

LINGUA

YEAR XXII, NO. 1 / 2023, NEW SERIES

Table of Contents

ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES

Stimulating Engagement in Flipped Learning Environments <i>Delia – Georgeta Rusu / Ruxanda Literat</i>	9
Do We Teach Skills? An Insight into the ESP Classes <i>Alina Nicoleta Pădurean</i>	20
ChatGPT: a Boon or a Bane for ELT (Writing Skills)? <i>Adrian Ciupe</i>	33
Assessing Moroccan EFL Students' Perceived Learning Experience during Covid-19 Pandemic <i>Said Oussou / Btissam Taybi</i>	43
On the Relationship of Moroccan Students' E-Learning Readiness, Perceived Attitudes, and Independent E-Learning during Covid-19 Pandemic Times: a Correlational Study <i>Bani Koumachi</i>	56

FRENCH LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND CULTURE

Types d'ellipses dans les traductions / Types of Ellipses in Translations <i>Sergiu-Eugen Zagan</i>	79
Les femmes et la réussite sociale / Women and Social Success <i>Emilia Andreea Motoranu</i>	89

VARIA

I connettori e la dinamica dell'argomentazione nel discorso economico giornalistico romeno e italiano / The Connectors And Dynamics Of Argumentation In Romanian And Italian Journalistic Economic Discourse <i>Dana-Maria Feurdean</i>	109
---	-----

Collaborative Writing. SL in the *New Era of Literacy*

Amalia Cotoi

130

Evaluation de la qualité du contenu des leçons d'expression orale et écrite rundi : cas du quatrième cycle de l'école fondamentale au Burundi / Evaluation of the Content Quality of the Lessons of Kirundi Oral and Written Expression: Case of the Fourth Cycle of the Primary School in Burundi

Epimaeque Nshimirimana / Constantin Ntiranyibagira / Justin Gafura

137

BOOK REVIEW

Daniela Crăciun, *Narcisismo e fuga dal reale. Moderno e postmoderno in Guido Gozzano*, Editura Pro Universitaria, București, 2022, 161 p.

Elena Pîrvu

159

English as a Foreign Language and for Specific Purposes

Stimulating Engagement in Flipped Learning Environments

Delia – Georgeta Rusu
Ruxanda Literat

Student engagement has always been one of the teachers' major preoccupations whether in classroom activities or, as more recently attempted, in online or hybrid ones. Facilitating the effectiveness of the instructional approach, technology has played a significant role over the course of the last decade in providing valuable tools and resources to enhance flipped learning and stimulate engagement in various ways, some of which being presented in this article. The teaching techniques used in traditional classrooms (as our survey conducted on the students studying at The Technical University of Cluj-Napoca shows), as well as the attention and interest teachers invest in their students' future in order to craft space for values, do not differ too much in virtual learning environments. We have identified the need to embrace innovative approaches and adapt or evolve to effectively support students' engagement and promote interactive learning experiences, highly beneficial to their future careers.

Student engagement; class activity; values; instructional technologies; flipped learning.

Student engagement-an overview

Thanks to the recent boom of information and communication technologies, students have experienced a radical change of their lives, not only in their day-to-day activities, but also in the educational field.

If educators design learning experiences based solely on their own vision, goals and circumstances, they may be merely imposing their set of values upon their students; engaged learning is unlikely to happen in such an environment. (...) It is only when students are empowered to take charge of their own learning by co-designing their learning experiences with teachers and other students that they are more likely to engage in their learning process. (Lim, 2008, p.1002)

Since providing a universal recipe for engagement is not only difficult, but also impossible, as it takes into account factors such as age, subject, and individual student needs, we have tried to put forward some components that contribute to creating an engaging classroom environment. Based on the survey carried out on a group of more than 100 students who study at The Technical University of Cluj-Napoca as well as on our own experience as teachers in the period including that of the pandemic, we were able to perceive new dimensions to teaching that also incorporate technology tools and multimedia applications that students nowadays are so happy to use. Admitting the fact that we cannot ask learners to leave aside technology and gain knowledge through alternative means, probably less enticing ones, such as those we used in the past, we have attempted to suggest ways to create engagement in a model which favors technology but does not neglect face-to-face interaction and which is commonly known as flipped learning.

What can teachers do to stimulate students' engagement? Getting to know them better, their interests, strengths and weaknesses, frights and worries, and attempting to lend a helping hand by exposing similar situations or multimedia materials that would stir their curiosity to the extent that they would like to find out more about the specific issues. Working on a psychological level with each student is a daunting task for a teacher and unfortunately, the present day educational system at a large level in our country does not offer this possibility. It would imply a one-to-one interaction with the teacher acting as both facilitator and mentor, and the student being the determined and engaged partner in the learning journey who persists in the face of difficulties and associates the tasks with outcomes that have meaning and value for him.

A learner may have the ability to take charge of his learning without necessarily utilizing this ability to the full when he decides to learn. Different degrees of self-direction in learning may result either from different degrees of autonomy or from different degrees of exercise of autonomy. (Holec, 1981, p. 4)

Teachers' guidance here is essential in enabling learners to take ownership of their learning. In doing so, they appeal to their metacognitive skills and develop the abilities "to independently use the course materials, diverse resources or learning contexts." (Rusu & Muresan, 2022, p.57)

Fostering a supportive and personalized learning in our present-day classes can, nevertheless, be adjusted to fit the actual conditions where one-to-one interaction can make room for a group of students having similar interests to be encouraged to actively participate in their learning. The teacher's role is crucial in identifying and pairing or grouping students whose preoccupations could resemble and then addressing their needs by providing instructional resources, clarifying concepts, and offering specific guidance. Basically, they should start with what students need to talk about, or read or write about or simply listen to, then they should create the necessary conditions so that they are exposed to input of the vocabulary and grammar that they would need to finally be able to appropriate it through communication. As a facilitator, the teacher has to ensure that students feel valued, heard, and encouraged to create a sense of ownership and empowerment which can definitely lead to increased student engagement. As a mentor, the teacher goes beyond academic instruction and takes a vested interest in each student's growth and development. Through this mentorship role, a strong connection is established with students so that they should be guided to navigate challenges, set goals, and develop important life skills.

Additionally, the teacher can provide timely and targeted feedback, recognizing students' efforts and progress. Understanding each learner's strengths and weaknesses allows the teacher to design educational experiences that resonate with students and tap into their intrinsic motivation. As for learners, being engaged equals the fact that they are safe, they know where they are and where they have to go and they make a simple equation in two questions: *How much effort is it going to take me to get there?* and *What chances of success do I have?* If both are balanced, then students are motivated and consequently aware, so what teachers need to harness is exactly that awareness so that learners can literally succeed. By incorporating student interests and perspectives into the instructional design, the teacher can enhance student engagement and foster a sense of relevance and meaning in the learning process.

1.1. It all starts with rules

Commonly agreeing that a world without rules is a world of chaos, we embrace the idea that establishing clear guidelines and expectations, whether collaboratively made or simply agreed upon before the instructional process, is something that will provide structure, set boundaries, and establish a sense of order and respect among students. When rules are explicitly outlined, students understand what is expected of them and can make informed choices about their actions. Involving students in the rule-making process can increase their sense of ownership and investment in maintaining a positive learning environment. Teachers can facilitate class discussions to gather students' input and ideas for classroom rules. This collaborative approach helps students understand the rationale behind the rules and fosters a sense of shared responsibility for maintaining a respectful and engaged classroom community.

Although the saying goes that *rules are made to be broken*, the urge is for both the teachers and the students to respect them. By consistently applying the rules, teachers promote a sense of fairness and encourage students to actively engage without fear of inconsistency or favoritism. At the same time, they offer students a model to follow and enable them to educate themselves into accepting rules and not rejecting them, but assimilating them to finally considering them their own and even growing to enjoy what they are 'obliged' to do (by means of these rules). Teenagers nowadays expect to get the maximum result with the minimum effort, so by teaching them to accept regulations they will be more willing to accept learning and acknowledge its usefulness in preparation for adult life which is definitely burdened with rules and laws they cannot avoid. By adhering to rules, they develop self-discipline and self-regulation skills which will contribute to their personal growth, autonomy, and success in academic and professional settings. This is how students educate themselves to accept rules: by being self-disciplined, by setting goals and targets and even rewards after completing something they have imposed on themselves, they acquire good results and are satisfied, which definitely stimulates more engagement. This engagement will then be nurtured by themselves as a consequence of their being used to accepting rules. First, the rules come from others, then learners assimilate them and make external rules be their own rules, and finally they make more personal rules to accomplish their own goals, as they notice that by self-discipline they start enjoying what they have to do. The satisfaction students get by self-discipline is somehow guaranteed and it definitely generates engagement.

1.2. Turning rules into practice

Teachers and especially EFL teachers are aware of the fact that they stand in front of their group of students teaching them more than English, teaching them values, through their own words and deeds. As a teacher, the most important thing is to lead by example. Teachers play a vital role in modeling the behaviors they expect from their students. Being kind, patient and fair is something most of the teachers naturally do because there was someone else, years ago, who taught them to be so. By consistently demonstrating active listening, respectful communication, and a positive attitude towards learning, teachers provide a powerful example for students to follow. Modeling expected behaviors helps create a classroom culture that values engagement and sets the tone for student participation.

Simply walking into the classroom at the beginning of a school year and telling learners that they should behave in accordance with a certain set of values, will not work. Instead, teachers can, however, set specific small goals and ask students to try to stick to them. These include setting expectations for an active learning environment which relies on active listening, asking questions, contributing to class discussions, collaboration and respectful communication, positive reinforcement, completing assignments, and participating in group activities. During the pandemic, we could all notice that virtual learning environments required

explicit instruction and modeling. We had to explicitly discuss and reinforce issues and values such as honesty, integrity, responsibility, and empathy whether we incorporated them in discussions, case studies, or depicted real-life examples to facilitate students' understanding and application of these values in their online interactions.

Dialogue is another value which students should learn in terms of conducting and achieving consensus on sensitive issues, so that when they disagree, they should be able to use alternatives and make sound judgment. This is especially important in a world where social media sometimes fosters aggression, as there are people who do not seem to know what polite disagreement is. In this way, teachers can be the ones to implement strategies that students can use to politely counterattack aggressiveness. They can guide students in developing good digital habits, such as respectful online communication, responsible use of social media, and awareness of digital footprints. By promoting digital citizenship, educators help students cultivate values of digital ethics, integrity, and responsible behavior in the online world.

Media can be used in a beneficial way to provide examples of stories or message-based input that contain values and engage students into thinking about relevant or important issues to them. The selected input can bring different cultures to their attention so as to enable them to develop awareness and respect for those cultures. It is important that students should be exposed to the true complexity of the world, to its diversity, and in diverse ways. The opportunities that our fast-changing globalized world offers teenagers are enormous, and so are the challenges. Therefore, teachers need to make sure that every generation learns what it means to know to succeed in the world. By integrating multimedia and interactive resources that align with values-based themes, teachers can facilitate meaningful learning experiences. Virtual learning provides access to a wide range of multimedia resources, such as videos, interactive presentations, virtual tours, and educational games. Teachers can incorporate these resources to make lessons more dynamic and engaging, allowing students to actively explore and interact with the content. They can also design virtual games, quizzes, or challenges that revolve around values-related topics meant to support students' holistic development.

By providing students with a clear understanding of what is expected of them, teachers can promote active engagement and hold students accountable for their learning. There are several means to encourage continued engagement such as verbal praise, class rewards, even certificates or other forms of recognition that acknowledge and celebrate students' efforts and positive contributions.

Why flipped learning?

Because there is so much information that we have been continuously bombarded with in the last few years, because young generations are used to informative multimedia input that comes and goes equally fast and their brains have become accustomed to retaining less information (as there is always a chance to retrieve it), the teacher's mission

is that of stirring learners' curiosity in making logical and meaningful connections. This mission goes beyond simply imparting knowledge and encompasses the broader goal of fostering a love for learning and empowering students to become independent thinkers and lifelong learners. Besides the activities that can be done in place-based settings and which should largely be focused on communication, we consider that incorporating technology and multimedia resources can capture students' interest and enhance their learning experience both in the flipped or blended learning styles.

In flipped learning, the traditional order of instruction is *flipped*. Students engage with instructional content, such as pre-recorded videos or online resources, outside of class time, typically as homework. The experiment of using recorded lectures that Bergmann and Sams (2012, p.4) discussed in their book proved the fact that "students who missed class were able to learn what they had missed. Some students who were in class and heard the live lecture began to rewatch the videos. Some would watch them when reviewing for exams." The efficiency of this model was clearly demonstrated to be better than that of lecturing and assigning homework, as students "were completing all their work with 20 minutes left in class." (Bergmann & Sams, 2012, p.5) Therefore, class time is then utilized for active and interactive learning experiences, such as discussions, group activities, problem-solving, and individualized support from the teacher. Although the term was "popularized by various media outlets and seems to have stuck, there is no such thing as *the* flipped classroom" (Bergmann & Sams, 2012, p.6), the framework it establishes definitely suggests a personalization of education tailored to students' individual needs. The focus of flipped learning is on moving direct instruction out of the classroom and using in-person time for more engaging and interactive activities that deepen understanding and promote student collaboration.

As for blended learning where the online and face-to-face components are integrated and complement each other, the key is to balance in-class and out-of-class work so that the teacher should identify which activities can be taught digitally and which personally. While traditional learning strategies introduce students to the course materials and offer them the benefit of hands-on skills and practice, the digital aspect of the blended learning style focuses on additional content which reinforces the concepts in students' minds. This multifaceted approach enables them to learn and remember lessons and engage most fully with the course materials.

In virtual learning environments, teachers must consider the unique challenges and opportunities presented by the digital space. Although the underlying principles of teaching and fostering values remain the same, educators need to employ strategies that are specifically tailored to the online context. They must also make sure that each technological element is aligned with the classroom goals and that it facilitates learning and boosts engagement.

A highly effective way to foster engagement especially at the beginning of a class is to use a bell-ringer activity. This can be in the form of a warm-up question of the day that is not really easy but requires critical thinking - usually about material from previous classes - and is designed to invite various responses and opinions or it can be a preview question meant to introduce content to be taught during the upcoming period. Alternatively, a recent news headline can be displayed on the screen so that students could take a few minutes to discuss it or its implications. In our case, it is usually related to technology so they can refer to its potential impact on society, industry, or daily life. In doing so, students are encouraged to share their insights and opinions. Examples are numerous and can point out, in the context of a web research, for instance, how trustworthy it is, how some people may use lies when posting on social media platforms or they can simply ask students to identify the ways in which they think the internet can cause people harm. This will definitely grab students' attention, engage their critical thinking skills and also get them to expand on their existing knowledge.

Digital tools can be used to capture ideas, both by students and by teachers. We have identified that computer work poses no problems for the students who responded to our survey as the figure below shows:

4. How difficult was it for you to use digital technology (platforms, tools, applications, etc.)?

[More Details](#)

● Extremely difficult	0
● Somewhat difficult	5
● Neutral	15
● Somewhat not difficult	46
● Extremely not difficult	67

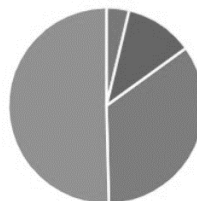


Figure 1. Digital competences as indicated by students

Therefore, playing with technology in both flipped and on-site classes will definitely oblige students to think quickly and critically and will stimulate engagement in an exciting way. Digital educational games such as Kahoot! can be used with laptops and interactive screens to start a class on any topic and keep learners engaged and interested irrespective of their age knowing that the first thing they get to do at the beginning of a lesson is hop on something as attractive as a game. When gauging students' knowledge before a lesson on a specific topic, it is equally all right if the students' responses are correct - as this will increase their enthusiasm and enhance their understanding - or if they

are wrong, as this will give them more room to discover and learn about the topic. In both ways, they will feel encouraged about their knowledge and if they respond either written, digitally, or verbally, their answers - or at least some of them - can be used to spring into the topic for the day.

At the same time, a short survey can help teachers gather baseline information on what the students know about a topic before being introduced so that they can evaluate the instructional methodology and plan accordingly based on the students' performance. These warm-up surveys can also be used to monitor students' progress half way through the unit especially when they do not remember what has already been taught and the teaching can be adjusted so as to review critical material.

However well technology may provide opportunities for collaboration, critical thinking, and practical application of concepts, we have noticed the need to accommodate these within the format of flipped learning so that students could benefit of classroom time for active learning, interactive discussions, group activities, and individualized support. More than half of our respondents to the survey carried out in The Technical University of Cluj-Napoca agreed with the fact that technology is a useful tool for connecting people at a distance (figure 2), but when it comes to appreciating the quality of communication, it is both less expressive and reduced as compared to the one in place-based settings (figures 2 & 3).

6. When I think of online communication I feel that:

[More Details](#)

- it gives me extra time for thinki... 50
- it is less time-consuming 36
- it is less expressive than F 2 F co... 64
- it is as efficient as F 2 F comun... 13
- it connects the people at a dista... 70
- Other 1

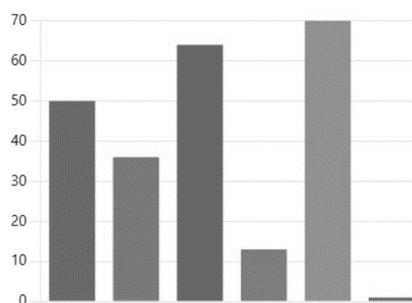


Figure 2. Assessment of online communication

Surprisingly, although technology has allowed for real-time interactions through instant messaging, video calls or social media, and although virtual communication platforms allow regular interactions and updates, fostering a sense of closeness and support, our students have appreciated the quality of relationships as being reduced (figure3). We attribute this to the lack of non-verbal cues and the reduced emotional

connection due to the absence of physical presence in virtual interactions. To somehow balance on the one hand the reduced opportunities for meaningful in-person interactions and social bonding and on the other hand the constant influx of messages and notifications from various virtual platforms which are both consequences of the technology we have embraced, the most appropriate solution we find for the instructional process to be successful is to blend the two learning environments. Digital resources like Google Apps and any other new tools can add variety to the flipped learning environments and help students transform into focused and engaged learners. However, striking a balance between virtual and in-person communication is essential to maintain the richness and depth of relationships in an increasingly digital world.

10. If people met online more often, the quality of the following aspects will be

[More Details](#)

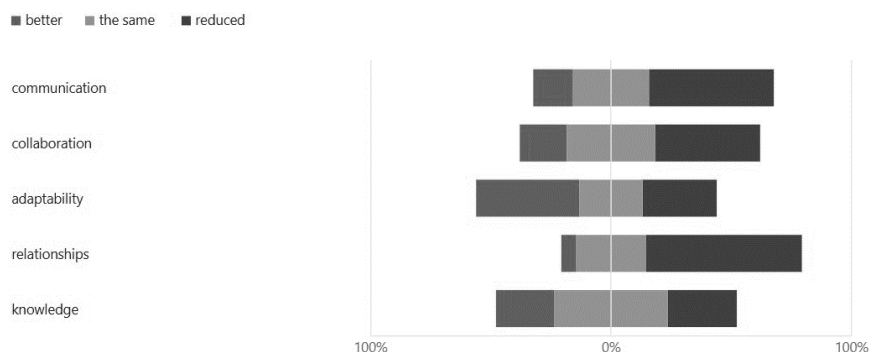


Figure 3. The quality of aspects under discussion in the online environment

To support student engagement by means of real social interaction, Figure 4 highlights the necessity of student–teacher interaction and student-peer interaction in real classroom settings. Both of them are essential components of the learning process that significantly influence the quality of education and students' overall academic and social development.

If you could not attend on-site classes, what would you miss the most about them?



Figure 4. Students' considerations of on-site classes

Positive interactions with teachers can motivate students to engage actively in the learning process as their encouragement and belief in students' abilities can boost learners' confidence and self-esteem. At the same time, student-peer interaction plays a vital role in shaping students' social skills, communication abilities, and teamwork. The emotional support we mentioned above and which creates a sense of belonging within the classroom community would not be possible in a virtual environment solely. A supportive peer network can positively impact students' well-being and mental health. So, working together and moving forward with a project or any other group activity, in or outside class, contributes to stimulating collaboration and building communication skills.

There are countless examples of practical and effective ways to support student engagement and create a positive and productive learning environment. We have endeavored to mention but a few that we found to contribute to helping students understand the material better and improving their learning outcomes.

Conclusions

Being a multidimensional concept that encompasses cognitive, emotional, and behavioral aspects, engagement refers to the level of interest, attention, and involvement that students demonstrate in their learning process. We have attempted to analyze this concept in relation to a learning environment that incorporates digital tools so much employed by students and teachers alike in recent years, namely flipped learning. Establishing clear learning goals, rules, expectations, and feedback, teachers connect the learning material to real-world contexts and students' interests, add relevance and meaningfulness and enhance learners' motivation and engagement. The teaching techniques used in traditional classrooms are further on supported by access to digital content, online learning platforms which flipped learning often utilizes, video-based instruction and personalized learning which allows for differentiation and targeted support, ensuring that each student's learning needs are addressed effectively. Both teacher roles of facilitator and mentor are described in the instructional environment which empowers educators, in the context of flipped learning, to design, deliver, and manage experiences more efficiently and effectively.

Values are explicitly taught and modeled by means of discussions, case studies, and real-life examples to help students develop a deeper understanding of their values and how they impact their online interactions. In virtual learning environments, teachers have the opportunity to leverage technology and explore new teaching strategies that enhance students' engagement and promote the development of values, among which we have mentioned digital ethics, integrity, and responsible behavior. Multimedia resources, such as videos, interactive presentations, virtual tours, and educational games can be

incorporated so as to encourage students to apply their knowledge, engage in critical thinking, and develop teamwork skills.

Considering that students' motivation and engagement must be triggered once they enter the classroom, we have provided some examples of bell-ringer activities and their benefits to both teachers and learners. We have also taken into account the results of our survey conducted on students in their first year at The Technical University of Cluj-Napoca and which led us to favor a hybrid instructional model which connects authentic and real-world contexts to equally real but virtual ones. By embracing multimodal approaches, teachers enable students to make logical and meaningful connections between theory and practice.

We dare say that the future belongs not to those that have the information, but to those that are able to apply it in a visionary way. This is something we need to develop in our students' minds; to cultivate a growth mindset in the classroom, emphasizing that intelligence and abilities can be developed through effort and perseverance. By encouraging them to embrace challenges, view mistakes as opportunities for learning, and adopt a positive attitude towards overcoming obstacles, we nurture their curiosity by promoting a sense of wonder, resilience, and a desire for continuous improvement.

References

- Bergmann, Jonathan & Sams, Aaron. (2012). *Flip Your Classroom: Reach Every Student in Every Class Every Day*. International Society for Technology in Education.
- Cher Ping Lim. (2008). Spirit of the game: Empowering students as designers in schools? In *British Journal of Educational Technology*, 39 (6), 996-1003. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8535.2008.00823_1.x
- Holec, H. (1981). *Autonomy and Foreign Language Learning*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Rusu, Delia & Muresan, Carmen. (2022). Can ICT Sustain Learner Autonomy? In *Acta Technica Napocensis*, 22 (1-2), 55-63. Cluj-Napoca: UTPRESS
- Figure 1, Figure 2, Figure 3, Figure 4, Retrieved from https://forms.office.com/Pages/DesignPageV2.aspx?origin=NeoPortalPage&subpage=design&id=nnrpqnEzkyBjbhSdNFTBS3YzO_6Yo1PrTKErw9RQvFURFMwM1FEUjNHTzNONFo3S01QTBXNzlzOC4u&analysis=true

Associate professor Ruxanda Literat, Ph.D. She is the Head of the Department of Modern Languages and Communication within the Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Her main areas of interest are: interpersonal and professional communication, applied linguistics, English for Specific Purposes, didactics of modern languages. (ruxandra.Literat@lang.utcluj.ro)

Teaching assistant Delia Rusu, Ph.D. She is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Communication within the Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania). Her main areas of interest are: (applied) linguistics, English for Specific Purposes, pedagogy. (delia.rusu@lang.utcluj.ro)

Do We Teach Skills?

An Insight into the ESP Classes

Alina Nicoleta Pădurean

The need to teach more skills and not just knowledge is mandatory these days. We have to equip our students with professional, digital and even survival skills for the current society and the labour market. Therefore, besides teaching them vocabulary, grammar structures, academic writing required in their field of study, we should teach them the skills required by the labour market. The paper presents some theoretical background for the use of ESP in the educational field and reveals the results of a study conducted among students. We wanted to investigate their opinion on skill development through ICT, on the apps they like to use and on the type of activities that they prefer.

ICT; skill development; ESP; digital natives; performance.

Introduction

We find ourselves immersed in the digital age, surrounded by technology that increasingly dominates our lives. The rapid advancement of technology has brought significant transformations to various aspects of our society, including the economy, communication methods, and even the way we acquire knowledge. However, our educational institutions were primarily designed for an industrial era rather than the digital era we now inhabit.

Consequently, educators face numerous challenges on a daily basis. The future of graduates is becoming increasingly uncertain, volatile, and unpredictable. Teachers and instructors are confronted with the daunting task of ensuring that their students are prepared for the ever-changing world. Furthermore, they must grapple with the difficult decision of what elements of their teaching methods should be retained, what should be adapted, and what should be completely changed.

The utilization and integration of technology in both the teaching and learning processes offer a multitude of benefits and advantages. Some of the most commonly cited ones include:

- technology provides new ways to:
 - interact in and out of class (e.g. discussion forums, chat rooms, polls);
 - collaborate, share, and create (e.g. wikis, social bookmarking, and collaborative documents);
 - showcase, feedback, and peer review (e.g. e-portfolios, online rubrics);
 - reflect and plan (e.g. journals, shared calendars);

- Students have the advantage of enhanced flexibility in terms of study time, location, and learning speed, thanks to the availability of recorded lectures and other online educational materials. This allows them to access resources at their convenience and customize their learning experience to match their preferred pace.

- Various opportunities to discover (e.g. 3D immersive environments, interactive role-plays);

- Enhanced monitoring of student learning and engagement, along with improved capacity to identify students with learning difficulties;

- Increased effectiveness in locating, creating, and disseminating educational materials.

In addition to the previously mentioned benefits, there are also drawbacks to consider. Firstly, it is important for teachers to acknowledge that not all students are good at technology simply because they were born in the digital age. Despite the majority of students being digital natives, there exists a small percentage who struggle with utilizing technology and lack proficiency in its usage. Furthermore, other disadvantages include:

- technology can fail. Heavy reliance on technology is risky without a backup plan;
- technology is not automatically productive. The work required to get used to a tool, troubleshoot, or provide technical support can outweigh the desired effect;
- technology changes evolve rapidly and/or goes out of date very quickly;
- the costs of technology.

Digital learning and skill development in ESP

In 1987, Hutchinson & Waters firstly proposed that EFL (English as Foreign Language) consist of two branches: GE (General English, known as EGP) and ESP (English for Specific Purposes). Later, Jordan (1997) further divided ESP into EAP (English for Academic Purposes) and EOP (English for Occupational Purposes). Similar to other forms of language instruction, English for Specific Purposes (ESP) primarily revolves around the process of learning. However, this process is tailored to meet the requirements of particular learner communities—specifically, those individuals aiming to acquire professional skills and engage in job-related tasks. ESP sets itself apart from English as a Second Language (ESL) or English for General Purposes (EGP) through its targeted focus. One key aspect of ESP is its contextual approach. This necessitates learning within real-life situations, scenarios designed to mirror the particular working or professional environments that ESP students are either connected to or interested in. In contrast to concentrating on general grammar, vocabulary, and language structures, the interaction between teaching and learning in ESP underscores the significance of honing the essential skills most relevant to students' prospective fields. When juxtaposed with ESL learning contexts, ESP students are expected to be more motivated due to their familiarity with the subject matter. Their passion for the field drives active participation in English classes. As Lorenzo Fiorito asserts, ESP not only assesses learners' needs but also integrates motivation, subject matter, and content to facilitate the instruction of pertinent skills.

Today's students have grown up in an era defined by digital advancements, making them one of the first generations to have constant access to digital tools. They possess the ability to generate knowledge and effectively communicate their findings to a wider audience, while constantly engaging with vast amounts of information. With the internet, portable devices, cell phones, video games, and on-demand videos becoming integral parts of their lives, they rely on digital tools as a daily necessity. It is nearly impossible for them to envision a time when information wasn't readily available through platforms like Google. Moreover, these tools are accessible wherever there is an internet connection. As a result, students now anticipate that educators and teachers will incorporate these authentic, relevant, and interactive characteristics into their education. Despite policymakers and educators acknowledging the long-term benefits of integrating technology into education, there is still progress to be made in achieving this goal.

Skills and content are interrelated yet distinct aspects of knowledge. Content encompasses not only ideas, facts, descriptions, and evidence, but also encompasses procedures and process descriptions. Teachers are well-versed in content and possess a thorough understanding of the subjects they teach. However, the development of skills presents another challenge. Although students receive assistance in skill development, it raises questions regarding the adequacy of their skillset and whether skill development is given sufficient importance in the curriculum.

There is a global concern about whether schools and educational curricula effectively prepare students for the future. In a world of globalization and rapid technological advancements, schools must ensure that learners acquire and enhance skills necessary for the twenty-first century knowledge society. These skills include critical thinking and problem-solving, communication and collaboration, and creativity and innovation. The goal is for learners to possess the ability to thrive and contribute in the twenty-first century society upon graduation. Being cultured and educated in the twenty-first century entails more than just proficiency in writing, reading, and computer skills.

According to the *Partnership for 21st Century Learning*, it is crucial to incorporate information literacy, critical media literacy, and information, communication, and technology literacy across all academic disciplines. These skills are vital for survival and eventual success in today's society. However, in addition to these skills, there are other literacies that need to be integrated to enable students and future employees to adapt to upcoming transformations. Among these, visual literacy, multimedia literacy, and cultural literacy are particularly essential.

Digital learning provides students with an opportunity to cultivate these skills as the learning process itself is digitally infused. In the knowledge society, it is imperative to include the following skills:

Enhancing communication skills: In addition to the conventional skills of speaking, writing, and reading, it is essential to incorporate social media skills into one's repertoire.

Bates highlights several social media competencies, such as the capacity to produce concise YouTube videos to showcase a process or deliver a sales presentation, effectively engaging a broad online audience with one's ideas, incorporating feedback received from online communities, appropriately sharing information, and identifying trends and ideas from external sources (Partnership for 21st Century Learning, 2015, p.36).

The ability to learn independently is a crucial skill in today's society. It involves responsibly seeking and acquiring the necessary information, regardless of academic knowledge. While teachers can educate students about new technologies, tools, equipment, and resources, students must learn how to locate and utilize these sources effectively for their assignments.

Ethics and responsibility play a vital role in fostering trust and reliability, enabling individuals to rely on others to achieve common goals. Teamwork and flexibility are also important skills within a team, as collaboration and knowledge-sharing not only contribute to success but also yield favourable outcomes for the entire group.

Among the essential skills in a knowledge-based society, thinking skills take precedence. Critical thinking, problem-solving, creativity, originality, and strategic thinking are highly sought-after abilities. Being able to identify needs, find innovative solutions, and deviate from standard processes are essential for professionals in public services. However, post-graduation, students often face challenges in developing these skills, despite initial encouragement.

Digital skills are crucial in a technology-driven world, but it is important to integrate them with subject-specific knowledge. The rapid advancement of technology and the proliferation of online information have made knowledge management paramount. Being able to find, evaluate, analyse, apply, and disseminate information within a specific context is crucial. Moreover, students need to learn how to validate or question sources of information. Effective knowledge management is a skill that graduates will continuously employ long after leaving school (Bates, 2019, p.37).

The generation gap between users is significantly wide, raising concerns that the older generation's failure to adapt to the learning preferences of the new generation may hinder their growth and development. Traditional methods such as reading, dictating, and relying solely on chalkboards are inadequate and may even be a waste of time and energy. Today's learners seek benefits, interaction, visual communication, and overall satisfaction in their classes. In this context, "Digital immigrant instructors, who speak an outdated language, are struggling to teach a population that speaks an entirely new language" (Prensky, 2001, p.52).

Incorporating technology into classrooms provides students with confidence and ease, as they associate its use with their everyday activities. Digital technologies offer valuable tools for teachers to enhance the learning process and for students to engage in learning, research, and multitasking.

Furthermore, according to Tapscott (2008, p.17), individuals from the Net Generation are reshaping the Internet's purpose. Instead of being solely an information source, it has become a platform for sharing information, collaborating on mutual projects, and generating innovative solutions for pressing issues. They accomplish this by creating content, either through personal blogs or by combining their contributions with others. As a result, the Net Generation is democratizing content creation, and this transformative mode of communication is poised to have a revolutionary impact on various domains, including music, movies, politics, business, and education.

Tapscott (2008, p. 24) also argues that general online activities entail more intellectual engagement than commonly assumed. Contrary to popular belief, children and young individuals are not simply engaging in mindless browsing. They are actively reading, though with a shift towards nonfiction materials online rather than literary books. Online reading demands similar cognitive skills as reading a physical book, and even additional skills. It necessitates constructing one's own narrative and scenarios, while simultaneously critiquing the content being consumed along the way.

As seen, the need to teach skills in constantly growing and the ESP field is not an exception. Our learners, should be taught what to do with the language not just vocabulary and structures pertaining to their field of study. All, or at least, most of them will use the foreign language in their professional activity and thus, developing various skills besides knowledge of grammar, vocabulary and structures is mandatory. At this level, namely the ESP classes, teachers should focus on the development of practical, digital and thinking skills more than on the already traditional skills, reading, speaking, writing and listening.

We have noticed that students prefer more practice-oriented tasks, more inter or multi-disciplinary activities when it comes to ESP classes. They like to transfer knowledge from one subject to the other and when it comes to ESP, they like to put into practice the theory they learn during the field-related subjects. Learning field-related vocabulary in English, having theoretical knowledge in the field and using them to develop practical skills in English, is appreciated by most of the students.

Currently, an increasing number of individuals are displaying heightened enthusiasm for their education and training, using the latest technology available to pursue self-learning. This includes utilizing platforms, online courses, applications, digital libraries, and any other technological resources. As the job market becomes increasingly competitive, possessing technological knowledge, skills, and expertise has become essential. Consequently, in addition to the prevailing student preferences, educational institutions must promptly embrace technology. Failing to integrate digitalization into education not only denies students a superior learning experience but also jeopardizes their prospects for a successful professional future.

Research findings

In order to investigate the students' opinion about the development of skills through ESP classes, as well as other aspects related to their training, we applied a questionnaire at the end of the second semester. The research sample consisted of students enrolled in the Pre-school and primary school education programme, all in the first year of study, all female and with ages ranking between 18 and 54. In terms of educational background, some are high school graduates, whereas 35% of the respondents are or were employed after completing another Bachelor programme. The reasons beyond their enrolment in another BA programme are various: no jobs on the labour market, too time-consuming jobs, desire to spend more time with their families, vocational aspects that hadn't been taken into consideration at younger ages. The high-school graduates chose this field of study out of vocation, mother/family member in the field, or job security reasons.

The 1st year of study consists of 130 students. Of these, 38 had studied English at the first undergraduate programme and were assessed based on a portfolio and the grade obtained at the other field of study. Of the remaining 92 students, 54 completed the questionnaire submitted via Google Forms. The questionnaire was anonymous and consisted of 12 questions. Below, we shall present the most relevant answers given by the students.

The first question investigated their level of English. As stated before, their ages vary and consequently, their English level. Some have studied other foreign languages at school (German, French), others took only some tutoring classes, or attended a language course.

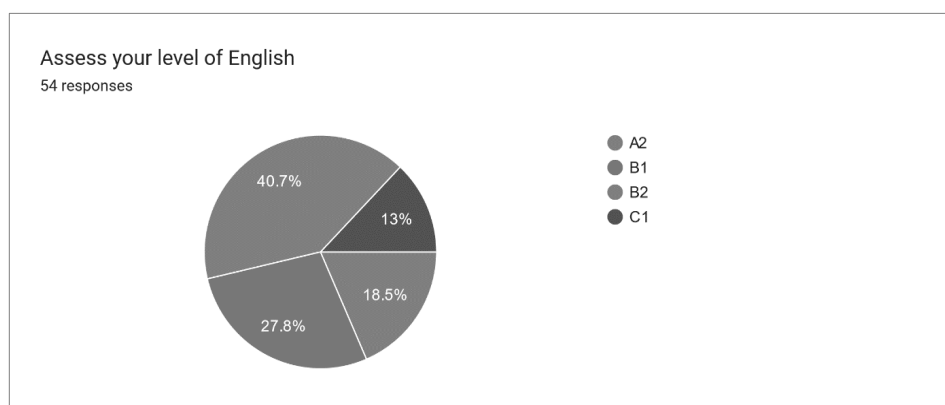


Chart no 1 *Students' level of English*
Source: personal archive

As we can see, most students self-assess their level at B2 level, giving us the possibility and opportunity to use ESP materials that are suitable for the development of competences and skills without fearing that they would not understand.

Questions no 2&3 approach the necessity of studying English and more specifically ESP during the BA studies. The answers are encouraging as most students consider it a very useful idea both in terms of studying English in general and ESP in particular.

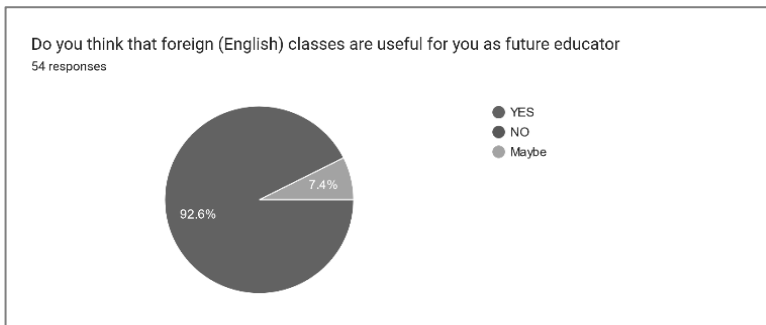


Chart no 2 *Usefulness of English*
Source: personal archive

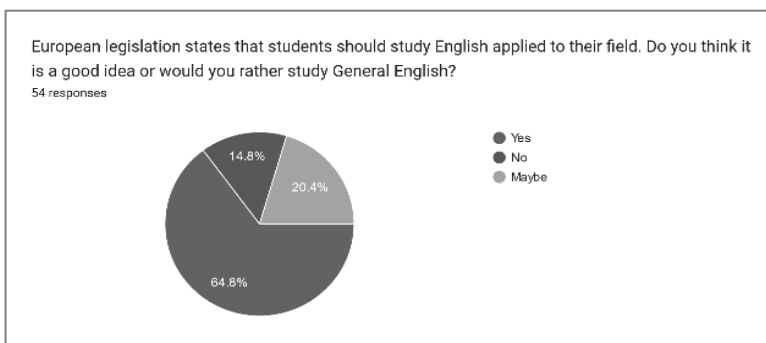
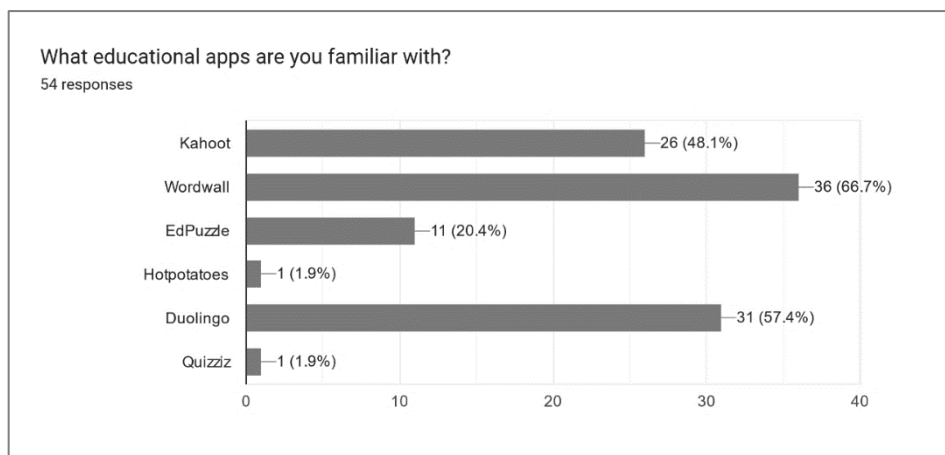


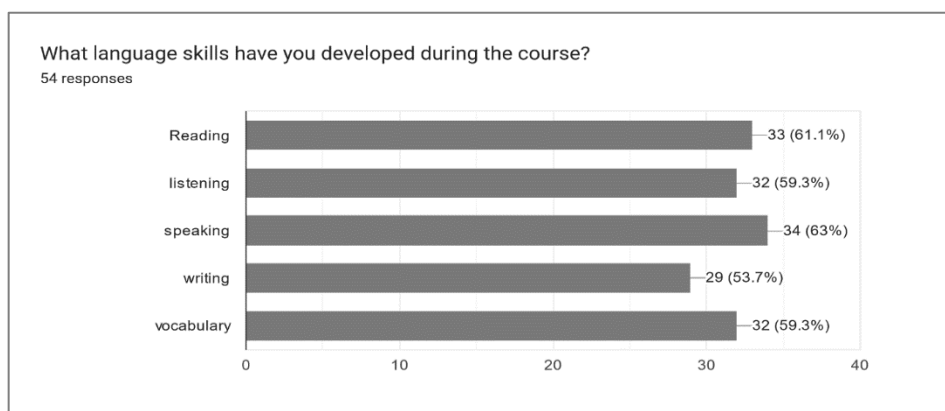
Chart no 3 *Usefulness of ESP*
Source: personal archive

Question no 4 gives us a perspective on the educational apps our students are mostly familiar with. Some were used at the university, others during the pandemic with their high-school teachers. As revealed by the below presented chart, 66.7% are familiar with wordwall, an app that we used in the first semester, 57.4% used Duolingo and still use it on their phones and tablets to practice English. Kahoot is the 3rd app in rank with 48.1% of the users. We use Kahoot for certain activities in the second semester. On the last position in the ranking, we find HotPotatoes (1.9% users). This app, though old, offers some interesting ways of practicing specialized vocabulary. However, it is not very interactive and the digital natives of this generation prefer more interactive and challenging activities.

As a recommendation, I would suggest the use of Memrise, Cram and TalkEnglish, all free of charge with interesting features that can be very nicely adapted to ESP.

Chart no 4 *Educational apps**Source: personal archive*

Question no 5 dealt with a topic of high interest to us, as teachers, and to the study we conducted. We investigated the skills that students developed after completing one year of ESP (educational field). Encouraging and satisfactory is the fact the most students stated that the speaking skills (63%) were developed although at the initial test (beginning of the first semester) they feared speaking the most. The interactive activities, the need to communicate, present and give feedback in English encouraged them to use the language as much as possible. The fact that they had to deliver presentations, create audiobooks and stories for children helped them overcome the fear of speaking. Reading skills are placed on the second position with 61.1% of the respondents. The preparation for tasks and the activities conducted in the classroom favoured the development of this skills as well as of the listening skills (59.3%). Besides the listening activities presented in the lecture, students listened to their peers' presentations.

Chart no 5 *Skill development*. *Source: personal archive*

Question no 6 goes hand-in-hand with the previous one, investigating the students' perception of other skills they developed during the language course besides the language ones. As seen below, communication skills (72.2%), teaching skills (50%) and intercultural skills (48.1%) are placed first. All these skills are useful for their future teaching career, not to mention the research (31.5%) and the specialized terminology skills (29.6%) that also make a good teacher. As seen from their answers, the development of ESP skills and other related skills can be achieved through interactive activities, through activities that promote the use of specialized vocabulary and mostly through activities that contain tasks that they would later on do with their pupils/students.

