându-i-se Mirei că mai lipsește ceva, sau, pe urmă, că un lucru sau altul nu era necesar. Cum nu se punea problema unui drum fără întoarcere, Mira a decis că nu vom lua decât lucruri strict „utile”, fără să se gândească nici măcar o secundă la covoare, obiecte de artă sau bijuterii, a căror vânzare ulterioară, când am îndurat zile grele în Elveția, și mai cu seamă la Rio de Janeiro, ar fi fost salvatoare (Baciu, 1998, p. 99).

On one hand, there are regrets for everything they had left behind, but on the other hand, faith and hope for a brighter future, far away from the country:

> N-am luat cu mine niciun manuscris (tot ce a rămas în țară, inedit, scris până în 1946, s-a pierdut iremediabil), nicio carte, afară de un pachet conținând câte un exemplar din cele apărute până în 1946, niciun tablou, și cât de rău îmi pare!, nici măcar „faimosul” album cu autografe. Nu exagerez spunând că, pentru cineva care pleca pentru totdeauna, ne-am îmbarcat în Orient Express cu mâinile în buzunare. […] La ieșirea pe ușă, Mira m-a sărutat, și uitându-se pentru cea din urmă oară la apartamentul făcut cu atâtea lacrimi și trudă, o podidi plânsul. Apoi făcu câțiva pași înapoi, și îndreptându-se spre o măsuță pe care se aflau câteva obiecte de artă, luă un vechi crucifix de lemn pe care-l puse în poșetă. A fost tot ce am luat cu noi. Crucifixul se află și astăzi la mine (Baciu, 1998, pp. 100-101).

While in France, in Marseille, the Baciu-Simian couple will embark on the Campana ship bound for Brazil:

> La 1 martie 1949 dis-de-dimineața, am plecat spre port, după ce în ajun controlasem îmbarcarea celor două cufere de lemn în care Mira împachetase tot ce putea fi considerat mica noastră „gospodărie”, și țin minte că fără să ne fi gândit la clima în care urma să trăim, o bună parte din acele lăzi fusese umplută cu îmbrăcăminte grea, europeană, care nu ne-a servit niciodată la nimic, afară de un palton îmblănit pe care-l cumpărasem la Neuman la Brașov, îndată după căsătorie, și care mai târziu, în prima noastră locuință de la Rio de Janeiro, a fost tăiat în bucăți și transformat în ... covor de blană! (Baciu, 1998, p. 129).

The same emotion will be felt by the Romanian psychologist, Serge Moscovici, once he arrived in Paris, the feeling that everything he had was packed in a suitcase, and his fate depended on that city, where he would stay and “take root”:

> La coborârea din tren, aveam un franc în buzunar și țineam strâns toată avuția mea: o valiză mică din carton în care se aflau câteva lucruri, un almanah și manuscrisul Mării Roșii. […] Sosirea la Paris rămâne totuși evenimentul fondator din existența mea. Un exil se termina, altul începea. Însă exilul este o artă care se învață (Moscovici, 2021, pp. 67-68).

This unhappiness of being separated from books, from personal items, is a recurrent theme among the writers in exile in different parts of the world.

Because in his parents’ house and in Vienna, in general, he felt insecure, but also as a preparation for the exile that was to follow, Stefan Zweig had bought a house in Salzburg. Zweig's biography shows the episode of his last visit to Salzburg in 1936, shortly before he left the country forever. This is the time when, in order to leave the past behind, the writer destroys some of his epistles and documents:

> Preț de două zile soba a fumegat de la un autodafe de scrisori și nenumărate documente. Stefan stătea și se uita la flăcările care parcă descătușau ceva în ființa lui [...] După ce focul s-a stins, Zweig a plecat singur din casă. Un bun prieten l-a văzut pe când cobora dealul și s-a speriat de căutătura încordată a lui Zweig (Prochnik, 2019, p. 121).

In exile, in the United States, more precisely in New York, in 1941, the Austrian writer looked completely detached from the world around him. The only thing that seems to connect him with the environment is the fact that in each photo he touches books, it is as if he clenched his hands around them like around a ballast that will prevent him from getting lost. But where did Zweig's passion for the book, as an inseparable object, come from: “he had always valued the refuge of reading. His parents remembered that he used to lock himself in a room with a book to escape the hustle and bustle of the family's active social life” (Prochnik, 2019, pp. 91-92).

During his stay both in North and South America, the remains of his library served as an antidote to the tumult of those times. The enthusiasm, which had seized him when he was given free access to the university library, is touching: "I can take home as many books as I want and I can go alone to research the shelves," he wrote to his relatives in England or "Now books are a more pleasant companion than people and I had to deprive them for too long” (Prochnik, 2019, p. 93), he stated in another letter.

In Stefan Zweig’s soul, anxiety was born as a result of the separation from books: "The way he lamented their lack proves that they were both sensual objects that could be held in hand and caressed and vehicles of sublimation - physical entities, intermediaries between this world and a higher realm” (Prochnik, 2019, p. 94).

In an essay written shortly before leaving Austria, Zweig described the books in an opposite language, used to suggest the uproar of the exile:

> Ele sunt acolo, așteptând în tăcere. Nu îți cer nimic și nu emit pretenții. Stau cuminți de-a lungul peretelui... Dacă te uiți la ele sau le atingi, nu te strigă și nu-ți cer ceva... Așteaptă până când ești pregătit să le primești; doar atunci se deschid. În primul rând, trebuie să fim înconjurați de liniște exterioară și de pace interioară; abia atunci suntem pregătiți pentru ele (Prochnik, 2019, p. 94).

To Zweig, finding the right book is like playing the piano keyboard in search of the right sound for an inner song. The chosen book "nests itself gently in your hand ... like a closed violin; it contains all the voices of God" (Prochnik, 2019, p. 95).

In Stefan Zweig's case, there are several hypostases of the book:

In the beginning, in his youth, the image of the woman-book is introduced, because Zweig loved books with the passion of a teenager, who discovered, for the first time, a woman's body: "the joy with which he was writing about the books he loved, suggests that he had already experienced the feeling he was going to talk about later, namely that he would open their pages to feel his breath mingling with another's, "as if next to you there is a woman's warm, naked body" (Prochnik, 2019, p. 97). Hence the fact that when he published a book, Zweig seemed more concerned with its smell, appearance, and texture than words. He had been obsessed with the background and layout of his first book, and the printing ink seemed to him the most fragrant smell in the world. When he penetrated the covers of a book, he did so with his whole being.

