LINGUA

Table of Contents

BOOK REVIEWS

Translation Studies

Translation Strategies for Verbal Collocations in Jonathan Coe`s *Middle England*

Iulia-Cristina Antonie (Cotea)

The current paper deals with the functional and structural aspects of collocations while at the same time it explores their socio-cultural features on the grounds of a corpus-based inductive approach. Collocational translation requires in-depth collocational analysis which in turn leads to a tripartite approach based on linguistic, communicative and cultural competence. The meaning of a collocation depends upon the meaning of its constituents so translation becomes more difficult when their figurative meaning is taken into account. Between the untranslatable and easily translatable collocations we come across degrees of translatability depending upon the lexical and cultural congruence between the two languages. But how efortless or how problematic is it to set scientific boundaries? What the paper seeks to explore is some of the strategies used for the translation of verbal collocations in Middle England by Jonathan Coe along with their presentation, attempting to highlight that collocations should not be viewed as mere embellished versions of literal language, but as practical solutions used to fill the void of vocabulary when we are at a loss for the proper translational equivalent.

Collocation; cultural embedding; linguistic barriers; corpus-based translation; free translation; literal translation.

Introduction

Collocational knowledge has far-reaching implications precisely because of their prevalence in language. Significant attainments in the domain of syntactic analysis and the evolution of computer software allowing access to substantial text corpora have led to an impressive evolution in the field of collocation analysis. Many collocations strike us as inevitable selections of words, which means that the choice of one constituent triggers the choice of the other. Native speakers intuitively perceive the lexical constraints governing collocations, whereas second language users need to become familiar with them by means of various linguistic encounters. Thus, if one chooses the wrong collocation, one may be understood but fail to sound natural. Given the fact that the

9

meaning of a collocation is highly dependable upon each of its constituent words, their proper translation sometimes arises hurdles.

The study sets out to scrutinize the strategies and procedures employed in translating collocations along with the effect of context. Translators often find the task of translating collocations as a demanding one as it is a skillful work which imposes that the translator should master both languages and cultures. In addition, geographical, social, religious, or ideological peculiarities interfere in the process of understanding collocations and make this process even more difficult. The process does not always run smoothly, as Nida (1964, 156) said: "Since no two languages are identical either in meanings given or in phrases and sentences, then there can be no absolute correspondence between languages.". Translators need more practice in the direction of gaining awareness of the importance of translating the stylistic subtleties that collocations bring to the text. The questions that the current paper starts from are: How can we understand the meaning of a collocation within a specific language? What transformations do collocations undergo in the process of translation? What strategies do translators adopt when facing the difficult challenge of translating collocations in literary texts? How can we translate colocations from English into Romanian so as to transmit to a great extent a message similar to that of the original language? Does the target text fulfil the linguistic and stylistic objectives of collocations when there is a void of conventional knowledge?

Definitions and classifications of collocations

Mainstream literature pinpoints the emerge and the evolution of a constant concern for the definition and classification of collocations. Though there seems to be a consensus on the fact that collocations are bundles of words that occur repeatedly as semantic combinations or syntagmatic relations, there have been numerous and quite varied attempts at defining and categorizing collocations supported by their arbitrary nature and unpredictability in forming multiple combinations of words. J. R. Firth considered a pioneer in the study of collocations was the first to acknowledge that meaning is not restricted to single lexical units by stating "You shall know a word by the company it keeps." (Firth 1957, p. 179). Collocations have become so frequently used that we can consider as perfectly justifiable the statement that "No piece of written or spoken English is free of collocations." (OCD2002, vii).

The definitions given to collocations throughout time are to a great extent similar and they mostly revolve around the theory of meaning-related proximity. Leech (1974, p. 20) defined collocations as "the associations a word acquires on account of the meanings of words which tend to occur in its environment". In the same line of thought Baker (1992, p. 47) states that "collocations represent the tendency of certain words to co-occur regularly in a given language". To Newmark (1995, p. 114) "a collocation consists lexically of two or three lexical (sometimes called full, descriptive, substantial) words

usually linked by grammatical (empty, functional, relational) words". Carter (1998, p. 51) finds that collocation is "a term used to describe a group of words which occur repeatedly in a language". Pârlog *et al.* (2009, p. 121) reckon that "words have a certain collocational range, i.e., they can collocate with certain sets of lexical items which are mutually exclusive and which usually belong to the same grammatical class". All these definitions prompt another remark made by Newmark: "Grammar is the skeleton of a text, vocabulary or in a restricted sense, lexis is its flesh and collocations, the tendons that connect the one to the other" (1995, p. 125).

The need to classify collocations emerges from the necessity of distinguishing them from other co-occurring semantic units such as idioms, metaphors, fixed expressions, or proverbs. As it follows, we will go through a succinct classification of collocations that will enable us to narrow down the discussion to verbal collocations and their translation.

A pioneering categorization belongs to Benson (1985, p. 61-68) who makes a distinction between grammatical collocations consisting of a lexical item which can be a verb, a noun or an adjective followed by a grammatical item such as a preposition, a to infinitive form, an -ing form or a non-finite clause and lexical collocations which do not contain prepositions, infinitives, or clauses usually containing a noun accompanied by either an adjective to express quality or a verb to express action. Newmark divides grammatical collocations into three main types: adjective + noun, noun + noun, verb + collocational pattern and two secondary types: adverb + verb and adverb + adjective patterns, which he names "disposable cliches" (Newmark 1988, p. 212).

Lewis suggests more or less the same taxonomy as Benson: lexical and grammatical collocations. Lexical collocations are subdivided into six types (Lewis 2000, p. 133):

- adjective +noun (e.g., *heavy rain, strong wind*)
- verb + noun (e.g., *take a step*)
- verb + adverb (e.g., *fully understand, gladly accept*)
- noun + noun (e.g., *a desire of suitors, a gang of thieves, a swarm of bees*)
- adverb + adjective (e.g., *totally unbelievable, wonderfully curly*)
- noun + verb (e.g., *the fog closed in*)

Grammatical collocations are according to Lewis a combination of one open class words, be it a noun, verb, or an adjective and a particle. (Lewis 2000, p. 134). Thus, there are four types of grammatical collocations:

- noun + preposition (e.g., *advantage of, emphasis on, hatred for, need for*)
- verb + preposition (e.g., *agree with, ask for, belong to, wait for*)
- adjective + preposition (e.g., *keen on, prone to, typical of*)
- preposition + noun (e.g., *in debt, on loan, under pressure*)

From now on our main focus will be on both lexical and grammatical collocations containing the verb *take* as a node encountered in the novel *Middle England* by Jonathan Coe and its translation into Romanian made by Radu Paraschivescu. Special attention will be paid to lexical-semantic, grammatical, and cultural differences between the two languages.

Linguistic, social, and cultural barriers in translating collocations

The meaning of a collocation is shaped by the meaning of the other words that surround and combine with the node. By the use of these fixed expressions or chunks of language our speech gains fluency and strength as we no longer need to build from scratch every construction we intend to use. The fact that words do not occur hazardously, but some are more likely to appear in the vicinity of other words thus forming natural sounding combinations is supported by Baker (1992, p. 47) who postulates: "It goes without saying that words rarely occur on their own; they almost always occur in the company of other words. But words are not strung together at random in any language; there are always restrictions on the way they can be combined to convey meaning." This resonates perfectly with the statement that "we need to know about collocational patterns in order to function smoothly in lexical terms in either our mother tongue or any other language we may know" (Singleton 2000, p. 56).

When dealing with the translation of collocations which can affect the overall translation either usefully or unfavourably translators sometimes have to struggle between finding the best equivalent or sacrificing the author`s originality in order to convey as clearly as possible the meaning of a collocation. Translating a single item may lead to several equivalents, but a word in context may have only one such equivalent. Starting from the assumption that a perfect translation of a literary text is a hard nut to crack we aim to demonstrate that the translator dealing with collocations faces a difficult task by having to achieve an equilibrium between the author`s intentions and the form or content of the target language. Translation is an intricate process influenced by linguistic, cultural, or social factors, it concerns not only the transfer between languages, but also between cultures. All these fully justify the need to provide a summary of translation methods, procedures and strategies used over time.

In the process of translation corpora is to be used to scrutinize the process of translation and the choices that translators make, allowing us to observe how a given word has been translated in different contexts, a fact highly influenced by the differences in the way those languages use the respective item. Patters of collocation which are recurrent in language become linguistic stereotypes, whereas collocations with little history of recurrence may strike as unusual. The difficulty that such co-occurring lexical units pose in translation results from the difference in linguistic and cultural patterning between the source language and the target language. Let us look at the following example *to make a decision* which is translated into Romanian as *a lua o decizie*, thus the verb *make* which is the node of this collocation selects one of its meanings that makes sense within this collocation. This sort of consideration is what motivated Newmark`s statement (1981, p. 114): "The collocates within a collocation define and delimit each other by eliminating at least some of their other possible meanings."

When analysing translations different studies are used based on parallel corpora (translations of the text) and comparable corpora (the original text) to show the lack of direct equivalence between apparently similar language concepts. Most of the mistranslation instances are culture-bound. In this respect Baker (1992, p. 54) postulates that the unstable ballance between accuracy and naturalness in dealing with collocations is what troubles translators the most given that "Differences in the collocational patterning of the source and target languages create potential pitfalls and can pose various problems in translation. Some of these problems are more difficult to handle than others."

As far as culture-related problems are concerned, some collocations reflect the cultural setting in which they occur. A possible explanation in this direction is given by Baker who postulates that collocations: "play a vital role in language, as they are a direct reflection of the material, social, or moral environment in which they occur, inevitable in any kind of text with no exception." (Baker 1992, p. 55). Culture-specific items, including collocations, are to be found in any text-type on all linguistic levels. Hence, the imperative need that the translator enhance his/her cultural awareness. Significant differences between the source and target language lead to unfamiliar associations of words not easily accessible to the target reader. Culture-specific items may fall in the category of untranslatable elements, or they may require more specific forms of translation such as explicitation, paraphrase, footnotes, or the use of cultural equivalents. "Language is not made up of a large number of words which can be used together in free variation. Words have a certain tolerance of compatibility. Like individual words, collocational patterns carry meaning and can be culture specific. This, in addition to their largely arbitrary nature, gives rise to numerous pitfalls and problems in translation." (Baker 1992, p. 63).

Irrespective of their degree of semantic transparency collocations are language and culture specific and are not to be neglected when translating from one language into another. When considering English collocations and their Romanian equivalents we must bear in mind that there are two important guidelines: firstly, we deal with cultural specificity meaning aspects existing in the source language bearing little or no significance in the target language and secondly, we deal with the linguistically encoding realities belonging to the two cultures. Given their opacity and lack of Romanian equivalents, English collocations like *public-health nurse* or *anchor boy* have been transferred by paraphrase into: *asistentă medicală care vizitează la domiciliu lăuze sau persoane recent externate* și *un copil născut în SUA al cărei mame nu are legal reședință permanentă în SUA.* Other collocations such as *afterschool*, *weekend*, *fast food* or *babysitter* have been imported into Romanian culture as loans.

A translator`s failure to identify a collocational pattern whose meaning differs from the meanings of its individual elements may lead to mistranslation instances. Considering the collocational meaning rather than the individual meaning of the constituents is fundamental, even though sometimes there may be a close match between the collocational patterns in the target language and source language. Misinterpretation

13

of a collocation in the source text is due to the interference of the translator`s native language. Translation of seemingly analogous concepts is hardened by the lack of a direct equivalent and the cultural incompatibility of concepts. The use of established patterns of collocation which are familiar to the target reader is what makes a translation sound smooth and natural. Newmark (1988, p. 180) endorses that: "The translator will be caught every time, not by his grammar, which is probably suspiciously better than an educated native`s, not by his vocabulary, which may be wider, but by his unacceptable or improbable collocations."

Collocational translation in literary translation. A theoretical background

The concepts *strategy*, *procedure*, *method,* and *technique* are used often as overlapping notions to refer to slightly different phenomena by different researchers. Newmark (1988, p. 81) clarifies the distinction between two often confused concepts involved in the theory of translation methods and procedures. Thus, the former relates to whole texts whereas the latter are used for smaller units of language within that text. Lorscher (1991, p. 71) makes a clear-cut distinction between translation methods and translation strategies as it follows. Strategies are "procedures, often of a highly individual kind which are applied when a source language text is transferred into the target-language which can, but need not result in an optimal translation", whereas methods are "supra individual, tried and tested procedures which when applied systematically by the translator guarantee a high degree of success".

All things considered we can highlight that strategy representsthe orientation of the translator in the direction of either free or literal translation whilst procedure is a precise modus operandi that a translator uses at a certain point in a text to make his translation easier to understand, which could be done for example by adding a footnote with an additional explanation Munday (2016, p. 24). Having Munday`s distinction as a starting point we embark on a technical tour of translation strategies and procedures.

Prominent linguists such as Newmark (1988), Lorscher (1991), Baker (1992), Hatim and Mason (1994), Lewis (2000), Landers (2001) have focused their studies on the connection between the strategies used by a translator and the difficulties that may appear in the process of translation. The two strategies that have been extensively discussed in the mainstream literature are *literal translation* also known as *word-for-word translation*, which starts from the level of words and goes towards the level of sentences and text, in some cases failing to render the social and cultural message of the original text and *free translation* which targets recreating the original source text to make it sound as natural as possible in the target text. Although at a first glance these may reflect opposing poles, they should not be seen as a dichotomy, but rather as complementary translation methods. Newmark is the promoter of two key concepts into the field of the translation theory namely *semantic translation* which values loyalty towards the original text and

communicative translation which is reader-centred and aims at recreating the original intentions of author as closely as possible (Newmark 1981, p. 39).

Newmark (1981, p. 70) clearly favours literal translation as the starting point in any translation and describes it as "the basic translation procedure, both in communicative and semantic translation" and puts forward a tripartite division including: *word-for-word translation* which does not involve any kind of adjustment upon the grammar and word order of the source text (e.g., *The funeral was over. trans. Înmormântarea se încheiase.*), *one-to-one translation* which deals with contextual correspondence and *literal translation* which may be applied at the word level (*the venality of politicians trans. Venalitatea politicienilor*), group level (*took a moment to reflect trans. se gândi preț de câteva clipe*), collocational level (*glassy eyed silence trans. tăcere mată*), the clause level (e.g., *it took her a few moments to orientate herself trans. avea nevoie de câteva clipe să se orienteze*) and the sentence level e.g. *They can`t afford to take a family holiday. trans. Nu-și permit să plece în concediu cu familia.*).

It is only fair to say that literal translation cannot be applied unless there is a high degree of correspondence between the source language and the target language, a conclusion which becomes obvious if we consider Newmark`s statement that "everything is translatable up to a point, but there are often enormous difficulties" (Newmark 1988, p. 7).

The main problem encountered in dealing with the translation of literary texts is that both the original text and the translated one are carriers of linguistic and cultural information meaning that translation goes beyond the level of words, it involves concepts and feelings as well, hence the translator faces the difficult challenge of being loyal both to the original and the translation whilst having to make lexical, grammatical, and stylistic choices.

Landers (2001, p. 27) states that in the case of literary translation "all facets of the work, ideally are reproduced in such a manner as to create in the target language reader the same emotional and psychological effect experienced by the original reader". Literary translation is influenced by human, linguistic and sociocultural factors. Human factors are directly linked to the ability of the translator to interpret texts prior to their translation, linguistic factors refer to the lexical, grammatical, and stylistic differences between languages which pose challenges that may lead to difficult choices made by the translator and sociocultural differences which are part of the conventional knowledge, by that we mean what is known and what is shared about a conceptual domain by people having the same cultural identity.

The use of collocations in a literal text must be scrutinized in full compliance with the cultural and linguistic particularities of the source text, since from a semantic point of view they are divided into fully equivalent phrases that are easily understood and remembered by readers, highly transparent phrases for which the meaning may be easily figured out even if the imagery does not correspond and opaque phrases which are language specific. Translation is more than simply transferring meaning from the source text to the target text, it is also about being loyal to the subtleties of the original text and

finding the appropriate procedures to render them as well. For the detailed analysis of this matter we shall briefly present some of the opinions expressed by prominent linguists. In this respect Newmark (1988, p. 116) says: "When a translator finds current and equally common corresponding collocations in source and target language texts, it is mandatory to use them; they are among the invariant components of translation.". Newmark endorses that the hurdles any translator faces in trying to translate collocations can be overcome when "translators depend on certain strategies which may be quite effective when dealing with linguistic similarities but lead to serious problems in case of cultural disparity" (1988, p. 81). When dealing with collocation translation Newmark pleads in favour of communicative translation (1988, p. 47) as it allows the translator to "render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership".

Similarly, Hatim and Mason (1994, p. 204) emphasize the risk that translators may not find a natural target language translation and stop translating collocations as such, a risk which can still be diminished by careful emendation from the part of the translator. Lewis (2000) sees collocations as being language-specific and culture dependent. A translation procedure is an overall term including ways of translating items or sets of items from a source text into a target text. Other linguists and specialists in translation studies who make a distinction between two translations strategies: *literal translation* including three procedures *word-for-word*, *borrowing* and *calque* and *oblique translation* including *adaptation, equivalence*, *modulation*, and *Transposition* (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958).

Pungă and Pârlog (2017, p. 257-260) offer an extended list or translation procedures used in dealing with collocationsthat are used in line with both strategies mentioned above.

- ➢ *Word-for-word* is a procedure used for direct translation using perfect lexical and grammatical equivalents: e.g., *to increase steadily- a creşte constant*; *partial agreement-acord parţial.* Although this technique also involves change of word order or structure shift, especially for noun phrases, it is only to comply the word order rules in Romanian.
- ➢ *Explicitation* is a translation procedure which supposes making a lexical or cultural element more explicit that the corresponding source item. It is imposed by the differences between the lexico-grammatical specificities of both the source and the target language and it may be done by bringing additional information about a culture-specific item, adding cohesive ties, or increasing redundancy in the translated text: e.g., *to apply in writing – a face o cerere în scris* (lit. *to make a request in writing*).
- ➢ *Extension* may apply either to the collocate or a sense component in order to give meaning to the collocation as a whole: e.g., *to chant a blessing – a spune pe un ton monoton o rugăciune de mulţumire* (lit. *to utter a prayer of thankfulness in a monotonous voice*).

➢ *Paraphrase* is based on extension at the formal level and explicitation at the semantic level and it refers to transference of the idiomatic meaning into explanatory Romanian equivalents: e.g., *nest egg – bani puşi de o parte pentru viitor, cu un anumit scop* (lit. *money put by for the future, with a certain purpose*).

➢ *Reduction* is used when the meaning of the whole English collocation is reduced to a single Romanian word: e.g., *to do the hair – a se coafa; to get sick– a se îmbolnăvi; to put to bed – a culca, crane operator – macaragiu.*

➢ *Modulation* or *equivalence* is when the translator uses structure/class shift or recasting to obtain collocations that sound natural in Romanian which also involves a shift of point of view or perspective: e.g., *loud tie – cravată stridentă* (lit. *strident tie*); *blood orange – portocală roşie* (lit. *red orange*); *business day – zi lucrătoare* (lit. *work(ing) day)*. Modulation operates at the lexical level and the grammatical one, for instance by translating an affirmative node with a negative one (e.g., *to break your promises-a nu îţi respecta promisiunile*) or active verbal form with a passive one (e.g., *to meet with approval-a fi aprobat).*

➢ *Transposition* or *shifts* involves changing the position of different parts of speech without changing the meaning of the whole structure. It is further divided into rank-bound and rank-unbound. The former type represents the translation procedure by means of which a pre-modifier turns into a post-modifier: e.g., cheese *omlette – omletă cu brânză (lit. omlette with cheese)*; *lawyer's office – birou de avocatură* (lit. *office of law*); *undercover mission – misiune sub acoperire* (lit. *mission under cover*). The latter type aims at transforming a pre-modifier into a relative clause: e.g., *aspiring actress – actriţă care promite (lit. actress who promises to have a successful career).*

A corpus-based analysis and findings

All the observations made so far form the basis of our analysis which aims at providing an overview of the translation strategies and procedures employed in translating verbal collocations from English into Romanian considered from a lexical-semantic, grammatical, and culture-related perspective. The current paper focuses on the translation of verbal collocation whose node is the lemma *take* with all its realisations encountered in the novel *Middle England* (*takes, taken, taking, took*) and the impact this translation creates in the target language text aiming to reveal the interconnection between choosing adequate linguistic devices for translation and the overall stylistic effect on the target text. The study has been grounded on a parallel bilingual corpus: the contemporary British novel *Middle England* written by Jonathan Coe and its translation into Romanian made by Radu Paraschivescu with a focus on verbal collocation according to Lewis`s taxonomy.

In order to observe the trasformations that collocations undergo in the process of translation and to draw attention to the fact that translation pitfalls are in direct connection with the use of figurative language, we sought to carry out a corpus-based analysis. We have identified and analysed a number of 65 collocations. The results have revealed that the most conspicuous procedures used in translating collocations in the corpus selected are:

- ➢ word-for-word (*to take his firts sip of tea p. 35 trans. să ia prima înghițitură de ceai, to take a family holiday p. 43 trans. să plece în concediu cu familia, to take a sick relative to hospital p. 71 trans. să-și ducă o rudă bolnavă la spital, to take lessons p.74 trans. să iau lecții, was beginning to take shape p. 88 trans. începea să prindă contur, take photos p. 90 trans.să facă fotografii,it did not take long p. 106 trans. nu-i trebui mult, take place in p. 169 trans. să fie ținută, to take part in p. 188 să ia parte la, take a stroll p.224 trans. să facem o plimbare, she took a nasty tumble p. 229 trans. a avut parte de o căzătură urâtă, take the train p. 264 trans. să ia trenul, take a break p. 274 trans. Să ia o pauză, Benjamin took this blow on the chin p. 297 trans. Benjamin încasă lovitura în bărbie-* in this case the translation leaves room for ambiguity given that its translation may lead the reader towards understanding that he was actually hit, however the intended meaning of the source text which becomes clear by reading this collocation in context is a figurative one that he was unpleasantly surprised by what he had been told, *take back control of p. 393 trans.să ne recăpătăm controlul, takes..instructions from p. 421 trans. își ia indicațiile de la).*

- ➢ explicitation (*don`t take this the wrong way p.68 trans. nu înțelege greșit, it must take balls p.70 îți trebuia ceva curaj, I took the liberty of p.139 trans. mi-am perms să, your parents might take issue with that p.148 trans. s-ar putea să se formalizeze părinții tăi, to take stock trans. să ia cunoștință, she had not taken much notice of p.88 trans. nu prea își dăduse seama, the act due to take the stage p.98 trans. programul care trebuia să-nceapă, Baron Brainbox should take some credit p.148 trans. o parte din merite e a baronului Mintos -* the choice made by the translator to translate a culture-specific item such as a proper name Baron Brainbox with baronul Mintos may strike as unusual and even infelicitous at a first glance, still it is intended to transfer the nuances of this character in the source text, *take care of these coffees p. 349 trans. plătești tu cafelele astea, to take a year out p.382 trans. să fac întrerupere un an, take it in p.340 trans. să accept, they can take guests p. 474 trans. să poată primi musafiri, had taken her finals p.486 trans. își dăduse examenele de an, you`d taken all the rubbish out p. 499 trans. ai scos toate mizeriile).*

- ➢ paraphrase (*take them to task for their driving errors p.70 trans. să le arăți ce greșeli au făcut la volan, let me take a wild guess p.98 trans. stai un pic, a little*

bit of give-and-take p.209 trans. arta concesiilor reciproce, took advantage of her p. 301 trans. şi-a făcut mendrele cu ea, starting to take over p. 341 trans. începeau să arate lucrurile, she`ll take aim at you p. 358 trans. o să te ia în vizor, to take a stab at p.430 trans. după ce o să încerc să, had taken hold p.445 trans. prinsese cheag, take up teaching p.500 trans. să-ncepi să predai).

➤ extension (That`s all it takes trans. Păi, nici nu-i nevoie de mai mult, taken aback p.37 trans. luat prin surprindere, taken seriously p. 60 luat în serios, had taken possession p. 506 trans. intraseră în posesia).

➤ reduction (take our seats p.70 trans. aşezaţi-vă, taken in p. 93 trans. reţinut, to take videos trans. să înregistreze, taken over p.150 trans. preluat, took the call p.165 trans. răspunse take a seat p.381 ia loc, to take into account p. 387 trans. să ţii cont, to take in p.482 trans. să asimilez).

➤ transposition or shifts (to take on a special significance p. 46 să aibă o semnificaţie aparte, take any political lessons p.141 trans. să-nveţe nici o lecţie politică, taken a different route p.149 ai fi luat-o pe alt drum, take a talented bloke p.227 trans. ia un băiat talentat, taken a quick look p. 320 trans. am aruncat un ochi rapid, to take some big decisions p. 418 să iau câteva decizii esenţiale, to take a life-changing decision p. 468 să iei o hotărâre care să îţi schimbe viaţa).

➤ modulation (to take a look p.44 trans. să aruncăm un ochi, take a good look at p. 74 trans. uitaţi-vă bine la, to take the message p.77 trans. să citească mesajul, to take tea p. 114 trans. să bem ceaiul, take our chances p.130 trans. să ne încercăm norocul, panic took hold of him p.156 trans. intră în panică, had taken little part in p.164 trans. nu prea luase parte la, to take stock p.180 trans. să ia cunoştinţă, takes a bit of a dictation p. 216 trans. îi dictez mesaje).

Conclusions

Verbal collocations have been investigated based on a two-fold approach targeting their semantic structure and the stylistic function they fulfill in the source text along with their Romanian equivalents. The present study has been limited to one type of collocation: verbal collocation including the verb *take* in Jonathan Coe`s novel *Middle England* and its corresponding translation made by Radu Paraschivescu.

By placing under scutiny gains and loses involved in the translation process by means of the translation strategies and procedures presented in the paper we intended to shed some light on the existence of degrees of translatability involved in the process of collocational translation. The conclusion is that the translator has used both *literal* and *free translation* as strategies and the predominant procedures have been *word-for-word, explicitation* and *paraphrase*. In addition, while in some instances the number of constituents in the Romanian translations has been reduced, as in the case of *taken in*, in other cases it has been expanded, as in the case of *taken seriously*. Another fruitful

conclusion is that a large number of collocations have been translated by their direct equivalents into Romanian, a fact which seems to suggest that verbal collocations including the verb *take* as a node are not untranslatable and that Romanian is rich enough to provide sustainable alternatives for their translation. The tendency to stick to the original has been identified in the translation of verbal collocations whose node is *take* as most English collocations are translated with a Romanain collocation. The use of the corresponding collocation in the target language is preferred in order to preserve the stylistic effect of the source language text and impeed the intervention of any losses in this respect. Our analysis proves that there is a considerable degree of correspondence between English and Romanian. However, some collocations do not have a correspondent collocation in English. When synonyms are used to translate collocations as it happens in *take care of these coffees* the stylistic effect is afflicted which only pleads in favour of the aforementioned idea that choice for words in collocations is not arbitrary.