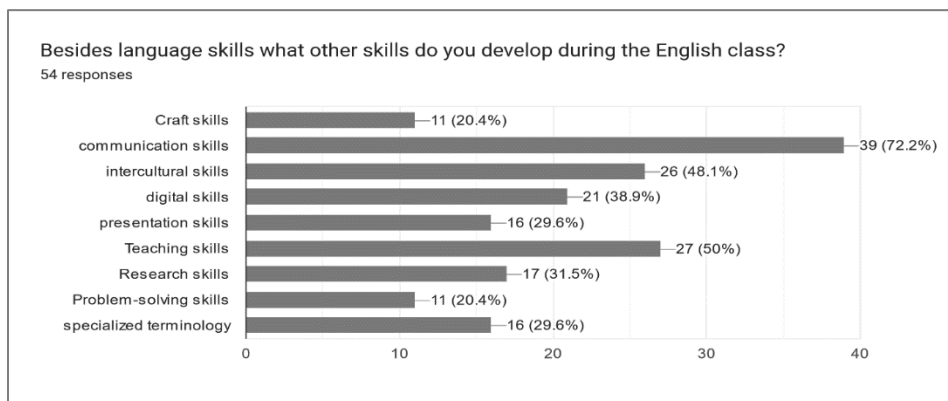


Chart no 6 *Skill development 2*

Source: personal archive

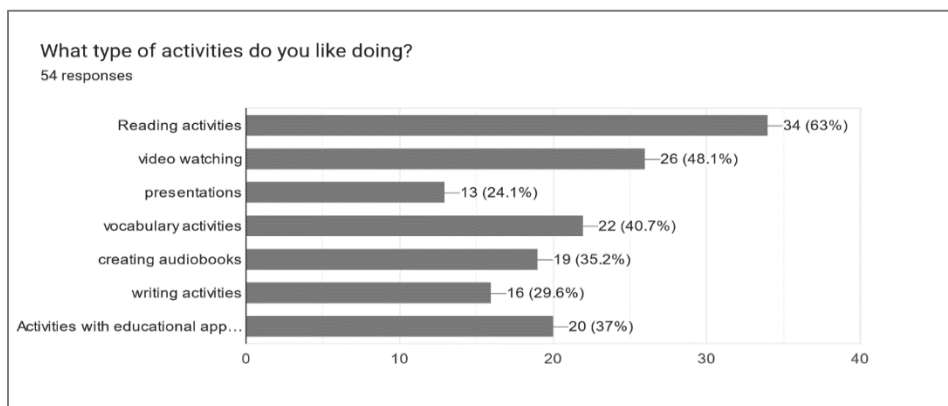


Chart no 7 *Activity preference*

Source: personal archive

Besides investigating the students' preference in terms of activities, we wanted to find out what tasks they enjoy so as to improve or update the curriculum for next academic year. Therefore, we asked them to rank various activities. The results highlight the students' preference for reading activities (63%), video watching (48.1%) and vocabulary activities (40.7%). Last in rank are the presentations with 13 answers, namely 24.1%. The fear of bad pronunciation and insufficient speaking practice are the main causes for the students' dislike for presentations. As presentations are important in a teacher's career, we will provide some extra classes of training for good presentations.

Most tasks were solved using apps or digital tools. We did not impose a specific digital tool that students had to use. They could select what suits them better but we wanted to find out what they mostly enjoy working with. As revealed by the answers in chart no 8, most of them prefer PowerPoint (88.9%) because it is very user friendly, the recent version has a lot of functions that are suitable for education activities. Besides presentations, students used PPT for video making (they had to create a bilingual audio book), vocabulary activities etc. Canva and book creator are also among their preferences, some of them even paying for the extra features these apps offer. Students stated that they paid for the extra features when preparing the audio book and the printed story.

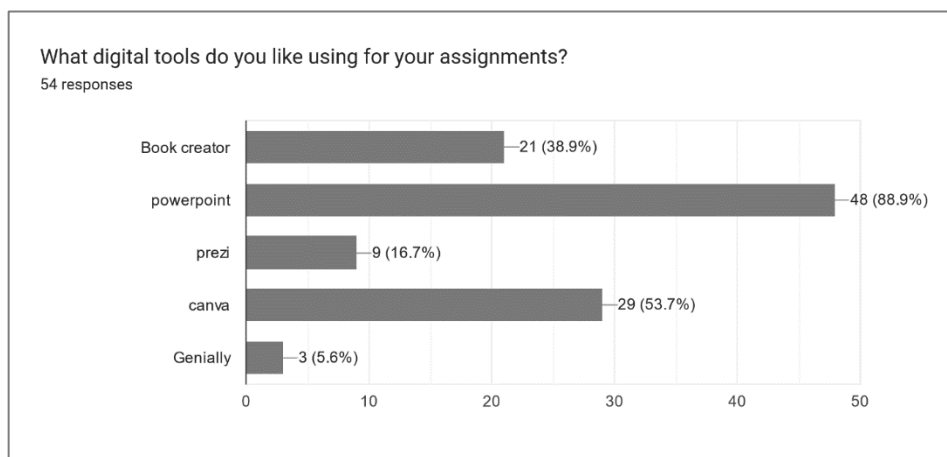


Chart no 8 *Digital tools*

Source: *personal archive*

Question no 9 reveals the students' preference for certain tasks. Surprisingly, 53.7% prefer speaking activities, though sometimes from subjective reasons, namely no desire to write. 50% like preparing audio material for kids, because they believe that speaking skills can be improved in this manner. If they don't understand a work, they look it up in the dictionary and the same thing happens with the pronunciation. Online exercises and reading activities share the same score (43.3%) and surprisingly, activities

with specialized vocabulary are placed on the last position (24.1%). Students stated that they prefer other types of activities to enhance the specialized vocabulary, namely in contextualized contexts and not through traditional vocabulary activities. They stated that presentations, though difficult, helped them learn specialized terminology because they had to read specialized texts and write the presentation and, in the end, deliver it. In the chart below, we can see the detailed perspective of students' preference for certain tasks based on the activities we conducted during the 1st year of study.

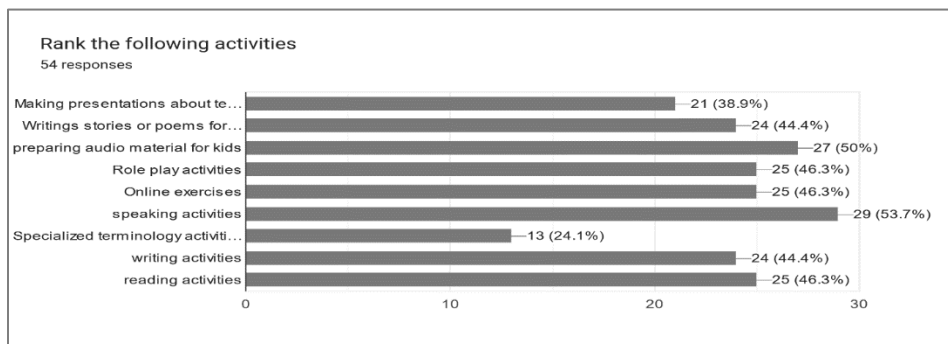


Chart no 9 *Students' preference for tasks*

Source: personal archive

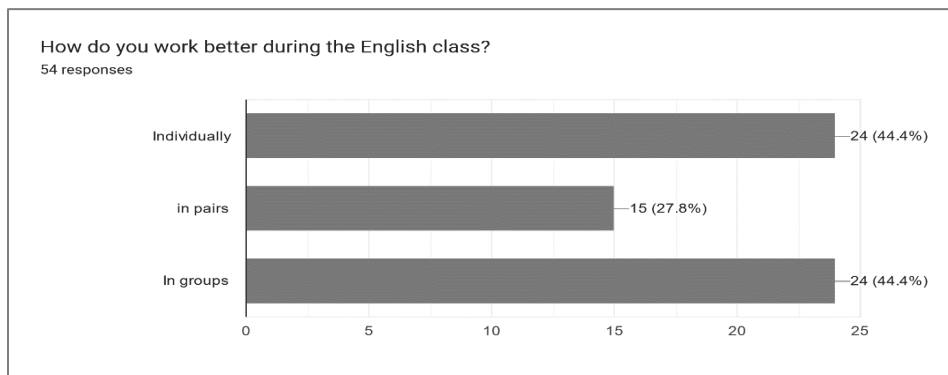


Chart no 10 *Classroom management*

Source: personal archive

The answers to question 10 are quite surprising, diving the sample into two. 44.4% like working individually or in groups, whereas 27.8% like working in pairs. The explanation beyond this selection is quite simple. Students that are good at English prefer working individually because they know that they would complete the task successfully. Those that are not very confident about their English competences, prefer working in

groups because in a group of 4-5 students, they can add value to the task without having the pressure of the language. Some are creative, some are innovative, some have crafting, painting or drawing skills that they can use for task completion and the presentation or English component can be carried out by someone else. In pairs, however, the chances of being paired with a person with the same English skills are quite high.

The 11th and the 12th question took the form of a course assessment and investigated the students' skill improvement as well as their suggestions regarding the activities that would like to do. Most students (66.7%) improved their speaking skills, which is an important achievement of the course because speaking is mandatory in all aspects of a person's life. Reading (59.3%) and vocabulary (48.1%) were also improved and enriched and we can state here that we refer both to GE as well as ESP vocabulary. In terms of reading, they mostly had to read ESP texts for education. Other skills that had improved can be seen below. We mention only creativity and pronunciation both very necessary. On the last position, students placed better link between English and other subjects, though 12 (22.2%) students consider that the skills that developed during English lectures and the knowledge they gained are useful for other subjects as well. However, in the year to come, we should consider a better link between these subjects.

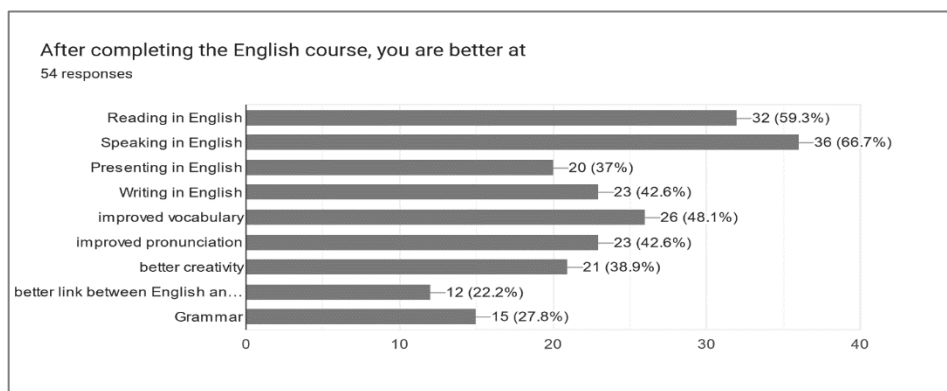


Chart no 11 *Skill improvement*

Source: personal archive

In terms of suggestions for future activities, we only mention some of the most interesting and worth considering ones: *“Role play activities, fairytale writing, storytelling, writing poems and stories for kids, craft activities, learn specific methods to teach English, preparing activities in English for children, creative activities in groups, outdoor activities, more activities about how to teach students English, theatre, writing a story form the beginning, games, playing in a movie that we create, writing stories for kids, making audiobook with stories”*.

Conclusions

The article emphasizes that skill development within English classes has far-reaching implications. Beyond language proficiency, these classes contribute to improved communication skills, academic success, cultural literacy, professional growth, adaptability, and cognitive development. Educators, policymakers, and stakeholders should recognize and support the integration of skill-focused approaches within English language instruction, ensuring that students are equipped with the multifaceted abilities necessary for success in the contemporary global landscape. The study's findings demonstrate that students who actively engage with educational apps, create stories for children, and deliver presentations in English experience notable improvements in their language skills. These activities appear to create an immersive learning environment, enhancing vocabulary, grammar, and overall language proficiency. The skills acquired through these activities extend beyond language proficiency. The ability to create engaging presentations, tell compelling stories, prepare teaching materials and crafts and navigate educational apps prepares students for the demands of the digital age and for their future career. These transferable skills are crucial in a world where effective communication and adaptability are highly valued.

References

- Bates, A.W. (2019). *Teaching in a Digital Age – Second Edition*. Vancouver, B.C.: Tony Bates Associates Ltd. Retrieved from <https://pressbooks.bccampus.ca/teachinginadigitalagev2>
- Hutchinson, T., & Waters, A. (1987). *English for Specific Purposes, a Learning-Centered Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511733031>
- Jordan, R. R. (1997). *English for Academic Purposes: A Guide and Resource Book for Teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lorenzo, F. (2005). *Teaching English for Specific Purposes*. Retrieved from <https://www.usingenglish.com/articles/teaching-english-for-specific-purposes-esp.html>
- P21. (2015). *Framework for 21st Century Learning*. The Partnership for 21st Century Skills. <http://www.p21.org/about-us/p21-framework>
- Prensky, M. (2001). "Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants Part 1". *On the Horizon*, 9(5), 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1108/10748120110424816>
- Tapscott, D. (2008). *Grown Up Digital: How the Net Generation is Changing Your World*. McGraw-Hill.

Assoc. Prof. Alina Nicoleta Pădurean is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Social Sciences within the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Aurel Vlaicu University, Arad, Romania. She graduated the Faculty of Letters, Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca and holds a PhD in Philology. Her main areas of interest are sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and the branches of foreign language teaching. (alina.padurean@uav.ro)

ChatGPT: a Boon or a Bane for ELT (Writing Skills)?

Adrian Ciupe

The recent advent of ChatGPT has sparked considerable controversy around its possible uses in academia and education establishments in general around the world. While some educators have voiced concern over fears of plagiarism, others are in awe and enthused by how AI could become an invaluable learning tool. This article attempts to strike a balance between these attitudes from the point of view of ELT, with an illustration of how ChatGPT may aid learning and testing writing skills (argumentative essay).

AI; ChatGPT; ELT; essay; testing.

It is already common knowledge that ever since it became available to the general public as a *freemium* service back in November 2022, ChatGPT (OpenAI, n.d.) has been fuelling a lot of controversy, given its potentially disruptive effects that challenge the *status quo* of society in general, as well as traditional working and learning paradigms in particular. If in the case of business and working many people have started to fear the very existence of their jobs and professions, many of these possibly being supplanted by chatbots in the near future, in education in general and in the academic world in particular, stakeholders are becoming increasingly apprehensive of how AI can ‘short-circuit’ the entire learning process. The main questions arising are: (1) ‘What value (if any) can AI-aided learning produce?’ and (2) ‘How to uphold ethics in relation to AI-generated final products (e.g. student essays)?’ If question (1) requires a much longer time to answer, as it is now too early to form an overall picture of the consequences of learning within this new paradigm, question (2) is much more immediate in its relevance, as it conveys the idea of *threat* to basic ethical standards through the threat of potentially rampant plagiarism.

Noam Chomsky himself regards using AI / ChatGPT as nothing else but ‘high-tech plagiarism’ and downright irrelevant as a learning tool (Marshall, 2023). It is true, indeed, that this constitutes an absolutely legitimate concern: instead of producing a personal, original academic essay for example, students can easily generate a finished product in a matter of seconds by using ChatGPT, presenting it as their own work. However, I would argue that this is clearly the case *only* within the traditional learning paradigm, largely based on *deduction*: students are first expected to learn the rules and conditions of essay writing, then do their research and finally, painstakingly produce / create the finished product (e.g.

an academic essay). As I will be showing later on in this article, by substituting *induction* for *deduction*, a solution to this problem (i.e. plagiarism) can become possible: instead of asking students to produce a piece of writing (e.g. an academic essay) from scratch – and thus suspect plagiarism through the use of AI – teachers and examiners could start *in reverse*, from the finished product (i.e. the essay itself) down to its constitutive elements, through a process of ‘*reverse-engineering*’. This brings me to the point of the present article: ChatGPT and ELT (argumentative essay writing).

By ‘*reverse-engineering*’ in this case I mean that language teachers / examiners could start from an already existing ChatGPT-generated (argumentative) essay in order to provide subsequent learning or testing tasks. An important specification becomes crucial at this stage: an argumentative essay, as understood in ELT, is *not the same as* an academic essay! While the latter explores and produces desirably exact and rigorous content based on previous research, the former is an exercise in language ability; in other words, for the purposes of my rationale here, an argumentative essay is *one of many ways* in which language educators can teach and test students’ writing skills in a foreign language. From this point of view, an argumentative essay is about demonstrating language proficiency through the degree of linguistic accuracy in relation to a logical, polarising topic, e.g. ‘*Would you like to freelance or work in a company?*’. It is obvious that within this framework, an argumentative essay (c.f. ELT) is much different from an academic (c.f. research) essay.

Consequently, the threat of possible plagiarism posed by using ChatGPT should be interpreted differently; the situation that I have in mind here is an examination setting in which students would need to write an argumentative essay, on the spot, in response to a question like the one above, within a time limit of, say, 30-40 minutes, under invigilation; students would then hand in their essays to be marked. The possibility of plagiarism under such circumstances arises from students potentially making fraudulent use of mobile phones (c.f. easy ChatGPT access) during such an examination in order to quickly generate an essay in response to the question given, which they could manually copy on to their answer sheets in handwritten form.

In what follows, I will be illustrating how the aforementioned ‘*reverse-engineering*’ / *inductive* process could work in practice, by starting backwards, from the *output* itself (the finished product / essay). Two examples will be provided, starting from the same ChatGPT-generated argumentative essay, based on the following prompt: ‘*Using your own arguments and examples, write an essay in response to the following question: ‘Would you like to freelance or work in a company?’ The essay must be between 250 and 300 words*’. The two illustrations that follow could be used either for teaching or for testing purposes – comments are made in the next section.

Example (1): (guided) writing / range of language structures

In order to teach or test students' ability to use (/ identify) a level-graded range of language structures (grammar and vocabulary) in a piece of writing such as an argumentative essay, teachers / examiners can first generate an essay using ChatGPT, which they subsequently transform into a gapped text practising or testing performance when dealing with a range of language problems.

For direction (A) below, students will demonstrate ability in using:

- all categories of pronouns, including possessives;
- determiners and quantifiers;
- definite / indefinite articles;
- auxiliary verbs;
- conjunctions;
- (dependent) prepositions;
- any compulsory element of a fixed phrase.

For direction (B) below, students will demonstrate ability in using:

- only prefixes;
- only suffixes;
- both prefixes and suffixes;
- more difficult derivatives (e.g. STRONG > strength, SOLVE > solution etc.).

For direction (C) below, students will demonstrate ability in using:

- semifixed expressions (collocations);
- fixed expressions (phrasal verbs, idioms, prepositional phrases);
- confusable words.

Directions for students: read the following essay in response to the question: '*Would you like to freelance or work in a company?*' Fill in each blank with ONE word, as explained below:

- A. for only a blank space, fill in with a word that best fits the context;
- B. for a blank space followed by a word in CAPITALS, change that word to form one that best fits the context;
- C. for a blank space followed by a few word options in CAPITALS, choose the option that best fits the context (you do not have to change the word form).

The essay:

01 ____ choice between freelancing and working for a company is 02 ____ decision that can 03 ____ SIGNIFY shape one's career and lifestyle. 04 ____ options offer unique advantages and drawbacks, and the decision ultimately depends on an individual's goals, 05 ____ PREFER, and circumstances.

Freelancing, for many, represents the 06 ____ ALLURE / EXAMPLE / INTENTION / TEMPTING of freedom and autonomy. 07 ____ a freelance professional, you have the flexibility to choose your projects, set 08 ____ working hours, and work 09 ____ anywhere with an internet connection. This independence can be particularly appealing for those seeking a better work-life balance or those with creative or 10 ____ ENTREPRENEUR aspirations. For instance, a graphic designer may prefer freelancing to explore diverse projects and showcase their creative flair.

11 ____, freelancing can offer financial benefits. Freelancers can often command higher hourly rates or project fees compared to salaried 12 ____ EMPLOY, given their specialized skills and the absence of overhead costs for employers. 13 ____ can result in a potentially higher income, especially for experienced professionals in fields 14 ____ software development or copywriting.

On 15 ____ other hand, working for a company has 16 ____ own set of merits. Company employees benefit from a stable income, job 17 ____ SECURE, and access to employee benefits such as health insurance, pension schemes, and paid leave. Companies often provide structured career development paths and opportunities for skill 18 ____ ENHANCE, which can be valuable for those looking to 19 ____ ELEVATE / LIFT / CLIMB / UPLIFT the corporate ladder.

20 ____ addition, company employment fosters a sense of belonging and camaraderie 21 ____ colleagues. Teamwork and collaboration are integral to many company cultures, which can 22 ____ personally fulfilling and professionally 23 ____ RICH. Furthermore, companies often provide a structured work environment 24 ____ can enhance productivity and discipline.

25 ____ conclusion, the choice between freelancing and working for a company is a subjective 26 _____. Freelancing offers autonomy, 27 ____ DIVERSE, and potential financial gains, but it can be 28 ____ COMPANY by uncertainty and the need for self-discipline. On the other 29 ____, company employment provides stability, benefits, and a supportive work environment 30 ____ may come with less flexibility. Ultimately, the decision should align with one's career goals and lifestyle preferences.

Answers:

- 01 *The*
- 02 *a*
- 03 *significantly*
- 04 *Both*
- 05 *preferences*
- 06 *allure*
- 07 *As / Being / Becoming*
- 08 *your*
- 09 *from*
- 10 *entrepreneurial*
- 11 *Moreover / Besides / Additionally*
- 12 *employees*
- 13 *This*
- 14 *like*
- 15 *the*
- 16 *its*
- 17 *security*
- 18 *enhancement*
- 19 *climb*
- 20 *In*
- 21 *among*
- 22 *be*
- 23 *enriching*
- 24 *which / that*
- 25 *In*
- 26 *one*
- 27 *diversity*
- 28 *accompanied*
- 29 *hand*
- 30 *but*

Example (2): (guided) writing / integrated reading and writing

Another such use of ChatGPT is the possibility of teaching and testing (guided) writing by integrating reading and writing skills. This basically combines comprehension of a global and particular context (essay > paragraph) and production of adequate output (one or more paragraphs, c.f. writing) based on this particular comprehension (c.f. reading). Again, in the case of an argumentative essay, teachers / examiners can first

generate an essay using ChatGPT, from which they subsequently remove 1 or 2 or 3 etc. paragraphs; students will have to supply the missing paragraph(s) by writing a number of words as specified by the teacher / examiner. It is obvious that teachers / examiners have the freedom to decide, based on necessity, how many and which paragraph(s) students must supply as answers. This could be a very useful way of testing together both reading skills (i.e. how students comprehend given information) and writing skills (i.e. how students use that initial comprehension to generate logical output adapted to the purpose / style / audience etc. required) within one single task. In the following example, the same essay as above is used as an illustration.

Directions for students: read the following essay in response to the question: 'Would you like to freelance or work in a company?' Based on the general context, supply the missing paragraphs according to the directions in brackets.

The essay:

PARAGRAPH 1 (INTRODUCTION)

The choice between freelancing and working for a company is a decision that can significantly shape one's career and lifestyle. Both options offer unique advantages and drawbacks, and the decision ultimately depends on an individual's goals, preferences, and circumstances.

PARAGRAPH 2

[____ Missing paragraph; write between 50 and 70 words as a logical paragraph. ____]

PARAGRAPH 3

Moreover, freelancing can offer financial benefits. Freelancers can often command higher hourly rates or project fees compared to salaried employees, given their specialized skills and the absence of overhead costs for employers. This can result in a potentially higher income, especially for experienced professionals in fields like software development or copywriting.

PARAGRAPH 4

On the other hand, working for a company has its own set of merits. Company employees benefit from a stable income, job security, and access to employee benefits such as health insurance, pension schemes, and paid leave. Companies often provide structured career development paths and opportunities for skill enhancement, which can be valuable for those looking to climb the corporate ladder.

PARAGRAPH 5

In addition, company employment fosters a sense of belonging and camaraderie among colleagues. Teamwork and collaboration are integral to many company cultures, which can be personally fulfilling and professionally enriching. Furthermore, companies often provide a structured work environment that can enhance productivity and discipline.

PARAGRAPH 6 [CONCLUSION]

[____ Missing paragraph; write between 50 and 70 words as a logical paragraph. ____]

Model answers:

PARAGRAPH 2

Freelancing, for many, represents the allure of freedom and autonomy. As a freelance professional, you have the flexibility to choose your projects, set your working hours, and work from anywhere with an internet connection. This independence can be particularly appealing for those seeking a better work-life balance or those with creative or entrepreneurial aspirations. For instance, a graphic designer may prefer freelancing to explore diverse projects and showcase their creative flair.

PARAGRAPH 6 [CONCLUSION]

In conclusion, the choice between freelancing and working for a company is a subjective one. Freelancing offers autonomy, diversity, and potential financial gains, but it can be accompanied by uncertainty and the need for self-discipline. On the other hand, company employment provides stability, benefits, and a supportive work environment but may come with less flexibility. Ultimately, the decision should align with one's career goals and lifestyle preferences.

As a final note here, for testing purposes, teachers / examiners could decide whether to use two ChatGPT-generated essays (on two different topics) if they want to test both the range of language structures in writing and also, reading integrated with writing, or just one essay in order to test either the range of language structures or reading integrated with writing. Obviously, both types of task offer a great amount of freedom in choosing what structures to test, how many and how complex, as well as which paragraphs, how long, how complex etc.

Learning value

Traditional language teaching / learning has been based on a causative sequence of processes: teachers explain the rules > students practise applying them > students produce an output > teachers assess the output. Differently put, the traditional paradigm has been 'Present-Practise-Produce' (Lewis, 2000, p. 177). Extrapolating from the principles of the Lexical Approach, starting from the finished product (i.e. ChatGPT-generated essay) and going back (c.f. '*reverse-engineering*') to its constitutive logic and form through tasks like the ones exemplified above, a new paradigm could become the future of language teaching and learning: 'Observe-Hypothesise-Experiment' (Lewis, 2000, pp. 177-180): the output (c.f. the finished essay) justifies the input (c.f. the tasks based on *induction* / '*reverse-engineering*'). Granted that 'the ultimate purpose of input is learner output' (Lewis, 2000, p. 180), I would argue that as long as the output could be considered *a given*, as a ChatGPT-generated text / essay, the focus is shifted on to the input, i.e. the suggested tasks above, towards the already existing output. In other words, by being able to solve tasks like the ones illustrated above, students could still provide clear proof of their level-graded language ability, both in terms of reception (i.e. understanding the general context of a given essay) and production (i.e. 'filling in the gaps' with the missing constitutive parts of a given essay).

Within the above framework, the traditional input-output relationship is inverted: the taught / learnt / tested input becomes the output (i.e. measurable student performance). The learning value remains the same as in the traditional paradigm ('Present-Practise-Produce'), albeit achieved in reverse, by *induction*.

Another practical learning value can be derived from the ease of access to a vast amount of possible output: essays (or any *other* kinds of ELT-oriented pieces of writing) can be instantly produced (ChatGPT-generated) on a large variety of topics in order to subsequently serve as a basis for understanding, exploring and processing language through '*reverse-engineering*', something that traditional ELT books cannot provide substantially. Naturally, this leads to a change in the teacher's role – extrapolating again from the tenets of the Lexical Approach: the teacher becomes a 'learning manager', as 'a primary aim of teaching must be to raise the students' awareness of their responsibility for, and power over, their learning' (Woolard, 2000, p. 46). In effect, this amounts to *embracing* AI / ChatGPT in language teaching / learning / testing, rather than banning it. In doing so, teachers not only acknowledge the existence of ChatGPT-like services, but can also encourage their students to make the most of them through transparent training in class (c.f. prompt-engineering); as a result, the teacher's role becomes more and more that of facilitating learning (Woolard, 2000, p. 36).

Test security

In terms of test security, this could be an issue or a non-issue, depending on how language teachers / examiners relate themselves to (students using) ChatGPT; three logical approaches to ChatGPT can be derived from the existing controversy over the threat of plagiarism:

(1) *Ignoring it*: this scenario functions as an *open secret*; both teachers and students know that ChatGPT exists and is freely available / accessible, but neither will acknowledge this; on the one hand, teachers would not like to 'give students ideas' and, on the other hand, students would not want to 'blow their cover' by bringing it up. Obviously, this attitude would be totally unrealistic and untenable, on both sides – burying one's head in the sand will not solve the problem.

(2) *Policing it*: such an approach suggests that both teachers (examiners) and students acknowledge the existence of and free ready access to ChatGPT; teachers (examiners), however, make a deliberate point of cautioning students against using ChatGPT, especially in examination settings, with punitive measures in place in case of unauthorised use (i.e. cheating by using ChatGPT in exams). Incidentally, this currently appears to be the main 'bone of contention' in the controversy over AI in academia.

(3) *Embracing it*: in this case, both teachers (examiners) and students not only acknowledge the existence and free availability of ChatGPT, but this AI service is also promoted as a viable learning tool; teachers devote ample class time to training students in using ChatGPT (prompt-engineering) effectively towards performance success in exams and also in further professional endeavours (i.e. students' future professions in which they would have to *produce text*, in one form or another). It can also be an honest and transparent way of empowering students through language analysis and awareness.

Point (3) above is basically the underlying message of this entire article. Not only that it justifies the illustrations given in the previous section, but it also renders point (2) above unnecessary – i.e. *policing it* becomes useless, as ChatGPT is openly assumed as a valuable tool in language acquisition, serving both teaching / learning and testing purposes, albeit in a new, modern paradigm that could also do justice to technological progress.

Conclusion

It goes without saying that the adoption of new technologies can be problematic at first. Less than one year from its inception, the use of ChatGPT in learning / academic establishments has been surrounded by controversy that still rages on. A lot of things will need to be done towards a concrete and final stance on the part of teachers and academics – we are now practically witnessing one of the greatest paradigm shifts in education.

As an early adopter, I have chosen to *embrace* the inevitable: AI is here to stay and artificially or anachronistically denying technological progress would be totally unwise, in my

opinion. Let us not forget that intellectual evolution has already offered plenty of such precedents: from typewriters we have evolved to PCs and the Internet, from physical archives and libraries to digital ones, from snail mail to email; we have got used to Google and Wikipedia as household names; in the blink of an eye we can look up words and facts using digital / online interfaces rather than paper-based dictionaries and encyclopaedias.

ChatGPT is nothing else but one more instance of humanity's intellectual evolution. Admittedly, ChatGPT is an extremely *powerful* embodiment of this evolution in that it can promise desired results in a 'fast and furious' manner, unrivalled so far. As educators in general and language instructors in particular (or 'learning managers', c.f. above), it is up to us to come up with the best strategies and decisions apt to empower students in their learning endeavours. Finally, ChatGPT is a *tool* already in use – among many other (learning) *tools* that have gradually come into being; besides, in most cases, students belong to at least one generation ahead of us, teachers.

Ultimately, finding '*proper*' ways to reconcile educational tradition and educational progress through technological advancements is, obviously, *work in progress*.

References

- Lewis, M. (2000). Learning in the lexical approach. In M. Lewis (Ed.), *Teaching collocation. Further developments in the lexical approach* (pp. 155-185). Boston: Thomson Heinle.
- Marshall, C. (2023). *Noam Chomsky on ChatGPT: It's "Basically High-Tech Plagiarism" and "a Way of Avoiding Learning"*. In Open Culture. Retrieved from <https://www.openculture.com/2023/02/noam-chomsky-on-chatgpt.html>
- OpenAI. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://openai.com>
- Woolard, G. (2000). Collocation – encouraging learner independence. In M. Lewis (Ed.), *Teaching collocation. Further developments in the lexical approach* (pp. 28-46). Boston: Thomson Heinle.

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

Assessing Moroccan EFL Students' Perceived Learning Experience during Covid-19 Pandemic

Said Oussou
Btissam Taybi

As part of its efforts to cope with the period of forced confinement caused by the emergence of COVID-19 pandemic, the ministry of education has called for the shift to hybrid teaching and learning. Indeed, in an answer to the call of the ministry, the Moroccan universities rushed into suggesting several available platforms through which students and teachers can interact. As such, the present study aims at investigating the extent to which EFL Moroccan students use these platforms and how they perceive their online learning experience during the confinement with respect to the platforms used. A quantitative research design underpinned the study. Thus, based on their convenience, a sample of 145 EFL students completed questionnaires distributed to them using Google forms. SPSS was used to analyze the data. Drawing from the findings, online tools that received higher frequency of use by students were WhatsApp, Facebook and Zoom. Findings also showed that a significant number of the students were not satisfied with the interaction run through these tools. Finally, implications and recommendations were discussed.

COVID-19; distance learning; EFL students; ICTs; interaction; perceptions.

Introduction

Today's society is characterized by changing winds and shifting sands. Societies throughout history have gone through drastic changes that reshaped many practices. Indeed, the world has witnessed another unexpected change, bringing about lockdowns in most of the countries. One such change that forced people into new ways of life has been, at least for a period of time, Covid-19 pandemic, which has influenced many fields such as economy, tourism, and education is no exception. Education cannot be dispatched from what goes around the environment. In this respect, information and communication technology (ICT) has come to play, as it did before, a crucial role to bring classrooms home for teachers and students to resume their teaching and learning processes. According to Kear et al. (2004), ICT has three main uses, each of which supports distance

learning. The first use is related to its nature as a resource-based approach, which supports learners with a wide variety of materials. The second function lies in its potential to enhance an active approach to learning. The third one is to involve and, hence, promote learners' active participation in virtual environments.

As part of its efforts to cope with the period of forced confinement caused by the emergence of COVID-19 pandemic, the ministry of education has called for the shift to distance learning. Indeed, in an answer to the call of the ministry, the Moroccan universities have rushed into suggesting several available platforms through which students and teachers can interact. For example, some universities used Moodle, others used Zoom, yet still others resorted to other various e-learning platforms. Worth noting also is that teachers provided live streaming of the modules, video conferencing, and others opted for recorded videos to be later sent to their students, either via WhatsApp, Facebook, or email. This has made it possible for the learner to continue his/her academic training and learning off the campus.

The purpose statement

For the present study, the focus was on the Moroccan EFL students' experiences with the use of the broad range of ICT tools such as zoom, adobe connect, Google teams, Google meet, among others that were mostly adopted by the Moroccan institution during Covid-19. It also seeks to investigate the satisfaction level of students with distance learning during that period.

The research questions

The present study purports to answer the following two research questions:

To what extent do Moroccan EFL students use online tools during the pandemic?

How was their satisfaction with the quality of interaction provided by these tools?

The Literature Review

1. Distance learning: brief history

Distance learning has taken a number of shapes as technology advances over the years. Before the internet, videotaped lectures have been the normal for some years (Moore & Lockee, 1998, as cited in Valentine, 2002). Also, audiotapes and ready-made lectures have been made use of (Teaster & Blieszner, 1999). The tools of delivery in distance learning in its early beginnings took forms of basic print-based courses (Banas & Emory, 1998). As the internet evolved and continues to evolve, distance learning has also taken new forms embraced through a variety of internet-based technological tools (Dickson-Deane, Moore & Galyen, 2010; Galushi, 1998).

2. Definition and characteristics

Distance learning, also known as online learning or e-learning, refers to a form of education where students can learn remotely without physically attending a traditional classroom setting. Moore (1990) defines it as “all deliberate and planned learning that is directed or facilitated in a structured manner by an instructor ... separated in space and/or in time from the learners” (as cited in James & Gardner, 1995, p.23). It can also be defined as “improved capabilities in knowledge and/or behaviors as a result of mediated experiences that are constrained by time and/or distance such that the learner does not share the same situation with what is being learned” (King, Young, Richmond & Schrader, 2004, p.9). Distance learning has become increasingly popular in recent years, especially with the widespread availability of the internet and advancements in technology. It can take various forms, such as live virtual classes, pre-recorded lectures, interactive quizzes and assessments, discussion forums, and online group projects. It allows students to access educational materials and communicate with their teachers and peers from any location and at any time, as long as they have an internet connection.

Berg and Simonson (n.d.) outlined four characteristics distinguishing distance learning. These three characteristics can be fused into three. First, distance learning is institutional. That is, it is more than just a self-study or out of class learning. Second, this mode of education inherently geographically separates students and teachers. If designed well, this mode may lessen the gap among the different social classes that students belong to, an important advantage of distance learning. Third, the telecommunications used in distance learning connect different individuals within groups of learning. These learning groups form communities composed of students, teachers and instructional resources.

3. Benefits and challenges

One of the significant benefits of distance learning is its flexibility. Students can learn at their own pace and on their schedule, which is especially useful for those who have other responsibilities, such as work or family obligations. Distance learning can also be more cost-effective than traditional classroom learning, as students do not need to pay for transportation, accommodation, or other expenses associated with attending a physical school. However, distance learning also has its challenges. One of the biggest concerns is the lack of face-to-face interaction with teachers and peers, which can make it more difficult for students to receive immediate feedback and clarification on complex topics. It may also require more self-discipline, autonomy and motivation, as students need to take responsibility for their own learning and time management.

According to Galusha (1998), distance learning is deemed effective especially for adult learners. With respect to the rationale of distance learning, Moore (1973) argues that effective teaching and learning is that which does not restrict itself to the in-class-teaching, but that which brings the teacher and the learner to the teaching and learning process without involving their physical presence (as cited in Galusha, 1998). This being

said, distance learning involves a more collaborative effort from the part of both the student and the teacher with no time or space-bound.

In the same line of thought, the proliferation of modern technology has provided a rich source of knowledge for both learners and teachers alike. Indeed, modern technology has made a wide range of resources accessible for students, which thus help distance learning grow more than ever (Akinsanmi, 2005; Cornu, 2010; Cuban, 2001; Davis, 2005; Galusha, 1998; Kumar & Pasricha, 2014). Given these affordances of technology, distance learning has provided opportunities for learners to learn whenever and wherever they desire as the process of learning does not only take place in class, but it also exists outside the walls of the classroom. Equally important, according to Beatty (2010), technology helps learners develop their autonomy; a principle that is considered the goal of education (Benson 2011; Nunan, 2003; Ouakrime, 1998; Pawlak, 2017).

4. Distance learning during Covid-19 pandemic

Distance learning became a popular alternative to traditional in-person learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. With schools and universities closed or operating with limited capacity to prevent the spread of the virus, many institutions quickly transitioned to distance learning to continue providing education to their students. Distance learning during the COVID-19 pandemic presented several challenges for both teachers and students. One of the biggest challenges was the lack of face-to-face interaction, and lack of learner autonomy exacerbated the challenge. This is because distance learning presupposes that students are autonomous so that they can navigate through their learning more independently. In fact, in a study by Oussou (2020), there is a significant correlation between the use of ICTs and learner autonomy. Additionally, not all students had access to the necessary technology or reliable internet connection to participate in online learning, which created disparities in access to education.

Despite these challenges, distance learning also had some benefits. For example, it allowed for greater flexibility in scheduling and the ability to access course materials from anywhere with an internet connection. It also provided an opportunity for educators to experiment with new teaching methods and technologies that they may not have used in a traditional classroom setting. As technology continues to advance, it is likely that distance learning will become even more prevalent and accessible, providing even more opportunities for people to learn and grow from anywhere in the world. Overall, distance learning during the COVID-19 pandemic has demonstrated the importance of adaptable education systems that can respond quickly to changing circumstances. While in-person learning will likely remain the preferred method of education for many, distance learning has become a valuable alternative that can help ensure access to education even in challenging times.

5. Types of distance learning: asynchronous and synchronous modes

A debate has taken place on asynchronous and synchronous forms of e-learning. Asynchronous e-learning, according to Hrastinski (2008), is a type of e-learning which does not allow for people to be online on an instant basis. It is arranged through a type of media such as email as the most commonly used facilitating tool. This tool helps teachers and learners stay in contact even beyond the classroom walls. Indeed, asynchronous e-learning allows learners to check their materials at any time after they have been uploaded by their teachers (Dada, Alkali, & Oyewola, 2019). This way makes it possible for learners to go back and download the documents they need. Also, they are given more time to think about the assignments or read their readings unlike the case with synchronous e-learning.

Synchronous e-learning is this media which allows learners and teachers to be online at the same time (Misbah, Ghulam, Abid & Sarwar, 2017). It is manifested in media such as chat and videoconferencing, which was widely used at the time of the confinement. Amity (2020) argues that this type of e-learning makes learners as participants in a community rather than isolated learners remaining silent before the computer. In other words, synchronous e-learning supports learners to ask questions to their teachers online, which makes it more or less like the case in in-class courses. Among some commonly used tools as types of synchronous e-learning in distance learning are instant messaging tools. These include Yahoo Messenger, Skype, and Windows Live Messenger (Safei, Amin, Rose & Abdul Rahman, 2011).

While some differences have been drawn between asynchronous and synchronous e-learning, it should not mean that one type is more favourable than the other or that one of them should be used at the expense of the other. Rather, a combination of both serves different purposes at different occasions. Therefore, instead of praising one over the other, the use of one form over another at a time should explain the purpose behind using it at that particular occasion. After all, there is no clear-cut distinction between both types. It is rather a matter of degrees.

Methodology

The present study followed the procedures of a quantitative approach to research design. Employing this approach means dealing with numeric data rather than theme-based analysis. One of the benefits of adopting the quantitative approach in a given study is that it allows for large samples from the population (Bryman, 2012), which indeed applies to this study.

1. Context and participants

This study targeted all the universities across the country. That is, students from different universities had the opportunity to take part in this study since it deployed an online survey. The resulting sample consisted of 145 university EFL students. In terms of

the gender of the participants, they were 71 males (49%) and 74 females (51%). Concerning their age, they formed three groups between 17 and 21 years old, between 22 and 26, and 27 or above. The first age group represented 43.4% of the sample, the second group was 45.5%, and the last one was 11%. Clearly, the dominant group was one that varies between 22-26 years old, followed by the 17-21 group, and finally the 27 or above group. With regard to their BA semester, three semesters were included, with semester six being the most frequent one (84 students, 57.9%), followed by semester four (35 students, 24.1%), and the lowest frequent being semester two (26 students, 17.9%).

2. Data collection instrument

To collect the data, the questionnaire as an instrument was employed. The questionnaire used a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5, in which Disagree = 1, Strongly disagree = 2, Neutral = 3, Agree = 4, and Strongly agree = 5. Also, some of the items in the survey included Yes/No questions. The choice of these two types of scales was highly based on the type of questions. Since the validity of the results depends on the data collected and the instrument used, the items in the questionnaire were all devised meticulously consulting the related specialized literature. Another important aspect that contributes to the trustworthiness of the results is the reliability criterion. For this, the internal consistency of the instrument, following Bryman (2012) and Leowen and Plonsky (2016), was measured using Cronbach's Alpha and was found to reach .85, which is, according to Bryman (2012) and Dornyei and Taguchi (2010), a highly acceptable level.

3. Data analysis procedures

Having been collected, the data was then analyzed using SPSS version 23'. Mainly, scale item analysis procedure for students' perceptions of their experience of distance learning was followed. The analysis was primarily descriptive in accordance with the research questions raised in this study. The description of the results followed item by item process so that a thorough analysis could be reached. Below are therefore the results of the present study.