Another time, we discover the hypostasis of the book that lets itself dominated. One of his bibliophile dreams was his physical closeness to books; he described the experience of going to the bookshelves, anticipating insatiably how you flip through them as follows: "A hundred names linger silently and patiently before the researching eyes, just as the slaves in a seraglio greet their master, waiting for his submissive call, but happy that they are chosen and that they will give him pleasure" (Prochnik, 2019, p. 98).

Nostalgically, Stefan Zweig was falling back to the world of yesterday, in his first years as a bibliophile, when he published his first volume *Coarde de argint*. In his youth, the Austrian writer considered books as transcendence vehicles.

In exile, far from Europe, Zweig wrote to have a sense of belonging, but he wrote about alienation, portraying people who could not adapt anywhere, he acquired international citizenship.

Everything that is human is found in books and they take us away from the temptations of life, they make us agree with ourselves, they guide us when we go through deceptive moments, they help us to express our love when we fall in love and they are our faithful and demanding teachers when we set out to evolve.

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Franz Kafka and the Absurd Universe

Maria-Zoica Balaban

The novel of the twentieth century is characterised by an autonomy of forms, tending to become an autonomous genre. The new novel refuses conventions, that is, the coherent rendering of life, preferring, instead, the demonstration of the artificial. The modern novel no longer follows the methodical analysis of souls, but seeks the inner disorder, the secret of the character's existence. The novel of the twentieth century thus becomes an epic of consciousness. Unlike Joyce, whose novel becomes esoteric, Kafka becomes the founder of an absurd novel. In Kafka's novel, the meaning is suspended in a world that is unable to understand and promote true ideals and values. Franz Kafka represents for the 20th century literature a point of reference, that of the introduction of *the myth of anguish* and of the absurd in the realm of universal literature. Kafka's work seems to concentrate, in a unitary whole, the most important tendencies of the new novel.

Metamorphosis; human condition; despair; death; absurd.

Franz Kafka - through the spiritual dimension and structure of his work - brings the absurd universe into the prose of the twentieth century. The novel of the twentieth century is characterised by an autonomy of forms, tending to become an autonomous genre. If the traditional novel is built around a central nucleus, the modern novel detaches itself from this perspective, proposing a new, resized universe, in which the author's voice is replaced by the characters' different voices. The truth is relativized and viewed from several perspectives. The epic universe is presented as an enigma that constantly demands the reader's insight. The new novel refuses conventions, that is, the coherent rendering of life, preferring instead the demonstration of the artificial. The modern novel no longer follows the methodical analysis of souls, but seeks the inner disorder, the secret of the character's existence. The traditional psychological analysis is replaced with a new illogical novel, based on discontinuity and incoherence; modern writers are no longer omniscient, they explore, in depth, in order to find the man's essence. The modern novel tries to reveal the principles of subjectivity, starting from the premise according to which man is a subjective essence. The modern novel no longer wants to tell a story; it is no longer obliged to respect a chronology. The chronology is totally suspended in the new novel. The fundamental change occurs in terms of chronology; in Sartre's terms, we witness, with the new novel "a mutilation of time". The novel of the twentieth century thus becomes an epic of consciousness. The modern novel appears to the reader in the form of a musical composition or in the form of the strange architecture of a labyrinth. The new novel becomes, in the case of some writers, a myth. This is what happens with James Joyce, whose novel is enriched with myths until it becomes an esoteric novel - reality and legend or game of reality and symbols. Joyce's work appears to be a work oversaturated with meanings. All events take on a certain meaning, a more or less hidden meaning, the reality thus appearing in a symbolic context. Unlike Joyce, whose novel becomes esoteric, Kafka becomes the founder of an absurd novel. R. M. Albérès distinguished between Joyce and Kafka, considering Joyce's work as "a universe of meanings", and Kafka's work as "a universe of sub-meanings". Kafka's work outlines the image of a world in which the deeds of the ordinary life, instead of acquiring an esoteric meaning, become absurd. In Kafka's novel, the meaning is suspended in a world that is unable to understand and promote true ideals and values.

Franz Kafka represents for the 20th century literature a point of reference, that of the introduction of *the myth of anguish* and of the absurd in the realm of universal literature. Kafka's work seems to concentrate in a unitary whole the most important tendencies of the new novel. The new novel brings the time disarticulation with its perpetual timeless presence. As far as it concerns this time devaluation, Cioran said the following in *Timp şi anemie*: "Time is inaccessible to me. Unable to follow its cadence, I cling to it or contemplate it, but I am never in it: it is not my element. My inability to grab a little of the time that everyone has access to is futile!" (Cioran, 1992, p.37). Kafka's whole work is under the sign of struggle, a struggle for the revelation of the truth. He will try to discover "by word what cannot be expressed by word" (Balotă, 1971, p.163).

An erudite spirit, Franz Kafka seemed to come from "unfathomable depths, from forbidden territories, from inaccessible areas" (Enescu, 1968, p.16). Studies on Franz Kafka and his work have led literary critics to consider that we are talking about Franz Kafka when we talk about the absurd universe. Franz Kafka is the one who introduced in the 20th century literature the myth of anguish and the absurd. The absurd is outlined as a crisis phenomenon. Unlike the great literary currents: romanticism, classicism, baroque - which adhered to a certain conception of the world and life and had a certain aesthetics, the absurd prefers the path of continuous refusals. The absurd is neither a literary school, nor a literary current, but it is a crisis phenomenon with multiple faces: social, existential, communication and language crisis, crisis of the Divine. Nicolae Balotă in his work *Lupta cu absurdul* says the following about this crisis: "Once it would manifest, the crisis phenomenon is presented as a disorder, a breaking of an existing order, as a judgment, a condemnation of that order". (Balotă, 1971, p.163) A new "order" will now be born, an "order" born out of the decomposition of a world and a society, incapable of understanding and promoting true ideals and real values.