By analysing collocations from the point of view of their denotative and connotative meaning we conclude there are no considerable loses involved in the process of translation, but rather some instances of faulty translations which are mainly attributed to the differences in linguistic structures and cultural concepts between the source and target language. All these may be easily clarified when we consider the collocation in context as it provides access to deeper layers of meaning (e.g. *he had been taken in [...] by the police p. 93 trans. fusese reținut [...] de poliție*).

References

Arhire, Mona. (2013). "Verb Plus Verbal Noun Collocations in a Translational Learner Corpus". *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Braşov Series IV: Philology and Cultural Studies* 6 (55) No.1. 65-70.
Baker, Mona. (1992). *In Other Words. A coursebook on translation.* London/New York: Routledge.
Benson, Morton. (1985). "Collocation and Idioms." *Dictionaries, Lexicography and Language Learning. ELT Documents 120*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. 61-68.
Benson, Morton. (1990). "Collocations and General Purpose Dictionaries." *International Journal of Lexicography* 3. 23–35.
Benson, Morton, Evelyn Benson and Robert Ilson. (1986). *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Carter, Ronald. (1998). *Vocabulary. Applied Linguistic Perspectives*. London/ New York: Routledge.
Catford, John. (1965). *A Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Essay in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Chesterman, Andrew. (1997). *Memes of translation: The spread of ideas in translation theory*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publication Company.
Coe, Jonathan. (2018). *Middle England*. London: Penguin Random House.
Firth, John Rupert. (1957). "The Technique of Semantics." In *Papers in Linguistics* edited by John Rupert Firth, (1934–1951). London: Oxford University Press.
Hatim, Basil and Ian Mason. (1994). *Discourse and the Translator*. London/New York: Longman.
Landers, Clifford. (2001). *Literary Translation: A Practical Guide*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
Leech, Geoffrey. (1974). *Semantics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
Lewis, Michael. (2000). *Teaching collocation: Further developments in the lexical approach*. London: Language Teaching Publications.
Lorscher, Wolfgang. (1991). *Translation Performance, Translation Process, and Translation Strategies: A Psycholinguistic Investigation*, Tubingen: GunterNarr.

Munday, Jeremy, eds. (2016). *Introducing translation studies: Theories and applications*. London/New York: Routledge.

Munday, Jeremy. (2009). *The Routledge companion to translation studies.* London/New York: Routledge.

Newmark, Peter. (1981). *Approaches to Translation.* London/New York/Toronto: Phoenix ELT.

Newmark, Peter. (1988). *A textbook of translation*. New York: Prentice Hall.

Newmark, Peter. (1995). *A Textbook ofTranslation*. Oxford/New York: Phoenix ELT.

Nida, Eugene. (1964). *Toward a Science of Translating*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Oxford collocations dictionary for students of English. (2002). Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Paraschivescu, Radu. (2021). *Middle England*. București: Polirom.

Pârlog Hortensia and Loredana Pungă. (2017). "Difficulties of Translating English Collocations into Romanian.", *BAS Journal 23*. 255-274.

Pârlog, Hortensia, Pia Brînzeu and Aba-Carina Pârlog. (2009). *Translating the Body*. Iași: Institutul European.

Singleton, David. (2000). *Language and the lexicon: An introduction.* London: Arnold.

Vinay, Jean-Paul and Jean Darbelnet. (1958). "A methodology for translation." In *The translation studies reader* edited by Lawrence Venuti, 84-95. London: Routledge.

Iulia Cristina ANTONIE, is a doctoral student in philology at "Alexandru Piru" Doctoral School within the University of Craiova. She also holds a Master`s degree in English language and literature, obtained in 2008 at the University of Craiova. Her research areas tackle the following interests: linguistics, pragmatics, translation studies, cultural studies and intercultural communication. She is a member of the Romanian Society for English and American Studies (RSEAS) and of the European Society for English Studies (ESSE). She is currently teaching English at "Henri Coandă" Theoretical High School in Craiova. (cristina_cotea@yahoo.com)

Justifier le besoin d'une retraduction : *Mademoiselle Maussade* de Iulia Hasdeu

Mademoiselle Maussade by Iulia Hasdeu: how to justify the necessity for a retranslation

Lucia Vişinescu

The concept of retranslation is a relatively new in translation studies, because the activity of retraslation is quite recent. Paradoxically, translations become obsolete to a greater extent than the original texts, considering the evolution of target language et culture, but also the changes in translation norms, that's why retranslations should give a new life to literary works. In light of that, this paper aims to prove the necessity for the retranslation of *Mademoiselle Maussade* by Iulia Hasdeu, on the assumption that a new version of this work could pique the interest of young readers.

Literary retranslation; ageing translation; retranslation in context, skopos.

Introduction

Si l'intérêt croissant que l'on manifeste actuellement pour la traduction semble s'expliquer par un même besoin d'interconnexion culturelle, à l'époque d'un égalitarisme où le clivage culture majeure/ culture mineure est mis en question, les motifs qui se trouvent derrière les tentatives de retraduction sont plus divers, de sorte que l'on devrait parler plutôt de cas particuliers que d'arguments universellement valables. En tout cas, les raisons pour lesquelles on retraduit sont plus marquées, plus visibles, pour ainsi dire, que celles pour lesquelles on traduit. Pourquoi retraduire un texte dès lors que les lecteurs peuvent déjà avoir accès à une version ? Cette démarche devrait s'appuyer donc sur une motivation solide, voilà pourquoi la retraduction serait une opération plus consciente que la traduction, vu qu'elle implique une réflexion approfondie sur l'acte de traduire (Monti, 2011a). Parfois, il s'agit d'une motivation très pragmatique, économique ou relevant des

politiques éditoriales, par exemple, dans le cas des ouvrages tombés dans le domaine public, où une nouvelle traduction pourrait coûter moins cher que l'achat des droits d'une traduction déjà publiée. (Monti, 2011b)

Ce que nous nous proposons dans cet article c'est de démontrer l'utilité, non pas dans le sens pragmatique, mais plutôt éthique du terme, de la retraduction de *Mademoiselle Maussade* (*Domnişoara Ursuza*), roman pour enfants posthume écrit par Iulia Hasdeu en 1881, à l'âge de onze ans, et dont il existe une seule traduction en roumain, signée par son père, Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu. Faisant partie de l'œuvre d'une figure marginale de la littérature roumaine du XIXe siècle, enfant prodige dont le destin a été brutalement interrompu à un très jeune âge, ce texte pourrait retrouver une place de choix parmi les livres d'enfance d'aujourd'hui. Même si nous sommes d'accord que l'imaginaire qui façonne l'univers enfantin d'aujourd'hui est très différent par rapport aux époques passées (y compris par rapport au passé récent, il suffit, à ce sens, de comparer la littérature pour la jeunesse des années 1990 avec ce qui paraîtde nos jours), nous pensons que l'histoire racontée dans ce petit livre, de même que ses protagonistes, pourraient éveiller l'intérêt des enfants du présent. Cependant, la seule traduction existante, celle de Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu, malgré ses mérites et son charme incontestable aux yeux d'un public adulte, éventuellement francophone (pour les situations où le texte source pourrait l'éclairer sur le sens) et amateur de mots perdus et saugrenus ou de sens obsolètes, a peu de chances de plaire aux lecteurs juvéniles, étant même opaque par endroits. Ainsi pensons-nous qu'une nouvelle version de ce texte en roumain est souhaitable, afin de dépoussiérer un petit bijou littéraire et de lui redonner son éclat.

Mettant en scène la transformation d'Elise Duhé, petite fille gâtée, méchante et effrontée dans une petite fille modèle, et ensuite épouse et mère idéale, sous l'influence bienfaisante de Paula Grisol, son parfait repoussoir, incarnation de la bonté et de la sagesse, *Mademoiselle Maussade* semble s'inscrire dans le sillage des *Malheurs de Sophie* de la Comtesse de Ségur. On y reconnaît aussi des échos de la prose de Victor Hugo, l'écrivain favori de Iulia Hasdeu, ou des correspondances avec *Le roman de Heidi* de l'écrivaine suisse Johanna Spyri. En fait, ce texte est non seulement représentatif pour l'œuvre de Iulia Hasdeu, traversée par la quête d'un idéal moral et par des idées nobles, fil rouge qui unit toutes ses histoires, nouvelles et contes bleus écrits en français (*Le bon chien Duplecin*, *La Princesse Papillon*, *Les étourderies de Denise*), ou en roumain (*Sanda*, *Trandafirul Moşului*), mais il s'intègre parfaitement dans son contexte, en reflétant le paradigme culturel et l'atmosphère pieuse et sage de ce victorien XIXe siècle. Les références à Dieu, au catéchisme, à la communion pourraient heurter les sensibilités politiquement correctes de nos jours, on se demande même comment elles ont pu échapper à l'œil vigilant de l'idéologie communiste, dans l'édition de 1970 que nous avons consultée pour cette analyse. Cependant, on observe, à présent, un revirement de l'intérêt pour ce genre de littérature censée inculquer des valeurs morales aux enfants et

23

leur livrer des règles de bienséance sous une forme agréable : nous pensons, par exemple, au succès dont jouit aujourd'hui en Roumanie un livre comme *Pollyana* de l'auteure américaine Eleanor H. Porter. C'est, selon nous, au jeune public intéressé par ce type de littérature que s'adresserait une nouvelle version de *Mademoiselle Maussade*.

Il faudrait ajouter que ce texte a été publié avec sa version en roumain dans la revue *Amicul copiilor* entre les années 1891 et 1894, sous la forme d'un roman-feuilleton. Les éditions que nous avons pu consulter et qui reproduisent le texte dans son intégralité, ont respecté ce format bilingue, sans intervenir sur la traduction en roumain, ni par des corrections, ni par des explications ou notes de bas de page, qui seraient, à notre avis, nécessaires pour faciliter la lecture du public jeune d'aujourd'hui.

Regards croisés sur le concept de retraduction

Le terme de *retraduction,* très près de l'anglais *retranslation*, fait débat aujourd'hui, et des chercheurs (Gambier, 2011a ; Monti, 2011c) soulignent que son usage est repoussé notamment par les maisons d'édition, qui lui préfèrent celui de *nouvelle traduction,* car ce dernier exprime de manière plus évidente la démarcation du nouveau produit par rapport aux précédents, alors que *retraduction* renvoie plutôt à l'idée de restauration / révision d'une traduction. En outre, le terme de *nouvelle traduction* suppose aussi l'idée d'une nouvelle perspective sur le texte, corollaire d'un changement de paradigme culturel. Pour faire une nouvelle traduction, il vaudrait mieux ne pas consulter la/les versions antérieures, avant de se mettre à traduire, pour éviter d'être influencé, pourtant une vérification *a posteriori* par la comparaison avec celles-ci est recommandée, afin de mieux situer la nouvelle traduction (Monti, 2011d). À partir de la distinction forgée par Anthony Pym (cité par Gambier, 2011b) entre *les retraductions actives*, résultat des décisions ou de l'influence de certains acteurs tels qu'un commanditaire, et *les retraductions passives*, plus éloignées de la parution de l'ouvrage original et rendant compte des changements intervenus dans la culture cible, Yves Gambier (2011c) précise que les retraductions passives peuvent être délibérées, se situant à rebours des traductions précédentes, ou bien, des réinterprétations reposant sur une relecture du texte source et ne se rapportant pas forcément aux versions antérieures.

Cette distinction nous amène ainsi à nous interroger sur les motivations possibles des retraductions. La plupart des traductologues qui ont écrit sur ce sujet se rapportent dans leurs travaux à *l'hypothèse de la retraduction*, proposée par Antoine Berman en 1990, et définie plus tard par Andrew Chesterman (Cadera, 2017a), selon laquelle la qualité d'une retraduction l'emporte sur celle de la traduction princeps, du fait que l'écart temporel garantirait une interprétation plus fidèle du texte source, tandis qu'une première traduction aurait plutôt tendance à l'assimiler pour le rendre accessible à la culture cible. Malgré les points faibles de cette hypothèse, puisque le phénomène est trop complexe et trop peu étudié pour pouvoir lui appliquer une grille conceptuelle uniforme (Cadera 2017

b ; Gambier, 2011d), elle cache une des justifications acceptables de la retraduction, à savoir le besoin d'une lecture plus fine et plus soucieuse du texte source, exigée par certaines défaillances de la traduction qui existe déjà. Mais d'autres motivations aussi peuvent se trouver derrière les tentatives de retraduction, comme le changement de perspective sur la pratique traduisante, découlant d'une prise de conscience sur le métier du traducteur, un détournement ou une réinterprétation dans une clé idéologique du texte source (Collombat, 2004a) et, notamment, le vieillissement naturel des traductions (Berman, 1990 ; Collombat, 2004b ; Gambier, 2011e), s'expliquant par l'évolution de la langue. Et là, on pourrait même parler d'un paradoxe lié aux traductions, qui vieillissent plus vite que le texte source et que les lecteurs acceptent plus difficilement que des œuvres du passé, écrites dans leur langue naturelle :

> On se trouve donc dans une situation où la grande majorité des lecteurs anglais, par exemple, n'accepterait pas de lire Shakespeare dans une traduction en anglais contemporain, alors que très peu de leurs homologues non-anglophones accepteraient de lire du Shakespeare dans une traduction du XVIIe siècle (Monti, 2011, p. 16).

Le cas particulier de la traduction en roumain de *Mademoiselle Maussade*

Pour revenir au texte qui fait l'objet de cette analyse, notre plaidoyer pour sa retraduction s'appuie, d'un côté, sur son potentiel littéraire et sur l'intérêt qu'il pourrait susciter aux jeunes lecteurs, et de l'autre, sur l'inadéquation de la traduction de Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu au contexte actuel. Et cette inadéquation découle d'abord de son caractère obsolète, anachronique, de sa « caducité » (Collombat, 2004, 2) par rapport à un *skopos* virtuel (jeune public du XXIème siècle) et ensuite, du changement de la manière de traduire et d'envisager la traduction par rapport à ce qui se passait à l'époque de Hasdeu. On pourrait croire que Hasdeu s'improvise traducteur par amour pour sa fille, sans doute pour contribuer à sa renommée posthume. Lui il est, d'abord, un esprit encyclopédique et un intellectuel complet, et non pas un traducteur. En tout cas, au XIXe siècle, le statut des traducteurs n'est pas vraiment réglementé.

Mises à part les différences saillantes entre la langue de cette traduction et le roumain littéraire d'aujourd'hui, dues à l'écart temporel, le texte de cette traduction se fait remarquer par d'autres particularités encore, linguistiques de même que stylistiques. Pour paraphraser Lawrence Venuti (1995), la présence, la vision du monde et le profil du traducteur se rendent assez visibles dans le texte cible, dont l'esprit s'éloigne parfois de l'original. Si l'on compare n'importe quel texte écrit par Iulia Hasdeu en roumain avec

cette traduction de *Mademoiselle Maussade*, on sera vraiment étonné par la distance entre une langue roumaine assez neutre qu'on retrouve chez Iulia Hasdeu, fût-elle parsemée de mots désuets, et celle beaucoup plus insolite à laquelle recourt son père. Serait-ce, peut-être, en raison de la formation de linguiste de Hasdeu ou de son appartenance au groupe des adeptes de l'orthographie étymologique ? Comme le dit Venuti (1995, 93) : « We can more fully understand the translators' different motives and methods by considering their translations in the context of their otherwork, their lives, and their different historical moments. » En connaissant les idées et les prises de position de Hasdeu, on peut donc mieux comprendre sa préférence marquée pour les formes plus proches de l'étymon latin comme *câne* (du lat. *canis*; chien), *pâne* (du lat. *panis*; pain), celles-ci étant considérées comme une norme de la langue littéraire à l'époque (Chivu, 1973, cité par Stan, 2012), ou pour le pronom négatif *nemic* (du lat. *nemica* ; rien), forme rarement attestée à l'époque (Croitor, 2012).

Nous allons ajouter d'autres exemples de particularités linguistiques de la traduction de Hasdeu, en essayant de les regrouper en catégories : on y retrouve des régionalismes et des phonétismes régionaux (*preumblare*=promenade, *drușcă*= demoiselle d'honneur, *nu vroi*, *nu poci*, *să râză* (des iotacismes)), des archaïsmes (phonétiques : *caprițioasă*, *obicinuită*, *în giur* ; morphologiques : *indignațiune*, *ocaziune*, *lecțiune*, *teatruri*, *strade*, *șase zeci*, *patrusprezece*, *murindă* ; syntaxiques : *asta n-o împiedeca de a se închina la unicul său copil*=cela ne l'empêchait d'adorer son unique enfant; lexicaux : *drum de fier* =chemin de fer, *boală de mare*=mal de mer, *a adăsta*=attendre, *a anosti*= ennuyer, *jeț*=fauteuil; sémantiques : *pătrar de oră*=quart d'heure, *rîzătoare* (sic !) =souriante), des mots obsolètes ou ayant changé de connotation dans la culture cible (*tovarăș*=camarade-confisqué entre temps par l'idéologie communiste-, *amic*=ami-employé aujourd'hui avec une ombre d'ironie à la façon de Caragiale-, *amor matern* ou *amor filial* -le mot *amor* n'étant plus employé actuellement en roumain que dans des contextes érotiques ou dans des syntagmes figés comme *de amorul artei*). Parfois, le changement de connotation des mots dans la langue cible fait que la règle de fidélité par rapport au texte source ne soit plus respectée. Et on va donner l'exemple de l'adjectif *grozav*, proposé comme équivalent pour « assommant » et « abominable ». Même si dans le *Dictionnaire explicatif de la langue roumaine en ligne*, le premier sens mentionné est celui de 'terrible', 'effrayant', les locuteurs natifs l'emploient aujourd'hui plutôt avec le sens de 'remarquable', 'exceptionnel'. C'est ainsi que dans le contexte actuel, d'autant plus quand on s'adresse à un public formé d'enfants qui sont familiarisés avec le sens superlatif de ce mot, une telle traduction serait fautive, proche d'un contresens.

Outre le vieillissement inévitable de sa langue, ce qui pourrait encore prouver l'inadéquation de la traduction de Hasdeu, et donc le besoin d'une seconde version en roumain, c'est, comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, le changement de la manière dont

on envisage la traduction, l'évolution des règles de l'art de traduire. Et dans notre cas, l'hypothèse de la retraduction avancée par Berman semble se confirmer, au moins cette partie qui parle du caractère assimilateur de la première traduction. Par exemple, on observe dans la traduction de Hasdeu une « domestication-adaptation » (Monti, 2011, p. 17) systématique des noms propres, pratique passée de mode aujourd'hui. Certes, dans la littérature enfantine, on recourt encore à l'adaptation, et on peut souvent s'éloigner du texte, afin de recréer un effet ludique avec des moyens propres à la langue cible, mais dans les exemples que nous allons donner, cette adaptation ne nous semble pas nécessaire. Ainsi, le prénom *Léon* se voit dépouillé de son accent aigu en roumain, *Paule* devient *Paula*, utilisé également au vocatif (*Paulo*) ou précédé par un adjectif démonstratif (*această Paulă*), alors que *père Jacob* est rendu par *părintele Iacov*. Mais il y a des situations encore plus flagrantes : *Michelette* se transforme en *Miculina* et *Louison* en *Linuca*. Cela est valable aussi pour les toponymes : *Câmpii-Elisei* remplace les *Champs-Élysées*, les *Tuileries* se muent en *Tuilerii*.

Les équivalents proposés dans le cas de la nourriture et des boissons montrent la même tendance assimilatrice. Tendance qui, selon Audrey Coussy (2019) persiste encore dans les traductions des livres pour enfants, malgré la modernisation de la vision sur la pratique traduisante qui prône le respect de l'altérité. Nous nous permettons de reproduire ici un fragment assez parlant de ce point de vue :

Je leur ai donné, à tous les deux, un **morceau de pain** et de fromage et des œufs ; ensuite je leur ai donné à boire à chacun **un demi-verre de cidre.**	Le-am dat amândurora un **codru** de pâine, brânză și ouă, le-am dat la fiecare să bea **un păhărel de vin**.

On y retrouve deux solutions de traduction qui montrent deux formes d'assimilation des concepts culinaires à la culture cible : d'abord, *morceau de pain* rendu par *codru de pâine* très fréquent dans les textes folkloriques et dans les contes de fées roumains, ensuite, *demi-verre de cidre* traduit par *păhărel de vin*. Si dans le premier cas, on choisit un mot à forte connotation, qui nous fait tout de suite penser à ces personnages des contes de fées roumains qui partent à l'aventure, munis uniquement d'un *codru de pâine*, un monde qui semble n'avoir rien à faire avec la France du XIXè siècle, où est placée l'action de *Mademoiselle Maussade*, dans le second, on gomme la particularité culturelle du cidre, boisson préparée à partir des pommes dont les Français continuent de s'enorgueillir, pour le banaliser et le réduire à son genre prochain (*vin*).

Un autre exemple d'assimilation ou d'adaptation du texte français à la langue cible serait représenté par l'emploi de mots populaires-familiers aujourd'hui obsolètes. Si certains de ces mots peuvent encore être employés dans une histoire destinée aux enfants d'aujourd'hui, par exemple le nom *cusur,* synonyme vieilli de *defect* (défaut), et réservé

plutôt aux apophtegmes, ou l'adjectif *urâcios,* plus rarement employé de nos jours que *nesuferit,* par exemple, (insupportable, déplaisant), d'autres sont, sans doute, insolites pour les petits lecteurs du XXIe siècle. C'est le cas de *marafeturi,* équivalent de *lubies* dans la version de Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu. Il y aurait très peu de chances qu'un traducteur opte pour cette solution aujourd'hui, le plus problablement il choisirait un mot plus neutre, comme *capricii,* ou bien, un mot appartenant au registre familier, tel que *hachiţe* ou i*dei trăsnite*:

Mais, deux semaines après l'arrivée, elle recommença à bâiller, à gémir, et à assurer qu'elle s'ennuyait, qu'elle avait horriblement chaud, et d'autres **lubies** qui effrayaient la crédule M-me Duhé.	Dar după două săptămîni, ea începu din nou a căsca, a se plînge, a asigura că-i e urît, că e prea cald peste măsură, şi alte **marafeturi** care speriau pe lesne crezătoarea d-nă Duhé.

Tandis que du côté du lexique employé dans cette traduction, on observe une tendance d'assimilation du texte source à la culture d'arrivée, au niveau formel, on reste assez proche de la syntaxe du texte de départ, ce qui donne l'impression de maladresse et de lourdeur. Nous ne croyons pas que cela s'explique par un souci de fidélité envers la forme du texte source, mais plutôt par un dilettantisme en matière de traduction, dû aussi à un flou en ce qui concerne les normes de traduction à l'époque de Hasdeu. On pourrait dire que, d'un côté, le texte d'arrivée prend trop de libertés par rapport au texte source, et de l'autre, il y a ce recours paradoxal à des calques qui alourdissent les phrases : à titre d'exemple, on traduit littéralement les tournures emphatiques ou bien, on traduit le sujet-pronom personnel, alors qu'il serait plus naturel de ne pas le reprendre en roumain :

Ce sera toi, toi qui garderas mon souvenir, n'est ce pas (sic !) ?	Vei fi tu, tu care nu mă vei uita, nu-i aşa?
Eh bien, mon trésor, tu es heureuse ! Dans quatre jours nous partons pour Paris.	— Bucură-te, odorul meu; eşti fericită! Peste patru zile **noi** plecăm la Paris.

Conclusion

Pour démontrer le besoin de retraduire en roumain *Mademoiselle Maussade* de Iulia Hasdeu, nous sommes partie de la traduction existante, signée par Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu, en essayant de prouver son caractère anachronique par rapport au profil et à l'horizon d'attente du public jeune d'aujourd'hui. Une telle entreprise de retraduction, justifiée par le succès dont elle pourrait jouir auprès d'un public d'enfants, serait motivée également par le besoin de fournir une version plus proche de l'original.

Nous envisageons une retraduction, à savoir une nouvelle version du texte source, mais ayant comme point de départ la traduction existante, dont on ne peut pas nier certains mérites, malgré l'effet parfois comique de l'expression en roumain, aux yeux des lecteurs contemporains. Nous nous sommes bornée à analyser seulement quelques échantillons tirés d'un corpus foisonnant d'exemples intéressants, en proposant par endroits des solutions plus respectueuses de l'esprit du texte de départ.

Références

Berman, A., (1990). La retraduction comme espace de la traduction. *Palimpsestes,4*, 1-7. doi : https://doi.org/10.4000/palimpsestes.596

Cadera, S., (2017). Literary Retranslation in Context: A Historical,Social and Cultural Perspective. In S. M. Cadera &A. S. Walsh (Eds.), *Literary Retranslation*

in Context, (pp. 5-18). Berne, Suisse : Peter Lang.

Collombat, I., (2004). Le XXIe siècle : l'âge de la retraduction. *Translation Studies in the new Millennium. An international Journal of Translation and Interpreting, 2,*1-15.https://www.academia.edu/11574396/ Le_XXIe_si%C3%A8cle_l%C3%A2ge_de_la_retraduction

Coussy, A., (2019). Traduire la nourriture en littérature d'enfance et de jeunesse : plaisirs et dangers, individu et société.*Palimpsestes*,*32*(1), 111-125. doi : https://doi.org/10.4000/palimpsestes.3326

Croitor, B., (2012). Pronumele. In Gh. Chivu, G. Pană-Dindelegan, A. Dragomirescu, I. Nedelcu &I. Nicula (Eds.), *Studii de istorie a limbii române. Morfosintaxa limbii literare în secolele al XIX-lea și al XX-lea*. (pp.121-173). Bucarest, Roumanie : Editura Academiei Române.

Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române online. (2009) https://dexonline.ro/

Gambier, Y., (2011). La retraduction : ambiguïtés et défis. In E. Monti &P. Schneyder (Eds.), *Autour de la retraduction : perspectives littéraires européennes,* (pp. 49-66). Paris, France : Orizons.

Monti, E., (2011). Introduction : La retraduction, un état des lieux. In E. Monti &P. Schneyder (Eds.), *Autour de la retraduction : perspectives littéraires européennes*, (pp.9-20). Paris, France : Orizons.