Results

This section presents the results of the data collected in the present study. It uses tables displaying the frequency percentages corresponding to each item in the questionnaire. For consistency purposes, the section starts with the analysis of the questions concerning demographic characteristics pertaining to the participants, namely their gender, age and their BA semester. The section will then present the results pertaining to the research questions of the study to describe the students' levels of use, satisfaction, and perceived usefulness of distance learning during the Covid-19 period.

The following tables are presented to illicit EFL students' perceptions of their experience with distance learning during the response to the COVID-19 emergency.

Table 1
Students' perceptions of their experience.

	Items	SD %	D %	N %	A %	SA %
1	Engaging in online learning is beneficial	6.2	17.9	25.5	42.1	8.3
2	Online tools offer me an opportunity to interact with my teachers and ask them questions	4.1	19.3	27.6	40.7	8.3
3	Learning English online is convenient for me	5.2	20.3	31.7	31.7	11
4	I am satisfied with online learning	9	22.1	26.2	35.9	6.9
5	learning English online suits my learning styles	11.3	25.5	24.6	27.6	11
6	I get more learning materials through e-learning	7	27.5	29.7	30.3	5.5
7	I feel more independent learning online	23.4	24.8	18.6	22.8	10.3
Note: (SD) = strongly disagree, (D) = disagree, (N) = neutral, (A) = agree, and (SA) = strongly agree.						

The results presented in table 4 indicate that EFL students are not that engaged in distance learning. Half of the participants agree (44.1%) or strongly agree (6.3%) that engaging in online learning is beneficial, with an insignificant number of respondents disagreeing (17.9%) or strongly disagreeing (6.2%) with the item, yet almost a third of the participants (25.5%) remained neutral. For the second item, almost half of the participants agree (40.7%) or strongly agree (8.3%) that online tools offer them an opportunity to interact with their teachers. Only an insignificant number disagree (19.3%) or strongly disagree (4.2%) with the item. Concerning item number three, a quite significant number of students agree (31.7%) or strongly agree (11%) that learning English online is convenient for them, whereas 20.3% and 5.2% agree or strongly disagree, respectively, with the item.

Additionally, results of item 4 presents that less than half of the participants agree (35.9%) or strongly agree (6.9%) that they are satisfied with online learning. Only one third of the respondents agree (27.6%) or strongly agree (11%) that learning English online suits their learning styles, yet others disagree (25.5%) or strongly disagree (11.3%) with the item. Concerning the provision of learning materials through e-learning, a third of the respondents agree (30.3%) or strongly agree (5.5%) with the statement, which is almost equal to the number of students who disagree (27.5%) or strongly disagree (7%). Similarly, less than a third of the participants agree (22.8%) or strongly agree (10.3%) that they feel more independent learning online, whereas almost half of the participants

disagree (24.8%) or strongly disagree (23.4%) with the item. The following includes figures presenting results on the online tools used and preferred by the students.

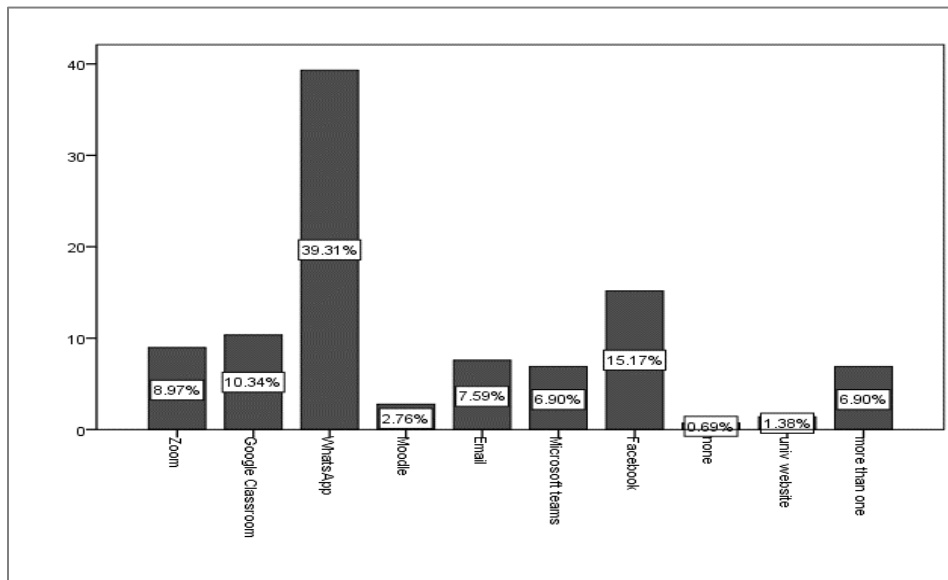


Figure 1. Online tools used by the students.

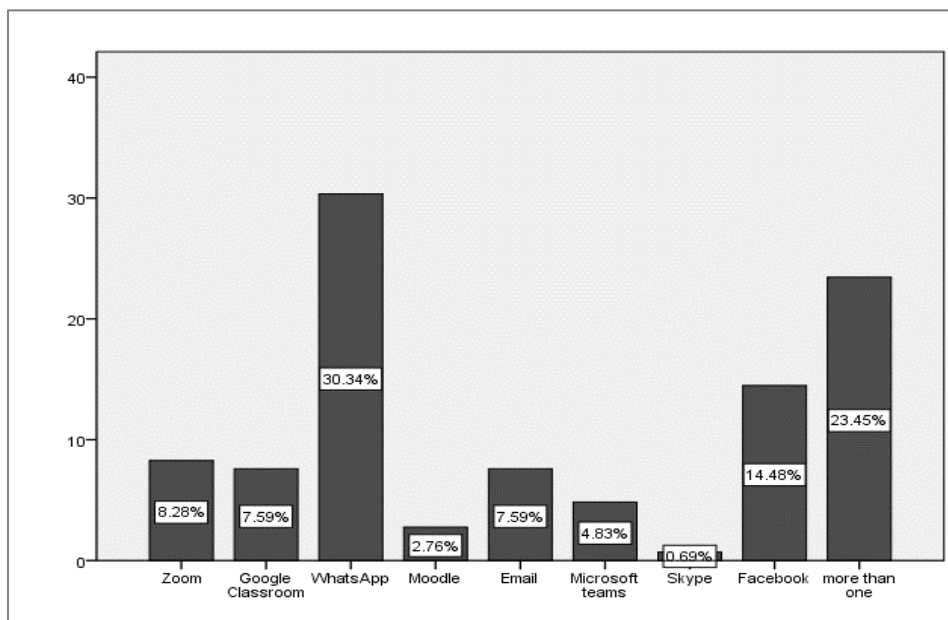


Figure 2. Online tools preferred by the students.

In terms of their use of online tools, they mostly used WhatsApp (39.3%), followed with Facebook which receives the second high frequency of use (15.2%), and others being of only significantly infrequent use such as Google classroom, email, zoom, etc.

In terms of preference of use, they prefer, once again, to use WhatsApp (30.3%) and Facebook (14.5%), which is expected since they use them much more than the other tools. Some respondents (23.4%) prefer more than one tool. The least preferred tool among the other ones is Skype.

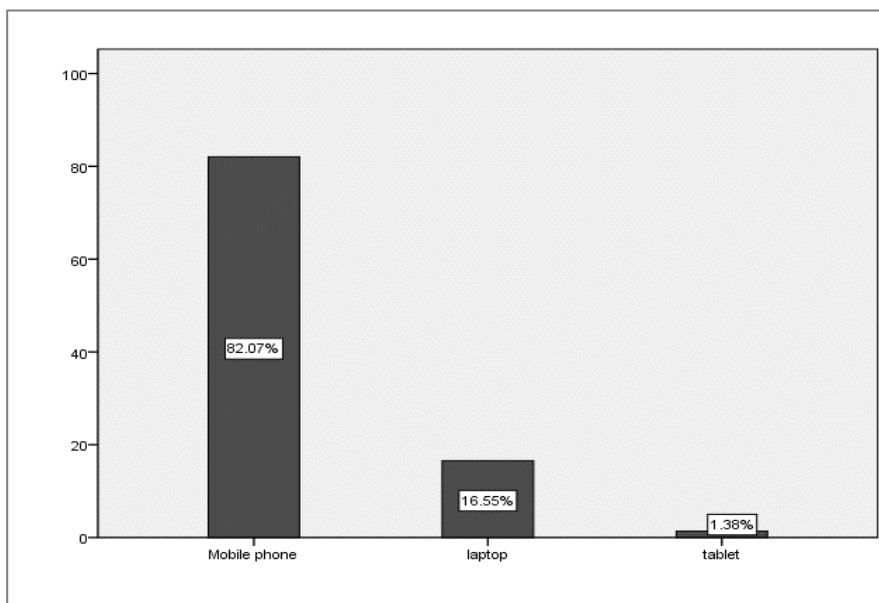


Figure 3. Devices used by the students.

Concerning the devices they use, the majority of the respondents (82.1%) opted for the mobile phone. The second category is laptop which is used by 16.6% of the participants, whereas the tablet is used by a very insignificant number of students (1.38%).

Table 2

Students' perceived usefulness and familiarity with the tools.

Statements	Yes %	No %
Are you already familiar with those tools?	79.3	20.7
Do these tools help you interact with your teachers?	73.8	26.2
Do you think that e-learning allows you to interact more than in the classroom?	20.0	71.7
Do you find it easy to understand the courses online?	28.3	71.7
Are you assigned exercises through online learning tools?	66.9	33.1

As indicated in the table, 79.3% opted for yes and only 20.7% said they were familiar with these tools. Similarly, more than two thirds of the students answered with yes (73.8%) for whether those tools allow them to Interact with their teachers, whereas only 26.2% would state the opposite. Concerning whether there was more interaction in e-learning than in face to face, the majority (80%) said no and only 20% of the respondents opted for a yes option. Another question to which students responded was whether they found it easy to understand the courses online to which 71.7% responded by no and 28.3% answered with yes. Also, two thirds of the respondents (66.9%) said they were assigned exercises through online learning tools.

Discussion

Reflecting on the findings, it is clear that students' experience with online learning is quite contradictory; it is perceived at times as helpful but at other times as not effective, which is understood through their preference of face-to-face instruction as an irreplaceable mode of teaching and learning. Their tendency is more directed towards Whatssap and Facebook as the most used and, hence, preferred social media for their pursuits of learning. Regarding their perceived usefulness of online tools in helping them interact with their teachers, more than 73% of the students reported that these online tools helped them engage in interaction with their teachers. However, when asked to compare between face to face and online learning in terms of interaction, 80% stated that face to face interaction allows them to interact more than does the online mode. Similarly, with respect to understanding the courses online, more than 71% said that they found it difficult to cope with their studies online. These findings suggest that students prefer face-to-face instruction and are comfortable with it.

While most of the students indicated their familiarity with the tools, they were generally less in line with these tools' usefulness especially in terms of the potentiality of offering the students the chance to interact as much as they would in the case of face-to-face instruction. This points to a general lack of readiness for distance learning in Morocco. In relation to their use of the online tools, the present study reveals that they used them to a great extent, a finding which corroborates that of Zidoun, El Arroum, Talea and Dehbi (2020), who found out that the majority of their student respondents made use of the tools. In terms which tools students used, in the present study, Facebook and WhatsApp were the most used. Similarly, in a study conducted by Outoukarte et al. (2023), the same tools were reported to be the most widely used. Also, this study found out that, jointly, only 38.6% of the students agreed that learning online suits their learning styles. This is a striking finding that distance learning during the pandemic did not adress students' ways of learning. This lack of satisfaction may be a result of poor instructional design. This is because "distance learning programs require careful and deliberate instructional design steps" (James & Gardner, 1995, p.27). It means that the technological innovations should be effectively and efficiently tailored to students' needs.

In addition, another finding of the present study was that face-to-face instruction promotes more interaction between students and teachers than distance learning does. This is reiterated in a study by Elfirdaoussi et al. (2020) in which face to face instruction was preferred by both professors and students. In fact, Zouiri and Kinani (2020) found out that 50.42% preferred face to face teaching, 42.05% wanted mixed teaching, and only an insignificant number of students (7.53%) opted for distance learning. Along the same line, other researchers (Ouahabi et al., 2021) found that synchronous learning e.g., videoconferences was found to be used by only 16.7% of the students, whereas the asynchronous type reached 32.7% and the hybrid one was the dominant with a percentage of 50.6%. Concerning the students' satisfaction with these online tools in the present study, less than half of the respondents (42.8%) said that they were satisfied. This is in congruence with the students in the study by Ouahabi et al. (2021) in which almost the same finding was the case (48.8% were satisfied).

Thus, one answer to the first research question is that students used WhatsApp and Facebook more than the other tools. They did so possibly because these were less demanding in terms of the bandwidth of Internet connection as well as its costs. To answer the second research question, the overall level of satisfaction of students with distance learning is moderate. They especially emphasized the fact that face to face instruction is not replaceable, testifying their strong bound to this mode of learning.

Conclusion and recommendations

Overall, students had different attitudes towards different aspects of their online learning experience. Their negative perceptions are expected as the outbreak was unexpected, and everyone moved online without a clear plan to follow. Some students were not even familiar with the tools before they had to move online. Some of the others who were familiar with the tools found it difficult to understand the courses provided online. While the majority considered some online tools as helpful, they were not satisfied with the interaction aspect of learning. Considering, for example, the comparison made between the classroom and online learning in terms of interaction, the vast majority of the students stated that in the former, interaction was promoted more.

Accordingly, the present study recommends that more training with regard to the use of ICTs is needed. Practical ways on how to use technology in and for teaching and learning would contribute to the effective and successful teaching-learning process. Also, teachers are encouraged to promote learner autonomy. By enhancing their autonomous learning, students would be in a better position to self-direct their own learning both inside the classroom and, more importantly, in the virtual environment. The instructional design in distance learning must also be efficient and respondent to students' different learning styles and needs.

Limitations

Certainly, the present study dealt with a topic of interest in the Moroccan context especially with the rise of both global and local tide of investment to enhancing the use of e-learning in education. However, two main limitations can be mentioned. At the theoretical level, there is scarcity of prior studies not only those which investigated the students' experiences of distance learning during Covid-19 but also those beyond that. This scarcity did not allow for more discussion on this topic both in the literature review section as well as in the discussion section. Also, the sample of the present study was based on students, more interesting results would have been yielded if the study included teachers. Methodologically, some form of a qualitative approach such as interviews together with the quantitative tools would also provide richer findings.

References

- Akinsanmi, T. (2005). Encouraging effective and sustainable use of information and communication technologies for promoting education and development. In B. Bracey, & T. Culver (Eds.), *Harnessing the Potential of ICT for education: A multi-stakeholder approach* (pp. 239-252). Dublin: The United Nations Information and Communication Technologies Task Force.
- Amiti, F. (2020). Synchronous and asynchronous e-learning. *European Journal of Open Education and E-learning Studies*, 5(2), 60-70.
- Banas, E. J., & Emory, F. W. (1998). History and issues of distance learning. *Public Administration Quarterly*, 22(3), 365-383.
- Beatty, K. (2010). *Teaching and researching computer-assisted language learning* (2nd ed.). London: Pearson Education Limited.
- Benson, P. (2011). *Teaching and researching autonomy* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Berg, G. A., & Simonson, M. (n.d.). Distance learning. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from www.britannica.com/topic/distance-learning
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Cornu, B. (2010). Digital natives in a knowledge society: New challenges for education and for teachers. *Proceedings of 15th and 16th International Conference of ICT in Teacher Education: Policy, Open Educational Resources and Partnership*. St. Petersburg, Russian Federation.
- Cuban, L. (2001). *Oversold and underused: Computers in the classrooms*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Dada, G. E., Alkali, H. A., & Oyewola, D. O. (2019). An investigation into the effectiveness of asynchronous and synchronous e-learning mode on students' academic performance in National Open University, Maiduguri Centre. *I. J. Modern Education and Computer Science*, 5, 54-64.
- Davis, D. (2005). Connecting the generations: Insights, challenges and opportunities. In B. Bracey, & T. Culver (Eds.), *Harnessing the Potential of ICT for Education: A multi-stakeholder approach* (230-238). Dublin: The United Nations Information and Communication Technologies Task Force.
- Dickson-Deane, C., Moore, J.L., & Galyen, K. (2010). e-Learning, online learning, and distance learning environments: Are they the same? *Internet and Higher Education*, 14, 129-135.
- Dornyei, Z., & Taguchi, T. (2010). *Questionnaires in second language research: Construction, administration, and processing* (2nd ed.). New York, London: Routledge.
- Elfirdousi, S., Lachgar, M., Kabaili, H., Rochdi, A., Goudami, D., & El Firdoussi, L. (2020). Assessing distance learning in higher education during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Education Research International*, 1-13.
- Galusha, J. M. (1998). Barriers to learning in distance education. *Information Analyses*, 1-24.
- Hrastinski, S. (2008). Asynchronous and synchronous e-learning. *Educause quarterly*, 31(4), 51-55.
- James, W. B., & Gardner, D. L. (1995). Learning styles: Implications for distance learning. In *New directions for adult and continuing education* (a review). USA: Jossey-Bass.
- Kear, K., Williams, J., Seaton, R., & Einon, G. (2004). Using information and communication technology in a modular distance learning course. *European Journal of Engineering Education*, 29(1), 17-25.
- King, F. B., Young, M. F., Drivere-Richmond, K., & Schrader, P. G. (2004). Defining distance learning and distance education. *Educational Technology Review*, 1-14.

- Kumar, J., & Pasricha, A. (2014). ICT in education: Enhancing teaching and learning. *An International Scholarly Research Journal for Interdisciplinary Studies*, 2, 935-946.
- Loewen, S., & Plonsky, L. (2016). *An A-Z applied linguistics research methods*. London: Palgrave.
- Misbah, M., Ghulam, F., Abid, H., & Sawar, A. (2017). E-learning: Students' perspectives about asynchronous and synchronous resources at higher education level. *Bulletin of Education and Research*, 39(2), 183-195.
- Nunan, D. (2003). Nine steps to learner autonomy. *Keynote Presentation at the Symposium of the International Association of Teachers of Swedish as a Foreign Language*. Stockholm.
- Ouakrime, M. (1988). The neglected species need some "AIR": Focus on the learner. In A. Zaki, A. Boumoussa, M. Najbi, & S. Mehdi (Eds.), *ELT in Morocco: Directions for the nineties. Proceedings of the eighth National Conference* (pp. 64-68). Rabat, Morocco.
- Ouhabi, S., El Guemmat, K., Azouai, M., & El Filali, S. (2021). A survey of distance learning in Morocco during COVID-19. *Indonesian Journal of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science*, 22(2), 1087-1095.
- Oussou, S. (2020). The effectiveness of EFL students' use of ICT on developing their autonomy. *Journal of Studies in Language, Culture and Society*, 3(1), 89-101.
- Outoukrite, I., Ben Fares, S., Itouni, H., Kaid Rassou, K., & Tahiri, A. (2023). Distance learning in the wake of COVID-19 in Morocco. *Heliyon*, 9, 1-11.
- Pawlac, M. (2017). The role of autonomy in learning and teaching foreign language grammar. In M. Pawlac, A. Mystkowska-Wiertelak, & J. Bielak (Eds.), *Autonomy in second language learning: Managing the resources* (pp. 3-20). Switzerland: Springer.
- Teaster, P. B., & Blieszner, R. (1999). Promises and pitfalls of the interactive television approach to teaching adult development and aging. *Educational Gerontology*, 25(8), 741-753.
- Valentine, D. (2002). Distance learning: Promises, problems, and possibilities. *Online Journal of Distance Learning Administration*, 5(3).
- Zidoun, Y., El Arroum, F., & Dehbi, R. (2016). Students' perception about mobile learning in Morocco: Survey analysis. *International Journal of Interactive Mobile Technologies*, 1-5.
- Zouiri, L., & Kinani, F. E. (2022). An analysis of students' satisfaction with distance learning in Moroccan universities during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Public Administration and Policy*, 25(3), 293-303.

Said Oussou is a Ph.D. student at the Department of English studies and the doctoral center of Applied Linguistics within the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences of Moulay Ismail University, Meknes, Morocco. He also works as a part-time teacher in the same Department. He has participated, moderated sessions and helped organize a number of national and international conferences and is an author of some publications related to his field of interest. In 2017 he studied one semester abroad on an Erasmus scholarship in an exchange between the home University of Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah, Fes, Morocco and the Faculty of Letters, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. His main areas of interest are: Amazigh language and culture, morphology, ICT in education, language learner autonomy, and second language writing. (sa.oussou@edu.umi.ac.ma)

Btissam Taybi is a Ph.D. student. She belongs to the laboratory of Culture, Représentation, Education, Didactique et Ingénierie de Formation (CREDIF) within the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences Dhar El Mahrez of Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fez, Morocco. Her main areas of interest include English language teaching, teacher education, teacher leadership and research in higher education. (btissam.taybi@usmba.ac.ma)

On the Relationship of Moroccan Students' E-Learning Readiness, Perceived Attitudes, and Independent E-Learning during Covid-19 Pandemic Times: a Correlational Study

Bani Koumachi

The current reality of Covid-19 pandemic has strengthened existing disorderly tendencies and crises in higher education. These include digital transformation where online learning and teaching or a combination of the two have become the rule not the exception. This study therefore aims at examining the challenges that Ibn Tofail University (ITU) students have faced during the Covid-19 lockdown with a particular focus on exploring their e-readiness to get adapted to the sudden disruption created by universities transition to e-learning and its correlation with perceived attitudes, and independent e-readiness. One hundred and twenty-six respondents reacted to a semi-structured self-administered questionnaire adapted from literature and which contains sections about e-readiness, perceived attitudes towards e-learning, and independent e-learning. Spearman rank-order correlation tests were performed to assess the correlations between different factors. The results of the study showed that the three main variables: e-readiness, perceived attitudes towards e-learning, and independent e-learning correlate positively and strongly with each other. These results suggest that the level of satisfaction with the model of teaching and learning provided under emergency using technology has enhanced students' e-readiness, attitudes towards e-learning, and independent e-learning. In conclusion, the students are ready for e-Learning despite the modest ICT infrastructure and the stressful circumstances related to the Covid-19 pandemic.

E-readiness; perceived attitudes; independent e-learning; Covid-19 Pandemic.

Introduction

No deny that the fast-increasing technology use has changed how knowledge is being disseminated and how people started perceiving life and education is no exception. In some ways, education does not seem much the same as it has been for many years. The insinuation is to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic crisis on education. Covid-19

pandemic crisis has reshuffled roles and vocations (Carlson 2020; Daniel 2020). The shift in roles, with technology as its firewood, has touched both the role of students as well as that of the teachers. This upheaval obliged schools and universities to adopt the most sophisticated communication technologies as modern ways of imparting knowledge.

Visvizi, Lytras, and Aljohani (2021) stated in this vein that this disruption is provoked by several advantages offered by the affordances of independent e-learning: flexibility of time and space, increase in the quality of learning material, flexible management, possibility of e-assessment, and the increase in costs. The learners are no more constrained by time and place as they can access learning opportunities at any time and in any place. Additionally, material/OERs are of higher quality and flexibility in the sense that they are available and can be scrutinized through web mechanisms as well as against the 21st century higher order skills which the new millennials are supposed to possess. The possibility of e-assessment is also guaranteed through Web-specific tools. E-testing software can be used to assess theoretical knowledge and e-portfolios or simulation software for practical skills (Lazarinis, Green, and Pearson, 2010). Finally, Covid-19 pandemic crisis was a lucrative opportunity for telecommunication operators as well as online trainings agencies. Thus, technology and learning innovation have become decisive determinants shaping education in the Covid-19 pandemic.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

The scale of the continuing novel COVID-19 pandemic is unparalleled in the 21st century as few of the educational institutions worldwide were well prepared for this sudden, disruptive move. A lot of hasty decisions were taken, and uncalculated improvisations were made as academics and students fight to make use of online learning. Starting then from this conviction and to fill the gap of research, the present paper therefore aims at examining the challenges that the students of the school of Languages, Letters, and Arts at Ibn Tofail University (ITU), Kénitra Morocco have faced during the Covid-19 lockdown with a particular focus on exploring their e-readiness to get adapted to the sudden disruption created by the university transition to e-learning and its correlation with perceived attitudes, and independent e-learning.

1.2. Research Questions and Hypotheses

In accordance with the previously stated objectives and consistent with related literature, this study tries to answer the following research questions and confirm or disconfirm subsequent research hypotheses:

RQ1: To what extent does e-readiness relate to students' independent e-learning?

RQ2: Do learners' perceived attitudes have any association with their independent e-learning?

RQ₃: Is there any significant relationship between learners' e-readiness and their perceived attitudes?

RH₁: Students' perceived attitudes is associated with their e-learning readiness.

RH₂: There is a significant relationship between Students' independent e-learning and their e-learning readiness.

RH₃: Students' independent e-learning correlates with their perceived attitudes.

Review of the Literature

Covid-19 pandemic first appeared in the city of Wuhan, China, December 2020. The fast spread of this contagious disease worldwide triggered a global lockdown, social as well as physical distancing measures, and total restrictions on face-to-face teaching and learning (Kapasia, Paul, Roy, Saha, Zaveri, Mallick, Barman, Das, and Chouhan, 2020). Millions of school-going learners have been banned from attending their usual courses and forced into accepting the reality of the virtual. Educational institutions, and tertiary level ones are no exception, found themselves under the obligation to take unprecedented measures to combat such an epidemic. They started instructing teachers into a variety of ways of teaching using various online learning platforms, such as Google Meet, Microsoft Teams, Zoom, to name but a few. The digital revolution in the outbreak of this pandemic has caused radical shifts in higher education systems through online lectures, teleconferencing, OERs use, online examination and assessment, and interaction and affiliation with different CoPs across the virtual globe. This has had an effect on learners in terms of readiness to adopt new technology that supports independent e-learning as well as perceived attitudes towards this disruption of the learning process (Madhusudan 2021).

2.1. E-learning Readiness

E-readiness requires the availability of essential ICT infrastructure and mainly refers to staff's level of capability to use new technological material in various learning environment (Watkins and Triner, 2004 as cited in Elsaadani and Alzahrani, 2018). It similarly "points to critical factors that should be considered in order to get ready for e-learning" (Khan 2005, p.24). Since online learning is Internet-based, the flexibility as well as the distributed nature of the interactivity of the Academic electronic communities of practice (AeCoPs') learning environments are decisive in framing the structure, interaction and learners' autonomy. However, e-readiness stands out among these factors regarding independent e-learning (Moore and Kearsley, 2012). The motivating reason herein is the inability of the developing countries, Morocco is no exception, to detect the major factors behind the minimal adoption of e-learning, and the initial step is to gauge the e-readiness for e-learning from the students' perspective. Investigating the extent to which students are ready for e-learning, especially under the lockdown caused by

COVID-19, shall help in the planning of ICTs resources in higher education institutions, and in discovering strategies students use and fostering those compatible with the new style as well as help boost learning in an effective and efficient way (Park, Roman, Lee, and Chung, 2009). In this vein, and according to Machado (2007), the e-readiness measurement is done by basically assessing the progress of interconnected attributes with indicators that enable in assessing the process or the model.

A plethora of authors studied e-learning readiness in different domains and the focus was more on organizational and educational institutions. In this sense, Akaslan and Law (2011), after having applied their e-learning readiness survey to teachers working in the higher education institutes where they found that the academic staff had confidence and positive attitudes towards e-learning, moved to the study of students' e-readiness. The findings showed that the students had positive attitudes and ready for the e-learning experience; however, they needed more training in e-learning related issues.

Additionally, the study of faculty e-readiness has been through many factors such as "technical skills, access to technology, motivation, attitude, personal characteristics, self-directed learning, online skills, online communication, learner control, and time management" (Gulbahar, 2012; Ilhan & Cetin, 2013; Radiman and Abdullah, 2010; Vinh, 2010; Robert, 2011 as referenced in Elsaadani and Alzahrani, 2018, p.3). Chapnick (2001) also proposed a model of eight types of e-readiness to assess e-learning readiness of organizations, i.e., psychological, sociological, environmental, human resources, financial, logical, equipment, and content (Gaol, Kardy, Taylor, and Li, 2014), whereas Welsh (2002) discusses only three basic types of e-readiness: financial, structural, and cultural (Elsaadani and Alzahrani, 2018). Also, Aydin and Tasci (2005 as cited in Mutiaradevi 2009) developed an E-Learning Readiness Survey (ELRS) to assess how managers perceive their organization's readiness for e-learning in Turkey based on these indices: people; self-development; technology; and innovation.

E-Learning readiness assessment is therefore salient for institutions that target the implementation of e-Learning and COVID-19 could have been the instigator. E-learning readiness in the-context of this study is the state of readiness of students of the faculty of Languages, Letters, and Arts Ibn Tofail University toward the use of internet-technologies to enhance their learning. Despite the advancement the Moroccan higher education ministry has made lately, still with the surprise created by the pandemic and the disruption caused, students and teaching staff are still getting adapted given their differences insofar as the new learning and teaching initiatives advanced by the ministerial authorities are concerned. Therefore, conceptually, the focus of this study is on these e-readiness elements: self-direction, learning preferences, study habits, technology skills, and computer equipment capabilities (as cited in Cullen and Harris, 2010).

2.2 Independent e-learning

“Most learning has always been independent but not most education” (Horton and Horton, 2003). Most students had the habit of sticking with the formal regulations of their schools in a way that shows how dependent they are on the formal content disseminated to them; however, they still have that hidden side of being non-conformist and non-traditional in amassing that knowledge that is distributed on the net in a connected and connectivist way emancipating them from the limitations of formal education. In this vein, independent e-learning has been approached in diverse ways. It is defined as a process and a philosophy of education where the learner has at his disposal various digital devices that help him/her to develop self-learning, self-direct learning, self-regulated learning, self-determined learning, or autonomous learning (Saks and Leijen, 2014). At this point, it seems that independent e-learning is emancipating both non-traditional, or non-institutional learners as Horton and Horton (2003) call them, who still long to formal setting of learning using technology. Therefore, independent e-learning is a golden opportunity for those learners who prefer to do their learning away from the loving embraces of schools. Moreover, a less specific definition is given by Clark and Mayer (2011) who define independent e-learning as “instruction delivered on a digital device such as a computer or mobile device that is intended to support learning” (8). The focus here is not only on the learning output independent e-learning process brings about, but on its features. Learners being able to store information using digital devices, to decide on content relevance, to use media content to deliver content, to use instructional methods for feedback as well as for learning promotion through both synchronous and asynchronous modes, and to build knowledge and skills decisive in attaining learning goals. An almost all-inclusive statement is delivered by Simon and Kollarova (2019 as referenced in Lehmann, Lugossy, Nikolov, and Szabó, 2019) when they tersely stated that:

e-learning concerns learning situations where participants are connected via a network to which they all have access and where the construction of knowledge is supported by ICT technologies and the learning environments are either developed or adapted to engage the learners in their own learning beyond the limits of face-to-face sessions. (pp.195-196)

For the above scholars, e-learning is connectivist in nature where distributed knowledge is produced by nodes of all kinds that are available and accessible in the network, which attests to its being independent and autonomous.

Noteworthy here is the nature of e-learning. It is a form of online learning like Internet learning, distributed learning, networked learning, tele-learning and telematics distributed learning. Because of not having a uniform definition of e-learning, authors agree that it implies that “the learner is at a distance from the tutor or instructor, that the learner uses some form of technology (usually a computer) to access the learning material” (Oye, Mazleena, and Iahad, 2012, p.48), and that this learner is given some support as part of his/her autonomy. This latter includes “the ability not only to organize one’s own learning, but also to form one’s own judgements, to decide on a point of view, and to be able to defend one’s position in a given area of knowledge” (Boud 1988, p.11). This aspect of autonomy, of course different from heteronomy and anomy, sheds light on how e-learning connects with the notion of learner independence. E-learning therefore is not only about formal instruction using technology means, but also about learning that is tailored to individual needs bearing in mind their non-conformist tendency and autonomy in doing learning and teaching their ways.

2.2.1. Types of E-Learning

While e-learning varies across a large spectrum, in overall e-learning course is likely to fall into one of the following three types: Courseware/Text driven, Blended Learning, e- Communities, and Knowledge Management systems.

2.2.1.1. Courseware

Most learning content discussion in e-learning considers courseware as multimodal educational courses. They are seen as “educational material organized as courses and typically distributed as PDF files, as well as smaller chunks of learning, often referred to as learning objects” where the “content may involve websites, simulations, text files, images, sound or videos in digital format” (OECD 2007, p.10). Moreover, this diverse multimodal and semiotic material uses various media and are uploaded to a networked environment where distributed knowledge is easily accessed given their nature of being only reusable learning objects. This access is guaranteed through various learning management systems (LMS) that still lack innovative ways that arrange and sustain the overflow of information in modern imposed online classroom environments (Wilkens, Buhler, and Bosse, 2006 as cited in Antona and Tephaniadis, 2006).

2.2.1.2. Blended Learning

According to Ololube (2013, p.38), blended learning is used to describe “the combination of traditional off-line methods of learning” with online learning or Internet-based methods. It is therefore a type of e-learning where various delivery modes, computer-based and classroom-based, that are fashioned after the special needs of learners having their learning not exclusively online or on-site are used. The focus is after all of a learning that is done in class but making the most of the online learning. Bersin

(2004) joins Ololube (2013) with an all-inclusive and succinct definition of blended learning as a form of e-learning. He focused on the fact that the combination of these delivery modes and methods, the traditional-led training and electronic formats, are done with the objective “to create an optimum training program for a specific audience” (xv). The historical contextualization of such reasoning can be traced back to the era when a lot of content was being uploaded to the web in forms of Open educational resources or reusable learning objects before them.

2.2.1.3. Academic e-communities of practice (AeCoPs)

Electronic communities of practice (eCoPs) can be defined as an informal group of networked people who share common interests, prove some belongingness and membership to the network, share and actively cocreate knowledge which is disseminated when needed (Louis 2005 as referenced in Coakes and Clarke, 2005). Lave and Wenger (1991 as cited in Mallon 2020, p.34) corroborate the definition above when they tersely stated that eCoPs are seen as “groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly”. These scholars stress the fact that eCoPs are very common in academia and that they centrally focus on pedagogical growth and learning design. Because of the fact that the members of these academic electronic communities of practice (AeCoPs) are connectivistically globally networked, they cannot help dialoguing, sharing, and building distributed knowledge for everyone in need.

Furthermore, Wenger (1998), AeCoPs coherence entails three significant dimensions: mutual engagement (engaging in community-raising feeling); joint enterprise (accountability measures that are jointly agreed upon); and shared repertoire (any shared and cocreated knowledge characterizing the lifecycle of the AeCoP) (as referenced in Bueger and Gadinger, 2018).

2.2.1.4. Knowledge Management

In the context of education, the concept of e-learning encompasses creating and co-creating knowledge for the active adherents of the connected community. This operation entails management of this distributed knowledge through technology that has the potential to provide improved learning opportunities for every node on the net. Therefore, the reflections on knowledge management and economy have become central to the process of creating learning societies. For Liebowitz and Frank (2016), even though knowledge management is an old term that dates back as far as the early 1980’s, it stills deals with the leveraging of the tangible and intangible knowledge internally and externally through enabled technologies, web 2.0 and social networking. The proof for the synergetic relationship between e-learning and knowledge management is manifested in the increasing number of online degrees delivered by corporate universities. The relationship is also quite evident in dealing with “knowledge capture, sharing, application,

and potentially knowledge generation” (Liebowitz and Frank, 2016, p. 4). These operations are characteristic of AeCoPs essence and existence. Maier’s (2007) standpoint is no exception as he stressed the fact that knowledge management systems value the combination and integration of both the implicit and the explicit using collaborative technological tools allowing teams and communities of people to benefit from e-learning functionalities integrated to these systems.

Methodology

3.1. Research paradigm

In this research, quantitative correlational design methods will test the association between existing students’ e-readiness, perceived attitudes, and independent e-learning as covariables. Specifically, a Spearman-rank order correlation coefficient will be used as a non-parametric version of the Pearson product-moment correlation test. *Spearman’s Rho* is used to examine the strength and direction of the association between the actual raw scores of the covariables, where both are tested on an ordinal level of measurement (Abu-Bader 2011). The Pearson’s product-moment correlation coefficient and *Spearman’s Rho* coefficient look alike in that the value of (e.g., r/Rho) shows the direction of the correlation that ranges between -1 and +1, and its squared value (e.g., r^2/Rho^2) indicates the strength of the relationship between two variables—proportions of the shared variance (Glenberg and Andrzejewski, 2007). This correlation analysis therefore attempts to measure the association between the main variable of the study, independent e-learning and the other two variables related to existing students’ e-readiness and perceived attitudes.

3.2. Sample and Sampling Procedure

The choice of a research design is significant in a broad area of inquiry such as independent e-learning. Therefore, the appropriateness of research method chosen relates to design that offers the advantageous ground to answer the research questions set for the practical side of the present study. In this vein, the correlation analysis requires the most stringent sample size and for this reason the researcher had recourse to G*Power software. For a two-tailed test, using an effect size of .50, an alpha of .05, and a power of .95, the sample size was calculated to be 46 participants (Cohen 1988). Following Pareto principle which is a standard requirement for efficiency (80/20), explanatory power should not be lower than 80% and anything below that is a matter of committing Type I error (as cited in Rangan 2018). Consequently, to achieve empirical validity, a minimum sample size of 46 participants is required.

The sampling frame is the target population for the research study and the study sample is a subgroup that represents the area of research interest; independent e-learning (Creswell 2005). The target population is all the undergraduate, graduate and

postgraduate students at the School of languages, Letters, and Arts of Ibn Tofail University, Kénitra. The full contact, initial and complete, with the participants was through an online survey that was emailed to these students email boxes. The sample expected is non-probabilistic, both judgement and purposive. It is judgement in the sense that the sampler/researcher judges the sample to possess the necessary variables related to the problem under study. It is also purposive as the sampler/researcher thinks that even though the sample units are not representative of the whole population, they have the capacity to offer contribution that is desired (Rao 2004).

3.3. Data Collection Tools

Despite the risk of using the non-probabilistic approach that results in the absence of the possibility to generalize findings to other similar settings and target population, this method of sampling helps probe deeper into particularities of the variables, which is guaranteed using a structured survey research questionnaire. Thus, for the purposes of this study, the researcher uses an online questionnaire survey covering five sections each of which measures both online learning and e-readiness, with a sixth section measuring perceived attitudes towards independent e-learning. The questions and items are scaled ordinal-polytomous close-ended ones with ordered options for the participants to choose from.

The dataset used in this paper is based on data obtained from the structured questionnaire survey conducted online. The survey was conducted online over the 15 days, April 19 through May 3, 2021. Responses started being collected the next day, and 126 questionnaires were obtained with a response rate of 69.23% (126 questionnaires obtained out of 182 potential participants).

The studies that used e-readiness scales and perceptions of independent e-learning scales were examined (Napitupulu, Adiyarta, Abdullah, and Murtiningsih, 2019). The online learning readiness Scale for Online Learning developed by Cullen and Harris (2010) was preferred since it is a more current, sufficiently short measurement tool including three dimensions with seven subscales of online learning. As to the independent e-learning scale, it was taken from Rowell's (2015) unpublished doctoral dissertation and perceived attitudes scales were adopted from Berteau's (2009) study.

Data Analysis and Description

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, Version 22) was used to analyze the data gleaned from the online structured survey questionnaire. The researcher made sure that the statistical analysis translates the objectives of the study and helps answer the research questions and confirm or disconfirm the research hypotheses. Additionally, to the best knowledge of the researcher, this is the first time a study tackles e-learning and related variables in times such as COVID-19 pandemic. A five-section

survey questionnaire has been devised to study the association of the variables under study, independent e-learning, e-readiness, and perceived attitudes.

To measure the e-learning readiness, perceived attitudes and independent e-learning of our sample each dimension of the survey used different sets of questions/items. Furthermore, to confirm the dimensionality of the constructs and test for the reliability of the scales, both a Cronbach's alpha and an established convention of factor analysis (the Principal Component Analysis) with equamax rotation (KMO and Bartlett's Test), were run on data collected from a sample size of 126 students were used. The following Cronbach alpha coefficients were calculated:

Table 1: *Coefficient alpha estimates for the study variables (e-learning readiness, independent e-learning, and Perceived Attitudes)*

Constructs of the study	Cronbach alpha coefficients
<i>E-learning readiness</i>	
1. Self-directness	.877
2. Learning Preferences	.762
3. Study Habit	.836
4. Technological Skills	.825
5. Computer Equipment Capabilities	.791
The Total Scale (<i>E-learning readiness</i>)	.839
<i>Independent e-learning</i>	
1. Course Quality Dimension	.812
2. OERs and Learning Autonomy Dimension	.723
3. Affective Learning Dimension	.845
4. Cognitive Learning Dimension	.773
5. Value of OERs Dimension	.776
6. Quality of Learning Dimension	.884
7. Motivation to Learn Dimension	.768
The Total Scale (<i>Independent e-learning</i>)	.803
<i>E-learning Perceived Attitudes</i>	
1. E-learning offers the possibility to efficiently manage your time.	.875
2. E-learning is not efficient as a teaching method	.785
3. E-learning is a learning environment which needs advanced technical knowledge a pc use.	.811
4. E-learning assures schedule flexibility.	.834
5. E-learning reduces students' educational costs.	.887
The Total Scale (<i>E-learning Perceived Attitudes</i>)	.838

A five-dimension scale of both e-learning readiness and perceived attitudes constructs, and a seven-dimension independent e-learning scale showed therefore a coefficient alpha estimates of internal consistency of (.839, .838 and .803 respectively in table 1 above) suggesting that the items have relatively high and good internal consistency, which indicates also that the measurement design is highly credible. Noteworthy is that a reliability coefficient of .70 or higher is considered “acceptable” in most social science research situations (Nunnally 1978 as reported in Fazlagić 2017).

Additionally, the Cronbach’s alpha values obtained assume unidimensionality of the questions and items contained in the tool. That is, they are measuring evident latent variables or dimensions which are independent e-learning, perceived attitudes, and e-readiness. One can conclude therefore that the correlation test results are meaningful under such conditions.

Table 2: *KMO and Bartlett's test for the two constructs (e-learning readiness, independent e-learning and e-learning perceived attitudes respectively)*

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy		.987
Bartlett's test Sphericity (e-learning readiness)	Approx. Chi-square	3090.725
	Df	436
	Sig.	.000
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy		.806
Bartlett's test Sphericity (Independent e-learning)	Approx. Chi-square	2409.623
	Df	512
	Sig.	.000
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy		.912
Bartlett's test Sphericity (e-learning Perceived Attitudes)	Approx. Chi-square	5432.614
	Df	489
	Sig.	.000

Furthermore, in the present study, table 2 above illustrates two statistics used of for examining the strength of variables relationships as part of deciding whether principal component analysis is appropriate or not. The Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity is generally used to evaluate whether a correlation matrix is appropriate for PCA by testing the hypothesis that the matrix is an identity matrix, a matrix in which all coefficients not in the diagonal are zeros (Munro 2005). For our example, the analysis revealed that the probability reported is .000 (for the three scales) suggesting a low probability that the matrix hypothesis is rejected and that PCA is suitable for this study as a procedure. Moreover, as to the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO), the statistics obtained are (.987, .806 and .912 correspondingly) proving that KMO measure of sampling adequacy is appropriate for this study as Munro (2005) suggests that “If a KMO measure in the .80s or .90s is achieved, this supports the use of factor analysis for the data” (336).