We meet an absurd, illogical, discontinuous, incoherent and alienated world. The crisis is not only manifested on a physical, material level, at the level of society, but it is also a crisis on a spiritual level, of interiority. Nicolae Balotă quotes Arnold Toynbee who thought that in such a disintegration process of a world two schisms take place: on the one hand, the schism of the social organism, on the other hand, the schism of the soul. In such a borderless world, without the possibility of hope, a disoriented man appears, unable to understand what is going on around him, a man without convictions, who is denied any chance and any hope. His destiny is similar to that of a larva; he indulges himself in all sorts of situations, without ever finding a way to save himself. In fact, "everything he thinks, he says, is a shadow, a simulacrum of action and thought". (Balotă, 1971, p.11), thus, the man living in crisis cannot understand the purpose of this absurd world. A social aspect of this crisis is represented by the reification process. This is a process in which social relations take the form of relations between objects, and man becomes from the subject of social processes their object, like a thing. In a reified world, man becomes a machine, being replaced by machines, thus opening up the possibility of many absurd manifestations. The human world has a relentless faith; the human world seems to turn into an antihuman world of absurd and impossible. The absurd consists of "the divorce between the need to understand and to explain, specific to reason … irrational character of the world and of existence ... the world becomes absurd through the fact that it cannot be circumscribed" (Balotă, 1971, p.25). If the world is irrational and cannot be circumscribed, then man will act on irrational impulse and alienation. The absurd hero, the absurd man no longer finds his place in society, he is abandoned by the great collective hopes that once inspired individuals' minds and souls: "he lacks a spiritual center, and outside he finds no points of support" (Balotă, 1971, p.31). In such conditions man no longer finds his center, loses his spirituality and is subjected to a mechanised process, his existence will no longer take place under normal conditions, but we will witness the development of a failed existence and finally – this will lead to death. Time is mutilated, the world is reified and the absurd man has no choice but to passively accept his destiny, without finding any answer to his questions.

1. *The Man - an expression of loneliness and revolt*

Referring to Kafka's work, Albert Camus stated that: "The destiny and perhaps the greatness of this work is to offer everything and not to confirm anything" (Camus, 1969, p.148). From the first moments we get to know Kafka's work, it strikes us the image of a man incapable of fighting, a lonely man permanently in the middle of a neverending fight. His diary reveals a continuous struggle with the things that cannot be expressed, doomed to death in the end. To Kafkian man, "loneliness that belongs to nature ... would justify the hatching of an unhappy conscience of guilt" (Balotă, 1971, p.159). Loneliness and guilt are existentialism-related topics. It is known that Franz Kafka came very close to Soren Kierkegaard. They have structural and destiny affinities: "Their interior life is an unbroken series of relentless failures. Their public life is a repeated mortification" (Enescu, 1968, p.19). What brings Kafka closer to Kierkegaard is, on one hand, the art of metamorphosis, on the other hand, the tendency of each to explain the human condition. Both lived their subjective truths, but failed, without being able to find a balance in an objective world. For Kafka, the one who said in *Jurnal* that "I am nothing but literature, and I cannot, and do not want to be anything else" (Kafka, 1984, p.119), loneliness is a means of atrophy of all the senses; loneliness is what brings with it indifference, weakness and inability to write. In fact, he himself admits it in *Jurnal*:

> The state I am in is not unhappiness, but it is neither happiness, nor indifference, nor weakness, nor exhaustion, nor anything else to look at me - and then, what, in fact? Because I don't know either, that comes, of course, from the inability to write anymore. And…, I think I understand this, even without knowing its causes (Kafka, 1984, pp.24-25).

The man emerges in the pages of the diary as a miserable, lonely being, dominated by guilt. This feeling of guilt tortured him and, in loneliness, it worsens more and more. Kafka's fault lies in the possibility "of not being in truth" (Balotă, 1971, p.159). He is not in truth because he does not find the balance and the answers to questions that seem to gather him in an iron circle of fatality; he cannot justify his existence: why he lives, what he lives for, what he wants from life, what he has to do to find his balance, where he will go. These are just a few questions to which he will diligently look for the answer, but he will never find it. In Kafka's work, loneliness seems to have the attributes of a demonic power, condemning the man in a world of hostile forces, a world of monstrous absurdity. The loneliness sometimes becomes really suffocating, bringing the man closer to insanity. Loneliness determines the anxiety and the despair of the man. His efforts become sisyphic, doomed to failure. Like Sisyphus, the man develops in himself a vain and hopeless work. Like Sisyphus, Kafka is also aware of the existence he has – a desolating and lonely one, he is aware of his effort as a human being in an absurd universe. For him, time is an obstacle to the progress he would make. Radu Enescu speaks about the "tragedy of an outraged loneliness" in Kafka's works, a loneliness that isolated him from the world, from people and from God: "I remained forever - away from girls, elegant outings and dancing teas" (Kafka, 1984, p.83). Kafka is aware that he is living a tragic existence, tortured by the idea of not truly living and the desire to be in Truth. At the border between torture and desire, there is hope, the hope for a life lived as irrationally as possible:

> I live as irrationally as possible. Instead of shaking myself, I sit and think about how I could express all these as aggressively as possible…I refuse being pushed, but I'm not convinced that I know the right path, and then what's going to happen?" (Kakfa, 1984, p.83).

Unable to communicate with others, failing both socially and on a family level, isolating himself in the institution where he works, Kafka is aware that he is heading somewhat to self-destruction. Although he tries to escape, to free himself, all his attempts are doomed to failure. Finally, he uses one last solution - writing - by writing, through the power of the Word, he wanted to get rid of everything that represented for him the image of the father, the cloistering space of his childhood: "In my writing it was about you, I was only there to mourn for the things for which I could not mourn on your chest" (Kafka, 1984, pp. 269-270). These words somehow demand the need for separation from the family, from the authoritarian father, but at the same time they also demand a return to the place that determined his sentence.

2. *The Man – a manifestation of crawling and filth*

The consequence of loneliness and revolt is the destruction of the being, its fall and the impossibility of rising. Kafka is - like Cioran - the product of a hypertrophied destiny, an existence lived like a painful satire, abominable, between vaguely perceptible things and obsessive dilemmas, restless and apocalyptic despair. In a prose poem from the volume *Pe culmile disperării*, Cioran tried to highlight precisely this dynamic of feelings, this anxious obsessive anxiety, saying:

> There is so much confusion, confusion and chaos in me that I do not know how a human soul can handle all. Everything you want you can find in me, absolutely everything. I am a human being left from the beginning of the world, in which the elements have crystallized and in which the initial chaos plays its madness (Cioran, 1990, pp.133-134).

