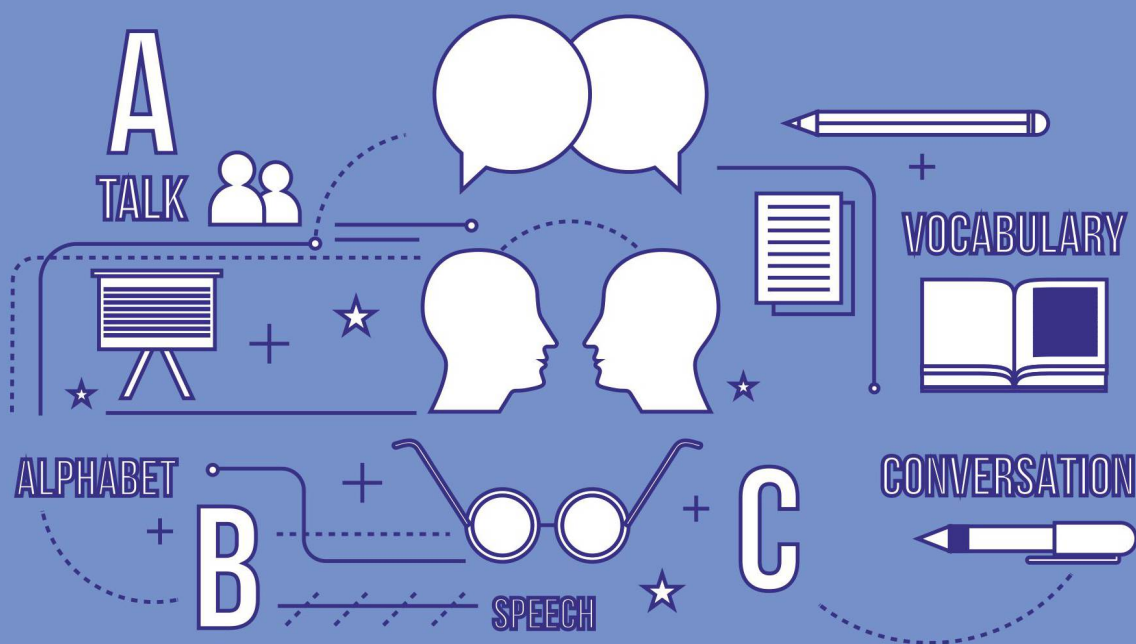# Limbaje specializate:
## Perspective și linii de convergență

Departamentul de Limbi Străine Specializate
al Universității Babeș-Bolyai

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LIMBAJE SPECIALIZATE:
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# Limbaje specializate:

## *Perspective și linii de convergență*

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# Cuprins

# Cuvânt înainte

Pe parcursul celor nouă ediții ale sale, conferința internațională *Dinamica limbajelor de specialitate: Tehnici și strategii inovatoare*, organizată de către Departamentul de Limbi Străine Specializate al Facultății de Litere (DLSS), Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, și-a propus să aducă împreună cadre didactice, studenți, doctoranzi, cercetători și specialiști în domenii diverse – *Predarea limbilor străine pentru scopuri specifice*, *Lingvistică*, *Analiza discursului*, *Literatură* sau *Studii culturale* ș.a. – și să ofere participanților o platformă interdisciplinară pentru expunerea celor mai recente direcții de cercetare în zone de analiză variate. La o examinare atentă a tematicilor abordate de-a lungul timpului, se poate cu ușurință observa capacitatea evenimentului universitar de a „radiografia", de „a lua pulsul" celor mai noi teorii și metode de cercetare din ariile de investigație aduse în dezbatere și de a publica, în paginile volumelor rezultate în urma fiecărei ediții, studii academice importante, capabile să aducă contribuții majore la cercetarea științifică.

Ediția din acest nu a reprezentat o excepție. Lucrările prezentate în cadrul întâlnirii din 2019, dintre care o mare parte se regăsesc între paginile prezentului volum, au avut ca scop să pună în lumină ideea de *colaborare* în educație și în cercetare, modul în care comunitatea academică mondială e pregătită (sau nu) să depășească granițe teritoriale și bariere lingvistice și să conlucreze în vederea inovării cunoașterii științifice și, în strânsă legătură, a permanentei înnoiri a paradigmei educaționale. Prin intervențiile lor, participanți din medii academice și culturale diferite – din țări precum Elveția, India, Israel, Portugalia, România, Spania –au reușit să aducă în centrul atenției multiplele provocări cu care se confruntă cercetarea filologică de astăzi, dar mai ales să scoată în evidență principalele progrese constatate în domeniile sondate.

Materialele din volumul de față au fost organizate în trei secțiuni – *Didactica și metodica predării limbajelor de specialitate*, *Lingvistică teoretică și aplicată* și *Studii literare* –, pas necesar atât pentru reliefarea tematicilor abordate, cât și pentru a putea oferi cititorilor noștri posibilitatea să acceseze cu ușurință articolele care se pliază pe sferele lor de interes. Publicate în limbile engleză, franceză, spaniolă și română, contribuțiile valoroase strânse între aceste coperți sunt dovada clară că demersurile

colaborative interdisciplinare, interculturale și transfrontaliere sunt posibile și reprezintă fundamentul dezvoltării în cercetarea științifică.

Nu în ultimul rând, trebuie să menționăm fericita întâmplare care a făcut să ne aflăm în acest an în fața unei duble aniversări: Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai celebrează o sută de ani de existență, iar Departamentul de Limbi Străine Specializate sărbătorește 25 de ani de când face parte din familia universitară clujeană. Evenimentul a fost marcat în cadrul conferinței printr-o masă rotundă la care au fost invitați directori și reprezentanți de la departamente similare afiliate celorlalte universități din Cluj-Napoca, iar ultima secțiune a volumul nostru, o redare a fertilului schimb de idei, este dedicată „perspectivelor locale, naționale și internaționale" asupra *rolului limbilor străine în universitățile europene*.

***Editorii***

# I. Didactica și metodica predării limbajelor de specialitate

# Mindfulness and Leadership in the Business English Classroom: A Review of Theoretical Perspectives and Practical Educational Approaches

**Ioana-Gabriela Nan[1]**

**Abstract:** The concept of mindfulness is a fashionable one these days. That alone is enough to associate it, in some people's minds, with a New Age kind of fad. However, recent research in the field of psychology has shown that, far from being so, mindfulness can provide a real breakthrough not only in cases related to stress or anxiety disorders, but also in professions such as teaching or business, where one is bound to encounter learning/junior partners with whom one has to establish and maintain healthy, sometimes long-term professional relationships. As shown in the article, a number of techniques are already in place in educational institutions abroad, some of them having been validated in the economics classroom, where values such as leadership and ethics must be instilled in the students early on. That is why I believe that such practices, perhaps adapted and re-interpreted for the local context and the specifics of the subject taught, can be introduced successfully in our classrooms as well.

**Keywords:** *mindfulness*, *leadership*, *economics*, *education*, *language teaching.*

## Introduction

The object of this article is to discuss the concept of mindfulness as an educational tool, with particular reference to the business context. I believe a good starting point for it is a quote from a book that may be familiar to some of you, called *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, by American scientist, teacher and philosopher Robert Pirsig:

> "Peace of mind isn't at all superficial, really. [...] It's the whole thing. That which produces it is good maintenance; that which disturbs it is poor maintenance. What we call workability of the machine is just an objectification of this peace of mind. The ultimate test is always your

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own serenity. If you don't have this when you start and maintain it while you're working, you're likely to build your personal problems right into the machine itself" (Pirsig, 2006, p. 206).

Apparently, Pirsig is talking about mending motorcycles, but as it soon dawns on anyone reading the book, his cross-country motorcycle trip in the company of his son and friends is only a pre-text. The real text, the story is a philosophical one, whose subject is people's relationship to themselves and to each other in different life contexts. Besides family relationships, he talks at large about his experience, doubts and questions as a student and as a teacher, and if one is familiar with his parables and knows how to read between the lines, the quote above can well be read as an analogy drawn between the art of keeping a machine going and the art of teaching mindfully.

## Mindfulness

Many authors nowadays believe that we live in an age of spiritual malaise. As one of them puts it: "We are sorely lacking, if not starving, for some elusive but necessary element in our lives. [...] What is really missing in some profound way is us" (Kabat-Zinn, 2011, p. ix). A tell-tale sign that we may be absent from our own lives while frantically looking for ourselves out there may be the booming "self-help" genre in the publishing industry, where the presence of words like "advice" or "how to" on the cover of a book is guaranteed to boost sales figures significantly. Many of my own students prefer this type of literature because, as they say, it helps them improve as human beings, eventually transforming them into "the best versions of themselves" (this is a cliché I have learnt to expect as I imagine a future world populated by Best Men and Best Women – and very few people like myself). Joking aside, I actually – really - commend them for wishing to be better people, while I notice that there is no other form of guidance they find as illuminating and desirable as guaranteed happiness in ten chapters. What right do I have to tell these young people that there is no such guarantee, that the purpose of life may not be what we usually understand by happiness, and that whatever happiness may be, it cannot be attained as a result of reading a recipe book – nor, for that matter, a hundred or a thousand of them? And would they believe me?

Moreover, such motivational books are only the come-on bait. A cohort of by-products in the form of audio materials, apps, seminars, retreats are readily at hand to assist us in finding our inner selves. We can all identify, if only for the purpose of making the point, with the spiritual crisis

the American middle class is caught up in, according to another scholar: "Its spiritual void seemingly untouched by traditional religion and the blandishments of prosperity, [we] wonder the carnival tent of New Age healers and prophets, hell-bent on buying the happiness that money can't buy" (Kabat-Zinn, 2011, p. x). The point of this particular author is that we do not need any new literature on how to live our lives better – the lessons are already there, whether in the philosophy of ancient Greece or in the far-eastern Buddhist tradition or in the moral teachings of any religious faith. Take the letters Marcus Aurelius wrote to himself (and posterity) in the first century. Their "calm and unblinking reckoning with the elemental difficulties of human life and their [repeated] emphasis on virtue rather than pleasure as the key to inner peace" (Kaufman, 1997, p. v) puts them on an equal footing with the Buddhist teachings according to which the path to a life well lived is meditation on and contemplation of one's own surroundings, or with the Christian advice that we should love our neighbour as we love ourselves.

At this point, many people might argue that the concept of mindfulness that I wish to speak about may be nothing more than the hyped-up revival of a Western interpretation of a set of Buddhist religious practices. They might also remind us of the association of such practices not only with the Beat culture, who had started promoting Buddhism in the US in the 1950s (Jack Kerouac's *The Dharma Bums* is a famous example), the decade that marked the "Zen Boom" in American culture, but also with the hippie counterculture and flower-power movement of the 1960s on which the Beats were hugely influential. When trend-setting bands like The Beatles famously attended a Transcendental Meditation training course in India in 1968, for example, one of the consequences was a renewed worldwide interest from the part of young people in eastern philosophical practices. This fad has been ongoing ever since, culminating in the huge and undifferentiated spiritual market known from the 1980s onwards as – yes, the New Age "carnival tent" mentioned above. That is why the question of whether something called mindfulness is not the name of yet another self-help kind of practice is entirely justified, I think, especially from the part of people who are aware - and wary - of this historical route, and who, moreover, may have found their own spiritual way to cope with life's ups and downs.

For the rest of us, perhaps it's still worth taking a look at the practice associated with mindfulness. One of the reasons might be that, unlike the ten-chapter happiness treatises mentioned above, *practising* mindfulness is

actually a crucial aspect that makes the difference. Mindfulness is more than a good idea or a clever technique – or a promise of happiness, for that matter. It is actually a lifelong process one commits to and which deepens as it unfolds in time. It therefore requires the training and discipline of any other consciously cultivated effort, while also allowing one to allow oneself "a certain ease and lightness of touch" (Kabat-Zinn, 2011, p. x) that are the mark of compassion and kindness to oneself and to others.

Moreover, the fact that many people, especially outside the US, still conceive of mindfulness as New Age hype is also due to the fact that, indeed, the philosophy behind it has been warped by excessive popularisation, resulting in an oversimplified, more palatable and therefore more superficial form promising only benefits at no cost and usually readily available one click away. In this respect, professor Terry Hyland notices that "contemporary 'McMindfulness' developments in education and the workplace run counter to the Buddhist precept of "right livelihood" in that they distort both the means and ends of the educational endeavour. When mindfulness practice is employed to achieve instrumentalist outcomes linked to short-term productivity or specific operational goals, the therapeutic function concerned with the transformation of negative emotions and the alleviation of suffering is submerged beneath predominantly utilitarian and materialistic concerns" (Hyland, 2016, p. 1). To reverse this process of crude commodification, professor Hyland suggests that the "ethical and genuinely educational aspects" of teaching and learning should be emphasised (Hyland, 2016, p. 1).

**Mindfulness and Education**

As much as I understand and respect professor Hyland's view, I still believe, as I mentioned before in connection with my students, that willingness to improve oneself, however warped, timid or incomplete, is still better than no effort at all, and that the "right livelihood" he advocates can be achieved in more ways than one. That being said, a definition of mindfulness is necessary for us to understand its potential benefits to the classroom environment, no matter how instrumental or narrow this purpose may be. The shortest one could be that "mindfulness" is the opposite of "mindlessness" - being absent to oneself, lost in the typical everyday whirlwind of thoughts and worries about the past or the future. Mindfulness therefore means awareness of one's experiencing the present as it unfolds moment by moment, without judging oneself or others. By extension, it is also the name given to a set of practices meant to harmonise the mind and

the body into peace and balance with the help of meditation techniques. Essentially, the goal is for one to become fully aware of one's body as present in the here and now, thus enabling the mind to free itself from endless cycles of rumination and negative feelings.

Given its strong healing component, mindfulness has been successfully developed into an effective form of cognitive psychotherapy (known as MBCT – Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy) – initiated by Oxford professor Mark Williams, together with John Teasdale and Zindel Segal. As a precursor to MBCT, as early as 1982 doctor Kabat-Zinn of the University of Massachusetts Medical Centre pioneered the approach known as MBSR (Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction), expanding its application to a range of contexts and settings, including cancer patient therapy and personality disorders, but also prison programmes, medical education and corporate training (Hyland, 2011, p. 55-56).

In fact, the recorded benefits of such programmes for education have led to the proliferation, in the US, of "contemplative studies" organisations and of mindfulness studies being offered as a subject matter or academic course component in disciplines as varied as the humanities, social and natural sciences and economics. Prestigious universities that offer such courses and research programmes include Harvard Law School, U.C.L.A, Stanford and Harvard (Borker, 2013, p. 496). And this ongoing trend is not confined to the US. As recently as February this year, the British government has announced the launch of one of the largest studies on the topic of mindfulness, in terms of the number of participants. Coordinated by a government body in partnership with University College London, the pupils in up to 370 primary schools are set to learn mindfulness exercises, relaxation techniques and breathing exercises which aim to "to help them regulate their emotions" and become more resilient in the face of adverse life situations (Bristow, 2019, mindful.org).

Even though some of us might view this initiative rather sceptically, as a government experiment in social engineering aimed at raising future generations that are emotionally stronger, we should also be able to decipher here a genuinely altruistic change to the educational systems in the Western world in general – what professor Hyland calls "the affective turn" in education (Hyland, 2011, p. 87). The past few decades have been characterised by "the rise of undifferentiated skill-talk, an obsession with prescriptive learning outcomes and the dominance of competence-based education and training" (Hyland, 2011, p. 2). Probably even more so in the context of higher education, where these trends have been rather gradual and

covert. The undermining of the true values of higher education has been achieved not only by such epistemological means, but also by ideological ones. On the one hand, the increasing influence of the state has led to significant loss of academic freedom and autonomy. On the other hand, the undue emphasis on outcomes expressed as employability skills and competences have given rise to the "corporate university", whose defining feature is the dominance of economic capital requirements to the detriment of the traditional learning goals of the institution (Hyland, 2011, p. 3).

This is not news for any of us here today. However, there are authors who optimistically point out that "the ultimate ends of education – self-esteem, job and life satisfaction and the promotion of trust and social justice – seem to be taken rather more seriously these days" (Standish, in Hyland, 2011, p. 1). In this context, the use of mindfulness practices in the classroom as an expression of this "strong caring and nurturing ethos" needs to be emphasised as "a necessary counterbalance to the competitive, economistic [sic] and managerialist [sic] ethos" of recent decades (Hyland, 2011, p. 6). While we are demanding of the young people nowadays that they go out and change the world, we conveniently seem to forget that before they do so, they need to sort *themselves* out. We expect them to deal with all the emotional consequences of the changes and fractures in their social and economic backgrounds, including the technology whirlwind, but it does not look like we have equipped them with any means to face these challenges in more profound ways. That is why we should not only give them the objective, technical knowledge to survive, but also make sure they get the ability to engage themselves subjectively with the world in order to live fully. Doing otherwise may be to ignore the essential human "power of emotions to freeze, or free, the mind" (Hyland, 2011, p. 7).

## Mindfulness, Economics and Leadership

The use of mindfulness-based approaches can be a vehicle for this kind of affective education, as professor David Borker shows in his articles on how mindfulness practices can be integrated in the economics classroom. Economics, with its many specialisations, is a conceptually demanding field of study. Moreover, what undergraduate students are usually taught is positive, not normative economics. The difference, for those of us not in the know, is that a positive economist would aim to inform of a state of events and its possible outcomes without making any comment about the desirability of these outcomes. A normative economist, on the other hand, would first subscribe to a goal and then consider what sort of economic

tools they could employ to achieve this goal (Mell & Walker, 2014, p. 5). While it is clear why positive economic knowledge is more appropriate in a context in which basic notions of economics have to be mastered first, it is also clear that such knowledge is not always value-free. As professor Borker notes, economics makes "technical demands on students and requires, but does not always deliver, a deep understanding of ethical and social issues" (Borker, 2013, p. 495). Although neither positive nor normative economics can be judged in terms of good or bad, there seems to be such a difference between bad and good economists, in that "one takes account of the visible effect; the other takes account both of the effects which are seen, and also of those which it is necessary to foresee" (Bastiat, 1850, p. 1).

In other words, future economists need the sort of "economic imagination" that also considers social and ethical consequences, and which requires, therefore, a level of personal involvement difficult to achieve with only cognitive educational resources. Mindfulness practices such as those proposed by professor Borker can come in useful here. For example, he suggests the setting up of recurring pre-, during and end-of-class "rituals" such as gently sounding a bell when the class starts, while inviting the students to listen intently, internalising the sound to achieve a calm and focused state of mind. Mindful listening, or Mindful silence, expressive of respect and compassion for the speaker, is also encouraged during classes, especially in the context of students listening to other students' presentations, or during open discussions. What is important is that students and teacher should avoid interrupting the speaker and listen actively to what is being said. This kind of supportive, participative listening can be a powerful tool for teachers and provide emotional satisfaction to the speaking students who will feel really heard and cared about (Borker, 2013, p. 46).

We might as well exemplify the importance of mindfulness by speaking about the business world, more specifically about the role of communication between managers and their team members. In this respect, a management textbook points out that, while employees might forget what managers say, they will never forget how managers have made them feel (Price & Price, 2012, p. 24). Even though academics often make a fine distinction between managers and leaders, in everyday life managers have to show leadership skills and vice-versa. Unlike technical skills, leadership skills are a component of the so-called soft skills set, but no less important for that. Over and over again, management manuals warn business leaders that mastering soft skills takes persistence and mindfulness about oneself

and others (Klaus, 2008, p. 175). As if to prove that this is the case, a survey completed by employees and managers from different professional backgrounds and different countries to find out what the strongest and weakest managerial skills might be shows that, of the three strongest areas as rated by each group, one area is common. Both managers and employees seem to place great value on "kindness", that is the level of compassion and empathy shown by managers to the members of their team (Price & Price, 2012, p. 14 and 95). As one author puts it quite informally: "People remember who was nice to them, and even more they remember who wasn't. You might be surprised by the big consequences this can have for you down the line" (Klaus, 2008, p. 165).

In addition, as we have all probably experienced in the classroom, emotions are contagious (Boyatzis & McKee, 2005, p. 23). Perhaps not surprisingly, the leader tends to be the person who has the greatest impact on the emotions of others. If a leader serves and cares for his/her team members, they will create a positive emotional climate and consequently, in economic terms, "a sustainable, high-performance culture" (Tenney & Gard, 2016, 47-48). That is why management literature mentions emotional intelligence as accounting for "85 to 90 percent of the difference between outstanding leaders and their more average peers" (Boyatzis & McKee, 2005, p. 26). But emotional intelligence is founded on awareness of oneself and of others. That is why mindfulness training can be, according to some authors, "the most powerful tool there is for developing emotional intelligence", in and outside the classroom (Tenney & Gard, 2016, p. 52).

## Any Use for Mindfulness in our Business English Classroom?

There is not enough research done to prove or to prescribe the teaching or learning of mindfulness practices in an English class focused on business communication. However, everything I have said about leadership skills and the importance of self-awareness, kindness and compassion in business managers applies very well to all of us here, since we are all leaders in our respective classrooms. Personally, I think of the English class itself in the context of a business faculty as a soft-skill class, where students can enjoy a break from difficult economic concepts and learn, instead, how to take care of themselves and of each other. This is not to say that my colleagues cannot do this. It's just that they are probably too concerned about teaching essential technical skills, and I'm sure they do their best in this respect as well. After all, besides being researchers, we are all educators. I, on

the other hand, also enjoy the privilege of being a philologist, rather than a social scientist, so one could say that "mindfulness" is really my business.

What I believe is important in all classes, but perhaps more so in the language class, is that students feel confident enough to share knowledge, experience and emotions. These are the essentials of establishing successful communication, which can be achieved gradually, by building certain recurring activities, at well-chosen moments, into the structure of the class. Introducing and running consistently such routine tasks ranging from small-talk sessions to longer debates on current issues of economic and human interest could prove quite effective in establishing trust and predictability between teacher and students and among students themselves, without leading to boredom or fatigue.

For instance, the element of comfortable predictability may be introduced right at the beginning of each semester, especially with new students, by making them part of a wider discussion on their own current needs, the topics they might expect and why those topics may be relevant to them, the materials to be employed in and out of class and their availability. Moreover, they should know clearly and fully what to expect in terms of class time management, evaluation and grading procedures and the structure and possible topics in the end-of-term test. By disclosing all this information, by talking about it openly and in good time and by welcoming both questions and suggestions, teachers prove their own availability for co-operation and make it clear that they are willing to include themselves in the teamwork they expect to see in the classroom.

Another element that creates comfort and reassurance is offering students as many options as possible to attain their best linguistic performance. Thus, while requiring all of them to make a presentation on a certain economics topic, for example, may be too confining to allow for personal idiosyncrasies, allowing them the freedom to choose both their preferred topic and the method of delivery – either oral, in an informal presentation or written, in an essay – may create the kind of attitude that is conducive to learning and collaboration. Moreover, while many of us may be reluctant to recommend reading fiction to a business English class of students, I have found that students may embrace this option as another opportunity to combine something they like doing with something that will help improve their linguistic abilities and cultural knowledge.

Speaking about the "care" component of mindfulness, this is, I think, one the words that has been missing too long from our educational, social and economic vocabularies. A classroom anecdote could serve to show that

things may be changing for the better. As we were engaged in a conversation about the books my students are reading outside the classroom, I asked about what relevance they think these books might have on their future approach to business. While one of them pointed out that the work of Sun-Tzu about the art of war has crucially taught him that business is about "killing" the competition and taking over their customers as spoils of war, another replied by saying that she does not see the need for such an approach. The same – and better – results could be achieved by making sure that customers are happy, that they always feel they are taken good care of. This way, not only will they not leave, but they may bring other customers along. Surprisingly, after some mindful reflection on this, we all seemed to agree that indeed this soft approach could actually work.

And to prove that mindfulness really takes an effort from students and teachers alike, I will also mention something that one of my students told me on an especially tiresome day, when my mind was busy mulling over unfinished paperwork and urgent deadlines. At the end of the class, he stopped by and told me, very respectfully but honestly: "You have not been a good manager today", using the same words I use sometimes to spur myself back into classroom self-awareness. I appreciated his sincere lesson. What he was telling me was that I was really needed. There and then. Essentially, as teachers, we build our own selves into these sensitive machines we call our students.[2] One day, our wisdom will be their wisdom, our mindfulness, their mindfulness.

Compared to the educators and educational policy bodies in the English-speaking countries mentioned in the article, Romanian teachers have yet to learn how to see the advantages of mindfulness themselves, before they apply some teaching methods based on mindfulness to their own classroom subjects. Despite possible cultural biases against such mindfulness-based methods, derived from a possible misapprehension of their religious origin, the results obtained in terms of better relationships forged between teacher and student, calmer and more focused classes and, ultimately, better performance and less stress all around, should be worth the challenge, especially for teachers in higher-education working with young adults of diverse specialisations. That is why learning systematically

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[2] The metaphor is a direct reference to Pirsig's analogy, quoted at the beginning of the article, between repairing and maintaining a motorcycle and a teacher's ability to do the same thing with students' minds and souls. Actually, his whole book revolves around this metaphor, with examples of university educators failing to recognize their own shortcomings, thus driving their most unruly, yet most gifted, students away.

how to analyse a concept, be it scientific or linguistic, by focusing your mind fully on it and seeing it from different perspectives is something I am patiently looking forward to seeing implemented in our university classes in the near future, too.

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# Incorporating Grammar Instruction into ESAP Courses for Students in Physical Education and Sport and Kinesitherapy

## VLAD-GEORGIAN MEZEI[1]

**Abstract:** Over the years, teaching grammar has been the subject of considerable debate. Should grammar instruction focus exclusively on teaching forms, structures and rules? Should meaningful communication replace all explicit teaching of grammar? Should equal attention be given to form, meaning and use? What is the role of grammar instruction in English for Specific Purposes? These are some of the questions that teachers, theorists and researchers have tried to answer. This article presents principles and techniques devised to incorporate grammar instruction into a two-semester practical ESAP (English for Specific Academic Purposes) course taught to first-year students at the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport of Babeș-Bolyai University. The article is divided into three sections. Firstly, the students' learning profile is analysed to identify their learning needs. Secondly, a rationale for studying grammar in ESAP courses is provided. Finally, the focus is shifted towards the general strategy and individual techniques used to incorporate grammar instruction into the aforementioned practical course.