4.1. Descriptive Statistics Analysis of the Data

Table 3: *E-learning readiness Scale*

	1. Self-directness Dimension	2. Learning Preferences Dimension	3. Study Habits	4. Technology Skills Dimension	5. Computer Equipement Capabilities Dimension
N	126	126	126	126	126
Valid	0	0	0	0	0
	3.857	3.730	3.638	3.952	4.000
Missing	.9133	.8837	.7997	.8506	1.0318
Mean	243.0	235.0	232.0	249.0	252.0
Std. Deviation					
Sum					

Noteworthy here is that the e-learning readiness survey questionnaire contains five dimensions, each of which contains a number of items/questions. These dimensions are: self-directness, learning preferences, study habits, technology skills, and computer equipment capabilities (as reported in Cullen and Harris, 2010). The five dimensions means presented in Table 3 above. The total mean of all the dimensions items/questions was 3.63 or greater and the highest rated e-learning readiness dimension, computer equipment capabilities (M=4.00) indicated that the students are aware of the computing requirements of independent e-learning.

Table 4: *Independent e-learning Scale*

	1. Course Quality Dimension	2. OERs and Learning Autonomy Dimension	3. Affective Learning Dimension	4. Cognitive Learning Dimension	5. Value of OERs Dimension	6. Quality of Learning Dimension	7. Motivation to Learn Dimension
N	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
Valid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	4.270	3.857	3.257	3.968	3.778	3.475	3.998
Missing	.9017	1.0451	.9480	.8793	1.1701	1.2341	1.5678
Mean	269.0	243.0	233.0	250.0	258.0	234.0	238.0
Std. Deviation							
Sum							

As to the independent e-learning scale, it comprises seven dimensions each of which also contains various items and questions. Among these dimensions, OERs and learning autonomy, affective learning, cognitive learning, value of OERs, quality of learning, motivation to learn, and course quality (as cited in Rowell 2015). This last dimension scored higher with a high mean of ($M=4.27$). This score suggests that the students are highly satisfied with the e-learning course quality especially that the different electronic platforms available are used and their affordances are many. The total scale mean was ($M=3.79$).

Table 5: *E-learning Perceived Attitudes scale*

	1. E-learning offers the possibility to efficiently manage your time.	2. E-learning is efficient as a teaching method	3. E-learning is a learning environment that needs little advanced technical knowledge of a pc use.	4. E-learning assures schedule flexibility	5. E-learning reduces students' educational costs.
N	126	126	126	126	126
Valid	0	0	0	0	0
	3.712	2.014	3.981	3.875	4.090
Missing	.7654	.7765	.6971	.8213	1.0318
Mean	310.0	219.0	215.0	225.0	261.0
Std. Deviation					
Sum					

Insofar as the perceived attitudes scale is concerned, it revolves around five dimensions (as referenced in Bereta 2009) (see table 5 above). The e-learning being cost-effective dimension received the highest mean score ($M=4.090$). This mean indicates that the students hold positive attitudes towards e-learning as they believe that e-learning helps to save time, is effective a s teaching tool, assures schedule flexibility, is cost-effective, and does not require students to be a computer savvy.

4.2. Inferential Statistics Analysis of the Data

Table 6: *Correlation of E-learning Readiness Dimension and Independent E-Learning Dimension*

			<i>Independent E-Learning Dimension</i>	<i>E-learning Readiness Dimension</i>
Spearman's rho	<i>Independent E-Learning Dimension</i>	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	,713
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,000
		N	126	126
	<i>E-learning Readiness Dimension</i>	Correlation Coefficient	,713	1,000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	.
		N	126	126

The Spearman rank-order correlation uses ranks of assumptions about the distributions of the two variables as opposed to the Pearson correlation coefficient that uses continuous-level data (interval or ratio) and requires linearity, heteroscedasticity, and normality as criteria to be met (King and Minium, 2007). On the contrary, since the Spearman correlation does not assume that the variables are normally distributed and therefore deemed appropriate for our case (King and Eckersley, 2019).

The correlation matrix generated above (table 6) is the result of running a Spearman rank-order correlation to determine the relationship between of e-learning readiness dimension and independent e-learning dimension. The correlation between the two variables, with 126 respondents reacting to both dimensions, is statistically significant at ($Rho = .713, N=126, p = .000$). This indicates a strong positive correlation between e-learning readiness dimension and independent e-learning dimension. We could conclude from our 'two-tailed' prediction of the relationship therefore that it would be necessary to reject the null hypothesis that there is no association between the variables in favor of the research one at ($p = 0.00$).

Table 7: *Correlation of E-learning Readiness Dimension and Perceived Attitudes Dimension*

			<i>Independent E-Learning Dimension</i>	<i>E-learning Readiness Dimension</i>
Spearman's rho	<i>Perceived Attitudes Dimension</i>	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	,801
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,000
		N	126	126
	<i>E-learning Readiness Dimension</i>	Correlation Coefficient	,801	1,000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	.
		N	126	126

A Spearman's rank-order correlation was also run to determine the association between e-learning readiness dimension and perceived attitudes dimension. There was a strong, positive correlation between the two covariables, which was statistically significant ($Rho = .801$, $N=126$, $p = .000$). Since the cut edge alpha is set at $\alpha = 0.05$ achieving a statistically significant, Spearman rank-order correlation means that we can safely conclude that there is less than 5% chance that the strength of the relationship we found (our ρ coefficient) happened by chance if the null hypothesis were true. The positive correlation coefficient obtained therefore indicates a positive relationship between the two variables (as values of one variable increase, values of the other variable also increase). That is, the more positive attitudes they hold, the more e-ready our sample is.

Table 8: *Correlation of Perceived Attitudes Dimension and Independent E-Learning Dimension*

			<i>Independent E-Learning Dimension</i>	<i>E-learning Readiness Dimension</i>
Spearman's rho	<i>Independent E-Learning Dimension</i>	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	,863
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,000
		N	126	126
	<i>Perceived Attitudes Dimension</i>	Correlation Coefficient	,863	1,000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	.
		N	126	126

The Spearman correlation as a bivariate correlation is employed here to test for the strength as well as the direction of the monotonic relationship between the following covariables: perceived attitudes dimension and independent e-learning dimension. The value obtained for this correlation ($Rho=.863$, $N=126$, $p = .000$). Thus, the correlation is strong and significant at $p = .000$ and that we can safely conclude that this strong positive Spearman's correlation indicates that high ranks of perceived attitudes dimension tend to coincide with high ranks of independent e-learning dimension. That is, the more e-independent learners are our participants, the more positive attitudes they hold.

Data Interpretation and Discussion

The main purpose of the present study was to investigate the challenges Ibn Tofail university students, particularly students of the School of Languages, Letters, and Arts during the COVID-19 lockdown. The objective therefore is to explore our case study students' e-readiness as to how they adapt to the sudden disruption created by the university transition to e-learning and its correlation with perceived attitudes towards independent e-learning. Consent of the 126 participants making the sample of the study

was taken and their willingness to participate in the study was guaranteed. This study sets forth three research question and three research hypotheses consistent with the related literature (see Introduction).

To answer the already posed research questions and confirm or disconfirm also the research hypotheses, both descriptive and inferential statistics were utilized. The descriptive findings indicated the scores of all the e-learning readiness dimensions are above the total mean (see Table 3). This result interpreted suggests that the sample of this study is composed of individuals who are revealed to be self-directed, well organized, and prepared for the challenges of working independently as online learners. The answers also show that the participants are flexible in their learning preferences, confident in their ability to solve problems, and comfortable when working independently or collaborating with others. These attributes are proofs that they can adapt to the online-learning environment. Other qualities are also discovered. They are able to prioritize their work to meet deadlines, willing to take advantage of the support offered by others, and willing to dedicate the time required to successfully meet their learning goals. Each of these study skills will help them achieve the learning outcomes for their online course. As to the two final dimensions, technology skills and computer equipment capabilities, the sample of the study is found to be composed of confident computer users with the necessary skills to manage their computing environment, either personally or by seeking help from appropriate sources. Moreover, they seem to be aware that the diversification of technology tools as well as technical configurations are important so as to be able to keep up with the challenges independent e-learning opportunities offer as affordances.

As far as the second scale, independent e-learning scale, it contains seven dimensions among which there is course quality, motivation to learn, OERs and learning autonomy, cognitive learning, value of OERs, and quality of learning. The aggregate mean of this construct ($M=3.79$), indicated that the individuals taking part as a sample in the present study are autonomous learners as they are able take decisions as to their learning making full use of OERs available, and designing their course. Consequently, it is important to stress that while these independent e-learners are self-managed, self-monitored, self-directed, they ease themselves into consulting others help and cooperation, either peers or educators. Their personal knowledge construction is uncompromised.

Finally, the perceived attitudes of our sample towards e-learning seem to be highly positive. The participants assume that e-learning offers the possibility of being good and efficient time managers as they perceive of the technology affordances as enhancing factors that help make advantage of available open educational resources, schedule any activity or action plan with a reminder, and eventually respond back to their teachers as well as to their supervisor in no time and therefore maintain constant contact. Moreover, they deem e-learning a worthwhile means of teaching even though it is imposed as it caters for different pedagogical needs and learning styles. E-learning context is also seen as an environment that does not need much expertise in handling a machine given the fact

that the whole sample belong to the generation of millennials. Most of all is that they find themselves exempted from buying those expensive booklets and hence think that e-learning is cost-effective.

From an inferential statistics point of view, a Spearman rank-order correlation was adopted to check the validity of the research gap that assumes that there exists a positive and strong relationship between the three covariables, two at each time: independent e-learning of our participants, their e-learning readiness and their perceived attitudes. The monotonic association between the means of the three variables suggests that with 126 respondents reacting to both the questions and the dimensions, the relationship is statistically significant at ($Rho = .713; .833; .801, N=126, p = .000$ respectively). This strong positive relationship is indicative as the decision is taken as to accept the research hypotheses and say that independent e-learning of our participants correlates with their e-learning readiness, with their perceived attitudes, and that e-readiness and perceived attitudes are also interconnected. The more the sample is e-ready, the more independent it is in its e-learning, and that the more positive attitudes they prove, the more e-ready they are to adopt e-learning techniques. The research questions are answered and the alternative hypotheses are confirmed.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that the existing disorderly tendencies and crises provoked by Covid-19 pandemic in higher education influenced the way teaching and learning is handled. Independent e-learning has emerged as the sole pedagogic tool and its affordances were in favor of a paradigm shift, digital transformation, that fostered connectivist learning. The present study aimed at exploring the possible association between the e-readiness of participants of the study to get adapted to the sudden disruption created by universities transition to e-learning and their perceived attitudes, and independent e-learning.

The results of the first scale, the e-learning readiness scale, have confirmed that the highest rated e-learning readiness dimension ($M=4.00$) indicated that the students are aware of the computing requirements of independent e-learning. The scale mean ($M=3.19$) for the whole scale is suggestive of the participants' e-learning readiness to take e-learning courses as they feel self-directed to take responsibility for different decisions associated with their learning, transfer learning in terms of knowledge and technology study skills, diagnose their needs and formulate clear and attainable learning goals (Rothwell and Sensenig, 1999). As to the second construct ($M=3.79$) designated by the second scale, the independent e-learning scale, the eight dimensions it comprises have revealed that our sample is highly satisfied with and motivated to take an online course where they feel autonomous and ready to assume ramifications of their learning style. Additionally, the Spearman rank-order correlation run to examine the association between the main variable of the study, revealed the existence of a strong positive relationship that backs up the alternative hypothesis and

rejects that null hypothesis that there was no relationship whatsoever. Therefore, one can conclude safely that monotonically the more motivated students are in opting for e-learning opportunities, the more ready they are to take more online courses and more self-directed in the way they conduct learning.

The results demonstrated therefore that there is a significant link between independent e-learning and e-learning readiness of the sample chosen for the present study. The conclusions obtained are in line with some studies such as Kaur and Abas (2004); Kaymak-Demir and Horzum (2013); Piskurich (2003) which state that students e-learning engagement correlates with their e-readiness and their ability to manipulate multimedia technologies and learning resources to improve the quality of their learning. Additionally, all these scholars stress the salience of success as an element associated with online learning readiness (reported in Ergün and Kurnaz Adibatmaz, 2020). Always on the same line of reasoning, Demir and Yurdugül (2015) and Smith (2005) define readiness for e-learning and online learning in three aspects: (1) student preferences to communicate indirectly. (2) student beliefs in using electronic communication for learning and in particular, competence and confidence in Internet use and computer-mediated communication and (3) Self-directed learning. From this classification, it seems that e-readiness and independent e-learning ingredients are elements that always go hand in hand. The existence of one stipulates the existence of the other. Therefore, individuals having positive beliefs about electronic media and use, being confident in making most of the online affordances, and being self-directed cannot but be e-ready individuals (cited in Prihastiw, Prastuti, and Eva, 2021). To back up this argument, So and Swatman (2006) believe that for the success of an e-learning program implementation, there is a need to acknowledge the importance of assessing readiness of teachers and learners to adapt this learning style; hence, the salience of connecting online e-learning and e-readiness.

As to the relationship between independent e-learning and perceived attitudes, a study conducted by Muhanna and Abu-Al-Sha'r (2009) and the results of which revealed that the learners had positive attitudes towards e-learning environment using mobiles offers support to the results obtained in the present study. The undergraduate students in this study had more favorable attitudes to mobile phone teaching and use than graduates. Another back up comes from Garcia-Penalvo, Conde-González, Forment and Casany (2011) who state that user attitudes influence not only the initial acceptance of IT, but also the future behavior regarding computer use. Therefore, learners' perceived attitudes towards technology heavily impact both participation and subsequent achievement in e-learning (Liaw 2002 as reported in Garcia-Penalvo et al., 2008). One more evidence is provided by Dong, Lin, Wang, Yang and Yu (2007) who adopted a Technology Acceptance Model (ATM) to examine the attitudes towards e-learning for different purposes. They came to the conclusion that attitudes and perceptions which students hold towards their learning experience are very decisive in the intentional usage of new ICT.

Kisanjara (2014) provides evidence to the study results as a positive perceived attitude about the learning experience in general and e-learning in particular is a substantial support for e-readiness beside factors such as the ability to work independently, have self-motivation, mature reading and writing skills, and a proactive approach to learning. However, less encouraging results were revealed by a study conducted by Ibrahim and Abu Samah (2002) where the respondents had only a moderate level of readiness and also a moderate level of attitude towards online learning.

References

- Abu-Bader, S. H. (2011). *Using statistical methods in social science research: With a complete SPSS guide*. Oxford University Press.
- Akaslan, D., & E. L. Law, (2011). Measuring teachers' readiness for E-learning in higher education institutions associated with the subject of electricity in Turkey. *2011 IEEE Global Engineering Education Conference, (EDUCON)*. 481–490. <https://doi.org/10.1109/educon.2011.5773180>
- Bersin, J. (2004). *The blended learning book: Best practices, proven methodologies, and lessons learned*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Berteau, P. (2009). Measuring students attitude towards e-learning A case study. *Proceedings of the 5th standing conference on e-learning and software for development* held in Bucharest from 09-10 April 2009 Bucharest Romania 1-8.
- Boud, D. (1988). *Developing student autonomy in learning*. Taylor & Francis
- Bueger, C., & Gadinger, F. (2018). *International practice theory*. Springer.
- Carlson, E. R. (2020). COVID-19 and educational engagement. *Journal of Oral and Maxillofacial Surgery*, 78(7), 1049-1051. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joms.2020.04.033>
- Clark, R. C., & Mayer, R. E. (2011). *E-Learning and the science of instruction: Proven guidelines for consumers and designers of multimedia learning*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*. Routledge.
- Cullen, R., & Harris, M. (2010). Conditions for Online Learning Autonomy. *International Journal of Process Education*. 2(1). 11-18.
- Daniel, S. J. (2020). Education and the COVID-19 pandemic. *Prospects*, 49(1-2), 91-96. doi:10.1007/s11125-020 09464-3
- Demir, Ö, and Yurdugül, H. (2015). The Exploration of Models Regarding E-learning Readiness: Reference Model Suggestions. *International Journal of Progressive Education*. 11. 173-194.
- Ergün, E., and Kurnaz, F. B. (2020). Exploring the predictive role of E-learning readiness and E-learning style on student engagement. *Open Praxis*, 12(2), 175. <https://doi.org/10.5944/openpraxis.12.2.1072>
- Fazlagić, J. (2017). *Images of intellectual capital*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Gaol, F. L., Kadry, S., Taylor, M., & Li, P. S. (2014). *Recent trends in social and behaviour sciences: Proceedings of the international Congress on interdisciplinary behaviour and social sciences 2013*. CRC Press.
- García-Peñalvo, F., Conde-González, M. Forment, M. and Casany, M. J. (2011). Opening Learning Management Systems to Personal Learning Environments. *Journal of Universal Computer Science*. 17. 1222-1240
- Glenberg, A., & Andrzejewski, M. (2007). *Learning from data: An introduction to statistical reasoning*. Routledge.
- Horton, W., & Horton, K. (2003). *E-learning tools and technologies: A consumer's guide for trainers, teachers, educators, and instructional designers*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Ibrahim, D. Z. & Abu Samah, B. (2002). Readiness and attitude towards online learning among virtual students. *Proceedings of the 15th Annual Conference of the Asian Association of Open Universities*, 21- 23 Feb. 2002, New Delhi.
- Kapasias, N., Paul, P., Roy, A., Saha, J., Zaveri, A., Mallick, R., Barman, B., Das, P., & Chouhan, P. (2020). Impact of lockdown on learning status of undergraduate and postgraduate students during COVID-19 pandemic in West Bengal, India. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 116, 105194. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2020.105194>
- Kaur, K. and Abas, Z. W. (2004). An assessment of e-learning readiness at Open University Malaysia. Open University Malaysia.

- Kaymak, D. Z. & Horzum, M. B. (2013). Relationship between Online Learning Readiness and Structure and Interaction of Online Learning Students. *Educational Sciences: Theory and Practice*, 13(3), 1792-1797. Retrieved June 21, 2021 from <https://www.learntechlib.org/p/154397/>.
- Khan, B. H. (2005). *Managing E-learning: Design, delivery, implementation, and evaluation*. IGI Global.
- King, A. P., & Eckersley, R. (2019). *Statistics for biomedical engineers and scientists: How to visualize and analyze data*. Academic Press.
- King, B. M., & Minium, E. W. (2007). *Statistical reasoning in the behavioral sciences*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Kisanjara S. B. (2014). Students' Attitudes and Readiness Assessment towards E-Learning in Higher Learning Institutions. *International Journal of Engineering Research & Technology (IJERT)*, 3(1), 3155-3166. Retrieved from <https://www.ijert.org/research/>
- Lazarinis, F., Green, S., & Pearson, E. (2010). *Handbook of research on E-learning standards and interoperability: Frameworks and issues: Frameworks and issues*. IGI Global.
- Liebowitz, J., & Frank, M. (2016). The synergy between knowledge management and e-learning. In J., Liebowitz & M. Frank (2016). *Knowledge management and E-learning*. CRC Press.
- Louis, L. R. (2005). Technical issues facing work groups, teams, and knowledge networks. In E. Coakes & S. Clarke. (2005). *Encyclopedia of communities of practice in information and knowledge management*. IGI Global.
- Machado, C. (2007). Developing an e Readiness Model for higher education: Results of a focus group study, *British Journal of Education Technology*, 1, 72-82, Retrieved November, 2007 from web site <http://www.blackwellsynergy.com/action/showpdf?submitPDF=full+text+pdf+%28130+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2fj.1467-8535.2006.00595.x&cookieset=1>
- Madhusudan. K. (2021). *The Covid*. Blue Rose Publishers
- Maier, R. (2007). *Knowledge Management Systems: Information and Communication Technologies for knowledge management*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Mallon, M. N. (2020). *Partners in teaching and learning: Coordinating a successful academic library*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Moore, M. G., & Kearsley, I. G. (2012). *Distance education: A systems view of online learning* (3rd ed.). Wadsworth Publish
- Muhanna, W. and Abu-Al-Sha'r, A. (2009). University Students' Attitudes towards Cell Phone Learning Environment. *International Journal of Interactive Mobile Technologies (iJIM)*. 3. 10.3991/ijim.v3i4.1068.
- Munro, B. H. 2005. *Statistical methods for health care research*. Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.
- Napitupulu, D., Adiyarta, K., Abdullah, D., & Murtiningsih, D. (2019). Proposed ELR Model for E-Learning Readiness Evaluation Based on McKensy 7S Framework. *Proceedings of the Proceedings of The 2nd International Conference On Advance and Scientific Innovation, ICASI 2019, 18 July, Banda Aceh, Indonésie*. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.18-7-2019.2288544>
- OECD. (2007). *Giving knowledge for free the emergence of open educational resources: The emergence of open educational resources*. OECD Publishing.
- Ololube, N. (2013). *Advancing technology and educational development through blended learning in emerging economies*. IGI Global.
- Oye, N.D., Mazleena. S, & Jahad. N. A. (2012). E-Learning Methodologies and Tools. *International Journal of Advanced Computer Science and Applications*, 3(2), 48-52. <https://doi.org/10.14569/IJACSA.2012.030208>
- Park, N., Roman, R., Lee, S., & Chung, J. E. (2009). User acceptance of a digital library system in developing countries: An application of the technology acceptance model. *International Journal of Information Management*, 29(3), 196-209. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijinfomgt.2008.07.001>
- Piskurich. G. M. (2003). *Preparing Learners for e-Learning*. Pfeiffer,
- Prihastiwi, W. J., Prastuti, E., and Eva, N. (2021). E-learning readiness and learning engagement during the COVID-19 pandemics. *KnE Social Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v4i15.8212>
- Rangan, S. (2018). *Capitalism beyond mutuality? Perspectives integrating philosophy and social science*. Oxford University Press.
- Rao, J. (2004). *Services marketing*. Pearson Education India.
- Rothwell, W. J., & Sensenig, K. J. (1999). *The Sourcebook for Self-directed Learning*. Human Resource Development.
- Rowell, J. L. (2015). Student perceptions: Teaching and learning with open educational resources (Doctoral dissertation). ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (Accession Order No. 3727487)
- Saks, K., & Leijen, A. (2014). Distinguishing self-directed and self-regulated learning and measuring them in the e-learning context. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 112, 190-198. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.01.1155

- Smith P. J. (2005). Learning preferences and readiness for online learning. *EducPsychol*, UK, 25(1): 3-12
- Simon, K. & Kollarova, K. (2019). Blending with *Edmodo*: The application of blended learning in a listening and speaking skills development course. In M. Lehmann, R. Lugossy, M. Nikolov, & G. Szabó, (2019). *UPRT 2017: Empirical studies in English applied linguistics*. Lingua Franca Csoport.
- So, T. and Swatman, P. M. C., (2006). E-learning readiness of Hong Kong teachers. retrieved April 20, 2009, from <http://www.insyl.unisa.edu.au/publication/s/working/papers/2006-05.pdf>
- Soydal, İ., Alır, G., & Ünal, Y. (2012). Are Turkish universities ready for E-Learning: A case of Hacettepe University faculty of letters. *Information Services & Use*, 31(3-4), 281-291. <https://doi.org/10.3233/isu-2012-0659>
- Visvizi, A., Lytras, M. D., & Aljohani, N. R. (2021). *Research and innovation forum 2020: Disruptive technologies in times of change*. Switzerland AG
- Wang, C & Lo, S., and Fang, W. (2008). Extending the technology acceptance model to mobile telecommunication innovation: The existence of network externalities. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*. 7. 101 - 110. 10.1002/cb.240.
- Wilkens, L. Buhler, C., & Bosse, I. (2006). Accessible learning management systems in higher education. In M., Antona, & S. C. tephandidis. (Eds). *Universal access in human-computer interaction. Applications and practice: 14th International Conference, UAHCI 2020, held as part of the 22nd HCI International Conference, HCII 2020, Copenhagen, Denmark, July 19–24, 2020, proceedings, part II*. Springer Nature.
- Zaidah, D., Silong, A. and Abu Samah, B. (2002). Readiness and attitude towards online learning among virtual students.

Bani KOUMACHI is an associate professor at school of Languages, Letters, and Arts, Ibn Tofail University Kénitra, Morocco. He got his Doctorat National from Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah, Fes Sais, Morocco. He is the author of many articles in applied linguistics and communication. Professor Koumachi's research and writing interests include but not limited to intercultural communication, organizational communication, ICTs, ESP, knowledge management, research methodology and educational statistics, and applied linguistics issues. (Bbani.koumachi@uit.ac.ma)

French Language, Literature and Culture

Types d'ellipses dans les traductions / Types of Ellipses in Translations

Sergiu-Eugen Zagan

We do not intend to present the types of ellipses in translations in general, because we cannot cover all translations. Additionally, we do not claim to be able to cover all types of ellipses. Therefore, we propose to study some types of ellipses in some North African novels and from this, in another study, we will be able to check if these ellipses also exist in the translations of other novels and, more importantly, if there are other types of ellipses that we have not yet identified in North African novels. In the specialized literature we consulted, we found only the phrase ellipsis in the automatic translations and no other ellipses in translations. Having this aspect as a starting point, we wanted to see if there are other types of ellipses in some North African translations.

We have therefore identified 5 types of ellipses:

1. The reader fills a gap due to the temporal distance of the historical events.
2. The translator fills a gap due to the grammatical differences of the languages (we will draw a parallel between a human translator and some automatic translations – Systran, Google Translate, DeepL).
3. The writer becomes a translator to fill a cultural gap.
4. The translator fills a cultural gap.
5. The translator creates a gap that cannot be filled by the reader.

Types of ellipses; automatic translations; human translations; translation gaps; language differences.

Nous ne nous proposons pas de présenter les types d'ellipses dans les traductions en général, parce que nous ne pouvons pas couvrir toutes les traductions. De plus, nous ne prétendons pas pouvoir couvrir tous les types d'ellipses. Par conséquent, nous nous proposons d'étudier quelques types d'ellipses dans quelques romans maghrébins et à partir de cela, dans une autre étude, nous pourrions vérifier si ces ellipses existent aussi dans les traductions d'autres romans et, plus important, s'il y a d'autres types d'ellipses que nous n'avons pas encore identifiés dans les romans maghrébins.

Dans la littérature de spécialité consultée, nous avons trouvé seulement le syntagme l'ellipse dans les traductions automatiques et pas d'autres ellipses dans les traductions. A partir de de syntagme, nous avons voulu voir s'il y a d'autres types d'ellipses

dans les traductions. Donc le point de démarche de notre recherche a été le syntagme l'ellipse dans les traductions automatiques.

Nous avons identifié 5 types d'ellipses :

1. Le lecteur comble un manque dû à l'écart des événements historiques.
2. Le traducteur comble un manque dû aux différences grammaticales des langues (on va voir une comparaison avec la traduction automatique).
3. L'écrivain se fait traducteur pour combler un manque culturel.
4. Le traducteur comble un manque culturel.
5. Le traducteur crée un manque jamais comblé par le lecteur.

1. Le lecteur comble un manque dû à l'écart des événements historiques

Pendant la période communiste, la plupart des romans maghrébins traduits du français en roumain mettent l'accent sur l'indépendance, sur la conscience de soi et sur l'oppression du colonisateur. Un roman traduit et lu dans une période de révoltes n'est pas perçu par le lecteur de la même manière qu'un roman traduit 50 ans plus tard et lu dans la langue maternelle. C'est-à-dire que le lecteur roumain de la période communiste qui a lu en roumain un roman maghrébin traduit, n'a pas eu besoin de récupérer un concept comme *indépendance* parce qu'au moment de la lecture, il ne se demandait pas *Est-ce que la nation n'est pas indépendante ?* fait politique très clairement présenté à la radio dans cette période-là. Or, un lecteur d'aujourd'hui doit combler un manque, doit faire appel à la mémoire ou apprendre des événements historiques pour comprendre que l'Algérie par exemple, n'a pas été indépendante ou a été opprimée par le colonisateur au moment où le roman a été écrit et quand les événements décrits dans le roman ont eu lieu. En d'autres termes, le lecteur contemporain avec des événements importants n'a pas besoin de la mémoire historique.

On observe le fait qu'il y a des romans maghrébins traduits en roumain deux ou trois ans après leur publication en français, tandis que les mêmes romans ont été publiés en anglais après une longue période de temps, quand les anciens colonisateurs (voir le cas de la Grande Bretagne qui a maintenu le régime d'apartheid jusqu'aux premières élections libres de l'Afrique du Sud en 1990) parlent de la liberté et de l'indépendance totale, en la soutenant et en l'imposant aux autres). Il y a certainement des romans maghrébins traduits en anglais plus tôt qu'en roumain, mais notre opinion est que ces romans ne mettent pas l'accent sur l'oppression des colonisateurs et sur le désir de l'indépendance, mais plutôt sur la condition de la société musulmane. La conclusion que nous avons pour ce type d'ellipse est que le lecteur qui a lu le roman dans la période du déroulement des événements n'a aucun besoin de combler un vide historique, tandis qu'un lecteur qui lit le roman quand les événements ont pris une autre tournure (le pays est devenu indépendant depuis longtemps, le colonisateur est depuis longtemps parti) doit faire appel à la mémoire ou apprendre des événements historiques pour pouvoir combler le vide.

Nous proposons une courte présentation des traductions des romans maghrébins en roumain et en anglais.

Au XX^e siècle, la première traduction de la littérature maghrébine paraît aux Éditions d'État des Lettres et des Arts (*Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă*). Il s'agit de la trilogie Algérie, (*La Grande Maison, L'Incendie, Le métier à tisser*) de Mohammed Dib. *Mais Sbitar. Incendiul*, apparaît dans la traduction d'Ovidiu Constantinescu en 1957, et *Zorile*, est traduit en roumain par Sanda Rogalski en 1958. Dans cette trilogie sont décrits l'éveil du peuple algérien à la conscience de soi et la lutte imminente pour l'indépendance qui a commencé en 1954.

Mohammed Dib est l'écrivain algérien le plus traduit au XX^e siècle. Ainsi, *Qui se souvient de la mer* a paru, traduit par Alexandra Bărcilă, aux Editions Univers, Collection Globus, en 1981, *Le jeu des massacres ou le portrait de la liberté*, traduit par Matei Călinescu dans « Tribuna », 1958, *Oraș*, dans « Viața Românească », 1958, *Poemul Algeriei*, traduit par G. Demetru Pan, dans « Luceafărul », 1958, *Viața astăzi*, traduit par Ștefan Bitan, dans « Tribuna », 1974, *Zorii mijesc*, traduit par G. Demetru Pan, dans « Viața Românească », 1958. Dib, qui a été, à diverses époques, enseignant, comptable, tapissier, journaliste et critique de théâtre, a évoqué la vie du pauvre ouvrier et du paysan algérien, et c'est probablement pourquoi il a été si traduit à l'époque communiste.

Le roman *L'incendie* n'a jamais été traduit en anglais et le roman *Qui se souvient de la mer* est traduit quatre ans plus tard que la variante roumaine.

Après la traduction de la trilogie Algérie de Mohammed Dib, un autre roman dont on connaît la version roumaine est *Le Fils du pauvre* de Mouloud Feraoun, l'un des représentants de la première vague d'auteurs maghrébins. (Traduction par Em. Serghie, à la Maison d'édition pour la littérature universelle [*Editura pentru Literatură Universală*] 1966). La plupart du temps, le traducteur réussit à intégrer les termes d'origine arabe ou « kabyla » (écrits en italique dans le texte original et expliqués par des notes de bas de page, dans la version roumaine).

The Poor Man's Son (CARAF Books: Caribbean and African Literature Translated from French) est traduit en anglais seulement en 2005.

Deux autres écrivains algériens sont également traduits en roumain : Mouloud Mammeri avec *Somnul celui drept*, traduit par Sinziana Dragoș-Colfescu en 1979 aux Editions Univers et Assia Djebbar avec *Nerăbdătorii*, traduit par Alexandru Brumaru aux Editions Univers en 1982. En ce qui concerne la traduction de Mammeri en anglais, elle paraît plus tôt que la traduction roumaine. 1956 pourrait être considéré comme le début du roman algérien en traduction anglaise avec la parution du *Sommeil du juste* de Mouloud Mammeri, traduit du français par Len Ortzen.

Le roman de Mouloud Mammeri est précédé d'une *Préface* signée par Gheorghe Dragoș (1979) et cet élément paratextuel facilite beaucoup la compréhension du contexte socioculturel (l'Algérie de la Seconde Guerre mondiale jusqu'à la veille de l'indépendance). Mots difficiles à traduire, pour lesquels des notes explicatives sont

nécessaires, cette expression de la civilisation spirituelle et matérielle du Maghreb, ainsi que la culture islamique, dont la compréhension est essentielle pour faire passer le message, sont les éléments clés pour lesquels il y avait si peu de traductions dans la période d'avant 1989. À travers la traduction du roman *Nerăbdătorii*, toute l'émotion et l'impatience d'une jeune fille qui découvre d'abord l'amour et la sensualité et qui refuse de se soumettre au modèle traditionnel d'une jeune fille arabe est transmise en roumain. En avril 2003, la revue « Convorbiri literare » de Iași publie, dans la traduction du professeur Elena-Brândușa Steiciuc, un fragment du roman *La Femme sans sépulture* / *La femme sans sépulture*, roman paru aux éditions Albin Michel en 2002.

L'écrivain le plus représentatif de la littérature francophone maghrébine est Tahar Ben Jelloun. 11 ans après le succès du roman *L'enfant de sable* de Tahar Ben Jelloun, non seulement la traduction du célèbre roman, mais aussi de sa suite, *La nuit sacrée*, traduit par Sanda Chiose et Gabriela Abăluță, en 1996, paraît au aux Éditions Univers, Nicolae Baltă traduit du même auteur marocain le roman *Noaptea greșelii*, aux éditions Univers, en 1999. *L'Auberge des pauvres* paraît traduit à Pitesti en 2002 aux éditions « Paralela 45 ». *Iubiri vrăjitoare, nuvele* (Traduction d'Alexandru R. Săvulescu, Préface de Simona Sora), paraît également à Pitesti, aux éditions « Paralela 45 » en 2004, et *Rasismul pe înțelesul copiilor*, (Traduit par Véronique Malengreau-Nicau et Brândușa Negulescu) paraît à Bucarest, aux Éditions « Humanitas », en 2005. La première traduction du roman *L'enfant de sable* est faite en 1987 à San Diego.

Selon Eena-Brândușa Steiciuc (Steiciuc, 2004, p. 67), 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.

2. Le traducteur comble un manque dû aux différences grammaticales des langues (on va voir une comparaison avec la traduction automatique).

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 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)

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)

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)

Mais qu'est-ce qui se passerait avec ces propositions si elles étaient traduites automatiquement, cela veut dire par une machine ? Nous nous proposons de choisir trois sites de traductions automatique : Google Translate, Systran et DeepL

La traduction automatique

Selon Anissa Hamza (Hamza, 2019, p. 4), identifier et observer l'ellipse, dans son passage d'une langue à une autre revient à relever deux défis simultanés. Le premier est d'ordre identitaire : qu'est-ce qu'une ellipse ? Quand et comment la repère-t-on ? Sous quelles conditions est-elle possible ? Le second, d'ordre fonctionnel, plus particulièrement au niveau de la traduction, vise à considérer son usage dans la langue source et l'éventuel effet miroir que lui tend la langue d'accueil.

a. « 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)	TH « 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)
	Systran One could read or guess a deep wound that a clumsy gesture of the hand or a glance at the top, a watchful eye or malicious intent was enough to reopen.
	Google Translate One could read or guess a deep wound that a clumsy gesture of the hand or a focused look, a scrutinizing or malicious eye was enough to reopen.
	DeepL One could read or guess a deep wound that a clumsy gesture of the hand or a strong glance, a scrutinizing or malicious eye was enough to reopen.
b. « En fait ce sont de fausses entrées. Tout dépend d'où on vient. » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 49)	TH « Actually this a false distinction : it depends where one is coming from. » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 33)
	Systran Actually, they're fake entries. It depends where you come from.
	Google Translate In fact these are false entries. It all depends where you come from

	DeepL In fact, these are false entries. It all depends on where you come from.
c. « 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)	TH « 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)
	Systran There are still women and children. It looks like they're staying to keep the country, but they're not keeping anything.
	Google Translate There remain the women and the kids. It looks like they're staying to guard the country, but they're not keeping anything.
	DeepL That leaves the wives and kids. It looks like they're staying to guard the country, but they're not guarding anything.
d. « On aurait dit : C'est une folle ! » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 156)	TH « People would have said : It's a madwoman » (Ben Jelloun, 2000.a, p. 122)
	Systran It was like, She's crazy!
	Google Translate You would have said: She's crazy!
	DeepL You'd have said, "She's crazy!"
e. « Dans mon enfance, on jouait avec ces miroirs d'Inde... On allumait le feu avec. » (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 151)	TH « 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)
	Systran When I was a child, we used to play with these mirrors from India... We used to light the fire with them.
	Google Translate In my childhood, we played with these Indian mirrors... We lit the fire with them.
	DeepL When I was a child, we used to play with these mirrors from India... We used to light fires with them.

3. L'écrivain se fait traducteur pour combler un manque culturel

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 minimise 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 فلي 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 dépouille ou presque en faveur des frères. Quant aux filles, elles reçoivent seulement le tiers de l'héritage. (Ben Jelloun, 1985, p. 18)

4. Le traducteur comble un manque culturel

Elena Brândușa Steiciuc (Steiciuc, 2004, p. 69-70) a remarqué que dans l'édition française Bernard Grasset du roman *L'Interdite*, écrit par Malika Mokeddem, il y a 35 notes de bas de page, dont la majorité sert à expliquer au lecteur francophone des termes ou des expressions en arabe inclus dans le texte avec la graphie française. L'intention est de transmettre la spécificité d'une culture que l'écrivain connaît de l'intérieur et qui fait partie de son identité même. Des termes comme : *ksar*, *mellah*, *tabib*, *taleb*, *bendir*, servent à tracer les contours de l'univers maghrébin où Sultana (re)plonge, après une longue absence.

La traduction du roman *L'Interdite* réalisée par Cristina Radu tente de surmonter un grand obstacle : l'écart culturel entre la Roumanie et l'Algérie, la méconnaissance, voire l'ignorance du grand public quant à l'Islam et aux diverses pratiques, traditions et coutumes, quant à la vie quotidienne de l'extrême contemporain, richement insérés dans le texte.

Une première remarque, d'ordre quantitatif, s'impose : par rapport au volume français, le roman publié en roumain par l'éditrice bucarestoise contient 64 notes de bas de page, i.e. presque le double, par rapport aux notes françaises. Comment expliquer cette multiplication de la note explicative, sinon par le besoin de combler les lacunes du lecteur roumain, moins familiarisé avec le Maghreb que le lecteur français ?

5. Le traducteur crée un manque jamais comblé par le lecteur

Le vicaire de Wakefield, traduit en roumain *Vicarul din Wakefield* a un sous-titre qui n'est pas traduit en roumain : *A Tale Supposed to be written by himself*. D'autre part, la devise choisie par l'auteur pour le roman : *Sperate miseri, cavete felices*, n'est pas traduite en anglais, mais le traducteur roumain la traduit sous forme de note du sous-sol *Nădăjduiți, cei necăjiți, temeți-vă, cei fericiți!* (lat.) le traducteur venant ainsi en aide au lecteur pour résumer résumant ainsi l'idée essentielle du roman. La même cohérence peut être trouvée dans la traduction des dictons latin ; il note également tout au long du texte « secundum quoad, or quoad minus » – « Până unde sau cât de puțin (lat.) »

La traduction des titres des chapitres reproduit fidèlement l'original. Le traducteur ose même utiliser le concept de Dumnezeu là où Goldsmith utilise le terme « heaven ». Toujours lié à la Divinité, le traducteur opte pour « Cel de sus » pour l'original « that Being », "Doamne bun" est comme automatisme verbal qui apparaît également dans la ballade, bien que dans le texte original n'il y a aucune référence à une telle exclamation

En se retournant au roman *L'Interdite*, malheureusement, la traductrice Cristina Radu rate le repérage du *culturème* « Si », terme de politesse maghrébin, dont le sens est entre « Monseigneur » et « Monsieur », car au Maghreb, il est plus courant d'entendre *Sayidi* ou *Sidi* ou bien *Essayed*, en ajoutant avant le nom ou le prénom une simple particule comme « Si ». Ainsi, une séquence comme : « La porte de l'hôpital s'ouvre brusquement. Aussitôt me parvient l'exclamation de l'infirmier : -Si Salah ! Salah Akli ? Le meilleur ami de Yacine ? » devient, en traduction : « Ușa spitalului se deschide brusc. Imediat, îl aud pe infirmier exclamând. -Ah, Salah! Este Salah Akli? Cel mai bun prieten al lui Yacine? » donc *Ah*, au lieu de *Monsieur*. La confusion entre la culture-religion qu'est l'Islam et l'islamisme entraîne une traduction fautive d'un fragment-clé du roman : « Consult un bărbat cu o ulceratie la anus, fără îndoială sifilis. Ești homosexual? Sunt islamist ! » pour : « Je vois un homme avec un chancre à l'anus, sans doute une syphilis. -Es-tu homosexuel ? -Je suis musulman. ». Par la substitution du terme « musulman » par « islamist », certainement due à la méconnaissance de la réalité historique, une fenêtre sur cette culture est fermée au lecteur roumain. (Steiciuc, 2004, pp. 69-70)

Conclusions

Nous pouvons parler d'autres types d'ellipses dans les traductions et non seulement de l'ellipse dans les traductions automatiques. 5 types d'ellipses ont été repérés, ayant comme corpus des textes maghrébins qui visent le triangle écrivain-lecteur-

traducteur, incomplétudes comblées ou non par l'écrivain, par le lecteur ou par le traducteur : Le lecteur comble un manque dû à l'écart des événements historiques, le traducteur comble un manque dû aux différences grammaticales des langues, l'écrivain se fait traducteur pour combler un manque culturel, le traducteur comble un manque culturel, le traducteur crée un manque jamais comblé par le lecteur. Nous nous proposons de continuer la recherche, pour identifier d'autres types d'ellipses, premièrement dans d'autres textes maghrébins et ensuite dans des textes francophones.