Stan, C., (2012). Ortografia și ortoepia. Secolul al XIX-lea. In Gh. Chivu, G. Pană-Dindelegan, A. Dragomirescu, I. Nedelcu &I. Nicula (Eds.), *Studii de istorie a limbii române. Morfosintaxa limbii literare în secolele al XIX-lea și al XX-lea.* (pp.1-28). Bucarest, Roumanie : Editura Academiei Române.

Venuti, L., (1995). *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London : Routledge.

Lecturer Lucia Vișinescu Ph.D/She is a member of Department of French Language and Literature within the Faculty of Foreign Language and Literature of University of Bucharest, Romania. Her main interest are: translation studies/ terminology. (lucia.visinescu@lls.unibuc.ro)

Est-ce qu'il y a des ellipses au niveau de la traduction du roman maghrébin ?
Are there ellipses when translating a North African novel?

Sergiu Zagan

In this article, we intend neither to make a comparative analysis of the translations of the same North African novel into different languages, nor to study the different types of ellipses which appear at the level of the translation. Based on some translations from Tahar Ben Jelloun's novels, we aim to claim that there are ellipses when translating from a North African author. Thus, our main intention is to answer the question Are there ellipses when translating a North African novel? In future studies, we want to analyze the functioning of the ellipsis when translating some novels written by Tahar Ben Jelloun from French into Romanian or English, so that later we can see the types of ellipses at the level of translation. We focus our attention on the pronoun on, on the spelling in translations, as well as on the existence of some translations or explanations inside the original novel, to demonstrate that both the original and the translated Maghreb novel contain what is linguistically called an ellipsis.

Translation; ellipsis; novel; Maghreb; spelling; gap; pronoun; culture.

Dans cet article, nous ne nous proposons pas de faire une analyse comparative des traductions d'un même roman maghrébin dans différentes langues, ni d'étudier les différents types d'ellipses qui apparaissent au niveau de la traduction, mais de noter, à partir de quelques exemples de traduction de Tahar Ben Jelloun, s'il y a une ellipse au niveau de la traduction. Ainsi, nous nous proposons maintenant de répondre uniquement à la question *Est-ce qu'il y a des ellipses au niveau de la traduction du roman maghrébin ?* Dans les études futures, nous voudrons analyser le fonctionnement de l'ellipse dans les traductions du français en roumain ou en anglais de certains romans

écrits par Tahar Ben Jelloun, afin que plus tard nous puissions voir les types d'ellipses au niveau de la traduction.

L'ellipse au niveau de la traduction

Selon Elena-Brândușa Steiciuc, la traduction des nouvelles ou des romans maghrébins demande au traducteur de surmonter au moins deux types de difficultés : a) les difficultés qui tiennent à la spécificité culturelle du Maghreb, à des repères culturels avec lesquels le public étranger à la culture maghrébine n'est pas familiarisé ; b) des difficultés provenant du style de tel ou tel auteur, de son rapport plus ou moins « problématique » à la langue. (Steiciuc, 2004)

Nous considérons que l'ellipse est une règle du discours dans chaque langue, mais une règle qui fonctionne en accord avec la grammaire appliquée à chaque langue. Traduire une expression elliptique dans une autre langue ne suppose pas l'utilisation obligatoire de la même ellipse ou d'une ellipse. La récupération du manque est souvent obligatoire dans les traductions pour donner à la phrase traduite le même sens. L'énoncé elliptique *Tu sais, moi, le café* traduit par *As far as I am concerned, the coffee*, implique *You know, I don't like beer.* L'énoncé *Tu y as mis du temps* n'est pas considéré elliptique pour un Français, mais en anglais, on devrait compléter le manque (qui existe en réalité, mais n'est pas ressenti par le Français) : *You've taken long enough to find it out.*

Le comblement du manque dans les traductions est permis si nous prenons en considération les idées de Theo Herrmann (Herman, 1983) selon lesquelles tous les énoncés sont elliptiques et complétés par le contexte donné ou par la situation présente. Cela montre que tout comblement, quelque complet qu'il soit, reste elliptique dans l'énoncé traduit. Tout locuteur verbalise seulement une partie de ce qu'il pourrait dire de ses données mentales.

« Quand j'étais jeune, j'avais de l'ambition : voyager, découvrir le monde, devenir musicien, avoir un fils, être son père et son ami, me consacrer à lui, lui donner toutes les chances pour réaliser sa vocation ... » (Ben Jelloun, 1987, p. 25)

« I had ambitions in my youth. I wanted to travel, see the world, become a musician, have a son, be his father and his friend, devote myself to him, give him every opportunity to fulfill his vocation. […] » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.b, p. 20)

« Le mari copulait avec elle en des nuits choisies par la sorcière. Mais cela ne servait à rien. » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 19) « The husband copulated with her on certain nights chosen by the witch. »(Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 11)

« Les sept baptêmes furent tous plus ou moins bâclés. The seven aqiqas were more or less skimped. » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 11)

Nous faisons la remarque que le manque ne doit pas être confondu avec l'intuition du manque. Une simple intuition du manque ne signifie pas ellipse. Ainsi, dans *Roger Federer a signé plus d'autographes que le maire de sa ville d'autorisations* il y a un manque et donc une ellipse, tandis que dans *C'est un sacré raciste que le maire !* il y a

seulement une intuition du manque et implicitement, pas d'ellipse. Pour qu'on puisse parler d'ellipse, il est nécessaire de postuler un trou dans la structure syntaxique et que le trou elliptique soit une proforma nulle, c'est-à-dire qu'elle soit contrôlée par un antécédent-constituant. Selon Bigot (Bigot, 2008) l'ellipse est une réponse à l'intuition d'un vide et sa reconnaissance fait partie de la compétence linguistique ; or, nous avons vu plus haut que l'ellipse ne doit pas être confondue avec l'intuition du manque ou du vide. Contrairement à ce que nous venons de dire, le manque d'une intuition de manque n'exclut pas l'existence de l'ellipse. L'ellipse peut exister indépendamment de nos sens ! Il y a quelques années, un ancien assistant universitaire, dont on ne peut donner le nom car on n'a pas son consentement, a dû traduire un livre du français en roumain. L'éditeur lui a dit de ne pas y inclure un fragment qui pouvait blesser la communauté locale. L'auteur du livre a donné son accord et la traduction en roumain est parue sans quelques pages que le traducteur y a insérées sans autorisation de la part de l'éditeur. Dans ce cas, il y a donc deux types de lecteurs (même si ceux qui ont la variante complète ne dépassent pas 100 personnes) ; ceux qui lisent la variante de la traduction officielle n'ont peut-être pas une intuition d'un manque, mais il existe quand même ! Tahar Ben Jelloun dit sur son site officiel qu'il exprime son désaccord sur les traductions tronquées faites en quelques pays, parmi lesquels l'Égypte et la Syrie.

En *argumentation*, l'ellipse est celle qui met l'accent sur ce qui est important. Quand quelqu'un exprime des excuses pour justifier l'absence au travail, c'est rare quand on apporte explicitement des arguments complets. On se contentera de dire : *Je me suis absenté mais j'ai été malade* sans formuler explicitement un syllogisme compliqué comme : *Je me suis absenté mais j'ai été malade. Or, la maladie est une excuse légitime pour s'absenter. Donc, mon absence implique une excuse légitime.*

Au niveau de la traduction, l'ellipse n'est pas du tout absente. Certains auteurs, comme Sonnenschein et Regula (cf. Lauwers, 2004, p. 544) complètent les énoncés de manière indirecte, à travers une traduction en anglais ou en allemand. Pour les structures françaises ressenties comme elliptiques, Sonnenschein « adapte » l'énoncé : *il donnerait* « he had to give, was bound to give » > « he is likely to give *under certain circumstances*. (Lauwers, 2004, p. 544) Dans *La Nuit sacrée*, le père de Zahra parle de ses rêves. Il n'y a pas de guillemets dans le roman français (Ben Jelloun 1987, p. 25) mais dans la traduction anglaise il y en a pour la même phrase. (Ben Jelloun, 2000.b, p. 20)

Jonasson (Jonasson, 2005) considère que la plupart des traducteurs effacent la vision interne de *on* et utilisent une construction passive, compatible avec la focalisation interne, contrôlé par le narrateur :

« On pouvait y lire ou deviner une profonde blessure qu'un geste maladroit de la main ou un regard appuyé, un œil scrutateur ou malintentionné suffisaient à rouvrir. (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 7) / « On it could be read some deep wound, which a clumsy gesture of the hand or a lingering look from an ill-intentioned eye would be enough to reopen ».

(Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 1) ;« On le préparait à la succession » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 42) / « He was being prepared for the succession. » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 28) ; « Ils mendient. On les rejette, on les humilie. » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 168) / « They are rejected, humiliated. » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 131) Vu que la majorité des énoncés avec *on* sont traduits en anglais avec le passif, nous nous demandons s'il est encore nécessaire de poser le problème de la récupérabilité. Certes, pour un traducteur, la récupérabilité correcte est un défi et c'est pour cela que nous soutenons l'idée que *on* contient un manque et que ce manque doit être complété. Ainsi, nous donnons un autre exemple où la traduction n'est pas avec le passif, mais où le pronom personnel est retrouvé, récupéré, introduit dans la traduction anglaise : « Dans mon enfance, on jouait avec ces miroirs d'Inde … On allumait le feu avec ». (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 151) / « When I was a child, we used to play with those Indian Mirrors – we used to start fires with them! » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 117)

On dans les traductions

Nous présentons quelques exemples dans lesquels *on* du français est traduit différemment en anglais :

a. *on* est traduit en anglais par une construction passive :« On it could be read some deep wound, which a clumsy gesture of the hand or a lingering look from an ill-intentioned eye would be enough to reopen. »(Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 1) / « On pouvait y lire ou deviner une profonde blessure qu'un geste maladroit de la main ou un regard appuyé, un oeil scrutateur ou malintentionné suffisaient à rouvrir. »(Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 7) ;« In any case, he was taught to behave like a man, at home as well as outside. »(Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 28) / « En tout cas on lui a appris à se comporter en homme, aussi bien à la maison qu'au-dehors. »(Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 42) ;« He was being prepared for the succession. (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a : 28) / On le préparait à la succession. » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 42)

b. *on* est traduit par *one* :« Actually this a false distinction: it depends where one is coming from. » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 33) / « En fait ce sont de fausses entrées. Tout dépend d'où on vient. » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 49) ;« She tried not to show it, but one can sense such things. » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 146) / « Elle essayait de ne pas le montrer, mais ces choses-là, on les sent. » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 186) ; « One might say, at this stage, he had been lost sight of… (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 118) / « On pourrait dire à ce stade qu'on l'a perdu de vue. » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 151)

c. *on* est traduit par *it looks as if* :« Only the women and kids remain. It looks as if they were staying to guard the country, but there's nothing to guard. » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 131) / « Restent les femmes et les gosses. On dirait qu'ils restent pour garder le pays, mais ils ne gardent rien. » (Ben Jelloun 1985, p. 168)

d. *on* est traduit par *people* :« People would have said: *It's a madwoman* » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 122) / « On aurait dit *C'est une folle* ! » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 156)

e. *on* est traduit par *we* :« When I was a child, we used to play with those Indian Mirrors – we used to start fires with them! » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 117) / « Dans mon enfance, on jouait avec ces miroirs d'Inde … On allumait le feu avec. » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 151)

La traduction à l'intérieur du roman

Il y a des cas où Ben Jelloun traduit les termes arabes en français : *il y avait des mots rares et qui me fascinaient parce que prononcés à voix basse, comme par exemple "mani", "qlaoui", "taboun" … J'ai su plus tard que c'étaient des mots autour du sexe et que les femmes n'avaient pas le droit de les utiliser : "sperme" …, "couilles" …, "vagin" …"* (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 35). Par la traduction, il minimalise l'idée de mot étranger, la traduction n'étant pas si explicite comme une note de bas de page ou entre des parenthèses, méthode utilisée par l'écrivain en *La Prière de l'absent* (terme textuel : *Borj Dhab*, note de bas de page : *Citadelle d'or*). Il y a des moments où il ne fournit aucune traduction ; c'est le cas de *fqih* ou de *Bab El Had*. Ces mots ne sont pas marqués par des guillemets ou par des caractères en italique. C'est pour cela que le texte devient partiellement étranger pour le lecteur qui n'est pas familiarisé avec la langue et la culture arabe, et qui doit utiliser un dictionnaire pour remplir les espaces libres créés par les mots étrangers. Il y a des situations où la traduction n'est pas suffisante et alors, l'écrivain ajoute aussi le texte arabe ; il s'agit de textes tirés de Coran :

« إن ينصركم الله فلا غالب لكم »

" Si Dieu vous donne la victoire, personne ne peut vous vaincre. " (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 38)

Dans d'autres cas, l'écrivain apporte des explications pour faciliter la compréhension de l'intrigue : *Vous n'êtes pas sans savoir, ô mes amis et complices, que notre religion est impitoyable pour l'homme sans héritier ; elle le dépossède ou presque en faveur des frères. Quant aux filles, elles reçoivent seulement le tiers de l'héritage.* (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 18)

Marrouchi (Marrouchi, 2002) considère *La Nuit sacrée* un supplément qui indique que dans le livre *L'Enfant de sable* il y a un manque. *La Nuit sacrée* est un post-scriptum à *L'Enfant de sable*. Ce deuxième roman le remplace et le substitue. Les deux questions que nous nous posons sont si tous les manques de *L'Enfant de sable* sont complétés par le roman *La Nuit Sacrée* et si ce dernier roman n'ouvre pas d'autres questions dont nous pouvons trouver la réponse dans *L'Enfant de sable*. L'opinion de Hayes (Hayes, 2000) est que relire *L'Enfant de sable* par la lentille de *La Nuit sacrée* signifie utiliser la dernière pour répondre à des questions sans réponse dans le premier roman. Mais lire *LaNuit*

sacrée par la lentille de *L'Enfant de sable* ouvre des questions que ce dernier roman semblait fermer. Hess (Hess, 2000) montre que Tahar Ben Jelloun a écrit *La Nuit sacrée* à la demande des lecteurs de *L'Enfant de sable*. C'est certainement une manière de faire lever le doute, l'ambiguïté, mais non pas entièrement, parce que le mystère est l'une des caractéristiques des romans de Tahar Ben Jelloun. Venuti (Venuti, 1992) considère que le titre de *La Nuit sacrée* reçoit le sens complet dans sa traduction arabe. Les mots *Laylatu l-qadr* (= the night of decree) signifient pour chaque musulman la nuit dans laquelle, selon Sura 97, le Coran a été révélé au prophète Mohamed entre le 26ème et le 27ème jour de Ramadan. Comme dans le cas des romans *Le Dernier ami* et *Partir*, le titre est elliptique, mais cette fois il s'agit d'un autre type d'ellipse.

L'ellipse orthographique :

a. le point est elliptique pour le signe d'interrogation : « Sais-tu qu'il leur arrivait, à de très rares occasions, de nous inviter à déjeuner. » (Ben Jelloun, 1987, p. 31) « Sais tu qu'en cette nuit aucun enfant ne devrait mourir ni souffrir. » (Ben Jelloun, 1987, p. 23)

b. le point est elliptique pour le signe d'exclamation : « Que de sagesse dans ce petit corps qui échappait à toutes les caresses. » (Ben Jelloun, 1987, p. 29)

c. L'ellipse dans les traductions :« Quand j'étais jeune, j'avais de l'ambition : voyager, découvrir le monde, devenir musicien, avoir un fils, être son père et son ami, me consacrer à lui, lui donner toutes les chances pour réaliser sa vocation ... » (Ben Jelloun 1987, p. 25)« I had ambitions in my youth. I wanted to travel, see the world, become a musician, have a son, be his father and his friend, devote myself to him, give him every opportunity to fulfill his vocation. […] » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.b, p. 20)

Bibliographie

Ben Jelloun, T. (2000.a). *The Sand child* : BRILL.
Ben Jelloun, T. (2000.b). The Sacred night : JHU Press.
Ben Jelloun, T. (1987). La Nuit sacrée. Paris : Seuil.
Ben Jelloun, T. (1985). L'Enfant de sable. Paris : Seuil.
Bigot M. (2008). *Effacement et ellipse : du schème phrastique à l'organisation discursive*, in Pitavy J.-C. et Bigot M., *Ellipse et effacement : Du schème de phrase aux règles discursives*, Saint-Etienne : Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, p. 279-288.
Constantinescu, A.-M. (2005). *La Traduction entre pratique et théorie*. Suceava : Editura Universității Suceava.
Hayes, J. (2000). *Queer Nations: Marginal Sexualities in the Maghreb*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press.
Hess E. (2000). *Literary Hybrids*. Oregon: University of Oregon.
Herrmann, T. (1983). *Speech and situation*. Berlin: Springer.
Jonasson, K. (2005). Deux marqueurs de polyphonie dans les textes littéraires : le pronom ON et le déterminant démonstratif CE. Dans : Jacques Bres, *Dialogisme et polyphonie : approches linguistiques*. De Boeck Université.
Lauwers, P. (2004). *La Description du français entre la tradition grammaticale et la modernité linguistique : étude historiographique et épistémologique de la grammaire française entre 1907 et 1948.* Peeters Publishers.

Marrouchi, M. (2002). *Signifying with a Vengeance: Theories, Literatures, Storytellers* : SunyPress.

Merle, J.M. (2001). *Étude du conditionnel français et de ses traductions en anglais* : Ophrys.

Steiciuc, E.-B. (2004). *Sur la traduction des littératures francophones en Roumanie. I. La littérature maghrébine*. Suceava : Editura Universităţii din Suceava.

Venuti, L. (1992). *Rethinking translation: discourse, subjectivity, ideology* : Taylor & Francis.

Zagan, S. (2021). *Structures elliptiques dans le discours narratif chez Tahar Ben Jelloun*. Cluj-Napoca : PUC.

Lecturer Sergiu-Eugen Zagan Ph.D. He is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania). His main areas of interest are: linguistics, discourse, ellipsis. (sergiu.zagan@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Framing "Resistance" in Moroccan Female Prison Narratives: Fatna El-Bouih's *Talk of Darkness* as a Case Study

Abdelghafour Benlahbib

Through the case study of Fatna El-Bouih's Talk of Darkness, this paper frames the concept of 'resistance' in Moroccan female prison narratives. The study contributes to a lively debate about (post)colonial Morocco's history. The examination of Talk of Darkness shows the politics of the concept of resistance and sheds light on those small acts and rebellions that upset power relations while slipping under the radar. The theory of resistance developed by Scott, Vinthagen, and Johansson is used in this thesis. Resistance is demonstrated theoretically to be a very confusing topic that sparks intense disagreement among resistance studies researchers. This paper concludes by suggesting that Talk of Darkness is a narrative of resistance that exemplifies the intriguing resistance of Moroccan women in (post)colonial Morocco.

Resistance; postcolonial Morocco; history; (re)writing; women; female prison narrative.

Introduction

Morocco's (post)colonial past is riddled with inclusions and exclusions. Morocco had critical times following independence that had a significant impact on its (post)colonial history. During those times, the authorities were in a very difficult position. The time following French colonialization is referred to as the "Years of Lead" (1956-1999). As the name implies, this period has been distinguished by the authorities' use of violence against dissidents and political activists. This epoch highlights women as change agents rather than passive bystanders. Their persistent and unwavering efforts throughout the Years of Lead, however, are not acknowledged in the state's national record. Many scholars have questioned this exclusion in general, but few of them depend on what those female agents have written.

The incarceration of male and female activists in Morocco is not a new stunt; rather, it is a practice has spread during and after French occupation. During the "Years of Lead," women have chronicled their experiences through streams of consciousness that have questioned national history. Indeed, as part of their fight for equality, their testimonials have contributed to the re-writing of Moroccan national history. They have questioned the absence of women from dominant historiographies (master narratives) (Kozma, 2003). Moroccan women choose to (re)write national history because, quoting Kozma (2003), authorities "present both national and feminist historiographies as static, ahistorical and isolated from each other. They ignore the dialogue and the constant struggle in historiographic discourse, the constant dynamic that leads to historical and historiographic change" (p. 113). The ultimate goal of Moroccan female (post)colonial writings is to demonstrate that women are capable of political engagement, as well as to clarify the causes of women's subjugation and to inspire political and feminist activism.

Fatna El-Bouih's *Talk of Darkness* exposes the tragedies of incarceration during the 'Years of Lead'. El-Bouih and many other female political prisoners are portrayed in the biography as female subalterns who defy imprisonment and patriarchal standards. This research is conducted within the framework of resistance; it contends that El-Talk Bouih's of Darkness, as one of the Moroccan female prison tales, is a narrative of resistance of par-excellence. The experience of El-Bouih and her comrades in prison sheds light to female subaltern's resistance. Their experiences show that resistance can take different forms and shapes. Accordingly, this paper does not hold rigidly on one single paradigm but instead draws upon multiple paradigms that provide relevant contexts for understanding different dimensions of resistance.

This paper runs into two sections. The first section discusses the definition of resistance as it creates a great debate among critics. It also negotiates the typology of resistance suggested by Scott (1989) and Vinthagen & Johansson (2013). The typology suggests that resistance is of two types: *public* and d*isguised*. Public resistance stands for explicit resistance that calls for revolutions, demonstrations or boycotts. However, disguised resistance is a covert (implicit) resistance that takes the form of practices that are not recognized by the laymen.

The second section analyses *Talk of Darkness* in the light of Scott's categorization of resistance. It analyses the aspects that make from Fatna EL-Bouih's *Talk of Darkness* a masterpiece of resistance as well as one of the surviving texts of the Moroccan society. This section discusses the act of (re)writing as resistance in the sense that El-Bouih's *Talk of Darkness* is a challenge and resistance against the official history produced by the authorities. *Talk of Darkness* is also presented in this section as a (re)writing of the Years of Lead from a feminine perspective. It confirms that violence does not necessarily weaken female prisoners; nevertheless, it is also a weapon from which inmates gain power.

Conceptual Framework

Defining Resistance

The term resistance is commonly used to refer to opposition or insubordination that arises from power and dominant relationships (Barker, 2004). Resistance is defined as any challenge or negotiation that challenges an imposed or ascending power. According to Barker (2004), resistance is not a single and universal act that defines itself for all time. Rather, it is constituted by repertoires of activity whose meanings are specific to particular times, places and social relationships.

Resistance has always been connected with particular forms of collective activity that are open and organized, unselfish and ethical, and have revolutionary repercussions (Scott, 1985). Accordingly, resistance solely relates to large-scale mobilizations that challenge the authority. However, this stand is challenged by a study by developed by Scott & Guha (1985) who conducted a survey in a Malaysian village. Scott contends that, while deference and compliance reflect poor peasants' outward postures, they engage in numerous acts of "everyday resistance" that indicate underlying conflicts of meaning and value (Scott, 1985).

The notion of resistance dates back to Nietzsche's time. Resistance, according to Nietzsche, is in a dialectical connection with 'Freedom.' Nietzsche once asked: How is freedom measured in individuals and peoples?" He answers: "According to the resistance which must be overcome and according to the exertion required to remain on top" (cited in Hoy, 2004, p. 6). In this sense, resistance and freedom are theoretically and practically related to the degree that attempts to embed freedom into the social system fail, resistance will emerge. The impetus for resistance stems from facing restrictions on freedom (Hoy, 2004). In defining "resistance," this dialectical connection generates an aporetic position.

Foucault's understanding of resistance is, in a way or another, affected by Nietzsche's dialectical relationship of "Freedom" and "Resistance". Foucault's definition of resistance, according to Pickett (1996, p. 2) is developed in three distinct stages, "beginning with a focus on difference in 1960s, passing through an emphasis on revolutionary agitation in the years 1970s, and finally developing into a broader notion of diffuse, localized resistance to power in his later work". This development of understanding accords with the development of Foucault's own preferred terms. In the 1960s, he employs "contestation" and "transgression" and uses them interchangeably (Pickett, 1996). Pickett goes on:

> In the early 1970s, Foucault moved to "struggle" and "resistance," which again
>
> are synonymous. Foucault stayed with the same terminology throughout his
>
> most influential works of the 1970s and early 1980s, though he also used

"agonism" on occasion. The key difference between the earlier terms, such as

contestation, and the later ones turns on the issue of what resistance is resistance

against. The change in terminology coincides with Foucault's move towards his

conceptualization of power, rather than his previous strict concern with

discourses or limits (p. 447).

Foucault's works are as ground-breaking as an impasse to resistance (Mucklebauer, 2000). According to Mucklebauer, Foucault's scholarship has reached a kind of critical impasse. For many thinkers like Habermas and Jameson, the Foucauldian depiction of the social world renders resistance, conceptually and practically, impossible (Mucklebauer, 2000). This claim finds true expression with Pickett who suggests that Foucault rejects placing limits upon resistance. As a result, Pickett argues that:

Foucauldian resistance is ultimately caught between two unacceptable positions:

either place restrictions upon resistance and remain trapped in modern power, or

celebrate any form of resistance and thereby sanction the worst forms of

engagement. By choosing the latter, Foucault shows a dubious lack of concern

with what resistance is for, as long as it is enough against. (p. 447).

The understanding of resistance with Foucault demands a full comprehension of what Foucault means by "power". Foucault (1985) argues that it is misleading to look at power as something that the institutions pose and use oppressively against individuals and groups. He tries to move the analysis one step beyond viewing power as the plain oppression of the powerless, aiming to examine how it operates in day to day interactions between people and institutions (Balan, 1983). For this end, Foucault (1985) makes a plea to distinguish between "power" and "oppression" for oppressive measures are not just repression and censorship, but they are also productive in the sense that they cause new behaviors to emerge.

Stellan Vinthagen (2007) in his criticism to Foucault, states that the French thinker changes the definition of power and concomitantly changes resistance's definition. Vinthagen (2007) maintains that "if power is not only a sovereign center forbidding and punishing, but more importantly a productive multiple network of power techniques, without a unifying center, then resistance also changes face. If the decentered powers

produce regimes of truth/knowledge, specialized institutions of discipline, and ultimately, the very subject that make resistance, it sure has consequences for any resistance studies" (Vinthagen, 2007, p. 3). Vinthagen (2007) concludes that Foucault is very helpful in studying "power" but not "resistance". His claim is based on the fact that the exploited people are virtually silent and invisible in Foucault's scholarship. Unlike Vinthagen, Mark Kelly (2009) suggests that Foucault's scholarship does consider the subjugated to be able to resist. Kelly positions "power" as result of "resistance" and not the other way around. In other words, "power" and "resistance" co-exist in a cause-effect relationship.