**Keywords:** *grammar, instruction, English for Specific Academic Purposes, physical education, sport, kinesitherapy.*

## Introduction

Apart from classroom teaching, the responsibilities of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) teachers include syllabus design, materials writing or adaptation and evaluation (Hutchinson and Waters, 1991, p.157). In other words, an ESP teacher is responsible not only for face-to-face teaching activities and student evaluation but also for devising coherent instructional strategies applicable to entire courses. Therefore, as a syllabus and material designer, the ESP teacher is first and foremost a decision-maker whose job is to choose the most appropriate content and method of teaching so as to

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meet the learners' needs. After all, ESP is in essence "an approach to language teaching in which all decisions as to content and method are based on the learner's reason for learning" (Hutchinson and Waters, 1991, p. 19).

Striving to make decisions in my students' best interest has been a constant concern of my teaching and research activity. Over the years, I have focused on various aspects of the teaching-learning process – designing syllabi and course packets, optimizing the acquisition of ESP vocabulary, using project work as a learning tool and teaching EAP (English for Academic Purposes) writing – for the purpose of developing a coherent strategy aimed at enabling my students to communicate effectively in English in their academic and professional activity. The present article presents yet another facet of this decision-making process, namely the choices I have made in order to incorporate grammar instruction into my overall teaching approach.

**My Students' Learning Profile**

Since the learner's needs are at the very core of any decision-making process in the area of ESP, it is only natural to begin by analysing my students' learning profile. A first significant point to consider is the institutional learning context. The first-year undergraduates I teach at the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport specialise in three distinct areas: Physical and Sports Education, Sport and Motor Performance and Kinesitherapy and Special Motricity. Disciplines in their subject-matter field include Functional Anatomy, Anatomy and Biomechanics, Fundamentals of Kinesitherapy, Physiology, Kinesiology, Fundamentals of Handball/ Gymnastics/ Athletics, Education for Health and First Aid, etc. Their instruction in English is organised as a two-semester 56-hour practical course. This learning context reveals two aspects of the learners' needs: as non-philologist learners of English, they require training in specialist language pertaining to their specialism and as students in tertiary education, they need instruction in English for Academic Purposes (EAP). These two main requirements place the course in the domain of English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP). A subdivision of EAP (Blue, 1988, p. 96), English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP) differs from English for General Academic Purposes (EGAP) in that it is subject-specific. This strand of EAP can briefly be described as follows "Subject-specific English is the language needed for a particular academic subject, e.g. economics, together with its disciplinary culture. It includes the language structure,

vocabulary, the particular skills needed for the subject, and the appropriate academic conventions" (Jordan, 1997, p. 5).

Age is a further important aspect of my students' learning profile. According to Harmer, "the age of our students is a major factor in our decisions about how and what to teach" (Harmer, 2007, p. 81). Needs, competences and cognitive skills vary with age. The fact that my students are mainly young adults aged between 18 and 20 is not without significance. The transition from adolescence to adulthood is evident in their attitude toward learning which does not fit neatly into any of Harmer's descriptions of learner age groups (Harmer, 2007, pp. 82-85). Instead, they display traits of both adolescent and adult learners. They are similar to adolescents in that they can become highly passionate about learning if their interest is properly stirred. On the other hand, they can find teachers' or peers' disapproval demotivating. The characteristics my students share with Harmer's adult learners include the ability for abstract thought, expectations about the learning process and a critical attitude toward learning resulting from previous learning experiences.

While the above-mentioned traits are characteristic of most of my students, there are certain peculiarities that are specific only to some of them. One such particularity is "the mismatch between the learner's conceptual/cognitive capacities and the learner's linguistic level" (Hutchinson and Waters, 1991, p. 129). The discrepancy between a high level of subject specialism knowledge and a low level of English can be a source of frustration. During my activity I have encountered highly successful professional athletes, coaches or teachers of physical education who possessed a lot of knowledge of their subject-matter field but could not verbalise it due to their low level of proficiency in English. Another of my students' particularities is their practical approach to life. The fact that some of them are deeply rooted in the tangible world predisposes them to learning better by dealing with real situations rather than with ideas or theories.

So how do these students feel about grammar? My classroom teaching experience has taught me that at the beginning of the course most of my students are averse to grammar instruction. When asked to explain this attitude, they offer several reasons. Some of them associate grammar with correctness and thereby with the fear of making mistakes. Some others resent the normative nature of grammar; in their opinion grammar is about memorising countless rules, forms, structures and exceptions. There are also those for whom grammar study conjures up tedious long hours spent solving drills. Boredom resulting from lack of student involvement in grammar

lessons exclusively fronted by teachers is another explanation. Furthermore, according to some students, lack of continuous and coherent teaching strategies is also to be blamed. In this respect, students complain about the harmful effects of the high rate of teacher turnover in their schools. They maintain that the frequent replacement of teachers resulted in a disruption of their learning experience.

## Why Incorporate Grammar into ESAP Courses?

Given the reluctance of many of my students to learn grammar, deciding whether or not to incorporate grammar instruction into my overall teaching strategy required a lot of careful consideration. The principal reason why I finally decided in favour of it is the essential role grammar plays in communication both for general and specific purposes. That grammar should be studied mainly in order to facilitate communication has been acknowledged by many grammar writers and researchers in the field. Thus, Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik declare having written their *A Communicative Grammar of English* in the hope of helping learners to "improve and extend the range of [their] communicative skill in the language" (Leech and Svartvik, 1993, p.10). Similarly, Penny Ur maintains that the main objective of grammar learning is successful communication and that "any learning of grammar takes place only as incidental to this main objective" (Ur, 1998, p. 5). L. G. Alexander justifies the study of grammar in a similar way: "Grammar is the support system of communication and we learn it to communicate better" (Alexander, 2006, p. 1). Graham King emphasises even further the importance of learning grammar by equating good communication skills with success in personal, social and professional life. To quote him: "More than at any time in history, you are judged on your communication skills, whether in speech or in writing. (…) In so many ways you are only as good as your grammar" (King, 2005, pp. 12-13).

Communication in academic environment can also benefit from the study of grammar. The existence of a number of grammatical features specific to academic English – passive forms of the verb, impersonal pronouns and phrases, qualifying words and phrases, complex sentence structures (Jordan, 1997, p. 244) – is a strong argument in favour of integrating grammar instruction in tertiary education to promote communication. Furthermore, in suggesting some guidelines for good practice in designing appropriate EAP teaching materials, Mol and Tin recommend covering the grammar of academic discourse along with other

EAP-specific linguistic skills (Mol and Tin, 2008, p. 88). Eli Hinkel too acknowledges the importance of grammar instruction in teaching academic writing and provides a wealth of detail on the use of certain parts of speech and structures specific to academic prose (sentence structure, academic nouns and noun phrase, types of pronouns, verb tenses, passive voice, adjective and adverb phrases) (Hinkel, 2004).

**How does Grammar Fit into My Teaching Strategy?**

The acquisition of specialist vocabulary and the introduction to English for Academic Purposes are the two underpinnings of the course packet I designed as a support for the practical course I teach at Faculty of Physical Education and Sport. In order to create meaningful learning contexts, I weave the teaching of rhetorical functions and pieces of writing specific to EAP as naturally as possible into lessons aimed at specialist vocabulary. The teaching materials and lessons dedicated to both specialist language and EAP were designed for the single purpose of improving student communication skills.

The syllabi of the two semesters are topic-based. My option for this type of framework is motivated by some of its advantages. Unlike in a grammar-based syllabus where the content is chosen to show how the language is used, in a topic-based syllabus, content is used as a vehicle for the presentation of the language. A further advantage is that content makes linguistic form more meaningful. Furthermore, it addresses students' needs, it motivates them, and it allows for the use of authentic materials. Moreover topic-based syllabi facilitate comprehension and allow for the integration of the four skills (Richards, 2001, pp. 157-158).

The syllabus of the first semester includes the following units: The Olympic Games, The Human Body, Physical Exercises, Injuries, Nutrition. In terms of specialist vocabulary, the following five lexical areas are covered: sports (names, branches, classes, events, areas, abilities, skills, equipment), the human body (main segments, vital organs, skeletal framework, skeletal muscles, joints, connective tissue, sensory functions, systems, physiological processes), physical exercise (postures, movements, types of exercises, pieces of equipment), injuries (general and sport-specific injuries, symptoms, roots, prefixes and suffixes related to pathology) and nutrition (ways of eating, types of food, types of diet, nutrients, types of figure). The EAP elements covered in the first semester are definitions, comparisons, classifications, instructions and physical and process descriptions. The second semester focuses on terminology specific to five

sports: football, gymnastics, athletics, swimming and tennis. Special emphasis is placed on vocabulary designating abilities, skills, actions, movements, techniques, rules and regulations, pieces of equipment, sporting events, markings, areas and branches. The academic writing components of this semester are paraphrasing, summarising and writing essays.

In this context grammar is studied not for its own sake, but as a means of communication. In other words, grammar instruction is incorporated as unobtrusively as possible into lessons so as not to be viewed as a hindrance, but as a natural way of boosting communication skills. The reason why I prefer the term "*incorporating* grammar into ESAP courses" to its more popular synonym "integrating" is that the former conveys not only the idea of simply including something into something larger, but also that of making something a part of an organic whole. I planned the incorporation of grammar at two different levels: a macro-level that concerns the overall strategy of material writing and syllabus design and a micro-level that regards the techniques used during classroom teaching activities. At the macro-level I operated as follows: by carefully studying the students' specialism, I identified appropriate opportunities to incorporate the study of grammar into the learning flow so that it is not perceived as something alien. At the micro-level I rely extensively on an inductive approach called *trick-and-teach*. I first mentioned and described this technique in a paper on teaching EAP writing as follows: "By distracting my students' attention from the idea of having to acquire knowledge on writing, I actually trick them into dropping their guard and thus put them in the right frame of mind for learning" (Mezei, 2017, p. 35). The efficiency of this technique is increased when it is used in combination with exposure to authentic use of the target language, immersion in meaningful contexts that mirror real-life preoccupations and communicative tasks meant to trigger communication on topics relevant to the students' specialism.

In what follows, I shall provide some examples of incorporating grammar instruction at the macro-level. One of the most widely studied grammar items in the course packet is *the simple present tense* whose various communicative uses are considered throughout the entire first semester on different occasions. For instance, the introductory unit called The Olympic Games, which covers names and classes of sports as well as pieces of equipment, is particularly suitable for pointing out that the simple present tense can be used to express permanent situations. Learning to describe the pieces of equipment specific to certain sports is a good opportunity to illustrate and practise this communicative use of the simple

present tense in statements such as: "Football players *wear* jerseys, cleats and shin guards. They also *use* balls and gloves." What is more, by using the simple present tense in an authentic context – describing sports equipment – students become aware that grammar can help them to communicate something in their own area of interest. This is the first of many occasions on which students are made aware of the communicative role of grammar. A similar example of grammar incorporation can be found in the same unit; learning to form simple definitions of the type *concept*, *verb*, *class*, *features* (e.g. "Football is a team sport in which two teams of eleven players kick a round ball and try to score goals") is an equally good occasion to show how the simple present tense expresses permanent truths. Furthermore, students become aware of the fact that the simple present tense can be used to define sports. The unit dedicated to the study of the human body provides a further opportunity to draw students' attention to yet another use of the simple present tense on the occasion of teaching them to write anatomical descriptions. Students participate in various activities throughout the lesson and, among other inferences they make about the principles of writing anatomical descriptions, they realise that the verbs essential to describing the body ("originates", "inserts", "serves", "extends", "assists" etc.) are invariably in the simple present tense. On this occasion they become aware of the importance of the simple present tense in scientific writing. In the same unit the study of the sensory functions provides an opportunity to draw students' attention to the differences in meaning between the simple and progressive aspects of perception verbs. The unit dedicated to physical exercises is another occasion to use the simple present tense to communicate the beneficial effects of physical activity on the human body in sentences such as: "Physical activity reduces the risk of death due to stroke/enhances immune function/relieves pain/lowers cholesterol levels/aids in reducing weight/improves flexibility/strengthens muscles/prevents muscle atrophy". Finally, the unit focusing on nutrition is a good opportunity to learn how to describe a process and also to emphasize the prevalence of the simple present tense in scientific texts. Students' attention is drawn to this aspect by asking them to fill the gaps in a text describing the process of nutrition. Obviously, the words to be used as gap fillers are verbs in the simple present tense (e.g. "enters", "traverses", "reaches", "brakes down"). The students can practise the use of the simple present tense by writing descriptions of other physiological processes such as the blood circulation and the breathing.

Other examples of incorporating grammar instruction into my lessons include:

- the study of the *imperative* in the lesson dedicated to the description of physical exercises, which are actually a succession of instructions (e.g. "stand with your feet apart", "lie on your back", "keep your feet together", "rotate your trunk", "circle your arm", "breathe out/in").
- the presentation of *type 1 conditional* in the unit about physical exercises as a manner of persuading somebody to take up a sport by emphasizing the positive effects of physical activity on the human body in statements such as "If you take up jogging, your cardiovascular endurance will increase" or "If you take up gymnastics, your flexibility will improve".
- the presentation of *type 2 conditional* in the unit dedicated to nutrition as a manner of giving nutritional advice in statements such as: "If I were you, I would eat more vegetables and less meat" or "If you ate more vegetables and less meat, your cholesterol level would decrease".
- the presentation of *type 3 conditional* as a way of expressing methods of avoiding injuries in statements such as: "If you had warmed up properly, you wouldn't have torn your biceps femoris", "If you had worn skiing protective gear, you wouldn't have fractured your skull."

To illustrate my integration of grammar instruction at the micro-level, I shall present the various steps of a lesson aimed at studying passive voice. In order to spark and maintain students' interest throughout the lesson, the acquisition of football-specific vocabulary is blended with the study of passive voice. As stated in the section dedicated to my students' learning profile, the learners I work with are generally reluctant to study grammar. Therefore, the idea behind this lesson is to trick the students into using active and passive voices under the pretence of dealing with football. To provide a natural context for the learning process, I have chosen to insert this lesson in the unit dedicated entirely to football.

The lesson starts with a speaking activity whose purpose is to arouse students' interest. They are invited to express their opinion on the following topic: "Some people maintain that football is the king of sports. Do you agree? Explain." Students are given 10 minutes to prepare their answers and are told to provide two arguments in support of their opinion. The arguments themselves have to be illustrated by means of examples and explanations. Since access to the Internet is nowadays widely available via

mobile phone and given that students enjoy using this kind of technology, going online to search for real supporting examples is encouraged.

As the discussion progresses, the teacher writes the students' ideas on the whiteboard. One of the arguments that students never fail to mention is that football deserves to be considered the king of sports because of its world-wide popularity. After several opinions have been expressed, the teacher uses the aforementioned argument to move on to the next stage of the lesson by asking students what they know about the popularity of football in Asia. Usually the information they have is scarce, so the teacher suggests listening to a recording about football in Japan to find more facts on the topic. While listening, students solve a gap-fill exercise according to what they hear. From this moment on, their attention is gradually and imperceptibly directed to the use of passive voice. They first encounter examples of such verb forms in the sentences they fill in. These are variants of certain sentences spoken in the recording rephrased in passive voice (e.g. spoken sentence in active voice: "Japan has spent a lot of money on football in the last few years" versus sentence in the gap-fill exercise in passive voice: "A lot of money has been spent on _____ by Japan in the last few years"). At this point, no hint about the passive voice is dropped. The words to be written in the blanks have no connection whatsoever to the passive. This activity has no other purpose than to expose students to examples of passive voice.

The next stage of the lesson is designed to raise students' awareness of the possibility of communicating the same meaning in two different ways. They are presented with a two-column table, in which one column contains the sentences to be filled in during the listening comprehension activity (the passive voice variants) and the other column comprises the sentences as they are spoken in the recording (the active voice variants). Their task is to match each sentence in the first column with a sentence in the second column according to meaning (e.g. "The 1992 Asian Cup was won by Japan." – "Japan won the 1992 Asian Cup"). As soon as the exercise is solved and corrected, the lesson moves on to the stage of "isolation and explanation", which is described by Penny Ur as follows "At this stage we move away from the context, and focus, temporarily, on the grammatical items themselves: what they sound and look like, what they mean, how they function – in short, what rules govern them. The objective is that the learners should **understand** these various aspects of the structure" (Ur, 1988, p. 7). The first step of this inductive phase is to help students to establish a connection between the two sets of sentences by encouraging

them to identify the similarities and differences between them. The answer is almost invariably that the sentences are similar in meaning but different in form. The next step is aimed at discovering the differences between the two forms. This happens as a discussion between the teacher and students. The following sentences are written on the whiteboard and compared "Japan won the 1992 Asian Cup" and "The 1992 Asian Cup was won by Japan". Under the guidance of the teacher, students identify the main differences (different subjects, active subject versus passive subject, different verb forms, transformation of the active subject into the agent of the passive sentence). At this point, one or several students will always realise that the sentences in one column are in active voice while those in the other are in passive voice. This is a good opportunity to reveal the topic of the grammar lesson to everybody.

The lesson continues with the examination of the peculiarities of passive verb forms. Students are instructed to underline all the verbs in active voice they can find in the matching exercise previously solved and to write them in one column on the whiteboard. Then they are told to underline all the verbs in passive voice and to write them on the whiteboard in a second column next to the equivalent active variant. Guided by the teacher's suggestions, students identify the verb "to be" and the past participle as the two components of passive verb forms. They also infer that of the two elements the verb "to be" changes according to number and tense while the past participle always stays the same.

The next task is designed to allow students to practise the passive voice structure and to raise their awareness of some of the communicative uses of passive voice. The activity is a rephrasing exercise in which students rewrite some active sentences in passive voice. In order to maintain learners' interest, this exercise is conceived to integrate naturally in the context of students' specialism. The sentences in active voice are rephrased variants of some sentences in passive voice selected from a vocabulary exercise on rules and regulations in football that students were assigned as homework for this particular lesson. The following two pairs of sentences are illustrative examples of the exercise:

> Active Voice: The referee and the linesmen control the football game.
> Passive Voice: The football game is controlled by the referee and the linesmen.
>
> Active Voice: Players take kick-offs from the centre spot at the beginning of each half or after a goal has been scored.
> Passive Voice: Kick-offs are taken from the centre spot at the beginning of each half or after a goal has been scored.

While solving the exercise, students are guided by the teacher to identify several communicative uses of passive voice. Firstly, they realise that passive voice can be used to express rules and regulations in sports. Secondly, they understand that passive voice is used when communication focuses on the action expressed rather than the doer of the action. Thirdly, they become aware of the fact that the agent is not mentioned when the doer of the action is obvious.

Finally, to ensure the transfer of the grammar knowledge from short-term to long-term memory, students are assigned two types of tasks as homework. One of them consists of exercises provided in grammar practice books. The other one involves searching the Internet for examples of verbs in passive voice used in rules and regulations concerning any other sport than football. Of the two tasks, the latter is more popular with students than the former, which is to be expected, given the fact that it appeals to students' specialism and activates them not only as learners of grammar, but also as athletes and specialists in physical education and sport and kinesitherapy.

## Conclusions

All in all, it is clear that incorporating grammar into ESAP courses is a complex long-term process that involves paying attention in equal measure to details and to the big picture. Furthermore, it requires knowing one's students learning profile and needs as well as making careful choices of content, strategies and techniques. It also entails stirring students' interest by using authentic content from their specialism as a meaningful learning context. Furthermore, in order to appeal to students' practical attitude to life, learning should be based on involvement in tasks that simulate real-life situations and give learners a genuine sense of purpose. What is more, boredom and reluctance to grammar study can be avoided by means of activities that challenge the students both as language learners and specialists in physical education and sport and kinesitherapy. In addition, the learning process should be so devised that lexical acquisition, grammar instruction and communication skills development happen as naturally as possible. Finally, in my opinion, all the above-mentioned principles should constantly give students the opportunity to acknowledge that learning is an asset for their current academic activity and future professional career rather than a useless intellectually demanding enterprise.

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# It's More Than Just Technical Language. Code-switching, Informal Multilingual Exchanges and Expressions of Identity in the Classroom: A Case Study

**OANA TEODORA PAPUC[1]**

**Abstract:** The current paper aims to offer an inclusive and interdisciplinary description and understanding of multilingual exchanges and code-switching behavior of a group of second year Erasmus students in the University of Agricultural Studies and Veterinary Medicine (Cluj-Napoca). These exchanges were mediated through a co-constructed micro-community specific lingua franca that includes elements of English for Academic Purposes, English for Science (the field of Veterinary Medicine), elements of 'informal' English, at a level common to all members of the seminar, as well as a host of other community-specific elements such as informal terms of address, expletives, recurring jokes, and numerous fragments of conversations uttered in seven different languages. The entirety of these elements of communication were interspersed between seminar specific goals, tasks and roles.
**Keywords:** *code-switching*, *multilingualism*, *classroom identity*, *ELF*, *EAP*.

## Introduction

In recent years, studies on code-switching, especially in cases of classroom-based language alternations (Azmi, 2013; Barnard et. al, 2011; Berthoud et al., 2013; Boudreau et al., 2018, Ellwood, 2006; Nussbaum and Unamuno, 2013; Jeoffrion et al., 2014, Jingxia, 2010; Rose, 2006; Ziegler et al., 2012), have come to suggest the necessity of taking into account the issue of speaker emotions. The result has become more apparent in the works of This seems to particularly be the case in contexts where these apparent discontinuities in the framework of academic discourse are very much entwined with actual choices in switches from speakers' Matrix Language to a variety of other Lxs or L1s. The term 'matrix language'

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(Myers-Scotton, 2005, 2006) is used to reference the default, go-to language in use between multilingual speakers, having a function similar to a 'conversational Lingua Franca'. Furthermore, in a conscious effort to overcome exclusionist tendencies existent in linguistic terminology, the author chose the terms L1 and Lx to describe the components of the case study participants' linguistic repertoires (Dewaele, 2017; Lueg and Lueg, 2015). L1 points to the language(s) that a speaker feels most comfortable using, usually overlapping with the code(s) acquired first during childhood years. The term language Lx is then used to name all other components part of one's so-called 'non-native' repertoire. The emphasis is thus placed on the individual relationships existing between speakers and the actual use of their linguistic repertoires, and less on language users and learners' quest for striving to perfectly emulate native-like proficiency (Blommaert, 2005, 2010; Canagarajah, 2007; Maher, 2005; Maschler, 1998; MacSwann, 2005).

As such, building on the basis of these terms, what also came to be expressed in speaker ad-hoc exchanges were manifestations of more than just the individuals' situated and discourse identities. The author uncovered that in addition to the appearance of these switches, which were bound to occur in the context of multilingual spontaneous conversations, a plethora of switches from seminar-based discourse to informal topics of discussions were also brought to light. To these, the following were added in the form of: switches to peer-mediated teaching exchanges, to markers of informality and colorful social dynamics. Most of them included dancing, singing, and 'play-fighting' sequences, the use of recurring jokes, rapping, and 'camera-directed performances', to name but a few.

These were some of the instances captured in both audio and video format as part of the wider area of research that the recordings catered to, namely a doctoral thesis concerned with the study of multilingualism and code-switching practices. In order to answer the main research questions posed at the beginning stages of the research, the author resorted to assessing the ad-hoc conversations that took place during the various interactions of two groups of second year Physiology seminar students enrolled in the English line of the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine in Cluj-Napoca. The goal of the seminars revolved around ensuring the students practised, in the context of applied seminar tasks, the content material knowledge and related skills presented to them in the form of lectures. Thus, the purpose of the doctoral research was that of formulating a generalized theory based on the analysis of the localized, particular manner in which a majority of young English Lx and English L1 speakers made use of both a

co-constructed variant of English as Lingua Franca (ELF) and a variety of other plurilingual practices in the background of a Romanian university setting in peer-to-peer and student-professor interactions. Consequently, the stages of the research were further subdivided in easier to tackle research questions that mainly showcased the primary qualitative nature of the current sociolinguistic inquiry.

Therefore, the first research question sought to describe how two groups of fifteen multilingual speakers managed to interact in the background of a foreign university setting, taking into account their differently developed linguistic repertoires, with the express purpose of accomplishing their seminar goals. Secondly, the researcher was also interested in uncovering how this specific, localized, but generalizable superdiverse environment (Ag and Jørgensen, 2012; Arnaut and Spotti, 2014; Møller and Jørgensen, 2011; Jørgensen and Varga, 2011) at micro-level, can be transposed onto a macro one, especially when identifying the factors and outcomes linked to languaging phenomena, such as code-switching practices. The case study was particularly relevant for inquiry since the great majority of the speakers were at least bilingual, mostly describing themselves as being trilingual, with some being fluent in four, even five different frequently used languages. Their linguistic backgrounds included: Canada, Romania, France, Italy, Greece, Egypt, Tunisia, Mauritius, Israel, Germany and South Africa. Thus, the majority of the case study participants were English Lx speakers with two having a high degree of fluency in English L1. Due to the above described context, the conversations and interactions which took place in the confines of the seminar laboratory were recorded on three different occasions, to ensure a proper retrieval of data. The strategy proved to be successful since the data clearly pointed to the emergence of relevant patterns of communication that were observable on each of these occasions. However, the differences that also arose in the course of data gathering, especially due to the changes in seminar format, sequences and goals, determined changes in directionality of talk (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1996), assumed seminar roles and implicitly, changes in code-switching practices.

**Theoretical Background and Methodology**

In further illustrating the trajectory of the research adopted in the current study, against the background of the larger doctoral thesis, a brief description of the used methodology is also in order. Taking into account the aspects presented above, the main frame of the research evidently

becomes that of sociolinguistics, with an emphasis on the interactionist perspective (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2006; Kecskés, 2006, Liurda, 2009; Mougeon et al., 1985; Nilep 2006; Nussbaum et al., 2007; Romaine, 1992; Yule, 2010). Furthermore, to aid the validity and reliability of results, the author decided to opt for an inductive approach to the data, starting from the specifics of the case study in question, in order to reach a generalizable model of theory that could be transposed onto other similarly organized and sized superdiverse multilingual groups. Thus, an updated version of Glaser and Strauss' model of the Grounded Theory (1967) was adopted as a tool in guiding the data processing stage of the research, followed by a thorough analysis of each transcript line of the recorded and transcribed conversations in locating every code-switching occurrence. To these identified switches, a majority of which were visibly uttered intentionally by speakers (either to themselves or to other interlocutors), Myers-Scotton's Rational Choice and Markedness models (2005) were used to further map out: the intentionality of each message, the sender and recipient of each switch, the topic of the switch and the number of turns-at-talk that included the switch. Other aspects were analyzed as well, including the topic of discussion during switches, together with identifying their type (intra-, intersentential or switches in tag positions), and whether the recipient(s) of the turns-at-talk maintained both the topic of discussion and the language to which the switch was made to initially. These aspects were also determined by translating the majority of the recorded and identified switches, with the exception of those that were unintelligible or inaudible.