In Kafka's novels we are dealing with an apocalyptic despair that denies the individual the opportunity to rise, to hope, to access. The pages of the diary outline very well the tortures – real or imaginary – to which the Kafkian man is subjected. He imagines a universe in which the man is reduced to its physical aspects. His fears spring from the impossibility of a real life. Loneliness and anxiety along with dirt and atrophy create "a universe overwhelmed by anxiety, in which euphoria is totally absent and the adherence to destiny is not made with the liberating frenezy, but contre-coeur, with an acute consciousness of the tragedy of this fate" (Enescu, 1968, p.143). Going through the stages of such a tragic destiny, the Kafkian man desperately seeks an opportunity to escape, to free himself from the straps of time and space. Look at how he imagines such a state that is meant to release him: "To wake up on a cold autumn morning... Push yourself through the almost closed window and, mirroring yourself in the windows …. to float, until you fall, with your arms open, with the belly out, with the legs arched, like the figures on the bow of ships from ancient times" (Kafka, 1984, p.59). It is a perspective of the imaginary freedom because in reality all attempts to liberate himself and to live in the Truth have failed. The inability to find the way to liberation gives rise to congestion. The Kafkian man seems to be trying to advance on this path of the unknown, but he cannot do this because he has a paralysis feeling that seems to embrace him. Not being able to find his place anywhere, living in the deepest solitude, the Kafkian man follows a path of decay crystallized into one of dirt and then, finally, into one of metamorphosis. One aspect of this "downward evolution" is the image of the clothes caught in a moment of maximum tension:

> I noticed ... that I was particularly badly dressed ... I had started to underestimate myself ... I didn't want new clothes …, because if I was still going to look bad, at least I wanted to feel comfortable ... I came to imagine that I was no longer interested at all in the way I look (Kafka, 1984, pp.79-80).

The coat has, in this case, a dehumanizing effect. The clothes replace the man and, at the same time, they symbolically represent him. The garment appears as an effigy of man, as a protection of his inner being. We are witnessing an involutionary process in the sense that there is a transition from human existence to animal existence: "I started to walk…with drooping shoulders, outstretched arms… with every step …I consider myself unworthy, childish and worthy of contempt as I am" (Kafka, 1984, p.80). His torture - real or imaginary - is only a question of a way of existence that he would have liked to be part of: "To know yourself, as a whole … To strengthen yourself…as you gather a ball in the palm. To accept a total decay as something already known and, thus, to remain more elastic" (Kafka, 1984, p.100). From the futility of human effort to make sense of things will arise a universe of continuous metamorphoses. The metamorphosis will start from the frozen "fingertips", then up, gradually, gradually, until it turns the man into a piece of wood. There will be an atrophy of senses and insecurity and ambiguity will become the basic pillars of metamorphoses. The *serpents of horror* and the *serpents of fear* are the ones that will come to shape the image of the being in a particular, absurd world - man as a metamorphosed being.

3. *The Man – a metamorphosed being*

In Franz Kafka's absurd world, inner tension reaches its climax in the image of the man as a metamorphosed being. The short story- *Metamorfoza*, along with *Fochistul* and *Verdictul* belong to the second stage of Kafka's creation, a creation that reflects the antagonism between the personal life and the professional life in a specific society, as well as the impossibility of reconciling in a harmonious existence because of existing social contradictions. Franz Kafka's Metamorphosis is, in fact a parabolic writing, a ciphered story whose meaning is equivocal, ambiguous precisely because of its enigmatic virtuality. According to *Dicţionarul de simboluri*, metamorphosis appears as a transformation; it can be ascending or descending, as it represents a reward or a punishment or according to the pursued aims. The change of form does not seem to affect the deep personality that generally retains its name and psyche. Metamorphosis is outlined as a symbol of identification, to a personality on the way to individualization, which has not yet really assumed the totality of its ego. The *Metamorphosis* is about the zoomorphism of Kafkian parables with themes from the animal world. It is the story of a man who wakes up one morning metamorphosed into a frightening bug. From the very beginning we step into a strange, uncertain world, where the familiar things change into an aesthetics of the grotesque. The metamorphosis determines the division of the world: on one hand - the ordinary world persists, on the other hand, we enter, simultaneously, a totally different world. The two worlds co-exist. The new world is an autonomous world, of non-familiar things, as if all the elements that form the familiar universe have vanished. What impresses is the image of the character's ego split between the conscious intention of the bug with human eyes and the automatism of the unconscious. This splitting of the self and the lived existence on both plans create the charm of a grotesque and at the same time, painful irony. In *Metamorphosis* we meet a lot of influences:

> "Anxiety, the despair of Kierkegaard's paradox, the limits-situations of Jaspers, the concern and anxiety of the man thrown - according to Heidegger - into a hostile world in which he consumes, with his face turned to nothingness, a desolate and solitary existence, the Sisyphean effort, *a priori* doomed to failure, of a precarious human being in an absurd universe" (Enescu, 1968, p.67).

Gregor Samsa was a traveling clerk who woke up one morning metamorphosed into a bug, he thought for the moment that he was having a nightmare, then he gradually became acquainted with the particular universe of the creature whose appearance he had taken. The new world in which he finds himself is different from that of his family, of his workplace, of his ordinary existence. He still wants to communicate with the true reality, but he will soon realize that both the world and his communication are denied. Although, at first, he thinks he is the victim of a hallucination, then he realizes that he lives - through metamorphosis - in a new reality, a frightening one. “What would it be”, says Gregor Samsa,

> “if I took another nap and forgot about all this nonsense ... but the idea turned out to be completely unachievable, because he used to sleep on the right side and, in the current situation, he could not return to that position anymore” (Kafka, 1996, p.80).

Things that in his daily world seemed to him simple mechanical gestures become impossible to achieve in this new universe:

> “No matter how hard he tries to throw himself on the right side, he rolled backwards every time. he tried for hundreds of times, closing his eyes so as not to have to see his legs writhing and gave up only when he began to feel a slight, dull pain that he had not known before” (Kafka, 1996, p.80).

The new world in which Gregor Samsa enters looks like a whole, a unity having its own organization. We will see during the analysis of the short story that the metamorphosis will remain on an external side, because beyond the shell, Gregor Samsa continues to be a man who has lost neither his lucidity nor his feelings. Through metamorphosis, the man’s humanity destroys itself, but not entirely, the character preserving something that used to be his deep personality. In Gregor’s case we talk about the destruction of humanity and kindness, the character turning into a simple robot. His concern was to solve professional problems in order to support his family. The routine had taken over his existence; the same things were repeated every day: he woke up, he knew the trains timetables, the greatest concern being not to be late, not to miss the train. In addition to the multitude of professional duties, Gregor Samsa allowed himself small joys. His only joy was reduced to reading the newspaper, in the evening, in the middle of the family. His existence is shaped by very few events: his job, his return home, his family. In the morning when he wakes up metamorphosed, Gregor Samsa reflects bitterly on his banal existence:

> "Oh, Lord, he thought, what a tiring job I have chosen! Every day on the roads. The inconveniences of business are much more unbearable than those of the old parent store, in addition, I have to endure the torment of travel, taking care not to lose train connections, bad meals, relationships with people, which always change, do not last and can never become more intimate" (Kafka, 1996, p.81).