Everyday Resistance

James C. Scott originated and developed the notion of "everyday resistance" in 1985. Scott's theory's development has been difficult to comprehend in his three works, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia (1976), Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance (1985) and Domination and Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts (1990).* Scott has not mentioned 'everyday resistance' in *The Moral Economy,* however, he "sought to contrast rebellion and unrest [struggles] with alternatives to such popular forms of struggle" (Gutmann, 1993, p. 75) which is the starting point of his theory. Indeed, in *Weapons of the Weak*, Scott (1985) seeks to diminish the significance of overt forms of resistance. Scott (1985) writes:

> "It occurred to me that the emphasis on peasant rebellion was misplaced. Instead,
>
> it seemed far more important to understand what we might call everyday forms
>
> of peasant resistance-the prosaic but constant struggle between the peasantry and
>
> those who seek to extract labour, food, taxes, rents, and interest from them. Most
>
> of the forms this struggle takes stop well short of collective outright defiance.
>
> Here I have in mind the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups: foot
>
> dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander,
>
> arson, sabotage, and so forth". (Scott, 1985:70).

Drawing upon Scott (1985), Vinthagen & Johansson (2013) define "everyday resistance", as acts that subaltern groups do in their daily life that in order to undermine power. Unlike Scott, Vinthagen & Johansson (2013) acknowledge the difficulty of "everyday resistance" to be recognized like the public and collective resistance due to its disguised and individual shape, the issue which creates a challenge for researchers and

critics. Scott's objective when introducing "everyday resistance" is to "cover a different kind of resistance, one that is not as dramatic and visible as rebellions, riots, demonstrations, revolutions, civil war or other such organized, collective or confrontational articulations of resistance" (cited in Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013, p. 4).Scott continues: "public, symbolic confrontations ... intended as discursive negations of the existing symbolic order ... fail unless they gain attention", while everyday resistance "by not openly contesting norms of law, custom, politeness, deference, loyalty and so on leaves the dominant in command of the public stage"(cited in Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013, p. 7).

The term "everyday" implies that the activities are normalized, quiet, and commonplace. Subalterns, in this sense, "themselves are not necessarily regarding it as 'resistance' at all, rather a normal part and way of their life, personality, culture and tradition" (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013, p. 10). This claim suggests that "everyday resistance" does not embrace those activities which are politically motivated. As such, "conceptualizing and analysing 'everyday resistance' begins with a double identification of something as being part of everyday and that part as being an expression of resistance to power" (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013).

According to research on everyday resistance, the type of resistance is determined by the type of power. According to Scott (1989), individuals who argue that resistance is organized, principled, and has revolutionary implications completely disregard the critical role of power relations in restricting forms of resistance (Vinthagen & Johannsson, 2013). As such, resistance is not independent of power structures, but rather is conditioned by them. Because of this interdependence between resistance and power (or agency and structure), one should "use resistance as a diagnostic of power"(Richter-Devroe, 2009, p. 34).

Richter-Devroe approaches the concept of "everyday resistance" in the context of women claiming that studies on "everyday resistance" neglect the critical role of women. "Rather than devaluating women's everyday resistance as irrelevant and a-political or horrifying it as an unquestionably emancipatory act, more nuanced ways of dealing with their transformative potentials are needed" Richter-Devroe (2011, p. 35) claims. Richter-Devroe (2011) provides the example of MacLeod (1992) who conducted a study on everyday resistance tactics of women in Cairo. MacLeod (cited in Richter-Devroe, 2011, p. 35) maintains that the "controversial voluntary veiling adopted by educated and working Egyptian women is an ambiguous form of agency with which women both aim to alter and maintain the status quo".

Framing Resistance in Fatna El-Bouih's *Talk of Darkness*

"I never retained any of their rules. I tried to speak although it was forbidden. I

moved in spite of their tough orders and strict instructions. I never learned to

hear my number or my new name. I did not perfect the art of silence, obedience,

or calling them Hajj [sir]. I paid clearly for all this, especially in the beginning. I

recall that it was my luck to receive lots of kicks and beatings" (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 9)

Talk of Darkness by Fatna El-Bouih is an explicit narrative/testimony/memoir that challenges patriarchal, societal, and religious standards. The testimony comes from a female subaltern who was previously silenced. Talk of Darkness is a story of resistance against the regime's violation of numerous human rights during the Years of Lead in Morocco." Moroccan female prison narratives, represented by El-Bouih'sTalk of Darkness, are a call to Moroccan society to listen to them, to "join them Through the Vast Halls of Memory and bear witness to the atrocities committed against them by the state" (Mojad & Taber, 2015, p. 38) (Emphasis is original). *Talk of Darkness* depicts female subalterns who not only resist implicitly, but also overtly. El-Bouih, unlike non-political inmates, is a stubborn female subaltern; she resists patriarchal standards that are intertwined with jail through male guards. El-Bouih and her companions stand side to shoulder in their opposition to the confluence of gender and sexuality abuses in Moroccan prisons:

"Once during the month of Ramadan, one of our women comrades was

threatened with sexual assault. Despite the violence and the constant control over

our bodies, though not our spirits, we were able to break the stranglehold of

mandatory silence and continuous surveillance, and the protest that despicable

criminal's act. We screamed shrilly. It was a memorable night: perhaps for the

first time in the history of that prison, its walls knew screams of protest, and even

more unusual, they were the screams of women". (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 10)

El-Bouih exhibits strong resistance from the very beginning of her imprisonment. During her secret imprisonment, she was subjected to a variety of severe attacks and mistreatment. Guards were obliged to put her through hardships in the goal of eliciting information from her, but she used to remain silent as a form of resistance. To escape beatings, inmates are obliged to refer to guards as Hajjis. Unlike others, El-Bouih refuses to refer to them as Hajjs because they are not pilgrims. El-Bouih (2008, p. 7) writes:

"It was impossible to disobey the orders to the Hajj, but I refused to call them

Hajj, they were not pilgrims. I would ask for what I wanted without respect for

their name, pilgrim, and they would refuse to reply. They insisted on being called

Hajj but I would not permit that. My stubbornness cost me dreary in beatings

and abuse".

El-Bouih's main concern in prison is not to show any impression of weakness; she is a more powerful leader who has an impact on her comrades. Being blinded does not eliminate the possibility of communicating. She has, however, learned to "hear without seeing and communicate without talking. El-Bouih and her companions have considered the end of their patience as a launching pad for resistance. She writes: "We were patient even when our patience was exhausted. We dried up our flowing tears and did not allow our faith in our cause to be shaken even a little. This attitude kept our morale up and saved us from collapse". (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 19)

With the brutality exercised by prison guards and the abuse of the prison facility, as well as the scant media coverage and complete silence surrounding their case, El-Bouih and her companions had no alternative but to move incarceration to "another site of resistance" (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 23). They conducted a number of hunger strikes in various prisons. Hunger strikes have been viewed as a threat to their lives; yet, death is preferable to their miserable prison existence. "It was true that hunger strikes were against the rules established by a state claiming to uphold the rule of law and to respect life and the integrity of the body. But nothing was further from truth". (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 33).

El-Bouih and her political companions engaged on a twenty-day hunger strike at Meknes Prison. It was a remarkable strike that resulted in a discussion with the government. El-Bouih has been the representor of the women political prisoners. She has been the only woman in that patriarchal conversation; she found herself "confronted with ancient laws, and mindsets that were incapable of acknowledging their true nature. They (administration representatives) were instruments of repression within an institution that considers itself a place to reform criminals" (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 28). Hunger strikes have opened confrontations that female subalterns used on several occasions to show their resistance and disobedience to prison standards.

Political Women inmates think that resisting the Other (jailers, authorities, and the patriarchal system) begins with resisting the dread of incarceration. For some of them, imprisonment is a shocking experience. Others, like Latifa Jbabdi, are looking forward to the experience with bated breath; she has not exhibited any fear in front of the cops while being arrested. She writes: "I was in heightened state of mental preparations; I felt no

nervousness at that moment. Even though I hadn't expected to be arrested, it was a possibility I had chosen to confront directly, and thus spare myself terrifying surprises. In any case, the activist must always consider himself provisionally free" (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 85).

Another element of resistance is illustrated through Latifa Jbabdi's interrogation. Being interrogated under the threat of death may cause anxiety or dread; but, for Jbabdi, it causes her to feel unafraid. "I was not frightened at all; on the contrary, despite appearances, I felt that I was in a position of strength. I felt proud of myself, thanks to my obstinacy when challenged, my unyielding will, my exceptional capacity since childhood for remaining steadfast, and my belief in my principles and choices, steeled under the whip" (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 90). The woman demonstrates tremendous strength in the face of the horrifying environment created by the interrogators.

The presence of women in prison for political reasons is an open protest against an institution that thinks that women "belong to the harem, and only the harem." To normalize the situation, jailers treat political women detainees like males. They were treated harsher than males because they were women (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 90). Physical abuse, according to El-Bouih, was easier than stripping her of her femininity. To convince themselves that they are not dealing with women, the guards name female inmates with masculine names. Masculinization of political women in prison is a type of patriarchal punishment intended to remind them that they have entered a prohibited domain of masculine activity.

The experience of El-Bouih and her comrades demonstrates that resistance takes different facets. Family, comradeship, learning, and physical activity are all examples of "everyday resistance", an implicit resistance employed by political women prisoners to fight the routine and the passage of time. On the one hand, this type of resistance offers those ladies strength. On the other hand, it provides both the jailers and the authorities the image of a unified front. Political women imprisoned make their opposition more visible by engaging in what is thought to be masculine realms.

Scott's (1989) and Vinthagen & Johansson's (2013) theoretical exploration of "everyday resistance" indicates that subalterns' everyday struggles are generally silent and go unnoticed. Fatna EL-testimony Bouih's highlights various forms of ordinary resistance used by female political prisoners to oppose governmental persecution and abuse. Reading El-Bouih's narrative prompts explanations for four activities that accompanied El-Bouih and her comrades during their incarceration: Reading, imagination, and comradeship. These actions are, in fact, commonplace habits that should not be dismissed as simple routines.

Reading and creativity in captivity is a contradictory experience. There are rewarding moments of educational experience and at times denigrating and abusive (Mojad& Taber, 2015). El-Bouih's experience exemplifies this paradox. The following excerpt from El-Bouih's *Talk of Darkness* demonstrates that, despite the prison's goal of isolating inmates from the outside world, El-Bouih and her companions rely on reading to be their window to the outside world.

"Prison deprived us of vital and nourishing spaces in order to neutralize us.

Instead, we took this as a challenge and renewed ties through various channels:

we eagerly tracked issues in the national arena, we observed data, we read

magazines, and we expressed our opinions through communiqués, either about

national issues, such as the "Western Sahara" situation or the founding of

Democratic Confederation of Workers Union, or other events such as Camp

David and its aftermath. The way we closely followed events meant there were

no surprises; more often than not, we anticipated or predicted events". (El-Bouih,

2008, p. 21)

Life in prison may appear to everyone to be a dreary experience; yet, El-Bouih's narrative demonstrates the opposite. El-Bouih and her comrades are pressed for time as a result of their studies. She writes in response to her friend Hassan Najmi: "My dear friend Hasan Najmi once asked me how we spent our time periods inside prison. I answered, "Our time, not our time periods", we suffered from lack of time. Our schedule was packed: studies, ideological educational, discussions, exercise, writing, etc. one time we slept for only half the month. On a fixed schedule, we would sleep one night and then stay wide awake all through the next night, discussing, studying, and debating about what each of us had read" (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 21).

For Moroccan female political prisoners, it is prison which activates their inclination to write and pursue their post-graduate studies. El-Bouih, for example, has enrolled in an M.A (Master of Arts) program of Myth. She as well as her comrades has been exposed to different disciplines despite shortage of resources. Studying becomes one of their daily rituals which need ceremonial preparations. El-Bouih remarks:

"We studied literature and philosophy, read novels, learned about economics,

sociology, and psychology. We had to wait until it was quiet at night in order to

organize our literary and speculative discussions that were only halted by the

first light of dawn…We used to wake up at the crack of dawn to exercise in the

cell, have breakfast, tidy the cell, and begin our studies as we waited for the

breaks, a half hour in the morning and a half hour in the afternoon". (p. 21)

Talk of Darkness is the story of a former Moroccan political prisoner who ventures outside the confines of his confinement to learn about many disciplines and fields of knowledge. Prison might deprive inmates of learning opportunities, but it can also serve as a springboard for a literary career. In the instance of El-Bouih and her comrades, reading is the spark for rewriting Morocco's post-colonial history from a female perspective.

El-Bouih uses her imagination to (re)present the experience of confinement from a female perspective. She feels that imagination is the only "fertile space left to a prisoner" (El-Bouih, 2008, p. 42), and a form of resistance to her daily routine. Her ability to float in her mind propels her to conduct research on Myth for her license (B.A) thesis. El-Bouih writes:

"We [Professor Fatema Mernissi and El-Bouih] talked about the possibilities for

research on myth. She promised me whatever she could to get me sources. I

promised her to use my imagination, the only fertile space left to a prisoner. We

couldn't do otherwise, especially since the art of imagination was all I was good

at. We parted, she to the real world, and I to the world of myth and cultural

heritage. How I would have loved to narrate my own myths, my eternal stay in

this compulsory harem and the absolute curse of it. Alas". (2008, p. 42)

Comradeship is not an easy feeling to experience in jail, it is a lift of solitude. El-Bouih responds to her poet comrade Abdelatif Laarbi, who asked of her most demands and she answers by asking for the return of her comrade Nguia Boudaa. Her wish is granted when El-Bouih and Nguia meet in Kenitra Civil Prison. Their delight was conveyed in a burst of joy. During the "Years of Lead," El-Bouih's family and comrades play a critical role in fighting the ravages of incarceration. Family is an inspiring leader which guides her through her trials. They are both her antidote to loneliness and isolation. Family and comradeship form two types of resistance that prison guards ignore since they are implicit.

Conclusion

Testimonies from the Years of Lead have become important means of regaining agency and giving voice to the voiceless in the aftermath of the political reconciliation between the authorities and dissidents, initiated primarily by King Hassan II during the last decade of his reign and sustained by King Mohamed VI. The emancipation of different voices in Morocco is not confined to those of men. however, female voices that have been previously unheard in public debate have begun to be heard in recent years (Orlando, 2009). Like their male counterparts, female political prisoners are socio-political activists who influence today's Moroccan society. Their experiences show that what has been excluded in the official history aims at persisting the "common" stereotype on women as victims and subjects of power. In Morocco, the emancipation of various voices is not confined to men. Voices that have been previously unheard in public debate have begun to be heard in recent years.

Talk of Darkness proves that female political prisoners "write about the past places in present memories. They tell because they do not want to forget. They speak of lost communities to restore living and voice and overcome death and silence. Their memoirs function as public pedagogies that, as argued by Gouthro and Holloway (2013) in relation to learning citizenship from fiction, can be used for social purpose learning in order to "gain a deeper understanding of other people's experiences" and "challenge the narrowness of a worldview that asserts the dominance of [masculine] marketplace values" (Mojab & Taber, 2015, p. 43).

Talk of Darkness asserts that resistance is not gendered in the sense that both men and women may be change agents. The experience of El-Bouih and her colleagues demonstrates that women can utilize their femininity as a symbol of power, not weakness. Femininity is regarded as a trait of inferiority in patriarchal countries such as Morocco. The extraordinary struggle led by Fatna and her companions in Talk of Darkness refutes this alleged attitude. They force the jailers to acknowledge them as female political prisoners, but not as male political prisoners. The authorities (re)gender them in an attempt to destroy their femininity; yet, they hold onto their femininity as a source of power and resistance.

References

Amine, K. (2016). After the Years of Lead in Morocco: Performing the Memory. *New Theatre Quarterly*, *32*(2), 121–141. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266464X16000038

Beauvoir, S. de, Borde, C., Malovany-Chevallier, S., &Thurman, J. (2011). *The second sex*. New York: AVintage Books/Random House.

Bīh, F., Kamal, M., &Slyomovics, S. (2008). *Talk of darkness*. Austin, TX: Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Texas at Austin.

Casalini, G. (2013). Feminist Embodiments of Silence: Performing the Intolerable Speech in the Work of Regina José Galindo. *Ex Aequo*, (27), 27–41.

Caygill, H. (2013). *On resistance: a philosophy of defiance*. London ; New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Chandra, U. (2015). Rethinking Subaltern Resistance. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *45*(4), 563–573. https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2015.1048415

Coughtry, S. E. (2011). Patriarchy and the trap of masculinity: a post-colonial analysis of violence against sexual minorities in Uganda. *Smith College School for Social Work*.

Fivush, R. (2002). *Voice and Silence: A feminist model of autobiographical memory*. *Emory University* Press.

Fivush, R. (2010). Speaking silence: The social construction of silence in autobiographical and cultural narratives. *Memory*, *18*(2), 88–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210903029404

Flynn, E. A. (1996). Writing as resistance. *JAC*, 171–176.

Gray, D. H. (2013). Political women in Morocco ? then and now. *The Journal of North African Studies*, *18*(4), 617–618. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2013.828441

Hoy, D. C. (2004). *Critical resistance: from poststructuralism to post-critique*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Ifechelobi, J. (2014). Feminism: Silence and Voicelessness as Tools of Patriarchy in Chimamanda Adichie?s*Purple Hibiscus*. *African Research Review*, *8*(4), 17. https://doi.org/10.4314/afrrev.v8i4.2

Kozma, L. (2003). Moroccan women's narratives of liberation: a passive revolution? *The Journal of North African Studies*, *8*(1), 112–130. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380308718499

MacLure, M., Holmes, R., Jones, L., &MacRae, C. (2010a). Silence as resistance to analysis: Or on not opening one's mouth properly. *Qualitative Inquiry*. Retrieved from http://qix.sagepub.com/content/early/2010/03/29/1077800410364349.abstract

MacLure, M., Holmes, R., Jones, L., &MacRae, C. (2010b). Silence as Resistance to Analysis: Or, on Not Opening One's Mouth Properly. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *16*(6), 492–500. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800410364349

Malhotra, S., & Rowe, A. C. (Eds.). (2013). *Silence, Feminism, Power*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. Retrieved from http://link.springer.com/10.1057/9781137002372

Menin, L. (2014). Rewriting the World: Gendered Violence, the Political Imagination and Memoirs from the" Years of Lead" in Morocco. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, *8*(1), 45.

Mojab, S., & Taber, N. (2015). Memoir pedagogy: Gender narratives of violence and survival. *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education (Online)*, *27*(2), 31–45.

Muckelbauer, J. (2000). On Reading Differently: Through Foucault's Resistance. *College English*, *63*.

Myers, S. L. (2009). (Re) embodying girlhood: collective autobiography and identity performance in Rude Mechanicals' Grrl action. Retrieved from https://utexas-ir.tdl.org/handle/2152/18453

Orlando, V. (2009). *Francophone voices of the "new" Morocco in film and print: (re)presenting a society in transition* (1st ed). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Orlando, V. K. (2010). Feminine spaces and places in the dark recesses of Morocco's past: the prison testimonials in poetry and prose of SaïdaMenebhi and Fatna El Bouih. *The Journal of North African Studies*, *15*(3), 273–288. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629380902745884

Orlando, V. K. (2016). Women, madness, myth and film: exploring Moroccan psychological trauma and postmemory in *Pegase* (Mohamed Mouftakir, 2010). *The Journal of North African Studies*, *21*(1), 90–107. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2015.1084119

Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance: hidden transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Pr.

Scott, J. C. (2008). *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. yale university Press.

Shahjahan, R. A. (2014). From ?no? to ?yes?: postcolonial perspectives on resistance to neoliberal higher education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *35*(2), 219–232. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2012.745732

Slyomovics, S. (2012). Fatna El Bouih and the Work of Memory, Gender, and Reparation in Morocco. *Indiana University Press*, *8*, 37–62.

Spivak, G. C., Joskowicz, A., Nowotny, S., &Steyerl, H. (2011). *Can the subaltern speak? Postkolonialität und subalterne Artikulation* (Unveränd. Nachdr). Wien: Turia + Kant.

Travis, S. (2008). Review of David Jefferess, Postcolonial Resistance: Culture, Liberation, and Transformation. *University of Toronto Press*.

Vinthagen, S. (n.d.). Understanding "Resistance": Exploring definitions, perspectives, forms and implications. *Resistance Studies Network, Gothenburg University*, 2007.

Vinthagen, S., & Johansson, A. (2013). "Everyday resistance": Exploration of a concept and its theories. *Resistance Studies Magazine*, *1*(1), 1–46.

Abdelghafour Benlahbib is a member of the Applied language and cultural Studies at the faculty of Letter and Human sciences, EL-Jadida. His main areas of interest are: Moroccan political Identity, Moroccan Anglophone Narratives, youth, and Moroccan History and Society. (landoch22@gmail.com)

Language and Culture

Le diminutif/augmentatif à travers la flexion nominale en kirundi (bantou, JD62)
The diminutive/augmentative through noun inflection in Kirundi (Bantu, JD62)

Epimaque Nshimirimana, Pascal Tuyubahe, Manoah-Joël Misago

The objective of this study is to systematically describe the diminutive/augmentative mechanism through noun inflection in Kirundi. By applying the cognitive theory of space representation to the size of the static and bounded object (without considering its geometric shape), three results were obtained. First, the diminutive/augmentative is expressed by means of the secondary noun classification with derivational purpose. Then, the marks of secondary classes in the singular (-ki-, -ka-, -ru-) represent a mode of occupation of the continuous space while those of the plural (-bi-, -tu-, -bu-) serve as support for a mode of occupation of discontinuous space. Finally, taking the primary noun class as a mark of the normal reference size, the diminutive/augmentative mechanism distinguishes two degrees from the normal size of the object considered.

Kirundi; space representation; noun inflection; diminutive; augmentative.

Introduction

Le kirundi est une langue bantoue (classée JD62) parlée au Burundi, un pays de la région des Grands Lacs en Afrique orientale. Cette langue a un double statut, elle est à la fois une langue nationale et une langue officielle du Burundi. Considéré comme la langue nationale unique des Burundais, le kirundi a été et continue à être le véhicule d'une culture burundaise multiséculaire ainsi que le symbole de l'unité nationale. Parlé par plus de dix millions d'habitants, le kirundi est une langue peu dialectalisée et se trouve en situation d'intercompréhension avec le kinyarwanda, langue du Rwanda et le giha, langue de

l'ouest de la Tanzanie (Bukuru, 2003, p. 2). Typologiquement, le kirundi est à la fois une langue fortement agglutinante, une langue caractérisée par le système de classification nominale et une langue qui atteste exclusivement des flexions substantivales préfixales (Creissels, 1991, p. 104).

Le kirundi est une langue relativement bien décrite à voir le nombre de travaux linguistiques (grammaires, thèses de doctorat qui se penchent sur des aspects spécifiques de la langue) qui ont été réalisés. Dans les différentes grammaires sur le kirundi, la flexion nominale y trouve suffisamment de la place. Mais, il est rare d'y trouver une description succincte du mécanisme du diminutif/augmentatif en kirundi. Chaque fois que la notion de diminutif/augmentatif est abordée, la description montre que le diminutif/augmentatif est attaché à la flexion nominale. En effet, le diminutif/augmentatif est exprimé au moyen de quelques préfixes nominaux, marqueurs de classes nominales bien précises.

Dans la littérature, le diminutif/augmentatif est différemment conçu par les auteurs. D'une part, le diminutif/augmentatif est considéré comme une valeur sémantique d'un système de classes nominales secondaires, matérialisant un procédé morphologique assimilable à la dérivation nominale (Meeussen, 1959, p. 72).

D'autre part, le diminutif/augmentatif est simplement présenté comme une valeur sémantique particulière acquise par un nom employé avec un préfixe autre que celui qui lui est prédestiné par le mécanisme interne sous-tendant la structure nominale en kirundi (Ntahokaja, 1994).

Dans les deux cas, la description du diminutif/augmentatif en kirundi se limite à l'identification du préfixe nominal qui sert de support formel à cette valeur sémantique. Elle est souvent faite sans tenir compte de l'inventaire exhaustif des préfixes nominaux qui jouent un rôle dans l'expression de ces deux valeurs (c'est-à-dire le diminutif et l'augmentatif). Dans cette description, un rapprochement singulier/pluriel est parfois opéré mais le diminutif et l'augmentatif restent traités de façon lacunaire.

Face à cet état des lieux, la problématique de la présente étude se résume en une série des questions suivantes : quelle est la nature du diminutif/augmentatif en kirundi ? Quel est le fonctionnement du diminutif/augmentatif en kirundi ? Dans la description actuelle du sous-système du diminutif/augmentatif en kirundi, n'y a-t-il pas des aspects qui restent peu explorés ou qui ne sont pas décrits ? L'hypothèse de la présente recherche est la suivante : le rapprochement du diminutif et de l'augmentatif révèle que le diminutif/augmentatif constitue un sous-système cohérent de représentation du réel basé sur des degrés d'occupation de l'espace. Dans le souci d'apporter des éclaircissements à toutes ces questions et de vérifier notre hypothèse, l'objectif de la présente étude est de faire une description plus ou moins systématique du diminutif/augmentatif en kirundi.

Méthodologie

La démarche méthodologique envisagée relève de la théorie cognitive de la représentation de l'espace. Le point de vue méthodologique que nous adoptons ne privilégie ni telle école ni tel auteur. Il est construit au moyen des éléments de la représentation spatiale, qui intéressent directement la présente étude, rassemblés à partir de différentes sources documentaires. Celles-ci sont principalement Jackendoff (1994 ; 1996), Pottier (2000), Talmy (1975 ; 2000 ; 2003) et Asic (2004).

Dans notre démarche, l'espace est conçu comme une des cinq aires[1] qui couvrent l'ensemble des possibles (Pottier, 2000, p. 16). L'espace physique où nous vivons est tri-dimensionnel et la position de n'importe quel objet est définie selon les trois coordonnées qui sont données par les trois directions fondamentales : verticale, frontale et latérale (Asic, 2004, p. 32). En d'autres termes, reconnaître un objet revient à le localiser selon ces trois directions. Dans ce sens, en nous référant à Talmy (2000, p. 180), nous entendons par objet toute portion de la substance conceptualisée comme ayant des bornes et comme étant individuelle. L'objet ainsi défini correspond, dans le monde physique, à des êtres animés (humains ou non) et non animés.