The next step in the analysis was that of locating the most reasonable factors seemingly determining the appearance, on a case by case basis, of these switches. What resulted was a taxonomy of factors so-to-speak, which emerged during the stages of analysis that amounted to identifying the various layers comprising the socio-cultural circumstances in which these alternations occurred. Moreover, by adopting Myers-Scotton's Rational Choice model, together with making use of identity theory, especially Zimmerman's (1998) threefold view of the transportable, discourse and situated levels of identity, what additionally came to surface were the social roles embodied and performed by professor and students (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998, Anicich and Hirsh, 2017; Auer, 1995; Gafaranga, 2007; Jagero and Odongo, 2011; Kootstra, 2015; Levinson, 2017; Moeschler, 2002; Paterson, 2008, Sharifian, 2008, Wei, 2005). The author deemed them as those easily observable go-to roles that the students resorted to, these 'personas' being available, or 'ready for the taking', in the background of

the laboratory setting. In other words, those recurrent tasks established by the seminar professor as goals of the seminars in the framing and focusing sequences at the incipit of each class, combined with the students' preference in group organization, gave life to specific and intentionally enacted 'active' and 'passive' roles in the seminar work groups. Further determining the case study participants' process of role filtering were observable individual levels of introversion and extraversion, Dewaele's (2016, 2018) metrics of Foreign Language Anxiety in the Classroom (FLAC) and Foreign Language Enjoyment (FLE) [2], alongside habitual preferences in the organization of pair or group-talk (including factors such as linguistic priming), while also taking into account the multilevel dynamics of large group interactions. These roles implicitly seemed to anchor particular linguistic scripts, closely entwined with the subject material specific to the field of Veterinary Medicine, with an obvious emphasis on Physiology related topics of discussion.

However, since the case study participants had established social relationships and hierarchies outside the confines of the laboratory as well, these social cues and relationships had a visible imprint on the conversations taking place during seminar hours. This process of 'bringing the outside in' (Lytra and Møller, 2011) not only influenced the formations and dissolutions of pair or group work, but also heavily infused habitual patterns of speech with frequent switches from the macro-imposed language (or the Matrix Language of the seminar, English Lx) to other Embedded Languages available in the context of the entire micro-community's co-created communal pool of linguistic resources. What this pool contained were a variety of different linguistic practices to choose from, one of which was code-switching. The entirety of this pool however was determined by the great diversity of the participants' different linguistic codes mentioned in the semi-structured questionnaires that were also administered, at a later stage in the analysis. Potentially, any member of the micro-community had access to all these virtual possibilities, regardless of individual configuration of linguistic repertoires. This access though seemed to become specifically available through the means of code-switching and due to recurrent

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[2] According to Dewaele's use of the concepts of Foreign Language Anxiety in the Classroom and Foreign Language Enjoyment, they ought to be viewed as decisively influencing factors in the directionality and preferred management of turns-at-talk by students, in an academic environment. They might also explain some students' reluctance to interact with peers due to these metrics being also correlated to scales linked to personality cues and Trait Emotional Intelligence.

linguistic elements used by L1 speakers of embedded languages (so different to macro-imposed English Lx).

Thus, what also became apparent was the fact that the resulting outcomes of these interactions were influenced to a great degree by speakers' personality, preference in freely expressing oneself in the linguistic landscape of the seminar environment, as well as the degree of emotional attachment to each of the codes in one's linguistic baggage (Boudreau et al., 2018; Molinsky, 2007; Dewaele, 2004; Dewaele and MacIntyre, 2016; Dewaele et al. 2018; Dewaele and Panicacci, 2018, Pavlenko, 2017; Rodriguez, et al., 2012). As such, it was clear that the nature of these exchanges was not only 'technical', as one might assume from an outsider's perspective. In fact, each participant's level of openness in communicating with peers, seminar professor and even student staff, necessarily influenced recurrent patterns of switching between specific speakers and outlined recurrent cues in topic discussions. In turn, these discussions also prompted alternating between formal, so seminar-related, and informal, personal speaker issues, indexing switches to preferred codes that, at times, turned into extended Embedded Language islands (Myers-Scotton, 2005, 2006).

Therefore, the tools that were chosen by the author in the qualitative analysis of data were drawn from Jørgensen's languaging framework (2011, 2012). In this framework, any multilingual speaker is seen as an active agent, a co-creator of his/her communicative exchanges, endowed with a linguistic baggage comprised of variously developed linguistic codes. The codes and their component features are perpetually subject to change, according to the frequency in use of each code, degree of emotional attachment to each element, and a sleuth of other factors. A multilingual speaker in Jørgensen's view is an individual who makes use of the entirety of one's linguistic skills, knowledge and baggage, regardless of the level of development of each linguistic code, and irrespective of how other interlocutors might perceive the uttered linguistic features as 'belonging together'. Thus, code-switches are regarded from the start as falling into the category of intentionally and strategically uttered elements towards specific interlocutors, for specific purposes, and directed by the minutiae of each exchange. The languaging perspective contextualizes the socio-cultural elements establishing the a-priori frame of interaction, as well as the dynamics of the emerging social roles mid-conversation. It must also be mentioned that although the crux of the thesis focused on the intentional switching practices of multilingual speakers, instances of unintentional

switching have been uncovered as well and will be showcased in the ensuing pages.

Ultimately, the languaging landscape of the seminar has proven that indeed, throughout conversations, the communal pool of linguistic resources that were used by the case study participants was comprised of virtually all available linguistic features of each speaker, regardless of these codes' development. Then, in such a superdiverse environment, what took precedence were the intentionality of messages, the assumed discourse, transportable and situated roles, and whether the speakers' relationship was more intimate or friendly, or more rigid and formal. As such, to establish a deeper understanding of the observed linguistic practices, the author decided to place the roots of the analysis on the rather traditional routes of ethnomethodological inquiry. The analysis began with the careful observation of the behavior and exchanges taking place in the chosen site of data gathering, and continued with recording in audio and video format instances of ad-hoc conversations. However, it had also been decided from the very beginning that the research would adhere to the pragmatist approach in terms of the ontological framing of the thesis, as well as making use of the inductive tone of the Grounded Theory approach. The initial strategy culminated with the author assuming a role as researcher, positioned both inside and outside of the micro-community in question. Thus, the chosen researcher position lent itself to both an emic and etic perspective (Morris et al., 1999). Finally, the author firmly believes that only by having made this choice and by having resorted to a mixed methods approach, the consequent outcomes of the research were given the validity and richness needed to offer an in-depth but not exhaustive presentation of the complex phenomenon that is code-switching. Without the added thorough review of literature on the topics of Content and Language Integrated Learning teaching or CLIL (Butiurcă et al., 2011; Mehisto et al., 2008; Qurtapelle, 2012; Van de Craen et al., 2007), together with the latest studies performed on the topic of plurilingual practices from a more holistic approach,[3] the thesis would not have amounted to such a wide array of interesting results.

Lastly, the final research stages consisted of a mostly qualitative analysis, the first layers of data interpretation being performed through the variety of methods and the frameworks mentioned in the previous pages. What was also added as a second major tool in the analysis, in addition to

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[3] Here included positive psychology and the relationship between emotions and Second Language Acquisition (Block, 2003).

the observations, fieldnotes and an impromptu interview taken with the seminar professor in regards to her seminar attendees, was a semi-structured questionnaire. The questionnaire, consisting of eight items, mainly sought to uncover: the linguistic configuration of each participant's linguistic baggage, the acknowledged use in different choices of linguistic codes in various instances and with various interlocutors, and perceived attitudes to multilingualism and monolingualism, especially in relation to university contexts. A measurement of the levels of completeness and successfulness of seminar tasks via plurilingual practices was also taken into account (Masats, Nussbaum and Unamuno, 2007), the last level of analysis being provided by a comparison of the thesis' results with the descriptors of plurilingual and pluricultural markers provided by the latest version of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). What turned out to be the cherry on top of the cake so-to-speak, was making a comparison of the end of term assessment results between the observed multilingual groups and a Romanian monolingual one, on the same subject course, the content material having been taught by the same seminar professor, for an identical duration of time. The analysis, truly amounted to a thorough investigation of the main phenomenon under scrutiny - code-switching.

## Discussion of Findings - Languaging Outcomes

In the outline of these pages, only a fraction of the findings arrived at in light of the qualitative analysis findings will be discussed, due to the limitations of the current paper. Consequently, a more detailed account of the results specifically related to the questionnaire inquiry and those pertaining to the latter stages of the research, namely the correlations made with the CEFR descriptors will be left out. Hence, the focus of the following section will be showcasing those results that were obtained, in light of the collection methods and data analysis tools presented above.

More specifically, what will be presented are those findings termed in the thesis as 'languaging outcomes'. In other words, those particular effects that have been observed to take shape in the languaging background of a university setting, where a very diverse group of multilingual students had to resort to a variety of linguistic strategies to manage interactions with their peers, seminar professor and student staff, will be discussed. Furthermore, the specific tasks and goals of each seminar session had to be negotiated by the students, making use of the same pool of linguistic

strategies, and by performing the social roles they saw fit for the taking in the laboratory environment. These effects can be described as follows:

I.    Firstly, since the thesis din not set out to prove or disprove any specific hypotheses, especially by choosing the route of the inductive Grounded Theory approach, the first visible effect was that of code-switching occurrences frequently appearing in the participants' interactions. This was due to the context's flexible, adaptable, tolerant nature, an environment whose tone was led by the seminar professor's views and personal motivation of practicing her English Lx skills alongside her students. Further encouraged by the faculty's linguistic policy, the seminar professor inadvertently imposed English Lx as the official matrix language (and the unofficial 'language of authority'), the go-to-language in interaction for her students when addressing her in conversations especially regarding seminar tasks and goals. However, the professor herself was recorded switching, at times, from the matrix language to other embedded languages (especially to French and Romanian features) and did not intervene in cases of peer-to-peer switching that took place during seminar task progression. Thus, the environment proved to be ripe for the picking in terms of providing a rich enough tapestry of Rules and Obligations (R-O) sets (Myers-Scotton, id.) and plurilingual practices to unfold.

II.   In cases where multilingual speakers are prone to resorting to polylingual practices (Jørgensen and Varga, 2011), on such a regular basis as in the instances recorded, an interesting effect seemed to also emerge - the juxtaposition of standard content morphemes belonging to one linguistic code onto other standard features of a different code. Related to the same effect, juxtapositions of standard onto non-standard features of the same variety also emerged, creating non-standard bilingual blends. Some examples appeared as: "ungar" (uttered by a fluent Romanian and English speaker), "vacuums" (professor's utterance), "lymphophile" (the combination of content morphemes 'lymphocyte' and 'neutrophil' - Physiology specific terminology), "neutrocyle" (a combination of content morphemes 'neutrophil' and 'eosinophil'), "numer" (juxtaposition of the Romanian feature 'număr' onto the English 'number'). Therefore, what is evident is the case study participants' linguistic creative competence emerging in interactions, these highly creative features coming to surface in conversations in which communication

did not encounter any breakdowns, despite the surprising appearance of these markers. A small fraction of these features fall under the category of unintentional switching, being all the more so revealing of the linguistic processes and mechanisms underlying these highly adaptable multilinguals' strategies in ad-hoc communication.

III.  The presence and use of these marked choices in communication are indicative of Membership Categories (MC) relevant to interlocutors in specific moments, within the particularities of specific communicative instances and interactional goals (Zimmerman, id.). By following assumed and enacted MCs across interactions, alongside their related bounded activities, it becomes evident that they become markers of social personas and come to index linguistic scripts. Those Membership Categories that stood out by appearing more frequently than others, were relevant in showcasing speakers' implicit values and personality markers, parameters usually rather difficult to assess. However, the habitual emergence of these MCs does not stand in contradiction to the fact that these identity markers are not fixed, or rigid in any sense. As evidenced in cases of modifications in the environment's conditions or changes in seminar routine and 'work routes', members' situational, transportable and discursive identities overlapped, according to specific requirements and the unpredictability of each interaction. MCs are thus fluid, susceptible to change, and can also simply be substituted for alternate ones. It is specifically the resulting fluidity of assumed roles and identities that paints the picture of the unique ins-and-outs of this co-constructed micro-community, many of these roles being indexed in the code-switching occurrences recorded.

IV.  In the context of such a flexible setting, which provided the space for students to freely assume different MCs and to keep moving back-and-forth between the macro-established R-O set and negotiate other micro-R-O sets as well, students were also observed to assume teacher-like roles for their peers. These unexpected occurrences fall under the heading of two distinct categories, coded as content-related and code-related peer-teaching instances.

   a.  Content-related peer-teaching phenomena occur when one member of a group encounters difficulties in task performance, due to content knowledge being unassimilated or not entirely comprehended. Therefore, information regarding the tasks or content material was either requested via direct inquiry of the

seminar professor and student staff or of other peers. The following turns-at-talk were either taken up by the professor in an unmarked (positive) response to the request, or by one peer quickly assuming attributes and teacher-related strategies. Some of these strategies took the guise of explanations, repetitions, repeated feedback elicitations, here included management of turns-at-talk as well, in a manner resembling 'authority' bound activities and behavior, similar to those MCs exhibited on a regular basis by the seminar professor herself, while performing her 'professional' identity. Thus, depending on the goals of the interaction and the relationship between the speakers, code-switching instances occurred in order to help facilitate peer assistance.

b. Code-related peer-teaching phenomena occurred in cases where members of groups did not share identical L1s, but were still actively engaged in the process of task accomplishment. During this process they were also co-constructing personalized variants of an ELF (English Lx as Lingua Franca), and through its medium, speakers actively expressed their interest in the specifics of their partner's L1 (Pena, 2011; Swales, 1990; Ziegler et al., id.). Usually this interest reflected the existence of a code that was less developed in the inquiring student's linguistic baggage. The newly acquired Lx features were also observed to be promptly used in aiding content knowledge scaffolding, by being integrated in the task performance at hand, alongside already comprehended and assimilated content knowledge. In one instance, one female French L1 speaker started counting cells using newly acquired Hebrew Lx features, these code-related teaching code-switching occurrences also doubling as 'practice' in the development of speakers' linguistic repertoires. In fact, the reiterative or repetitive function of code-switching has been identified in previous work in the literature, as a particular function of the phenomenon under observation. In this case however, it emerged as a direct outcome of the peer-teaching instances recorded taking place, for the purposes of clarification, comprehension and practice of various linguistic features.

IV. The tolerant, comfortable and adjustable nature of a linguistically flexible environment and student-centered university setting seemed

to foster the creation of a situation that has been dubbed in the literature as 'bringing the outside in', or one coded in the thesis as 'informalizing the institutional setting'. As evidenced in this case study, the informal nature of the micro-community's interactions were favored by:

a. Transitions from seminar-related topics to informal topic embedded islands.
b. Frequent code-switches.

These informal interactions were visible as:

c. Verbal and paraverbal markers of informality such as: expletives, informal terms of address, instances of rapping, laughing, meowing, barking, performing 'skits', and recurring jokes.
d. Nonverbal markers of informality such as: dancing, jumping, acting out 'skits', directing gestures specifically towards the recording devices, and play-fighting.

Concerning this specific outcome, special attention ought to also be given to the fact that although the presence of the recording devices was fully acknowledged by the members of the micro-community, this aspect did not impede the process of data production and subsequent interpretation. The particular condition of a researcher being temporarily relocated in the midst of a micro-community was regarded by the author as belonging to the realm of the unavoidably unexpected character posed by any interaction that might come these speakers' way. Quite successfully though these multilingual speakers proved to swiftly adapt to their environment, again by way of code-switching and producing changes in perceived R-O attributes and by truly 'performing', hyperbolized social roles (such as 'classroom sequences narrators', 'peer activities evaluators'). Even though this specific condition resulted in a certain amount of strategy hyperbolization being used by students for their communicative purposes, the condition is believed to point to what has been coded in the data as the 'theatricality of identity performance'. In other words, this condition has set up the stage for what were newly emerging MCs in the context of students' routinized environment (such as 'camera awareness instigator', 'prankster'). At the same time, the presence of the recording devices managed to shine light on recurring MCs, especially in relation to students' perceived positions on the social hierarchy of the seminar setting. They also highlighted those recurrent attributes and values that seemed to indicate individuals' most vulnerable points in terms of constructing their seminar-bound social capital and were therefore, highly influential in determining particular behavior and linguistic strategies.

VI.  More than half of the participants in the study seemingly started developing the tendency to frequently use as marked choices features of the linguistic code 'native' to their temporary country of residence (in this case Romania). They did so regardless of the level of proficiency in using Romanian features and regardless of individual linguistic backgrounds. In fact, extensive Romanian embedded language islands and code-switches to Romanian features were recorded in both audio and video format. This type of linguistic strategy suggests, once again, the importance of paying close attention to the correlation between uttered code-switches and assumed MCs. This link indicates to a certain degree, (some) students' identification with attributes and behaviors associated with the notion of 'Romanian'. These types of code-switches also became part of the shared attributes among those speakers within the micro-community that created a sub-group of their own, members who specifically preferred using these marked features to reinforce shared membership status, or for humorous purposes. Another vital recorded function of switching to Romanian features was that of establishing greater rates of specific requests being fulfilled by other individuals sharing this status, through a mechanism of linguistic priming that reinforced familiarity between interlocutors.

VII.  All members of the micro-community, by way of resorting to such diverse strategies, with the purpose of successfully accomplishing their tasks and getting their message across, stand as proof of their metalinguistic capabilities. This awareness is one both directing the outline of the speakers' multilingual environment, as well as being a product of it, at the same time. It was also evident by way of three major markers:

a.  The presence of code-switches among most members of the micro-community (peer-to-peer, as well as professor-to-students).

b.  Speakers' emphasis on perceived, assumed and enacted linguistic identities (significant MC directing speaker interaction – Voce 023, 28.11.2016, group 1, 09:53 min.: "01:06 W: me too↓ (.) Tunisian Arabic not Arabic↓"[4]).

c.  The presence of self-corrections (Schegloff et al., 1977) in terms of speakers' awareness when uttering non-standard features of English, which were promptly remedied through turn-repairs.

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[4] Examples taken from transcripts.

However, these corrections were never addressed from peer-to-peer, nor from professor-to-students, but always unidirectionally (professor directed - Mov 009, 28.11.2016, 15:15 min.: "more mm..stronger↓ it's not more stronger↓ it's stronger (.) not more stronger↓ I know ok↓", and student-directed - Mov 001, 21.11.2016, Card 2, 23:09 min.: "17: 09 H. L: my English is very bad (.) so (0.2) ((looks down, away from the camera)) but it's very hard for me↓").

VIII. Frequent one-word switches were also produced in spoken communication ("bine", "da", "malaka" etc.), mostly used in filler-positions at the beginning of turns-at-talk or as tags, regardless of speaker's L1(s) and code development. This specific instance of code-switching seems to particularly fit in Jørgensen's languaging theory and in its description of multilingual speakers' behavior. The same languaging outcome is also in line with Myers-Scotton's theory, according to which speakers make use of whatever linguistic codes are most readily available at the level of their formulator, at a specific moment in time and according to the specific requirements deemed as needed to be fulfilled to suit individual goals. This is done regardless of the codes' level of development, and regardless of interlocutors' perception of these features as appropriately fitting together. Lastly, this use of features can also be said to be indicative of Blommaert's concept of 'transmobility', an attribute characteristic to both the features and the speakers making use of them. Thus, transmobility functions as a direct result of the processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization mentioned by Jacquemet (Hall, 2014), in the background of a superdiversity that breeds the emergence of hypersubjectivities performing themselves through the use of languaging practices and code-switching.

IX. Summing up the languaging outcomes identified so far, what clearly seems to be taking place during these greatly varied interactions is the co-construction of 'partial lingua francas', which aid the case study participants in their interactions. These co-constructed tools for communication are comprised of a variety of features and strategies, including: frequent code-switching occurrences and implicitly the frequent use of one-word switches. They also include an increased use of Romanian marked features, alongside the markers of informality mentioned above, as well as markers of English for Academic Purposes, English for Science and elements of 'informal

English'. These are all interspersed with other community-specific elements such as informal terms of address, expletives, recurrent jokes and numerous fragments of conversations uttered in seven different codes, sprinkled between seminar specific tasks, roles and activities. All in all, the entirety of the socio-linguistic practices that these case study participants resorted to on a frequent basis, here included the great variety of social roles that also became attached to linguistic scripts that index specific seminar roles and personas, managed to create a language that is specific to this micro-community alone. Access to this pool of resources was virtually unlimited to the members of the micro-community and it primarily manifested in the form of switches. These would be switches from unmarked to marked code features, from content related to informal topics of discussion and activities, alongside switches from discourse and situated social roles to uniquely particular transportable dimensions of identity. Without this network of apparent discontinuities manifesting at linguistic, social and seminar level, successful communication between these multilingual speakers caught in a transitory state of superdiversity, would not be possible.

## Conclusions

The author is confident that the findings presented in this paper have made strikingly clear the powerful connection that exists between the linguistic strategies employed by multilinguals and the bearing of a fluid sense of self-identity and perceived otherness which are somewhat expected, but entirely negotiated and co-constructed in interactions (Moriarty, 2014; Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook, 2010). Interruptions, discontinuity, and fragmentation are hallmarks that do not impede communication, but in fact allow speakers to creatively and freely adapt their resources to specific goals in interaction and existing circumstances and speakers. In fact, one might say that these are simply indicative of current times' state of superdiversity, in which hypersubjectivities emerge, become challenged and are also co-created in interactions, via multilingual practices among many other strategies.

In this case, one highly important field that might significantly benefit from findings related to the use of code-switching would be the educational system. On the one hand, these findings are indicative of perhaps key points to be taken into account in policy making and curricula development. One such suggestion would be a change of attitude to the use

of multilingual practices that might be needed in foreign language classrooms and CLIL format courses. This might especially be true in light of recent migration processes, in the background of decade-old debates concerning the legitimacy of superseding codes being imposed to the detriment of others, alongside cases of societally enforced diglossia that sprouted the emergence of new tactics of language revival processes, in the form of 'new speakerness' (Pujolar and O'Rourke, 2015). It seems that linguistic tolerance, language switching, and the primacy of message transmission take center stage in multilingual interactions, with less attention being paid to standardized forms of language, and issues of grammatical fluency, all seemingly contributing to a much more accurate portrayal of a fluid linguistic map, mirroring the changes taking place at both micro and macro levels in current times. In fact, future research directions might perhaps benefit from using a similar approach in methodology, especially if applied on similarly multilingual and similarly sized groups, working in various institutional and professional communities.

Finally, the author firmly believes that by paying attention to how local languages influence and align themselves to the use of localized and particularized variants of ELF and code-switching phenomena, a very different and more accurate image of the changes taking place in language structures, language use, and implicitly language users, may be grasped as they are unfolding. Not one of these localized variants of language use can paint an exhaustive picture of processes at macro level, but they offer precious insight to identifying potential embodiments of linguistic change. Consequently, when adding together descriptions of these localized variants of language use, in addition to changes in ELF, a fuller outline of how these smaller, different pieces contribute to the bigger puzzle of the linguistic landscape at macro level, comes to the surface.

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# Digital Tools as a Useful Aid in Teaching English for Environmental Sciences and Engineering

**OCTAVIA RALUCA ZGLOBIU[1]**

**Abstract:** The paper presents the role of digital tools in teaching ESP in general, and Environmental English in particular, discussing the relevance of those new teaching aids not only from the perspective of the ESP instructor but also from the ESP students' perspective and tries to compare the two. Living in a digitalized era, it definitely became a necessity for all the language instructors to understand the role of the digital tools in teaching and to integrate those into their syllabi. English for Specific Purposes teaching requires a thorough attention given to the combination of the linguistic elements with the specialised content, thus delivering a desirable course may turn out to be quite a challenge, but in this case, technology might offer some of the long-searched for alternatives.

**Keywords:** *Digital Tools, English for Specific Purposes, English for Environmental Purposes, English for Academic Purposes.*

## General Considerations on the Role of Digital Tools in English for Environmental Sciences

Digital tools have become a necessity nowadays and Bloch (2013, p. 385) observes that there are two distinct ways in which they can be used: on the one hand they serve as a tool for helping with traditional types of language learning, and, on the other hand, they facilitate the proper space for new forms of communicating. Nevertheless, young people nowadays are very much attracted to any form of virtual activities and this shift in the modality of communication forms brought on a shift in the methodology of teaching ESP. The development of technology affected the way ESP instructors plan their syllabi, enlarging their opportunity to choose from a wide range of possibilities:

> Technologies have also been used in a variety of ESP classes to create contexts for communicating with oral, literate, and visual modes of discourse. These include synchronous forms of discourse, such as chat,

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where the participants interact in the same time frame, or asynchronous forms, such as email, listservs, Twitter, or blogging, or newer forms of technologies, such as Facebook where the reader/writer can interact using any of these modes of discourse. (Bloch, 2013, p. 385)

One of the main tasks of the ESP instructors is to provide his or her students with the right linguistic contexts in which the latter can exercise or simulate the discourse of the community he or she is about to become a member of. The question here is how to choose the correct technologies in order to suit the preferences of the ESP students (important for an attractive course!), to manage to correlate them to the requirements of the scientific community they are about to enter and to balance all these with the chosen methodology of the curriculum at the same time. A great emphasis is placed in our case upon the role of the *needs analysis*. No need to mention that digital tools are very helpful tools in all the planning phases of an ESP syllabus: curriculum design, materials selection, methodology, assessment or evaluation (Dudley-Evans and St John, 1998).