In his case we are talking about a metaphysically guilty character, in the sense that he is unable to realize that, in fact, the guilt is in himself and, in its own failed existence, it is an inner guilt, not an external one. Our character, like other Kafkian characters, remains a phenomenon and is not able to know the essence. From the moment Gregor Samsa is subjected to the process of metamorphosis, he ceases to be a possible existence and turns into a final, definitive reality. From an everyday world and a real, ordinary life, Gregor Samsa enters a world whose tendency is to close itself on those within it. This new world in which Gregor enters "is not made to receive the man as such, but to frustrate his efforts" (Balotă, 1971, p.191). Between the ordinary reality of the traveler Gregor Samsa and that particular bug there are a series of relationships that do nothing but outline the absurd. Even tough he is subjected to a metamorphosis in the absurd world, he wants to make in this new world the same gestures as in the ordinary world. In time, he realizes that in the absurd world, things lose their value and become the other way around, proportional to things in the ordinary world. His adaptation to the new world was gradually realized; although, at first, he refuses this world, in time, this world will become his accomplice. For Gregor, things lose their value in this absurd world: the food, which he once liked, he now disgusts, instead of sweetened milk, with slices of white bread, he prefers rotten vegetables, bones left over from the dinner on which the mold had settled and dry bread. Gradually the furniture becomes annoying for Gregor, preferring instead the empty walls, the ceiling of the room that will incite him to climb. Samsa is reduced to animality:

> "in a short time, even food did not give him any pleasure, so he got into the habit of having fun, climbing, crosswise, on the walls on the ceiling. He especially liked to

> hang from the ceiling; it was completely different from lying on the floor; he breathes more; he felt a kind of vibration all over his body" (Kafka, 1996, pp.106-107)

Soon, the furniture is taken out of his room: the closet, the desk to make it easier for Gregor – the bug - to climb; thus, he could "wander between the bare wall" (Kafka, 1996, p.109). The character - as I said above - is metaphysically guilty, he indulges in the state of phenomenon, refusing to jump to the essence. From this point of view, Gregor's image emerges from the perspective of submission - in the sense that the character appears to be undergoing an extensive process of reification, that is, from a subject of action, he becomes its object. Samsa ceases to be a bearer of goals, he becomes a means of earning money. For Radu Enescu, the metamorphosis of Gregor Samsa into a bug reflects the relationship between *to be* and *to have*. Samsa stops being, he wants to have. He somewhat forgets his human essence being possessed by the desire to have money in order to help his family. The more he wanted to have, the more he ceased to be. Out of the need to save his family, Gregor seems too be the slave of having. In this case, Radu Enescu's words are totally convincing: "Whoever wants to possess at any cost, ceases to be an active being, so a possibility that can be realized, becoming a possessed one" (Enescu, 1968, p.132). Samsa wants to own, but at the same time, he becomes a possessed being, the slave of his own profession. Samsa is seen by the family as a means of earning money. There is a reciprocal relationship between Gregor and his family; - although it would not seem so - in the sense that Samsa wants to have, but his family also wants to have. Gregor's possibilities to have, however, stop with his metamorphosis. From the moment he can no longer have, the family doesn't want to have him either, they condemn him. and in the end, the family eliminates him. If he had chosen *to be*, Gregor Samsa would certainly have reached personal independence and could have made the ontological leap. He, on the contrary, opts for *to have*, for possession and because of this option he will end up destroying his own existence and eventually disappearing, the character dying of despair. Gregor's fault lies in the alienation of the human essence. Even if Gregor is metamorphosed, the man inside him cannot be completely destroyed; he does not lose his human quality because his affection and lucidity remain. Although he is turned into a bug, Gregor Samsa does not become a *full* animal, on the contrary, in some cases he is even more human than his family. Moreover, Gregor is not the ossified one, but his family seems ossified in conventions. Gregor desperately tries to reintegrate into the family, being benevolent towards it, but the family opposes his intentions and condemns him once and for all. It is well known that Franz Kafka undoubtedly suffered from an inferiority complex to his father. This is obvious in *Metamorphosis*: in the relationship between Gregor Samsa and his father. Changed into a bug, Gregor sees his father's attitude as a very natural one, "excessive severity as the only appropriate attitude towards his son" (Kafka, 1996, p.113). If the relationship between the father and the son reflects an inferiority ratio of the first towards the second, the relationship with his mother is outlined not only in the pages of his diary, but also in *Metamorphosi*s, as a sweet, affectionate relationship, full of wisdom. The Mother is a symbol of safety, warmth, love. Gregor is worried about the fact that he can't work anymore, he is aware of his social uselessness. At the same time, however, the music excites him:

> "attracted by the song of the violin, Gregor dared to move forward a little and woke up with his head in the living room ... Was he a simple animal, when the music moved him so deeply? He had the impression that he was finally discovering the path to the unknown food, which he wanted so much" (Kafka, 1996, p.121)

Gradually, Gregor becomes aware of his appearance, he hides himself in order not to disgust, and when everyone wishes him dead, he gives up and dies. Gregor ends tragically, devoured by inexorable forces, dying of despair. He can no longer resist the objective world which proves to be much stronger than his own person. The objective reality crushes him in the end, after having mutilated his last piece of humanity. From this point of view, Franz Kafka's Metamorphosis remains "an authentic, human utopia that does not jump over reality, but it exposes it" (Enescu, 1968, p.180).

In *Metamorfoza*, we make acquaintance with a social universe on the verge of disintegration, in which forces act chaotically, on the other hand we enter the human universe to know the hidden, decadent and gloomy face of man. In German, there is a phrase that states: *Sagen Sie, was Sache ist!* (Say what you have to say!) (Parasca, 2016, p.65). I think that Gregor Samsa said what he had to say in a world where the dimensions were changed, where people behaved in different ways, in extremely different and unexpected situations. Above all, the subjective experience is the one that counts. From this perspective, in Kafka's case there is an irreversibility of the metamorphosis, or rather "of a possibility in which man can slip, a mortal perspective that opens up to him. Because there is in fantastic anonymity not only the return to savagery, but also the perversion of a superior state" (Vax, 1963, p.25).