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*. Suny Press.
- Merle, J.M. (2001). *Etude 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 Universității 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.
- <https://theses.hal.science/tel-02526670/document>
- [https://usv.ro/fisiere_utilizator/file/ateliertedtraduction/arhive/AT/AT%20NUMEROS/AT%2022/2263-71ElenaBr%C3%A2ndu%C5%9Fa%20Steiciuc%20\(Roumanie\)%20%E2%80%93%20Traduire%20%E2%80%99identit%C3%A9.pdf](https://usv.ro/fisiere_utilizator/file/ateliertedtraduction/arhive/AT/AT%20NUMEROS/AT%2022/2263-71ElenaBr%C3%A2ndu%C5%9Fa%20Steiciuc%20(Roumanie)%20%E2%80%93%20Traduire%20%E2%80%99identit%C3%A9.pdf)

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 Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania). His main areas of interest are: linguistics, discourse, ellipsis. (sergiu.zagan@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Les femmes et la réussite sociale / Women and Social Success

Emilia Andreea Motoranu

The phenomenon of women dropping out of growing careers cut across all occupations and sectors. If we take a closer look at the trajectory of these women, their approach, with identical sequencing, raises questions: these women love their job, know they are efficient, they are regularly promoted, increased and identified as young talents or high potentials by those who employ them. On the surface, there's no reason why they shouldn't continue this momentum. They are leaving the system by the dozens, the system their mothers and grandmothers dreamed of entering. These women are privileged, they grew up in a socially favored environment, benefit from the financial support of those around them, especially their spouses, and they have the possibility of leaving their careers and reinventing themselves professionally. Many face economic hardship, raise their children alone, support inactive husbands or companions, or carry elderly or sick parents at arm's length. They have priorities that do not allow them the freedom to abandon their work or to do it differently. The paths of these former successful women nevertheless shed light on the question of the permanent negotiation between professional identity and personal identity in which all women engage, at all social levels. Advantaged by their educational background, their remunerative professions allowing them to delegate domestic tasks, the women in question here are often considered as "having everything", including the choice to leave the system. In this context, it is tempting to see the movement of abandonment of good careers by some as a failure. In particular, one could argue that this phenomenon constitutes a social waste, a waste of talent, a loss for the companies, firms and banks which employ these women, but also for the universities, schools and society as a whole which have invested in their education and training. In the name of their first weapons made side by side, in the name of this power, of this confidence that women feel and that they are today ready to express, because we no longer need to be in competition and because 'they no longer need to compete and because our society is finally opening up to the idea that listening to and having women lead could save money, time and meaning, we must invite women to experience the power of this new sisterhood that they have discovered on a daily basis. It is proposed to those who leave to keep in touch with those who remain, to encourage them, to admire them and to continue to praise them and vice versa. We must encourage dialogue, the sharing of experiences, the improvement of the situation at work, by small benevolent touches towards each other. We must experience and demonstrate the power of united women every day. The purpose of my article is to present that the sum of women who abandon positions of responsibility to work differently, far from constituting a series of isolated accidents or a questioning of women's professional ambition, constitutes a real phenomenon. prefiguring the model of social success of tomorrow, which will be based on contemporary and unifying values.

Women; success; generation; social; professional.

Introduction

Le phénomène des femmes qui abandonnaient des carrières en pleine progression touchait tous les métiers et les secteurs. Si l'on s'intéresse d'un peu plus près à la trajectoire de ces femmes, leur démarche, au séquençage identique, pose question: ces femmes aiment leur métier, se savent performantes, elles sont régulièrement promues, augmentées et identifiées comme jeunes talents ou hauts potentiels par ceux qui les emploient. En apparence, il n'y a aucune raison qu'elles ne poursuivent pas sur cette lancée. Elles quittent le système par dizaines, ce système auquel leurs mères et leurs grands-mères rêvaient d'accéder. Ces femmes sont privilégiées, elles ont grandi dans un milieu socialement favorisé, bénéficient du soutien financier de leur entourage, notamment de leurs conjoints, et elles ont la possibilité de quitter leurs carrières et de se réinventer professionnellement. Beaucoup font face à des difficultés économiques, élèvent seules leurs enfants, soutiennent des maris ou des compagnons inactifs ou portent à bout de bras des parents âgés ou bien malades. Elles ont des priorités qui ne leur laissent pas le loisir d'abandonner leur travail ou de le faire différemment.

Les parcours de ces *ex-successful women* éclairent néanmoins la question de la négociation permanente entre identité professionnelle et identité personnelle à laquelle se livrent toutes les femmes, à tous les échelons sociaux. Avantagées par leur bagage scolaire, leurs professions rémunératrices leur permettant de déléguer les tâches domestiques, les femmes dont il est question ici sont souvent considérées comme « ayant tout », y compris le choix de sortir du système.

À l'arrivée sur le marché du travail, dans les années 1990, plusieurs décennies de combat féministe avaient déjà fait tomber de nombreuses barrières à l'égalité professionnelle et le principe de l'ouverture du monde du travail aux femmes était acquis. Par exemple, la France est l'un des pays les plus avancés en termes d'accès des femmes au travail. On sait qu'en France, aujourd'hui, les filles réussissent mieux que les garçons, d'abord à l'école, puis dans les études post-baccalauréat. Les recherches (Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche, 2016) montrent en effet un accès généralisé pour les jeunes femmes aux études supérieures puisqu'elles représentent actuellement 55% des étudiants.

Les progrès accomplis en matière d'égalité professionnelle sont réels et par l'effet des lois en faveur de l'égalité et avec le soutien des politiques de rétention et de promotion des femmes mises en place par leurs employeurs, ces dernières sont de plus en plus nombreuses à s'élever dans la hiérarchie professionnelle. Dans ce contexte, il est tentant de voir le mouvement d'abandon de belles carrières par certaines comme un échec. On pourrait notamment arguer que ce phénomène constitue un gâchis social, un gaspillage de talents, une perte pour les entreprises, les cabinets et les banques qui emploient ces femmes, mais aussi pour les universités, les écoles, la société tout entière qui ont investi dans leur éducation et dans leur formation.

Les femmes qui réussissent sont mises en avant par leurs employeurs ; elles piquent également l'intérêt des médias et l'imaginaire collectif. Leurs parcours sont suivis de près, notamment par leurs juniors. Ne sont-elles pas en train de leur dire que tout cela ne sert à rien ? Que le monde des affaires est et reste un monde d'hommes dans lequel elles n'ont pas leur place ? Que la génération d'avant elle a essayé de s'y faire admettre, mais s'est heurtée à un mur ? Que les femmes ne sont pas capables, pas assez ambitieuses, qu'elles n'ont pas la carrure, pas l'endurance ?

Dans son livre *Backlash. La guerre froide contre les femmes*, la féministe américaine Susan Faludi montre comment, après chaque progrès social ou victoire vers l'égalité des sexes, surgirait une revanche, souvent brutale, des dominants, une période de retour de bâton pendant laquelle les droits des femmes régressent après avoir connu un bond. Dès lors, faut-il voir dans ces défections féminines de postes à responsabilité un recul, un backlash de l'élan féministe ? Personne ne sait qui ni combien sont ces femmes qui se détournent de postes prestigieux, quel a été leur parcours, comment elles s'y sont senties, pourquoi elles ont décidé de les quitter, ce qu'elles font à la place et comment leurs histoires s'inscrivent dans l'histoire de l'égalité hommes/femmes au travail.

La sociologue américaine Pamela Stone, dans son livre *Opting Out ? – Why Women Really Quit Careers and Head Home*, analyse les résultats de son enquête menée à la fin des années 2000 sur cinquante-quatre femmes à travers les États-Unis, toutes mariées et mères de famille et qui, en pleine carrière ascendante, ont décidé d'opter out, c'est-à-dire de sortir du monde du travail pour devenir femmes au foyer. L'étude s'emploie à comprendre et expliquer les raisons professionnelles et personnelles qui ont poussé ces femmes brillantes et socialement privilégiées, ces high-flying women, à décider de rester à la maison. Selon l'analyse de Pamela Stone, ces raisons tiennent davantage aux défaillances du monde professionnel, peu adapté aux valeurs et aux besoins des femmes, qu'à un prétendu désir personnel et typiquement maternel qui, selon un mythe largement entretenu par les médias, pousserait ces dernières à tout arrêter pour se consacrer exclusivement à leurs enfants. La sociologue soutient que les femmes sont prises dans un double dilemme, subissant une pression accrue, d'une part, dans la sphère professionnelle où elles sont incitées à être toujours plus performantes et, d'autre part, dans leur vie personnelle où elles se doivent d'élever des enfants « parfaits ».

Les femmes délaissent le modèle de réussite classique ne rentrent pas à la maison, elles ne conçoivent pas de ne pas participer à la grande entreprise de création qu'est le monde du travail. Simplement, elles organisent leur propre univers professionnel, cette fois en partant de leurs propres besoins et selon des codes, des rythmes et des valeurs qui leur conviennent davantage. Les femmes, ayant totalement intégré les codes du monde du travail et de la réussite actuels, s'offrent aujourd'hui le luxe de décider d'en sortir pour inventer les leurs.

Le but de mon article est de présenter que la somme des femmes qui délaissent des postes à responsabilités pour travailler autrement, loin de constituer une série d'accidents

de parcours isolés ou une remise en cause de l'ambition professionnelle féminine, constitue un véritable phénomène social préfigurant le modèle de réussite sociale de demain, qui sera axé sur des valeurs contemporaines et fédératrices.

L'histoire confirmera si le XXI^e siècle sera le siècle du féminin. Dans la sphère professionnelle en tout cas, ces vingt premières années auront été prometteuses. Elles auront vu l'émergence d'un phénomène nouveau : les femmes décident de ne plus attendre que la société leur fasse la place qu'elles estiment mériter en se la créant elles-mêmes. Et ces femmes proposent à tous de travailler différemment. Ces femmes constituent la première génération de femmes ayant eu l'opportunité d'accéder à des postes qui étaient jusque-là majoritairement occupés par des hommes et incarnent donc, à ce titre, l'égalité sur le papier, l'égalité théorique, celle qui consiste à dire qu'aujourd'hui, les femmes peuvent être membres de conseils d'administration ou de comités exécutifs des sociétés, traders ou associées de cabinets d'affaires ou de banques d'investissement.

En France, entre 1944, année où les femmes ont obtenu le droit de vote, et le début des années 1990, les femmes ont en effet progressivement intégré tous les métiers, tous les secteurs professionnels, les uns après les autres. Une fois installées dans ces postes et dans ces domaines d'activité, elles ont encore dû attendre quelques années pour gravir les échelons et s'élever progressivement dans la hiérarchie. Nous sommes donc arrivés au point où des femmes commencent à atteindre les plus hauts postes et où certaines décident de les quitter.

Les filles de leurs mères : une génération entre deux vagues

Pour une fille, être témoin de l'intégration professionnelle de sa mère ouvre d'abord à l'idée du travail féminin et, dans un deuxième temps, lui signifie qu'elle aussi peut s'y livrer sans danger, sans risque. Une mère qui travaille permet à la petite fille de découvrir et de maîtriser les codes de la femme active, de se projeter naturellement dans ce rôle et de lui éviter d'avoir à l'inventer à partir de zéro.

"Les sociologues considèrent que les premiers modèles d'un individu sont ses parents qui façonnent des standards et posent les fondations pour le développement de leur progéniture" (Singh, Vinnicombe et James, 2003, p. 56).

Dans la sphère professionnelle, ceci est particulièrement vrai pour les femmes qui, historiquement, sont arrivées après les hommes sur le marché du travail et ont donc dû trouver leur place dans un système où tous les sièges étaient déjà pris. Dans leur cas, l'héritage maternel est alors décisif.

Dans le texte intitulé « La transmission intergénérationnelle, clé de la réussite ? », Emmanuelle Gagliardi affirme :

Lorsqu'une femme prend son pouvoir ou sa place au travail, elle est toujours en prise avec la manière dont ses parents l'ont fait avant elle. On comprend alors pourquoi la question de la réussite au féminin dépend de la manière dont les femmes ont vu celles de leur famille s'insérer professionnellement ou pas, et surtout se positionner par rapport aux hommes. (Gagliardi, Perrot, 2012, p. 88)

Cette génération, contemporaine de l'autorisation de la pilule et du droit à l'avortement, a refusé en bloc l'occupation de rester à la maison non rémunérée, ce non-statut que ses aînées lui présentaient majoritairement comme une vaste escroquerie. La sociologue Liane Henneron confirme une forte volonté chez les femmes de la génération de nos mères, d'éviter à leurs filles toute forme de dépendance à l'égard des hommes :

Les féministes des années 1970 devenues mères ont donné une éducation spécifique à leurs enfants. Elles ont voulu qu'ils acquièrent vite leur autonomie. Ce faisant, elles avaient deux objectifs : d'une part, être plus libres, ne pas s'enfermer dans le rôle maternel et, d'autre part, permettre aux filles d'acquérir très tôt une autonomie trop longtemps réservée aux garçons (Henneron, 2005, p. 46).

L'incantation à s'affranchir de la domination masculine en conquérant son autonomie financière a été particulièrement pressante et parfois difficile à honorer. La posture maternelle consistant parfois à adopter, dans la sphère professionnelle, un comportement revendicateur, parfois militant, ne correspondait pas forcément aux valeurs et aux aspirations de leurs filles.

L'indépendance financière totale que les féministes d'alors réclamaient et appelaient de toutes leurs forces, impliquait nécessairement de se tourner vers des professions historiquement plus masculines. Ces filles ont entendu leurs mères leur répéter qu'elles devaient impérativement gagner leur vie et travailler autant et comme les hommes, mais les ont vues, dans les faits, passer beaucoup de temps à la maison. Fortement incitées à achever le processus d'émancipation qu'avait initié leurs mères, elles ont été en même temps implicitement invitées à ne pas renoncer à leurs propres carrières, les invitait en effet à « tout avoir » (carrière, couple, enfants etc.)

Dans ses mémoires, l'ancienne première dame des États-Unis, Michelle Obama, elle-même née au milieu des années 1960, décrit bien l'ambivalence qu'ont pu ressentir les

femmes de sa génération face à un tel modèle : "J'avais envie à la fois d'être exactement comme ma propre mère et de ne pas du tout être comme elle" (Obama, 2018, p.134).

Les filles portées par l'exigence et la fierté paternelles

Là où les mères pouvaient avoir tendance à ne voir dans le travail que le moyen pour leurs filles d'être indépendantes et, somme toute, de s'affranchir des hommes, ces pères poussaient leurs filles à surmonter leurs doutes et leurs peurs, à viser haut et à s'épanouir dans le monde professionnel. Dans le livre *Briser le plafond de verre*, le journaliste Florence Sandis observe :

Le plus souvent, nos croyances liées à nos capacités professionnelles ont un lien avec le père. Dans l'imaginaire collectif, mais aussi en psychologie, l'action, le travail, le monde extérieur sont des notions souvent identifiées au masculin. Il est donc assez naturel que ces notions soient plus facilement véhiculées par le père, alors que la mère construit la confiance affective de son enfant. (Sandis, 2017, p. 133).

Il semble que la féminisation du travail est en effet une question d'espace et de partage de ce dernier : les hommes l'occupent depuis toujours, se le sont approprié et la plupart s'y sentent naturellement à leur aise ; ils acceptent avec plus ou moins de bonne volonté d'y laisser entrer les femmes, qui se sont d'abord efforcées de se glisser dans un coin et cherchent depuis à s'y déployer. Ce processus est également une affaire de temporalité, car l'histoire de la féminisation du travail s'accélérait avec le temps, une génération donnée de femmes ne sera pas soumise aux mêmes conditions et aux mêmes influences que la précédente ou les suivantes. On s'aperçoit alors que, dans le cas des femmes nées entre 1965 et 1980, la prévalence indiscutable du modèle paternel était très liée à une époque et à certaines circonstances qui n'existent plus aujourd'hui. Au fil des générations, l'influence du père sur la construction professionnelle des filles devrait être de moins en moins marquée et l'on peut imaginer que les modèles maternels que certaines femmes sont aujourd'hui en train de constituer pour leurs filles auront pour ces dernières autant de poids que les modèles paternels.

En haut de la pyramide

La question de l'ambition féminine et de son lien avec le célèbre plafond de verre a été largement abordée par les médias. Ceux-ci ont longtemps contribué à diffuser l'idée que les femmes avaient moins soif de réussite que les hommes, se montraient moins sensibles aux sirènes du pouvoir, n'osaient pas réclamer des promotions et des

augmentations, étaient trop discrètes et se mettaient moins en valeur. De même, une fois entrées dans la vie active, elles se sont immédiatement et entièrement consacrées à leurs missions, déployant une extraordinaire capacité de travail, devenant rapidement opérationnelles et faisant preuve d'une adaptabilité et d'une autonomie remarquables. Toutes ont mentionné, à un moment ou un autre de l'entretien, combien elles s'étaient impliquées dans leurs fonctions et combien elles avaient donné le meilleur d'elles-mêmes.

Ces femmes étaient toutes d'excellentes avocates, banquières, directrices ou managers. Toutes ont rapporté avoir eu de « très bons résultats », des chiffres d'affaires qui « explosaient », des objectifs toujours atteints et souvent dépassés, des évaluations annuelles « magnifiques », des promotions régulières et des responsabilités croissantes. Un grand nombre d'entre elles a été identifié comme jeunes talents au sein de leurs entreprises et a bénéficié de programmes de formation au leadership, celles qui étaient en cabinet étaient promises à l'association ou en tout cas en bonne voie pour s'y faire nommer.

Le dictionnaire Larousse donne la définition suivante de « l'ambition » : Désir ardent de posséder quelque chose, de parvenir à (faire) quelque chose : Avoir l'ambition de réussir. Il ne fait aucun doute que ces femmes manifestaient un désir ardent de réussir. En ceci, elles confirment les études d'experts qui, depuis une quinzaine d'années, s'accordent à dire que les femmes sont devenues, au fil des années, aussi ambitieuses que les hommes. La théorie persistante selon laquelle les femmes sont moins ambitieuses que les hommes est tout simplement fausse ; nos données sur le degré d'ambition des femmes et la maternité peuvent paraître surprenantes, mais elles sont également sans équivoque : avoir des enfants ne rend pas les femmes moins ambitieuses.

Le culte du présentéisme

Dans un article paru en 2012 intitulé *Why Women Still Can't Have It All*, Anne-Marie Slaughter, première femme à diriger le Centre de prospective politique du département d'État américain, sous Hillary Clinton, et qui a décidé de renoncer à ce poste au bout de quelques mois pour s'occuper de l'un de ses fils adolescents qui avait besoin d'attention, a dénoncé sans ambages ce qu'elle appelle la culture des heures macho, cette course à qui reste le plus tard et qui comptabilise le plus de nuits blanches et de week-ends passés au bureau lorsque cela n'est pas indispensable. Anne-Marie Slaughter observe que dans certains cas surtravailler peut être contre-productif ; elle appelle les employeurs à mettre en place des limites, ainsi qu'à développer le télétravail et la flexibilité. Pour elle, le salut du monde professionnel ne peut venir que d'une plus grande souplesse horaire et donc de la plus grande liberté que les employeurs voudront bien accorder à leurs employés.

Le problème des horaires et du rythme de travail est revenu dans la grande majorité. Impression de courir tout le temps, tiraillement entre le bureau et la maison, temps perdu dans les réunions, ou encore impossibilité de gérer deux agendas : le manque

de temps a été cité comme l'une des raisons principales pour lesquelles les femmes interrogées ont quitté leurs anciennes carrières.

Le manque d'efficacité, la perte de temps et la satisfaction que certains collègues semblent retirer du fait de palabrer pendant des heures au mépris de tout ordre du jour, sans aucun esprit de synthèse et sans réelle volonté d'aboutir à un résultat, ont contribué à la frustration et à l'épuisement de ces femmes qui n'aspiraient quasiment toutes qu'à une chose : accomplir les tâches et assumer leurs responsabilités de la journée de manière correcte, efficace et satisfaisante, puis rentrer chez elles. Ces femmes ne voulaient simplement pas passer au bureau plus d'heures qu'elles n'en estimaient nécessaire.

Le monde professionnel actuel, avec ses horaires de travail fixes, ses rituels de réunions et de reporting et sa culture du surinvestissement présentiel, a été élaboré à une époque où les femmes n'y avaient aucune place et se chargeaient de l'intégralité des aspects de la vie du foyer. Pour celles qui ont les enfants, la tension entre leur désir d'efficacité professionnelle et ce qu'elles considéraient comme des heures perdues est alors devenu, à l'instant où elles sont devenues mères, leur principale source de stress, un problème jamais réglé et qui se répétait au quotidien, l'alpha et oméga de leurs journées de travail.

En France, la charge de gérer les conséquences de la féminisation du travail – qui aurait dû être assumée par la société dans son ensemble – a été abandonnée aux femmes elles-mêmes. C'était à elles de résoudre la nouvelle équation sociétale : une femme qui travaille = une femme qui ne garde pas les enfants et n'entretient pas la maison = qui va s'en occuper ? C'était leur problème. C'était à elles de le régler. Le problème de l'équilibre entre obligations professionnelles et devoirs parentaux a été reconnu et est traité comme tel. Les réflexions, les programmes, les politiques, les bonnes pratiques en la matière se sont multipliés et continuent d'être lancés au plan national par la voie législative et réglementaire et au niveau des entreprises et des organisations, afin de tenter de régler le problème ex post. Par exemple, la société française ne s'est pas contentée de laisser les femmes de ma génération continuer à gérer seules les conséquences domestiques et familiales de leur entrée sur le marché du travail, elle n'a eu de cesse d'accroître sa pression sur les mères pour que celles-ci soient des « mères parfaites ».

L'obligation d'excellence sur tous les plans

Dans les pays occidentaux et dans un mouvement que l'on pourrait qualifier de *backlash*, le développement du travail féminin s'est accompagné, dès les années 1970, d'une redécouverte du rôle maternel et de sa soudaine célébration et glorification, avec comme revers de la médaille, une immixtion de la société dans la relation mère-enfant et la multiplication d'injonctions et de diktats culpabilisants à l'endroit des mères sur la manière de bien élever leurs enfants.

En 2008, la sociologue américaine Pamela Stone soulignait déjà l'omniprésence de ce qu'elle appelle l'idéologie de la maternité intensive (intense mothering) dans nos sociétés actuelles qui s'épargne, selon elle, aucune classe, aucune race ou aucun statut social, sommant les mères de dépenser toujours plus de temps, d'énergie et d'argent à élever leurs enfants : Élever des enfants est devenu plus difficile. Les attentes et les normes relatives à ce que constitue une bonne mère ne cessent d'augmenter.

Dans son essai *Le Conflit. La femme et la mère*, paru en 2011, Élisabeth Badinter faisait le même constat d'un alourdissement continu du devoir maternel : "Chaque culture est dominée par un modèle maternel idéal qui peut varier selon les époques. Aujourd'hui, le modèle est plus exigeant que jamais" (Badinter, 2011, p. 71). Élisabeth Badinter considère que: "Dès la naissance du premier enfant, elles se retrouvent en position de négociatrice entre leurs deux identités de femme et de mère (...) La négociation est d'autant plus difficile que les exigences sont importantes de part et d'autre" (Ibidem, p. 43).

Vers 30 ou 40 ans, l'âge charnière pour confirmer, consolider et amener sa carrière au niveau supérieur, celles de mes interlocutrices qui étaient mères ont ressenti la pression s'intensifier de tous les côtés. Cumulant le modèle maternel, qui les poussait à réussir professionnellement et personnellement et le modèle paternel, qui les incitait à suivre ses pas, les femmes que j'ai rencontrées à devoir tout à la fois être de bonnes mères et de grandes professionnelles, c'est-à-dire à faire à la maison comme si le travail n'existait pas et à faire au travail comme si les enfants n'existaient pas. Autrement dit, à faire l'impossible.

La nécessité d'un nouveau modèle féminin

En écoutant les témoignages de ces dizaines de femmes ayant décidé de quitter le système, il m'a semblé évident que les femmes nées entre le milieu des années 1960 et le début des années 1980 n'avaient finalement eu le choix, entre le moment où elles avaient démarré leurs études et celui où elles étaient devenues des professionnelles confirmées, qu'entre trois types de modèles imparfaits : le modèle ambigu, celui de leurs mères qui, on l'a vu, ne travaillaient pas forcément, étaient des référentes pour leurs enfants et, en même temps, fortement influencées par la deuxième vague féministe, ont investi leurs filles de la difficile mission d'aller plus loin qu'elles dans la course à l'égalité ; le modèle irréaliste : celui de leurs pères qui menaient de belles carrières et, s'ils se montraient encourageants, n'en étaient pas moins tout à fait inconscients des difficultés, défis et enjeux particuliers que pourraient rencontrer leurs filles en suivant la voie qui était la leur ; le modèle extrême, celui sur lequel on s'attardera dans ce chapitre, des femmes plus hommes que les hommes et/ou des superwomen, que les interviewées ont croisé ou rencontré dans le cadre de leurs premières carrières et qui a pu les choquer par son manque de solidarité ou son caractère surhumain.

Deux types de femmes avaient commencé à occuper des sièges de direction dans les entreprises ou des grands bureaux d'associés des cabinets : la « femme plus homme que les hommes », qui déployait tous les attributs et les caractères du pouvoir masculin et

affichait peu de solidarité, voire parfois une forme d'hostilité, envers son sexe, et la « superwoman », qui avait tout et réussissait tout. La femme parfaite ou la femme accomplie était celle qui réussissait tout : sa vie professionnelle, son couple, ses enfants, ses vacances, sa maison, ses amis, ses loisirs, son apparence etc., donnant l'impression de ne pas connaître ou gérer la pression, les soirées au bureau, la fatigue, les réunions, les voyages d'affaires, les demandes des enfants et les problèmes de nounou.

Dans les années 1990 et 2000, période où les femmes ont commencé à accéder aux professions d'affaires, pour certaines d'entre elles et dans certaines circonstances, s'intégrer dans un monde jusque-là réservé aux hommes et conserver la place et le pouvoir que ces derniers avaient bien voulu leur concéder nécessitait avant tout de se couler dans un moule, de se fondre dans la masse et donc, bien, souvent, d'adopter scrupuleusement et à la lettre les codes et les usages masculins en vigueur. Julie Landour considère que :

Les mompreneurs auraient souhaité quitter un univers professionnel qui ne les satisfait plus, celui des cadres en entreprise, et auraient profité d'un congé maternité pour monter leur projet d'entreprise, visant à mieux articuler vie professionnelle et vie de famille. Réunies dans des collectifs dédiés, elles quitteraient non seulement le monde de l'entreprise mais également celui du salariat pour lancer des activités qui seraient avant tout en lien avec la sphère de la féminité ou de maternité (Landour, 2015, p. 39).

Concrètement, mieux articuler vie professionnelle et vie de famille signifie que ces femmes travaillent chez elles.

Pour une réussite inclusive. L'harmonisation du temps professionnel et des autres temps tout d'abord

En remettant en cause la réussite professionnelle telle qu'elle est délimitée aujourd'hui, les femmes posent en réalité deux questions philosophiques. La première consiste à se demander dans quelle mesure la réussite professionnelle a-t-elle besoin d'exclure toutes les autres vies (familiales, personnelles, sociales). La deuxième question est la suivante : ne peut-on pas envisager, dans une recherche de plus grande efficacité professionnelle permettant notamment de répondre à la première question, une autre manière d'exercer le pouvoir professionnel dans l'intérêt collectif et non plus afin de servir des intérêts purement individuels ?

Dans notre culture, il a longtemps été socialement beaucoup plus acceptable pour une femme que pour un homme de renoncer à faire carrière et de se reconverter professionnellement. En effet, si les choses sont en train de changer à cet égard - on entend de plus en plus d'histoires de réorientation chez les jeunes hommes – la décision d'abandonner un poste à responsabilités est encore souvent perçue comme plus normale ou comme moins choquante chez une femme, en particulier si elle est mère, que chez un homme. La raison de cette différence de perception et de jugement est que les femmes ont, historiquement, été les premières à être confrontées au problème de la double réussite professionnelle et personnelle.

Aujourd'hui, cependant, et on le voit déjà avec ces jeunes pères qui prennent volontiers leur congé de paternité, qui s'arrêtent de travailler pour s'occuper de leurs enfants, ces choix de vie ne sont plus réservés à la seule frange féminine de la population. L'idée que la réussite puisse résider dans l'équilibre et non plus dans l'exclusivité des différents temps de vies fait son chemin chez les hommes comme chez les femmes. En l'espèce, leur posture de nouvelles arrivées sur un marché du travail à la création duquel elles n'ont pas participé permet aux femmes de dénoncer les limites d'un modèle de réussite professionnelle vieillissant et peu en phase avec les préoccupations sociétales actuelles.

Leur démarche active et positive ensuite, consistant à créer un autre modèle de succès professionnel reposant sur d'autres codes, d'autres attitudes et d'autres rapports de travail et qui pourra progressivement inspirer et sur lequel pourront venir se calquer de nouvelles générations de femmes et d'hommes, achève de faire exemple. Parce qu'elles vont dans le sens de la société, nul doute que d'autres suivront leurs traces. Selon l'essayiste américaine Rebecca Solnit : "Change begins at the margins and moves to the center" (Solnit, 2017, p. 186).

Le nouvel écosystème professionnel féminin

Procès et plaintes pour harcèlement, burn-out, suicides, pression accrue, objectifs toujours plus élevés, effectifs resserrés, relations tendues et anxiogènes, les récits des maux et des difficultés liés au travail se racontent et se déploient dans les médias, dans la littérature et dans les cabinets des psychologues, des coachs et des avocats en droit du travail. La hiérarchie pesante, le management par la peur, les horaires de plus en plus longs et la prime à la surprésence essoufflent notre monde du travail où la multiplication des procédures, la lourdeur du reporting, la pression constante et le contrôle permanent qu'autorise l'e-mail soumettent les employés à une nouvelle forme de stress. Le coaching, appelé en renfort à tous les niveaux, à toutes les étapes de la vie de l'entreprise, sous la forme individuelle ou collective, aide à passer des caps et à soigner des situations ponctuelles. Le télétravail est largement plébiscité par les employés, beaucoup le voient comme une véritable poche d'air, une manière de prendre de la distance et donc de

redynamiser leur rapport au travail. Il a commencé, avant même la crise de la Covid, à devenir la norme dans certaines structures.

Beaucoup, hommes et femmes confondus, commencent à remettre en cause les anciens codes qui sous-tendent encore les rapports de travail et réclament davantage de fluidité, d'efficacité et de consensus. Nombreux sont ceux pour qui la réussite professionnelle ne se calcule plus en heures de présence ou en sacrifices personnels. Les femmes qui renoncent à des carrières ascendantes pour travailler autrement se sont déjà emparées de ces questions et ont totalement repensé les valeurs, les codes et l'agencement de leur travail, créant un nouvel écosystème professionnel fondé sur trois piliers, que je présenterai tour à tour dans les trois chapitres suivants : une approche sororale de la relation professionnelle, la redéfinition des espaces et des temps de travail et le choix du collectif.

Une approche sororale de la relation professionnelle

Dans son essai *Sorcières. La puissance invaincue des femmes*, la journaliste Mona Chollet évoque l'utilité des modèles féminins, la manière dont ils agissent au niveau subconscient et la spécificité de la relation que les femmes parviennent à établir entre elles :

Je mesure l'importance galvanisante des modèles identificatoires (...). Quand il s'agit de faire sienne la force de quelqu'un, le contact avec une image, une pensée, peut suffire à produire des effets spectaculaires. Dans cette façon qu'ont les femmes de se tendre la main, de se faire la courte échelle – de façon délibérée ou à leur insu –, on peut voir le contraire parfait de la logique du *plein la vue* (Chollet, 2018, p. 97).

L'idée d'être totalement indépendante, de pouvoir travailler quand et comme on veut et de ne plus être à la merci de l'agenda de quelqu'un d'autre faisait rêver chaque femme. Le phénomène de la rivalité féminine au travail a été largement documenté et dénoncé. Récemment encore, la journaliste, productrice et réalisatrice Florence Sandis interpellait ainsi ses semblables : "Qui n'a pas été confrontée au syndrome de la Reine des Abeilles ? Cette Reine qui règne sans partage et qui la seule à fréquenter les mâles de sa colonie" (Sandis, 2017, p. 84). Il est vrai que la figure de la *working woman* ambitieuse, prête à écraser ses sœurs et à leur barrer la route pour profiter seule de la place au sommet a eu vite fait d'intégrer l'imaginaire collectif.

On croit que la rivalité féminine, qui a pu servir un temps dans les entreprises, les cabinets ou les organisations, est révolue et n'existera bientôt plus. Qu'à ce stade de la

féménisation de la sphère professionnelle, les femmes ont la liberté d'esprit, la volonté et le temps de se prêter main-forte, et pourquoi pas, de s'organiser pour conquérir cet espace.

L'essayiste Chloé Delaume, qui attribue l'absence première de solidarité féminine à la solitude et à l'isolement des pionnières : "La femme forte l'est devenue en se débrouillant seule". Sheryl Sandberg prédit la disparition de ce phénomène, dès lors que ce dernier est directement lié au nombre de femmes accédant aux postes hiérarchiquement supérieurs dans les entreprises :

J'ose espérer que cette attitude est en train de changer. Les premières femmes à atteindre des positions de leadership étaient peu nombreuses et ne se succédaient pas forcément. Afin de survivre, beaucoup étaient concentrées sur leur propre intégration, plutôt que sur l'aide des autres. La génération actuelle de leaders féminines est de plus en plus prête à s'exprimer. Plus il y aura de femmes aux postes de pouvoir, moins la pression de se couler dans le moule les accaparera et plus elles oeuvreront pour d'autres femmes. (Sandberg, 2013, p. 62).

Aujourd'hui, les femmes ne sont plus aussi isolées, elles ne sont plus seulement des invitées, elles sont admises à diriger le domaine professionnel au même titre que les hommes. Elles ne sont toujours pas aussi confortablement assises que les hommes et il reste encore beaucoup à faire, mais elles ont aujourd'hui moins besoin de se préoccuper de leur légitimité. Elles peuvent alors tendre la main à leurs sœurs et voir en elles non des compétitrices pour le seul poste ou siège vacant, mais des alliées dans leur quotidien professionnel.

La deuxième raison qui signe la fin de la rivalité féminine est la plus grande sensibilisation des jeunes femmes à la nécessité et à l'utilité de la sororité. Chloé Delaume rejoint ainsi d'autres auteurs en soutenant l'hypothèse de l'émergence d'une quatrième vague féministe, caractérisée par le militantisme des jeunes femmes, le signalement et la punition publicisés, notamment grâce à internet et aux réseaux sociaux, des actes de sexisme et de misogynie au quotidien. L'essayiste prédit que cette nouvelle vague sera portée par un concept, une attitude : "la force de la quatrième vague, c'est la sororité". (Delaume, 2019, p. 144). Chloé Delaume appelle les femmes et les jeunes de la nouvelle vague en particulier, à une sororisation générale, car la sororité est le mot clef, la fin des rapports verticaux, se penser sœurs modifie tout. Elle affiche un optimiste exalté et entraînant : "Par la sororité, rien ne sera épargné car les femmes vivent, partout, résolues et nombreuses, dangereuses puisqu'unies". (Ibidem, p. 103).

De nos jours, les femmes sont clairement en demande. Elles veulent se regrouper, se retrouver entre elles, dialoguer, partager, échanger sur leurs métiers, leurs expériences professionnelles, leurs défis, leurs objectifs ; elles veulent s'organiser. Beaucoup pressentent le potentiel de ces espaces de développement et d'entraide que sont les réseaux. Elles sont d'avis que notre sexe gagnerait à exploiter davantage ce vecteur de promotion, de développement et d'optimisation des relations professionnelles.

L'efficacité de cette mécanique intellectuelle collective est redoutable et la satisfaction que leurs participantes en retirent est immense. Avec la sororité, les femmes sont en train d'explorer une nouvelle approche de l'acte professionnel, elles ouvrent de nouveaux champs d'expérimentation du rapport au travail ; celui-ci n'a plus à être forcément conflictuel, compétitif ou fondé sur le lien dominant/ dominé, il peut être pragmatique efficace, reposer sur la confiance. La prise de conscience, aux niveaux politique et social, des problèmes persistants au sein du monde du travail, notamment l'inégalité des salaires et le manque de diversité dans les plus hautes sphères professionnelles a eu lieu, et des initiatives sont prises et des efforts sont réalisés chaque jour pour essayer de les résoudre. Car lorsque les femmes décident d'investir la sphère professionnelle ensemble, et non plus seules, elles en font bouger les lignes et les codes en profondeur, et de nouvelles approches, de nouveaux systèmes, émergent qui viennent modifier la topographie professionnelle.

Les nouveaux espaces-temps de travail

Depuis plusieurs années déjà, à la faveur de la reconnaissance médicale des phénomènes de burn-out, de la caractérisation juridique des risques psychosociaux et de l'explosion du coaching, les acteurs de la sphère professionnelle perçoivent les limites du rapport au travail à l'ancienne, y compris dans sa vénération du présentiel et son obsession du contrôle. Les salariés réclament des environnements de travail sains, bienveillants et épanouissants et aspirent à davantage de flexibilité, de responsabilisation et d'adaptabilité en termes de quand et où ils doivent travailler.

Les femmes qui renoncent à des carrières ascendantes pour créer leur propre modèle professionnel revisitent les conditions pratiques (lieu et horaires) du travail telles que la société les concevait jusqu'alors. L'harmonisation des temps et des espaces de vie devient une fin en soi, un signe d'équilibre, de succès. Elles imaginent et définissent de nouveaux codes où l'activité professionnelle s'exerce dans plusieurs lieux, où le temps de travail est fractionné et ne s'étend plus en une longue plage horaire ininterrompue, où le professionnel et le personnel alternent et se succèdent parfois à l'heure près. En s'affranchissant des codes établis, ces femmes défendent et mettent en œuvre l'idée révolutionnaire et à première vue paradoxale que le travail peut se réaliser dans la liberté. Cette percée des femmes dans le monde du travail indépendant représente ainsi une formidable chance de voir se mettre en œuvre et se développer d'autres valeurs et

manières de travailler que celles du modèle salarial dominant. Comme le soulignent les auteurs d'une étude intitulée *Divisions sexuées et places des femmes dans le non-salariat* datant de 2017 :

Le monde du travail non salarié constitue un laboratoire pour mettre en évidence le rôle du genre dans la définition de la valeur de la valeur de ce que produit un individu, selon son statut d'emploi, son sexe et les ressources dont il dispose. (Abdelnour, Bernard, Gros, 2017, p. 95).

Dans son essai *La Révolution du féminin*, la professeure de sciences politiques Camille Froidevaux-Metterie défend l'idée que les femmes seraient naturellement anti-individualistes et développeraient, en matière professionnelle, une approche de la relation de travail et un style de management spécifiques, axés sur le collectif. Sa réflexion prend pour point de départ la nécessité de réaffirmer la spécificité anthropologique du sexe féminin dans une société en passe de devenir à la fois neutre et mixte. D'après Camille Froidevaux-Metterie, le mouvement féministe, en ayant permis aux femmes de s'affirmer en tant qu'individus susceptibles de se substituer aux hommes dans tous les domaines de la vie sociale », tandis que les hommes aspirent désormais, sur le plan des principes, "à endosser les rôles concrets traditionnellement assumés par les femmes dans la vie intime", a finalement procédé à une "déssexualisation des rôles et des fonctions", et il convient désormais de reprendre en considération la sexuation des corps. Une des dimensions dans lesquelles s'observe la spécificité féminine, d'après Camille Froidevaux-Metterie, est la socialité, c'est-à-dire, la relation aux autres. À cet égard, la chercheuse constate et met en lumière ce qu'elle appelle la "disposition relationnelle des femmes". S'appuyant sur les travaux de la sociologue et psychanalyste américaine Nancy J. Chodorow, elle avance l'hypothèse suivante :

Les femmes ne sont pas en mesure de vivre une existence individuelle au sens fort du terme, c'est-à-dire une existence qui se donne son sens de l'intérieur d'elle-même, qui n'a besoin d'aucune autre existence pour s'éprouver et se déployer. Dotées d'une disposition à se projeter hors d'elles-mêmes pour se préoccuper des plus vulnérables et, au premier chef, des enfants qu'elles portent et dont elles prennent soin, les femmes vivent selon une posture éminemment relationnelle. En un mot, elles sont des individus anti-individualistes. (Froidevaux-Metterie, 2015, p. 83).

La professeure de management Patricia Lewis a mené des travaux sur l'impact de la féminité sur le travail en partant du postulat qu'il était temps de cesser d'interpréter la position des femmes dans les organisations uniquement par rapport à une norme masculine dominante et d'aller regarder comment les femmes travaillaient en tant que telles. Pour ce faire, elle a choisi de concentrer ses recherches sur l'entrepreneuriat féminin, espace a priori libéré de toute domination car nouveau et donc libre d'être investi par les femmes comme bon leur semble. Pour la professeure Lewis, étudier comment les femmes « pratiquent » l'entrepreneuriat a permis de mettre au jour d'éventuelles subjectivités féminines dans le domaine professionnel.

Les femmes seraient enclines à rechercher la cohésion et la collaboration avec leurs collègues et à privilégier, dans la négociation ou dans les situations de tension ou de compétition, une approche créative afin d'obtenir un résultat. Guidées par le pragmatisme, elles paraissent trouver un intérêt à accueillir le point de vue d'autrui, plutôt que de chercher à l'éliminer ou à le supplanter, afin de vérifier si cette position pourrait éventuellement s'accorder avec la leur ou permettre d'avancer vers un objectif commun.

Conclusion

Dans la sphère professionnelle, la défense de la cause féministe poursuit désormais deux logiques parallèles : celle du rattrapage, initiée dans les années 1970, consistant à poursuivre l'insertion des femmes dans le système actuel en rendant ce dernier plus accueillant de leurs spécificités et de leurs demandes ; et celle, plus récente, de la construction d'un ailleurs possible, où ces dernières inventent et proposent un autre modèle professionnel. Les avancées, en termes de féminisation du monde professionnel et d'épanouissement des femmes au travail, viendront de l'extérieur et de l'intérieur. Plus ces deux mondes communiqueront, plus les chances de parvenir à un monde professionnel égalitaire, assoupli, pragmatique et vraisemblablement plus conforme aux attentes de la relève seront élevées. D'où la nécessité de bâtir un pont entre les femmes qui partent et les femmes qui restent. D'où l'importance fondamentale de maintenir le dialogue entre les femmes qui continuent d'évoluer et de cumuler les succès dans le système classique et celles qui choisissent de créer leur propre modèle de réussite.

Au nom de leurs premières armes faites côte à côte, au nom de ce pouvoir, de cette confiance que elles ressentent et que elles sont aujourd'hui prêtes à exprimer, parce que nous n'avons plus besoin d'être en concurrence et parce qu'elles n'ont plus besoin d'être en concurrence et parce que notre société s'ouvre enfin à l'idée qu'écouter et faire diriger les femmes pourrait faire gagner de l'argent, du temps et du sens, on doit inviter les femmes à éprouver au quotidien la puissance de cette nouvelle sororité qu'elles se sont découverte. On propose à celles qui partent de garder le contact avec celles qui restent, de les encourager, de les admirer et de continuer à faire leur éloge et réciproquement. On doit encourager le dialogue, le partage des expériences, l'amélioration de la situation au travail, par petites touches bienveillantes les unes envers les autres. On doit expérimenter et démontrer chaque jour la puissance des femmes unies.

Bibliographie

- Abdelnour, Sarah, Bernard, Sophie, Gros, Julien (2017). *Genre et travail indépendant : divisions sexuées et places des femmes dans le non-salariat*, dans *Travail et Emploi*, n° 150;
- Badinter, Élisabeth (2011). *Le Conflit. La femme et la mère*, Paris, Flammarion;
- Chollet, Mona (2018). *Sorcières. La puissance invaincue des femmes*, Paris, Zones;
- Delaume, Chloé (2019). *Mes biens chères sœurs*, Paris, Seuil;
- Faludi, Susan (1993). *Backlash. La guerre froide contre les femmes*, Paris, Éditions des Femmes ;
- Froidevaux-Metterie, Camille (2015). *La Révolution du féminin*, Paris, Gallimard, coll. « Bibliothèque des Sciences humaines »;
- Gagliardi, Emmanuelle, Perrot, Anne (2012). « La transmission intergénérationnelle, clé de la réussite ? », contribution à l'ouvrage collectif *Pouvoir(e)s. Les nouveaux équilibres femmes-hommes*, dirigé par Sophie Bramly et Armelle Carminati-Rabasse, Paris, Eyrolles;
- Henneron, Liane (2005). *Être jeune féministe aujourd'hui : les rapports de génération dans le mouvement féministe contemporain*, Paris, L'Harmattan ;
- Landour, Julie (2015). *S'engager en parentalité et créer son activité : l'entreprise paradoxale des Mompreneurs en France (2008-2014)*, thèse de sociologie, Paris, EHESS;
- Lewis, Patricia (2016). « Postfeminism, Feminities and Organization Studies: Exploring a New Agenda », *Organization Studies*, University of Kent.
- Obama, Michelle (2018). *Devenir*, Paris, Fayard ;
- Sandberg, Sheryl (2013). *Lean In: Women, Work and the Will To Lead*, Alfred A. Knopf;
- Sandis, Florence (2017). *Briser le plafond de verre. 12 clefs pour réussir au féminin*, Paris, Michel Lafon;
- Singh, Val, Vinnicombe, Susan et James, Kim (2003). *Constructing a Professional Identity: How Young Female Managers Use Role Models*, 2nd Gender, Keele, Work & Organisation Conference;
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie (2012). *Why Women Still Can't Have It All*, The Atlantic;
- Solnit, Rebecca (2017). *The Mother of All Questions: Further Feminisms*, Londres, Granta Books;
- Stone, Pamela (2008). *Opting Out ? – Why Women Really Quit Careers and Head Home*, USA, University of California Press.