Teaching ESP for Environmental Sciences presupposes paying attention simultaneously to the following two aspects: first, a close look at the PSA (present needs analysis) results in terms of lacks and wants of the students (Flowerdew, 2013), and at the same time an acknowledgement of your students' identity, as Parkinson observes:

To become a member of a science discourse community, a student needs to participate in and come to regard as natural, research science values: that science is quantitative, repeatable, and ideally free from bias. Engineering values by contrast are concerned with the design process and problem-solving within set specifications; associated discourse includes argument that links scientific phenomena to specific contexts (2013, p. 157).

Classical components of the engineers' identity, for example, are their keenness on problem-solving and visualisation (Sales, 2006). Students in Environmental Science and Engineering tend to be reluctant towards any type of persuasive or rhetorical discourse, they are very good at abstract descriptions and have a great capacity of synthesizing. Based on these traits, they need to study how to deliver certain linguistic protocols and to meet up the market's linguistic expectations, as Devira underlines:

Nowadays, engineers are required to have good capability for communication, collaboration, teamwork and networking. These capacities could be considered as important skills when entering the workplace apart from expertise in a particular specialization (Lappalainen, 2009; Paretti, 2008). In addition, it is common knowledge amongst engineers that the ability to communicate a technical concept concisely and clearly is an essential engineering skill (Lengsfeld et al., 2004). As a consequence, it is

believed that an engineer must be able to write and speak effectively in order to be a successful engineer (2017, p. 38).

Another very important aspect that ESP instructors may come across nowadays is the difference in perception or perspective, to be more precise, the positioning of Digital Natives versus Digital Immigrants. In choosing the right digital tools, one may find it difficult to meet up the expectations of a Digital Native, especially if you are an ESP Digital Immigrant instructor. Prensky (2001) distinguishes a major difference between the two categories in the way they process information. Natives seem to retrieve information and communicate with their peers very quickly, they are always on, attached to a phone or other device and multimedia oriented. In contrast, the immigrant tends to focus on one task at a time, is inclined to sequential thinking and prefers to talk in person. The above mentioned characteristics may affect the way in which the ESP instructor chooses the digital materials in order to attain the linguistic learning goals, if one takes into consideration the fact that the nowadays students are Digital Immigrants. A very useful way to deal with such discrepancies in perspectives and perceptions is the Blooms Digital Taxonomy verbs for the 21st century students. Blooms Digital Taxonomy is a model which classifies human learning cognition in thinking, learning and understanding. Created in 1950 by the educational psychologist Benjamin Bloom, it represents the lower basic thinking skills, such as knowledge, comprehension and application, including concrete thinking, memorization and understanding as opposed to the higher order thinking skills such as evaluation, synthesis and analysis which rely on abstract, critical, metacognitive creative thinking. The taxonomy has become an important model in helping structuring students' learning processes, thus enhancing the quality of the syllabi. ESP teachers use the model for designing learning experiences and guiding the students to achieving higher levels of thinking. In 1990, Blooms Taxonomy was updated by David Krafywohl and Lorin Anderson, by placing emphasis on the action instead of the process, describing thinking as an action based process, rather than a passive acquisition. The shift from the static towards the active allowed the introduction of the digital verbs, for example; if for the creating part one uses the verbs *to design, to invent, to construct*, those may attract the verbs *to blog, to remix* and *to program*. Stepping further, the ESP instructor can now choose what digital activities may suit his or her syllabus according to the desired learning objective.

In English for Environmental Sciences and Engineering, the Blooms Digital Taxonomy creates the frame in which the ESP instructor can insert

the digital activities required by the engineering field, thus stimulating the skills such as communication in the specialised domain, collaboration within the scientific community, creativity for sharing the engineering models and critical thinking for investigating and conducting a SWOT analysis for any project. The engineering field requires a very high level of mastering different skills, and the soft skills should not be forgotten:

> In today's globalized world, attributes of engineers now include an anthropological and pragmatic dimension (Ahearn, 2000; Stapp, 1992) necessary for communicating cross-culturally, either internally in multi-organizational projects or externally with the local populations affected, and across disciplines and types of audiences (Giménez, 2014). Equally vital attributes are entrepreneurial skills, in which the communication of ideas plays a cardinal role (Riemer, 2007), teamwork (Giménez, 2014; Male et al., 2010), emotional intelligence to transmit empathy to the group (Male et al., 2010), multimodal literacy (Curry, 2014), and an understanding of the broader context of decisions (Male et al., 2010). (Breeze, Guinda; 2017, p. 200)

## Method

The subjects in this study were 50 first year students from the Faculty of Environmental Science and Engineering, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. The research was carried out using a deductive method, respectively an online survey in the form of an interactive ranking activity, in which students from four different specializations under the umbrella of Environmental Sciences and Engineering field had to choose and rate 20 digital tools. The digital applications were given to them at the beginning of the 1st semester, 10 of them were scheduled to be used during in-class activities and the other 10 were given as activities in home assignments throughout the 1st and the 2nd semester. The selection of the digital applications was done according to Blooms Digital Taxonomy, that is, they were chosen in such a way as to match all the four skills. At the same time, the criteria for choosing these applications were correlated to the results of a needs analysis ran at the beginning of the 1st semester (Zglobiu, 2019) specifically to the results of the following questions: *a)What do you like most and in what order?* and *b)What's the most difficult task for you in a foreign language?* The results for the first question were *Reading-Listening-Writing-Speaking* and for the second question *To speak - To listen- To write -All of them.* During the instruction phase, students were asked to use the skills they usually employ during the browsing sessions on their social media sites, they were encouraged to use their creativity and

critical thinking and to pay attention to the difficulty of the tasks they were undergoing. The final marking was done using points from 1 to 10 and the results were calculated in percentages per application. The applications were introduced to the students in four groups, each group being comprised of applications devoted to a specific skill: reading, writing, listening, speaking. Only the chosen applications (the ones which scored over 50 %) will be discussed in the present article.

**Results and Discussion**

| DIGITAL TOOL | SKILL | PERCENTAGE |
|---|---|---|
| News in Levels | Reading | **92%** |
| Rewordify | Reading | **82%** |
| Lingro | Reading | **74%** |
| Hemingway App | Writing | **72%** |
| Plot Generator | Writing | **69%** |
| Steller | Writing | **67%** |
| Lyrics Training | Listening | **63%** |
| Dictation Io | Speaking | **58%** |
| Clarisketch | Speaking | **53%** |
| Youglish | Speaking | **51%** |

***Fig. 1.*** *Results of the digital tools ranking*

The first application chosen by the students with a percentage of 92 % is News in Levels, a very useful reading tool which offers semi authentic content related to a wide range of environmental or engineering topics. The texts are delivered in three different levels, level 1 being a simplified version of the material, read in a slow pace, thus giving the opportunity to the ESP instructor to use it even if the group is not homogenous on a linguistic level. The runner-up in the reading section is Rewordify, an application which allows the user to create a reading activity based on specialized texts. It is of great help especially in scientific texts where students need to familiarize themselves with the specialized vocabulary. Having the opportunity to work with specialized materials not only during classes but in home assignments as well and using texts from their own specialized subjects, is giving the students a sense of security for further specialized linguistic activities. The third application in the reading section is Lingro, students enjoyed it because of its feature to overlay an interactive dictionary over the text. It is a valuable application in English for Environmental Sciences because it helps students understand engineering

concepts. One of the main features of an engineering text is that it works with instructions and lab descriptions of different processes that are sometimes difficult to understand if not studied before (by the $1^{st}$ year students). The fact that Lingro offers the possibility to overlay the dictionary and translate the specialized notions, makes it a great tool to be used in any ESP class, especially if you want to create wordlists with the new specialized vocabulary.

The results for the reading skill section show that students have a preference for the overall comprehension technique (skimming), probably due to the habit of browsing on the internet. The fact that News in Levels was their first digital option directs the ESP instructor towards the design of a syllabus based on future engaging interactive activities for the introduction of the difficult topics in teaching English for Environmental Science and Engineering. The students' predilection for reading activities did match the results of the needs analysis, where reading was their first option, no matter which digital tools or other teaching techniques were involved. In other words, the ESP instructor can heavily rely on reading activities as far as this group of students is concerned.

The second section in the digital tools ranking is that of writing and this section brings forward applications like Hemingway, Plot Generator and Steller. Hemingway is a digital tool for style checking your writing. A very good tool for less formal writing and with good outcome if used for the upper intermediate level, as it offers the possibility to the learner to get familiar with the code switching between formal and informal language. Plot Generator is an amazing application for engineers who seem to lack creative writing ideas, as it generates a story plot after introducing just a few elements into blank spaces. It can be used as a warming up activity or even as home assignment with the same successful results: it boosts up imagination. The third application is a good way to engage students in creating short presentations or short books on their mobile phones. It works great for Engineering or Technical domains students, as it allows the user to take pictures and insert descriptions under each and every image, thus the technical parts of a process can easily be described and explained.

A surprise in the digital tools ranking is the positioning of the writing section, which in the needs analysis survey was the $3^{rd}$ preference whereas here is the $2^{nd}$ one. The curiosity of the ESP instructor then would be: "Why is writing using digital tools perceived as easier than without the use of digital tools?" The answer, as far as students from this study are concerned, is that students nowadays never produce a writing piece without

the help of a laptop or a mobile device (phone, tablet). The handwriting became an exotic activity, and besides, if it is being done in a foreign language with a higher difficulty level, a stressful attitude towards the task is detected from the beginning. Since the mobile devices are an extension of the human beings nowadays, teaching writing activities in ESP without them, might turn out to be quite a methodological challenge.

In the listening category, the surprise is that only one application was chosen. Lyrics Training is an application which features music videos and students can choose a favorite music video, then select the level of challenge. It has four levels: beginner, intermediate, advanced and expert. Students have to fill in the missing words according to the level: beginner 32 words out of 324, intermediate 81 out of 324 and so on. It is a great activity for General English vocabulary revision, and it can be given as home assignment for specific songs/ videos chosen by the ESP instructor. The listening activity was on the third position in the digital tools ranking, compared to the needs analysis survey where it decreases one position. The explanation could be that, as explained earlier, writing assisted by an application might become easier, thus surpassing the listening preference.

In the speaking category there were three applications chosen: Dictation Io, Clarisketch and Youglish. Dictation Io allows the user to use the device microphone to dictate text into the page. From the class feedback it was noted that students used it more for checking spelling mistakes than for its speaking developing abilities. On the other hand, Clarisketch was used for its speaking benefits. It is an app which allows the user to upload technical sketches and then talk about them. The material can also be embedded into websites and shared on social media sites. Students were a little bit reluctant to publicly share their work, but during the working processes of EdTech they showed enthusiasm. Youglish is an application based on the YouTube platform and helps engineering students to practice language in context.

**Conclusions**

The use of digital tools in the ESP classes will soon become a sine qua non condition for preparing students for a competing, globalized labour market space. The process of implementing such digital tools into syllabi and curricula may overcome challenges of all sorts, starting from the technical equipment available for an ESP class and ending with the hard work of the ESP instructor to correlate technologies with the ESP methodology. As far as teaching English for Environmental Science and

Engineering using digital tools is concerned, there are a few things that should be taken into consideration, such as the importance of knowing the identity of your students. Knowing what an engineering profile would be keen on saves a lot of time in preparing the digital lessons. Another very important aspect is the fact that expectations and requests should be elicited from the beginning of the EESE course. Students need to know the objectives of the ESP instructor, at the same time the ESP instructor needs to know his or her students' progress, so needs analysis is definitely an ongoing process. The last two things that are worth being mentioned are periodic feedback and flexibility: digital tools in EESE may help a lot if used properly, for example in engineering design, but students need to feel comfortable using them, so the ESP instructor should have an extra set of digital tools prepared for the lesson and switch to another tool if the feedback requires it.

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# An Image's Worth a Thousand Words: Visual Discourse, Multimedia Tools and Storytelling Techniques in Teaching and Assessments

ANDRADA FĂTU-TUTOVEANU[1]

**Abstract:** Almost independently of the field of study, 21st century education requires multimedia (and especially visual) tools as part of the teaching and learning processes and class interaction. The post-war period has already been characterized by a major shift from the emphasis on the text to the one on the "mechanically and electronically reproduced image" (Evans & Hall 1999). The latter has increasingly become present and, subsequently, indispensable in a world in which the visual paradigm prevails and not only in entertainment. Nowadays, with the portable devices and multimedia tools in the classroom, and New Media and social networks permanently at hand, visual support has become a significant – if not central – part of all current processes related to information and knowledge transfer. The current presentation aims to discuss, departing from a theoretical background related to visual culture, the use of visual tools and, in particular, of visual storytelling structures and patterns in the process of teaching, as well as its use in assessments. The practical approach focuses on the use in the teaching of ESP of the author's previous research and teaching experience in interdisciplinary areas related to explicitly visual contents (courses on Film Studies or Cultural Studies). The case study focuses on the use of visual tools but also visual storytelling patterns employed in teaching and assessments (based on videos produced by a group of students in Humanities as part of the ESP assessment at a Spanish University). The presentation discusses both the implicit and explicit response of students to the visual approach and the manner in which they integrated visual storytelling in their own assignments.
**Keywords:** *image, visual culture, visualising teaching, visual contents, visual storytelling, video assignments.*

## Introduction and Rationale

The image has increasingly become indispensable not only to entertainment or to the communication and everyday interactions but also to

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all the practices related to the transfer of information and/or knowledge, teaching among them. Currently, as the portable devices and multimedia tools have made their way into the classroom, the educational process becomes visually "mediated" and the contents in many situations translated into visual support. Additionally, the communication between the students, as well as between the teachers and the students or between the latter and the university – in relation to admissions, institutional events or a range of advertisements than concern their studies and additional activities –, are all present on the social media. This extensive use of the New Media and social networks as essential tools needs no explanation if we consider their rapidness and efficiency and, nonetheless, the possibility to convey messages with a strong visual – and therefore, more appealing – component. Thus, no matter the field of study, 21st century education requires multimedia (and especially visual) tools as part of the teaching and learning processes, class interaction or communication, activities and assignments outside the classroom. This online environment has become an important extension of the classroom (no wonder that at one of the universities where the author worked as a teacher, the University of the Balearic Islands – UIB – the digital platform was called for a period of time "Campus Extens" i.e. Extended Campus). Moreover, the visual content and tools are already deeply intertwined within the needs and preferences of current students – natives of digital communication and born into a visual culture – and can no longer be eluded, becoming necessary in all stages of the educational process.

Departing from a theoretical background related to visual culture, the current paper focuses on the use of visual tools and, in particular, of visual storytelling structures and patterns in the process of teaching, as well as its use in assessments. The case study deals with the use of visual tools but also visual storytelling patterns employed in teaching and assessments (based on a survey and a set of videos produced by a group of students in Humanities as part of the ESP assessment at a Spanish University). This study approaches both the implicit and explicit response of students to the visual approach and the manner in which they integrated visual storytelling in their own assignments.

**A Methodological Shift. "Visualising" Teaching and "Visual" Literacy**

Since World War II, culture and education have undergone a major shift from the centrality of the written text to that of the image, which evolved from a rapid and massive emergence to the current inflation of images and video recordings. "Human experience is now more visual and

visualised than ever before, from the satellite picture to the medical images of the interior of the human body." (Mirzeoff, 1999, p.1) The image production and reproduction has become increasingly accessible, towards an actual process of massification and commodification. As the influential Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall (1999) argue, when discussing visual culture: "the mechanically and electronically reproduced image is the semantic and technical unit of the modern mass media and at the heart of post-war popular culture". (1999, p. 2). This massive accessibility of the image and, simultaneously, the dramatic changes in the media environment, with the recent emergence of social media, have led to a paradigm shift. This involves a transition towards a "mass-mediated culture" (Real 1977, Horsfield 1984), "a culture which is pervaded at all levels by a host of cultural technologies designed to disseminate viewing and looking practices through primarily visually mediated forms" (Evans and Hall, 1999, p. 7). This visualization of culture overlaps with the power overtaken by the media and, more recently, New Media in terms of dealing with new categories of cultural products, which tend to have a visual component, by default. We can speak of the process of "visualising" culture, which affects all forms of information transfer, teaching among them. The effects are diverse and complex, with effects on the formation of individuals: "television, cinema, music, media, games and other similar popular culture phenomena define and shape identities" (Fătu-Tutoveanu and Pintilescu, 2012, p. 188) - "radio, television, film, and the other products of media culture provide materials out of which we forge our very identities" (Kellner 2003).

Some believe that the "visual cultural supremacy of visual communication is a relatively recent phenomenon (Ryan, 2010, p. 138) while others think the visual has always been central, even before this massive expansion of the image as "seeing comes before words" (Berger, 1972, p. 4). 'Idea' derives from the Greek verb meaning 'to see'. This lexical etymology reminds us that the way that we think about the way that we think in Western culture is guided by a visual paradigm." (Jenks, 1995, p. 1) Thus, some authors emphasise this centrality of the gaze in relation to culture over history but increasingly and undoubtedly so in the recent years. "Looking, seeing and knowing have become perilously intertwined. Thus the manner in which we have come to understand the concept of an 'idea' is deeply bound up with the issues of 'appearance', of picture, and of image." (Jenks, 1995, p. 1) The changes, due to technological progress, take dramatic forms in a very short while. "Each new technological development (sound, panchromatic stock, colour) points out to viewers just how 'unrealistic' the previous image was and also reminds them that the present

image, even though more realistic, will also be superseded in the future." (Manovich, 2001, p. 186)

We can talk, therefore, about the challenge of keeping up, in education as well as in other fields, with a rapidly changing landscape in terms of tools and content production and reproduction in order to maintain and enhance the teaching and learning process.

> "As language teachers, it is obvious to us that we should focus on the written word in our classes and in the teaching materials we use. However, these materials have too often ignored the visual aspect, treating it as something merely decorative, without educational value. More recently, there has been a shift in our understanding of the importance of the visual. Nowadays, it is increasingly common for English teachers, when assessing the pedagogical worth of some new material, to evaluate not only the presentation of grammar and vocabulary or the amount and type of skills work, but the visual aspects as well. This shift towards the visual is, of course, reflected in many fields. After all, the printed word on the page was once our dominant medium of communication, but it is quickly being replaced by a combination of text and still or moving images viewed on increasingly smaller screens. As far back as 2003, Gunther Kress stated: 'The former constellation of medium of book and mode of writing is giving way, and in many domains has already given way, to the new constellation of medium of screen and mode of image' (Kress 2003:9). This change of delivery mode has made communication via image often easier and more practical than via text. The digital age has brought us instant messaging services (e.g., WhatsApp), applications (Skype), social media sites (Facebook) or video-sharing platforms (YouTube), all of which contribute to this extraordinary rise in visual communication." (Goldstein, 2016, p. 2).

As revealed by the surveys discussed below, the current students' needs and expectations concerning visual class support are high in terms of quantity and quality, no matter the field of studies and more so in Humanities and Social Sciences (if we are to leave aside the actual specialised visual fields of study), which imposes a change of approach. Speaking about this process of "Shifting to visual teaching", Timothy Gangwer emphasised the need to enhance visual literacy: he mentions "visual learning" and the "need to become visual teachers" (2009), as part of the current challenges of the instructors. Concerning this shift or turn towards the visual ("a shift in emphasis from verbal towards visual representation", Goldstein, 2016, p. 2), in the process of "visualising" culture as well as teaching, some believe the solution is a hybrid form of using both words and visuals. "This visual turn does not mean the end of the written word — far from it. A fascinating advance is, in fact, the way in which still or moving images and design features combine with written text to create *multimodal*

*ensembles*: '[entities which utilize] a variety of cultural and semiotic resources to articulate, render, represent, and communicate an array of concepts and information' (Serafini 2014:13)." (Goldstein, 2016, p.2)

As instructors, are witnessing a transition rather than a shift, as we can speak of formation and re-formation in terms of skills and strategies. This *visual literacy* (see also Frey and Fisher, 2008) as well as the skills related to its employment in teaching have evolved from being optional towards becoming a necessity in order to communicate with the generations of students that were born in a visual culture and have grown together with the social media. It is, nonetheless, Goldstein observes, "a crucial paradigm shift – today's literacies are about encouraging the audience not just to be passive consumers but active contributors of their own digital experience. … In order to understand such a multimedia experience and interact with it, we may need to have some prior knowledge of its content, but we also need to be *visually literate* to interpret the information and respond to it appropriately." (2016, p. 3, 4). However, this literacy is not a one-level skill, but should be part, as the author argues, an "ensemble". This places visual literacy in an assembly, together with critical thinking and other interpretation skills:

> "All texts, regardless of the media through which they are delivered, are social artefacts that appear in particular contexts and practices, and thus need to be interpreted critically and creatively. Being literate today is about interrogating messages, however they are communicated. This has led to the notion of multiliteracies, an important distinction because it suggests that there are different types of literacy and that these literacies overlap and are evolving, especially in this digital age. Indeed, a recent book on digital literacies (Dudeney et al. 2014) identifies no fewer than sixteen distinct literacies that may be required today, from those based around information such as 'filtering literacy' to ones associated with digital creation such as 'remix literacy'." (2016, p. 4)

To embrace this paradigm shift and the diversities which the challenge the educational process can lead to most rewarding results, if, instead of deploring the "death" of the text and reading we think of the multiliteracies that the students can acquire and adopt the multimedia tools as stimulating additions to the class paraphernalia.

**Survey Results Analysis. Applied Strategies and Students' Feedback and Insight: Explicit and Implicit Answers**

The acknowledgement of these rapid changes in technology and this *shift from the text to the im*age, as well as the interest in responding with the

class strategies and materials to the level of visual literacy of the students have all led to the necessity of an explicit dialogue with the students on their needs and insight in a survey applied in ESP classes. The survey concerned the use of audio-visuals in class activities as well as in assignments that they could prepare for class (video CVs, visual presentations etc.). The survey was applied at the end of the Spring Semester 2019, as form of feedback and tool for changes in the syllabi and curriculum to be used in the following year. This departs from the acknowledgement of the significance of class experience, as an implicit source of awareness raising as well as of the explicit response of the students. The "pupils' understandings of their own learning are a relatively underexplored element in educational research and, as concern with metacognition and self-regulation as the foundations of effective lifelong learning becomes more prominent, it becomes increasingly important to get the pupils' perspective." (Wall, Higgins and Smith, 2005, p. 865)

The survey that makes the object of the current study was focused on visual activities and assignments was organised on three dimensions: the first dimension addressed the topic of class use of visual support, the second dimension, the students' insight on visual contents and storytelling *topoi,* and the third dimension, the students' insight on assignments with visual content. The first set consisted in the following questions: *1. How important do you consider visual support in class use? 2. Do you think the use of videos and images in class lectures make understanding easier? 3. Do you think the study of English should use visual materials? 4. Do you think sometimes the visual materials tell a story, make classes more interesting?*

The 56 respondents were 1st year students studying ESP in Humanities and Social Sciences. The answers concerning the interest in the use of class support have been predictably positive. Thus, 62.5% consider visual support as *very important* and 28.57% as *important,* 75% consider that the use of videos and images makes understanding easier. 58.9% strongly agree and 32.14% agree that English classes *should include visual support*. Only one comment states "Only if the students don't have a vast knowledge of English"). As for the "I strongly disagree", 0 students choose this concerning the importance of the use of visual support in teaching in general and teaching English in particular. This interrogation of the relation between visual literacy (and visual materials as class support) and the teaching/ learning of English has its roots in the concerns of the discipline and the content designers in relation to this new cultural and professional landscape.

"If we are in the business of teaching language, why should visual literacy matter so much to us? Surely, language and text-based approaches should still take precedence? Doesn't the image just distract from the word? This attitude towards the concept of visual literacy is commonly heard but could not be further from the truth. As we have seen, it is precisely the combination of text and image that is the crucial point to explore here. Consider for a moment the new multimodal ensembles that are available on today's screens — from word clouds to infographics, from Prezis to visual poetry, from augmented reality posters to kinetic typography lectures. In these examples, rather than distracting from the text, the image actually enhances it." (Goldstein, 2016, p. 5).

Such an approach refers to the desirable aim of content design and changes in the teaching strategies, in order to create coherent assemblies of materials that complete each other and offer convergence while stimulating the acquisition of different forms of literacy.
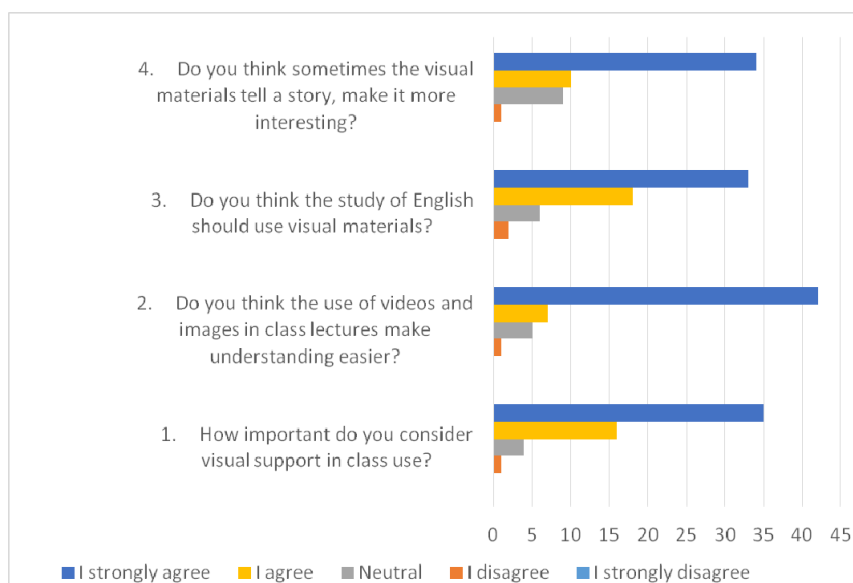


**Fig. 1.** *Results of the first section of the survey*

The second dimension focused on the students' insight on visual contents and storytelling *topoi*. The choice for this dimension was related to the interest in assessing, on the one hand, the level of consciousness of the students regarding their field of studies and how they positioned themselves in their studies in Humanities or Social Sciences in relation to the visual contents and tools. On the other hand, the survey was meant to inquire whether visual support that had a storytelling dimension (section of a

documentary, crash course, video illustration of a concept, other types of photographic or video materials that contained a narrative approach) was perceived as more meaningful and explanatory than separated or fragmented visual materials that lacked a narrative thread or dimension. This question emerged both from class experience and training, departing from the hypothesis that narrative patterns are present everywhere, from literature, popular culture or contemporary media and New Media, and that the audiences (students among them) tend to react to the familiar patterns and search for such structures perceived as a source of meaning and understanding. Besides these theoretical and empirical observations, the survey was meant to assess the level of awareness of the students concerning this dimension.