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Junji Ito's contemporary visual adaptation of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. A comparative study

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The article's main aim is to discuss the adaptation of *Frankenstein* by Junji Ito, through the approach that focuses on contemporary Japanese visual popular culture (Norris 2009). Although Frankenstein was adapted through various media by the Western culture as well, the artistic value brought by the Japanese adaptation is not regarded as a mere derivative of the original novel, but of an actual "equal artistic status" (Pusztai, 2015), as the unique characteristics of the Junji Ito's macabre aesthetic complemented the original story. The reason why such an analysis is done on Junji Ito's adaptation and no other is the fact that his manga received the Eisner Award in 2019, under the category of "Best adaptation from another medium". The analysis of the mechanics of Junji Ito's visual storytelling, as well its comparison with the imagery created in the novel by Mary Shelley is performed using Eisner's (1985) theory on comics and sequential art. Moreover, the current analysis may serve as a reference for future research and Japanese visual adaptations for various Western novels.

Gothic novel; visual storytelling; manga; Japanese adaptation.

I. Introduction

The goal of this article is to present the alternative to the common Western visual adaptation of Marry Shelley's *Frankenstein*, namely the manga with the same name, illustrated by Junji Ito, who is the Master of Japanese horror manga. The Japanese visual adaptation of the novel is important not only because it is regarded as the `Best of its medium`, having received the Eisner Award in this category, but also due to the fact that it provides an analysis of a literary masterpiece from the perspective of a different culture.

With the help of research techniques such as descriptive and comparative analysis, we aim to define and examine the elements that create Junji Ito's horror universe, which can be seen in some of his famous works). Additionally, we will compare the differences and similarities between the original novel and the manga with regards to some of the story's major themes and by doing so, depict the transmedial narratology of the Japanese version.

Previous studies that used Eisner's theory as well when analysing manga were conducted by Cohn (2008) where the analysis would focus both on the elements categorized through Eisner's theory and other elements which focused on the Japanese visual language. Cohn (2008) also analysed the panel transition role in the manga's *sequential meaning* that served the storytelling process while drawing a comparison between the American comics and Japanese comics (known as manga). Omori et al. (2004) and Ngo et al. (2011) studies use Eisner's theory along with eye-tracking instruments in order to measure the impact of the comic's panel structure and fragmentation upon the reader's perception and reading speed.

Thus, the current study extends the discussion by including manga adaptations and the original novel for comparison. By this, the analysis offers a better understanding of the narrative mechanics across media (from novel to manga).

II. Junji Ito's horror universe

When discussing the topic of the Japanese horror genre, albeit in terms of the manga visual adaptation, it is quite difficult not to encounter the name, Junji Ito. He became passionate about the horror genre and manga, as a young boy, by reading the works of other authors and watching movies with his older sisters, one of them being a `70s adaptation of *Frankenstein*. Although he finished his education with a degree in Dental Technology, rather than pursuing a career as a dental technician, he chose to apply his knowledge of anatomy in illustrating gruesome images of the human body as realistically as possible in his works, stating in various interviews that for him '*visual imagery is very important'* (Ricardo, 2019) and '*he aims to present that in a form that is believable to the reader while also presenting completely unique imagery'* (Ricardo, 2019).

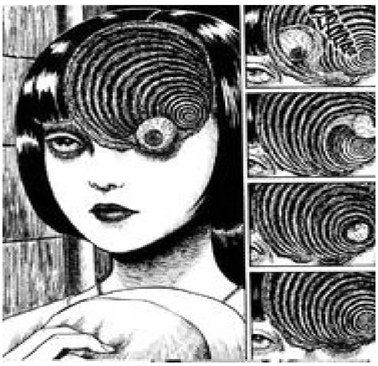
Junji Ito's works are particularly intriguing/frightful because of his mixed usage of the subgenres of horror: body and psychological horror. The first one, body horror is commonly used in the visual adaptations of this genre and can be characterized by the uncontrollable and graphic changes of the body (Baker, 2000). It usually appears as either the fusion of the human body with foreign objects (replacing some parts of the body with mechanical/technological objects, the body parts of other species, animal or supernatural) or exaggerated anatomic disfigurement (mostly through the means of violence and having the goal of the victim being alive but losing most or all the basic functions) leading to a disaster. This type is particularly impactful because we believe our body to stand at the centre of our existence, it is what gives us stability and by damaging this pillar, the horror artists instil in us, the audience, a profound sense of fear and fragility.

Ito's manga depict this type of impossible deformations and bodily harm (Ricardo, 2019). One such example is his critically acclaimed manga *Uzumaki,* in which the lives of high school students are disrupted by the supernatural events taking place in their small town, caused by the appearance of an ancient curse revolving around spirals. In the chapter titled `*The Snail*`, one of the high school boys, Katayama, who is severely bullied by his classmates, keeps arriving to school only on rainy days, and throughout the chapter we can see how his behaviour slowly changes, he is late to class, his movements become slower, and his body starts changing, until one day he arrives at school half human, half snail. The upper part of his body remains that of a human, but the lower part is replaced by a snail's shell, with a spiral design on it and the events continue with him and his bully fully morphing into snails. (Ito, 2013a).

Fig.1 (Ito, 2013a, 246)

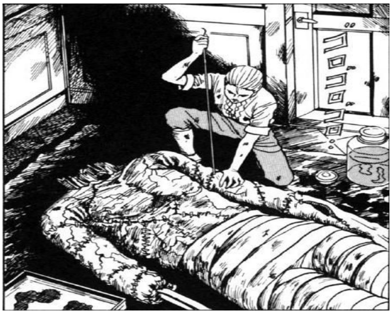
Another instance of body horror in Uzumaki, is in the chapter titled `The Scar`, in which one of the high school girls, Azami, is affected by the Spiral curse. The signs that she has been cursed appear when the small scar on her forehead grows and transforms into a spiral, in the end becoming a vortex that engulfs her body, killing her in the process (Ito, 2013a).

Fig. 2 (Ito, 2013a, 100)



In his adaptation of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, he adopts a subgroup, of body horror, the medicalone (as opposed to the non-medical ones described above), in which the protagonist must be a person of science, usually a doctor who ends up inflicting damage on himself and on others. In this case, the protagonist is Victor Frankenstein, a student of science at the University of Ingolstadt, who becomes obsessed with succeeding in artificially creating human life, by building a body with different human parts, achieving his goal, and regretting his actions in the end. In his adaptation, Ito never strays from Mary Shelley's descriptions in the novel, aiming to realistically show every scar and disfigurement of the creature in order to also express the physical pain caused by its monstruous body.