Assistant professor Ph.D. Emilia Andreea Motoranu. She is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of International Business and Economics of Bucharest University of Economic Studies, Bucharest, Romania. Her main areas of interest are: business communication in French, Romanian as a foreign language, Universal literature, literature of exile. (emilia.motoranu@rei.ase.ro)

Varia

I connettori e la dinamica dell'argomentazione nel discorso economico giornalistico romeno e italiano / The Connectors and Dynamics of Argumentation in Romanian and Italian Journalistic Economic Discourse

Dana-Maria Feurdean

The article illustrates and discusses, based on a vast corpus of Romanian and Italian economic articles, the role of connectors and their pragmatic functions in the argumentation dynamics of this type of specialized discourse.

Economic discourse; connectors; argumentation.

Introduzione

L'argomentazione, vista come un meccanismo di qualsiasi tipo di discorso utilizza elementi lessicali con impatto nello stabilire relazioni tra frasi, nell'organizzazione sequenziale del discorso e nella modellazione degli atti linguistici. Queste "espressioni (più o meno lunghe, parola unica, locuzione, sintagma, proposizione) che servono per comunicare le proprietà argomentative delle proposizioni di un testo e le relazioni tra le proposizioni provviste di ruolo argomentativo" sono chiamate "ausiliari dell'argomentazione" (Stati, 2002, p.63). In questa categoria sono inclusi dal ricercatore anche *i connettori* sui quali il presente articolo si propone di soffermarsi - partendo dalla classificazione proposta da Vincenzo Lo Cascio (2002, p.194; 2009, p.168) - per una loro

esemplificazione *corpus-based* nella dinamica dell'argomentazione nel discorso economico giornalistico (d'ora in poi DEG) romeno e italiano accennando, in alcuni casi, anche alle loro funzioni pragmatiche. I corpora analizzati comprendono vari commenti e analisi della stampa economica romena – *Ziarul Financiar* (ZF), *Financiarul* (F), *Capital* (C) – (corpus romeno-22.455 parole) – e della stampa italiana – *Il Sole 24 Ore* (SO), *Repubblica* (R) – (corpus italiano- 19.854 parole) – che risalgono al periodo 2008-2009 e trattano aspetti legati alla crisi economica e finanziaria allora in atto.

1. Gli indicatori di forza (Lo Cascio 2002; 2009)¹

1.1. Gli indicatori argomentatori (che introducono il macro-argomento: *ca să mă exprim mai clar/să fiu mai clar; raționamentul e următorul; ora mi spiego, il ragionamento e questo ecc.*) sono piuttosto presenti nelle analisi e nei commenti degli esperti, negli articoli di opinione o di fondo, discorsi inclusi in rubriche come "Opinii" (ZF), "Comentarii" (C), "Dossier" (SO).

- (1) *“Să fiu mai clar. Să zicem că băncile străine ar fi de acord să rostogolească datorii pe termen scurt și să acorde noi împrumuturi până la, în total, 30 miliarde euro, care ar fi și o limită de expunere față de economia românească în ansamblu. Aici nu este vorba despre o înțelegere la nivel internațional privind economia românească, ci de ceea ce rezultă din limite de expunere ce sunt folosite de băncile străine. Dacă bugetul public s-ar finanța pe piața internă, prin emisiuni de obligațiuni, în valoare de, să zicem, echivalentul a 5 miliarde euro, el ar diminua din expunerea agregată acceptată pentru România care rămâne pentru sectorul privat - deci sectorul privat ar avea de suferit printr-un volum mai mic de credite (costul împrumuturilor crescând). (ZF, “Miliardele de euro de care avem neapărat nevoie” (02 02 09/24 Aug 2009/ l’ultima visualizzazione: 21 agosto 2023).*

1.2. Indicatori giustificatori (che introducono un argomento, un dato e quindi la giustificazione). Si tratta dei connettori delle premesse, che segnano la modalità regressiva della relazione causale (*fiindcă, întrucât, deoarece, pentru că, de fapt, în fapt, dat fiind că, cum;perché, in quanto, visto che, dato che, siccome ecc.*) e che, in base alla nostra analisi corpus-based, si è rivelata preponderante rispetto alla modalità progressiva

¹ Gli indicatori argomentativi sono, secondo Vincenzo Lo Cascio (2009, p.163), “indicatori di forza”, cioè “esponenti linguistici che servono a collegare gli enunciati e ad indicare il ruolo all’interno di un discorso. Essi fungono perciò da connettivi testuali, e possono essere classificati secondo la funzione che servono ad indicare. Alcuni marcano la tesi, altri i dati o gli argomenti, altri ancora la regola generale ed altri ancora la riserva o la fonte o categorie maggiori, come l’argomentazione stessa o categorie minori e periferiche, come la specificazione, la precisazione o la gradazione.”

della causalità². Se i connettivi della modalità progressiva introducono soprattutto atti illocutori di Previsione³ e Proposta (si veda anche 1.3.), i giustificatori mettono in luce il fatto che l'atto illocutorio dell'Analisi svolge un rilevante ruolo nel macroatto dell'argomentazione.

In frequenti casi le subordinate causali introdotte da questi indicatori sia preparano, come “un trampolino di lancio” (es.2. /A/ “**Siccome** l'effetto delle iniezioni di capitale dell'anno scorso è stato di breve durata”), una previsione o supposizione (es.2, /B/ “il declino del dollaro **potrebbe continuare**”), sia la sostengono o la giustificano (es.3- [...] “il capo economista della BCR ritiene che l'economia **potrà riprendersi** senza una graduale diminuzione dei tassi di interesse/A/, **soprattutto perché** nei mesi di novembre e dicembre le riduzioni del credito sono state viste in termini reali/B/).

(2) /A/ **Cum** efectul injecțiilor de capital din ultimul an a fost de scurtă durată, /B/ declinul dolarului ar putea continua, în lipsa unui alt tip de intervenție.” (analisi “Criza financiară și dolarul”, C, 25 09 2008, p.26).

(3) Lucian Anghel, economistul-șef al BCR, consideră că economia își va putea reveni fără o scădere treptată a dobânzilor /A/, **mai ales că** în noiembrie și decembrie s-au văzut reduceri ale creditului în termeni reali”/B/ (“Analizii: BNR va relaxa astăzi politica monetară”, ZF, 4 02, 09, p.6).

1.3. Indicatori conclusivi (che introducono la tesi o la conclusione): *deci, aşadar/dunque, quindi, allora; prin urmare (astfel)/ di conseguenza (così); iată de ce/ecco perché; de aceea/pertanto, perciò ecc.* Tali indicatori agiscono, nella maggior parte dei casi, a livello transfrastico, formando la modalità progressiva dell'argomentazione⁴.

Nell'esempio (4), il gruppo nominale anaforico “această situație” (“questa situazione”) riprende l'Asserzione /A/ (“Sui mercati creditizi internazionali si manifesta un intenso effetto di sfratto, causato dal crescente fabbisogno di finanziamento pubblico degli USA e di alcune grandi economie europee.”) introducendo, accanto al modalizzatore “*probabil*” (*probabilmente*), l'enunciato /B/ segnando così la progressione tematica nell'atto della Previsione /B/ [“Questa situazione creerà probabilmente ulteriori problemi alle economie emergenti con ampi disavanzi esterni, alcune delle quali potrebbero non essere più in grado di onorare i propri obblighi di pagamento esterno (come accadde a numerosi paesi dell'America Latina diversi decenni fa).”], la quale

² Si veda, per dettagli, Dana Maria Feurdean (2021). Visto che la pubblicazione citata tratta dell'espressione della causalità nel DEG romeno e italiano, nel presente articolo gli indicatori giustificativi e gli esempi non vengono commentati in dettaglio.

³ Concordiamo con Lavinia Merlini sul fatto che in economia, si può parlare di previsione “tutte le volte che l'economista, mediante una sua personale valutazione di uno stato di cose, fornisca un'anticipazione circa sue possibili evoluzioni, sviluppi espansioni.” (Merlini, 1983, p.44).

⁴ Si veda anche Sălăvăstru (2003, pp. 51-52), Garavelli (2001, p.128), Adam & Bonhomme (2005, p.176).

risulta “strumentale alla proposta” (Merlini, 1983, p.30) espressa da /C/ (*“Pertanto, essendo l'accesso ai mercati del credito più che limitato, è imperativo cercare di ottenere prestiti dalle istituzioni ufficiali europee e, se necessario, dal FMI.”*). Nella “superstruttura argomentativa” (van Dijk, 1980, 1981, apud Merlini 1983, p.25) l'atto lingustico della *Proposta* coincide qui con la conclusione introdotta dall'indicatore conclusivo *“Prin urmare”* (*Pertanto/Di conseguenza*) in modalità deontica tramite il costruito impersonale *“este imperativ să...”* (è imperativo/è obbligatorio).

Nell'enunciato /A/ dell'esempio (5), l'economista pronostica al fine di avvertire che la mancanza di finanziamento del settore privato sarà un pericolo per l'economia romena. Si tratta quindi di una previsione che può essere riformulata *“se p, q si verificherà”* (*“se mancassero i finanziamenti del settore privato, in Romania si provocherà una forte recessione che invaliderebbe le proiezioni del bilancio pubblico”*) e che prepara la conclusione (introdotta da *De aceea/Perciò*) formulata qui tramite il valore deontico del verbo *a putea/potere* (*“datoria sectorului privat pe termen scurt nu poate lăsa indiferente autoritățile publice”/“il debito del settore privato a breve termine non può lasciare indifferenti le autorità pubbliche”*). Tale valore viene rafforzato dalla modalità deontica espressa in /C/ (*Ea trebuie coroborată.../Esso deve essere corroborato dall'appello rivolto alla Commissione europea da nove grandi banche [...], di aiutare i settori finanziari di questi paesi”*). .

Nell'esempio (6), il connettore di modalità progressiva - *quindi* - introduce la conclusione o la proposta /B/ rafforzata dall'espressione para-argomentativa (*È giusto*) dell'asserzione /A/ e sostenuta dall'indicatore garante (*“come è stato autorevolmente suggerito”*).

- (4) /A/ *“Pe piețele internaționale de credit se manifestă un intens efect de evicțiune, cauzat de nevoile tot mai mari de finanțare publică ale SUA și ale unor economii europene mari. /B/ Este probabil ca această situație să creeze probleme suplimentare economiilor emergente cu deficite externe importante, dintre care unele s-ar putea să nu-și mai poată onora obligații de plată externe (așa cum s-a întâmplat cu o serie de țări latino-americane cu câteva decenii în urmă). /C/ Prin urmare, accesul la piețele de credit fiind mai mult decât limitat, este imperativ să încercăm să obținem împrumuturi de la instituții oficiale europene și, dacă va fi nevoie, de la FMI.”* (D. Dăianu, ZF, 02 02 09, l'ultima visualizzazione 21 agosto 2023).

- (5) /A/ *“O lipsă de finanțare cronică a sectorului privat ar cauza în România o recesiune puternică și ar invalida proiecțiile bugetului public; să ne gândim numai la creșterea de +2,5%, care este și așa foarte optimistă. Iar o recesiune ar implica încasări bugetare inferioare, creșterea deficitului bugetar în*

execuție, o împletire de cercuri vicioase. /B/ **De aceea, datoria** sectorului privat pe termen scurt **nu poate** lăsa indiferente autoritățile publice (guvernul și banca centrală). /C/ Declarația guvernatorului băncii centrale din Grecia privind succursalele băncilor elene din Europa de Răsărit este temei de îngrijorare. Ea **trebuie** coroborată cu apelul pe care nouă bănci mari, cu operațiuni extinse în noile state membre din UE și în Balcani l-au făcut Comisiei Europene - pentru a fi ajutate sectoarele financiare din aceste țări.” (Daniel Dăianu, ZF, 02 02 09, l’ultima visualizzazione 21 agosto 2023).

- (6) /A/ “**È certo** comunque **che** l’interazione fra aumento dei prezzi energetici e caduta delle Borse aggiunge a questa fase una spirale di fragilità. /B/ **È quindi giusto, come è stato autorevolmente suggerito**, riflettere sui legami fra le due facce della crisi (mercati finanziari e materie prime), soprattutto per capire quali politiche possano aiutarci a uscire da entrambe” (SO, Notizie finanza e mercati 16 ott 08, “Hedge Fund: Financial Times polemizza con Tremonti”, l’ultima visualizzazione 20 maggio 2021).

1.4. Indicatori generalizzanti (che introducono la regola generale/RG)

Le regole generali si esprimono per lo più in ragionamenti apodittici e possono essere scandite da indicatori di forza del tipo: *pe baza regulii care .../in base alla regola che...; se știe că (se înțelege că), după cum se știe /si sa che, come si sa; dat fiind că/dato che, s-a verificat că/si è verificato che; s-a constatat că.../si è constatato che ...; vale che.. ecc.* Si tratta di parole che trasmettono una "verità" stabilita per consenso unanime, all'interno di una comunità (scientifica, in questo caso) e quindi affermano la certezza. Va notato, però, quanto sottolinea Lo Cascio (2002, p.120), “una regola generale non significa una regola oggettiva. Una regola generale può anche essere soggettiva”. Nell’esempio (7), il giudizio /B/ che qualifica come errore un fatto commesso nell’ambito economico - “*lasciare la stabilità finanziaria alla volontà dei mercati si è rivelato un enorme errore concettuale e operativo*” - trova il suo appoggio nell’asserzione /A/ (*la stabilità finanziaria è, come quella dei prezzi, un bene pubblico che deve essere assicurato attraverso politiche pubbliche prudenti*) introdotta dall’indicatore generalizzante *Se înțelege că/Si capisce che (resta inteso che)* il quale viene rafforzato dal valore deontico del verbo *a trebui/dovere* (“*un bene pubblico che deve essere assicurato*”).

- (7) “Acum totul este în reevaluare și stabilitatea financiară intră, alături de stabilitatea prețurilor, în atenția de vârf a băncilor centrale. /A/ [RG] **Se înțelege că** stabilitatea financiară este, ca și cea a prețurilor, un bun public care **trebuie** să fie asigurat prin politici publice prudente; /B/ [inferența: **de aceea/perciò; pertanto**] a lăsa stabilitatea financiară în voia piețelor s-a dovedit a fi o eroare enormă conceptuală și operațională.” (D. Dăianu, ZF,

“Băncile centrale: uşurare, dar şi incertitudini mari”, 01 09 09/ l’ultima visualizzazione: 21 agosto 2023).

- (8) *“/A/ Se il valore di mercato di certi attivi di bilancio registrasse una forte crescita in un periodo ed una pari diminuzione in quello successivo per poi stabilizzarsi su questo valore più basso, /B/ [allora] dopo il primo periodo l’operatore dovrebbe registrare utili elevati, per poi scontare il minore valore in perdite.” (Dario Scannapieco, Contro la crisi ombrelli su misura, 14.06.09/ l’ultima visualizzazione: 21 agosto 2023)*

Lo Cascio (2009, p.193) include in questa categoria anche i costrutti *se... allora/allora... se* - frequentissimi nel DEG - , dove il connettivo *se* marca l’argomento, mentre *allora* introduce sia una previsione (ipotetica) o conseguenza sia un’opinione. Nell’esempio (8), il costrutto che lega /A/ alla /B/ - con “*allora*” inferenziale - corrisponde alla RG *dato che (se)... se ne deduce che (allora)...* . Il valore di RG è consolidato anche dal verbo “*dovere*” (*dovrebbe registrare*).

1.5. Indicatori modali (che introducono la modalità o il qualificatore): *după cum se pare/come sembra; după mine/secondo me; din punctul meu de vedere/dal mio punto di vista; consider că/considero che ecc.* Alcuni di questi indicatori “(*după părerea mea*)”(secondo me/la mia opinione, *din punctul meu de vedere/dal mio punto di vista; consider că/considero che ecc*) - frequenti nel discorso (sia riportato che diretto) degli specialisti - fungono da “garante”, avendo la stessa forza argomentativa degli indicatori garanti (si veda 1.6.) in quanto “l’argomentante invoca come appoggio la propria autorità, il proprio prestigio” (Stati 2002, p.78) per respingere un tipo di ragionamento considerato poco convincente, come nell’esempio (9). Qui la sua controargomentazione appoggia su una causale con connettore inferenziale - ;[*pentru că/perché*] (“Questo tipo di ragionamento, a parte il senso di *deja vu* che provoca, non è, **a mio avviso**, convincente; [*perché*] è **ovvio che** non tutte le innovazioni finanziarie sono vantaggiose e che alcuni prodotti finanziari sono pericolosi.”) - preceduto da punteggiatura forte (punto e virgola), la quale ha un effetto considerevole nell’interpretazione del discorso⁵, e seguito da un’espressione para-argomentativa che esprime tanto la certezza basata sull’evidenza “*este evident*” (*è ovvio che*), quanto l’atteggiamento (dedotto) che il locutore assume nei riguardi delle proprie inferenze (“*e quindi tutti dovrebbero essere d’accordo con me*”).

⁵ Si veda, a questo proposito, Rosi (2017, p. 95 cf. Ferrari 2004, EAD.*et alii*, 2008, cfr. anche Rosi/Stojmenova 2017): “causale e reggente possono entrare autonomamente in relazione con il cotesto l’una a prescindere dall’altra; sia il contenuto della causale che quello della reggente vengono messi in primo piano e assumono così maggiore rilievo nell’architettura logico-argomentativa del testo.”

Nell'esempio (10), il performativo assertivo “*io prevedo che*” mette in evidenza la forza dell'intento illocutorio “riflettendo il grado di argomentatività che il locutore imprime al discorso.” (Merlini, 1983, p.22) e introducendo una previsione.

(9) “*Trebuie spus că summitul Consiliului European din 18-19 iunie a avizat favorabil propunerile formării unui consiliu de evaluare a riscurilor sistemice (ESRC) și a întăririi prerogativelor Comitetelor de supraveghere a piețelor bancare, de obligațiuni și în domeniul asigurărilor. Însă un curent puternic se împotrivese și argumentează că reglementarea derivatelor ar înăbuși “inovația”, care ar duce la relocarea activităților în alte țări. Acest tip de raționament, lăsând la o parte senzația de deja vu pe care o provoacă, este, după părerea mea, neconvingător; este evident că nu toate inovațiile financiare sunt benefice și că unele produse financiare sunt periculoase.*” (D. Dăianu, “Nu este admisibil să protejăm profiturile unei industrii în detrimentul restului economiei”, ZF, 22 06 09/ l'ultima visualizzazione: 21 agosto 2023.).

(10) “*La crisi che stiamo vivendo è uno spartiacque? Da una parte la globalizzazione trainata dal mercato, il capitalismo finanziario e il predominio dell'Occidente, e dall'altra il protezionismo, la regolamentazione e il predominio dell'Asia? Oppure gli storici giungeranno alla conclusione che si è trattato di un evento provocato da pochi scriteriati, di scarsa importanza? Io prevedo che sarà un po' l'una e un po' l'altra cosa. Non è una Grande Depressione, grazie alla ferrea determinazione con cui hanno reagito gli Stati, e non è nemmeno il 1989 del capitalismo.*” (SO/“Nasce era del capitalismo cento fiori”/ l'ultima visualizzazione: 21 agosto 2023.).

1.6. Indicatori garanti (che introducono la fonte, l'autorità): *după cum spune (declară), potrivit/come afferma (dice), secondo etc.* L'indicatore di forza argomentativa (“*potrivit datelor publicate de BNR*”) dell'esempio (11) sostiene l'asserzione precedente che fa parte del macroatto dell'Analisi, mentre negli esempi (12) e (13), gli indicatori “*secondo le previsioni macroeconomiche*” e “*afferma l'Fmi*” offrono garanzia alle previsioni: la prima espressa in modalità probabilistica (“*dovrebbe/potrebbe succedere*”: “*il Pil dovrebbe tornare a crescere, i prezzi potrebbero subire un'ulteriore flessione (-2-3%)*”) e la seconda in quella predittiva (“*succederà*”: “*salirà dell'1,6%*”).

(11) “*Anul trecut, gradul de deschidere al economiei naționale (ponderea exporturilor și a importurilor de bunuri și servicii în Produsul Intern Brut) a fost de 74,8%, potrivit datelor publicate de BNR. (analisi: “La fiecare dezavantaj al trecerii la euro se găsesc cel puțin două avantaje”, F).*

(12) *“Nel 2010, anno alla fine del quale, secondo le previsioni macroeconomiche, il Pil dovrebbe tornare a crescere, i prezzi potrebbero subire un'ulteriore flessione (-2-3%). Solo nel 2011 il mercato immobiliare tornerà a crescere. (“Case, dopo le compravendite perdono quota anche i prezzi”, 17 07 09, SO).*

(13) *“Il Pil, afferma l'Fmi, salirà dell'1,6% con un taglio dello 0,5% rispetto alle speranze autunnali. (SO, Fmi: «La crescita dell'economia mondiale rallenta al 4,1%», 26 01 08,09, l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021)*

1.7. Indicatori relativizzanti (che introducono una riserva): *numai dacă/doar dacă nu, numai să nu, în afară de; se non che, a meno che, tranne che, se/se non.*

Nell'esempio (14) la previsione (“la stretta creditizia si accuirà [...] costringendo le banche a restringere il credito”) è attenuata dalla riserva (“a meno che i governi non ricapitalizzino rapidamente gli istituti finanziari”), la quale “propone un contro-argomento che porterebbe a conclusioni diverse se si verificasse. È dunque un'argomentazione in forma ridotta, cioè un'argomentazione che presenta un contro-argomento ma non enuncia, e quindi lascia implicita, la opinione o tesi che tale argomento implicherebbe”. (Lo Cascio, 2009, p.115).

(14) *“Difatti, ciò cui stiamo assistendo oggi è lo smantellamento del sistema bancario "ombra", vale a dire, dell'insieme degli istituti finanziari non-bancari che si comportavano come banche, concedendo prestiti a breve termine e con mezzi liquidi, avvalendosi di una leva alta e investendo a lungo termine in attività illiquide.” Il risultato di tutto ciò è oggi lo sgonfiarsi violento della più grande bolla del patrimonio e del credito, con perdite per inesigibilità del credito che potrebbero avvicinarsi alla spaventosa cifra di 2.000 miliardi di dollari. Di conseguenza, **a meno che i governi non ricapitalizzino rapidamente gli istituti finanziari, la stretta creditizia si accuirà** in ragione del fatto che il ritmo dell'acquisizione delle perdite supera quello della ricapitalizzazione, **costringendo le banche a restringere il credito**”.*
(<http://www.repubblica.it/2008/12/sezioni/economia/roubini-3-anni/roubini-3-anni/roubini-3-anni.html>/ l'ultima visualizzazione 20 maggio 2021).

1.8. Indicatori di rinforzo (per la giustificazione fornita): rafforzatori negativi (contro-argomenti): *deși, cu toate acestea/că, în pofida, în loc să, totuși; nonostante, nonostante che, sebbene, benché, a dispetto di, seppure;* rafforzatori positivi (argomenti aggiunti): *senza contare che, se si tiene conto anche del fatto che ecc.*

(15) **Cu toate că** datoria publică a crescut, România se menține printre statele cu cel mai mic nivel al îndatorării publice din UE”. (Datoria publică a făcut un salt de 30 % anul trecut, în ZF, 4 02, 09, p.3).

(16) **În pofida** intervenției hotărâte a băncilor centrale din întreaga lume, care au injectat cantități uriașe de capital în sistemele bancare, piețele monetare internaționale continuă să fie blocate de lipsa banilor lichizi” (Dobânzile din piața interbancară au sărit de la 12% la 28%, în Financiarul, 17 10 08, p.7).

(17) **Nonostante** la perdita record di 500 punti del Dow Jones, la Borsa americana poteva crollare di più.” (analisi: Il fallimento di Lehman Brothers, R, l’ultima visualizzazione 20 maggio 2021).

(18) [...] le preoccupazioni sul credito continueranno a mantenere larghi gli spread interbancari, **nonostante** ulteriori iniezioni di liquidità da parte delle banche centrali.” (analisi: Dodici tappe verso la crisi più grave, R, l’ultima visualizzazione 20 maggio 2021).

1.9. Indicatori che introducono una contro-opinione (alternativi): *tuttavia, però,ma/ eppure, ciò nonostante, malgrado ciò; totuși, dar /și totuși, cu toate acestea ecc. - si veda la sezione 2. Nella stessa categoria sono inclusi anche gli indicatori modali in forma negativa (“nu cred că/non credo că/non penso che; nu sunt de acord/non sono d’accordo; nu împărtășesc/nu mă convinge teza că/ non condivido/non mi convince la tesi ecc.) che, nella stessa argomentazione, si possono alternare ai modali in forma affermativa (es.19).*

(19) “Mai multi analiști au evocat în ultimul timp un posibil aranjament al României cu FMI ca o modalitate de a face față efectelor negative ale crizei economice mondiale. [...] **Și eu cred că** este înțelept să avem centuri de siguranță având în vedere trăsături/vulnerabilități ale economiei noastre precum: deficite externe mari; dualitatea sistemului monetar cu multe credite denuminate în euro și alte valute; presiunile mari pe bugetul public etc. Aceste vulnerabilități fiind mai vizibile în condițiile crizei de lichidități pe piețe internaționale. **Dar nu împărtășesc teza că** un aranjament cu FMI este cuvântul de ordine în realizarea unor centuri de siguranță pentru balanșa de plăți externă și finanțarea bugetului public.**Cred că** este bine să folosim la maximum posibilitățile oferite de apartenența la Uniunea Europeană.” (D. Dăianu, “Din nou FMI?”, ZF, 16 12 08/l’ultima visualizzazione: 21 agosto 2023).

- (20) “È vero, nel '71 gli Usa si sottrassero all'impegno. Per anni l'"aereo" del dollaro ha continuato a volare spinto dalla forza politica ed economica degli Stati Uniti. **Ma non penso che**, se si guarda al mondo di domani, quando ci saranno 4-5 o 6 colossi mondiali, questi potranno accettare che la moneta di uno solo di essi sia la moneta di tutti. Anche se il tema non è ancora iscritto all'ordine del giorno, quando si parla di standard internazionali penso si debba riflettere sulla moneta mondiale.[...] Su scala mondiale **non mi pare** praticabile una soluzione tipo euro, fondata sul modello della moneta unica - un "globus" ad esempio - e della banca centrale unica. Vedo piuttosto una costruzione a due livelli: uno standard globale governato in comune e monete regionali con cambi non più interamente lasciati al mercato”
- (<http://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/SoleOnLine4/dossier/lezioni-per-il-futuro/10-giugno/padoa-schioppa-moneta-mondiale.shtml/> l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021)

2. Il connettore " *ma* (*bensi*)/*dar*, *însă* (*ci*) e la dinamica dell'argomentazione nel DEG

"*Dar* (*însă*)/*Ma*" è associato in genere a due valori: di contraddizione e argomentativo (Maingueneau 2007, p.82). Secondo Moeschler e Reboul (1999), questo connettore "illustra la relazione tra la forza argomentativa e una nuova nozione, quella di contraddizione argomentativa" (p.261). In italiano, lo stesso connettore può avere tanto valore avversativo, quanto sostitutivo. In questo ultimo caso, sarebbe l'equivalente di "*bensi*", e, in romeno, di "*ci*" una congiunzione polemica o di correzione o rettifica (Zafiu 2005, p.245).

Non di rado, nel DEG, sia romeno che italiano, "*dar* (*însă*)/*ma*" introduce un rifiuto argomentativo fondato su "Argumentum ad consequentiam" (Lo Cascio, 2002, p.274), che comporta *la valutazione negativa di una tesi segnalando le conseguenze che possono derivare da questa*. Si rifiuta un'Obiezione non formulata in precedenza, ma prevista e, quindi, anticipata dall'oratore - si veda l'esempio (21). Si tratta qui di una figura retorica ("prolessi") che consiste nell'anticipare l'argomentazione dell'avversario ("*Cineva ar putea spune: dar care este treaba statului în a se îngriji de solvabilitatea sectorului privat?*" / "*Qualcuno potrebbe dire: ma qual è il compito dello Stato nel prendersi cura della solvibilità del settore privato?*"), per poter confutarla e rendere più forte la controargomentazione (si veda /B/ "*Ma quando la liberalizzazione del conto capitale è completa e gli effetti di alcune cadute della catena nel settore privato ricadono sulla stabilità finanziaria (al di là degli effetti negativi sulla dinamica dell'economia reale) questo ragionamento è sbagliato.*").

(21) /A/ “**Cineva ar putea spune: dar care este treaba statului în a se îngriji de solvabilitatea sectorului privat? Într-o interpretare foarte îngustă a funcționării piețelor financiare, așa cum s-a practicat, adesea, în ultimele două decenii, se poate folosi acest tip de raționament.** /B/ **Dar când liberalizarea contului de capital este deplină și efectele unor căderi în lanț în sectorul privat se resfrâng asupra stabilității financiare (dincolo de efectele rele asupra dinamicii economiei reale) acest raționament este greșit.**” (Daniel Dăianu, *Miliarde de euro de care avem neapărat nevoie*, ZF, 02 02 09, l’ultima visualizzazione: 22 agosto 2023).

A volte *ma/dar* introduce il rifiuto dell’asserzione precedente introdotta da un indicatore garante (l’opinione di alcuni analisti), creando così un enunciato conflittuale, come nell’ esempio (22). L’obiezione introdotta dal connettore viene sostenuta dalla giustificazione - considerata ruolo di appoggio all’argomentazione (Stati, 2002, 71) - ed espressa qui tramite una causale argomentativa con il connettore inferenziale *perché* ([affermo questo: *ma in realtà non lo sono*]. [*Perché*] *Nell'arco di 47 anni, 22 paesi sono stati in recessione solo per il 10% del tempo*).

(22) “**Secondo Stijn Claessens e M. Ayhan Kose, le recessioni sembrano frequenti, *ma* in realtà non lo sono. Nell'arco di 47 anni, 22 paesi sono stati in recessione solo per il 10% del tempo. E meno male che non sono frequenti, perché hanno costi enormi**”. (Dossier. analisi: *Guardiamo al passato, anche se...*, di Moisés Naím (10 06 09/ l’ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021).

La strategia argomentativa /P *ma/dar* Q/ è frequente sia nei discorsi degli economisti romeni che in quelli degli italiani e si presta a scopi persuasivi, suscitando anche dichiarazioni polemiche, conflittuali. Secondo Ducrot (1983, p.9, apud Maingueneau, 2007, p.84), dicendo *P ma Q*, “chi parla dichiara di trascurare P per contare solo su Q, la forza superiore di Q essendo solo una giustificazione per questa decisione di trascurare P.” (trad.ns) Secondo Stati (2002, p.127), si tratta di una *strategia di argomentazione locale* che “serve all’argomentante per impedire che il destinatario tragga la Conseguenza *r*”. In altre parole, la maggior parte delle volte, quando i dati portano ad una conclusione *r*, il connettivo “*ma*” introduce l’argomento decisivo, orientando il discorso verso la conclusione *non r*. Tale argomento si basa sulle possibili inferenze del destinatario, quindi, come (nel caso della prolessi), si fanno delle ipotesi sulle possibili Obiezioni (Stati, 2002, p.127).

Nell'esempio italiano (23), la conclusione *r* - riguardante la realtà economica relativa ai tassi pagati dalle imprese - può quindi rappresentare l’inferenza del destinatario e indovinata dal locutore (fatto che emerge anche dalla presenza dell'avverbio

"davvero"/"într-adevăr" con valore para-argomentativo) ma che il mittente respinge orientando il discorso verso *non r* (/B/), argomento sostenuto da /C/.

- (23) /A/ "Nell'Eurozona i tassi pagati dalle imprese sono al 4-5%, il che sembra **davvero** poco. /B/ **Ma** la disinflazione in corso distorce la lettura del costo del danaro. /C/ I tassi reali per le aziende, in Europa e in Usa, sono ancora troppo alti rispetto allo stato di salute di economie in forte recessione." (analisi: I tassi reali alti ostacolano la ripresa, di Fabrizio Galimberti e Luca Paolazzi, l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021).

Con la formula "è vero che/davvero P ma/dar Q", "il locutore è d'accordo con chi sostiene P, ma sta a distanza da lui. Attraverso questo procedimento egli assimila l'interlocutore all'«enunciatore» di P, al quale fa una concessione». (Maingueneau, 2007, p.84, ns.trad.) Si tratta della *Concessione* - vista anche come un accordo provvisorio - che è un ruolo di appoggio all'argomentazione (Stati, 2002, p.72) e che si realizza tramite espressioni para-argomentative (*desigur, într-adevăr, este adevărat că ecc./ certo, è vero che ecc.*) che rimandano al problema del dialogismo o della polifonia (Ducrot, 1984, apud Maingueneau, 2007, p.84). Tramite la Concessione, *ma/dar* introduce un argomento più forte di quello al quale gli si riconosce la verità.

Nell'esempio (24), attraverso la stessa espressione para-argomentativa ("*Este drept că*" / "È vero che") si rimanda alla realtà economica romena (nel periodo della crisi economica del 2009) riguardo alla drammatica correzione del deficit delle partite correnti e al debito pubblico della Romania (inferiore al 30% del PIL)-si veda /A/. Il connettore *dar/ma* nega un' interpretazione prevista di questo fenomeno da parte degli altri ovvero un'interpretazione ormai diffusa e conosciuta. Si tratta qui anche di una negazione polemica ("*Ma questa correzione non è il risultato del cambiamento di un policy mix*") e di una relazione sostitutiva che collega *una causa rifiutata* con quella che il mittente del discorso ritiene essere quella giusta ("*ma piuttosto del congelamento dei finanziamenti esterni privati*" - /C/).

- (24) /A/ "**Este drept că** asistăm la o corecție dramatică a deficitului de cont curent (...), că datoria publică a României nu este mare (fiind sub 30% din PIB). /B/ **Dar** această corecție **nu este rezultatul** schimbării unui mix de politici, /C/ **ci mai degrabă** al înghețării finanțării externe private. (<https://www.zf.ro/opinii/daianu-trebuie-sa-se-inteleaga-ca-ratele-de-crestere-economica-de-6-7-8-ca-in-anii-trecuti-au-fost-umflate/> l'ultima visualizzazione: 22 agosto 2023)

La "causa negata/rifiutata" è considerata una delle strategie argomentative, situazione in cui, in romeno, la forma linguistica equivalente di "ma" è "ci", con valori di "excluant" (Melander, 1916, apud Mazzoleni, 2016, p.3). Negli esempi 25, 26, 27, "ci"/"ma" "comporta la costruzione, attraverso un'unica struttura enunciativa, di una sorta di dialogo in cui negazione e rettifica sono associate." (Maingueneau, 2005, p.83) Quello che si combatte attraverso "ci"/"ma" con *valore sostitutivo* (Serianni, 1989/2006, XIV, pp.19-20) appartiene ad un possibile interlocutore le cui opinioni o domande vengono anticipate e introdotte dal locutore nel proprio discorso. In altre parole, la Tesi negata /A/ apporta nuove informazioni, presentate come opinioni diffuse e quindi attese dal ricevente, ma che il connettore respinge a favore di un'altra tesi.

(25) *"Un altro dato importante è l'impatto del debito pubblico: dopo una crisi bancaria aumenta in media dell'86 per cento. La cosa che sorprende è che la causa primaria di questo maggiore indebitamento non è l'uso di risorse pubbliche per salvare le banche /A/, ma il calo del gettito fiscale e il colossale incremento della spesa pubblica per far fronte alla recessione." /B/ (Dossier. analisi: Guardiamo al passato, anche se... di Moisés Naím (10 06 09/ l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021).*

(26) /A/ *"Aici nu este vorba despre o înțelegere la nivel internațional privind economia românească, /B/ ci de ceea ce rezultă din limite de expunere ce sunt folosite de băncile străine." (Daniel Dăianu, Miliardele de euro de care avem neapărat nevoie, ZF, 02 02 09,/ 24 Aug 2009/ l'ultima visualizzazione: 22 agosto 2023).*

(27) /A/ *"Aici nu vorbim despre un capriciu al BNR, /B/ ci de o necesitate absolută pentru economie, societatea românească." (Daniel Dăianu, Să evităm criza/ ZF, 20 oct 2008/ l'ultima visualizzazione: 22 agosto 2023)*

Spesso, in DEG, il connettivo compare seguito da "și"/"anche", un focalizzatore additivo/aggiuntivo che garantisce la progressione della sequenza argomentativa e la rafforza. Nel seguente esempio, "ma" lega due atti di Previsione, il secondo essendo consolidato da *anche/și*:

(28) *"È prevedibile che la finanza riesca a rimettersi in moto negli anni a venire. Ma è prevedibile anche che i giorni di gloria resteranno irraggiungibili per decenni, almeno in Occidente." SO,,Nasce l'era del capitalismo cento fiori"/ l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021.)*

"*Ma anche*" può apparire anche in correlazione con "*non solo*" ("*nu doar*"), creando nessi correlativi; in questa situazione in romeno avrà la forma "*ci și*" (es.29); si tratta di "un caso particolare di costrutto sostitutivo" "in cui la negazione cancella l'idea che vada considerato soltanto un (primo) elemento per sostituirla con l'aggiunta di un altro" (Mazzoleni, 2016, p.6).

(29) "*Desigur, situația este excepțională, **nu doar** prin extinderea, contaminarea galopantă și profunzimea straturilor afectate de criză, **ci și** prin gradul extrem de imprevedibilitate*" (analisi: *A șaptea criză care a zguduit lumea ne ține în corzi și în 2009, C, 30 10 08, p.9*).

(30) "*La Banca centrale europea, che in questi anni si era sempre astenuta dagli eccessi espansionistici e interventisti della Fed, ha invertito il corso per prima giovedì scorso. Una decisione notevole, **non solo** in sé **ma anche** perché segna, dopo dieci anni di vita della nuova istituzione, una fase nuova in cui l'Europa assume la guida monetaria anticipando l'America anziché seguirla.*" (*SO, Notizie Finanza e Mercati: Un anno di crisi e siamo ancora al punto di partenza, di Ignazio Angeloni, 13 06 08, l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021*).

Il connettore italiano "*ma anche*" non è sempre l'equivalente di "*dar/ci și*"; può avere in romeno anche il significato "*dar chiar*" (*pure/pur*), quindi valore concessivo, come nei seguenti esempi:

(31) ***Ma anche** usando l'inflazione core (dei prezzi al consumo) i tassi per le imprese appaiono non essere significativamente cambiati rispetto ai livelli di prima della crisi, malgrado il passo dell'attività economica sia passato da positivo a pesantemente negativo. (analisi: I tassi reali alti ostacolano la ripresa, di Fabrizio Galimberti e Luca Paolazzi/ l'ultima visualizzazione 20 maggio 2021).*

(32) *Questa aritmetica spinge il Financial Times fino a ventilare il rischio di bancarotta sovrana per il Regno Unito. **Ma anche** senza arrivare allo scenario estremo dell'insolvenza statale, il salvataggio delle banche può portare il debito pubblico inglese ai livelli della Grecia. (R, analisi: Il fantasma di Londra, l'ultima visualizzazione 20 maggio 2021).*

Nella dinamica dell'argomentazione, spesso *ma/dar* entra in relazione/opposizione con altri connettori. Nell'esempio (33), attraverso un'espressione para-

argomentativa (*È vero che/ Este drept că*), si fa riferimento alla realtà della pratica bancaria romena riguardante gli interessi sui depositi e quelli sui prestiti (/A/). Il connettore *ma* (/B/ *Ma invocano l'inflazione ancora elevata, il rischio di svalutazione del leu*) introduce l'atto di giustificazione da parte delle banche per tale pratica, mentre il connettore *deși/ sebbene; benché* introduce l'argomento decisivo dell'economista attraverso il quale implicitamente la motivazione citata (in merito alla decisione presa dalle banche) si presenta poco credibile. Qui la congiunzione concessiva (*deși/sebbene; benché*), postposta alla sovraordinata, riceve il valore di una congiunzione avversativa (*ma, tuttavia*) (Serianni, 1989/2006, XIV, 174, p.598).

(33) “*Este drept că numeroase bănci practică marje extrem de înalte între dobânzile la depozite și cele la credite, în România. /A/ Dar ele invocă inflația încă înaltă, riscul de depreciere a leului (care se adaugă primei de risc) /B/, deși împrumutul de la FMI ar trebui să le reducă pe amândouă. /C/*” (*Supraîmpoxitarea» băncilor: unde dai și unde crapă!*, ZF, 25 05 09, l'ultima visualizzazione: 22 agosto 2023)

Spesso nei discorsi polemici il segnale discorsivo “*dar*”/“*ma*” compare anche nelle seguenti situazioni:

- introduce l'argomento decisivo appoggiato alla giustificazione – si veda (34) - espressa, tramite un nesso causale con connettore inferenziale (***Dar*** *sigură. [pentru că/perché] Între confort și siguranță, BNR a ales siguranță.*) che serve da “trampolino di lancio” per la conclusione (*Așa că/Di conseguenza.../C/*);

- prepara la fine del discorso, essendo spesso rinforzato da domande retoriche (come in 35), che esprimono non solo un forte coinvolgimento dell'enunciatore nel discorso e il suo pathos⁶, ma anche un contratto di solidarietà con il ricevente/lettore.

- segna l'orientamento del ricevente, lasciando a lui l'inferenza mirata (36).

(34) “*Viața la înălțimea cursurilor flotante s-a dovedit a fi grea. Dar sigură. Între confort și siguranță, BNR a ales siguranță. Așa că, nici nu ia în seamă, în prezent, vocile care cer să ne întoarcem la cursul fix.*” (*commento: Cursul leu/euro continuă să ne enerveze*, ZF, 4 02 09, pg.3).

(35) “*I "germogli" della ripresa, che prima erano confinati agli indicatori di fiducia e agli indicatori avanzati ora fanno capolino anche in alcuni dati "coincidenti", come la produzione industriale (Europa e Giappone) o le vendite al dettaglio (Usa). Ma il vento contrario resta forte.*” (*SO, analisi: I*

⁶ Il pathos, secondo Pezzini (1998) è “la modalità di persuasione attraverso i fattori psicologici ed emozionali” (p.104).

tassi reali alti ostacolano la ripresa, di Fabrizio Galimberti e Luca Paolazzi, l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021).