> "It may well be that learners today are far more visually literate than the previous generation because they have so much greater access to visual material. However, these learners may not be fully aware of this, because they have not needed to call on this literacy in an academic context but rather in contexts of entertainment. It is therefore up to those who mediate the learning process, such as language teachers and materials writers, to access motivating material and to ask the right kinds of questions about it in order to engage learners and tap into this literacy."(Goldstein, 2016, p. 11)

The questions in this section of the survey were the following: *1. Do you think humanities and social sciences need to use more visual support than sciences? 2. Do you think a storytelling support (documentary, crash course, short video) help explaining the lesson?* The results confirmed the expectations. Thus, 60.71% see visuals and storytelling as related and making the lecture more interesting, while 51.78% think a storytelling support – documentary, crash course, short video or other new video genres mentioned by Goldstein, genres that "exploit this relationship between image and text, such as infographic films, animated lectures, mash-ups and response films" (Goldstein, 2016, p.6) – helps explaining the lesson. However, we must state that the second question, by being rather at the limit of a majority and therefore not an overwhelming tendency towards a positive answer reveals a need to work on the improvement of the understanding and level of awareness of the structures and approaches present in the materials discussed.

In terms of contents, the students don't associate humanities and social sciences with the visual support; their perspective here is rather neutral.
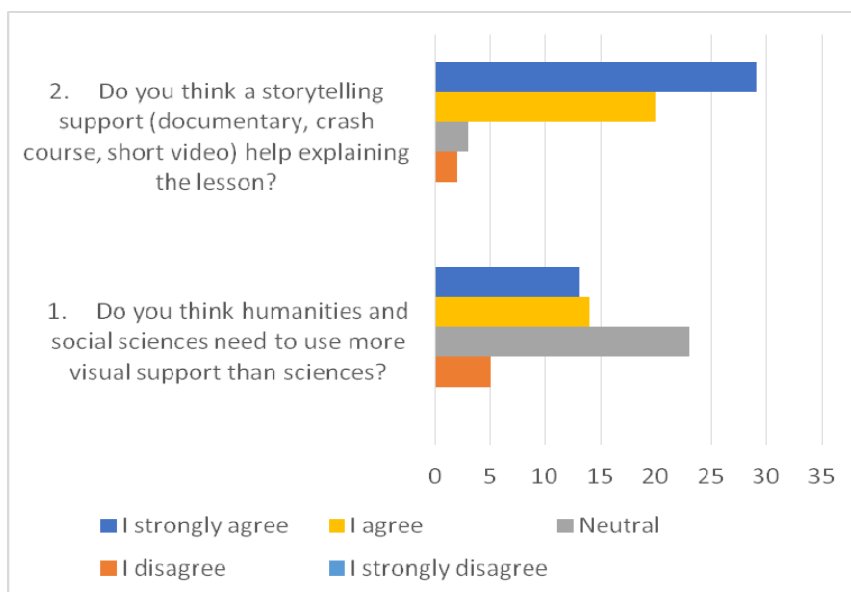
**Fig. 2.** *Results of the second section of the survey*

The third dimension concerned an essential stage in the learning process, the assessments, and this was of special interest as it would place the students in the role of the content producers, enhancing their communication and, sometimes, collaborative skills. The questions were the following: *1. Do you think video or PowerPoint assignments are easier? 2. Do you prefer video or PowerPoint assignments to other types of assignments? 3. Would you consider difficult to create a video assignment? 4. Would you consider more difficult to create a video CV than a classic CV?*

While there is a clear majority of students who strongly agree the visual support is important and facilitates learning*, the perspective changes when assessments* are concerned: only 41% strongly agree that video assignments are easier and 35.71% show a strong preference for them (one even adds the comment: "PowerPoint is fine. I prefer written assignments, I don't like video assignments", while another emphasises the opposite "Definitely video"). When a video CV is discussed in relation to a classic CV, 42.85% are undecided/neutral, while 41% incline towards finding it more difficult. Only 4 out of 56 students strongly incline for a video CV (among them someone saying "I did that a lot of times; it's great to show yourself as a person"). The comments at this section are, therefore, particularly interesting, as well as the answers to the open questions. One such question was: *What kind of visual support do you prefer in class use?* The students answer that they prefer videos (short videos, YouTube videos,

documentaries, movies etc.) rather than still images or PowerPoint (although the latter is mentioned). Another open question was *How much time would you allocate in class for visual materials?* The answers range from 10-15 minutes to 2 hours, but the majority prefers a significant amount of time allocated to such support: the most frequent answers are "half of the time", "50%" and "one hour", with notable exceptions ("no more than 30 min", "15 min"). The answer repeated several times is *half of the time*, but someone even says "all the time". Perhaps this was the most unexpected result of the survey: while being fully aware of the importance of visual content and of the shift towards visual literacy, this perspective of the students that see in the visuals a highly significant part of the class and therefore, through the amount of time mentioned, not an auxiliary component but rather a defining one.
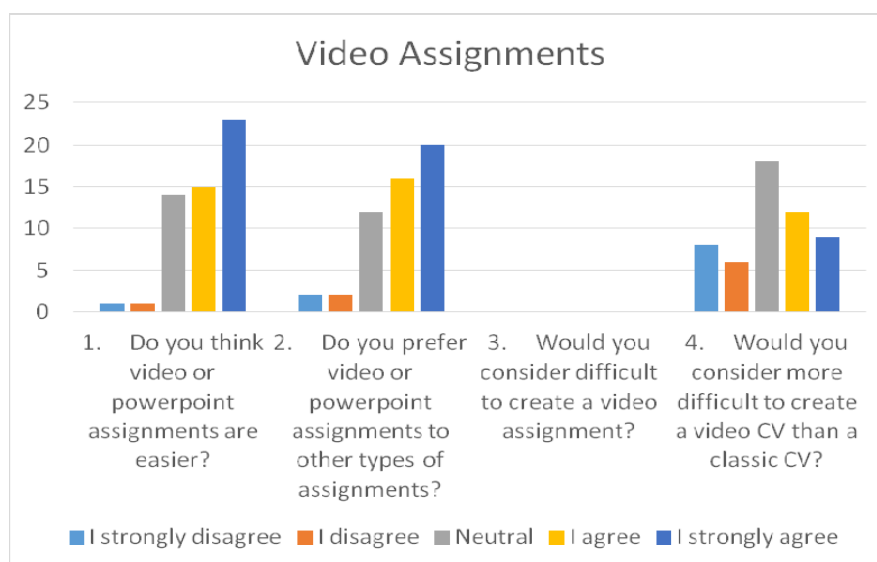


***Fig. 3.*** *Results of the third section of the survey*

As a partial conclusion, we can identify a transition towards the "visualising" of the teaching and learning but not practiced enough to reveal the confidence of students when assignments are concerned.

**Visual Storytelling Patterns in Teaching and Assessments.
Video Assignments**

Finally, I would like to refer to an application of such strategies in assessment and to mention two types of assignments that are represent two out of the five assessment strategies in the UIB syllabus regarding the study

of ESP: the oral assignment focusing on the interpretation of an image and the production of a short video CV. I will not stop on the first one as I have dealt with oral examinations elsewhere (Fătu-Tutoveanu, 2018), but only mention the fact that oral examination was considered by these students as particularly difficult and the class experience, proved, despite expectations, that the visual component was not perceived as facilitating the assessment, despite constant exposure to visuals. The students still seem to feel more comfortable as consumers, rather than as producers of visual content.

I would like to discuss, however, the production of video CVs, as they involved more time both in terms of production and of assessment and have revealed interesting pattern. This type of assignment reveals the ambivalence interest-shyness in creating video content. As a CV assignment, it shows the connection between storytelling (one's own story) and the visual medium and was a proof of their visual literacy:

> "Because of television, advertising, and the Internet, the primary literacy of the twenty-first century is visual. It's no longer enough to read and write text. Our students must learn to process both words *and* pictures. To be visually literate, they must learn to 'read' (consume/interpret) images and 'write' (produce/use) visually rich communications. They must be able to move gracefully and fluently between text and images, between literal and figurative worlds." (Burmark, 2008, p. 5)

I have previously mentioned the connection between the images and the formation of the individual, focusing on how the images employed by the media shape identity. In education, they are equally powerful and deeply connected to the issue of identity. "An important educational aspect of visual culture is its effect on identity…. The effects of images shape an individual's self-concept…. Individuals appropriate characteristics of visual representations, adopting these representations as descriptions of himself/herself." (Freedman, 2003, p.3). An interesting observation in this context is that the students have understood the connection between this presentation, aimed to briefly introduce them to other people in the professional environment, and what defined them as individuals. Thus, as a pattern, they decided to speak about their identity, especially as related to their place of birth and/or their home, marking a sense of *belonging*. They mention the island they live in (Mallorca) or use it as a background (one of the students records the video on the coast) or, in other cases, add references to other places their family comes from, revealing a deep interest in the issue of identity. Identity was, we must add, an issue explicitly discussed in the curriculum of these Humanities and Social Sciences students and also represents in the case of Catalan-speaking regions such as Mallorca, a

topical issue in everyday life and culture. Some students managed to connect the task with storytelling techniques, marking a chronological framework (i.e. J.A.: "my grandparents ran away from the Francoist dictatorship to Brazil so my mom was born there"). Besides the geographical belonging, the bilingual character of the island was also emphasised, being considered by the students both defining in terms of their identity and life story and useful for their professional portfolio. Another pattern revealed by the assignment was the students' self-perception and their focus on their culture and cultural identity, although this was not explicitly requested. As far as the shortcomings are concerned, I must observe the fact that although visual, the videos are most of the time static and lack variation, being similar to traditional interviews, perhaps because the practice is not common enough yet to make them feel comfortable. In order help them become familiar and therefore possess a sense of comfort in producing such assignments as well as, most significantly, to nourish the skills to interpret but also produce *meaningful* visual assignments, the classes could include guidance towards coherent storytelling practices (in interpretation as well as content production), such as those suggested below:

> "Possible activities which call on this skill could be the following: • Embed the image in a different context or genre. • Rewrite the accompanying text or script as if it were a different genre. What changes take place? • Sequence images in a different order to create your own narrative. • Design or visualize your own video sequence for a song or poem, etc. • Narrate a live video sequence. • Identify the subtext of a particular image or video sequence and present this to others. • Research and find similar images or videos online. • Create a collage or mash-up of different images or videos related to what you have seen in class (e.g., create a mosaic of different images which say something about yourself). • Create a storyboard trailer for a movie and then compare it with the original." (Goldstein, 2016, 10)

The insertion of such activities in the ESP or EFL classes would answer the students' interest (explicitly manifested in surveys or feedback as that presented above) for the visuals and would support the interaction in the classroom, enhancing skills and practices in a diversity of activities.

**Conclusions**

The acknowledgement of the pervasiveness of the visual (Mirzoeff, 1999) in today's world and all the areas that deal with the transmission of information (education standing as one of the most important among them) involves a shift in the approach that language teachers, as well as instructors

in general, are working with nowadays. In this transition from the text/textbook/written assignments and exams towards "visualising" the teaching and learning process, video literacy has become a necessity. Embracing this new visual paradigm and incorporating the new skills of a digital native generation into the process of language teaching and learning can lead to an enlarged spectrum of activities and related skills, thus responding to the implicit as well as explicit needs of the students regarding the visualising of class support. Such content re-design would meet the needs of the students and stimulate further activities with the purpose of enhancing their abilities to create complex assignments independently and making them feel comfortable in preparing and presenting them.

This methodological shift and diversification of tools and strategies would also help synchronising the needs of the labour market with the students' capabilities and raises their awareness on their actual skills and needs. However, in the field of ESP, this type of tool must be balanced with the other language skills we have to enhance. Another issue is that students still tend to be solely consumers and not producers of content and show moderate reluctance to this shift, although they proved creative. For the instructor, such an environment can contribute to the assessment processes regarding speaking skills with an enlarged spectrum of tools and practices.

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# Non-native Fiction Writing: Common Issues in Creative Writing Works of Romanian Students

**ALEXANDRU OLTEAN-CÎMPEAN[1]**

**Abstract:** With pedagogical research into Creative Writing classes still in its early stages, now is an exciting time to attempt to devise such a course. The challenge is made greater when it is an English class for non-native speakers – in this case Romanians – since it brings to light issues that are significantly different than if the students had been native speakers of English. The present article aims to illustrate what are the most common mistakes that students make when writing short fiction and should be viewed as a starting point for a larger research into developing a Creative Writing course for Journalism students in Romania.
**Keywords:** *creative writing, course, fiction*.

Since their inception at the end of the 19th century, Creative Writing classes have developed in ways that would probably have surprised even the creators of the Iowa Writer's Workshop. This is undoubtedly a good thing, since, "if language is indeed a dwelling, then creative writing extends the ground plan and shapes a satisfyingly unified, self-stylized at-homeness" (Disney 2014:6). With programs appearing in spaces outside the US – most notably the UK and Australia – the growing need to structure such a course has also led to important research done along pedagogical lines. Most of these studies, however, were conducted in English speaking universities and on native speakers. This focus leaves wanting a more thorough look into how Creative Writing courses are designed when the students are foreigners.

The importance of L2 writers should not be ignored, since they can bring innovative contributions to the culture that the language of use (in this case English) belongs to. Indeed, going beyond initial attempts at reproducing the native perspective, the L2 writer then moves on to intertwine elements of their own cultural identity with that of the target L1 language used. In this sense, "L2 creative production is a mode of

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cosmopolitanism which can present, preserve, and promote shifting (or emerging) patterns of subjecthood" (Disney 2014:4). Exploring Creative Writing for L2 English speakers is especially important as the circle of users of this foreign language continues to expand.

Wanting to add to the corpora of research done on L2 Creative Writing pedagogy, I have proposed an extensive study that is aimed at developing a course that is specifically geared towards teaching Romanian students how to write fiction as quickly and effectively as possible. This course would adopt the structure typical to one taught in an L1 institution, while taking into consideration the characteristics of L2 student needs. The present article should therefore be viewed as an illustration of a first step in the development of this research project. More specifically, this first step is represented by the endeavor to determine the most common issues that Romanian students are confronted with when trying to produce short stories in English.

Research into teaching L2 Creative Writing, although very limited, is not new. David Hanauer of Indiana University has worked on a "view of a pedagogical approach the second language writing classroom" (Hanauer in Disney 2014:11). Jane Spiro of Oxford Brooks University "explores a Creative Writing pedagogy in which the experienced writer and the second language learner writer meet in search of a second language writing voice" (Spiro in Disney 2014:23). In his research, Dan Disney of Sogang University "speculates on those processes at work when a poem transmits into a non-native language" (Disney 2014:41). Christopher Kelen of Macau University speaks about his endeavor to create a pedagogy for Creative Writing in English in a foreign country. Eddie Tay of the University of Hong Kong and Grace Chin of the University of Brunei both do research along similar lines.

All of these works offer intriguing lines of research that contribute to the overall construction of a Creative Writing pedagogy, which at the moment is sorely lacking. Unfortunately, for the purposes of this article, using the work of the above-mentioned scholars is hampered by circumstances surrounding the subjects (students) involved.

As stated at the beginning of this article, the purpose of my research is to identify the issues that L2 students living in their native country of Romania have to deal with when studying and practicing creative writing. Right from the start, this makes it difficult to apply the same approach as that of David Hanauer or Jane Spiro, since the challenges of an L2 student living in an English-speaking country are too different from the ones that I

wish to examine. By and large, their research is (understandably) focused on the cultural challenges that a foreign student has to deal with after having moved even temporarily to the US, and how that can be expressed in their work. While intriguing, this is markedly different from any issues that my students would ever have to deal with.

It might stand to reason, at least at first glance, that research such as that done by Kelen or Chin would be more useful. They have the advantage that their research is conducted on students who are not foreigners in their country of residence and who would therefore have to deal with similar challenges that come with having to express themselves in a language – English – which they otherwise do not come into constant contact with outside the classroom. The main constraints, however, when trying to use this research have to do with certain fundamental differences in pedagogical approaches. For example, the Chinese school system is built around what has been referred to as the *Confucian Heritage Culture* which emphasizes "the leadership of the teacher" and "the passive and orderly nature of the learning process" of the students (Kelen, in Disney 80). Trying to create a course that is inherently practical and student-oriented within a system that is teacher-centered creates a set of circumstances that are unfortunately quite unique. Kelen himself admits to this fact when he posits that his research presents "*a* pedagogy for Creative Writing in *a* non-native context" (Kelen, in Disney 75). The works of Chin and Tay have similar issues that make their research incompatible with the one presented in this article.

The conclusion therefore is that, for the purposes of exploring the challenges that Romanian students face when practicing Creative Writing in English, I am on my own. This fact places my research project on somewhat uncertain ground, but at the same time it also offers me the freedom to choose the trajectory of said project. To that end, in what follows I will endeavor to illustrate the most common issues I've identified in the texts I've looked at.

Before discussing my findings, I would like to present a description of the course and the students, so that the following section of the article makes sense. At the Faculty of Political, Administrative and Communication Sciences, I teach a Creative Writing course to a bit over twenty students of Journalism, all freshmen. This particular group of students have all their courses taught to them in English (including mine), which gives them an advantage over other students when dealing with the analysis and production of L2 texts. Nevertheless, outside academic walls their primary language of use is their L1 – Romanian.

The class itself is split between a two-hour weekly course and a two-hour bi-weekly seminar. During the course we look at short stories written by English and American writers with the purpose of identifying the strategies employed in creating these works and the particularities that made the texts successful. In addition, each week we look at one element of a short story in order to illustrate how elements such as character, setting etc. are generally constructed. During the seminar, with this group of students we focused on improving those secondary skills needed when creating art, such as attention to detail. There were 26 students in the target group, and this was the first year when the class was taught in this course/seminar format.

The texts that the students had to read, and which were examined during the course also served as examples for the students to use when creating their own work. This work consisted of an optional first draft of a short story due in the middle of the semester and of a final obligatory version of the text due at the end of the class.

It would be wrong for me to claim that this is the ideal way of setting up a Creative Writing course for first year Journalism students in Romania. In light of the fact that, both here and abroad, a Creative Writing pedagogy is still being devised, the present study assumes that improvements to the course are necessary and can be implemented by first establishing the difficulties that students have to deal with.

Unfortunately, identifying the most common issues when teaching Creative Writing to Romanian students of Journalism is a slow process that is expected to present significant results only with the accumulation of data. For this reason, drawing general conclusions after looking at the work and performance of one single generation of students would be woefully premature. Instead, what I have chosen to focus on for this paper is one aspect – common mistakes in fiction writing – of the first generation of students analyzed. In order to accomplish my set goal, I focused on the student's finished product – the text that they handed in at the end of the course. After going through all 26 texts, I've identified the most common problems found and separated them into two major categories, respectively *Linguistic issues* and *Story construction issues*.

## Linguistic Issues

The three most common language problems are *rushing, influences from Romanian* and *generally improper use of English*. The first issue most likely stems from the students not allocating an adequate amount of time to

write their stories and therefore also failing to properly proofread their texts. Eight out of the twenty-six texts were found to have a substantial number of such cases, and a good example is found below:

> She inherited the strength from Robin and her powers from Starfire and altought she is still young, her powers are extraordinary strong, but she doesn't know how to control them yet. When she was 10, she accidentally burned a house in the neighborhood. Unfortunately, there lived a family. Griffin family, pretty weird family, might say. They all had neon yellow hair and a lot of freckless and no one in the city knew their powers. The couple had 4 kids, 3 boys and 1 girl. The elder boy, Bryan, was 1 year older than Brightfire and they used to go to kindergarden and school togheter.

Although ascertaining the exact level of language proficiency of a student is by no means an exact science, it is arguably easier to determine when a mistake is not due to lack of language capabilities. In the example above, the words *altought* (instead of *although*), *freckless* (instead of *freckles*), *togheter* (instead of *together*) and *kindergarden* (instead of *kindergarten*) can all be explained by improper attention, rather than the student not knowing how to spell properly.

The next category of most common language problems in the students' texts was influences from Romanian. This refers specifically to choose the words or phrases that either sound out of place or are simply wrong specifically because they were translated directly from their L1 to L2. While this occurs to a lesser degree per text, it is also slightly more widespread, with 10 out of the 26 stories containing such issues. An example is given below from the same story:

> Tim had one year when Brightfire burned the house and their mother and Tim were in the house. She was playing with Bryan and the twins in the backyard while Bryan's dad was cutting the grass, Miriam was really fascinated about her powers.

In this case, the underlined phrase would be off-putting for any native English speaker, but might go completely unnoticed for a Romanian, as it ascribes to the way in which someone presents a person's age in this language.

The last common language issue that I've identified – *improper use of English* – is found in 11 of the 26 texts. An example of this is given below:

> For the second time this week I find myself moving towards my grandmother's room and as usual, as soon as I reach the door I freeze. The scent of vanilla hits me out of a sudden and the memories come flooding back. For sixteen years this room has been my refugee, the safest place on earth where the kindest soul would listen to my problems while caressing my hair.

In cases like this, we cannot speak either of improper translation (there is no word for word equivalence of the phraseology) or of rushing, but rather they seem to be the result of the students' use of English terms and structures that they are not in fact sufficiently comfortable with.

## Story Construction Issues

In a short story, content and structure are arguably more important than how correctly the text is written. With this in mind, the most common story construction issues were made clear by answering the following four questions: Do the texts have a story arc? Is it a story or just an exposition of a character's life? Are there logical issues in the texts? Have the texts that we've studied had a visible influence?

A story arc is the classic structure of a short story, illustrated by the image below:

Climax

Rising Action

Falling Action

Resolution

Exposition or Stasis
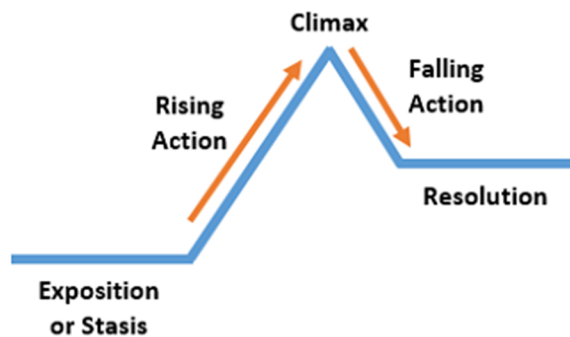
In general, respecting this point-by-point guideline would ensure that the resulting text is a short story of varying quality. Of the 26 texts that the students presented at the end of the course, all but two respected this diagram.

Regarding the second question, this plays into the standard premise that a short story only focuses on a single significant occurrence, rather than presenting a brief expose of the character's entire life. All of the stories respected this premise.

The third question has to do with setting up a scene that the reader would in all likelihood find unconvincing because it is not in keeping with either the tone of the rest of the text or with reality. Consider the example below:

> "I got into a fight. A boy took my lunch again just to annoy me, I know he did. So I jammed a pen into his eye," James said angrily.
> "You what?" Amelia shouted.

"I had to. Now, he won't be able to see my lunch so he can't steal it anymore, please don't punish me," he said in a sad tone.

"I am not going to punish you, your father is, Vince?"

"Hmm? what? does James need another pen? we will buy him one tomorrow honey, don't worry."

In this case, the reaction of both parents doesn't conform to the seriousness of the child's action – they react to their son having stabbed another boy in the eye as if he had punched his colleague in the shoulder – and there is nothing in the rest of the text that would explain their odd behavior. Of the 26 stories submitted, nine of them have similar logical issues.

With respect to the final question – Have the texts that we've studied had a visible influence? – the straight answer is *no.* Indeed, none of the texts that were submitted show any clear similarities in terms of theme, structure or style to the pieces of fiction that we've studied throughout the course.

## Conclusions

As I've stated at the beginning of the article, this is just a first step in a longer research project. The 26 texts analyzed are only from the first group of students that took part in the study and further groups will have to be considered before any more definitive data can be presented. Nevertheless, some preliminary conclusions may be drawn.

As far as the linguistic issues are concerned, improper uses of English will probably be the most difficult to deal with. Rushing can be solved by the student allocating more time for the writing of their stories (although getting students to stop procrastinating remains a problem that all teachers are familiar with). Improving their general English proficiency would more quickly solve for the second issue, as students would be more aware of the differences between their L1 and L2. To this end, for the next group of students the seminar will be dedicated primarily towards English exercises. Cases of *improper use of English*, however, point to a finer sense of language knowledge that is more difficult to adjust, as any English teacher would be aware of if they struggled to advance a student from a C1 level to C2.

With respect to issues having to do with the stories themselves, the present article has indicated some positive aspects pertaining to overall construction. Further research will be needed, however, to determine

whether this is because the course does a sufficient job of teaching students the general form of such a text or whether this is an occurrence that is unique to a single generation of students. Therefore no modifications to the future class structure is required as of yet.

The answers to the latter two questions are significantly more troubling. As far as logical issues are concerned, what may help is making the first draft of the short stories mandatory rather than optional, since the feedback to these initial texts would offer the students the opportunity to focus on these problems before submitting their final drafts. I should note that the students who participated in the study presented here and who had submitted their initial draft also had the option of writing a completely different story for their final text. Eliminating this option may ensure that the second submission sees these logical problems resolved.

The last issue – the students not using the texts studied as examples – is a difficult one to tackle because it ties into the overall point of the course itself. On the one hand, one of the aims of a Creative Writing class is to provide the students with an opportunity for self-expression. It's also what most attracts them to such a class. On the other hand, the class is meant to teach them how to manifest this self-expression within specific structures, and this is where the texts we analyze are meant to serve as examples of such structures. The most obvious solution then would be to require the next group of students to mimic one of the texts studied. The drawback of this measure would be that it might lead to them copying not only the structure or style of the stories but everything else. Thus, they would effectively fail in creating their own texts, but rather rewritings of the original work. For now, what may be more effective would be making sure that the students read each text by having them submit a half a page review of them prior to our discussing them.