Quant à la représentation spatiale, elle doit satisfaire aux trois critères soulignés par Asic (2004, p. 108). En premier lieu, elle doit résoudre le problème de la constance de l'objet ; celle-ci apparaît différemment selon les distances, les perspectives et le changement de sa forme. En second lieu, elle doit aussi résoudre la question de l'encodage de la connaissance spatiale des parties de l'objet qui ne peuvent pas être vues. Enfin, elle doit soutenir la catégorisation visuelle et la communication avec l'information haptique, auditoire et proprioceptive.

Selon Talmy (2000, p. 180), l'espace est considéré comme une matrice, c'est-à-dire un volume qui contient et qui localise et à l'intérieur duquel les objets sont des contenus. Ceux-ci peuvent être statiques ou dynamiques. L'objet statique s'oppose ainsi à la figure, c'est-à-dire une entité en mouvement (Talmy, 1975, p. 181 ; Misago, 2018, p. 9). Dans notre article, nous nous intéressons aux objets statiques. Ceux-ci seront considérés du seul point de vue de certaines propriétés que l'objet manifeste lui-même, selon un mode d'occupation de l'espace continu ou discontinu.

L'espace ainsi décrit entretient une relation avec le langage : la représentation de l'espace influence le langage (Jackendoff, 1996). Quoique le langage et la pensée (dont relève la représentation spatiale) soient distincts, la variété d'expression exprimée par le langage implique une variété correspondante d'expression dans la pensée. Ainsi, chaque mot du langage est associé dans le cerveau à une primitive conceptuelle[2] correspondant aux schémas syntaxiques qui construisent des mots en phrases (Jackendoff, 1994, pp.

---

[1] Les quatre autres aires d'instanciation sont l'existentiel, le temps, le notionnel et le modal (Pottier 2000, p. 16).
[2] Les primitives conceptuelles sont des concepts simples qui se laissent associer suivant un ensemble de modèles permettant de les regrouper en pensées de plus en plus complexes (Jackendoff, 1994, p. 188).

188-189). Autrement dit, les unités lexicales sont des véhicules des éléments de la représentation spatiale.

De son côté, Pottier (2000, p. 15) précise que les langues catégorisent certaines distinctions mentales, plus ou moins nettement, par des morphèmes, des traits prosodiques et/ou des tactèmes. En considérant que la représentation spatiale relève de la dimension mentale, les morphèmes servent par exemple à exprimer la quantification numérique des objets au moyen du nombre sous forme d'une opposition binaire de type singulier/pluriel.

Ainsi, à travers les constituants de la structure des unités lexicales, la représentation spatiale est exprimée dans des actes concrets du langage selon des modèles grammaticaux prédéfinis. C'est par ce type de relation entre l'espace et le langage que Guillaume (1971) montre que le nom est le mot dont l'entendement final s'achève à l'espace. Au niveau grammatical, le nom défini de cette manière se caractérise par des catégories flexionnelles différentes à savoir le genre, le nombre, la définitude et le cas (Mel'cuk, 1994 ; Creissels, 2006).

En circonscrivant notre étude dans cette théorie de la représentation spatiale, nous retenons une précision d'une importance capitale évoquée par Asic (2004, pp. 109-110). Celui-ci considère que pour identifier et localiser un objet, les seuls axes vertical, latéral et frontal ne suffisent pas. Ces orientations spatiales doivent être complétées par la connaissance visuelle ou encyclopédique des objets impliqués en ce qui est de leur taille ou de leur forme.

Cette nouvelle considération complète, et rectifie par la même occasion, le point de vue de Jackendoff (1996) selon lequel la représentation spatiale est par nature géométrique mais non imagistique. En effet, l'élément comme la taille de l'objet ne relève pas de la géométrie de celui-ci. Il est à placer sur le compte de la catégorie d'éléments non géométriques fréquemment associés à des schémas spatiaux (Talmy, 2003)[3].

Ainsi focaliserons-nous notre attention sur la taille des objets statiques à travers la notion de mesurativité. Celle-ci est un trait grammatical dont les éléments spécifient la taille de l'objet en question et qui correspond d'habitude à une opposition à trois éléments principaux : le neutre (taille normale), le diminutif (petit) et l'augmentatif (grand) (Mel'cuk, 1994, pp. 79-80). Dans le cas qui nous concerne, cette notion sera appliquée à des noms comptables[4]. La description que nous envisageons consistera à montrer comment le diminutif/augmentatif est un élément de l'espace exprimé à travers la flexion nominale en kirundi. Il ne s'agira pas de localiser les objets désignés par des substantifs dans l'espace mais d'examiner la taille des objets statiques au sein de la matrice.

---

[3] Dans la théorie de Talmy (2003), la catégorie d'éléments non géométriques est l'une des quatre catégories fondamentales de la structure spatiale dont les trois autres sont la segmentation de la scène en composants individuels, les propriétés d'un composant individuel et les relations d'un composant à un autre.
[4] Par opposition aux noms non-comptables, les noms comptables sont les seuls à être pris en compte dans cette étude du fait qu'ils se laissent facilement varier en nombre, celui-ci étant un trait grammatical important dans la section 3 de notre étude.

Pour arriver à notre objectif, nous procéderons par trois étapes successives. Tout d'abord, il sera question d'identifier et d'inventorier les différents moyens de la flexion nominale dont se sert le kirundi pour exprimer le diminutif/augmentatif. Ensuite, les moyens formels retenus seront associés à la notion de nombre, c'est-à-dire un trait grammatical dont les éléments spécifient la quantification d'objets en question sur base d'une opposition de type singulier/pluriel (Mel'cuk, 1994, p. 75). Enfin, la notion de taille de l'objet sera examinée sur base du rapprochement du sémantisme de l'espace exprimé par le diminutif et par l'augmentatif.

Moyens flexionnels d'expression du diminutif/augmentatif

En kirundi, le substantif simple a une structure canonique ternaire où les constituants sont des morphèmes qui se succèdent dans l'ordre AUG-PN-TN (Augment-Préfixe Nominal-Thème Nominal). Le thème nominal représente la matière lexicale signifiée par le nom, le préfixe nominal indique la classe nominale[5] des êtres (ou fragments de l'espace qui comportent des objets variés) exprimés par le thème nominal. L'augment est une forme pure qui sert à l'actualisation du composé PN-TN dans le discours.
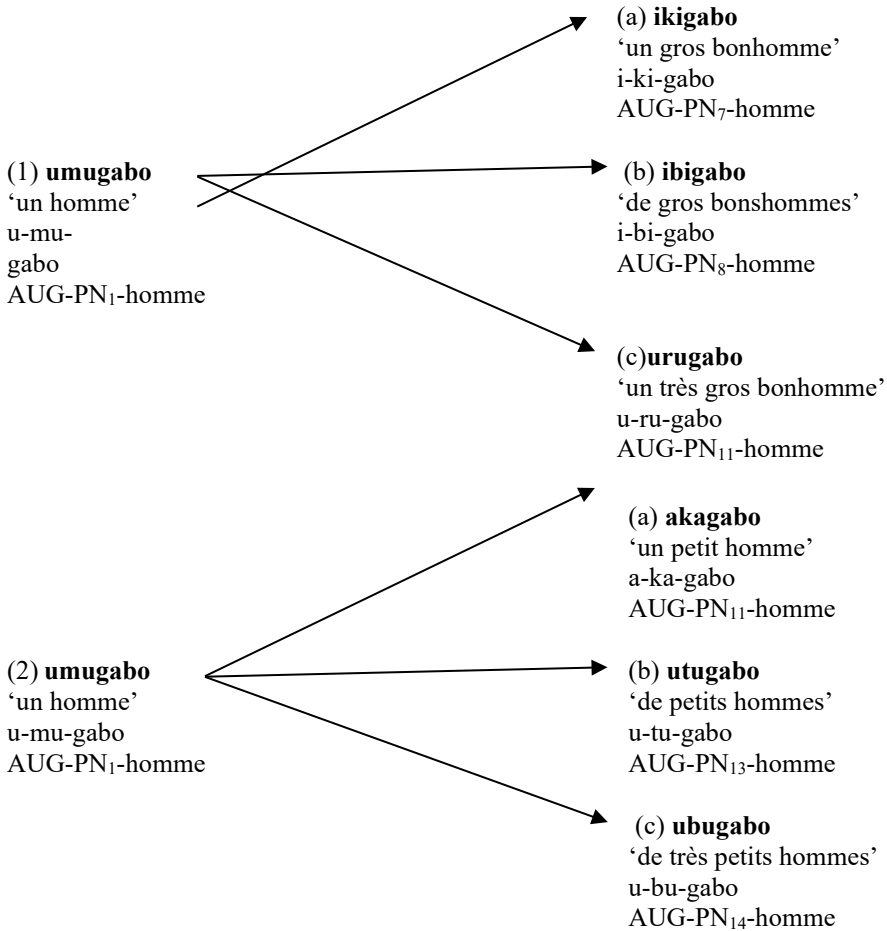
En kirundi, les différents objets de l'espace se répartissent en seize classes nominales[6]. La matière lexicale exprimée par le thème nominal se prédestine un préfixe nominal auquel elle s'associe. D'une manière générale, le locuteur ne se choisit pas lui-même le préfixe nominal qui va ensemble avec tel thème nominal, ce sont les règles internes à la langue qui déterminent ce type de combinaison PN-TN. Cependant, dans certaines limites, il est possible de varier la forme du préfixe nominal pour un même thème nominal. Dans ce cas, la classe de l'objet désigné par le thème nominal et le sémantisme véhiculé changent. Dans cette section, nous montrons les différentes possibilités de passer de la forme nominale donnée à l'une ou l'autre forme nominale du diminutif ou de l'augmentatif tant au singulier qu'au pluriel. Nous reviendrons sur l'augmentatif/diminutif associé au nombre au niveau de la section 3.

Considérons l'exemple du substantif *umugabo* 'un homme' qui appartient à la classe 1 et dont le préfixe nominal est *-mu-*. Le préfixe nominal *-mu-* (classe 1) peut être remplacé par d'autres préfixes nominaux tels que *-ki-* (classe 7), *-bi-* (classe 8), *-ru-* (classe 11), *-ka-* (classe 12), *-tu-* (classe 13) et *-bu-* (classe 14). Ainsi obtenons-nous de nouveaux substantifs comme *ikigabo* 'un gros bonhomme', *ibigabo* 'de gros bonshommes', *urugabo* 'un très gros bonhomme', *akagabo* 'un petit homme', *utugabo* 'de petits hommes', *ubugabo* 'de très petits hommes'.

---

[5] Ici, la classe nominale est définie comme un ensemble ouvert de nominaux qui gouvernent le même accord grammatical marqué par un même type de préfixes (Alexandre, 1981, p. 354).

[6] Il est important de préciser que les classes nominales locatives *ku* (classe 17), *mu* (classe 18) et *i* (classe 19) sont considérées par Bukuru (2003, pp. 125-135) comme des prépositions. Ainsi, seule la classe 16 marquée par le préfixe *-ha-* est retenue dans cette étude du fait qu'elle est la seule à commander un accord morphosyntaxique répondant au modèle des autres classes nominales.

De par ces exemples, nous constatons que le changement du préfixe nominal entraîne une variation sémantique. Celle-ci se fait en empruntant deux voies différentes : la taille de l'objet considéré augmente d'une part ou elle diminue d'autre part. Ainsi, dans (1), le passage de *umugabo* 'un homme' à *ikigabo* 'un gros bonhomme' (1a), *ibigabo* 'de gros bonshommes' (1b), *urugabo* 'un très gros bonhomme' (1c) matérialise le passage progressif de la taille normale à une taille plus grande. De la même manière, en (2), le passage de *umugabo* 'un homme' à *akagabo* 'un petit homme' (2a), *utugabo* 'de petits hommes' (2b), *ubugabo* 'de très petits hommes' (2c) indique une diminution de la taille de l'objet pris en compte.

(a) ikigabo
'un gros bonhomme'
i-ki-gabo
AUG-PN_7-homme

(1) umugabo
'un homme'
u-mu-
gabo
AUG-PN_1-homme

(b) ibigabo
'de gros bonshommes'
i-bi-gabo
AUG-PN_8-homme

(c)urugabo
'un très gros bonhomme'
u-ru-gabo
AUG-PN_{11}-homme

(a) akagabo
'un petit homme'
a-ka-gabo
AUG-PN_{11}-homme

(2) umugabo
'un homme'
u-mu-gabo
AUG-PN_1-homme

(b) utugabo
'de petits hommes'
u-tu-gabo
AUG-PN_{13}-homme

(c) ubugabo
'de très petits hommes'
u-bu-gabo
AUG-PN_{14}-homme

De par les exemples (1a-c) et (2a-c), nous remarquons qu'il est possible de passer de la forme nominale *umugabo* 'un homme' à l'une ou l'autre forme nominale du diminutif (diminution de la taille de l'objet) ou de l'augmentatif (augmentation de la taille

de l'objet). L'élément responsable de la variation formelle est le préfixe nominal, le thème nominal étant le même dans tous les cas. Ainsi concluons-nous que le diminutif/ augmentatif en kirundi est exprimé au moyen du changement du préfixe nominal marquant la classe nominale primaire (Meeussen, 1959) du substantif. Cette variation du préfixe nominal est limitée du fait que le préfixe nominal secondaire acquis par un substantif ne peut être que -ki- (classe 7), -ru- (classe 11) au singulier ou -bi- (classe 8) au pluriel pour l'expression de l'augmentatif et -ka- (classe 12) au singulier ou -tu- (classe 13), -bu- (classe 14) au pluriel pour l'expression du diminutif.

Les moyens d'expression du diminutif/augmentatif inventoriés appartiennent tous à une catégorie fermée. Ils font partie d'un sous-système grammatical qui comprend les marques flexionnelles, les prépositions et les conjonctions et dont la fonction est de déterminer la structure conceptuelle (Talmy, 2003). Les trois préfixes nominaux au singulier (-ki-, -ru- et -ka-) et les trois autres au pluriel (-bi-, -tu- et -bu-) identifiés comme moyens d'expression du diminutif/augmentatif en kirundi, sont susceptibles d'être acquis par un substantif appartenant à l'une ou l'autre classe nominale. Autrement dit, cette variation de la classe nominale du substantif au moyen de la substitution d'un préfixe nominal par un autre est ouverte à plusieurs classes nominales. Comme le soulignent Gibson, Guerois & Marten (2017, p. 359), un nom généralement trouvé dans une classe différente est utilisé dans une autre classe pour un effet sémantique spécifique.
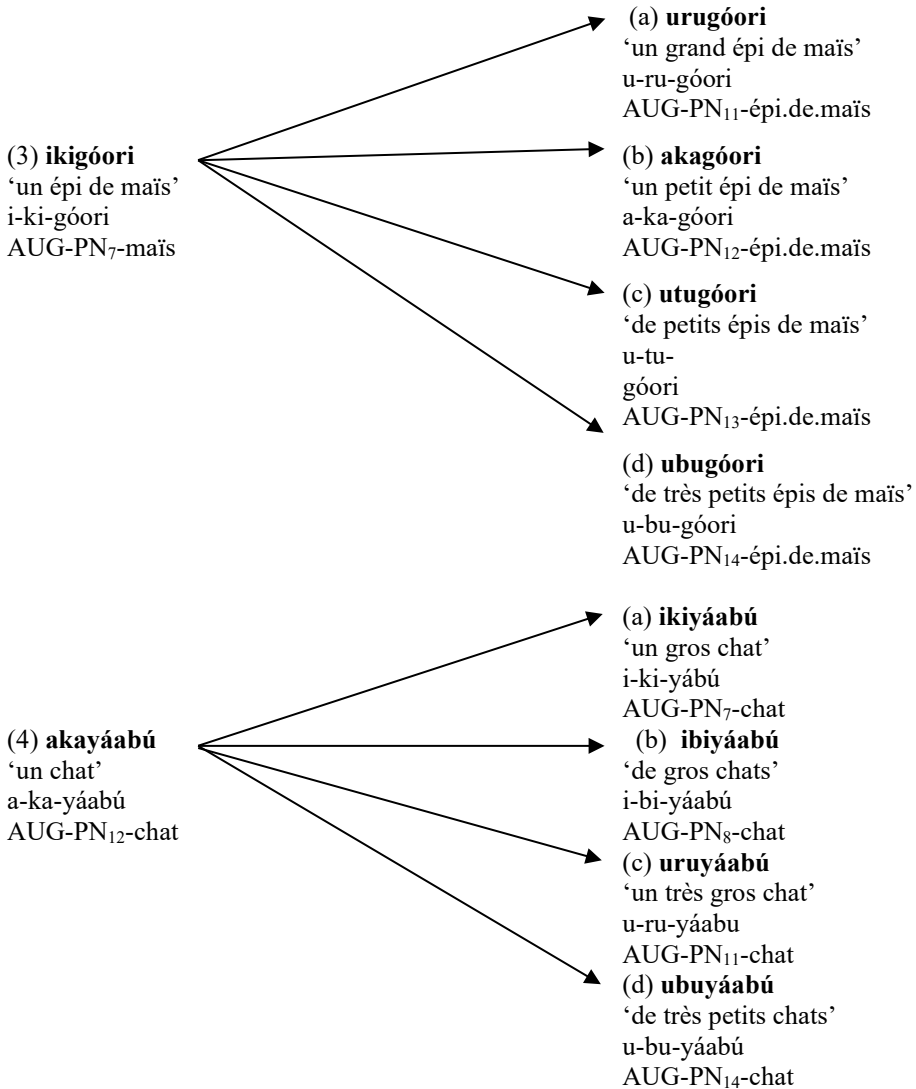
Du fait de la variation des préfixes pour un même thème nominal, la distinction entre la flexion et la dérivation tend à s'estomper. En effet, d'une part, le genre[7] ne peut être dissocié du nombre, notion typiquement flexionnelle, tandis que, d'autre part, l'attribution de noms aux genres repose largement sur des notions ou distinctions dérivatives, telles qu'augmentatif, diminutif, concret vs abstrait, arbre vs fruit, etc. (Creissels, Dimmendaal, Frajzyngier & König, 2008, p. 116). Autrement dit, pour le cas qui nous concerne, la distinction entre flexion et dérivation n'est pas nette car, d'une part, les catégories flexionnelles de genre et de nombre sont indissociables, mais d'autre part, la distinction nominale augmentatif/diminutif matérialisée par la variation de la classe nominale relève de la dérivation (Creissels, 2004, p. 285). Ainsi, la flexion nominale qui aboutit à l'expression du diminutif/augmentatif en kirundi est un procédé morphosyntaxique régulier. Celui-ci correspond à ce que Haspelmath & Sims (2010) appellent la dérivation nominale dénominale.

Remarquons que ce type de dérivation nominale concerne des substantifs regroupés dans les différentes classes nominales, exception faite pour la classe locative 16 marquée par le préfixe nominal -ha-. Cette classe nominale est essentiellement composée du nom *ahaantu* 'un endroit, quelque part' (Meeussen, 1959 ; Ntahokaja, 1994)

---

[7] En kirundi, le genre nominal correspond à un type morphosyntaxique de classification nominale. En effet, selon la tradition bantoue, des paires de marqueurs de classe singulier/pluriel forment les genres nominaux ; les noms sont affectés par défaut à des genres ou paires de classes nominales ou, dans le cas de noms qui ne participent pas à la distinction du nombre, à une classe nominale (ou genre monoclasse) (Di Garbo, 2014, p. 75).

qui peut être au singulier ou au pluriel en gardant la même forme. Les substantifs de cette classe nominale ne subissent pas du mécanisme du diminutif/augmentatif.

Une autre remarque importante concerne les substantifs dont les préfixes nominaux primaires sont identiques à ceux du diminutif/augmentatif. De tels préfixes ne peuvent pas être des marques du diminutif/augmentatif du fait qu'ils ne sont pas acquis de manière secondaire. Cependant, ils peuvent prendre des marques du diminutif ou de l'augmentatif avec une différence de forme. C'est le cas de *ikigóori* 'un épi de maïs' et de *akayáabú* 'un chat' qui attestent les variations présentées respectivement en (3) et en (4).

(3) **ikigóori**
'un épi de maïs'
i-ki-góori
AUG-PN$_7$-maïs

(a) **urugóori**
'un grand épi de maïs'
u-ru-góori
AUG-PN$_{11}$-épi.de.maïs

(b) **akagóori**
'un petit épi de maïs'
a-ka-góori
AUG-PN$_{12}$-épi.de.maïs

(c) **utugóori**
'de petits épis de maïs'
u-tu-góori
AUG-PN$_{13}$-épi.de.maïs

(d) **ubugóori**
'de très petits épis de maïs'
u-bu-góori
AUG-PN$_{14}$-épi.de.maïs

(4) **akayáabú**
'un chat'
a-ka-yáabú
AUG-PN$_{12}$-chat

(a) **ikiyáabú**
'un gros chat'
i-ki-yábú
AUG-PN$_7$-chat

(b) **ibiyáabú**
'de gros chats'
i-bi-yáabú
AUG-PN$_8$-chat

(c) **uruyáabú**
'un très gros chat'
u-ru-yáabu
AUG-PN$_{11}$-chat

(d) **ubuyáabú**
'de très petits chats'
u-bu-yáabú
AUG-PN$_{14}$-chat

Dans ces exemples, les substantifs avec les préfixes nominaux *-bi-* (classe 8) et *-tu-* (classe 13) n'apparaissent pas respectivement dans (3) et (4). Cela est dû au fait que ces préfixes nominaux n'expriment pas la moindre valeur de diminutif/augmentatif. Ils sont considérés comme des pluriels prévisibles de *-ki-* et *-ka-* respectivement. Ceux-ci étant des préfixes nominaux primaires dans les formes *ikigóori* 'un épi de maïs' et *akayáabú* 'un chat', leurs contreparties respectives du pluriel ne peuvent qu'être des marques de classes nominales primaires. Ces exemples démontrent ainsi que quand le préfixe nominal primaire est identique à l'un ou l'autre préfixe secondaire, il est admis un seul augmentatif si le préfixe primaire est *-ki-* ou un seul diminutif si le préfixe primaire est *-ka-*. Tous les diminutifs sont permis dans le premier cas de la même manière que tous les augmentatifs sont attestés dans le second cas.

Au niveau de la structure spatiale, en nous référant à Talmy (2003), certaines conditions doivent être remplies pour que la taille de l'objet considéré diminue ou augmente. Tout d'abord, l'objet doit être statique pour que sa taille se laisse apprécier. Ensuite, l'objet doit être considéré comme un objet sans dimension c'est-à-dire un objet sans forme géométrique. Dans le cas contraire, l'on serait amené à l'identifier à une ligne (une dimension), à un plan (deux dimensions) ou à un cube (trois dimensions) ce qui nous conduirait à analyser l'objet par rapport à sa géométrie. Puis, l'objet exprimé par la matière lexicale doit se prêter à une analyse par rapport au nombre. Les préfixes nominaux *-ka-, -ki-* et *-ru-* indiquent une unité tandis que *-tu-, -bu-* et *-bi-* se rapportent à plusieurs unités. Enfin, l'objet est borné c'est-à-dire qu'il doit avoir des limites dans l'espace, ceci permet d'envisager son mode d'occupation de l'espace, celui-ci étant un contenant des objets.

Le diminutif/augmentatif et le nombre

En observant les différents préfixes nominaux qui permettent d'exprimer le diminutif/augmentatif en kirundi, nous pouvons établir un appariement basé sur le nombre. Ainsi, sur le modèle d'opposition singulier (une unité) versus pluriel (plusieurs unités), nous établissons les appariements *-ka-/-tu-, -ki-/-bi-* tandis que les préfixes *-bu-* et *-ru-* n'ont pas de correspondants au singulier et au pluriel respectivement. Synthétiquement, nous pouvons visualiser ce rapprochement fondé sur le nombre de la manière suivante :

Singulier	pluriel
7. -ki-⟶	8. -bi-
11. -ru-	-
12. -ka-⟶	13. -tu-
14. -bu-	-

Sur ce modèle d'appariement, les exemples (1a)/(1b), (4a)/(4b) illustrent la paire *-ki-/-bi-* tandis que (2a)/(2b) et (3b)/(3c) correspondent au couple *-ka-/-tu-*. Pour que cet

61

appariement soit valable dans le cas de l'expression du diminutif/augmentatif, il faut que les substantifs dont la structure atteste ces différents préfixes nominaux appartiennent à d'autres classes nominales primaires. Cette condition permet de montrer que les préfixes -ru- et -bu- n'entrent pas en couples sur le modèle singulier/pluriel dans les exemples (5) et (6) :

(5) a) **urubúto** ⟶ **imbúto**
'une semence'   'des semences'
u-ru-búto   i-N-búto
AUG-PN_{11}-semence   AUG-PN_{10}-semence
b) **urwaánwa** ⟶ **ubwaánwa**
'un poil de barbe'   'de la barbe'
u-ru-aánwa   u-bu-aánwa
AUG-PN_{11}-barbe   AUG-PN_{14}-barbe
(6) a) **ubwáato** ⟶ **ubwáato**
'une auge'   'des auges'
u-bu-áato   u-bu-áato
AUG-PN_{14}-auge   AUG-PN_{14}-auge
b) **ubwáato** ⟶ **amáato**
'une auge'   'des auges'
u-bu-áato   u-bu-áato
AUG-PN_{14}-auge   AUG-PN_{14}-auge

Dans les exemples (5a) et (5b), nous constatons que le préfixe nominal -ru- (classe 11) peut avoir son pluriel en -n- (classe 10) ou en -bu- (classe 14). De même, en (6), le préfixe -bu- (classe 14) peut avoir son pluriel dans la même classe nominale marquée par -bu- (classe 14) ou en -ma- (classe 6). Ces appariements ne sont possibles que si les préfixes nominaux -ru- et -bu- sont des marques de classes nominales primaires. Lorsque -ru- et -bu- servent à exprimer l'augmentatif et le diminutif, la substitution de l'un ou de l'autre par un préfixe nominal qui lui correspondrait au pluriel ou au singulier n'est pas possible. C'est le cas des exemples (1c), (3a) et (4c) qui ne peuvent pas avoir de pluriel à valeur augmentative tandis que (2c), (3d) et (4d) ne peuvent pas avoir de singulier à valeur diminutive.

Lorsque les préfixes nominaux -ki-, -bi-, -ru-, -ka-, -tu- et -bu- sont des moyens d'expression du diminutif/augmentatif, l'appariement singulier/pluriel déjà visualisé constitue des genres nominaux secondaires (Sabimana, 1986, pp. 12-13). Cela revient à dire que, en kirundi, l'on distingue deux genres nominaux secondaires biclasses -ki-/-bi- et -ka-/-tu- d'une part ainsi que deux genres nominaux secondaires monoclasses -ru- et -

bu-. Face à ce sous-système de genres nominaux secondaires en kirundi, l'on peut se demander à quoi il correspond dans la représentation spatiale des objets.