Fig.3 (Ito, 2013b, 46)



The second subgenre of horror that appearsis the psychological one. This type involves mentally tormenting the victims, in most cases the mental damage is as intense as the physical one, the author being able to have an impact on the readers' emotional states, as well, by evoking emotions such as fear, disgust, frustration and at the same time fascination. In his stories Junji Ito uses various techniques to express the emotional distress that the characters are going through, one of them being *nagare,* in which a single incident is replayed over multiple panels in order to depict the various emotional stages of the character (Li, 2016). This can be seen above in fig. 2, which depicts the moment when Azami's right eye is swallowed by the spiral vortex, with every one of the five panels we can observe the gradual disappearance of her eye.

Moreover, to create the mood and tension of a scene, as well as to portray the feelings of a character, Ito makes use of frequent close-ups in the panels (Tsai, 2018). If the author succeeds in picking the best moment to present the character's facial features through a close shot, he will be able to shorten the distance between the character and the reader, the latter beginning to empathize with the former and get drawn into the narrative. Moreover, in the case of most horror manga, it can help intensify the negative emotions of the readers towards the unfolding events and/or characters. In the first chapter of Uzumaki, there are various instances in which close-ups are used to show a man's growing obsession with spirals. This can be seen in the figures below, in which we can see the horrible fight of the man with his wife, the cause of it being his obsession with spirals, which ended with the highlighting of the man's grotesque display of rolling his eyes, as if to imitate a spiral.

Fig. 6 is a perfect example of the importance of the eyes for Ito's visual representation of the story. He uses the eyes in order to draw a clear line between the characters who can still be considered humans and those that are slowly losing or have already lost their humanity. Usually for the average characters the ration between the irises and the whites of their eyes will be balanced, but for the second category he will either exaggerate the size of the eyeball, and draw abnormal irises in conjunction with large eyes, or the eyes will be drawn without having any irises. In figure 6, we can also see the use of rough hatching (making some parts of an image darker, in order to highlight other parts) around the eyes and the lower part of the face in order to highlight the abnormal eyes.

Fig. 4, 5, 6 (Ito, 2013a, 28-30)

Another important aspect of the creation of the psychological horror in his stories is the fact that the main theme of the story is easily understood by the reader from the very beginning. The first chapter of *Uzumaki* is based on a man's great passion for the abstract shape of spirals, which gradually becomes an abnormal obsession and culminates in the man losing his life by forcing his body to form the shape of a spiral. This story is impactful for the readers because they can empathize at first with the man, for his seemingly innocent passion for spiral, only to feel deceived and disgusted by the ending. The theme of obsession is also presented in his adaptation of *Frankenstein*, at first, we see Victor Frankenstein's obsession with succeeding in bringing the creature to life. Ito used the same techniques in order to better depict the moment in which Victor's obsession reached its peak. The area surrounding his silhouette and his eyes is darkened to highlight the large white and abnormal eyes, making him appearfrightening. This image is also the one that plants the seed of doubt in our mind, because we can't help but believe him to be more monster than human. And this, as well as all described above is why Junji Ito is the master of Japanese horror manga.

Fig.7 (Ito, 2013b, 41)

III. Themes in *Frankenstein*: comparison between the novel and the visual adaptation.

Mary Shelley published her novel *Frankenstein; or the Modern Prometheus* in 1818 and even now, after 200 years, it is considered to be a masterpiece of the gothic genre and the topics it addresses are considered to be relevant. This is the reason why it remained a favourite for various visual adaptations throughout the years and one such adaptation belongs to Junji Ito, which is believed to be one of the best, having won in 2019, at the San Diego Comic-Con, the Eisner Award, under the category of `Best Adaptation from Another Medium`because of its loyalty to the original. It is important to note that the manga adaptation respects even the most complex details of the novel, starting with its intricate narrative structure (Dunn, 1974), the author making sure to distinguish in his illustration the three narrators, Robert Walton, Victor Frankenstein, and the Creature. Moreover, most of the themes of the novel have been depicted in the manga but there are also differences, this being the reason why a comparative analysis of the two is needed.

One of the main themes of the original story is that of the birth or creation of Victor Frankenstein's creature. This stemmed from Victor's ambition of pursuit of knowledge and his need to succeed in an area in which no other man had done so, in that of creating life through artificial means. However, his need cannot only be seen as a genuine desire for knowledge, as he has shown that he would stop to no means to achieve his goal (eg. digging through graveyards to gather the necessary materials), but also him making a mockery of the biblical concept of creation, mocking God by trying to become a Creator himself, this being the catalyst for all the catastrophic events that followed. As can be seen in the excerpt from the novel: '*His limbs were in proportion, and I had selected his features as beautiful.... His yellow skin scarcely covered the work of muscles and arteries* *beneath; his hair was of a lustrous black, and flowing; his teeth of a pearly whiteness; but these luxuriances only formed a more horrid contrast with his watery eyes'* (Shelley, 1831, 48), Victor has conflicting emotions regarding his creation, he is both amazed and repulsed by the Creature and by the time the Creature opened its eyes, Victor felt nothing but disgust for it, because of its monstruous, forgetting the joy of achieving what nobody else had before him. Loyal to the Shelley's description, Junji Ito, aimed to portray as realistically as possible all the imperfections of the Creature, in order to both create an image worthy of its subgenre, body horror, but to also convey both the physical and psychological pain of the Creature, as can be seen in the figure below.

Fig. 8 (Ito, 2013b, 53)

Still, Junji Ito's *Frankenstein* differentiates itself from the novel because the manga illustrates a scene of a second creation, that of the female companion of Creature. While in the novel, Victor destroys the body of the Creature's companion before it could come to life, in Ito's adaptation, the companion is born, having received the head of the former maid of Frankenstein's family, Justine, who died because of the creature. However, when the companion awakens and sees the face of the Creature it is so scared of its unsightly appearance that she attacks him and ends up being destroyed by the latter. As such the Creature lost the only companion that it could ever have had and the hurt and anger of its loneliness further increased his anger and hatred towards its creator.

Fig. 9, 10 (Ito, 2013b, 168-169)

The second theme, that of alienation can be analysed from the perspective of the three narrators: Victor Frankenstein, the Creature and Robert Walton. In the case of the first, the alienation was self-imposed, he chose to be isolated from his family and society because of his ambition and pursuit of knowledge: '*I must absent myself from all I loved while thus employed.'* (Shelley, 1831, 147). But his choice proved to be his downfall, because although at first he chose to alienate himself from the others in order to create an artificial life, he later found himself needing to be isolated from the others in order to keep his experiment a secret. Furthermore, after the birth of the creature, he was forced to alienate himself in order to keep others away from his creation, until he would finally be able to destroy the monster.