Even with these modifications, some additional issues will persist, which, although beyond the scope of the present article, will nevertheless influence the overall research project. For example, most contemporary Romanian students have only come into contact with US or UK society, customs and beliefs through the adjusted lens of the Media (movies, TV, YouTube videos, etc.). This distorted viewpoint will then inevitably color the way that the students interpret the authentic pieces of fiction that are

otherwise vital to help shape the budding writer. This becomes an especially significant issue when the authentic text makes subtle references to cultural aspects that are otherwise not widely dealt with in the media, not because they are taboo, but because for a native they would be common knowledge. For example, the fact that James Joyce's *Araby* is also a critique of Irish society typically goes unnoticed, since the average Journalism student has little to no foreknowledge of the characteristics of early 20th century Irish society. The L2 student, lacking the required knowledge, inevitably fails to pick up on the text's subtle remarks and thus a potentially important story element goes unnoticed. In this moment it becomes especially important that the teacher is aware of this issue and is able to fill in the cultural gaps in the students' knowledge. At the same time, besides cultural differences, there are also stylistic ones that are even harder for an L2 student to pick up on. Run-on sentences, for example, seem to be far better tolerated in Romanian than in English. Thus, an L2 Creative Writing student would need to be aware of this fact and adjust their writing style accordingly, lest a paragraph – which in Romanian would seem perfectly acceptable – might come off as wordy and difficult to follow. In the future, solutions will have to be found to deal with these problems, if the Creative Writing course is to become as effective as possible.

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# Changing Channels: Development of Personal Learning Environments On Social Media

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**Abstract:** This article aims at problematizing the learning space in the context of the new user-centric pedagogical practices of ESP that need to become increasingly attuned with the social and technological transformations of the last decades. This is amplified by the need to redesign the learning/educational experience of tertiary students aiming to be recognized as skilled learners in a relatively short period of time and who are disconnected from the foreign language learning environment (virtual/ traditional) once the course is over. Therefore, the underpinning question of this article is: how can the ESP teacher cater the lifelong learning needs of the student beyond the curriculum and the classroom? This research is broadly based on recognition of the undisputed appeal of the online virtual communities which has made social software a much sought after medium for educational and information retrieval purposes. More particularly, social software is primarily perceived as a premium channel for active and creative Personal Learning Environments (PLEs). In order to test the positive implications of such an affordance, a case study methodology was used and students were given a questionnaire comprising of a blend of multiple choice and Likert scale statements dealing with their attitude towards e-learning and the implementation of a PLE-ESP platform.
**Keywords:** *E-Learning*, *Personal Learning Environment*, *social software*, Web 2.0 *applications*, *survey*.

## Framework for the Use of PLE Platforms as Alternative Educational Tools

This research aims to understand the current shifts affecting the learning environment urged to be redesigned under the influence of technological and societal trends of the recent decades. User-centric pedagogical practices of Life Long Learning and eLearning, on the one hand, and our survey and observations of the undergraduate student's relationship with information and technology communication (ICT), on the

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other hand, incite us to believe that the whole life course of learning is under rapid, in-depth transformation. Prompted by students' attitude towards hardcopy materials or even beamer text, both frowned upon to the profit of their smartphones, this investigation is twofold. It is an exploration of the educational potential of Personal Learning Environments (PLE), seen as an array of interfaces premised on Web 2.0 technologies enabling users to create, structure and share content, and a constructive attempt to lay out how the use of social networks can amplify such educational endeavors. Following the guiding principle of connectivism, this research is broadly based on recognition of the undisputed appeal of the online virtual communities which has made social software a much sought after medium for educational and information retrieval purposes. More particularly, social software is primarily perceived as a premium channel for active and creative Personal Learning Environments (PLEs).

No wonder that students today frown upon at the sight of a one-dimensional text, or even a lecture, as their brain turns away from anything that does not satisfy their ability to navigate across media, and across different systems of communication. Therefore, it is my belief that their multimodal literacy pairs naturally with integrated and collaborative learning, at the core of which social software enabled PLEs play a fundamental role.

In order to test the positive implications of such an affordance, a case study methodology was used and students were given a questionnaire comprising of a blend of 20 multiple choice and Likert scale statements dealing with their attitude towards information and communication technology, with a special focus on social media practices and behavior and their expectations of a PLE platform. The participants in this research were 1st year students from the Faculty of Sociology and Social Work and they all attended a 2-semester ESP course for Human Resources. Of the 109 students who took part in the study, all reported their age, ranging from 19-29 (while most of them were 19-21). The data were collected through an online Google questionnaire designed for the purpose of this research and it was delivered through a private Facebook group (called "English for Human Resources, 1st year", which was also used throughout the academic school year as a platform of communication and for curriculum-related material dissemination). Participation was informed and voluntary and completion anonymous. The survey was primarily used to collect educational information and quantitative data on social networking experience of the students. It included 19 close-ended statements/questions and one final open statement which was analyzed

separately for emerging qualitative themes. The questionnaire was written in Romanian and translated into English for this work.

Research literature shows that personalized learning environments are relatively recent concepts (Van Hermelen, 2006, Atwell, 2007, Wild et al., 2008), although a vast body of work has been dedicated to the personalization of learning. "Personalized learning" or "individualized learning" equally stress the importance of a learner-centric educational model and institutional practice within which each individual needs to be able to choose a customized learning path, designed to meet his capabilities and interests. Developed particularly in the United Kingdom where it has become a state policy since 2008, personalized learning aims mainly at urging the student to ultimately become a co-author of the learning process, alongside with the teachers. "The emphasis in relation to personalizing education is that learning is inclusive, lifelong and therefore reaching beyond the traditional confines of schools." (Leone, 2019, p. 117) While mirroring these characteristics, and augmenting them in the realm of eLearning, PLEs have been viewed from multiple vantage points. Most experts promote PLEs as either technology-centric (van Hermelen, 2008), psychology/pedagogy centric or as constructs embedded in sociological relations (Adell & Castaneda, 2010) and even as a learning philosophy. Simply put, the approach used in this paper is that PLEs are firstly a technological concept. They are Information systems, or in Alter's terms: "a work system whose processes and activities are devoted to processing information, i.e., capturing, transmitting, storing, retrieving, manipulating, and displaying information." (Alter, 2008, p. 451) Web 2.0 applications, a variety of tools and services, communication software and cloud resources are the main ingredients of such freely assembled networked ecosystems. The flow of information is completely in the hands of the users, allowing bottom-up accumulation of materials and skills. It seems only obvious that learning and teaching could benefit extensively from such a repository.

This leads us to the second level of our understanding of PLEs. As an object, as an almost physical environment used actively and creatively, PLEs generate knowledge, support and enhance the learning process of the user. An example, ePortofolios, blogs on Google reader. Inextricably, the environment, thus the sum effect of all networked tools and services involved in information processing, becomes a place where knowledge occurs naturally, an almost "cognitive space" which is in constant flux (Väljataga, Pata & Tammets, 2011, p. 88). Apparently, much like in face-to-

face confrontation, PLEs are the result of an effort to "integrate a consciously different sort of practices and resources (i.e. commonly used Web 2.0 services) to solve personal learning needs (Del Barrio-García, Arquero & Romero-Frías, 2015, p. 129). All the more, this integrated design consisting of customizable Web 2.0 tools (wikis, blogs), services (Flickr, delicious, YouTube), social networks and learn-streaming used for capturing, classifying, creating, retrieving, sorting, transmitting, manipulating and displaying information seems as a pack of learning skills and competences which are hard to ignore.

However, the systematic experimentation of learning skills (and skills of meta-cognition; information selection, critically interpreting and analyzing the socio-cultural context, working collaboratively and sharing knowledge) that build up the digital learning activity is not a mere instrumentation of digital tools, thus an alternative (i.e. "intermediate concept") to traditional, formal learning. In fact, PLEs enable a shift in how people learn. Learning is becoming growingly attached to a community of practice, to lifelong goals, personal development and last, but not least, learning is deeply rooted in interaction. With this shift, new flexibilities and new demands emerge. Based on personalization, continuous access and dialogic exchanges (Leone, 2019, p.116), PLEs are fed by autonomy and build invariably on clusters of prior knowledge, being fully compatible to (and assisted by) Intelligent tutoring systems, that provide scaffolding and guidance - within control limits set exclusively by the user.

So far, advocates of Learning Management Systems (LMSs) might intervene to stress out the dichotomy between the two models. Moodle can provide all these, except the fine tuning and customization of tools, which we could do without. Yet, this new way of learning, besides being more flexible, and eager to accommodate informal learning, empowers students to direct their own learning and develop self-regulated learning skills. Still, why would PLEs be a solution to the educational challenges bestowed on other technology enhanced learning systems? Supported, on the one hand, by social software, thus, by open interaction, and personal needs, on the other, PLEs prompt students to structure the influx of information surrounding them daily and take charge of their own learning. "Research has shown that social media can facilitate the creation of PLEs that help learners aggregate and share the results of their learning achievements, participate in collective knowledge generation and manage their own meaning making." (Dabbagh & Fake, 2017) As one of the students who

answered the questionnaire estimated, the social element is one of the most important aspects of an ideal PLE especially if engaged in an informal setting, outside the walls of the university.

## Implementation of PLEs on Social Software

Social Networking applications (e.g., Facebook) were considered as a hub for a PLE. One advantage of this approach is that a high number of users are already an active audience, regular users of Facebook, Twitter or YouTube, for example. They are also ubiquitous, as ICT consumerization has made them available on any device. No barriers are known to social software - neither economic, nor linguistic - and, as stressed in students' comments, another important characteristic resides in the fact that they are asynchronous. Not being time-bound seems to add value to social media-infused learning. It also has the advantage of being an open platform, where users are naturally grouped by interests and common backgrounds and practices, harnessing professional and vocational identification. Such groups (Dunn, 2009, p. 178) of users clearly linked by like-mindedness ultimately enjoy to congregate and share, building a certain level of trust and connectedness. Online relations should be benchmarked to offline interactions, and studies suggest that the picture of a virtual informal community looks "close-knit, supportive, mutually beneficial and connected" (*Idem*., p. 175).

Further, social networks are inconceivable without the idea of exchange. An exchange for benefits, that is, as student's comments confirm: "An ideal PLE would be one where I could have access to information and also share it. I would like to find different opinions there, but I would also appreciate some advice from a specialist." Another comment suggested: "I wish I could get help from those who are better than me.", while some answers were even more focused on the task: "A PLE should first and foremost rely on efficient self-development, but also be a place where one could find materials and ask questions about particular subjects. Personal-development, but with the help of others, working and collaborating- this is, I think, the main objective of this type of learning." Feedback is another benefit students expect. Consistent feedback, exchanging feedback, in any form: teacher evaluation, peer evaluation and self-evaluation are the immediate effect of a medium of positive self-esteem.

Certainly, this is a downsized understanding of social networks, and much could be said about the gaps and limitations that linger unaddressed, but it is important to emphasize that all the characteristics elicited above

were also formulated, in relatively similar terms, or more or less inductively, in the students' comments.

Knowing the potential of social software applications, what teachers need to consider is their capacity to act as a host, an inclusive architecture of participation where hybrid institutional-personal systems could be developed. Student controlled and teacher scaffolded - such a pedagogical approach focuses on interconnectivity of resources. Consequently, one of the main challenges in the field of PLE research from this perspective, which is also crucial to this paper, is to promote technologically-enhanced pedagogical endeavors within the context of formal higher education, so that students can be guided to create their own PLEs. Specialists of the field of PLE have also emphasized that:

> Marrying what is currently implemented in institutions with what is available outside of formal higher education is thus seen as the primary solution. And here the dominant group of PLE researchers talk about the partial re-instrumentation of teaching and studying activity with a set of networked tools and services. The lack of learner control, ownership and personalization as the perceived drawback of monolithic institutional technology, is assumed to be corrected through the projected re-instrumentation with more loosely-coupled networked tools and services. (Fiedler & Valjataga, 2013, p. 191)

Coopted in the educational process, media-infused student-driven content like discussions, comments, wikis, replies, concept maps, tag clouds, pins, webpages, podcasts, RSS feeds, wikis, microblogs not only enrich the students' cognitive skills, through a "learning by doing" experience, but also supports students as socializers, encouraging learning as a social process. The social context of PLEs can ensure students maintain control over their learning goals by supplying resources and relevant assistance.

However, no matter how theoretically sound or pragmatist the research landscape may be, one crucial aspect still warrants investigation: students' perception and attitude towards PLE implementation. There is indeed a lack of studies investigating the effects of social networking sites in higher education. Hybrid courses have turned out to be quite successful and participants admitted that communication and collaboration were enhanced after pairing the course with social network activity. In addition, a study (Veletsianos & Navarrete, 2012, p. 145) of an online undergraduate course taught via the Elgg social network platform revealed that students were "lost in social space" and needed support and scaffolding. More focused case studies and pilot courses need to be implemented as research

addressing the issue of student experience with social network in formal higher education is pending.

Before bringing forth the results of our own query, an important aspect impeding on the research landscape is related to time references in reporting literature on this subject. For instance, while ten years ago students ( see discussion in Dabbagh & Fake, 2017) would unanimously choose wiki-based PLEs (Google sites, due to the connectivity of services) and project using them on a monitor, with 2.7 billion users each month of either Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, or Messenger (https://zephoria.com/top-15-valuable-facebook-statistics/.), the Facebook family seems an undisputed candidate as a PLE platform. Also, 96% of visits presently come from a mobile device, smartphone or tablet (https://www.statista.com/statistics/377808/distribution-of-facebook-users-by-device/.) which was also hard to foresee a decade ago, when mobile computing was still being reinvented and high-end smartphones were just blips of novelty. Such data is also confirmed by the questionnaire that students from the Faculty of Sociology completed for the purpose of this research, as all the participants reported logging to social networking apps from their smartphone, while a small portion of 12% used a monitor for the same purpose.

## Results and Implications of the Survey

Given the fact that this research is viewed as preliminary, the mixed method used in the questionnaire is mainly attached to perception of ICT and social networks in education and expectancy from PLE as a potential learning model, in general, and as an ESP-PLE in particular. The construct under evaluation was, as it can be easily observed, multidimensional, and the related components were reflected in the progressive ordering of the statements. Even if more detailed information is normally associated to open-ended questions, only the closing statement "the description of an ideal PLE" was assigned such a format. Nevertheless, especially in the case of Likert-scale questions a larger number of response anchors were provided in order to ensure variance and validity.

Therefore, one of the introductory questions of the survey aimed at identifying the types of ICT used by this particular group of higher education students. Random order was chosen for items and according to the results, the top positions are disputed by YouTube (with 90.8%, indicating 99 respondents out of 109), social networks (89.9%), Messenger (89%) and Emails (86.2%). Also, browsers and Wikipedia are moderately lower down the scale (rating 65.1% and, respectively 63.3%). Surprisingly

enough, 47.7% of the participants indicated a preference for online courses and tutorials and 31.2% reported using Google Docs. The percentage of blogs on their grades reached 22.9% (n=25), just about a quarter, and 11.9 % (n=13) respondents included Google calendar in their routine. As it can be observed from the ratings, the stark majority of students are engaged in community activating networks, which are themselves very closely interconnected. Youtube subscribers turn out to use other social networks simultaneously, with almost the same investment, indicating an emerging pattern within this age group. They need to be everywhere, where there is information and navigate channels and codes very efficiently. Synchronizing class activity with the third most viewed channel in the world, fed by content sharing, and proofing what its main functions such as entertainment, information-seeking, co-viewing and social interaction (in-person, through comments) can do for the learning process is ultimately the real challenge.

Moreover, the next set of questions focused extensively on social media usage and behavior. An overwhelming proportion use smartphones to connect to social networks and, alternatively, a similarly consistent cluster also use laptops (85.3%). A small minority of just 11% (n=12) access a monitor and 6.4% own a tablet. Mobile devices confirm their taste for remote and real-time access, maximizing the time they allocate to technology daily. In this respect, it is worth noticing that when asked about frequency of usage of social networking sites, 52.3% indicated connecting at least once an hour and 48.6% have several logins per day. It would be difficult to correlate such data to user engagement metrics, or even to relate to an autonomy vs. connectedness scale, as figures seem ambiguous. These estimations do not allow us to distinguish between time spent on actual network activities (including solitary time activities, like lurking) and time spent outside the network, especially if we also take into consideration the fact other response anchors scored 0% on a less than once a day scale. Thus, a development of more accurate measurements would be necessary for consistent results.

Surprisingly enough, among sampled students with an age range of 19-21, 83.5% mentioned being long-term users of SNS, with at least five years in the ecosystem. Not only does this connote solid experience with SNSs activity (thus, a familiarity with codes and content, plus a strong motivation to participate in an online community), but - to a certain extent - it is indicative of the degree of integration of technology into social behavior.

Multiple social networking seems to be the trend within this sampled group, and a ceiling effect was reached for five of the 17 SNS options

students had to rate as most used. A clearly defined majority of 94.5 % declare themselves fervent Instagram users, while having a somewhat equally substantial presence on Messenger (86.2%), Facebook (84.4%) and YouTube and WhatsApp (both with a score of 82.6%). Instagram has gained momentum in recent years, and it is a mobile application that allows users to share posts that consist of either visual or video material and an a small hashtaged caption, which is usually a short text-based message that thematizes, contextualises or promotes posts. In contrast to Twitter (used by a marginal portion of just 3.7% of the students), which is text-based, the Instagram medium is all about carefully curated images.

However, if we correlate SNSs presence indicators to the top activities students engage in on SNSs, of the 15 cluster solutions students predominantly focused on maintaining connections with family and friends (n=76 and strongest level of agreement), but also found great value in accessing information (n=58) in any format. In addition, the table data clearly shows that just over a half of the participants pointed out faculty related information as one of their constant interests. Professional network-related items scored slightly lower on the agreement scale, with roughly half of the students agreeing that they rarely use social software to connect to a professional network or develop professional relationships.

Moreover, when asked about the potential of SNSs for learning activities, between one third to just under a half of the participants strongly agreed that ( and items are grouped according to rating units, starting with the highest) : "SNSs increase students' interest for a course or a seminar" (n=39), "SNSs make learning easier" (n=37), "SNSs are a useful learning tool" (n=33), "SNSs can stimulate student motivation" (n=31), "SNSs create a sense of connectedness to a common group of interests" (n=27) and "SNSs can increase students' performance" (n=22). In exchange, students' negative perception of the social networking platform for learning purposes keeps ratings at a plateau, within the one third mean. Students would not use SNSs for educational purposes because: "Learning takes place in class, at the seminar, at the library", as 26.6 % (n= 29) of the respondents stated, or because "Learning does not take place on social networks", suggest 22.9% of the participants. It becomes obvious that when compared to traditional learning settings some respondents (almost a quarter) take a step back, but refuse to identify with any of the suggested anchor answers (the case for 28.4% of the students). It is, thus possible, that this moderate cluster has a lower degree of acceptance of social media infused learning. Further detailed comparison with prior face-to-face learning experience determine

60.6% of students to state that SNSs will affect face-to-face confrontation, while only 16. 5% think that social software learning platforms will replace traditional settings.

Nevertheless, results suggest that 78.9 % would use SNS for learning purposes in the near future, and it is particularly this leap in ratings that should encourage further research. It also shows that students' support needs practical endorsement. Finally, it can be plainly viewed from the data that higher ratings are scored when students are asked to hypothesize about SNSs enhanced language course. There is substantial contrast between agreement and disagreement items, almost all solutions peaking over the 50% mean. A detailed list of activities was provided and according to students, viewing video materials (n=72), solving online exercises and practicing communication skills (n=65), reading and downloading materials, posting and uploading course-related items and feedback (n=54) obtained the strongest level of agreement. These findings clearly show that students are goal-directed, a type of behavior quintessential to social networking interaction, and that their level of involvement is on the increase once they have to switch from a teacher-controlled course design to a more student-controlled environment.

### Conclusions: What Does an Ideal PLE Look Like?

Eventually, the last section of the questionnaire revolved around students' description of an ideal PLE. Elements of social learning populated their overview and they argued a strong case in favor of an environment that promoted: interaction, free access, personalized learning sequences ("you sit comfortably in your chair at home and you complete your tasks, you read or watch an educational video and afterwards you solve a quiz related to the video", someone wrote; or "An ideal PLE would consist of online tests, quizzes, interactive games, surveys, short videos and presentations for each" ), updated tasks archive, teacher and peer feedback, self-evaluation and course evaluation, collaboration. Peer support was also considered a key feature of PLEs and students showed enthusiasm for informal learning contexts where student-teacher relationship is enriched and equalized. As stated previously SNSs are environments that promote positive self-esteem, and a consistent category of students perceived learning through social media integrated PLEs would revert personality traits such as shyness and reduce social anxiety.

The students in the study were also particularly interested in technical aspects of PLEs, and most comments insisted on accessibility,

openness, simple and efficient design, organized, clean layout, readiness, an interface displaying a library of resources, materials and updates. These are extremely valuable inputs from students, considering that they had no previous experience with such learning platforms. Only two mentioned Edmodo and Google Classroom as highly effective models that they have tested and would consider using. These are, in fact, imported traits, remixed to project an ideal PLE. This degree of familiarity - of design, usage, function - should also be at the core of social media integrated PLEs.

Eventually, the aim of this study was to highpoint that the way people learn languages can be transformed using socially oriented software. In order to do this methods and strategies have to be established that take into account learning in social environments, looking at what kind of interactions are taking place and what they mean in terms of language learning, as well as informing us about the technology itself and how we can analyze critically its efficacy. Since this was a descriptive study, our conclusions could only reiterate the need for further research (with a larger students sample, paired by a control group for stronger validity) and for subsequent pilot studies. Further research on the topic should also investigate teachers' perception of the implementation of ESP-PLEs, as there are still important gaps to be bridged regarding their own level of acceptance of ICT infused learning.

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# Implementing Online Collaborative Learning in Teaching English as a Foreign Language. A Pre-service Teacher Training Perspective

RALUCA POP[1]

**Abstract:** This paper intended to point out the salience of digital technology in supporting collaborative learning. It has also emphasized the need to enhance one's digital competence in the context of pre-service teacher training. Technological advancements have changed to a great extent the way in which instruction is provided and the manner in which students can collaborate in the formal educational classroom or in online learning contexts. The use of various online collaboration tools is beneficial for developing problem-solving skills, critical thinking or social skills. Examples of various collaboration tools were provided. The paper also focused on the development of digital competence as a key competence when engaging in online collaborative learning.

**Keywords:** *collaborative learning, collaborative tools, social skills, digital skills, pre-service teacher education, foreign language teaching.*

## Introduction

This paper is comprised of three sections. The first section addresses the significance of digital technology in supporting collaborative learning and emphasizes the need to enhance one's digital competence in the context of pre-service teacher training. The second section intends to focus on the characteristics of online collaborative learning and its instructional applications. Emphasis is laid on understanding how peer interaction is conducive to learning in a pre-service teacher training programme. The last section provides examples of good practice as regards the use of collaborative tools in teaching the course - The Didactics of the English language, in order to engage students in higher order thinking and in developing both knowledge (theoretical and practical) and social skills.

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## Developing digital competence in the context of pre-service teacher training

Teaching is characterized by a high degree of complexity because it integrates a multitude of dimensions and goals that must be addressed simultaneously. Various types of knowledge must be addressed: context, content, information processing or the relevance of the social context in which learning takes place. In addition, teachers need to take into consideration different factors that might influence the teaching process and the interaction patterns that emerge in the classroom. The goals of a teaching sequence are tackled effectively if the teacher is willing to consider "students' thinking, experiences, development and learning processes" (Hammerness et al., 2005, p. 387 in Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005). In this respect, prospective teachers need to reflect, plan and conduct teaching sequences that "constantly integrate their knowledge of child development, of subject matter, of group interactions, of students' different cultures and backgrounds and of their particular students' interests, needs and strengths" (Hammerness et al., 2005, p. 378 in Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005).

A pre-service teacher education programme should strive to develop students' subject-matter knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and knowledge about how learning takes place. Moreover, pre-service teachers need to develop some transversal skills such as: social skills, digital skills, interpersonal skills or intercultural communicative competence. The latest technological advancements have enabled teachers to diversify the way in which planning, instruction and evaluation take place both in the traditional setting and online. New demands have been established in order to accommodate teaching practices to the new 'digital age'. Thus, teachers need to be able to create and make use of online learning materials, to encourage learners to use ICT tools and to involve them in activities that resemble real life situations.

As regards the teaching of a foreign language, digital technology provides students with opportunities to enhance intercultural communicative competence and to develop pragmatic and discourse competence by working with authentic resources. Learning is no longer confined to the physical space of the classroom.

Researchers Hartnett, Brown & Anderson (2014) claim that the emergence of digital technology has determined the student population to undergo some changes in the way students perceive, handle and make use of information. The *Generation Z* learners, born after 1995, are "digital

natives" (Prensky 2001) and prefer to be exposed to experiential learning, to discovery and problem-solving activities, and to the use of technology whenever they engage in learning activities. They want to be involved in experiential learning and to make use of multimodal resources which present information through different channels (audio, video, text or images). In this respect, a good language teacher should always keep himself/herself up to date with technological advancements and should try to design activities that incorporate the right amount of student collaboration (writing wikis, digital storytelling, group work or project work), degree of competition (online evaluation apps, etc.) and a balanced use of learning styles (visual, audio or kinaesthetic).

According to the requirements of the *European Reference Framework* (2006/962/EC) regarding the key competences for lifelong learning, all learners need to develop good digital skills. The foreign language classroom provides a space where both language and digital competence can be improved as a result of using various online learning materials, apps and collaborative tools. Nowadays, it is a prerequisite that a learner should be able to "handle digital technology in order to become autonomous outside the classroom" (Pop, 2019, p. 77). With regard to learners' preference for using digital resources, this can become a trigger for motivation, for increased interest and better exposure to the particularities of a foreign language. Thus, learners should be encouraged to create multimodal resources in order to develop their language competence, (inter)cultural competence and digital skills. By analysing how information is rendered through different channels of communication learners are engaged in an interpretive process that allows them to negotiate new contexts of foreign language use. Digital technology promotes a student-centred approach to learning through its personalized instruction and evaluation. In addition, it "encourages learners to be more responsible and be actively involved in the discovery and learning process" (Pop, 2019, p. 162).