- (36) “È stato anche facile per gli economisti scaricare le colpe sulla Greenspan put. **Ma** tutto questo ex post. Dove erano gli economisti quando il mondo inneggiava a Greenspan come il salvatore dell'economia mondiale?” (Processo alla crisi: imputati economisti, alzatevi!, 27 05 09, Roberto Perotti, SO, l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021).

“Totuși”/“tuttavia” “marca e sottolinea la conclusione preferita”, come “nonostante”, ma a differenza di questo, “presenta la relazione con un ordine inverso e quindi, sul piano pragmatico, con forza diversa.” (Lo Cascio, 2009, 200) – si veda l'esempio 37. Anche Roventă-Frumușani (1995, pp.162-163) lo include nella categoria dei “connettori opposti” (accanto a: *cu toate acestea/nonostante, în schimb/invece ecc.*) che “introducono una disinversione argomentativa situata a livello fattuale o a livello degli atteggiamenti propositivi del parlante”; in tal caso si può parlare di “argomentazione inversa” o “opposta”. Quando compare nello stesso enunciato, con “*ma/dar*”, la congiunzione avversativa ha il ruolo di indebolire l'idea introdotta da *totuși* (anche se preferita), come nell'esempio (38).

- (37) “Etapela procesului de aderare la moneda europeană nu trebuie grăbite. Adoptarea monedei unice europene are mai multe avantaje decât dezavantaje. **Totuși**, demararea acestui proces trebuie stabilită atunci când decalajul dintre economia reală românească și cea din zona euro se va diminua.” (La ficare dezavantaj al trecerii la euro se găsesc cel puțin două avantaje, F, 6.05. 2009).

Tuttavia ... ma/ Totuși ..., dar...:

- (38) “Rafforzare il sistema finanziario **era ed è la condizione** sine qua non per uscire dalla crisi; la condizione, **tuttavia**, è necessaria **ma** non sufficiente.” (analisi: I tassi reali alti ostacolano la ripresa, di Fabrizio Galimberti e Luca Paolazzi/<http://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/SoleOnLine4/Finanza%20e%20Mercati/> l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021).

Anche i titoli degli articoli economici rispecchiano la discorsività di “*dar/ma*”, esprimendo così il coinvolgimento del locutore nel discorso e il suo pathos nei confronti degli avvenimenti presentati.⁷ Tale connettore segna quindi “un discorso posto in

⁷ Sulle strategie discorsive dei titoli degli articoli economici, si veda Feurdean (2009).

relazione a un contro-discorso reale o virtuale" (Moeschler, 1985, p.47, apud Adam-Bonhomme, 2005, p.178). I discorsi degli economisti della stampa scritta/on-line sono polifonici, hanno, grazie alle sfumature di *ma* (*dar/însă/ci*) e ai ruoli argomentativi che questo connettore svolge, caratteristiche "dell'oralità dialogica della situazione discorsiva prototipica basata sull'interazione faccia-a-faccia" (Mazzoleni, 2016), dimostrando "una dinamica polifonica e interdiscorsiva fra la voce del mittente e quella/e altrui". (Mazzoleni 2016)

3. I connettori di "strutturazione discorsiva" (GALR, 2008, p.775) "*d'altronde/ de altfel; inoltre/ pe lângă aceasta*" "aiutano a ritagliare le sequenze testuali e, implicitamente, a decodificare il significato globale del testo" (GALR, 2008, p.775, ns.trad.) introducendo argomentazioni co-orientate. S.Stati (2002, p.128) parla della *strategia argomentativa locale* rappresentata dallo schema */p altrimenti (d'altronde) q/*: "l'argomentante insinua così che *p* sarebbe già di per sé una ragione sufficiente", per cui sostiene di non argomentare partendo da *q* o di non usare *q*, ma solo di evocarlo (Roventă-Frumușani, 1981, cfr.Ducrot, apud Stati, 2002, p.128). A differenza della sequenza */p ma (in realtà) q/* in cui il connettore è contro-orientato e suscita polemiche (come è stato precedentemente illustrato), nella sequenza */p d'altronde (inoltre) q/* i due argomenti vanno nella stessa direzione (sono co-orientati), il secondo argomento confermando il primo (Stati, op.cit.):

(39) "*Așa se face că băncile centrale au restrictionat lichiditățile din economie accentuând căderea producției. Ele au încercat să ajusteze producția la nivelul cererii, totul transformându-se prin jocul multiplicatorilor într-o contracție teribilă a ofertei și în același timp, a cererii efective (adică cea susținută de salarii și alte venituri). Dacă s-ar fi acționat altfel, așa cum a recomandat mai tarziu Keynes în cartea sa faimoasă din 1936, s-ar fi evitat foarte probabil o cădere așa de drastică a producției. De altfel, analize ulterioare (inclusiv lucrarea lui Milton Friedman și Anne Schwartz din 1962) au evidențiat greșeala majoră a politicii monetare de atunci, izvorâte dintr-o paradigmă îngustă privind funcționarea economiei.*" (D. Dăianu, Criza financiară și economia reală, ZF, 6 10 08, l'ultima visualizzazione: 22 agosto 2023).

(40) "*Gli americani non misurano l'importanza del Welfare State europeo, che con le sue tanto depredate "rigidità" attutisce l'impatto sociale della recessione: basta confrontare le cifre dei licenziamenti da una parte e dall'altra dell'Atlantico. D'altronde molti europei non sembrano convinti che il rischio di una Grande Depressione sia reale.*" (commento: *Quel solco tra Usa e Europa*", R, l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021).

- (41) *“I massicci aiuti alle banche non sono stati accompagnati da vincoli stringenti per obbligare i banchieri a redistribuire il favore, cioè a riprendere l'erogazione del credito all'economia reale. **Inoltre** l'eccessiva autonomia lasciata ai banchieri ha prolungato la mancanza di trasparenza sui bilanci. Donde le clamorose sorprese di buchi sempre nuovi e crescenti (R/analisi: Il fantasma di Londra, l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021).*

4. I connettori correlativi (*mai întâi, în primul rând, în sfârșit; pe de o parte, pe de altă parte/innanzitutto/prima di tutto, infine; da una parte, d'altra parte/d'altro canto*)

Come “d'altronde/de altfel”, anche i correlativi sono connettori di strutturazione discorsiva cioè “d'introduzione di un nuovo tema di discorso, che assicuri anche il collegamento con il tema precedente”. (GALR, 2008, p.775) essendo utilizzati per “l'ordinata esposizione delle argomentazioni” (ibidem):

- (42) **Prima di tutto** questa crisi è la prima grande recessione mondiale dell'epoca post globalizzazione. [...] *Va poi aggiunto che i consumatori in molti paesi, spaventati dal collasso delle Borse e in qualche caso dalla caduta del valore delle loro case stanno probabilmente aumentando quello che gli economisti chiamano precautionary saving, il risparmio a fronte di futuri e non ben precisati imprevisti. [...] **Infine** i bilanci pubblici sotto stress a causa delle spese dei vari pacchetti anticrisi. Prima o poi, come già avverte la Bce, dovranno essere riportati all'ordine.*
([https://st.ilsole24ore.com/art/SoleOnLine4/dossier/Italia/2009/commenti-sole-24 ore/ l'ultima visualizzazione: 20 maggio 2021](https://st.ilsole24ore.com/art/SoleOnLine4/dossier/Italia/2009/commenti-sole-24%20ore/l%27ultima%20visualizzazione%3A20%20maggio%202021)).

- (43) *Ce vreau să evidențiez este mirajul persistenței ratelor înalte de creștere, care a fost indus, **pe de o parte**, de banii ieftini de acasă și din exterior și creditul promovat de banci, iar, **pe de altă parte**, de neglijențe în politica economică internă.*(<https://www.zf.ro/opinii/daianu-trebuie-sa-se-inteleaga-ca-ratele-de-crestere-economica-de-6-7-8-ca-in-anii-trecuti-au-fost-umflate-5107191> l'ultima visualizzazione: 22 agosto 2023)

5. Il connettore “chiar (chiar și) /persino (perfino)”

Negli esempi 44-45, *chiar/perfino* introducono argomenti basati su asserzioni che, in condizioni economiche normali, potrebbero essere negative (cioè, in genere, *I paesi con rating AAA non hanno difficoltà a collocare le loro obbligazioni nei volumi desiderati. (es.44), La banca centrale di Pechino non taglia i tassi. - es.45*), ma che, le particolari condizioni presentate nelle tesi /A/ - (es. romeno: *I mercati del credito funzionano in modo così imperfetto (nel contesto della crisi finanziaria internazionale)*

che l'accesso è praticamente chiuso a molte economie emergenti) – le rendono affermative. Il connettore ha il ruolo di proporre questi argomenti “come all'estremo della possibilità” rafforzando così “le affermazioni che sarebbero per così dire «normali»” (Lo Cascio, 2009, p.207). Nell'esempio italiano, la forza argomentativa di questo “indicatore graduatorio” (Lo Cascio, 2009, p.169) viene raddoppiata anche dal complemento di causa “per timore” che ha una carica emozionale persuasiva. Oltre alla funzione argomentativa, si manifesta qui anche quella pragmatica e discorsiva di questo focalizzatore additivo/aggiuntivo evidenziando così la miratività, cioè “l'atteggiamento di sorpresa e/o inattesa del parlante nei confronti di un determinato contenuto” (Aikhenvald, 2012, apud Lo Baido, 2021), “rivolto all'interlocutore a condividere l'atteggiamento del parlante, a cui il contenuto non risulta nuovo ma nondimeno sorprendente. Tale funzione si orienta verso il polo della ricerca dell'empatia e della simmetria come anche avviene nel caso dell'enfasi mediante richiesta di validazione.” (Lo Baido, 2021).

(44) /A/ *Piețele de credit funcționează atât de imperfect (pe fondul crizei financiare internațională), încât accesul este, practic, închis multor economii emergente. /B/Chiar țări cu rating AAA au dificultăți în a-și plasa obligațiunile în volumele dorite. Am intrat parcă într-o perioadă a «raționării» generalizate, în care deschiderea contului de capital nu are mare semnificație din punctul de vedere al finanțărilor externe.* (Daniel Dăianu, „Miliardele de euro de care avem neapărat nevoie, ZF, 02 02 09/ l'ultima visualizzazione 22 agosto 2023).

(45) /A/ *Lo spettro della deflazione era ben visibile ieri nell'ennesima caduta del prezzo del petrolio, un indicatore sensibile che prevede forti riduzioni dei consumi. /B/ Perfino la banca centrale di Pechino è stata costretta a tagliare i tassi per timore di un rallentamento della crescita. Tutti devono adeguarsi a un mondo dove i valori stanno sgonfiandosi. È un atterraggio tutt'altro che morbido. (Il fallimento di Lehman Brothers. Reazione a catena”, 16.sett.2008, <https://www.wallstreetitalia.com/crisi-finanziaria-reazione-a-catena/> l'ultima visualizzazione 20 maggio 2021).*

Il connettore romeno “**chiar**” è anche l'equivalente dell'italiano **davvero**, situazioni in cui introduce spesso domande retoriche (nel discorso dell’“evento economico commentato” e negli articoli di fondo), come strategie di argomentazione, marcando l'atto di rimprovero/disaccordo – si veda (46). Così, combattendo la tesi “potremmo vivere meglio se non ci rivolgessimo al FMI”, l'economista porta una serie di controargomentazioni, accompagnate da alcune domande retoriche (*Quanto c'è di vero in questa percezione? C'è qualche paese davvero andato in bancarotta a causa del FMI?*). Il vantaggio di ricorrere a una domanda retorica invece di formulare esplicitamente la

conclusione sta nel non imporre direttamente un'opinione, ma nell'influenzare il pensiero e l'atteggiamento del lettore in modo più sottile.

- (46) “*Cât adevăr este în această percepție? Chiar a dat vreo țară faliment din cauza FMI? În anii '70-'80, zone ca Țara Galilor sau sudul Italiei au crescut economic cu bani și programe de la FMI. Mai aproape de noi, în deceniul trecut, economiile asiatice și-au revenit spectaculos tot cu sprijinul FMI.*” (C, 19 03 09, pg.15)

6. Non bisogna trascurare neanche i connettori che fanno riferimento ad un bagaglio di conoscenze comuni agli interlocutori, con funzione espressiva emotiva e di ricordo spesso associata ad un ruolo argomentativo (GALR, 2008, pp.775-776). Nell'esempio (47) tale ruolo è uno di *obiezione/disaccordo*: l'economista respinge la possibile tesi che lo Stato non dovrebbe prendersi cura della solvibilità del settore privato, introducendo, tramite il connettore che fa appello alla memoria (“*să ne aducem aminte*”/“*ricordiamoci*”), l'argomento dell'anti-modello (Mortara-Garavelli, 2006, p.75), cioè la crisi in Asia, quando i governi sono dovuti intervenire per salvare le istituzioni finanziarie private (banche).

- (47) “*[...] Să ne imaginăm ce s-ar întâmpla cu nivelul unei monede locale dacă multe firme private nu și-ar mai onora obligații de plată (în valută) față de bănci locale, față de creditori din străinătate. Să ne aducem aminte de criza din Asia, când guverne au fost nevoite să intervină pentru a salva instituții financiare private (bănci), în condițiile în care cea mai mare parte a deficitelor de cont curent fusesse creată de sectorul privat. În zilele noastre vedem nu numai la ce a condus un sistem financiar tot mai viciat, dar și modul în care statul a fost nevoit să intervină pentru a preveni o topire a sistemelor financiare în ansamblu.*” (Daniel Dăianu, 02 02 09, ZF, Miliardele de euro de care avem neaparat nevoie, l'ultima visualizzazione: 22 agosto 2023).

Conclusioni

L'obiettivo del presente articolo è stato di evidenziare, in base alla classificazione proposta da Vincenzo Lo Cascio (2002, pp. 189-226; 2009, pp. 163-221), la capacità dei connettori (siano essi frastici che transfrastici) di decodificare le intenzioni con cui gli enunciati del DEG sono formulati, i ruoli argomentativi che essi marciano in questo tipo di discorso (*di giustificazione, conferma, concessione, rettifica, obiezione, disaccordo, conclusione ecc.*) e gli atti linguistici che introducono o che preparano. In questo modo, il lessico ausiliare argomentativo del DEG romeno e italiano - esemplificato nel presente articolo tramite la categoria dei connettori – mostra l'ancoraggio pragmatico dell'argomentazione, vista la funzione pragmatica e discorsiva di questi elementi lessicali. Tale ancoraggio è,

secondo Rovența-Frumușani (2000), “capace di trasformare la teoria degli schemi argomentativi in una retorica dell'interazione”, che fa dell'argomentazione “il nocciolo duro della grammatica discorsiva e di una pragmalinguistica allargata i cui obiettivi fondamentali saranno i meccanismi di produzione/comprendimento del discorso” (p.36).

Bibliografia

- Adam, J.-M., - Bonhomme, M.(2005). *Argumentarea publicitară*, Iași: Institutul European.
- Ducrot, O. (1984). *Le dire et le dit*, Paris: Minuit.
- Ferrari, A.-L., Filippo, L.-P., (a cura di), *Interpunzione oggi (e ieri). L'italiano e altre lingue europee*, 2017, Firenze: Franco Cesati.
- Feurdean, D. (2009). Strategie discorsive nel discorso economico della stampa romena e italiana, *Analele Universității din Craiova*, Seria Științe Filologice, Lingvistică, Craiova: Ed. Universitaria, an XXXI, nr.1-2, pp. 99-118.
- Feurdean, D. (2021). L'espressione della causalità nel discorso economico giornalistico romeno e italiano, in *Analele Universității din Craiova*, Seria Științe Filologice, Lingvistică, Craiova: Ed. Universitaria, an XLIII, nr.1.-2, pp. 74-98.
- Guțu Romalo, Valeria (coord.). 2008. *Gramatica Limbii Române (GALR), vol. II (Enunțul)*, tiraj nou, revizuit, București: Ed.Academiei Române.
- Lo Baido, M.-C. (2021), L'allocuzione come veicolo di (inter)soggettività: tra enfasi e miratività, in *Cuadernos de Filología Italiana* (vol 28), Universidad Complutense de Madrid, pp. 89-117.
- Lo Cascio, V. (2002). *Gramatica argumentării: strategii și structuri*, București: Meteora Press.
- Lo Cascio, V. (2009). *Persuadere per convincere oggi. Nuovo manuale dell'argomentazione*, Academia Universa Press.
- Maingueneau D. (2007), *Pragmatică pentru discursul literar*, Iași: Institutul European Iași.
- Mazzoleni, M. (2016). *Non... ma, sì... ma* e altre strutture correlative paratattiche: negazione “polemica” e concessione dal discorso alla grammatica, in *Orillas*, 5 (2016), <https://www.orillas.net>, pp. 1-17.
- Mazzoleni, M. (2020). Connettori, grammatica e dialogicità: ma e bensì tra costrutti avversativi e costrutti sostitutivi, in *Anales de Lingüística. Segunda época* n.4 – abr-sep 2020. Argentina: Mendoza.
- Merlini, L. (1983). *Gli atti del discorso economico: la previsione. Status illocutorio e modelli linguistici nel testo inglese*, Parma: Edizioni Zara.
- Moeschler (1985). *Argumentation et conversation*, Paris: Hatier.
- Moeschler, J.- Reboul, A. (1999). *Dicționar enciclopedic de pragmatică*, Coordonatori traducere în limba română (după Édition du Seul, 1994) - Carmen Vlad, Liana Pop, Cluj: Ed. Echinox.
- Mortara-Garavelli (2006). *Manuale di retorica*, (1988-I ediz.), Milano: Bompiani.
- Mortara-Garavelli, B. (2001). *Le parole e la giustizia*, Torino: Einaudi.
- Pezzini, I. (1998). *Le passioni del lettore*, Milano: Bompiani.
- Rosi, B. (2017). Punteggiatura e subordinazione causale nell'italiano contemporaneo, in Ferrari, Angela-Lala, Letizia-Pecorari, Filippo (a cura di), *Interpunzione oggi (e ieri). L'italiano e altre lingue europee*, 2017, Firenze: Franco Cesati.
- Roventă-Frumușani, D. (1995). *Semiotica discursului științific*, București: Ed.Științifică.
- Roventă-Frumușani, D. (2000). *Argumentarea. Modele și strategii*, , București: Ed. Bic All.
- Roventă-Frumușani, D. (2005). *Analiza discursului. Ipoteze și ipostaze*, București: Tritonic.
- Sălăvăstru, C. (2003). *Teoria și practica argumentării*, Iași: Editura Polirom.
- Serianni, L. (2006). *Grammatica italiana. Italiano comune e lingua letteraria*, 1-a edizione-1989, XIV, 19-20, pp. 537-539.

Dana-Maria Feurdean PhD. She is a member of the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She has been teaching Italian (business and general language), Intercultural Communication, Romanian as a Foreign Language. Between 2016-2019 she was a Romanian Lecturer at the University of Padua. She is interested in modern language teaching, Italian and Romanian teaching methods, intercultural communication, business communication, applied linguistics and contrastive linguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, lexicography. (dana.feurdean@econ.ubbcluj.ro)

Collaborative Writing. SL in the *New Era of Literacy*

Amalia Cotoi

Our aim is to show that writing in SL could benefit from a collaborative approach. If both teachers and students will stop seeing writing as a solitary activity, produced by a romantic genius, isolated from the real world, and would begin to approach writing more as a craft, in the spirit of collaborative work, rather than as a piece of art produced by an individual, writing in SL could become as demanding and motivating as any other communicative activity, and it could also help prepare the student for a world where writing is vital in building and maintaining both professional and personal relationships.

Collaborative writing; creative writing; writing reports; essays.

Seen as “a new era of literacy” (Yancey, 2009), thanks to the technological developments and the unprecedented circulation of ideas, information and opinions, the 21st century reveals itself as an age of written communication rather than face-to-face communication. “For today’s young people, literacy is no longer just a private world of a reader and a book; it is a social world of texting, blogging, and tweeting”, notes Lori Jamison Rog (2008). Nowadays we are talking more and more about a writing-oriented generation – “«writingest generation»” (Rog, 2008) – that not only turns writing into a social activity – their relationship with friends being maintained on social media through writing –, but depends on it to achieve professional success. Under these conditions, the task of teachers in training writing is more difficult than ever in the history of mankind. First of all, because they work with students for whom writing on a sheet of paper may seem a tedious and useless activity, since they are most likely familiar with digital writing from a young age. Secondly, because they have to adapt the types of texts and the aim of their production in line with technological developments.

Given the unprecedented importance of writing in society, the role of the language teacher in training writing skills is all the more important now. The most popular today, communicative approach, rooted in the theories of Noam Chomsky in the 60s, places writing alongside speaking, listening and reading, and establishes the importance of real context in language practicing over the study of the lexical-grammatical contents. Unlike speaking, listening, or reading, which are practiced by native speakers first in the community of origin, and then refined during school years, writing is an activity that is

mainly learned through formal education. Thus, whether we consider the native speaker or the non-native speaker, writing becomes a communicative activity that is learned at school. Same as algebra or the anatomy of the human body, writing needs to be placed in a didactic scenario with clearly articulated rules, which involve progression and repetition. We cannot leave writing to chance.

Therefore, the aim of our paper is to focus on collaborative writing in second language learning. Our option has to do mainly with the resources we have at our disposal, and not with a hierarchical distribution between writing in first and second language. Both writing in the native tongue and in second language should start from the same rule, as stated by Lucy Calkins, in *The art of teaching writing*, namely “teach the writer, not the writing” (1994). Handled properly, writing in SLA can be both a demanding and motivating activity, and can also prepare the learner of any language to face a society for which written communication tends to have an increased weight in building and maintaining both professional and personal relationships.

Given that writing is something that we learn during classes, and practice outside, in the “real” world of virtual interaction, these two media should not be separated from one another. Hence, both teacher and student should acknowledge the importance of teamwork when it comes to writing. The practice of writing has changed today. The writer is not seen as a romantic genius anymore, inspired by muses and isolated from the outside world in the process of writing. The masters, classes, workshops on creative writing show us that writing should be understood in terms of both individual work and collective effort, as any other profession. So, the first change when it comes to writing in SLA should be made in regards to the way both teacher and student perceive the practice of writing.

Writing should start being understood as a teamwork activity – this is the first step. The second one has to do with editing. If we need to read a text at least two times to figure out the details, the same is true for writing: for a text to be well written, writing should be separated from editing. In *Writing on Both Sides of the Brain...*, Henriette Anne Klauser (1987) makes the following confession: “I can write volumes in the midst of confusion, and I can easily write on the run. But I do need solitude in order to edit”. Therefore, for writing to be well handled, it has to be separated from editing. We have to get our students used to the idea that while editing is mainly an individual work, writing can and must be a collaborative activity – both in terms of production and feedback. We think the best way to make writing fit our era of new literacy is to turn it into a social activity.

A Camel is a Horse Designed by a Committee

But how do we do that? How can we turn a tradition of individualism into one of collectivism? How can writing become a team activity? Can we, the teachers of SLA, create a space where writing is not a solitary endeavor, as it commonly is?

“A camel is a horse designed by a committee”, notes the car designer Air Alec Issigonis, according to Jeremy Harmer (2004), trying to highlight the power of teamwork

in creating new forms. Writing is all about new forms, and for those forms to be new, writing should be first and foremost a collaborative effort in SLA. “One way of encouraging drafting, reflection, and revision is to have students involved in collaborative writing. A pair or group of students working together on a piece of writing can respond to each other’s ideas (both in terms of language and content), making suggestions for changes, and so contributing to the success of the finished work” (Harmer, 2004). Harmers’ description works good on paper, but what is to be done in order to achieve such a collaborative atmosphere during writing activities?

Firstly, students must be educated in the spirit of creative writing workshops, where everything is either shared or written together. The teacher should get students used to the idea that the whole class is involved in the process of reflection, planning, revision, and feedback, even if drafting and writing could be individual endeavors.

Training writing is a fundamental component of any successful school curriculum. “To improve writing is to improve thinking” (Langer & Applebbe, 1987), as the act of writing facilitates the linear and logical presentation of ideas, allowing reflection on what has been written. For thinking to benefit from written production, however, the texts produced by second language students must themselves follow a logical structure. Therefore, the teacher has the duty to take planning and drafting seriously. Firstly, starting from some graphic organizers, the students will write down the main ideas. Then these will be discussed both with the teacher, with a colleague or with several colleagues, depending on both the level of language and the topic. At A1 level, it would be easier for the teacher to be the one who discusses the main ideas with the student. Starting with A2, though, a good idea in handling writing activities is for the teacher to create permanent writing groups – meaning that a student will belong to the same writing group for a month, a semester or a year –, so that each time a writing activity takes place, each learner will belong to a community of fellow writers to whom to address the main concerns regarding the process of writing. Although they seem like a trivial thing, writing groups are the best way to teach writing and to create a collaborative atmosphere.

Dividing the class into working groups is the first step towards the transformation of writing from a solitary activity into a collective and collaborative one. This division can be applied starting with the second beginner level and it works well as a space of both drafting, reflection, revision, and feedback. As suggested by Beth Means and Lindy Lindner, group writing is best organized in two notebooks and a folder: “We have our students keep two notebooks and a folder: one notebook is for collecting writing ideas and a second larger notebook for writing practice paragraphs and rough drafts. The folder for final copies we call the portfolio” (Means & Lindner, 1998). Needless to say that the idea of writing we have in mind when we’re thinking at writing as a way of sociability is not the old one, focused on assimilation of grammar and vocabulary in the process of writing, but the new one, promoted both by CEFR and today’s didactics, that emphasizes

the importance of the process of writing, and not the final product – the paper that is going to be graded by the teacher. Therefore, the emphasis when it comes to collaborative writing is not on the final copies, hence on the portfolio, but on the two notebooks of the student: one with collective ideas, and the other one with drafts.

According to Henrietta Anna Klauser, the secret of fluent writing comes from separating writing from editing. Writing and editing are two different brain functions (Klauser, 1987). Beth Means and Lindy Lindner (1998) believe that the work of producing the text belongs to the “artist”, while the editing process is in the hands of the “craftsman”. In our paper, however, we consider that the entire process of writing is in the hands of the craftsman. It is the craftsman who needs a team to search for the necessary tools and building materials (planning), to make arrangements (sketching of the main ideas), and then to finally move to the actual drafting.

It is important that the student starts from the vision of writing as a craft, and not from that of the misunderstood genius, whose inspiration doesn’t come as a consequence of a sustained effort, but is always provided by someone or something. Both non-fictional writing (which should be prevalent in SLA classes at a beginner’s level) and fictional writing involve the domestication of ideas by organizing them in predetermined structures. The best way for the student to become aware of the craft involved in the act of writing is to become familiar with graphic organizers from the beginner’s level. As in the previous stages, and in the actual drafting stage, the student has in front of him some sheets of paper in which the steps he is going to follow emerge from the organization of the document in version 1 (page 1), the editing sheet (page 2), and version 2 (page 3).

According to the CEFR (2001), the production of the written message is divided into two categories, namely “creative writing” and “writing reports and essays”. It is important to note here that both in language teaching and in the CEFR, creative writing generally does not imply fictional writing, but means writing that is not strictly controlled through templates or models, being rather defined as free writing. Writing reports and essays, on the other hand, refers to template writing, that is aimed at a specific type of text, be it an argumentative essay or a postcard. The production of the written message, like any other communicative activity, has its mechanical components. In order to achieve coherence in writing and to make the purpose of writing as transparent as possible, writing according to a template – e-mail, argumentative essay, postcard template etc. – is an important criterion in writing. When the writer is outside the norms of construction of a certain type of text, the risk is that the written production will not be coherent.

According to modern didactics, one of the essential activities in the preparation of writing, the one that anticipates the actual planning moment, is the analysis on the type of text to be written. In this sense, it is not enough for students to be exposed to a postcard before the actual writing of a postcard, but also to read and observe along with their colleagues the structure and content of several postcards built on the same template. On the one hand, writing according to a template is encouraged especially in the elementary

linguistic stages, when the students' knowledge is not yet extensive enough to have at hand the tools necessary to write freely. On the other hand, it is not recommended that the only writing activity be the one with a given model. If free writing is also practiced, with requirements adapted to the student's level of competence, it is easier for the student to overcome writer's block.

The master of collaborative writing – the teacher

It is important to teach “what” to write, but also “how” to write. In order for writing to be assumed by students, the teacher himself must treat writing as a conscious act, that follows three mandatory stages in language teaching, namely (1) familiarization with the subject – input, (2) planning and (3) knowledge consolidation – output. If in the case of planning, teamwork implies methods through which we can get students used to sketching out their ideas, reflecting on them, and then revising them, in the case of input, the major role is played by the teacher. He is the one whose mission is to build the motivation and to awaken the students' enthusiasm. So, despite the new theories that state that language learning should be student-centered, we think that for writing to be a collaborative activity, the SL teacher should be at the center of the writing activity. The teacher not only finds methods to outline and “divide the piece into several major categories” (Means & Lindner, 1998), he is also the master of collaborative writing.

In this role, the teacher needs to know how to train both “creative writing” and “writing reports and essays”, starting, as we mentioned before, from the beginner's level. When it comes to writing reports and essays, we think the best way to make it collaborative is through group works. Let's take for example writing a postcard on WhatsApp at A2 level. Here the role of the teacher is two-fold: he is both a master of the group world he created, but also the students' assistant – she/he puts herself/himself in student's service, provides materials, gives suggestions, answers questions etc.

Firstly, the teacher discusses with the students on two models of postcards, then creates as many groups as the number of writing groups in the class. After the groups are created, he asks students to start talking via WhatsApp, and to choose a destination, a place for accommodation, which they can search on the internet –, how long are they going to stay there, the period they choose, and the activities they are doing. After planning and drafting ends, the teacher will switch groups as follows: the first group is moved in the second WhatsApp group, the second into third and so on. The purpose is for the students to exchange the notes, so that when it comes to actually writing the first version of the postcard, the groups won't be using their own notes. In this way, the students don't get bored, and writing can be a demanding activity.

After writing the first draft, the teacher will project on the screen some criteria for feedback, so that the students will be able to evaluate their colleagues' papers. Groups exchange first versions this time and evaluate them according to the teacher's criteria

through WhatsApp messages for fifteen minutes. After that, the groups will receive their feedback in the form of shared message, and each group will have ten minutes to discuss the observations and then, after the time is up, to ask their colleagues to justify their observations. In the end, each group will write the second version of the postcard, under the teacher's supervision, on a sheet of paper this time. When they are done, they will place the paper in the writing group's portfolio, where it will stay until the end of A2 level, when they are going to re-evaluate all the papers in the portfolio by themselves, according to teacher's criteria.

When it comes to creative writing, though, the atmosphere should be more relaxed than in the previous example. The teacher is meant to ensure a medium similar to the one used by writers/teachers in creative writing workshops or seminars. A very good example of such nature is provided by Jeremy Harmer (2004), in a chapter entitled *Building the writing habit*, where the author provides numerous ways in which teachers could use music in order to stimulate writing. The main idea is this: "students can write stories on the basis of music they listen to. If the music conveys a strong atmosphere, it will often spark the students' creativity and almost tell them what to write". Hence, starting at A2+ or at B1 level, the teacher plays a song of his choice and asks students to write down on their paper words, sentences, expressions, anything that pops up in their mind while listening to that song. When the music stops, students will start discussing their notes for ten minutes in order to select the topic of their story. Then the teacher writes down on a blackboard the first line of their story, asking whoever feels inspired to write the next one and so on and so forth until the writing gets its flow. When (and if) the students feel that they have no ideas left, then the teacher plays another song and repeats the process, and so on, until the story seems to write itself.

We can use ChatGPT or other apps in order to explore our artistic nature, or to learn another language, we can also practice speaking with native speakers and improve our language level, but when it comes to witting in second language and collaborative writing in particular, we think the role of the language teacher is indisputable. He is the key to both creative writing and writing reports and essays, as well as to the way students acknowledge the process of writing.

References

- Calkins, Lucy. (1994). *The Art of Teaching Writing*. Heinemann.
- Harmer, Jeremy. (2004). *How to Teach Writing*. Pearson Education Limited.
- Klauser, Henriette Anne. (1987). *Writing On Both Sides of the Brain. Breakthrough Techniques for People Who Write*. Harper Collins Publishers.
- Langer, Judith A., & Applebee, Arthur N. (2007). *How Writing Shapes Thinking: A Study of Teaching and Learning*. The WAC Clearinghouse.
- Means, Beth, & Lindner, Lindy. (1998). *Teaching Writing in Middle School. Tips, Tricks, and Techniques*, Englewood. Teacher Ideas Press.
- Rog, Lori Jamison. (2008). *Marvelous Minilessons for Teaching Intermediate Writing Grades 3-8*. Pembroke Publishers.

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). (2001). Language Policy Unit, Strasbourg. www.coe.int/lang-CEFR.

Yancey, Kathleen Blake. (2009). *Writing in the 21st Century*. In *A report from the National Council of Teachers of English*.

Amalia Cotoi is Assistant Professor at the Department of Language, Culture, and Civilization, within the Faculty of Letters of Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Her main areas of interest are: Romanian as a Foreign Language, Literary Modernism, Literary Theory, and Critical Theory. (amalia.cotoi@ubbcluj.ro)

Evaluation de la qualité du
contenu des leçons
d'expression orale et écrite
rundi : cas du quatrième cycle
de l'école fondamentale au
Burundi /

Evaluation of the Content
Quality of the Lessons of
Kirundi Oral and Written
Expression: Case of the Fourth
Cycle of the Primary School in
Burundi

Epimague Nshimirimana
Constantin Ntiranyibagira
Justin Gafura

This article used data collected as part of the project "Preparation of teaching materials and their implementation in schools" funded by the University of Burundi. Its objective is to evaluate the content quality of the lessons of the Kirundi oral and written expression in the fourth cycle of the primary school in Burundi in order to propose necessary improvements. Through the qualitative method, the analysis and interpretation of data based on criteria, evidence and judgment have shown that this content is inconsistent in

many respects: types of texts to be produced not specified, poor use of materials, contradiction between objectives and application exercises, lack of evaluation of students' productions. Moreover, its feasibility leaves something to be desired because of the inconsistency of content, the lack of qualification of teachers and the absence of reference documents. To improve the quality of this content, the article proposed the production of reference documents in Kirundi oral and written expression, the revision of Kirundi programmes, the in-service training of Kirundi teachers and the collaboration between the various actors involved in this field.

Kirundi; evaluation; content quality; oral and written expression.

Introduction

Le système éducatif burundais a connu de nombreuses réformes dont la plus récente date de 2013. Celle-ci consiste en une refonte du primaire et du collège en une école fondamentale d'une durée de neuf ans devant offrir aux élèves un bagage nécessaire pour la poursuite de leurs études ou leur insertion dans la vie active (Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2021, p. 5). Dans cette nouvelle organisation, l'ancien collège a été réduit à un cycle de trois ans correspondant actuellement au quatrième cycle de l'école fondamentale. Les trois premiers cycles constituent l'ancienne école primaire (six ans) et durent chacun deux ans. La principale conséquence de l'introduction de l'école fondamentale a été une refonte des finalités, des programmes, des modalités d'organisation et d'évaluation en usage dans les classes (Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2015, p.7).

Toutes ces innovations liées à cette nouvelle réforme ont eu lieu au moment où le système éducatif reste hanté par de nombreux problèmes. Entre autres défis, la Confemen/Pasec (2010, p.12) signale l'insuffisance du personnel enseignant, la forte pression sur les infrastructures scolaires, l'insuffisance de supports pédagogiques, les programmes d'enseignement inadaptés, les disparités géographiques dans l'allocation des infrastructures scolaires, la faible qualification des enseignants des écoles communales et le faible rendement pédagogique.

Malgré tous ces défis du système éducatif burundais, la réforme continue sa route : des textes réglementaires y relatifs ont été décrétés, de nouveaux programmes ont été élaborés et mis en œuvre. C'est ainsi que, au quatrième cycle de l'enseignement fondamental, nous avons des programmes organisés en domaines et non par disciplines. Le domaine des langues, qui regroupe le kirundi, le français, l'anglais et le kiswahili dans une perspective de développer une compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle (Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2015, p.26), donne une place de choix au kirundi. Au Burundi, celui-ci a à la fois le statut de langue nationale, de langue officielle, de langue d'enseignement et de langue enseignée (République du Burundi, 2014).

Au quatrième cycle de l'école fondamentale qui nous intéresse dans le présent article du fait que la réforme de l'enseignement fondamental de 2013 a démarré par ce

cycle même (République du Burundi, 2018, p.9), le kirundi est une langue enseignée (République du Burundi, 2019). Cet enseignement du kirundi s'inscrit dans le modèle d'enseignement des langues à sortie tardive c'est-à-dire que la langue maternelle demeure le support d'instruction jusque plus ou moins en cinquième année et reste une matière enseignée dans les classes supérieures (Unesco, 2010, p.34).

Parmi les différents aspects du kirundi qui sont enseignés au quatrième cycle de l'école fondamentale (grammaire, textes, orthographe, éléments d'anthropologie culturelle, expression orale et écrite), nous nous focaliserons sur les leçons d'expression orale et écrite. Ce choix est dû au fait que les auteurs du présent article sont constamment confrontés aux multiples sollicitations des étudiants stagiaires, futurs enseignants de kirundi, pour répondre aux multiples questions que pose l'enseignement de l'expression orale et écrite dans cette langue au quatrième cycle de l'école fondamentale.

Dans un contexte général où le Burundi a un système éducatif centralisé qui donne une place de choix aux contenus-matières des manuels de cours dans l'évaluation des apprentissages, tant au niveau institutionnel qu'au niveau national (Ndayimirije, 2018, p.56), une série de questions se pose. La qualité du contenu des leçons d'expression orale et écrite du kirundi est-elle bonne ou mauvaise ? Ce contenu est-il cohérent ? Qu'en est-il de sa faisabilité ? Au cas où ce contenu accuserait des lacunes, quelles améliorations faut-il lui apporter ? Telles sont les questions qui vont guider notre réflexion. Celle-ci sera menée en quatre sections principales à savoir (i) la méthodologie adoptée, (ii) les critères et preuves de la qualité du contenu, (iii) le jugement de la qualité du contenu et (iv) la proposition des améliorations de la qualité du contenu.

1. Méthodologie de l'étude

La démarche méthodologique adoptée dans cette étude relève de la méthode qualitative. Celle-ci consiste en une analyse non statistique des données pour rendre possible l'examen de nombreuses questions et notions difficiles à quantifier, favorisant ainsi une approche plus holistique (Secrétariat du Conseil au Trésor du Canada, 1998, p.97). Une telle approche de recherche produit la description détaillée des sentiments, opinions et expériences des participants et interprète le sens de leurs actions ; elle comprend de manière holistique l'expérience humaine dans des contextes spécifiques (Rahman, 2017, p.104).

Dans notre étude, les données à analyser ont été collectées entre les mois de février et mai 2022. Dans un premier temps, une enquête par questionnaire a été menée auprès de quinze enseignants de kirundi répartis dans quinze écoles différentes choisies aléatoirement. Ainsi, quatre enseignants des écoles urbaines de Bujumbura (la capitale économique du Burundi) et onze enseignants des écoles rurales (six dans la partie ouest du pays, trois dans les écoles du centre-est, deux dans les écoles de la région du nord et un dans la région sud) ont participé à l'enquête. Par la même occasion, les mêmes enseignants enquêtés ont été observés pendant des leçons d'expression orale et écrite

rundi. A cet effet, une grille d'observation initialement élaborée était chaque fois complétée. Dans un second temps, les leçons d'expression orale et écrite rundi décrites dans les manuels scolaires de kirundi des classes de 7^{ème}, 8^{ème} et 9^{ème} années ont été soumises à une analyse. Les données étaient recueillies en complétant une grille d'analyse préalablement établie.

L'avantage d'un tel recours à plusieurs stratégies de collecte des données permet de recueillir des informations complètes, systématiques et approfondies sur chaque cas d'intérêt (Patton, 1980, p. 303). En plus, dans une évaluation c'est-à-dire un processus systématique consistant à juger de la valeur, de l'opportunité, de l'efficacité ou de l'adéquation de quelque chose en fonction de critères et d'objectifs définis (Steele, 1970, p.6), cette façon de procéder permet de mesurer ou d'évaluer le même résultat en fonction de plusieurs sources de données (Secrétariat du Conseil au Trésor du Canada, 1998, p.34).

Les différentes données recueillies au moyen des trois outils (questionnaire, grille d'observation des pratiques de classe, grille d'analyse du contenu des leçons) ont été soumises à une analyse qualitative de type inductif. L'analyse inductive signifie que les modèles, les thèmes et les catégories d'analyse proviennent des données ; elles émergent des données plutôt que de leur être imposées avant la collecte et l'analyse des données (Patton, 1980, p.307). En d'autres termes, il s'agit d'une méthode d'analyse qui est censée faire ressortir des constantes, des thèmes, des tendances et des motifs des données en plus de fournir des interprétations et des explications de ces constantes et de ces autres éléments (Secrétariat du Conseil au Trésor du Canada, 1998, p. 96). Cela revient à dire qu'il s'agit de faire une analyse de contenu, c'est-à-dire produire du langage à partir du langage (Sabourin, 2009, p.416).

Sur base du modèle d'évaluation des programmes proposé par Steele (1970), l'analyse et l'interprétation des données reposeront sur trois éléments essentiels à savoir les critères, les preuves et le jugement. Ainsi, les critères et les preuves seront systématiquement appliqués aux différentes données collectées en ce qui concerne la qualité du contenu des leçons d'expression orale et écrite rundi. Celle-ci, étant l'une des cinq caractéristiques (qualité, pertinence, efficacité, efficience, importance) du programme qui peuvent être évaluées (Steele, 1970, p. 13), elle est conçue comme le type de rapports entre un objet sur lequel on recueille des informations, le référé, et un référentiel, qui sert de critère pour la comparaison (De Ketele & Gérard, 2007, p.29).

Quant au jugement de la qualité du même contenu, il a été fait en fonction de deux éléments que nous empruntons à Paquay (2007) à savoir la cohérence et la faisabilité. Ici, la cohérence est définie comme étant le rapport ou degré de conformité entre les moyens (ressources/contraintes et stratégies) et l'objectif fixé (De Ketele & Gérard, 2007, p. 30). A son tour, la faisabilité répond à la question suivante : les objectifs peuvent-ils être atteints avec les moyens prévus ? (Paquay, 2007, p.63).

En définitive, en nous basant sur les résultats obtenus aux étapes précédentes, l'analyse des données s'est terminée par une proposition des améliorations à faire pour que le contenu faisant l'objet de notre étude soit bon. En effet, le but de la recherche évaluative est de fournir des informations pertinentes et utiles aux décideurs (Patton, 1980, p.273). Ainsi, l'aboutissement d'une évaluation est de contribuer aux décisions concernant le programme pendant qu'il est en cours ou aux décisions concernant la programmation ultérieure et future (Steele, 1970, p.7). Mieux encore, toute recherche d'évaluation est destinée à la fois à être utile et utilisée, soit directement et immédiatement, soit en tant que contribution supplémentaire à un ensemble cumulatif de connaissances pratiques (Rossi, Lipsey & Freeman, 2004, p.22).

2. Critères et preuves de la qualité du contenu

Selon Steele (1970, pp. 8-9), un critère est quelque chose par rapport auquel quelque chose d'autre peut être jugé; il peut s'agir d'une règle, d'un standard, d'une norme ou d'un objet, d'une condition ou d'un comportement considéré comme bon ou idéal. Conformément à cette définition et à la démarche qualitative décrite ci-haut, les critères choisis dans cette étude tiennent en compte les différents thèmes abordés dans la collecte des données.