Junji Ito chose to illustrate the impact of Victor Frankenstein's estrangement by highlighting the changes in his appearance as he gradually descended into madness. As can be seen in fig. 11, he was a healthy young man, who, after choosing to alienate himself from the world, in fig. 12, ended up losing weight and having a grim expression, as can be seen in fig. 13, to becoming more of a monster than a man, as illustrated in fig. 8, below.

Fig. 11 (Ito, 2013b, 31); Fig. 12 (Ito, 2013b, 34); Fig. 13 (Ito, 2013b, 39) Fig. 8, above

In the case of the Creature, the second character, he did not choose to isolate himself from the others, but society and his creator rejected him because of his appearance. In the novel there are three instances in which the Creature is rejected, when he was born, he was rejected by his creator, afterwards he was rejected by the villagers: '*I had hardly placed my foot within the door before the children shrieked and one of the women fainted. The whole village was roused, some fled, some attacked me' (*Shelley, 1831, 74) and lastly he was rejected by the family that he grew to like. In the manga these three instances are illustrated but, there is a forth instance in which he is rejected, that of his companion, which can be seen in fig. 9 and 10, who scared by the Creature's unsightly appearance, chooses to attack him.

And last, but not least, the third character who is alienated is Robert Walton. He can be considered a balance between the other two characters, he chose to isolate himself, much like Victor, in his pursuit for knowledge; however, like the Creature, he longs for companionship and that is why he writes letters to his sister.

A third important theme which appears in both the novel and the manga is that of revenge. In this case we can analyse the topic from the perspective of Victor Frankenstein and the Creature. In the novel there are equal opportunities for both the characters to retaliate against each other, the Creature kills his creator's younger brother and is responsible for Justine's death, and Victor is able to avenge the two by making sure that the Creature would never have a companion. Nevertheless, Junji Ito decided to emphasize the feelings of revenge of the creature, as his actions against its creator are highlighted, while Victor does not have the same chance to destroy the companion directly in the manga, and can enjoy only the fact that the Creature was forced to kill his companion, himself.As such we can surmise that even though the visual adaptation follows the original story of the novel, there are instances in which it strays away, but not in a way that would make a drastic change to the chain of events.

Fig. 14 (Ito, 2013b, 65)

IV. Transmedial narratology in Junji Ito’s Frankenstein

Junji Ito’s work is relevant in the context of the transmedial narratology due to the fact that the current manga represents the “pictorial narrative” (Hayman & Pratt, 2005) of *Frankenstein*. Furthermore, manga presents a multimodal medium which focuses on semiotic modes such as the images of the novel’s characters, sequence displayed through the use of borders, panels and gutters and finally words (Kress & von Leeuwen, 1996). The concept of transmedial narratology is defined by Jenkins in his work on *Convergence Culture*, as a ‘*story which unfolds across multiple media platforms with each new text making a distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole’* (Jenkins, 2008, 97-98). Thus, transmediality in story telling is possible due to the fact that various media types have common denominators which give them narrative capacities. (Ellestrom, 2019). Manga can be described as both a medium and a vehicle of storytelling because they use medium-specific features, such as panel sequences, speed lines and speech bubbles to portray a story to their audience (Kukkonen, 2011).

In order to analyse and compare the visual adaptation with the original work of Mary Shelley, one needs to take into consideration a solid framework through which the analysis can be performed. Thus, Eisner’s (1995) work is used to determine the specific terminology and elements required for the analysis.

The elements observed include panels, borders, gutters and balloons. The panel represents a frame which displays a certain scene. The border is the element that outlines the panel, whereas the gutters represent the empty space between the panels. Lastly, balloons contain the words spoken by the characters near them, while the tail of the balloon indicates the speaker (Barton, 2016; Eisner 1995, p.157).

In the context of Japanese manga, onomatopoeia also plays an important role while its typography contributes to the narrative’s tone as well. Katakana (one of the Japanese Kana scripts) is used in order to display a dramatic emphasis on the sound effects of the thunder (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15 The thunder scene (Junji Ito, 2013b)

ビリビリ represents the onomatopoeia for the flow of the electricity, ズドーン is used to describe the thunder, while ピカッ is used to describe the powerful flash of the lightning while also accompanied by the focus lines (集中線). Furthermore, the enlarged font size aims to convey the intensity of the moment (Schodt, 1986).

Another pivotal moment conveyed through the semiotic modes present in manga is the birth of the monster (Fig. 16).

Fig.16 The birth of the monster (Junji Ito, 2013b)

The moment of birth is first conveyed through an open panel in order to emphasize the importance of the breakthrough, while also changing the perspective. The open panel technique and the "camera angle" aid in the size contrast between the characters (Petersen, 2010). The concept of Monster's creation is conveyed using 24 panels across 7 pages. The large number of panels slows down the actions narrated through emphasizing each move (eg. twitching, eye movement) and reaction (characters' expressions).

Additionally, the monster's counterpart creation is conveyed by 27 panels across 5 pages setting a similarly detailed description of the moment, yet in a faster pace as the open panel technique (Barton, 2016) was not used in comparison to the moment of the Monster's birth.

The bleak tone is maintained through the manga medium as well through the intense black and white contrast of the feature shading lines and the background details, namely the surroundings (Horstkotte, 2013).

Furthermore, Itou's focus on expressions underlines the despair of the characters throughout the visual storytelling (Fig. 17).

Fig. 17 Character expressions and narrative flow indicated by the eye-lines (Junji Ito, 2013b)

The reader's dialogue reading and the narrative flow is also guided by the eye-lines, namely through the character's eye-lines (Gardner et. al., 2011).

V. Discussions and further research directions

By analysing the mechanics of Junji Ito's visual storytelling, in relation with the imagery presented in the novel by Mary Shelley, various elements identified in Eisner's (1985) theory on comics and sequential art are applied. Thus, by correctly identifying the means of the transmedial narratives, a further step is taken towards creating an analysis grid that may be applied to other visual adaptations as well. Junji Ito macabre aesthetics displayed in his work complements the storytelling while giving it its own twist. Observing the use of the visual spacing and framing elements aids in offering a systematic analysis of the comic or manga structure in relation with the original novel, which in-turn scaffolds the process of characterisation of the given imagery.

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