Digital competence is one of the priorities established by the Education & Training 2020 – strategic framework[2]. The aim of ET 2020 is to provide open and innovative education and training by adapting to the requirements of the digital era. Digital competence has gained much emphasis in the last decade because almost every domain of activity requires people to be able to use digital technology to some extent. Therefore, the curriculum of a pre-service teacher education programme should include courses that target explicitly how digital technology can be

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[2] https://www.eunis.org/blog/2015/09/18/education-training-2020-ec-strategic-framework/

used to facilitate different stages of the teaching process (planning, evaluation or classroom management). In addition, ICT tools provide multiple opportunities with regard to learners' various learning styles. The concept of digital competence is explained in the Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning (2006/962/EC) as the confident and critical use of Information Society Technology (IST) for work, leisure, and communication. It implies the skills to use computers in order to retrieve, assess, store, produce, present and exchange information but also in order to communicate and participate in online collaborative networks. Since technology is constantly changing, the foreign language teacher also needs to keep him/herself up to date with diverse ICT tools that are likely to influence and bring a boost of motivation in the classroom.

By using various ICT tools in the foreign language classroom, a part of the social interaction will take place online and thus some classroom management rules must be established so that this virtual medium is included. Questions related to planning and managing a teaching sequence before, during and after the activity must be addressed. Even if learners are knowledgeable of using ICT tools the teacher should still make sure that netiquette rules that regard the use of appropriate communication norms are obeyed. Netiquette is according to Chiles (2016) the "social code of network communication". It refers to the conventional standards of behaviour applied in online media and indicates the proper way for interlocutors to communicate. Thus, when engaging in an activity that takes place in an online environment both teachers and learners should remember that communication should be polite, neutral and not imply sarcasm, comments should not be irrelevant to the thread of the conversation, capital letters should be avoided in written form and that good behaviour online ensures a positive digital footprint. Another aspect to consider is that communication can break down if the instructional context is not safe and does not promote acceptance of different views and opinions of diverse learners, as well as respect and tolerance for cultural differences. A pre-service teacher should keep in mind that communication, be it online or offline always takes place in a socio-cultural context. Learners are diverse in terms of their learning styles and needs, their abilities and motivation level or their backgrounds.

By broadening communication opportunities, ICT tools help learners "enter into the kinds of authentic social discourse situations and discourse communities that they would later encounter outside the classroom" (Warschauer & Kern, 2000, p.5 in Slaouti, 2013, p. 96).

**The underlying principles of collaborative learning**

Collaborative learning is "a pedagogical practice that promotes socialisation and learning among students" (Gillies, 2015) while they engage in peer learning and peer collaboration. Those who advocate for collaborative learning argue that it offers students many "opportunities to learn and develop a greater understanding of others with diverse social, personal, and academic competencies" (Gillies, 2015). In addition, "collaborative learning is beneficial to educational development" (Rutherford, 2014). By engaging in collaborative activity, learners make use of each other's perspectives and experiences to reach a shared understanding of a situation.

Collaborative learning is not a novel idea because as Gaillet (1994, p. 94 in Roberts, 2004, p. vi) indicates, it has been experimented as a method already at the end of the 18$^{th}$ century in philosophy classes at the University of Glasgow. Studies about collaborative learning began to be issued in North America (Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Slarvin, 1996) and Israel (Sharan & Sharan, 1992). Nowadays, it is a concept scattered across many disciplines and discussed worldwide.

Collaborative learning represents a major topic in education and the research that emerged had been included in a variety of fields including "social, cognitive, developmental and educational psychology, instructional design, educational technology, socio-cultural studies and computer-supported collaborative learning" (O'Donnell & Hmelo-Silver 2013, p. 1 in Hmelo-Silver et. al. 2013). Empirical investigation has been conducted in the field of online collaborative learning but because the findings are difficult to replicate due to various variables (classroom size, student background, curriculum etc.) (Roberts, 2004, p. viii) many educators are not convinced of the benefits of peer collaboration.

The acknowledgment of how learning takes place represents the starting point for building the right conditions that are conducive to learning. Grabinger (1996, p. 667 in Roberts, 2004, p. 3) considers that "skills and knowledge are best acquired within realistic contexts" because likewise learners visualize better the goals of learning. Scenarios that include case studies, problem-solving activities and project works enable students to engage in meaningful authentic activities that incorporate the complexity of real-life interactions. Faced with these given contexts, students are required to "analyze and explore the problem situation, articulate a solution and reflect on outcomes and experiences" (Jonassen

1999 in Roberts, 2004, p. 6). Thus, the rote learning of facts is replaced by learning for understanding and enactment. This is why collaborative learning demands from students to be active in their quest for knowledge. According to Hammerness et al. (2005, p. 370 in Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005) a considerable body of research concludes that "learning experiences that support understanding and effective action are different from those that simply support the ability to remember facts". This differentiation relates to lower and higher order thinking (Bloom's Taxonomy) activities and how academic performance can be improved if special attention is placed on the latter.

In learner-centered education the focus on teaching has been replaced with a focus on learning. Consequently, much more emphasis is placed on students' involvement in creating meaning and on being responsible for the discovery of information. In this respect, collaborative learning provides the support to put in practice and apply knowledge that has been gained.

Collaborative learning can take place offline with limited resources: a pen and a paper or no resources at all (in the case of discussions, brainstorming, problem solving, role playing, games, moral dilemmas etc.). Online collaborative learning is learning that is mediated by technology and thus other resources are involved: a PC, Internet connection and access to apps that function as collaborative tools. Digital technology has not been created for the purpose of catering for educating students. Therefore, when incorporating digital technology in education one needs to adapt, change, reorder and delete some of the content made available in order to make it meaningful both to students and to established learning goals.

As regards teacher roles, the teacher acts out many roles whenever a collaborative learning activity is set in practice. Therefore, one role develops into another. Roles such as: a facilitator, a manager, a resource, an organizer or an evaluator provide students with the necessary support in order to accomplish the goals of an activity.

Learning becomes meaningful when the learner acts upon and changes "the input so that the output has a personal meaning, no matter how modest such modifications or productions are in the beginning" (Kohonen, 1992, p. 26). Likewise, learners take an active stand in the learning process. According to Ruben Puentedura and his SAMR model (Puentedura, 2006) learning enhanced by digital technology can reach several stages. The model indicates various stages in which learning transitions from a substitution phase towards a redefinition level. It is in fact a planning tool that provides

teachers with a visual support in order to design better learning activities. The four stages of the SAMR model are indicated below (Hunter, 2015, p. 49):

- *Substitution* – new technology replaces old technology with no functional change.
- *Augmentation* – the use of technology has functional improvements.
- *Modification* – technology is used in order to significantly redesign tasks.
- *Redefinition* – with the help of technology new tasks are available. Their creation would have been impossible without the use of technology.

In the case of the substitution and the augmentation stage, digital technology is not necessary in order to carry out the learning activity. As concerns the modification and the redefinition levels, technology actively transforms the way in which the learning process occurs.

Considering the principles of collaborative learning, teachers should make use of the SAMR model in order to enhance collaboration by using digital technology. This SAMR model can be included in pre-service teacher training programmes as well. Likewise, more emphasis would be placed on understanding the different levels of technology use. Moreover, the application of the SAMR model would promote "collaborative learning, peer support and student discourse" (Fabian & MacLean, 2014 in Alqurashi & Siegelman, 2019, p. 231) thus facilitating peer interaction. In fact, Fabian and MacLean (2014 in Alqurashi & Siegelman, 2019, p. 231) have concluded that before the application of the SAMR model, tablets were mainly used for "content creation, sharing and consumption" and not much focus was placed on learning through interaction and collaboration.

A projection of the SAMR model is indicated below. It regards pre-service teachers:

- *Substitution*: Write a story using Microsoft Office, Prezi, PowerPoint.
- *Augmentation*: Write the story in a wiki and receive feedback.
- *Modification*: Add multimodal resources, hyperlinks, voice, music and images.
- *Redefinition*: Create a digital storytelling and add the story on a blog.

**Characteristics of online collaborative learning**

Collaborative learning aims to maximize one's own learning in relation to the learning performed by a group or a pair. Collaborative learning has various benefits as it fosters relationships, stimulates critical thinking, leads to understanding diversity, reduces anxiety and builds self-

esteem (Panitz 1997 in Roberts 2004, p. vii). When collaborating, learners develop their interpersonal skills in relation to a diverse audience. They become knowledgeable of the opportunity to work together productively and to improve academic performances. Collaborative learning provides experiences that develop good learning skills and encourage students to engage in cognitive and metacognitive thinking. Collaborative learning is said to raise student achievement but research suggested that "group work tends to advantage below average students" (Roberts, 2004, p. vii) as opposed to more able students who perform equally well in groups or when they work alone.

Collaborative learning promotes retention because it focuses more on applying theoretical aspects to practice. By doing so, conceptual explanation is "tied to direct opportunities for inquiry and application" (Hammerness & Darling Hammond, 2005, p. 403). This is beneficial especially in preservice education where immediate opportunities to apply what one has learned significantly change the level of achievement (Angrist & Lavy, 1998; Mason and Good, 1993 in Hammerness & Darling Hammond, 2005, p. 403).

By offering a real-life context in the foreign language classroom, students are likely to relate easier to the situation presented. While sharing and analyzing ideas and perspectives, students strengthen their own learning. Collaborative learning encourages personal responsibility since each individual is held accountable for the success of the whole group. This is a feature that Johnson and Johnson (1991, in O'Donnell & Hmelo-Silver, 2004, p. 4) named as interdependence. It refers to the fact that if one succeeds in accomplishing one's goal then the other members of the group also need to accomplish their goals.

If interaction takes place online across cultural and language barriers, then students are likely to develop their intercultural communication. Online collaborative learning will probably engage students in different projects (tele collaboration, projects delivered using Skype etc.) that would favour collaboration with a diverse group of participants.

Online collaborative learning maintains all the characteristics of offline collaborative learning adding to these some opportunities such as offering instant feedback, providing anonymous comments, incorporating audio-video resources in a presentation or availability of the thread of conversation for further analysis.

Still, according to some researchers, collaborative learning can also have some disadvantages. Even if collaborative learning strives to build

positive relationships among students, teams frequently do not work well. The problems refer to the "free rider" effect (Kerr & Brunn, 1983), the "sucker" effect (Kerr, 1983), the "status sensitivity" effect (Dembo & McAuliffe, 1987) and the "ganging up on the task" phenomenon (Salomon & Globerson, 1987) (Roberts, 2004, p. vii). Other topic areas such as computer science or electronic commerce (Wills, Dermer, McCauley & Null, 1999; Roberts, Jones & Romm, 2000) have not focused so much on including collaborative learning techniques (Roberts, 2004, p. vii).

Table no. 1 below summarizes some of the characteristics of online collaborative learning groups in relation to traditional learning groups:

*Table 1. Traditional learning groups vs. Online collaborative learning groups*

| *Traditional learning groups* | *Online collaborative learning groups* |
|---|---|
| ➢ The learner is responsible only for one's self | ➢ The learner is held accountable for the success of the whole group |
| ➢ The group has one appointed leader | ➢ Leadership is shared |
| ➢ Accomplish the task | ➢ Accomplish the task but also enjoy learning and develop social skills |
| ➢ No interdependence | ➢ Positive interdependence (if one succeeds in accomplishing one's goal then the other members of the group also need to accomplish their goals). |
| ➢ Only some of the learners share their ideas | ➢ All the learners can post instantly their ideas |
| ➢ Less opportunities to engage in a task that brings together participants from a diverse language and cultural background | ➢ More opportunities to engage in collaboration with a diverse group of participants. |

## Collaborative tools

This last section provides examples of good practice as regards the use of collaborative tools in teaching the course *The Didactics of the English language*. This course is delivered to prospective teachers who have enrolled in the pre-service teacher training programme at Babeș-Bolyai University. It aims to engage students in higher order thinking and in developing both theoretical and practical knowledge. In addition, pre-service teachers need to develop some transversal skills: social skills, digital skills or intercultural communicative competence. They are involved in experiential learning, critical thinking and team-teaching. Therefore, in view of the characteristics presented above online collaborative learning can support some of the goals of this course.

Joyce and Showers (2002) consider that teachers go through an iterative process of learning, experimenting and reflecting as they develop

new skills (Hammerness et al., 2005, p. 380). Collaborating learning provides opportunities to develop metacognition skills and of learning from being part of a group that has similar aims.

Several online collaborative tools are used during the course. The first one is *Wiki.* It is a useful collaborative tool for managing virtual teamwork and for knowledge-building. Students see instantly if someone adds new comments to a conversation thread, they can come up with additional pieces of information and all data can be edited in the end. It is an easy to use tool that enables students to demonstrate previously acquired knowledge and how they can engage in information processing and content representations. A lecture about classroom management can include a wiki session in order to utilize students' perspectives and experiences to solve a problem, moral dilemma or just to share understanding of meaning. Table no. 2 indicates examples of a conversation thread on the topic of factors teachers can or cannot control in the foreign language classroom:

*Table 2. Factors teachers can or cannot control in the foreign language classroom*

| FACTORS TEACHERS CAN CONTROL | FACTORS TEACHERS CAN'T CONTROL |
|---|---|
| The use of space in the classroom | The size of the classroom |
| Lesson content | Parents' expectations |
| materials used for teaching | the pace of learning |
| my teaching style (knowing how to behave and teach) | poor student attendance |
| my attitude towards teaching and my students | the time when the teaching takes place (in the morning vs. in the afternoon) |
| the organization of my lesson | the learners' preparation for the class: bringing their notebooks and textbooks and any other required materials to school |
| constantly adapting the teaching style, the rhythm or even the content of the lesson to the students' needs | parents' attitude towards the learning process |
| the methods and approaches used for each lesson | each child's attitude and parents' attitude towars the learning process and the teacher |

All the students from the group had to add comments and afterwards the entire wiki was analysed, discussed and feedback was provided.

Another collaborative tool used during the course is *Padlet.com.* Padlet is an online bulletin board that can be used in the classroom to share images and videos, to gather feedback from others and to share ideas.

Whenever someone is writing on the board created by the teacher, everyone else can provide feedback and add content and make edits in real-time. Image no. 1 represents a screenshot of a board on *Padlet* where students have written examples of ICT tools which can be used in the foreign language classroom.
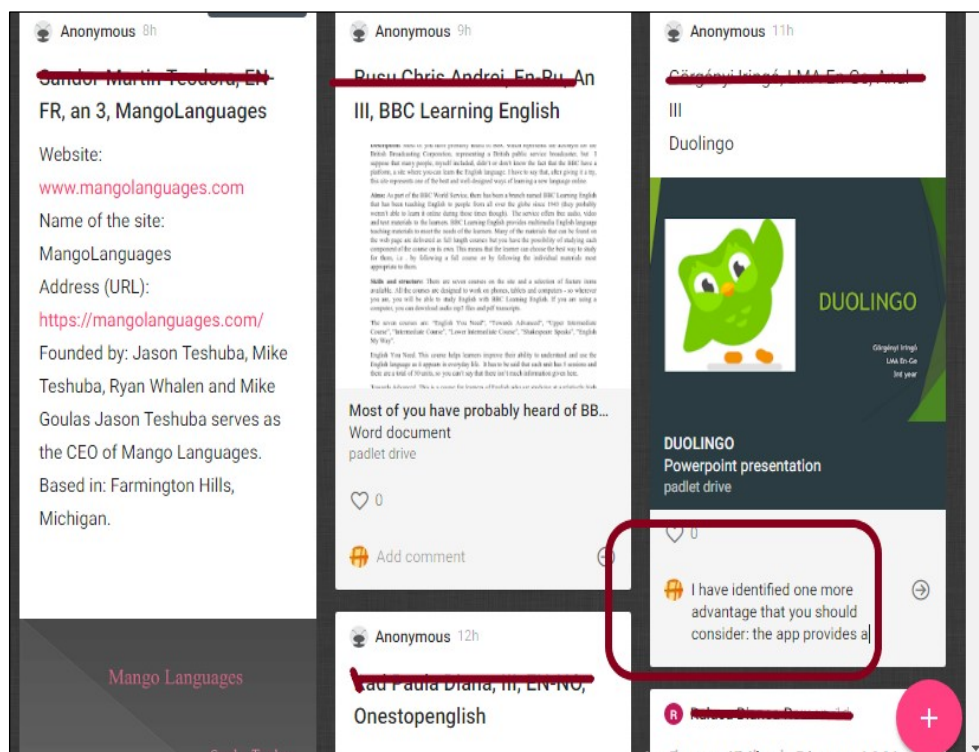


**Fig. 1**. *Use of Padlet in a collaborative manner*

Another collaborative tool used with pre-service teachers is *Draw a stickman* (http://www.drawastickman.com/). Students draw a character (stickman) and follow him/her in an interactive adventure that requires students to be creative and develop their drawing skills. Their story has a plot and some instructions to follow. Students make use of their writing, speaking and reading skills in English while being engaged in this activity. In addition, they develop their social skills, digital skills and negotiation skills as the story progresses. The activity can be organized in small groups or can target the class as a whole. Image no. 2 indicates a screenshot of this collaborative tool.
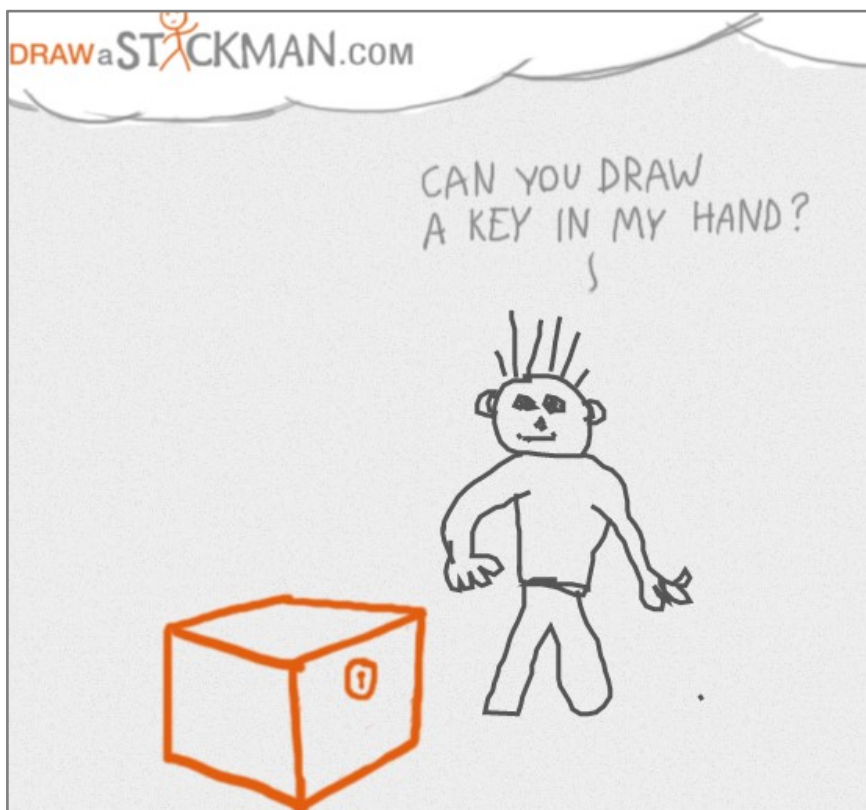
***Fig. 2.*** *Draw a stickman*

The collaborative tools presented above and tested during the course (*The Didactics of the English language*) have been used in order to develop language knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, social skills and critical thinking. They offered the possibility to facilitate discussions in various types of interaction patterns (teacher-student, student-student, students-students). Because the use and purpose of technology have undergone significant changes in the foreign language classroom, teachers need to keep up to date with new technology that mediates learning.

**Conclusions**

This paper provided some examples of good practice that focus on the use of collaborative tools in the context of pre-service teacher training programmes. Characteristics and benefits of collaborative learning have also been included and analyzed. In today's 'Digital Age', learners prefer to engage in discovery and problem-solving activities both in online and offline settings.

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# CLIL and Project-Based Learning (PBL) in Teaching English to Secondary Students

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**Abstract:** Project-based learning is known to be a hugely engaging and impactful pedagogical method, but many teachers are unsure how to put it into practice. Throughout this paper, we will go through the life cycle of a project, starting with the initial idea, including communication with the partner institutions and negotiations to design a common project, and ending with the implementation and evaluation of the project. We will include principles of project work and collaboration, as well as the educational use of various ICT tools that facilitate project work. We will also look at the social aspect of collaborative projects, educational projects being also a meeting place between colleagues and peers, an environment where we can share ideas and participate in various professional development activities. We will also address some of the key challenges in implementing PBL: how to get students to collaborate effectively, how to facilitate student-driven activities, and finally how to assess PBL. To exemplify this process we will use our experience gained in the last 10 years as Project coordinator for different EU funded programmes (LLP and Erasmus+).

**Keywords:** *project-based learning, Erasmus+, 21st century skills, collaborative projects, student-driven activities, assessment.*

## Educational and social context

In traditional schooling in most countries, students do their own work and receive their own grades. Looking at today's paradigm, we see that this model does not prepare them well for the workplace, where they are likely to work in teams with others to accomplish tasks that are too complex for individuals to do on their own. In today's interconnected world of business, real project tasks often require collaboration across offices, companies or with people in a different part of the world. Thus, today's jobs require strong collaboration skills to work productively on a team and to integrate individual expertise and ideas into a coherent solution.

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Education principles have been changing over the last decades. By now, many of us will already be very familiar with doing projects in class, either as a student or as a teacher. However, it is important to remember that there is a difference between "doing projects" and Project Based Learning. The difference is captured by this statement: PBL is all about the process and the learning that happens as part of this process. In other words the project is the main focus. "Doing projects" however, is often an add-on at the end of a topic that has been studied in class, in other words the learning of curriculum content happens before the project work even starts. The project is then the culmination of that work where the students apply their knowledge or delve deeper into the topic.

*What type of skills & competences are developed in students as a result of PBL? What are the biggest challenges we as educators face and who is stopping us from adopting the PBL approach in our classrooms?*

Reflection pause (ask and ponder on the following questions): *What teaching strategy do you use most commonly? What do YOU do most of the time in the classroom? What do the students do most of the time? Do you feel your current approach could be easily complemented with a PBL approach? Do you sometimes have the problem that students don't remember what they "learned" the day before? How do you address this? What works, doesn't work? Why? How do you find out about your student needs and how do you incorporate this knowledge in your teaching?*

According to bie.org, Project Based Learning (PBL) is "teaching method in which students learn by actively engaging in real-world and personally meaningful projects." Students work on a project over an extended period of time that engages them in solving a real-world problem or answering a complex question. They demonstrate their knowledge and skills by creating a public product or presentation for a real audience. As a result, students develop deep content knowledge as well as critical thinking, collaboration, creativity, and communication skills.

*The next step after we* have thought about how PBL corresponds with our current teaching practices is to look at how to implement PBL effectively in our classrooms. There are five key components we need in order to make PBL a success: *Key Knowledge and Understanding, Success Skills (such as* critical thinking, problem solving, collaboration, and making presentations), *Driving Question/ Challenging Problem, Sustained Inquiry, Public Product*[2]. They are all challenging concepts, which is why we will be

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[2]  https://my.pblworks.org/resource/blog/why_we_changed_our_model_of_the_8_essential_ elements_of_pbl

looking at the three most important ones -student-drive, collaboration, and assessment.

## The Driving Question

One of the first steps in preparing a PBL approach is to identify a project question or problem, often referred to as "the driving question". Effectively, this question should be the guiding principle for the entire PBL process that the teachers will go through with their students. The question should be open-ended, engage and inspire students by creating curiosity, and be aligned to the learning goals to be achieved.

John Mergendoller, the Executive Director of the Buck Institute of Education, also highlights the importance of the driving question to trigger critical thinking in students[3]. He identifies a useful criterion to evaluate if the driving question in fact does this: *How straight-forward is it to answer the question by asking Google?* Good driving questions according to Mergendoller are non-Googleable questions.

## Collaboration

"Coming together is a beginning, keeping together is progress, working together is success." (Henry Ford). This quote by Henry Ford already hints at the essence of collaboration: effective collaboration is not easy! It is an activity that rarely happens overnight and that requires careful scaffolding and preparation. At the heart of the PBL process is collaboration, be that as part of a group of students exploring a driving question or be that as part of working with outside actors who can provide meaning and feedback on the students' work. First of all, we should remember that a key goal of PBL is not the project but rather the process of building the project. Learning happens while working on the project. And one of the key things students should be learning as part of this process is effective collaboration.

There is also a very useful framework called 21st Century Learning Design Rubrics[4]. These rubrics offer us a useful tool to self-assess if our learning activities are truly collaborative (p. 4-9). The rubrics identify four/five questions teachers should ask themselves about what happens in their classroom. A key part of PBL is establishing a link to the "real-world."

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[3] http://www.battelleforkids.org/networks/p21
[4] http://fcl.eun.org/documents/10180/14691/5.3x+-+21cld+learning+activity+rubrics+2012.pdf/ e240da11-07c2-4633-a86e-06c12f00d8ad?version=1.0

This link to the "real-world" can be established in different ways but one of the most powerful mechanisms to do this is by involving audiences or partners from outside of the classroom or even better outside of the school**.**

**Assessment**

Assessment should be about "sitting beside someone" (from the Latin word "assidere" meaning "sitting beside"), providing feedback and helping them to improve. Assessment should not only be about giving a grade at the end but it should be an on-going process, where teachers and students alike assess their learning as they work on the projects. Assessment as part of PBL should not only come at the end but should be seen as a learning activity that is embedded throughout the PBL process. It should become a standard feature of any scaffolding activities you might plan for your PBL implementation. I would also like to introduce here the term of peer-assessment. The process of peer assessment or peer review can be a powerful learning activity for the reviewer and the reviewee. But such a form of assessment is not just useful in the context of teachers working with each other but it is equally useful for using with students in the classroom and in particular in a PBL context.

In this context of assessment, the most powerful tool of assessment – rubrics - should be introduced. Rubrics are grading tools that can be used for summative as well as formative assessment and they are also a very useful tool to help students with self- and peer assessment. While they can be used for grading, they should in fact be seen as a learning resource that is used by students throughout their work**.** Rubrics lend themselves especially well for PBL because they can capture a complex range of criteria in an organized and clear way. An online creator of rubrics, free of charge can be accessed here: http://rubistar.4teachers.org/index.php[5]

In the second part of this paper I would like to present two examples of such PBL projects that were implemented under my coordination in Colegiul Tehnic Ana Aslan in Cluj-Napoca, for the duration of two years, 2017-2019. They were both funded under the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union.