Ainsi, cinq critères principaux (la précision du type de texte demandé, la démarche méthodologique prévue dans les manuels, l'exploitation des supports pédagogiques, l'évaluation des productions orales/écrites des élèves, la relation entre les leçons d'expression orale et écrite) sont systématiquement vérifiés. Pour bien présenter ces différents critères, ils sont déclinés en différentes composantes. Celles-ci sont mises en parallèle avec des éléments de preuve identifiés parmi les données de l'enquête par questionnaire, les données de l'observation des pratiques de classe et les données de l'analyse des manuels scolaires utilisés. Après chaque tableau de synthèse, un commentaire sur le contenu du tableau est systématiquement fait.

2.1. Précision du type de texte demandé

La précision du type de texte demandé est attendue dans les objectifs formulés pour chaque leçon, dans le corps de la leçon et dans les exercices d'application. Les différents éléments de preuve présentés dans le tableau ci-après permettent de vérifier chaque critère retenu.

Tableau 1 : Critères et preuves relatifs à la précision du type de texte à produire

Critère 1 : Le type de texte à produire est précisé			
Composantes du critère 1	Éléments de preuve		
	Données du questionnaire	Données de l'observation des pratiques de classe	Données de l'analyse des manuels scolaires
Le type de texte est précisé dans l'objectif.	-	- Tous les enseignants observés n'énoncent pas les objectifs de la leçon et partant, n'énoncent pas à l'avance les types de textes à produire.	- Dans certaines leçons, les objectifs prévus précisent les types de textes à produire. - Dans d'autres leçons, les objectifs prévus ne précisent guère les types de textes à produire.
Le corps de la leçon fait mention du type de texte à produire.	-	- Tous les enseignants ne parlent pas de types de textes à produire pendant la leçon proprement dite.	- Dans la quasi-totalité des leçons, les corps des leçons proprement dites n'évoquent pas les types de textes à produire.
Le type de texte est précisé dans l'exercice d'application.	-	- Tous les enseignants répètent l'énoncé de l'exercice d'application tel que prévu dans le guide de l'enseignant.	- Dans certaines leçons, les exercices d'application prévus précisent les types de textes à produire. - Dans d'autres leçons, les exercices d'application prévus ne précisent guère les types de textes à produire.

En analysant le contenu de ce tableau, nous constatons que, à travers les éléments de l'observation des pratiques de classe et les éléments de l'analyse des manuels, le type de texte demandé est précisé dans les objectifs et dans les exercices d'application. Aucune précision du type de texte n'est donnée dans les différentes activités constituant le corps de la leçon. De plus, aucune donnée de l'enquête par questionnaire ne permet de renseigner sur le type de texte demandé.

Dans les cas où le type de texte est précisé, la précision est faite au moyen des termes techniques utilisés dans la formulation des objectifs et dans les énoncés des exercices d'application. A titre d'exemples, dans les manuels, les verbes *kwiigaana* « narrer, raconter », *gutóondanura* « décrire », *guhimiriza* « forcer à, obliger », *gusiguura*

« expliquer », *kwéerekana ahó uhagáze* « défendre son point de vue » renseignent respectivement sur les textes de types narratif, descriptif, injonctif, explicatif et argumentatif. Par contre, d'autres termes comme *kuraata* « faire parade de », *guhanuura* « conseiller pour éviter un châtement », *guhayagiza* « chanter les louanges » ne précisent pas le type de texte à produire. Le cas extrême est celui où aucun terme technique n'est identifié dans la formulation des objectifs ou dans l'énoncé des exercices d'application.

En confrontant les objectifs avec les énoncés des exercices d'application, une situation problématique est relevée. Il s'agit des cas où les termes techniques utilisés dans les objectifs et dans les exercices d'application indiquent deux types de textes différents. C'est le cas notamment pour la leçon d'expression écrite prévue en 7^{ème} année au deuxième thème où il est énoncé le texte injonctif dans l'objectif proposé et le texte informatif dans l'exercice d'application. Il en est de même pour la leçon d'expression écrite prévue en 8^{ème} au 2^{ème} thème.

2.2. Démarche méthodologique prévue

Dans l'introduction des différents guides de l'enseignant, il est clairement indiqué que la démarche méthodologique préconisée pour une leçon de langue comporte les cinq étapes suivantes: motivation, exploitation des supports, conceptualisation de la notion, application, évaluation (Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2015-2017a). Ainsi, au moyen des données recueillies, notre tâche consiste à vérifier si ces étapes méthodologiques prévues sont claires, distinctes et bien suivies par les enseignants. Le tableau de synthèse ci-après en dit long.

Tableau 2 : Critères et preuves relatifs à la démarche méthodologique préconisée

Critère 2 : La démarche méthodologie à suivre est clairement établie			
Composantes du critère 2	Eléments de preuve		
	Données du questionnaire	Données de l'observation des pratiques de classe	Données de l'analyse des manuels scolaires
Les étapes de la démarche prévues sont claires et distinctes.	- Quelques enseignants affirment que certaines étapes de la leçon ne contiennent rien qui indique clairement les activités de l'enseignant. - Pour d'autres, le contenu des différentes étapes des leçons n'est pas	-	- La méthodologie prévue comporte les mêmes étapes : introduction, leçon proprement dite, conceptualisation de la notion, synthèse, application. - Pour certaines leçons, des éléments indiqués dans le manuel de l'élève ne trouvent pas de

	suffisant ; il mérite d'être enrichi. - D'autres enseignants affirment que la synthèse à faire noter aux élèves n'est pas toujours prévue.		références dans le guide de l'enseignant et inversement.
Les étapes de la démarche prévues sont bien suivies.	- La majorité des enseignants affirme qu'ils suivent la méthodologie prévue. - Quelques enseignants affirment qu'ils ne suivent jamais la méthodologie prévue. - Pour d'autres, les travaux en groupes sont rarement organisés car ils font perdre beaucoup de temps.	- La majorité des enseignants suivent les étapes de la méthodologie telles que décrites dans le guide de l'enseignant. - Quelques enseignants suivent la méthodologie prévue en y apportant quelques modifications. - Les enseignants guident leurs élèves et apprécient leurs réponses. - L'interaction entre les élèves et l'enseignant est réelle. - Quelques enseignants tâtonnent en inversant les étapes prévues.	-

En observant les éléments contenus dans le tableau 2, nous constatons que les étapes de la méthodologie à suivre sont prévues dans toutes les leçons. Contrairement à ce qui est prévu dans l'introduction des guides de l'enseignant, les données de l'analyse des manuels révèlent que l'étape de l'évaluation n'est pas prévue dans l'organisation des leçons décrite. Les différentes leçons d'expression orale/écrite se terminent par des exercices d'application qui ne sont pas malheureusement corrigés par les enseignants.

D'autres problèmes qui ne favorisent pas la clarté de l'organisation de la démarche méthodologique en étapes consistent dans le contenu de ces dernières. Tantôt des illustrations servant de supports pour certaines leçons d'expression orale ne se trouvent pas

dans les manuels, tantôt les activités des enseignants ne sont pas indiquées à certaines étapes, tantôt encore la synthèse à faire noter aux élèves n'est pas prévue. Cela amène l'enseignant à se débrouiller. Dans ces trois cas, nous prédisons que les contenus des leçons peuvent être différents voire même contradictoires si on passe d'un enseignant à l'autre.

Quant à l'attitude des enseignants pendant le déroulement des leçons, elle n'est pas toujours la même. La majorité des enseignants suit la démarche méthodologique telle que prévue, quelques-uns des enseignants la modifient tandis que d'autres ne la suivent jamais. Il y en a même qui tâtonnent en inversant les différentes étapes de la leçon. Enfin, les travaux en groupes prévus pour certaines leçons ne sont pas organisés par la plupart des enseignants sous prétexte qu'ils font perdre du temps.

Bien que les contenus des différentes étapes des leçons ne soient pas toujours clairs et suffisants, et malgré les difficultés manifestées par les enseignants dans la mise en œuvre de la méthodologie prévue, ces derniers s'efforcent à faire participer les élèves. En effet, par des questions-réponses répétées tout au long de la leçon, l'interaction entre l'enseignant et les élèves reste une réalité.

2.3. Exploitation des supports pédagogiques

Dans les manuels scolaires utilisés, chaque leçon d'expression orale/écrite du kirundi est basée sur un support pédagogique. Celui-ci peut être un texte court ou une illustration (image, dessin). La façon d'exploiter ces supports se comprend à travers les éléments de preuve présentés dans le tableau suivant :

Tableau 3 : Critères et preuves relatifs à l'exploitation des supports

Critère 3 : Le texte/illustration de référence est bien exploité			
Composantes du critère 3	Eléments de preuve		
	Données du questionnaire	Données de l'observation des pratiques de classe	Données de l'analyse des manuels
L'exploitation du texte/illustration de référence permet de dégager les indices qui renseignent sur le type de texte.	- Dans quelques cas, les illustrations prévues dans les manuels ne correspondent pas au contenu de la leçon proprement dite. - L'exploitation des supports permet aux élèves de dégager les idées principales	- Lors de l'exploitation des supports, les enseignants n'évoquent pas le type de texte à produire. - Les enseignants procèdent par une observation dirigée des illustrations. - Les enseignants aident les élèves	- Les activités prévues pour l'exploitation des supports ne permettent pas de dégager les outils linguistiques qui renseignent sur le type de texte demandé. - Les activités prévues consistent à relever les idées

	contenues dans le texte-support. - L'exploitation des supports permet de faire un rappel des notions antérieurement vues.	à dégager les idées principales contenues dans le texte.	principales du texte ou à inventorier des idées relatives aux illustrations observées.
L'exploitation du texte/illustration de référence permet de construire un plan à suivre pour les productions des apprenants.	- Les enseignants affirment que l'exploitation des supports aboutit à la construction du plan du texte exploité. - Par des questions-réponses, les enseignants disent qu'ils amènent les élèves à accoucher leurs idées sur un sujet donné et à les ranger dans un ordre logique.	- Les enseignants aident les élèves à construire le plan du texte exploité. - Les enseignants aident les élèves à faire l'inventaire des idées sur un sujet relatif aux illustrations observées.	- Les activités prévues conduisent à la construction du plan du texte exploité. - Dans le cas de l'expression orale, sur base des illustrations, les activités prévues permettent d'organiser les idées inventoriées suivant un ordre logique.

Les éléments contenus dans le tableau 3 montrent que les supports de leçons d'expression orale/écrite sont réellement exploités en suivant les activités prévues dans les manuels scolaires utilisés. Mais la question qui se pose est que l'exploitation des supports telle que prévue dans les manuels et telle que vécue par les enseignants n'est pas bien orientée. Au lieu de la mener dans l'optique de l'identification du type de texte demandé, des outils linguistiques utilisés et de la structure d'un tel texte, tout se résume en une lecture-compréhension du texte-support ou en un commentaire guidé sur l'illustration.

Pour preuves, les différentes données synthétisées dans le tableau 3 indiquent que l'exploitation des supports aboutit, dans un premier temps, à dégager les idées principales en rapport avec le texte-support ou l'illustration-support. Dans un deuxième temps, il est question d'établir un plan suivant lequel le texte exploité est organisé ou suivant lequel les idées inventoriées sur l'illustration peuvent se suivre. Bref, si l'exploitation des supports est orientée ainsi, le produit final attendu de la part des élèves sera le résumé du texte exploité ou la synthèse des idées en rapport avec l'illustration.

Concrètement, ce qui manque pour que l'exploitation des supports soit efficace, c'est que les activités prévues et menées ne sont pas orientées vers la mise en relief des outils permettant aux élèves de construire le type de texte demandé. Par conséquent, le plan envisagé et qui servirait de pont entre le support exploité et le nouveau texte à

produire ne sera pas construit correctement. Les apprenants auront ainsi du mal à produire le type de texte demandé car ne disposant pas de ressources nécessaires pour le faire.

2.4. Evaluation des productions des élèves

Dans l'introduction des guides de l'enseignant, plusieurs critères d'évaluation des productions des apprenants sont proposés. D'une part, les critères proposés pour l'expression orale sont la/le communication/contenu, la grammaire, la structuration, le vocabulaire, la fluidité, la prononciation/intonation et l'attitude. D'autre part, pour l'expression écrite, les critères d'évaluation prévus sont le message/contenu, le vocabulaire, la syntaxe/grammaire, la structure du texte et l'orthographe. Le tableau ci-après montre l'état réel de l'évaluation dans les leçons d'expression orale/écrite.

Tableau 4 : Critères et preuves relatifs à l'évaluation des productions des élèves

Critère 4 : L'évaluation des productions des élèves est bien faite			
Composantes du critère 4	Eléments de preuves		
	Données du questionnaire	Données de l'observation des pratiques de classe	Données de l'analyse des manuels
Les critères d'évaluation prévus sont clairs et suffisants.	- Les critères d'évaluation pris en compte sont : la cohérence des idées, la structure des phrases, l'adéquation de la réponse donnée à la question posée, l'attitude des élèves, l'orthographe. - La plupart des enseignants dit qu'elle n'évalue pas les productions des élèves pendant la leçon.	- Pendant les exercices d'application, certains enseignants donnent aux élèves des consignes en rapport avec les critères d'évaluation : cohérence des idées, structures des phrases, orthographe, attitude.	- Dans l'introduction générale des guides de l'enseignant, des critères d'évaluation clairs et suffisants sont prévus.
Les critères d'évaluation prévus sont applicables.	- Les enseignants disent qu'il n'y a pas de critères pour évaluer le plan à suivre lors des productions des élèves.	- Les enseignants apprécient positivement ou négativement les réponses des apprenants. - Aucun des enseignants observés ne parle de la structure du texte demandé.	- A la fin de certaines leçons, certains critères d'évaluation applicables sont mentionnés : cohérence des idées, structure des phrases, orthographe.

La durée de l'évaluation prévue est suffisante.	- Certains enseignants donnent des questions sur l'expression orale/écrite pendant les évaluations sommatives seulement.	- Les exercices d'application donnés pendant la leçon ne sont pas corrigés.	- L'étape de l'évaluation n'est pas prévue dans le déroulement des leçons.
---	--	---	--

En analysant les éléments contenus dans le tableau 4, nous constatons que l'évaluation n'est pas faite au cours des leçons d'expression orale/écrite. Les enseignants attendent les évaluations sommatives pour donner des questions qui seront notées. Pendant la leçon, seules des consignes portant sur la cohérence des idées, la structure des phrases, l'orthographe, l'attitude sont données aux élèves. Pire encore, les exercices d'application ne sont pas corrigés sous prétexte que le temps (7 minutes) leur imparti n'est pas suffisant. Même dans la rubrique « évaluation » prévue dans les guides de l'enseignant à la fin de chaque thème, il n'y a pas d'exercices portant sur l'expression orale/écrite qui sont prévus.

Si nous prenons les critères d'évaluation contenus dans les leçons proprement dites et ceux mis en œuvre par les enseignants pour les comparer avec les critères proposés dans l'introduction des guides de l'enseignant, nous nous rendons compte que la structure du texte demandé et le vocabulaire ne font pas l'objet d'évaluation. Cela s'explique par le simple fait que l'exploitation des supports ne fait jamais référence à ces éléments. Par conséquent, si les apprenants ne prennent pas contact avec les ressources qui leur permettent d'identifier et de construire le type de texte demandé, si les productions des élèves ne sont pas évalués pendant les leçons, si aucun exercice d'expression orale/écrite n'est prévu à la fin du thème, nous nous demandons comment les compétences visées chez l'apprenant peuvent être développées.

2.5. Relation entre les leçons d'expression orale/écrite

Sur chaque thème, après les leçons portant sur l'analyse de textes, la grammaire et l'orthographe, viennent des leçons d'expression orale et écrite. Les leçons d'expression orale précèdent toujours celles de l'expression écrite. Les données d'enquête synthétisées dans le tableau ci-après permettent de faire un parallélisme entre les deux types de leçons et d'avoir des informations sur la relation existant entre eux.

Tableau 5 : Critères et preuves relatifs à la relation existant entre les leçons d'expression orale et celles d'expression écrite

Critère 5 : La relation entre les leçons d'expression orale et celles d'expression écrite est clairement établie			
Composantes du critère	Eléments de preuve		
	Données du questionnaire	Données de l'observation des pratiques de classe	Données de l'analyse des manuels scolaires
Les deux types de leçons sont similaires ou différentes.	- Les enseignants affirment que les deux types de leçons se déroulent comme prévues dans les manuels utilisés.	- Les enseignants observés conduisent les deux types de leçons suivant le modèle des activités prévues dans les manuels utilisés.	- Dans la plupart des cas, les deux types de leçons ont les mêmes objectifs, les mêmes activités prévues. - Dans des cas très rares, les deux types de leçons sont totalement différents.
La leçon d'expression orale prépare celle de l'expression écrite.	-	- Lorsque les deux types de leçons sont basés sur le même texte, ils sont conduits presque de la même façon sauf dans les exercices d'application.	- Lorsque les deux types de leçons sont basés sur le même texte, les activités prévues sont les mêmes.

Le rapprochement des éléments contenus dans le tableau 5 permet d'établir trois types de relation entre les leçons d'expression orale et les leçons d'expression écrite. La première catégorie, la plus représentée dans les manuels, est celle qui renferme des leçons d'expression orale et celles d'expression écrite ayant les mêmes objectifs et les mêmes types de supports. Dans ce cas, les deux types de leçons sont conduits de la même manière sauf au niveau des exercices d'application. La leçon d'expression écrite constitue en grande partie une répétition de la leçon d'expression orale y correspondante.

La deuxième catégorie est constituée de leçons d'expression orale et des leçons d'expression écrite ayant le même objectif mais se basant sur des supports différents (illustrations pour l'expression orale et texte pour l'expression écrite). Ces deux types de leçons ne sont pas conduits de la même façon ; le degré de similarité n'est pas très grand.

Le cas extrême, le plus rare, est celui où les leçons d'expression orale et celles d'expression écrite sont très différentes. Cette dernière catégorie est notamment illustrée

par les leçons prévues en 7^{ème} année au cinquième thème où il est question d'un texte explicatif en expression orale tandis que la leçon d'expression écrite porte sur l'écriture de la lettre.

3. Jugement de la qualité du contenu

En considérant les différents éléments développés dans la section précédente, nous retenons deux points forts qui concordent avec une bonne qualité du contenu des leçons. Il s'agit de la formulation des objectifs à l'avance pour chaque leçon ainsi qu'une méthodologie basée sur des supports et favorisant l'interaction entre l'enseignant et les élèves. Mais cela ne suffit pas pour qualifier de bonne la qualité du contenu des leçons d'expression orale/écrite rundi au quatrième cycle de l'école fondamentale.

Pour arriver à faire un jugement digne de ce nom, nous allons vérifier si la cohérence et la faisabilité du contenu prévu permettent de bien développer les compétences attendues chez l'apprenant bénéficiaire. En effet, dans le curriculum de l'enseignement fondamental, il est clairement indiqué que l'enseignement de l'expression orale/écrite vise à rendre l'apprenant capable de résumer un texte, d'écrire un court texte argumentatif, de faire une démonstration, de justifier son point de vue, d'écrire un article de journal de type informatif, de participer à un débat, de prendre la parole de manière appropriée et bien argumentée (Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2015, p. 28).

3.1. Cohérence du contenu

Par la cohérence, l'on cherche à répondre à la question suivante : les démarches et moyens prévus concourent-ils vers la réalisation des objectifs ? (Paquay, 2007, p. 62). Ainsi, dans notre étude, les moyens et démarches prévus se retrouvent dans le contenu des leçons tandis que les objectifs dont il est question ici correspondent au développement des compétences mentionnées au paragraphe précédent.

En analysant les différents critères et preuves déjà présentés, nous relevons trois éléments d'incohérence. Le premier concerne le fait que les types de textes visés ne sont pas bien précisés dans le contenu des leçons. A ce sujet, l'absence de précision en rapport avec le type de texte se manifeste par (i) une absence de termes techniques indiquant clairement le type de texte à produire dans certains objectifs prévus pour les leçons et par (ii) une contradiction entre les types de textes énoncés dans l'objectif de la leçon et dans l'exercice d'application. Ce dernier cas s'observe lorsque le type de texte prévu dans l'objectif de la leçon est différent de celui qui est demandé dans l'exercice d'application y correspondant.

Le deuxième élément matérialisant l'incohérence du contenu des leçons d'expression orale/écrite concerne la mauvaise exploitation des supports pédagogiques. Celle-ci est orientée vers un objectif différent de la production d'un type de texte prévu

dans l'objectif de la leçon et/ou demandé dans l'exercice d'application. La démarche méthodologique prévue ne fait guère mention du type de texte visé lors de l'exploitation des supports. Ce qui importe au cours de cette étape, c'est l'inventaire des idées principales contenues dans le texte-support ou relatives à l'illustration exploitée. La conséquence en sera que le résultat final sera soit le résumé du texte exploité, soit le développement d'un point de vue sur l'illustration mais non le type de texte demandé.

Le dernier élément attestant une incohérence du contenu des leçons d'expression orale/écrite porte sur l'absence de l'évaluation des productions des élèves. Si l'étape d'évaluation n'est pas prévue dans la démarche méthodologique, si la correction des productions issues des exercices d'application n'est pas faite, si aucun exercice d'expression orale/écrite n'est prévu dans la rubrique « évaluation » à la fin de chaque thème, si la structure du texte ne fait pas l'objet de critère d'évaluation retenu parmi les consignes données aux élèves, les productions des élèves ne peuvent jamais être améliorées.

Une des raisons justifiant cette incohérence du contenu qui vient d'être présentée est que l'élaboration de ce contenu ne repose sur aucune approche méthodologique précise. En effet, comme nous le lisons dans l'introduction des différents guides de l'enseignant du domaine des langues, au moment où les disciplines d'anglais et de français s'inspirent de l'approche communicative préconisée pour l'enseignement des langues étrangères, pour le kirundi, langue maternelle pour la plupart des élèves, on met l'accent sur la perfection de la langue et sur ses aspects grammaticaux (Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2015-2017a).

Le contenu conçu et élaboré sur base d'une approche méthodologique non déterminée à l'avance ne peut que contenir des tâtonnements. Un tel contenu ne pourra pas permettre à l'élève issu de l'école fondamentale d'être capable, en langue kirundi, de s'exprimer avec aisance et précision, sur des sujets concrets comme abstraits, de prendre part à des discussions de manière constructive, d'utiliser ses compétences en langue pour s'insérer activement dans la vie personnelle, publique et professionnelle (Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2015, pp. 26-27). Par conséquent, à long terme, nous continuerons à vivre dans une société où les intellectuels burundais et la masse paysanne partagent une même langue, les premiers ne parvenant pas à s'exprimer avec aisance dans leur langue maternelle (République du Burundi, 2013, p.4).

3.2. Faisabilité du contenu

Le contenu des leçons d'expression orale/écrite rundi ne se laisse pas mettre en œuvre facilement du fait de son incohérence interne qui vient d'être discutée. Ce problème est accentué par la question du profil des enseignants du quatrième cycle qui se pose avec acuité car appartenant à diverses catégories (Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2017b, p.19). En effet, l'organisation des enseignements en domaines (en lieu et place de l'enseignement par

disciplines) n'a pas été accompagnée par des formations de mise à niveau suffisantes, ni par une réforme de la formation initiale : ni les instituteurs du primaire promus enseignants au cycle 4, ni les professeurs des disciplines des anciens collèges, devenus professeurs d'au moins deux disciplines regroupées dans un domaine, n'ont été réellement préparés à ce changement (République du Burundi, 2018, p.15).

Ce problème de qualification des enseignants qui sont chargés de mettre en œuvre le contenu des leçons d'expression orale/écrite rundi est une réalité. Les données de notre enquête révèlent que dans les quinze écoles visitées, ces enseignants sont de deux catégories principales. D'une part, les enseignants n'ayant pas le niveau universitaire comprennent ceux qui ont terminé leurs études secondaires en section Lettres Modernes et en section pédagogique. D'autre part, les enseignants de niveau universitaire ont subi leur formation initiale dans diverses filières : le Département de Kirundi-Kiswahili de l'Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée, le Département d'Anglais-Kirundi de l'Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée, la section d'Anglais-Kirundi de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, la section Français-Kirundi de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, le Département des Langues et Littératures Africaines de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines (Université du Burundi), le Département de Français de l'Institut de Pédagogie Appliquée. Cela montre que certains de ces enseignants (c'est-à-dire ceux qui n'ont pas le niveau universitaire, les lauréats du Département des Langues et Littératures Africaines, les lauréats du Département de Français) n'ont pas été préparés pour l'enseignement de l'expression orale/écrite rundi au quatrième cycle du fondamental.

Aux difficultés liées à l'incohérence du contenu des leçons dont il est question ici et à celles liées à la qualification des enseignants chargés de mettre en œuvre ledit contenu s'ajoute le manque de sources de documentation. Ce dernier problème est évoqué par la quasi-totalité des enseignants enquêtés, par Mazunya & Habonimana (2010) ainsi que par Nshimirimana & Tuyubahe (2023). Les manuels scolaires utilisés par les enseignants dans le domaine des langues le prouvent aussi car ils n'indiquent aucune source bibliographique relative à l'expression orale/écrite. Dans ce contexte de manque de documents de référence, seuls les enseignants de niveau universitaire affirment qu'ils se débrouillent en recourant aux notes prises au cours de leur formation initiale ou en exploitant les documents d'expression orale/écrite portant sur d'autres langues.

Face à ces difficultés de mise en œuvre du contenu des leçons d'expression orale/écrite rundi, les enseignants n'adoptent qu'une seule attitude générale à savoir se contenter de ce qui est prévu dans le guide de l'enseignant malgré toutes les lacunes déjà mises en évidence. Effet, la plupart d'enseignants ne préparent pas, ils se contentent de lire leurs guides pendant la leçon ; ils se justifient par le manque de qualification dans le domaine, manque de documentation, manque de matériel didactique et manque du temps suffisant à cause du volume horaire (Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2021, p.17). La conséquence en est que cette attitude des

enseignants ne peut pas favoriser l'acquisition des techniques et des outils linguistiques permettant aux apprenants de développer les compétences attendues en lecture/écriture et en lecture/compréhension.

4. Améliorations de la qualité du contenu à envisager

L'analyse déjà faite montre que la mise en cause de la qualité du contenu des leçons d'expression orale/écrite est due à trois problèmes principaux : l'incohérence du contenu, la disparité de la qualification des enseignants de kirundi, le manque de documents de référence pour l'expression orale/écrite rundi. Les problèmes étant bien identifiés, il importe d'envisager des solutions à court et à long termes sur base des éléments de la politique éducative du pays en vigueur. Pour le cas présent, celle-ci consisterait à améliorer constamment la qualité de l'enseignement avec la finalité de former un individu compétent en savoir et en savoir-faire pour agir activement et positivement sur son milieu de vie (Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2017a, p.11).

A court terme, il est question des améliorations ou des stratégies à mettre en œuvre pendant que les programmes en vigueur continuent leur cours normal. Dans ce sens, nous proposons qu'un document d'appui à l'enseignement de l'expression orale/écrite rundi soit produit, validé et diffusé auprès des enseignants de kirundi sur tout le territoire national. Le contenu de ce document se focaliserait tout d'abord sur la reformulation des objectifs non clairs pour les harmoniser avec les exercices d'application y correspondant d'une part et pour procéder à la précision des types de textes à produire d'autre part. Ensuite, tout en gardant les supports pédagogiques prévus pour chaque leçon, ce document proposerait de nouvelles activités de l'enseignant pour orienter autrement l'exploitation des supports. Lesdites activités devraient déboucher sur l'identification du type de texte demandé, sa structure, ses caractéristiques, les procédés linguistiques utilisés ainsi que sur l'élaboration des plans suivant lesquels les élèves pourront construire leurs productions.

A long terme, il sera question de réorganiser les leçons d'expression orale/écrite dans le cadre de la révision des programmes. En effet, après la révision des programmes des trois premiers cycles du fondamental qui se termine en 2025, les programmes du 4^{ème} cycle du fondamental vont aussi connaître des réaménagements légers, à la lumière des leçons tirées de quelques années de mise en œuvre (République du Burundi, 2022, p.29). A cette occasion, il faudra déterminer à l'avance une approche méthodologique suivant laquelle le contenu des leçons sera élaboré. De plus, les objectifs des différentes leçons, l'exploitation des supports pédagogiques, les exercices d'application et l'évaluation devront être orientés vers l'identification, la structure, la caractérisation, les outils linguistiques utilisés et la production des différents types de textes par les élèves. Sur chaque thème, il faudra veiller à ce que la leçon d'expression orale précède celle d'expression écrite et que la première prépare la deuxième. A côté des manuels scolaires qui seraient élaborés à cette fin, il sera indispensable de produire un document de

référence de l'expression orale/écrite rundi. Celui-ci devrait être le plus détaillé possible et servirait de source incontournable de compléments pour les différentes leçons d'expression orale/écrite.

Dans les deux cas, c'est-à-dire à court terme et à long terme, les documents envisagés devraient être produits par des organes habilités ou suffisamment outillés pour le faire. Comme le proposent Nshimirimana & Tuyubahe (2023), le rôle de l'Académie Rundi et des centres de recherche attachés aux institutions d'enseignement supérieur devraient être prépondérant. L'Académie Rundi jouerait un rôle d'orientation politique et de validation car, entre autres ses missions, elle est chargée d'appuyer et valider les programmes d'enseignement de la langue rundi, de promouvoir le kirundi comme langue d'enseignement au cycle fondamental et post-fondamental, de promouvoir l'écriture et la lecture du kirundi (République du Burundi, 2021, Article 5). A leur tour, les centres/laboratoires de recherche spécialisés en langues accompliraient toutes les tâches techniques de production des documents.

Etant donné que, jusqu'ici, les programmes de cours sont conçus et élaborés sans la moindre consultation ou participation des directions ni des inspections scolaires, encore moins des enseignants auxquels ils sont destinés (Ndayimirije, 2018, p.56), une collaboration avec les enseignants de kirundi devrait être envisagée. A ce niveau, comme dans une entreprise, l'effort de collaboration entre bureaux pédagogiques et enseignants permettrait un apprentissage mutuel (Blouin, 2000, p.220). Mieux encore, il importe que, tout au long de la conception, de l'élaboration, du test et de la mise en œuvre effective soient prises en compte les logiques des acteurs de terrain (Paquay, 2007, p.59) qui sont les enseignants de kirundi.

C'est à la suite de tout ce qui précède qu'il faudrait envisager des formations continues à l'endroit des enseignants en matière de l'enseignement de l'expression orale et écrite rundi. En effet, compte tenu de la disparité des profils des enseignants, une formation continue s'avère nécessaire pour leur permettre d'acquérir des connaissances et de développer des compétences nécessaires à l'exercice de leur métier (Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, 2017b, p.19).

Conclusion

L'évaluation de la qualité du contenu des leçons d'expression orale/écrite prévues au quatrième cycle de l'enseignement fondamental a été menée au moyen de la méthode qualitative. Ainsi, l'analyse et l'interprétation des différentes données présentées ont montré que l'enseignement de l'expression orale/écrite rundi connaît des forces et des faiblesses, les secondes étant les plus nombreuses que les premières. D'une part, chaque leçon a un objectif initialement prévu et une démarche méthodologique y correspondante. D'autre part, une incohérence notoire du contenu des leçons a été mise à nu et la question de la qualification des enseignants ainsi que le manque de sources documentaires constituent des freins à la mise en œuvre dudit contenu évalué.

Pour résoudre tous ces problèmes, un certain nombre de solutions a été proposé. Dans un premier temps, la production d'un document d'appui à l'enseignement de l'expression orale/écrite permettrait de corriger les manquements relevés sans exiger la révision du programme. Dans un deuxième temps, une fois la révision des programmes entamée, la restructuration des leçons d'expression orale/écrite serait nécessaire en même temps que la production d'un document de référence pour l'expression orale/écrite rundi. Enfin, une formation continue à l'endroit des enseignants en matière d'enseignement de l'expression orale/écrite rundi devrait être envisagée.

A tous les niveaux de la résolution des différentes lacunes qui entachent la qualité du contenu des leçons d'expression orale/écrite rundi, différents acteurs devraient être mobilisés. Les concepteurs des programmes de kirundi regroupés dans des Bureaux Pédagogiques, les enseignants du supérieur regroupés dans des centres/laboratoires de recherche, l'Académie Rundi, les autorités du Ministère ayant en charge l'éducation et les enseignants de kirundi au quatrième cycle de l'école fondamentale devraient collaborer pour la réussite de cette mission. Dans la même optique, les tâches qui reviendraient à chacun seraient déterminées en fonction de l'étape franchie.

Références

- Blouin, S. (2000). L'évaluation de programmes de formation et l'efficacité organisationnelle. *Interactions*, vol 4(2), 205-231.
- Confemen/Pasec. (2010). *Enseignement primaire : Quels défis pour une éducation de qualité en 2015 ? Evaluation diagnostique Burundi (2008-2009)*. Dakar, Sénégal.
- De Ketele, J. M. & Gérard, F-M. (2007). La qualité et le pilotage du système éducatif. In M. Behrens (dir), *La qualité en éducation. Pour réfléchir à la formation de demain*. Québec, Canada : Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Mazunya, M. & Habonimana, A. (2010). *Les Langues de scolarisation dans l'enseignement fondamental en Afrique subsaharienne francophone : cas du Burundi. Résumé institutionnel du rapport d'étude-pays*. Bujumbura, Burundi : AUF.
- Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche Scientifique. (2021). *Programme d'appui à la mise en œuvre du plan transitoire de l'éducation du Burundi «Twigeneza». Rapport des visites effectuées dans les écoles pour l'analyse des pratiques enseignantes en sciences*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique. (2017a). *Cadre d'orientation curriculaire du système éducatif burundais*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique. (2017b). *Référentiels de métier, de compétences, de formation et d'évaluation pour la formation de l'enseignant du fondamental (cycle 4) et du post fondamental au Burundi*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique. (2015-2017a). *Guide de l'enseignant 7^{ème}, 8^{ème}, 9^{ème}. Langues*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique. (2015-2017b). *Manuel de l'élève 7^{ème}, 8^{ème}, 9^{ème}. Langues*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- Ministère de l'Education, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique. (2015). *Curriculum de l'enseignement fondamental*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- Ndayimirije, M. I. (2018). Le Guide du maître pour une langue étrangère : exigences d'un partenariat concepteur-enseignant. *Synergies Afrique des Grands Lacs*, 7, 55-65.
- Nshimirimana, E. & Tuyubahe, P. (2023). Promouvoir le kirundi dans l'enseignement supérieur au Burundi : quelles stratégies pour enseigner le kirundi en kirundi à l'ère de la mondialisation ? In Bigirimana, C. & Nzesse, L. (coord.), *Re-penser les politiques linguistiques en Afrique à l'ère de la mondialisation*. Paris, France : Observatoire européen du plurilinguisme, pp. 237-258.

- Paquay, L. (2007). À quoi bon un curriculum de qualité s'il ne change pas les pratiques enseignantes ? In Matthis, B. (dir), *La qualité en éducation. Pour réfléchir à la formation de demain*. Québec, Canada : Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Patton, M. Q. (1980). *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*. London, England : Sage Publications.
- Rahman, M. S. (2017). The Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches and Methods in Language "Testing and Assessment" Research : A Literature Review. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 6(1), 102-112.
- République du Burundi. (2013). *Politique linguistique du Burundi*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- République du Burundi. (2014). *Loi N°1/31 du 3 novembre 2014 portant statut des langues au Burundi*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- République du Burundi. (2018). *Plan transitoire de l'éducation au Burundi 2018-2020*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- République du Burundi. (2019). *Décret n°100/078 du 22 mai 2019 portant fixation des langues d'enseignement et échelonnement des langues enseignées à l'école fondamentale*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- République du Burundi. (2021). *Décret n°100/167 du 12 juillet 2021 portant restructuration et fonctionnement de l'Académie Rundi*. Gitega, Burundi.
- République du Burundi. (2022). *Plan sectoriel de l'éducation 2022-2030 du Burundi*. Bujumbura, Burundi.
- Rossi, P. R., Lipsey, M. W. & Freeman, H. E. (2004). *Evaluation. A Systematic Approach*. California/London, USA/England : Sage Publications. 7th Edition.
- Sabourin, P. (2009). L'analyse de contenu. In Gauthier, B. (dir), *Recherche sociale. De la problématique à la collecte des données*. Québec, Canada : Presses de l'Université du Québec. 5^{ème} édition.
- Secrétariat du Conseil au Trésor du Canada. (1998). *Méthodes d'évaluation des programmes : Mesure et attributions des résultats*. Ottawa, Canada. 3^{ème} édition.
- Steele, S. M. (1970). Program evaluation-A broader definition. *Journal of Extension*, 8(2), 5-17.
- Unesco. (2010). *Pourquoi et comment l'Afrique doit investir dans les langues africaines et l'enseignement multilingue. Note de sensibilisation et d'orientation étayée par les faits et fondée sur la pratique*. Hambourg : Institut de l'UNESCO pour l'apprentissage tout au long de la vie.

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) and Linguistics Applied to Language Teaching (Master's 1st year) courses. His main areas of interest are: Bantu morphosyntax, contrastive linguistics and linguistic typology. (nshimeppy77@gmail.com)

Lecturer Constantin Ntiranyibagira, 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, African Linguistics (1st year), Kirundi Semantics (2nd year), Sociolinguistics (3rd year), Psycholinguistics (3rd year) and Sociolinguistic and Didactic Aspects of Multilingualism (Master's 2nd year) courses. His main areas of interest are: Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching. (constantin.ntiranyibagira@ub.edu.bi)

Lecturer Justin Gafura, Master's in Didactics of French as a Foreign Language is a member of the Department of French within the Institute for Applied Pedagogy of the University of Burundi, Bujumbura, Burundi. He has been teaching, Major Currents of French Literature from the Middle Ages to the 18th Century (1st year), Morphology of Modern and Contemporary French (2nd year), Sociolinguistics (3rd year) Literary Criticism and Explanation (3rd year) courses. His main areas of interest are: Didactics of French and Sociolinguistics. (justin.gafura@ub.edu.bi)

Book --- Review

Daniela Crăciun, *Narcisismo e fuga dal reale. Moderno e postmoderno in Guido Gozzano*, Editura Pro Universitaria, București, 2022, 161 p.

Elena Pîrvu

The volume Daniela Crăciun *Narcisismo e fuga dal reale. Moderno e postmoderno in Guido Gozzano* argues that Guido Gozzano and the crepuscular poetry, of which he is still considered the most outstanding representative, belong to and even open the 19th century canon.

Guido Gozzano; narcissism; real; modern; postmodern.

Pubblicato nel 2022 presso la Casa Editrice Pro Universitaria di Bucarest, il volume *Narcisismo e fuga dal reale. Moderno e postmoderno in Guido Gozzano*, è uno studio che verte sul fatto che Guido Gozzano (19 dicembre 1883 - 9 agosto 1916) e la poesia crepuscolare, di cui egli è ancora considerato il maggiore rappresentante, fanno parte del canone novecentesco, anzi lo inaugurano (cf. p. 10).

Il volume si compone di quattro capitoli preceduti da una *Premessa* (pp. 7-11) e seguiti dalla *Cronologia della vita e delle opere* (pp. 145-155) e dalla *Bibliografia* (pp. 157-161).

Il primo capitolo, *I crepuscolari alle soglie del moderno: percorsi del canone novecentesco* (pp. 13-53) presenta, come dichiara l'autrice, "la poetica crepuscolare nei suoi aspetti formali e contenutistici più importanti e si sofferma brevemente sulle figure più spiccanti dei rappresentanti minori della direzione letteraria presa in discussione: Sergio Corazzini, Marino Moretti, Corrado Govoni e Aldo Palazzeschi" (p. 10). In questo capitolo, l'autrice dimostra come i crepuscolari sono situati nella prospettiva della maggiore critica italiana novecentesca al confine del modernismo, letti come rappresentativi per ciò che significa canone modernista, illustrativi per tutti i principali tratti del nuovo nei primi vent'anni del secolo XX, e che "la loro poesia oltrepassa il

modernismo canonico, diventando il segno di una nuova coscienza letteraria e non solo” (p. 24). “Consumato in un periodo relativamente breve (una quindicina di anni), mai considerato movimento, corrente o scuola letteraria, senza un programma esplicito e dichiarato apertamente di sovversione letteraria, il crepuscolarismo è stato capace di oltrepassare alcuni presupposti dell’estetica decadente e di proporre e attuare un rinnovamento fortemente marcato del linguaggio poetico, in modo da operare in Italia il primo importante rovesciamento nella concezione moderna della poesia lirica” (p. 36). L’autrice conclude il capitolo con l’affermazione che “[c]on il rinnovamento metrico e linguistico, con la chiara coscienza del declino della figura tradizionale del poeta vate e con la messa in scena della scissione interiore, i crepuscolari concludono un’epoca letteraria e offrono le condizioni per un’altra, quella delle avanguardie, mentre le intuizioni del più raffinato e sottile di loro, Guido Gozzano, si spingono verso ciò che sarà il postmoderno” (p. 53).

Il secondo capitolo, *Guido Gozzano verso il postmoderno* (pp. 55-77), prende in esame l’opera letteraria di Guido Gozzano soprattutto dal punto di vista dei tratti che permettono di avvicinarlo al postmoderno. La novità della prospettiva dell’autrice “consiste nella lettura di alcuni testi gozzaniani dall’angolatura dell’atteggiamento narcisista considerato modello culturale definitorio del postmodernismo” (p. 10). Per Gozzano tutto è già stato detto e vissuto e questa convinzione lo spinge a ridire, riciclare le sue fonti che vanno da Dante e Petrarca a Pascoli e D’Annunzio attraversando Baudelaire e Jammes. La citazione, la parafrasi, l’allusione diventano la cifra della poesia gozzaniana e la critica, seguendo queste suggestioni, arriva a cercare e sfruttare la linea postmoderna riscontrabile nei suoi versi (cfr. p. 64). Secondo l’autrice il postmodernismo di Gozzano va oltre gli elementi formali o contenutistici dell’intertestualità in contesto storico letterario e arriva a delineare il ritratto dell’uomo e dell’intellettuale della fine del secolo XX, che gran parte dell’approccio psico-culturale descrive come narcisista (cfr. p. 77).

Il terzo capitolo, *Narcisismo e fuga dal reale* (pp. 79-103), presenta una rassegna delle più accreditate teorie sul narcisismo. La tesi dell’autrice del volume che presentiamo “è che Guido Gozzano poeta rappresentativo per la lirica del primo Novecento può essere collegato al postmodernismo anche sotto l’aspetto di un atteggiamento psichico tipico della società postmoderna nella sua peculiarità” (p. 82).

Il quarto capitolo, *La condizione narcisistica in Guido Gozzano* (pp. 105-143), applica i modelli teorici individuati nel precedente capitolo ai testi gozzaniani. La conclusione a cui l’autrice arriva è che “Gozzano, nel suo intento narcisistico di conoscersi, lascia di sé un’immagine costruita nei minimi particolari, in cui la componente illusoria che voleva andare oltre quell’annullamento dannunziano della differenza tra arte e vita, arriva a creare una realtà che è mera illusione” (p. 143).

In conclusione, il volume *Narcisismo e fuga dal reale. Moderno e postmoderno in Guido Gozzano* della professoressa associata Daniela Crăciun si presenta come uno studio molto interessante, che si legge sia con interesse che con piacere.

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)