Comme nous l'avons souligné antérieurement, l'espace est un contenant et les objets n'en sont que des contenus. L'objet statique et borné dont il est question, considéré comme n'ayant pas de forme géométrique, représente un fragment de l'espace occupé par lui. Cela revient à dire que la relation entre la matrice (l'espace) et l'objet dont il est question se traduit en termes de la manière dont l'objet occupe l'espace. Ainsi, les modes d'occupation de l'espace sont envisageables en tenant en considération le nombre.

En considérant toujours l'objet comme une unité bornée, la taille de l'objet peut augmenter ou diminuer sans que l'on observe une moindre division de la matière. Dans ce cas l'on parlera d'un mode d'occupation de l'espace continu. L'absence de subdivision de la matière en morceaux qui pourraient augmenter ou diminuer en nombre est à considérer comme un changement qualitatif (Bukuru, 1989). C'est ce modèle d'occupation de l'espace continu qui est matérialisé par un passage de la taille normale de l'objet à sa taille augmentée ou réduite au moyen des préfixes nominaux au singulier *-ki-, -ru-* et *-ka-*.

Le passage du singulier au pluriel correspond à un autre type de mécanisme d'occupation de l'espace. En effet, non seulement la taille de l'objet diminue ou augmente, mais aussi le nombre d'objets varie. Dans ce cas, nous parlons d'un mode d'occupation de l'espace discontinu : il s'agit d'un changement quantitatif (Bukuru, 1989) caractérisé par le passage de la singularisation d'un objet exprimée par *-ka-* ou *-ki-* à une pluralisation des objets exprimée par *-tu-* ou *-bi-*. Ici, l'esprit du locuteur du kirundi ne considère pas que la taille de l'objet augmente ou diminue, mais plutôt c'est la quantité qui est mise en jeu. Dans la représentation mentale, la taille de référence considérée n'est plus la taille normale de l'objet mais plutôt la taille déjà augmentée ou diminuée.
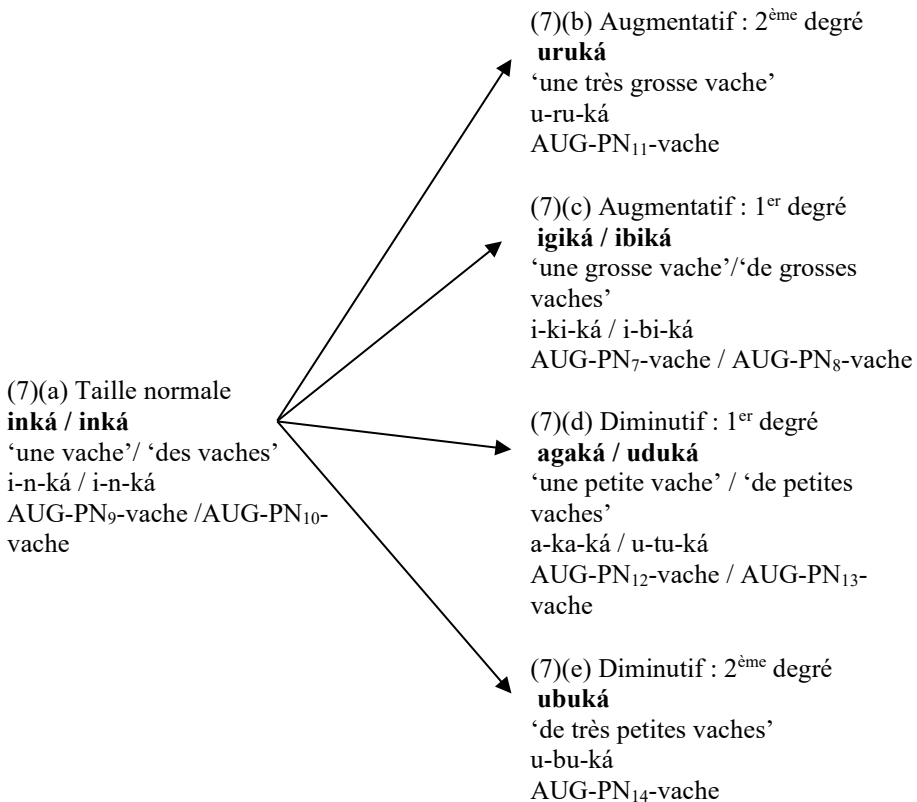
En mettant en parallèle les deux modes d'occupation de l'espace par des objets statiques bornés et considérés en dehors de leur géométrie, le sous-système de genres nominaux secondaires en kirundi révèle deux éléments importants. D'une part, le mode d'occupation de l'espace par les objets est matérialisé par un changement qualitatif ou par un changement quantitatif. Le passage d'une taille normale de l'objet exprimée par un préfixe nominal primaire à une taille augmentée ou diminuée correspond à un mode d'occupation de l'espace continu si et seulement si tous les préfixes nominaux mis en jeu sont des formes du singulier. La substitution du préfixe nominal exprimant une taille déjà augmentée ou diminuée par celui du pluriel qui lui correspond matérialise un mode d'occupation d'espace discontinu. D'autre part, la taille de référence n'est pas la même dans les deux cas : c'est la taille normale exprimée par le préfixe nominal primaire dans le premier cas et la taille déjà modifiée (par augmentation ou par diminution) dans le second cas.

Le problème qui reste non résolu concerne le pourquoi des genres nominaux secondaires monoclasses représentés par *-ru-* (toujours au singulier) du côté de l'augmentatif et par *-bu-* (toujours au pluriel) du côté du diminutif. C'est ainsi que la

63

section 4 de cette étude porte sur la discussion de la notion de degré appliquée au diminutif/augmentatif en vue de proposer une éventuelle solution à ce problème.

Le degré dans la représentation du diminutif/augmentatif

La diminution ou l'augmentation de la taille de l'objet tient pour référence la taille normale exprimée par un préfixe nominal de la classe primaire. Cela revient à dire que la classe primaire entre dans le sous-système du mécanisme du diminutif/augmentatif. Ainsi, excepté la classe 16 exprimée par le préfixe nominal *-ha-*, toutes les autres classes primaires correspondent à une représentation de la taille normale et constituent avec les classes secondaires le sous-système correspondant à la mesurativité. De manière concrète, dans le mécanisme du diminutif/augmentatif, la taille normale s'exprime par les préfixes nominaux primaires *-mu-/-ba-* (classes 1/2), *-mu-/-mi-* (classes 3/4), *-ri-/-ma-* (classes 5/6), *-ki-/-bi-* (classes 7/8), *-n-/-n-* (classes 9/10), *-ru-/-n-* (classes 11/10), *-ka-/-tu-* (classes 12/13), *-bu-/-ma-* (classes 14/6) et *-ku-/-ma-* (classes 15/6) ; l'augmentatif est exprimé au moyen des préfixes secondaires *-ki-/-bi-* (classes 7/8) *-ru-* (classes 11) tandis que l'expression du diminutif se fera par les préfixes secondaires *-ka-/-tu-* (classes 12/13) et *-bu-* (classes 14).

(7)(b) Augmentatif : 2ème degré
 uruká
'une très grosse vache'
u-ru-ká
AUG-PN_{11}-vache

(7)(c) Augmentatif : 1er degré
 igiká / ibiká
'une grosse vache'/'de grosses vaches'
i-ki-ká / i-bi-ká
AUG-PN_7-vache / AUG-PN_8-vache

(7)(a) Taille normale
inká / inká
'une vache'/ 'des vaches'
i-n-ká / i-n-ká
AUG-PN_9-vache /AUG-PN_{10}-vache

(7)(d) Diminutif : 1er degré
 agaká / uduká
'une petite vache' / 'de petites vaches'
a-ka-ká / u-tu-ká
AUG-PN_{12}-vache / AUG-PN_{13}-vache

(7)(e) Diminutif : 2ème degré
 ubuká
'de très petites vaches'
u-bu-ká
AUG-PN_{14}-vache

Les différentes paires de classes constituent des genres nominaux où la classe de gauche exprime le singulier tandis que celle de droite est une marque du pluriel. De plus, nous constatons des classes nominales primaires marquées par des préfixes nominaux dont la forme est identique à celle des marques du diminutif/augmentatif. Dans ce dernier cas, la variation de la taille par diminution ou augmentation tient compte des restrictions mentionnées antérieurement. En dehors de ces cas particuliers, le préfixe nominal d'une classe nominale primaire peut être remplacé par celui du diminutif/augmentatif comme c'est le cas en (7).

De par ces exemples en (7a-e), nous remarquons qu'à l'intérieur du diminutif comme à l'intérieur de l'augmentatif il y a une différence de marques non fondée sur le nombre. D'une part, l'on observe les préfixes nominaux *-ka-/-tu-* (7d) opposés à *-bu-* en (7e) ; d'autre part, il y a *-ki-/-bi-* (7c) opposés à *-ru-* en (7b). Ces différences formelles correspondent à des différences dans la représentation mentale de l'espace. En effet, du côté de l'augmentatif/diminutif, *-ki-/-bi-* (7c) et *-ka-/-tu-* (7d) traduisent respectivement une grande et une petite tailles par rapport à celle exprimée par un préfixe nominal d'une classe primaire (7a). A leur tour, les marques *-ru-* (7b) et *-bu-* (7e)*,* qui forment toujours des genres monoclasses, expriment une taille respectivement plus grande et plus petite par rapport à celles indiquées par *-ki-/-bi-* (7c) et *-ka-/-tu-* (7d).

En prenant la taille normale comme une référence, le passage de celle-ci à une taille correspondant à *-ki-/-bi-* ou *-ka-/-tu-* est une augmentation ou une diminution de la taille de l'objet observable directement. Le passage de la taille normale à celle matérialisée par *-ru-* ou *-bu-* nécessite une autre référence intermédiaire, celle indiquée par *-ki-/-bi-* ou *-ka-/-tu-*. Ainsi, par rapport à la taille normale ou degré zéro (ou encore degré neutre), il existe des degrés dans l'augmentation ou dans la diminution de la taille de l'objet considéré. Les préfixes nominaux secondaires *-ki-/-bi-* et *-ka-/-tu-* correspondent respectivement aux premiers degrés de l'augmentatif et du diminutif ; *-ru-* et *-bu-* indiquent respectivement le deuxième degré de l'augmentatif et du diminutif.

En termes d'occupation de l'espace, la taille normale de l'objet exprimée au moyen du préfixe nominal d'une classe primaire traduit un mode d'occupation continu (cas du singulier) ou discontinu (cas du pluriel) qui laisse un espace libre. Celui-ci est rempli progressivement à deux niveaux lorsque l'esprit du locuteur saisit l'objet considéré comme augmentant en taille. L'espace est libéré davantage, à deux degrés également, chaque fois que la taille de l'objet est perçue comme diminuant. Cette façon de concevoir les choses permet d'expliquer pourquoi aux deux extrêmes de la représentation mentale du diminutif/augmentatif, c'est-à-dire aux plus hauts degrés de la diminution et de l'augmentation de la taille de l'objet, les genres nominaux biclasses ne sont pas possibles.

Du côté de l'augmentatif, le deuxième degré exprimé au moyen du préfixe nominal *-ru-* correspond à une taille très grande. L'objet ayant une telle taille est saisi comme

remplissant toute la matrice. En d'autres termes, l'objet considéré remplit tout le volume du contenant ; il ne reste plus d'espace vide à remplir. C'est pourquoi la pluralisation des objets n'est pas possible dans ce cas. L'objet dont la taille a augmenté jusqu'au deuxième degré occupe toujours l'espace sur un modèle continu, il est toujours perçu dans la singularité.

Du côté du diminutif, la situation est inverse. En effet, au deuxième degré, la taille de l'objet considéré a tellement diminué au point qu'elle devient insignifiante. L'esprit du locuteur du kirundi ne parvient plus à saisir cette taille de l'objet trop réduite. Autrement dit, à l'intérieur de la matrice, l'objet d'une taille si petite ne correspond qu'à un point qui n'est ni perceptible ni identifiable comme une unité individualisée. Le locuteur doit opérer une association de plusieurs objets de très petite taille et de même nature pour qu'une portion de l'espace se laisse percevoir comme remplie. Au deuxième degré du diminutif, le mode d'occupation est donc toujours discontinu ; les objets ne sont perceptibles que dans la pluralité à cause de leur très petite taille.

L'existence des degrés dans la représentation spatiale du diminutif et de l'augmentatif a des implications sémantiques. Des deux côtés de la taille normale, le premier degré atteste une opposition de type singulier/pluriel (*-ka-/-tu-* pour le diminutif, *-ki-/-bi-* pour l'augmentatif) et s'accompagne d'une double valeur sémantique : soit le diminutif/augmentatif exprime une valeur hypocoristique, soit il exprime une valeur péjorative (Ntahokaja, 1994). Ainsi par exemple, *ikigabo* (augmentatif de *umugabo* 'un homme') peut signifier 'un homme fort physiquement et moralement' ou 'un gros bonhomme' tandis que *akagabo* (diminutif de *umugabo* 'un homme') peut à son tour signifier 'un homme gentil/mignon' ou 'un homme de petite taille'. C'est le contexte qui permet de déterminer la valeur sémantique voulue par le locuteur.

Aux deuxièmes degrés, du côté de l'augmentatif comme pour le diminutif, la valeur sémantique associée aux préfixes nominaux *-ru-* et *-bu-* est toujours péjorative (Ntahokaja, 1994) : c'est l'idée de la démesure ou de massivité pour l'augmentatif et celle de collectivité d'objets miniaturisés dans le cas du diminutif. A titre d'exemple, *uruká* (augmentatif de deuxième degré de *inká* 'une vache') a le sens d''une vache démesurément grande' tandis que *ubuká* (diminutif de deuxième degré de *inká* 'une vache') signifie 'une collectivité de vaches de taille très insignifiante'.

Signalons que, lorsque la matière lexicale exprimée par le thème nominal correspond à un être humain, le préfixe nominal *-bu-* ne sert pas toujours à exprimer un degré du diminutif. Il peut véhiculer l'idée d'une qualité ou d'un défaut humain. C'est le cas par exemple de *ubugabo* qui, selon le contexte peut signifier 'de très petits hommes' ou 'l'état ou la qualité d'un homme'. Considérons les deux phrases proposées en (8) :

(8)(a) **Ubwo bugabo baabukúbise burashaaya.**

'Ces hommes de très petite taille ont été battus à mort'

u-bu-o	bu-gabo	ba-a-bu-kubit-ye
AUG-PP$_{14}$-	PN$_{14}$-homme	SUJ$_2$-PR-IO$_{14}$-battre-PFV
DEM$_2$		

bu-Ø-ra-shaay-a
SUJ$_{14}$-PRES-DISJ-devenir.mou-IPFV

(8)(b) **Ku rugaámba, yeérekanye ubugabo bwíiwé.**

'Sur le champ de bataille, il fait preuve de sa bravoure'

ku	ru-gaámba	a-a-eérek-an-ye	u-bu-gabo
LOC$_{17}$	PN$_{11}$-bataille	SUJ$_1$-PR-montrer-ASS-PFV	AUG-PN$_{14}$-homme

bu-a-iwé
PP$_{14}$-CON-chez.lui

Dans les deux phrases, c'est-à-dire (8a) et (8b), le substantif *ubugabo* est employé avec des sens différents. Dans la première phrase, le sémantisme du substantif *ubugabo* est en rapport avec l'idée de taille ; ce nom signifie ainsi 'de très petits hommes'. Dans ce contexte, le préfixe nominal *-bu-* est une marque du diminutif de deuxième degré. Celui-ci se comprend lorsque l'on rapproche les substantifs *umugabo* 'un homme' (taille normale) et *ubugabo* 'de très petits hommes' entre lesquels se trouve une taille intermédiaire (premier degré du diminutif) exprimé à travers le substantif *akagabo* 'un petit homme'.

Par contre, en (8b), le substantif *ubugabo*, homophone du précédent, n'a pas la même signification que dans (8a). Le deuxième *ubugabo* signifie 'la bravoure' c'est-à-dire une qualité attribuable à un homme vaillant. Dans ce dernier cas, le préfixe nominal *-bu-* est à situer hors du champ de la représentation spatiale du diminutif. En effet, la qualité exprimée n'a rien de l'idée de taille, celle-ci étant l'élément fondamental sur lequel repose le mécanisme du diminutif/augmentatif. C'est le contexte qui permet de déterminer dans quel cas le préfixe nominal *-bu-* exprime le diminutif ou non.

Conclusion

Au cours de cette étude, l'analyse de la représentation spatiale a porté sur la taille de l'objet sans considérer sa géométrie. L'esprit du locuteur du kirundi peut saisir la taille

d'un tel objet avec une valeur normale, diminutive ou augmentative. Dans le premier cas, ce sont les préfixes nominaux marquant les classes primaires de l'objet, excepté la classe locative 16, qui rendent possibles l'expression de la taille normale. Dans les deux autres cas, la taille qui diminue ou qui augmente est exprimée au moyen d'une classification nominale secondaire matérialisée par les préfixes nominaux *-ka-, -tu-, -bu-* (pour le diminutif) et *-ki-, -bi-, -ru-* (pour l'augmentatif).

Le mécanisme du diminutif/augmentatif examiné dans la présente étude n'est autre chose que la façon dont le locuteur du kirundi se représente la taille de l'objet à l'intérieur d'une portion de l'espace. La taille de référence de l'objet subit un changement qualitatif (selon un mode d'occupation de l'espace continu matérialisé par les classes secondaires au singulier) ou un changement quantitatif (selon un mode d'occupation de l'espace discontinu exprimé par les classes secondaires au pluriel). Dans ce sens, les degrés de diminution ou d'augmentation correspondent à des images mentales de la taille de l'objet plus ou moins précises. Lorsque la taille de l'objet est à un premier degré de diminution ou d'augmentation, l'objet a à la fois les caractéristiques de la taille normale et celles de la petitesse/massivité d'où le locuteur retient le sens (hypocoristique ou dépréciatif) qui l'intéresse dans un acte concret de discours. Lorsque la taille de l'objet a déjà atteint son plus haut degré de diminution ou d'augmentation, les genres nominaux secondaires biclasses ne sont plus attestés et la valeur sémantique exprimée est toujours péjorative.

Abbréviations

AUG : augment	SUJ : indice sujet
PN : préfixe nominal	IO : indice objet
TN : thème nominal	PR : passé récent
PP : préfixe pronominal	PRES : présent
CON : connectif	DISJ : disjoint
DEM2 : démonstratif du deuxième degré	PFV : perfectif
	IPFV : imperfectif
LOC : locatif	ASS : associatif

Références

Alexandre, P. (1981). Les langues Bantu. In Perrot, J., *Les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne. Pidgins et créoles*. Paris, France : Centre National de Recherches Scientifiques.

Asic, T. (2004). *La représentation cognitive du temps et de l'espace. Etude pragmatique des données linguistiques en français et dans d'autres langues* (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Genève, Genève, Suisse).

Bukuru, D. (1989). *La représentation et l'expression de l'espace dans le système nominal des langues Bantu. Approche psychomécanique* (Mémoire de Maîtrise, Université du Burundi, Bujumbura, Burundi).

Bukuru, D. (2003). *Phrase structure and functional categories in the Kirundi sentence* (PhD Dissertation, University of Dar-es-Salaam, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania).

Creissels, D. (1991). *Description des langues négro-africaines et théorie syntaxique*. Grenoble, France : Editions Littéraires et Linguistiques de l'Université de Grenoble.

Creissels, D. (2004). Typologie. In Heine, B. & NURSE, D. (dir), *Les langues africaines*. Paris, France : Karthala.

Creissels, D. (2006). *Syntaxe générale, une introduction typologique 1 : Catégories et constructions*. Paris, France : Lavoisier.

Creissels, D., Dimmendaal, G. J., Frajzyngier, Z. & König, C. (2008). Africa as a morphosyntatic area. In Heine, B. & Nurse, D. (eds), *A linguistic geography of Africa*. Cambridge, England : Cambrigde University Press.

Di Garbo, F. (2014). *Gender and its interaction with number and evaluative morphology. An intra- and intergenealogical typological of Africa* (PhD Dissertaion, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden).

Gibson, H., Guerois, R. & Marten, L. (2017). Patterns and developments in the marking of diminutives in bantu. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 26(4), 344-383.

Guillaume, G. (1971). *Leçons de linguistique, 1948-1949, Série B, Psychosystématique du langage. Principes, méthodes et applications I.* (publiées par Roch VALIN). Québec, Canada : Presses Universitaires Laval.

Haspelmath, M. & Sims, A. D. (2010). *Morphology*. London, England : Hodder Education, an Hachette UK Company.

Jackendoff, R. (1994). *Patterns in the mind. Language and the human nature.* New York, USA: BasicBooks.

Jackendoff, R. (1996). The architecture of linguistic-spatial interface. In Bloom, P., Peterson, M.A., Nadel, L. & Garret, M.F. (eds), *Language and Space*. Cambridge, England : The MIT Press.

Meeussen, A. E. (1959). *Essai de grammaire rundi*. Tervuren, Belgique : Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge.

Mel'cuk, I. (1994). *Cours de morphologie théorique et descriptive*, Vol 2. Montréal, Canada : Presses Universitaires de Montréal.

Misago, M-J. (2018). *Les verbes de mouvement et l'expression du lieu en kirundi (bantou, JD62) : Une étude linguistique basée sur un corpus* (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Gand, Gand, Belgique).

Ntahokaja, J-B. (1994). *Grammaire structurale du kirundi*. Bujumbura, Burundi : Université du Burundi.

Pottier, B. (2000). *Représentations mentales et catégorisations linguistiques*. Louvain/Paris, Belgique/France : Editions Peeters.

Sabimana, F. (1986). *The relational structure of the Kirundi verb* (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, USA).

Talmy, L. (1975). Semantics and syntax of motion. *Syntax and Semantics*, 4: 181-238.

Talmy, L. (2000). *Toward a cognitive semantics*. Cambridge (Mass), England : The MIT Press.

Talmy, L. (2003). The representation of spatial structure in spoken and signed language. In Emmorey, K. (ed), *Perspectives on classifier constructions in sign language*. Mahwah : Lawrence Erlbaum.

Lecturer Epimaque Nshimirimana, PhD in Language Sciences is a member of the Department of Kirundi-Kiswahili within the Institute for Applied Pedagogy of the University of Burundi, Bujumbura, Burundi. He has been teaching, General Linguistics (1st year), Kirundi Phonetics and Phonology (1st year), Kirundi Morphology (2nd year), Kirundi and Kiswahili Contrastive Grammar (3rd year) courses and Linguitsics Applied to Language Teaching (Master's 1st year) course. His main areas of interest are: Bantu morphosyntax, contrastive linguistics and linguistic typology. (nshimeppy77@gmail.com)

Lecturer Manoah-Joel Misago, PhD in African Languages and Cultures is a member of the Department of Kirundi-Kiswahili within the Institute for Applied Pedagogy of the University of Burundi, Bujumbura, Burundi. He has been teaching, Kiswahili Phonetics and Phonology (1st year), Kiswahili Morphology (2nd year) courses and Kiswahili Grammar (Master's 1st and 2nd years) course. His main areas of interest are: Bantu languages. (misajoane1975@gmail.com)

Lecturer Pascal Tuyubahe, PhD in Languages, Arts and Traductology is a member of the Department of African Languages and Cultures within the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Burundi, Bujumbura, Burundi. He has been teaching, General Linguistics (1st year), Morphology Theories (2nd year), Kirundi Morphology (2nd year), Kirundi Syntax and Semantics (3rd year) courses and Kirundi Syntax and Discourse (Master's 1st year) course. His main areas of interest are: syntax and morphology. (tuyupas79@gmail.com)

Alcune osservazioni sul tono aggressivo nella lettera commerciale in italiano e in romeno /
Some notes on the aggressive tone in Italian and Romanian business letters

Diana Sopon

Based on Infante's concept of verbal aggressiveness, the article presents a new perspective on understanding the business letter. By means of stylistic, rhetorical, morphological, syntactical and lexical approaches, it reveals expressions of irony, mockery, intimidation, menace, all of them considered to be forms of aggressiveness in Infante's theory. The article scrutinizes these forms of aggressiveness in Italian and Romanian business letters. The analysis is performed separately for each business letter. Equivalent aspects are emphasized in the last part of the article, suggesting a predominantly common linguistic pattern of expressing aggressiveness in Italian and Romanian business letters.

Aggressive tone; Italian business letters; Romanian business letters; verbal aggressiveness; discourse analysis.

Introduzione

All'inizio, l'aggressività fu studiata dal punto di vista della psicologia e delle discipline sociali e poco meno dal punto di vista della comunicazione interpersonale (Rancer, 2015: 12). Nell'intento di analizzare l'aggressività nelle relazioni interpersonali, essa fu chiamata anche "aggressività verbale" oppure "comunicazione aggressiva".

(Rancer, 2015: 12). In questa luce, l'aggressività nelle relazioni interpersonali fu definita in questo modo:

> Un comportamento/una relazione interpersonale viene considerata aggressiva se fa uso di forza in modo fisico o simbolico, almeno con lo scopo di dominare, di danneggiare o di sconfiggere e distrurre il *locus* dell'attacco. Nella comunicazione interpersonale, esso (il *locus* dell'attacco) può essere il corpo di una persona, i suoi beni materiali, il concetto di sé, i suoi posizionamenti su argomenti di comunicazione o atteggiamento. (cf. Infante, 1987: 158)[1]

Nella comunicazione orale, il limite tra assertività e aggressività viene messo in rilievo in maniera molto chiara per il tramite di una serie di marcatori non-verbali come il tono della voce, i gesti, i movimenti del corpo, il contatto visivo, le espressioni della faccia, ecc. Nella comunicazione scritta invece è molto più difficile individuare i confini tra l'assertività e l'aggressività, siccome una lettera (inclusa la lettera commerciale) non gode degli attributi dei marcatori non-verbali.

Nella nostra angolazione, l'aggressività di un contenuto scritto può essere raffigurata, pure in una lettera commerciale, da vari procedimenti stilistici, retorici, morfologici, sintattici o lessicali. Nella forma scritta, in certe situazioni, l'aggressività può sovrapporsi in termini di percezione con l'ironia, il distanziamento, l'intimidazione, la minaccia. Secondo noi, toni ironici, minacciosi, intimidenti o della stessa cupa natura rappresentano un indizio di aggressività e di trasgressione delle norme di cortesia se usati all'interno della lettera commerciale, nota per il suo carattere grave e cortese.

Consideriamo che la lettera commerciale sia uno spazio dell'etichetta, del galateo e del rispetto reciproco. Da questa prospettiva, cerchiamo di identificare alcuni meccanismi e strategie usati per esprimere l'aggressività negli esempi seguenti.

Il tono agressivo nella lettera commerciale in italiano

Questa parte del nostro contributo prende in considerazione una lettera di reclamo in italiano in cui vengono analizzati vari segmenti rilevanti dal punto di vista discorsivo, pragmatico e linguistico.

---

[1] An interpersonal behavior may be considered aggressive if it applies force physically or symbolically in order, minimally, to dominate and perhaps damage or, maximally, to defeat and perhaps destroy the locus of attack. The locus of attack in interpersonal communication can be a person's body, material posessions, self-concept, position on topics of communication or behavior. (Infante, 1987: 158)

*Siamo **spiacenti** di **doverVi far rilevare** che – **contrariamente** agli impegni **da Voi** assunti – **non ci avete ancora dato** conferma della spedizione delle ceramiche di **Vostra** produzione **da noi** ordinate il 3 settembre scorso, ordine n. CR462.*

***Poiché tale** ritardo **compromette gravemente** i rapporti con i nostri clienti, con i quali ci eravamo impegnati a seguito delle Vostre assicurazioni, Vi sollecitiamo la spedizione di detti articoli facendoVi presente che, **se si verificherà** un ulteriore ritardo nella consegna, **saremo costretti** ad annullare l'ordine ed a rivolgerci **altrove** per le nostre necessità future.*

*Restiamo in attesa di una vostra **tempestiva risposta** in merito.*

Distinti saluti

(Zichella, 2001: 53)

Osserviamo in questa lettera in italiano diversi elementi che sottolineano varie sfumature dell'aggressività:

• l'assenza di una formula di introduzione, fatto raro e insolito nella norma della lettera in italiano, il che esprime una nota di ostilità;

• l'uso di certi termini con significato negativo, non assertivo, non solo all'inizio del messaggio, ma anche nel corpo della lettera, di tipo: *siamo **spiacenti, contrariamente**, **compromette**, saremo **costretti**, **non ci avete (…) dato**;*

• evidenziare la presenza del locutore nel discorso per il tramite di un verbo modale, *dovere – di **doverVi***

• l'utilizzo di strutture fraseologiche causative, come *doverVi **far rilevare** che*, le quali hanno un significato passivante, così che il locutore, avente la qualità di soggetto grammaticale, si distanzia dall'azione, essa essendo imputabile all'interlocutore;

• ricorrere ad avverbi di tempo che mettono in rilievo l'idea di ritardo, rinvio, dilazione - *non ci avete **ancora** dato* - oppure ricorrere ad aggettivi quali si centrano sull'idea di celerità - *Restiamo in attesa di una vostra **tempestiva** risposta*;

• l'impiego di elementi sintattici per il tramite di cui viene marcato il tema – tematizzazione oppure topicalizzazione – attraverso la modifica dell'ordine usuale, specifico di certe parti sintattiche, come *impegni **da Voi** assunti* invece di *impegni assunti*

da Voi, *ceramiche di Vostra produzione* invece di *ceramiche prodotte da Voi*. Per mezzo di questo procedimento di esagerazione viene messa in evidenza l'opposizione tra *noi* (come parte *querelante*) e *voi* (come parte *accusata*), attraverso l'uso dello stesso procedimento nel caso dell'agente - *da noi ordinate* invece di *ordinate da noi*;

• l'apertura della frase in un modo repentino ed inaspettato per il mezzo di una subordinata causale introdotta dalla congiunzione **poiché**, con l'intento di mettere in rilievo i danni creati, prima di esprimere la richiesta propriamente detta – **Poiché** *tale ritardo compromette gravemente i rapporti con i nostri clienti, (…), Vi sollecitiamo …*;

• creare e mantenere una certa distanza in rapporto all'interlocutore, selezionando da un ventaglio largo di possibilità (*questo, quello, codesto, tale*) l'aggettivo dimostrativo che si usa in contesti molto formali – *Poiché* **tale** *ritardo*; lo stesso distanziamento viene indicato dalla semplificazione morfologica della preposizione articolata *dei*, impiegata con la forma semplice *di* nel testo della lettera – *la spedizione* **di** *detti articoli*;

• l'uso del periodo ipotetico, in cui la protasi ha il verbo al tempo futuro – **se si verificherà** *un ulteriore ritardo nella consegna,* **saremo costretti** *ad annullare l'ordine…*; il futuro ipotetico, chiamato sì da Popescu (2013: 54), nella apodosi, **saremo costretti ad** viene correlato con un altro verbo al tempo futuro nella protasi, **se si verificherà.** Questi verbi seguono una sequenza logico-temporale che suggerisce la dinamica ipotetica di una successione di eventi marcata da un punto di riferimento temporale;

• il ricorso ad avverbi di luogo come **altrove**, che indicano una trasgressione da parte del locutore dello spazio discorsivo comune al locutore e all'interlocutore verso un altro spazio, il che suggerisce una rottura implicita della relazione tra i due.

Il tono agressivo nella lettera commerciale in romeno

Come nella sezione precedente, in questa parte esaminiamo dalla stessa prospettiva una lettera di reclamo in romeno.

Dragă domnule Corneliu Bob,

Trebuie *să vă semnalăm,* **cu părere de rău,** *că* **nu** *ne-a parvenit* **încă** *marfa comandată de noi cu scrisoarea din data de 25 octombrie 2003.*

În condiţiile în care stocurile noastre de produse similare, dar de altă provenienţă, se apropie de 0, **vă avertizăm cu regret** *că,* **dacă** *marfa* **nu ne va ajunge** *în* **termen de două zile,** **vom fi constânşi** *să anulăm comanda şi să contactăm* **vechiul furnizor.**

Rămânem în aşteptarea unui **răspuns promt** *din partea dumneavoastră.*

Vă mulțumim,

Director pentru marketing,

(Răchișan & Todericiu, 2003: 108)

I principali meccanismi per esprimere l'aggressività nella lettera commerciale in romeno identificati da noi sono i seguenti:

• l'utilizzo del verbo modale *trebuie*, seguito da un verbo al congiuntivo con valore imperativo, *trebuie să*, il quale ha il ruolo di stabilire dall'inizio una relazione di asimmetria tra il locutore e l'interlocutore;

• l'uso della locuzione avverbiale di modo *cu părere de rău*, che ha un significato diverso da quello del verbo *a regreta*; in questo caso si tratta di un intento del locutore di discolparsi, con l'effetto di accusare, incriminare totalmente l'interlocutore;

• l'impiego dell'avverbio di tempo *încă* nella struttura negativa *nu ne-a parvenit încă,* suggerisce un arco di tempo di aspettativa spiacevolmente largo;

• la formula *vă avertizăm cu regret* dimostra che ci sono varie sfumature su ciò che riguarda l'espressione dell'aggressività nella lettera commerciale. Essa è una formula più clemente di un semplice „*vă avertizăm*";

• l'uso del periodo ipotetico in cui l'apodosi e la protasi hanno il verbo al tempo futuro: *dacă marfa nu ne va ajunge..., vom fi constânși să...* il quale ha implicitamente il valore di una minaccia;

• l'impiego di un lessico che si attiene all'idea di costrizione – *vom fi constrânși*, in una struttura con il verbo al futuro, che ha il valore di una minaccia;

• la presenza di alcuni termini che concernono l'idea di rinunciare, di interrompere la relazione con l'interlocutore: *să anulăm*, *vechiul furnizor*;

• non per ultimo, l'espressione *răspuns prompt* impiegata nella formula di chiusura, allude all'idea di celerità richiesta all'interlocutore, menzionata anche nell'analisi della lettera commerciale in italiano.

Conclusioni

Come si è visto, i modelli di lettere proposte sopra sono lettere di reclamo. Dal nostro punto di vista, risulta che questo sia il genere letterario in cui l'aggressività viene messa in rilievo in una maniera molto evidente e indubbia. Tuttora, sottolineiamo l'idea che all'interno della lettera di reclamo ci sono diversi gradi di intensità dell'aggressività, dall'ironia sottile fino a minaccia e accusa.

Nel nostro intento di stabilire una tipologia di manifestazione discorsiva dell'aggressività nelle lettere commerciali in italiano e in romeno, ci riferiamo in questa parte agli elementi comuni ritrovati nei nostri esempi. Tenendo presenti le differenze tra le due lingue su ciò che

riguarda i fenomeni linguistici, le categorie linguistiche e la terminologia diversa impiegata per la descrizione dei sistemi linguistici, abbiamo ottenuto un'immagine unitaria sulla 'mappa' dell'aggressività nelle lingue d'interesse per questo studio.

Si è verificato un livello alto di omogeneità su ciò che riguarda i procedimenti e i meccanismi linguistici che suggeriscono l'aggressività nella lettera commerciale in italiano e in romeno. Tra gli elementi comuni che contribuiscono all'immagine unitaria dell'espressione dell'aggressività elenchiamo:

• procedimenti stilistici e retorici – la semplificazione deliberata della macro-struttura della lettera, per mezzo dell'omissione delle formule introduttive;

• procedimenti morfologici e sintattici – l'utilizzo di complementi di modo, luogo, tempo espressi attraverso avverbi di modo, luogo, tempo, che creano la sensazione di uno spazio e un tempo molto 'rettangolare', preciso, privo di variazioni o di sfumature;

- esprimere delle condizioni il più delle volte per mezzo di minacce; a livello morfologico e sintattico questo si manifesta nel periodo condizionale, con i verbi al futuro, tanto nell'apodosi, quanto nella protasi.

- l'utilizzo del verbo *a trebui/ dovere* con valore modale in tutte le situazioni;

• procedimenti lessicali – l'impiego di certi termini che sono sottoscritti alla sfera del rigore e della precisione;

- l'utilizzo di termini appartenenti al linguaggio giuridico;

- la costruzione di enunciati aventi un contenuto logico-semantico negativo, mediante negazioni e pronomi indefiniti.

Gli altri elementi identificati rappresentano degli aspetti eterogenei dell'aggressività nelle lettere commerciali in italiano e in romeno e sono dovuti alle particolarità dei sistemi linguistici indagati. In generale, essi appartengono al livello morfologico e sintattico e possono essere considerati degli elementi specifici di queste lingue.

Bibliografia

Infante, D.A. (1987). Aggressiveness, in J.C. McCroskey & J.A. Daly (Eds.), *Personality and Interpersonal Communiaction* (pp. 157-192), Newbury Park: Sage.
Popescu, C.M. (2013). *Viitorul şi condiţionalul în limbile romanice. Abordare morfosintactică şi categorizare semantică din perspectiva diacronică*, Craiova: Editura Universitaria.
Rancer, A. (2015). Verbal Aggressiveness in *The International Encyclopedia of Interpersonal Communication*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
Răchişan, S., Todericiu, D. (2003). *Corespondenţă de afaceri*, Cluj-Napoca: Pro Vita.
Zichella, P. (2001). *Corrispondenza commerciale.* Bignami: Sesto. S. Giovanni.

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

Teaching Effective Writing in the Academic Environment. Challenges

Maria-Zoica Balaban

In addition to speaking, listening, and reading, writing represents a very important skill that needs to be given special attention. The paper will focus on some theoretical aspects that have to be taken into consideration when teaching writing; the second part of the paper will refer to the principles of effective writing in the academic environment and last, but not least, the focus will be on the main challenges associated with teaching writing-based classes.

RLS[1], challenges, effective writing, 2nd language acquisition, writing skills.

> Motto: "*There is no rule on how to write. Sometimes it comes easily and perfectly: sometimes it's like drilling rock and then blasting it out with charges*". (Ernest Hemingway)

Introduction

Like any other communication type, written communication, in general, no matter the communication form we refer to, encompasses five elements of paramount importance: the writer (who), the content (what), the purpose (why), the audience (for whom), the medium (signs and symbols). In addition to speaking, listening, and reading, writing represents a very important skill that needs to be given special attention. In simple terms, writing means fiction and non-fiction (biographies, travel, cookery, technical writing, reference works, etc.). In addition to these key elements, teaching writing also involves a few more processes like researching to generate ideas, drafting, and organising the information in an accurate way, revising and, in the end, editing.

Teaching writing in the academic environment and using writing accurately in the professional environment represent two elements that interfere, and this symbiosis is of critical importance nowadays, for the following reasons:

---

[1] RLS – Romanian as a Foreign Language

Firstly, *writing is an essential communication skill.* Writing is a skill that is highly required nowadays in the professional environment, written communication being the most common form of business communication. We write both for personal and business-related purposes: shopping lists, names, phone numbers, e-mails, letters, text messages, notes, articles, reports, CVs, each one of these forms of writing serving to express different purposes. Students have to master all written forms of business communication if they were to integrate on today's job market. Knowing how to write an e-mail to a client, or an e-mail to your co-workers, an order letter, or a resignation one, a memo to remind your employees about an important event that will take place inside the company, or a report for an AGM[2] require extensive writing skills that you gained during the academic years and, later, expand and master them in the professional environment. Well-written documents will always create a very good impression on the potential reader/receiver whereas poorly written memos, reports, e-mails, publications, presentations, and documentation shed a bad light on the person who wrote them. Nowadays, employers look for e-literacy and digital tools which mean that people are interacting with the internet through continuous writing. Believe it or not, every young person today is a writer if they are connected to the internet. Our main responsibility as teachers would be to help our students use their digital literacy in the best responsible way.

Secondly, *writing is an essential social skill,* helping us to socialize, by replying to an invitation letter, sending thank you emails or letters, or simply sending a text message. Moreover, we live in a consumerist society where influencers, bloggers and admen have had a huge impact on viewers' purchasing decisions. How we think as a society is largely due to what people write. Without good writers, we wouldn't have iconic slogans as we have right now. Let's take Nike, for example and its famous slogan *Just Do It.* Three simple words, strung together in such a way that everyone immediately knows it's Nike – and those words encompass what Nike is about.

Or, another famous example, the slogan for McDonald's – *I'm lovin' it!*, well-known all over the world. Even though this is a slogan from 2003, it is still one of the

---

[2] AGM – Annual General Meeting

most memorable slogans ever. Quite surprisingly, even though the slogan is wrongly written from a grammatical point of view, the verb *to love* being one of the state verbs that cannot be used with a Present/Past Continuous form, this is no longer important. More important is the message it transmits, the impact it has on the audience (potential customers). All in all, what we write, if it's well written, will always be remembered, especially in advertising and companies fail without good writers to communicate the company's mission and values.

Different forms of writing serve different kinds of purposes: *reminders* – for personal purposes, we write lists, for example, to remind ourselves of important information: shopping lists, post-it notes, names, numbers, etc; for business related purposes, we write memos, which also have the purpose of reminders within a company, numbers, e-mails, messages, etc.), *learning tools* – we write to organise and facilitate learning (especially in the academic environment): note-taking, copying, summarising, rephrasing, etc., *conversational like purposes* – we write in order to communicate a piece of information and we also expect to get an answer/feedback: emails, letters, text messages), *introspection and self-development purposes* – we write, sometimes, journals and diaries as a form of introspection, or *reasoning purposes* – we write having in mind the fact that writing can also be a means to proceed by reasoning, arguing, making a point, negotiating, convincing, etc.).

Principles of effective writing

Teaching writing always requires some prerequisites. As a teacher of any foreign language, it is of critical importance to know how to combine both the theoretical underpinnings of the writing tasks and the practical steps that need to be followed to be successful at writing. Students should be trained to develop a wide range of writing skills (handwriting skills, appropriate vocabulary, grammar rules, punctuation, paragraph structure and organisation, linking works etc.) and teachers should see teaching writing as a product, as a process, with different stages that need to be fulfilled, and as a genre.

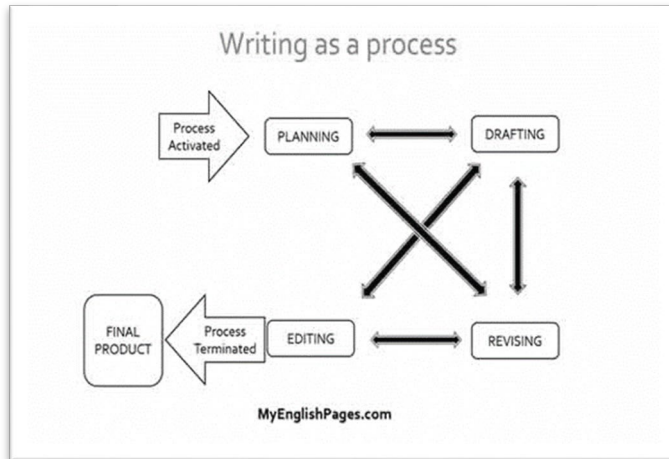Figure 1. Levels of writing (how to teach writing)
(Source: *https://www.myenglish pages.com/blog/how-to-teach-writing/*)

Figure 2. Writing as a process
(Source: *https://www.myenglishpages.com/blog/how-to-teach-writing/*)

What do we mean by effective writing?

Before being a final product, writing is a process, with multiple stages, that require attention, organization, details-orientation, etc. Students need to know how to write letters, how to put reports together, how to reply to advertisements – and increasingly, how to write using electronic media. They also need to know writing special conventions, such as: proper punctuation, paragraph construction, style, tone, cohesion, and coherence). Most of us think effective writing is about grammar, punctuation, and spelling. That is not true. Effective writing is basically writing (no matter the language) that is clear, well-organized, and easily understood by the audience. The language we use to write in an effective way is called *plain language.* This concept refers to communication your audience can understand the first time they read or hear. According to the *Plain Writing Act of 2010* defines plain language is defined as: "*Writing that is clear, concise, well-organized and follows other best practices appropriate to the subject or field and intended audience*". (Plain Writing Act, 2010). Moreover, plain language always keeps the reader in mind (which means that when we write something, we always need to think about our audience); moreover, plain language is clear and concise, uses a straightforward and friendly tone and is faster to write and read:

Some people think that writing good English means writing long, convoluted sentences, with lots of clauses, which have, or try to have, impressive, indecipherable words, with regard to making lots of grandiose points in a pompous and grandiloquent way and it would seem not really going anywhere with them at all and, quite frankly, leaving the reader confounded, disconcerted and bewildered, and not understanding at all what the sentence is about because regarding this they go and on and do not seem to know

79

when to stop and in order to get to the end of the sentence the reader has to read the sentence over several times and endeavor hard to understand it, which is quite egregious […]. Confused? You should be. This sentence shows why plain English is so important. Think about why we write in the first place. We write to communicate a message to our reader – not to show how clever or educated or well-read we are. If we can't communicate our message to the reader in a way that they understand, then what's the point? We are excluding them, rather than including them. (Webster's Word Power, 2015, pp. 30-31)

1st principle of effective writing: *Think ahead – plan and structure your writing*

When starting to write something, the most important thing we need to do is to plan. No matter the communication form we use (oral or written), there is always the need for a plan. When drafting our piece of writing, there are a few questions we always need to have in mind: *What's the main aim of this piece of writing?, Who is my audience?, What kind of expectations does the audience have?, What is the most effective and efficient way of passing on the information I want to transmit?*

When planning our writing, there are several techniques we can use: for example, in case of writing an essay, a review, a story, the headings and subheadings will always be of help. Furthermore, when we write for business purposes, for example a business report or a business proposal, organising the information in separate paragraphs with specific headings is extremely important and makes the information run smoothly. When we teach business reports, we always explain our students that there is a number of headings they have to use in order to transmit the message/information in a coherent and friendly manner, using the following headings: *Executive summary*, *Introduction*, *Findings*, *Conclusions*, *Recommendations* (Balaban, 2021, pp. 75-76). Having the information structured according to these headings, will make the potential readers understand better and faster. Moreover, when teaching business proposals, there is also a number of headings that is highly recommended to use: *Background* or *Introduction*, *Proposals* or *Recommendations* or *Suggestions*, *Conclusion(s)* and *Possible Drawbacks* (if required by the situation) (Ghiţan, 2016, pp. 80-81). Having in mind such a layout, both for the report and the proposal, will make students learn faster and correctly how to write business related documents. The list of points is also a technique that could be used when teaching writing. The lists of points will always help to plan in a logical order all the ideas we have. These lists are highly recommended when writing for business purposes: eg. in case of a business reports, the lists of points could be used in *Introduction* (when highlighting the main aims of the reports), in *Findings* (when explaining in detail the results/facts we have discovered) or in *Conclusions* and in *Recommendations.* Mind maps will also be of help especially when trying to brainstorm an issue because it helps you remember and recall information, or to learn new concepts, or it makes complex ideas easier to understand, or it boosts people's creativity.

2nd principle of effective writing: *Talk directly to your reader – use you and we*

To make an impact with your piece of writing, it is recommended to address your reader personally. From this point of view, the English language is probably one of the most welcoming languages, because the levels of politeness are not rendered with the help of politeness pronouns, as it happens both in Romanian and German, but with the help of the context that will be the only one that reflects the need for politeness. To be persuasive and grab the audience's attention, we should try to address our potential readers in a personal manner, calling them *you* which will make our writing seem less formal, less bureaucratic and intimidating. In *Better English Writing*, the authors give two meaningful examples for the ideas already stated above:

If you were applying for a job, which of the following would you prefer to read?

It is suggested that job applicants submit a handwritten form and hand it in prior to the interview. Applicants will be notified by telephone of their success or otherwise.

or

Please fill in your job application form and hand it in before the interview. We will phone you to let you know if you have been successful. (2015, p.33)

In the case of the first example, there is a formal style that seems to be a little bit intimidating and too formal (the use of passive structures: *it is suggested, will be notified,* the use of a technical vocabulary that maybe not everybody will understand because it consists of some terms that are not used in our daily language: *in prior,* or the phrase: *will be notified by telephone of their success or otherwise*). This way of addressing the reader is totally impersonal and transmits the information in an intimidating and totally indirect way.

In the case of the second example, the way of addressing the potential reader is a direct one, with a positive tone and the author uses *your, we, you* to talk directly to the reader. The vocabulary used is totally accessible and makes the reader understand the message at ease.

3rd principle of effective writing: *Use simple, straightforward words and down-to-earth language*

Sometimes, people believe that using sophisticated language, with a lot of uncommon terms would be an advantage. That's not true. On one side, it would be better to use a language that everybody understands, a common vocabulary that is understood without any difficulties. It doesn't mean that we have to be simplistic, no, we have to use a straightforward language that our readers will fully understand. On the other side, there

are situations when we have to use more complicated terms, because that's what our readers require, and they will understand these terms. It's fine if the piece of writing is still clear and meaningful.

To transmit the written information in a safe manner, we should avoid terms and phrases that are not understood by everybody and stick to common language:

Word/Phrase	Suggested Alternative
as mentioned previously	as we have already said
as regards to/ with regards to	about
commence	start
for the purposes of	for
in excess of	more than
in the event of	if
necessitate	cause
prior to	before
until such time as	until

(*Better English Writing*, 2015, p.35)

There are also a few more interesting examples that I have noticed being used by some students, who already have an advanced level of proficiency in English, but these words were used in inappropriate contexts, or in contexts where common vocabulary would have been the best option: *double-click the point* for *emphasize*, *drill down* for *analyse*, *on a go-forward basis* for *check further*, *to interface* for *discuss, meet, work with*.

4th principle of effective writing: *Keep sentences and paragraphs short and concise*

When writing a text, no matter the format you use, it is of critical importance to keep the sentences and the paragraphs short. As compared to the long ones, short sentences and short paragraphs are easier to read and easier to understand. Experts on plain language consider that an average sentence should be between 15 to 20 words long to make sure that everything you want to transmit will be fully understood by your audience. In case of a paragraph, things are a little bit more complicated, but if we pay attention to the number of points/ideas that we have in a paragraph and try to present separately each idea in a sentence and then draw the connection with the idea from the second sentence and so on, then the paragraph will look like self-contained unit, in which the ideas are clearly expressed and linked.

5th principle of effective writing: *Punctuate carefully*

Knowing how to punctuate carefully is the 5th principle of effective writing. There are a lot of situations when not knowing how to punctuate or punctuating in a wrong way,

will lead to communication misunderstandings. Proper punctuation will always help the reader navigate our sentences. Dashes (-), commas (,), colons (:), semicolons (;), full stops (.), quotation marks (,,"), question marks (?), exclamation marks (!), all of them have their specific role in a sentence and help the piece of writing be effective and efficient in terms of understanding. Punctuating carefully is of critical importance in all our written documents and in addition to a complete text understanding it also helps the text coherence. As we all know, coherence is achieved through the use of transitions that show the relationship between paragraphs and between sentences within paragraphs and we give our message coherence by presenting the information in a logical order and bridging together the information presented. This activity can be completed not only with the help of connectors and sequence markers but also with the help of proper punctuation. When writing for business purposes, we need to make our writing be fully understood by the readers; for example, the e-mails are the most common communication form used in the business environment, therefore, the rules of punctuation and grammar are *a must* so that the reader understands everything, and the information is transmitted correctly.

Challenges associated with teaching writing-based classes

Teaching writing has always been a challenge both for teachers and students. As a teacher, the most valuable challenge is to evaluate the final written document according to the seven Cs of effective writing:

1) Is it clear?

2) Is it concise?

3) Is it consistent?

4) Is it complete?

5) Is it courteous?

6) Is it correct?

7) Does it connect?

(Petruţ, Irimiaş, 2008, pp.43-44)

If we can answer all seven questions with *yes*, we have a very effective written document. There are a lot of challenges a teacher has to deal with in teaching writing based classes.

The *1st challenge* would be *the different levels of language proficiency*, especially when we refer to teaching writing in a foreign language. Students have different levels of

language proficiency and, in most of the cases, the groups are not homogeneous. In this situation, the role of the teacher is that of a mediator between the students and the target language. When we prepare writing activities, we have to consider how to make them as meaningful as possible. Therefore, choosing relevant topics that best reflect their interests and life experience will always be of help. Moreover, for the students who do not have at least an intermediate level of language proficiency, we can choose guided writing tasks that stimulate their interests, such as: writing according to a model or writing activities that imply the change of the chronological order or writing a summary or changing a telegram into a letter, etc. To more advanced level of language proficiency, we can vary the topics in terms of proposing controversial or problematic topics or topics that give students the possibility of confronting their own ideas with the other colleagues' ideas.

The *2nd challenge* would be *the risk of literal translation,* especially in the case of the students who have beginner levels and not only. There is also the tendency, even in the case of intermediate and, sometimes, advanced levels of language proficiency, first, to think in the mother tongue, then to translate in the foreign language. This is not an effective strategy because such a direct translation often results in unintelligible sentences and poor grammatical structures.

The *3rd challenge* would be *not knowing when to use and how to use plain language*. In the business environment, making proper use of plain language is extremely important. For example, when writing an e-mail, we need to make sure that there is no place left for misinterpretations and the message will be clearly understood by the reader. The message needs to be clear, and we have to write what we really mean in simple and meaningful words.

Conclusions

In a nutshell, writing well is a skill we use every day of our personal life and business career. No matter what we plan on doing with our life or which academic fields interest us, we need to know how to write effectively. Whether we succeed in business and how successful we are in business may very well depend on just how well we write. Writing is a very important skill nowadays and in the business environment, what we write (emails, memos, reports, proposals, announcements, press releases, formal letters, etc) is meant to be read only once, so it must be even simpler than other forms of writing.

Yet it must still have style, tone, and personality, because your business writing reflects the kind of person you are. It is often the first – and only – impression you get to make. (Petruţ, Irimiaş, 2008, 46)

References

Balaban, M.Z. (2021). *Improve Your Business English Skills*. Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărţii de Ştiinţă.
Ghiţan, M.Z. (2016). *Pathway to Business English*. Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărţii de Ştiinţă.
Petruţ, M., Irimiaş, E. (2008). *Steps to Effective Business Communication*. Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut.
Webster's Word Power (2015). *Better English Writing*. Improve Your Writing Power. Glasgow: Geddes & Grosset. The Gresham Publishing House.
https://www.plainlanguage.gov/media/FederalPLGuidelines.pdf
https://www.myenglishpages.com/blog/how-to-teach-writing/

Lecturer Maria-Zoica Balaban PhD. She is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Her main areas of interest are: business communication, Romanian as a foreign language, ESP, literature, philosophy. (zoica.ghitan@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Book

Reviews

Paolo Orrù (a cura di), *Il dualismo Nord-Sud: vecchie e nuove questioni in Italia e nel Mediterraneo*, Franco Cesati Editore, Firenze, 2019, 211 p. Paolo Orrù (ed.), *North-South Dualism: old and new issues in Italy and the Mediterranean Sea*, Franco Cesati Editore, Firenze, 2019, 211 p.

Elena Pîrvu

The volume Paolo Orrù (ed.) *Il dualismo Nord-Sud: vecchie e nuove questioni in Italia e nel Mediterraneo* addresses the question of dualism "by means of multidisciplinary reflection which calls for a multitude of scientific approaches, poetical and artistic forms" (p. 93).

North-South dualism; Italy; Mediterranean Sea.

Il volume *Il dualismo Nord-Sud: vecchie e nuove questioni in Italia e nel Mediterraneo*, apparso nel 2019 presso la prestigiosa casa editrice Franco Cesati Editore di Firenze, a cura di Paolo Orrù, riproduce, come afferma il curatore alla p. 10, "il frutto

di due giorni di incontro e discussione ospitati dal Dipartimento di Italianistica dell'Università di Debrecen il 31 agosto e il primo settembre 2018". Usando le parole di Sondes Ben Abdallah, si tratta di un volume che affronta tale dualismo "attraverso una riflessione multidisciplinare che chiama in causa una molteplicità di ambiti scientifici e di forme artistiche e poetiche" (p. 93).

I contributi pubblicati sono stati sottoposti a revisione anonima, il volume essendo pubblicato con il contributo del Dipartimento di Italianistica dell'Università di Debrecen.

Aprono il volume i contributi di tre geografi. Il saggio di Silvia Aru, *Regimi di confine: la politica dell'Unione Europea sull'asilo tra leggi e pratiche* (pp. 13-32), "ha come oggetto le politiche dell'Unione Europea (UE) sul diritto all'asilo e come obiettivo quello di presentare e analizzare come si sia configurato nel tempo lo spazio europeo dell'asilo sul piano delle leggi e delle politiche" (p. 14).

Gianluca Gaias e Cinzia Atzeni, in *Cartografie migranti, storie e narrazioni. Altri modi di raccontare la mobilità* (pp. 33-51), presentano le forme di scrittura, dal racconto cartografico-emozionale, alla poesia, al saggio o alla musica, che rappresentano dei punti di rottura tanto nella letteratura quanto nel modo di raccontare la migrazione (cfr. p. 50).

Passando dalle scienze sociali alle discipline delle arti e dello spettacolo, il contributo di Simona Frasca, *Sull'Italia che canta: itinerari di ricerca per una lettura del binomio Sud/Nord* (pp. 53-68) analizza alcuni aspetti storico-sociali della città di Napoli attraverso la sua canzone, soffermandosi poi sul rapporto di Napoli e della sua musica con realtà estranee al contesto italiano. L'autrice individua "in Napoli e nella canzone napoletana un *unicum* culturale costruttore di identità transnazionale" (p. 67).

Collocandosi all'incrocio tra letteratura, cinema e teatro, Quentin Arnoud e Teresa Solis, in Via Castellana Bandiera: *sullo schermo nero di una notte bianca* (pp. 69-80) si soffermano su *Via Castellana Bandiera*, prima opera cinematografica realizzata dalla regista drammaturga siciliana Emma Dante nel 2016, tratta dall'omonimo romanzo scritto da Emma Dante nel 2008, la cui sceneggiatura per l'adattamento cinematografico si deve alla collaborazione tra l'autrice, Licia Eminenti e Giorgio Vasta.

Gli studi letterari sono rappresentati nel volume che presentiamo in altri due contributi. Mentre Walter Geerts, in *Meridionalismi incrociati: Sciascia, Consolo* (pp. 81-92), si sofferma su Leonardo Sciascia e Vincenzo Consolo, i due scrittori che "hanno in comune una particolare visione del Sud, fortemente ispirata dalla storia, visione tragica e amara di un Sud che fu nel caso loro principalmente la Sicilia" (p. 82), Sondes Ben Abdallah, in *La fuga verso il Nord: scrivere la partenza. Il dualismo Nord-Sud nella letteratura italiana contemporanea* (pp. 93-104), analizza alcuni romanzi, racconti e testimonianze che girano "intorno alla mobilità permanente nell'Italia contemporanea e trattano tre aspetti di questo movimento: gli aspetti psicologici-sociali, cioè l'inquietudine che porta all'instabilità; quelli economici, cioè lo squilibrio acuto tra le due aree dello

stesso Paese e, infine, quelli geopolitici, cioè il confronto perpetuo con i migranti cosiddetti «irregolari»" (p. 94).

Apre la serie di contributi di ambito linguistico lo studio di Paolo Orrù, *Leggere la questione meridionale alle sue origini: analisi linguistica e discorsiva dei dibattiti parlamentari nell'Italia postunitaria* (pp. 105-132), che "si inserisce in un quadro più ampio volto a indagare l'origine dei discorsi intorno alla questione meridionale e al meridionalismo, al fine di ricercare gli strumenti linguistici, retorici, argomentativi che hanno plasmato gli oltre 150 anni di convivenza tra le due aree del Paese" (p. 109).

Lili Krisztina Katona-Kovács, nel saggio *L'evoluzione del discorso antimeridionale nella retorica della Lega Nord* (pp. 133-150), fa un piccolo viaggio nel tempo e percorre la storia della Lega Nord attraverso manifesti, slogan, post e discorsi, "rievocando l'epoca in cui il ragionamento nei confronti dei meridionali era molto meno favorevole rispetto a oggi" (p. 133).

Il contributo di Agnese Bresin, *Nord e Sud, ma anche Centro. Trend contastanti nella percezione delle pratiche allocutive in Italia* (pp. 151-169), "prende in esame le percezioni che i parlanti hanno delle macro-regioni Nord, Centro e Sud come possibile fattore di variazione per le pratiche allocutive" (p. 151). Nel contributo, l'analisi si concentra principalmente sui pronomi allocutivi singolari maggiormente usati in italiano, e cioè il *tu*, il *lei* e il *voi*.

Bálint Huszthy, in Bongiorno direttò'! *Nuovi dati per l'analisi sincronica del vocativo napoletano* (pp. 171-183), analizza la sopravvivenza del vocativo nel dialetto napoletano sulla base di un doppio *corpus*: da un lato l'uso fatto dagli attori della serie *Gomorra* (trasposizione televisiva del romanzo di Roberto Saviano), dall'altro i risultati di un questionario.

Chiudono il volume due saggi di ambito storico. László Pete, in *La legione ungherese tra piemontesi e briganti. Il caso di Montefalcione* (pp. 185-193), ripercorre le vicende della Legione ungherese, fondata a Palermo nel luglio 1860 e impiegata a combattere il brigantaggio nel Mezzogiorno. La Legione sarà protagonista di cruente battaglie, tra cui quella di Montefalcione, ricostruita nel saggio.

Marco Pignotti, in *Dall'inchiesta Franchetti-Sonnino sulla Sicilia ai dibattiti parlamentari: il Mezzogiorno nel dibattito pubblico dell'Italia postunitaria* (pp. 195-204), traccia l'emersione della questione meridionale come *issue* politica della nascente nazione italiana nei dibattiti d'aula tra il 1874 e il 1876, periodo in cui vedono la luce anche le note inchieste di Leopoldo Franchetti e Sidney Sonnino sulla Sicilia.

Il volume si conclude con un *Indice dei nomi* (pp. 205-210) che ne agevola anche la consultazione frammentaria.

Si tratta in conclusione di un volume estremamente interessante, che si legge con interesse e con piacere nello stesso tempo, ed auguriamo ad esso il successo che merita.

Elena Pîrvu is a Professor at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Craiova, where she teaches Italian language and Italian language history. Her main research topics, resulting in contributions to national and international journals and volumes, focus on Italian-Romanian contrastive grammar, Italian language history, the influence of Italian on Romanian language, Italian migration in Romania. (elena_pirvu@outlook.com)

Sentence Stack
(A Linguistic Search Engine)

Adrian Ciupe

Sentence Stack is an online sentence search engine available as a free language development tool mainly suited to learners of English who want to improve their accuracy in written and spoken language. This review highlights its main advantages and also suggests a few possible improvements, which could really make it a much better alternative to other similar, paid services.

A sentence search engine is a web-based application that allows users to find context examples of language items ranging from a single word to a phrase or even an entire sentence. It can be used for language proficiency improvement by students, teachers, translators etc., basically anyone who learns a language (in this case, English) or uses it in written or spoken form. Although such a tool bears similarity to a concordancer, it is yet quite a different kind of linguistic instrument: it has a simplified interface and avoids the daunting mechanics of concordancers through straightforward results presented in the most user-friendly way possible – given the practicality the target audience's needs. In effect, sentence search engines may be regarded as welcome extensions to learner's dictionaries, providing a vast amount of filtered contexts to illustrate accurate use of language.

This kind of online application may be made available as a paid service such as *Ludwig Guru* (Ludwig, n.d.) or as a free web tool like *Sentence Stack* (Sentencestack, n.d.), the latter being reviewed here. On its home page, *Sentence Stack* advertises itself as more than `just` a sentence search engine: "A linguistic search engine (LSE) combines advanced sentence search with other capabilities like sentence correction, idiom detection, dictionary lookup, thesaurus, translation, and more. These broad features make it an ideal tool for all the facets of language learning including studying vocabulary in context, grasping word choice nuances, mastering language mechanics like grammar and spelling, and just having fun exploring English. "It boasts a database of 300+ million sentences "… from the best journals, encyclopedias, and news sources. In addition, we

continue to manually refine the quality of our sentences so that you are always learning from the best examples." *Sentence Stack* highlights features and functions like `find your phrasing`(search results based on frequency comparison); `sentence explainer` (automatic detection of idioms in pasted sentences);`free and accessible` (a very ambitious claim indeed as its mission: "Sentence Stack was created to develop the best English language education tool in the world and to make it available to everyone regardless of their geographical location or socio-economic background"); `top English sentences` (The Guardian, CNN and The Washington Times are mentioned as examples of sources – I will be coming back to source selection and availability further on in this review); `dictionary & thesaurus` (in-built features with not just explanations / lists but also usage examples); `grammar check` (users can paste their own sentences in the search box and have them checked for errors in grammar, spelling and punctuation); `advanced search` (for relevant examples of usage, "Natural Language Processing, Information Retrieval, and Machine Learning (AI)" drive the technology behind *Sentence Stack*); `actively developed` (the service itself is under constant development) and `contextual learning` (the case is made again for the relevance of the context provided by full sentences as illustrations of natural language use).

So, how does *Sentence Stack* work, after all? Its functions (search options) are listed on the site home page in the following order: (1) `Search for a phrase or idiom in context`– for example, if the phrase `out to lunch` is typed in the search box, it is first identified and defined as an idiom ("A person who is out to lunch may be confused, out of touch, or insane") and then dozens of full-sentence examples follow. However, although `out to lunch` is identified as an idiom at the head of the set of example sentences, these also include literal meanings of `out to lunch`: "He meets up with Chris and asks him out to lunch", "They talk a little and he asks her out to lunch", "Everhart said they went out to lunch almost every day, talking for hours" etc. – this may lead to confusion, though, since users might expect that all the example sentences illustrate the idiom itself only, not also the literal meaning of the phrase; (2) `Check grammar(sic), spelling, and punctuation of a sentence`– for example, if `He go to the store` is typed in the search box, a grammar correction is automatically suggested (`He goes to the store`) followed by dozens of sentences illustrating the correct version; (3) `Compare frequency of phrases` – for instance, by typing in `with care` and `carefully`, a user can find out that `carefully` accounts for 88% of usage and `with care` for the remaining 12%; (4) `Lookup (sic)definition, synonyms, and more` – this basically works as a dictionary (the headword enteredis defined) and a thesaurus (a sequence of synonyms is given) complemented by dozens of full-sentence examples containing the headword itself; (5) `Compare frequency of words` – by way of illustration, `she does tennis` accounts for 0% of usage, `she plays tennis` for `100% and `she performs tennis` for 0% again; full-sentence examples are provided for each of the three search results; (6) `Fill in the blank search` – using this

kind of wildcard search option, if, for example, a user types in `fill in the *`, the results returned will list (in order of frequency) the words that can replace `*` in the query; in this case, `gaps` (21%), `gap` (4%), blanks (12%), while 63% is made up pf `other words`; full-sentence examples of `fill in the (+ unsorted words)` follow; (7) `Check proper article usage` – by typing in a query like `go to [the] store`, users may find that `go to the store` accounts for 95% of usage, whereas `go to store` only reaches 5%; options (8) and (9) are for machine-translation of text into English.

How useful is *Sentence Stack* and who can benefit the most? Speaking from a teacher's point of view (I am a lecturer of English specialising in ESP at tertiary level), I must confess that the service is indeed extremely useful. I have been using it in designing course and test materials for my students and have even encouraged them to use *Sentence Stack* themselves. As an extension to any learner's dictionary or thesaurus, *Sentence Stack* provides ample opportunity for language development and improvement. However, there is one caveat: the example sentence sources. An assertion like "the sentences in our search engine come from the best journals, encyclopedias, and news sources" on the site home page would make users expect a substantial variety of sources (especially taking into account the `300+ million sentences` claim); nonetheless, sources *cannot* be predefined (filtered) and they are not explicitly specified in the list of search results (clicking on a button to the right of each example sentence will refer the user to the complete source itself (a full text / article / story etc.), without the example sentence itself being highlighted within that specific full text. Moreover, even a cursory such check of the sources will lead to Wikipedia (Wikipidia, n.d.) entries for the most part. So, what of the initial claim – "the sentences in our search engine come from the best journals, encyclopedias, and news sources"? This is the single most important reason why I could not fully recommend *Sentence Stack* – not without some reservation, at least – as sources are obviously not just language databases *per se*, but also markers of credibility. Given the apparent prevalence of Wikipidia-based search results, it is up to each user to make their own judgement.

To conclude, *Sentence Stack* is an extremely useful tool for anyone with an interest in using accurate English, both written and spoken, for a variety of purposes; however, it would greatly benefit from the addition of source filtering options, which would not only make it more professional, but also a more serious rival to similar (paid and rather costly) services like *Ludwig Guru* (Ludwig, n.d.).

References

Ludwig Guru. (n.d.). Retrieved September18, 2022,fromhttps://ludwig.guru
Sentence Stack. (n.d.). Retrieved September 18, 2022, from https://sentencestack.com
Wikipedia. (n.d.). Retrieved September 18, 2022, from https://en.wikipedia.org

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

Andrei Zanca, *Cartea mântuirii* (Florești : Limes, 2022) [Andrei Zanca, *Le livre du salut* (Florești : Limes, 2022)] [Andrei Zanca, *The Book of Salvation* (Florești : Limes, 2022)]

Letiția Ilea

The paper analyses the last edition of Andrei Zanca's poems, *Cartea mântuirii*.

Romanian poetry; 80's generation; Echinox literary circle.

Le 1ᵉʳ juin 2022 s'éteignait à Heilbronn, en Allemagne, Andrei Zanca, un très important représentant de la génération '80, membre du cercle littéraire *Echinox*. Né le 13 septembre 1952 à Sighișoara, Andrei Zanca a été poète et traducteur (il a traduit de l'allemand, de l'anglais, du français, de l'espagnol et de l'italien) ; il a écrit aussi de la prose, des essais et de la critique littéraire. Son œuvre poétique compte plus de vingt-cinq recueils. Il a été traduit en plusieurs langues et, à son tour, a traduit en roumain de nombreux poètes (surtout allemands).

Nous parlerons en ce qui suit de son dernier recueil, *Cartea mânturii* (*Le livre du salut*). (Zanca, 2022). Ce dernier recueil à une valeur de testament poétique, aussi bien par sa date de parution (quelques mois avant la disparition de son auteur), que par les thèmes abordés, lesquels couronnent une œuvre poétique d'une grande valeur et extrêmement dense.

Pendant tout son parcours poétique, Andrei Zanca est resté identique à soi-même, conséquent à une démarche non seulement ontologique, mais aussi éthique et esthétique. Je lis à chaque fois Andrei Zanca comme si je rentrais à la maison après de longs périples dans un univers hostile qui résonne toujours moins au poids de la parole écrite. Andrei Zanca a habité ce monde d'une manière vraiment poétique ; il a révélé au lecteur la beauté et le mystère ineffables de l'univers, tout en lui faisant découvrir les inerties et la violence du monde d'aujourd'hui, auxquels le poète doit opposer un autre genre de poésie. Je ne crois pas qu'en ce troisième millénaire, lorsque tout semble avoir été dit et tranché, on puisse toujours tirer bénéfice des jeux linguistiques, du ludique cherché à tout prix ou de quelque postmodernisme précieux, adopté par désir de synchronisation avec je ne sais pas quels poètes américains…La douleur et les souffrances de ce monde, identiques depuis des siècles, mais au-dessus desquelles sont venues se poser des bibliothèques entières, peuvent être transcrites en paroles auxquelles on puisse croire seulement après un regard lucide et impitoyable vers l'extérieur et vers notre intérieur, qui nous purifie et nous fasse apparaître authentiques, « nu-pieds dans le cœur » (Zanca, 2004, titre du recueil).

Sur la quatrième de couverture du recueil *Cartea mântuirii (Le livre du salut)*, Andrei Zanca esquisse ce qui, pour lui, a été une profession de foi :

Avant les paroles, il y a eu *l'état de poésie*, sans lequel rien n'aurait été possible.

Mais tout comme la dernière neige dure le temps que ces paroles durent, ceux que la beauté a pénétrés sont toujours plus près de la mort. La douleur connaît un autre temps, dans un monde où l'échec*estla reconnaissance suprême*. Je pense aux hivers passés dans lesquels une partie de moi a fondu. Au bout des paroles se trouve la paix. Le bruissement de l'arbre éteint dans la page. (Zanca, 2022, quatrième de couverture)

On pourrait interpréter ces paroles comme un pressentiment de l'auteur qui sentait sa mort s'approcher, mais aussi comme une conviction concernant le fait que le poète, dont l'apanage éternel est la souffrance, mène une lutte à la vie à la mortavec le Verbe ; il peut parfois vaincre, mais, en tournant la dernière page de son livre, il tourne la dernière page de sa vie. C'est que le poète énonce dans*Maintenant, lorsque je suis tout près* : « aussi longtemps qu'on reste à table avec les lignes écrites, c'est bien – mais si on les lance dans le monde,/ elles ne vous appartiennent plus, elles échappent au contrôle/ et commencent un chemin, une vie, qui pourrait/ demander doucement la vôtre » (Zanca, 2022, p. 14). Andrei Zanca évoque aussi dans ces lignes le statut du poète et de la poésie,

voués à l'échec dans un monde qui ne ralentit plus sa course infernale pour se pencher sur les vers d'un poème.

Le recueil est structuré en sept parties : *une mosaïque du temps, les danubiens, les eaux du temps, le long chemin du retour, les collines liturgiques, le murmure des étés éteints* et *l'expérimentation sacrée de la percée.*

Les thèmes de ces poèmes sont ceux qu'Andrei Zanca a privilégiés dans toute son œuvre poétique ; esquissons-les brièvement.

Dans un monde qui semble avoir choisi l'absence de la communication et l'opacité aux souffrances d'autrui, le poète est devenu un solitaire de profession, ce qui est la seule solution pour un créateur authentique, qui n'a de place nulle part : « Où que je fusse, je me demandais/ Mon Dieu, qu'est-ce que je fais ici ? » (Zanca, 2022, p. 38). Il y a une certaine urgence de l'écriture, impétueuse, dans les poèmes d'Andrei Zanca (un pressentiment, peut-être ?). L'acte poétique semble être un rituel, un sacerdoce, au milieu d'une nature vue dans l'écoulement des saisons, rarement au milieu de la ville (qui était le topos de prédilection pour les poètes de la génération '80) : « je reste et j'écoute le silence au milieu de l'hiver, près/ des branches enneigées, près de l'eau qui s'écoule/ parmi *les collines liturgiques*/ je sens l'élévation dans la lumière génuine, sans temps/ et dans la paix qui consume la douleur même » (Zanca, 2022, p. 5). La nostalgie du pays qu'il avait quitté dans les années '90 transparaît souvent dans les poèmes d'Andrei Zanca : « Mon Dieu, le rossignol chante d'une manière précise/ dans le pays natal, et tout autrement ici, là/ où je me trouve » (Zanca, 2022, p. 100). Il y a dans ces poèmes une croyance aux forces infinies de la poésie : « la poésie vole elle aussi plus loin, une fois écrite,/ elle flâne enveloppant petit à petit dans son aura/ beaucoup de gens, même non envoyée, tout comme un ange/enveloppe le démon dans la boue jusqu'à son extinction » (Zanca, 2022, p. 99-100).« Élégiaque pur-sang », comme il a été nommé, Andrei Zanca semble souffrir pour tous ces maux de ce monde, l'indifférence, le manque d'amour, le faux, même devant la mort : « une somnolence en convulsions semble dominer la plupart des gens/ entre la naissance et la mort » (Zanca, 2022, p. 129). Beaucoup de ses poèmes contiennent une révolte non dissimulée contre tout ce qui s'oppose aujourd'hui à une existence authentique : « Une somnolence convulsive domine beaucoup de gens, de sorte/ qu'ils semblent ne plus vivre – *c'est la mentalité qui les vit*/ celle dont ils ne se débarrassent plus (…) ils ne veulent/ rien voir, rien savoir » (Zanca, 2022, p. 163). Les vers ont une concentration maximale, il n'y a aucun « gaspillage » pour l'amour du dire, Andrei Zanca ayant depuis longtemps la science des formulations mémorables, presque gnomiques, que lecteur retient longtemps après avoir fermé le livre : « un jour mon cœur s'arrêtera/ pour que je puisse partir plus loin » (Zanca, 2022, p. 36) ; « le poète étendu sur le catafalque est un timbre rare,/ collé sur une enveloppe qui n'arrivera probablement jamais/ au destinataire » (Zanca, 2022, p. 43). Dans ce sens, je citerai aussi la fin du poème *le monde du silence*, d'une épuration et d'une force maximales :

cette nuit j'ai lâchémême

ma marche, pour qu'elle se dirige sans moi parmi les arbres

me délivrant de moi-même, entouré par mes chiens

couchés autour de moi et qui me regardent intensément

et doucement dans les yeux comme si en moi

s'apercevait lentement une lueur de présence inespérée (Zanca, 2022, p. 69).

Les poèmes d'Andrei Zanca semblent le plus souvent se situer dans un présent atemporel, celui des vérités éternelles. Rien de la gratuité, du verbiage de ses collègues de génération ne vient troubler la clarté et la force de cet univers. Andrei Zanca réussit à réhabiliter tous les « grands » mots, longuement utilisés et démonétisés en poésie : « vie », « mort », « amour », « tendresse », lesquels sont de nouveau mis en valeur par l'authenticité du vécu.

Les lignes ci-dessous sont des impressions fugitives, parce qu'un métalangage adéquat à la gravité des vérités prononcées dans ce livre serait difficile à trouver. Non dernièrement, je remarquerais l'extraordinaire langue roumaine utilisée par Andrei Zanca, sa préférence pour des mots au sémantisme philologique et philosophique marqué. Je mentionnerai aussi la mise en page de certains poèmes, dont les vers s'offrent au lecteur comme une volée d'oiseaux, d'une manière pas du tout gratuite…

J'ai la conviction qu'Andrei Zanca est (je ne suis pas encore habituée à parler de lui au passé) réellement un poète qui « ne peut pas faire autrement » et pour cette raison la Poésie le récompense, le trouvant partout. Le dernier livre d'Andrei Zanca est, comme tous ses livres, un *viaticum* pour ceux qui aiment la poésie. Je ferme le livre et, dans un monde qui se hâte sans cesse vers nulle part, je m'imagine le poète rester au bord d'une rivière, en suivant le vol d'un oiseau…

Références

Zanca, A. (2022). *Cartea mântuirii*. Florești: Limes
Zanca, A. (2004). *Cei ce-n inimă-s desculți.* Timișoara: Editura Marineasa

Associate Professor Letiția Ilea, Ph.D. She is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She has been teaching Business French and Business English courses to the 1st and 2nd year students and the MA course Business Communication (French). Ms Ilea is an acclaimed poet, a well-known author of several volumes of

poetry and translation, published in Romania, France and Spain. She has been awarded thirteen literary prizes for her contributions, both as a poet and a translator, in Romania and in France. Her areas of interest are: French literature, business communication, translation studies, poetry. (letitia.ilea@econ.ubbcluj.ro)