**1) Our Common European Tale (Erasmus+ KA2 Project)**
*Website: https://our-common-european-tale.webnode.hu/*
The basic concept of the project was to create more understanding between the nations of the European Union by exploring the common

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[5] http://rubistar.4teachers.org/index.php

cultural roots in folk culture. Beside getting to know each other's folk culture and staging a play based on one of the folktales of the host country during the student exchanges, the participants engaged in drama pedagogical workshops, used state-of-the-art IT tools and platforms to share their feelings, views or thoughts to each other. With the help of this project, the students and the teachers left their comfort zones, explored new territories of teaching, learning, co-operation and sharing ideas, experienced the wonder of learning to use their creativity. With the help of acting and theatre, they explored and developed new personal characteristics that might have been hidden before in them. They became more understanding, co-operative, self-confident, independent and mature citizens of their country and of the European Union.

Based on the Aarne-Thompson-Uther classification of folk tales, the partners worked on the following topics during each short-term student exchange: 1. Animal Tales - Hungary 2. Tales of magic - Croatia 3. Religious tales - Denmark 4. Realistic tales - ITALY 5. Tales of the stupid ogre - Portugal 6. Anecdotes and jokes –Romania. Each partner had to adapt the chosen folk-tale for the stage. The participants of the given mobility had to work with this script. Furthermore, each partner had to choose a national folk-tale and make a short film about it. The short films were screened during the last mobility in Romania. The final collaborative effort of the partners was "Our Common European Tale", which was written by each partner during the 2$^{nd}$ year. The tale's structure was divided into segments and each partner wrote one segment.

Although most of the schools taking part in this project were scientific in the field of expertise, they all wished to provide their students a varied and colourful learning/teaching environment where their students could be challenged, motivated and their talents could be nurtured. The partners believed that in our modern world it is not enough if one knows their profession very well, the young adults of the 21$^{st}$ century need to adapt to the challenges of the ever-changing world profession very well. They must develop their interpersonal and intrapersonal skills to be able to compete successfully on the labour market. They are less and less motivated of the traditional teaching environment where the teacher stands in front of them and talks about a topic. They must be challenged to leave their comfort zones, overcome their boundaries and try something new. If they are presented something new and challenging, most of them are willing to take part in it simply because it is something extraordinary. Being part of this project presented them this new and challenging environment and they

gladly took part in it. The project was also innovative since it focused on interactivity, interdisciplinarity and peer-to-peer co-operation in each and every stage of it.

The participating teachers had the opportunity to renew or refresh their interest and motivation in the teaching profession, to work with their students in a completely different environment, develop their IT skills and competences and when they returned to everyday, ordinary teaching, they used these newly acquired skills. During the mobilities and the implementation period, the partners were in contact with and asked the help and assistance of local theatres, theatre companies, drama instructors, drama pedagogical groups, museums and people of the academia. They helped to stage and perform the plays, provided the venues for the performances or held lectures about the current topic. The participants visited certain sites related to the folk-tale culture of the host country (e.g. open-air museums, museums of ethnography) and on several occasions, visited the backstage of theatres.

During each mobility, the foreign students were hosted by students and families of the host school. This way the family members also benefitted from the project since they were acquainted with other cultures and could practice foreign language. There were around 4000 students involved in this project from all partner schools so we could anticipate at least another 4000 parents and friends that were impacted.

2) **FOCUS – Developing learning, life and interpersonal skills through a new FOrm-teaching CUrricula for Secondary students (Erasmus+ KA2 Project)**
*Website: https://twinspace.etwinning.net/44341/home*

The academic performance of students all over the world is due to a combination of factors/skills both on both the educational and personal level. Although the present curricula on Guidance and Counseling ("dirigenție" in Romanian or Guidance and Career Counseling) is designed to tackle issues such as learning, managing and coping with emotions, time management, financial issues, finding the right job and having a healthy lifestyle, the lessons and other teaching materials are very few. At the moment of writing the application there were no coursebooks available in the partner countries specifically designed for these classes. Usually, the form-teachers were the ones that needed to compile materials from different sources in order to be able to approach these issues. Considering all these

aspects, our project came to support both teachers and students to accomplish their teaching and learning needs.

The main objective of our partnership was to develop a series of 30 lessons based on 10 topics (3 lessons/topic) to be implemented during the classes of Guidance and Counseling, Social Sciences, English throughout the two years. There were 5 partner schools from Romania, Greece, Denmark and Poland. The direct beneficiaries were: 2000 students, age 14-18 who learnt in the partner schools, their form teachers (to a total of 80 form teachers and school counsellors) and also the management positions that benefited from exchanges of good practices in educational management. Another 5200 indirect beneficiaries were identified through the dissemination and valorisation activities held by the 5 partner schools.

Our objectives were:

1 - Develop, test and implement innovative practices relating to: new curricula, teaching materials & tools and course on Guidance and Counseling for 2000 high school students in the partner schools;

2 - Strengthen teaching skills and professional development by attending Staff-Training courses, exchanging good practices, carry out peer learning activities and workshops, learning and teaching methodologies and pedagogical approaches, with a focus on guidance, counseling and coaching methods and tools, improving language skills and the use of ICT;

3 - Facilitate recognition and certification of skills and competences by using EU validation instruments;

4 - Promote cooperation between schools from 4 different European countries in order to support strategic development and school internationalization through projects;

5 - Promote school success and combat early-school leaving;

6 - Promote active European citizenship & social inclusion.

Tasks were equally shared by all partners in producing the teaching materials and hosting one transnational meeting/Staff Training and one short-term exchange of pupils. All partners agreed on offering hosting in families for the students.

The *applied methodology* was as following: each partner prepared the materials for one topic/year. During the short-term staff training, each partner brought the teaching materials that they prepared and held one-day workshops to teach the other participants. Each topic was taught in one day. Each day included an evaluation and a round up time in which participants reflected upon their teaching and methods and ways of improving them. The

final form of the materials presented was drafted. The main methods we used were: peer-learning, project-based learning and CLIL.

Each partners school chose 2 topics (one for each year) to prepare the teaching materials and the 6 lessons, as follows:

1. Learning Styles and how to make the most of them – Colegiul Tehnic Ana Aslan, Romania;
2. The Learning Process: Learn-Revise-Learn Again – Greece;
3. Efficient Communication – Denmark;
4. Bullying and Teamwork – Poland;
5. Time and Money Management – Seminarul Teologic Ortodox, Romania;
6. Manage and Cope with Emotions and Stress – Greece;
7. Emotional Intelligence – Denmark;
8. Present Hobby, Future Career? – Poland;
9. Creativity and Problem Solving - Seminarul Teologic Ortodox, Romania;
10. Making your life green – Colegiul Tehnic Ana Aslan, Romania.

All partners felt that they contributed equally in terms of time and financial resources.

Dissemination and exploitation of results were an ongoing part of our project throughout its lifetime: from the initial idea, during the project's implementation and even after the project ended.

The project end products were: the Guidance and counseling course on Life, Learning and Communication Skills, called FOCUS comprising of the 30 lessons (3 lessons/topic); the project website on the etwinning platform (public Twinspace) where all the materials, lessons etc are available and free of charge; the digital book.

The most spectacular outcomes were the non-tangible results: overall improvement of school performance (marks, willingness to perform, improved truancy/dropout statistics); teachers developed appropriate instructional strategies to help students achieve the curriculum expectations; teachers benefited from professional development; teachers got familiar with new innovative teaching methods; the schools' public image in the local community improved; headmasters worked to support and encourage partnerships between the school and the broader community; the project activities enabled students to better customize their high school education and improve their prospects for success in school and in life; students motivation to learn and improve themselves increased; students better managed their time, resources, relationships; students became more confident, more

motivated, and more effective learners and learnt how to better identify their competencies.

There are several reasons why we consider this project to be an innovative one: the national curricula in the 4 countries (Romania, Greece, Poland and Denmark) include classes of guidance and counseling but they do not include real, actual coursebooks on Life skills, Interpersonal skills and Learning how to learn with lessons, teaching strategies and methods. Thus, the content of the lessons is left at the decision of each form teacher. This leads to a variety of results, not always positive (for example, students learn mechanically and with a high level of stress, physiological and/or psychological problems, early school leaving, truancy or dropout as well as confusion regarding their future life and jobs). Thus we produced a coursebook for Guidance and counseling classes, with a cross-curricular approach, based on the national curricula and which was already piloted in all 5 schools and had pervasive results which proved that the coursebook topics' implementation was a success both from the teachers' and students' point of view.

The project was also innovative since it focused on interactivity, interdisciplinarity and peer-to-peer co-operation in each and every stage of it. The basic concept of the project was to create

more understanding between the nations by seeing that although we speak different languages and have different cultures, the students' needs in terms of guidance and counseling, of learning styles, life skills, interpersonal skills is the same all over Europe. Besides getting to know each other during the Blended Mobility periods, the participants at transnational mobilities were engaged in pedagogical workshops and used state-of-the-art IT tools and platforms to share their experiences views or thoughts to each other. With the help of this project, the students and the teachers left their comfort zones, explored new territories of teaching, learning, co-operation and sharing ideas.

With the help of project-based learning and debate, they explored and developed new personal characteristics that might have been hidden before in them. They became more understanding, co-operative, self-confident, independent and mature citizens of their country and the European Union.

In addition, the participating teachers had the opportunity to renew or refresh their interest and motivation in the teaching profession, to work with their students in a completely different environment, develop their IT skills and competences and when they returned to everyday, ordinary teaching, they used these newly acquired skills.

The project was complementary to our previous activities, where the students were always encouraged to volunteer in different community projects which developed some social skills. This project was also complementary to the national curricula because it was based on the development of three major areas:

- *Teaching/learning skills* because students developed learning and thinking skills and strategies, they discovered how to manage their own learning and acquired knowledge and skills that they can transfer to a variety of situations related to learning, work, and daily life. By attending staff-training events and preparing the teaching scenarios, teachers challenged their previous knowledge and methods and had a chance to learn from each other best practices. Both students and teachers learnt about the importance and transferability of the essential skills and became actively involved in developing and applying them in preparation for their work. Students practiced selected essential skills in authentic situations, using real workplace materials, both at school and in the community.

- *Life/interpersonal skills* because students developed their ability to describe and assess their personal strengths and interests, and to use their knowledge of themselves to help them focus on education, career, and life goals. Students learnt the components of effective decision making and applied them to develop plans, act on those plans, and evaluate and modify those plans as required. Students also developed the personal-management skills needed for success in work, learning, and life.

- *Communication skills* because both students and teachers developed the knowledge and skills necessary for effective communication, teamwork, and leadership. They learnt how to get along with others at school, in the workplace, and in the community. They learnt about the importance of understanding diversity and respecting others, and they became actively involved in contributing to their communities.

## Conclusions

At schools educational system level, the projects based on the PBL approach triggered modernisation and reinforced the response of education to the main challenges of today's world: employment, economic stability and growth. Furthermore, they also promoted social, civic and intercultural competences, intercultural dialogue, democratic values and fundamental rights, social inclusion, non-discrimination and active citizenship, critical

thinking and media literacy. Therefore, it allowed schools to develop and reinforce networks, increase their capacity to operate at transnational level, share and confront ideas, practices and methods but they also increased quality of education for all students, including those at disadvantage and improved provision and assessment of basic and transversal skills, particularly: social, civic, intercultural and language competences, critical thinking, digital skills and media literacy.

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http://rubistar.4teachers.org/index.php

# Genres for Everyone:
# The Particularization of Genre Acquisition in Art Higher Education

ANDA-ELENA CREȚIU[1]

**Abstract:** A needs analysis performed in order to decide what the syllabus for Art English should comprise revealed that certain genres are more suitable for the art students, while others seem to be more appropriate for the students of the History and Theory of Art program. Since one of the most important goals of teaching and learning ESP in higher education is that of preparing students for their future careers, the teacher should consider the different particularities of the target groups and adapt both the syllabus and the teaching-learning methods accordingly. A previous study on the use of some online genres (artist blog and website) by art students revealed that they understand and appreciate both the value of such contemporary tools and the important role the English language plays in this context, meanwhile welcoming the newer methodological approach of blended learning. The success this method has scored for about 10 years now is encouraging the ESP teacher to also adopt it for the newer program of The History and Theory of Art, with a focus on certain specific genres (art news, art review), while also efficiently making use of those employed by their art colleagues.
**Keywords:** *ESP, needs analysis, genres, Art English.*

## Premises

Experience has proven that the teaching of foreign languages in the context of higher education necessarily presupposes an inspired approach to the motivations and purposes for which these languages are used by the students as future professionals in their specific fields of activity. This aspect brings into discussions the specificity of the language being taught/studied; therefore, the natural approach should be the ESP one. Any conscious attempt to devise an efficient curriculum for the teaching of a certain specific language starts with a realistic needs analysis, followed by the decision to adopt one or more linguistic and pedagogical approaches. There is no general ESP, but situation-specific ESP, since the social context

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of each class is different, the learning goals, the teaching materials, the methodologies, the activities, the types of assessment are different, as suggested by An Cheng (2011, p. 45). All these give shape to the "what" and the "how" of any ESP course and can only be efficient if the first step of a needs analysis had been taken. In fact, they are interdependent overlapping aspects of a cyclical process in which needs analysis intervenes at each level (Dudley-Evans and St. John: 1998, p. 121). Hyland (2006, p. 73) describes needs analysis as a system of techniques through which the teacher collects relevant information for the course design, as a continuous process, permanently adapted to the real situations (learners' goals, their backgrounds, their language proficiencies, reasons, learning preferences, the contexts in which they will use the language, etc.)

The history of needs analysis in the context of ESP is quite long. Lynne Flowerdew (2013, pp. 326-329) mentions its most relevant moments, starting simply, in the 70's, with teachers' intuitions and informal analyses of their students' needs, evolving and re-shaping itself through time, from target situation needs to a model defined by the Council of Europe for language proficiencies of adults working in different countries, or, focusing on the different functions performed in a communicative syllabus design, on skills (the traditional 4 and some specific ones) in a skill-based design, or, as present-situation analysis (focusing on the students "lacks" and "wants"), evolving from lexicostatistical analyses of scientific prose and grammar structures to task-based analyses, from register to rhetoric. In the '90s, the interest shifted to a genre-analytic perspective, a complex perspective, encompassing so many previous aspects, while putting them to work as social-rhetorical constructs of genres, in a more efficient manner, to serve the goals of the different discourse communities.

As for the sources used to gather the necessary information, they range from published and unpublished literature, learners themselves, teachers, applied linguists, field experts, and triangulated sources, while methods consist of inductive and deductive procedures, based on, respectively, expert intuitions, participant and nonparticipant observation, unstructured interviews, surveys and questionnaires, structured interviews and, less commonly, criterion-referenced performance tests. Gaining the insider's view through collecting ethnographically oriented information, text-based analyses of the target genres, and corpus-based methodologies add up to the previously mentioned ones. (Flowerdew, 2013, pp. 329-330).

For the results to be valid and reliable, Hyland recommends 3 types of action from the ESP specialist:

> Triangulation. Conclusions are developed using a range of data sources, research methods or investigators.

Prolonged engagement. The use of repeated observation and collection of sufficient data over a period of time.
Participant verification. The analysis is discussed with participants and its "reality" verified by them.
Hyland (2006, p. 68, quoted in Flowerdew, 2013, p. 330)

Another important aspect to think about when performing a needs analysis for an ESP course in the context of higher education is to consider both the context of academia and that of future professions. In other words, the content of the course should address both the goals of the students in pursuit of academic degrees and their goals as (future) functional professionals in certain fields. A number of mismatches have been reported between EAP (English for Academic Purposes) courses and EOP (English for Occupational Purposes) demands and recommendations have been made to solve some such instances.

Among the future developments of the needs analysis in the context of ESP, Flowerdew (2013, p. 340) distinguishes two important forces that will most certainly gear its directions: technologization and transnationalization. Globalization has propelled English as a *lingua franca*. So have developments in technological and communication innovation. The Internet communication prevails, including here millions of workplaces. Multimodal corpora are being continuously shared via the Internet. It only comes naturally that ESP courses should be delivered that way, too, and benefit from the new technologies. In this respect, CMC (computer-mediated communication) is "an appealing and accessible but still largely unexamined means of motivating both oral and literate L2 proficiencies" (Belcher, 2006, p. 149).

Online technologies have penetrated education at all levels, its tertiary level included. For example, as a study by Querol-Julian and Camiciotolli (2019, p. 2) notices, university lecture has been evolving in response to the new realities. The virtual lecture is a combination of tradition and innovation. The most important impact on this genre appears to be that of the online instructional technologies and the rise of the English-medium instruction. Lecture formats have evolved, inducing certain behaviors in both teachers and learners. The authors mention however the problem of lecture comprehension, caused most probably by the low level of proficiency of both students and instructors, and by the specialized vocabulary. Lecture, as an academic genre, is analyzed in the context of EMI (English Medium Instruction) and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). Some researchers and practitioners use the terms interchangeably, but the two authors consider them as distinct, since the EMI programs focus on content only, while the CLIL programs promote both content and language learning.

Some aspects found by the two researchers refer to the impact of ESP on the two types of learning, to the relationship between content and language, between linguistic and academic skills, to the problem of lecture comprehension and its relationship with the level of English proficiency or, to the teachers as native or non-native speakers.

Bloch (2013, p. 385) considers the role the new technologies have played and continue to play in the developments of ESP. He mentions their help with the traditional types of learning and the opportunity they offer as a space of creating new forms of communicating synchronically or asynchronically (with oral, literate, and visual modes of discourse). Breeze (2013, pp. 41-66) uses the semantic tagging tools provided by Wmatrix3 (as a corpus linguistic tool) to investigate the discourse of corporate annual reports to shareholders from leading UK-based companies in four sectors: pharmaceuticals, food, mining, and finance. However, while many learners may be familiar with the new technologies, more often than not their use for the goals of the ESP classroom may not be as familiar. "Therefore, directly teaching these technologies may again be necessary. Students and teachers may need to create blogs and Facebook pages, as well as to communicate with each other via Twitter and email, in order to learn the discoursal strategies most suitable for use with these technologies" (Breeze, 2013, p. 386). Their impact and value as a tool for language learning, as a source for the authentic materials the ESP teacher needs to exploit (paying attention to intellectual property issues!!), as a place to publish and share one's work cannot be neglected. It appears though that these technologies can only be efficient if they are used to serve the specific needs of the language learners and if they are carefully chosen by the ESP teachers, who, in their turn, may feel overwhelmed by the number and the great variety of the resources. Continually adapting to evolving technologies remains one of the greatest challenges for ESP practitioners.

Since the seminal work of John Swales (1990), genres and genre analysis have occupied a central place in ESP research and practice. If back then he argued that the key role in defining a genre and in placing a text under the umbrella of one genre or another was the communicative purpose, in time, he refined and remodeled the theory, to encompass more aspects to be considered. A genre may have multiple communicative purposes, depending on their users; these purposes may evolve with time, they may change, shrink, or expand; they may be culture specific, as well. ESP research describes the discourse structure of the genre-texts as a sequence of moves (consisting of a number of steps). More recently, the interest shifted from the pure linguistic approach to a larger context, in which genres play social roles which shape their communicative purposes and structure;

technology was also introduced to enlarge the corpora as a basis for more reliable generalizations. Many ESP studies of the discourse structure of a number of genres point to the classic CARS (*create a research space*) model offered by Swales (1981, 1990), in his analysis of the research article introduction; some of these studies try to distinguish cultural variations of the model, other studies analyze such complex academic genres like theses and dissertations, or professional genres (Bhatia's work—*Analyzing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings,* 1993— is yet another ESP landmark); more recently ESP researchers have focused on how language is used differently across disciplines and genres; large corpora have been gathered to discern reliable genre-specific language features; multimodality has been studied in the context of genre instantiations (as Prior, 2013: 220 mentions, there are different acceptations of multimodality in the contexts of ESP, starting with the four modes/skills of reading, writing, listening, to the digitally-driven new media such as digital film, computer animation, digital photography, computer aided graphs, diagrams, and illustrations and such new genres as blogs, home pages, press-releases, websites, or to the design of semiotic objects as, for example, the interaction of visuals and language); another point of interest has been the birth of new genres, made possible by the new era technologies, or the changes occurring in some paper-based genres when transferring online; combined and complex analyses have been done on multimodal discourse in the new digital genres (Hafner, 2018: 15-42).

Genre-based ESP teaching has widely spread lately (in spite of some criticism concerning the fixed patterns in academic writing). In order to avoid prescribed formulae for students' writing, some believe that they should rather be taught about genres in order for them to understand the mechanisms involved in the appearance of genres and the role they play inside and for the various discourse communities. Obviously, the focus of the teachers should be placed on the specific context their students belong to. Drawing upon their knowledge of the genres in general and of the particular genres used by the discourse community they belong (or, will belong) to, students will be able to consciously and creatively produce their own genre instantiations (texts).

## ESP and Art Higher Education (a case study)

Teaching and learning a foreign language (English) in the context of higher education cannot be separated from ESP. In fact, the ESP approach seems the only natural choice, in terms of efficiency. It starts with determining the real needs and purposes of the learners. Based on these, the teacher can devise a curriculum and proper methods to implement it.

A first step taken in that direction has been defining who the learners are, since there is a certain variety in the context of art higher education. There are art students proper (painters, sculptors, graphic artists, photographers, ceramists, textile artists), art pedagogy students, conservators-restorers, designers (fashion designers included), art theorists and historians.

Given this variety, the teacher must discern which needs and purposes are common to all of them and which are distinct for each smaller group. Based on such methods as questionnaires, direct conversations with students, art teachers, artists, on personal research, and a three-decade experience in this field, a certain scheme of the needs for learning Art English has come out. We can speak, on the one hand, about the in-training academic needs, and, on the other, about the (future) professional needs. Among the academic purposes, the following have been mentioned: students need to be able to read specialized texts in English, listen to lectures given in this language (by visiting professors, or when they study at a partner university, as Erasmus + students, or when they watch audio-video materials about art and art history on the Internet); they should be able to speak about art (with foreign teachers and students) and write about art (when studying abroad, or whenever they are asked to deliver their materials in English). The art students also mentioned their need to obtain good results at the language tests they take for different purposes. Learning English (for art purposes) was perceived as a necessity for the (future) professional needs and purposes such as applying for jobs, making offers, applying for international contests, for fellowships, internships, grants, selling own art. Access to information was also mentioned as a very strong need together with using the different technologies and media. Last but not least, understanding and appreciating different cultures, while functioning in foreign contexts were taken into consideration.

Once the needs and purposes were identified, the necessity for an effective Art English syllabus became the next challenge to fit in the larger university curriculum, since the UAD (University of Art and Design of Cluj-Napoca) students study English for two years: there is only one seminar hour per week in the first year and a one-hour course + one-hour seminar, in the second). In order to combine academic and professional needs and purposes, the following solutions have been applied: the first-year students would mainly exercise reading and listening about art, while the second-year students would learn and practice speaking and writing about art, mostly. The materials for practicing were chosen according to their more particular interests. There are, for example, art history texts (written and /or listened to) on painters, paintings, sculptors, sculptures, etc.; there are also texts dealing with their studio practice. The first-year students are also asked to survey the Internet for art events just taking place all over the world and bring the new

information in class, where they share it with their colleagues. The most suitable method to deal with the second-year syllabus content was considered to be applied genre analysis. A number of genres pertaining to the artistic discourse community have been identified, classic and new(er); students are supposed to learn what genres are, what their role is in the context they are part of, how they function to fulfill certain communicative purposes of the members of that community. Following some short theoretical insights, a number of genre-texts are studied in class so as to discern their genre features and to understand exactly how these texts answer communicative purposes (what discourse strategies are involved, what language particularities, etc.). After that, students are encouraged to produce their own texts, for their own specific communicative purposes.

A key role in this pursuit has been granted to blended learning. This method has become a necessity since time is never enough to perform all intended activities in class. Students always need more practice, at their own pace, according to their preferences, schedules, etc. In the era of the new technologies, they can do it at home, on their computers (or in the library). Therefore, students have been offered the opportunity to practice reading and listening about art (1st year) on readingaboutart.blogspot.com. They can choose any of the tasks proposed there, read and listen to the texts, at their own paces, using dictionaries, playing the listening materials as many times as they need to, then solve the exercises as comments under each post. *Art in Transylvania* is another blog conceived especially for the students in art history and theory (ITA) (andacretiu4ITA.blogspot.com). This is the place where the first-year students post their first genre-texts of art news; they are supposed to write short texts about exhibitions and other art events they attend during the academic year, using as models other such texts they have read on the Internet. Once presented in class, the piece of news is posted on the blog, too. The second-year ITA students will also contribute with other genre-texts (e.g. reviews of the exhibitions they attended). *English for Art* (andacretiu.blogspot.com) is the third blog, conceived for all second-year students. Here they find both schemes of the theoretical course given in class (as an online course support) and a number of tasks proposed to better understand the studied genres. There are also writing tasks conceived as short comments (at least one paragraph) on the studied genre-texts and on a number of documentaries about art masterpieces watched and discussed in class. The full genre-texts they are supposed to produce, after studying each genre, are presented in short in-class and handed in as printed materials or sent in Word format via email (as seminar tasks and/or as the semester project) and graded. All online activities are taken into consideration and incentives are offered (they receive extra points added to the semester grade). The content of each blog is adapted to the desired outcome(s) and to the devised syllabus.

**The particularization of genre acquisition (a case study)**
Following years of personal research of the genres used by the artistic discourse community, a certain particularization of genre acquisition was considered a better solution for the Art English syllabus, as both theory and practice. Despite some schedule-related constraints, the smaller groups of students approach the most specific genres. Of course, there are genres all art students are supposed to be aware of and be able to use, while some are specific for certain groups.

The method of applied genre analysis has been implemented, starting with only some general theoretical aspects of the genre features. Students are supposed to understand that genres are communicative events taking place in social and professional contexts. They also need to know what communicative purpose(s) each genre fulfils; that the moves and steps are meant to give a genre-text a logical structure, performing certain functions; that once they know what a genre can do, they are entitled to creatively change the standard structure for their own rhetorical purposes; that they can use a number of rhetorical strategies to obtain the effects they need (while some strategies are more typical for some genres).

A genre (overlapping academic and professional needs) all the art students need to appropriate is the formal analysis. The genre presupposes being able to observe, understand, speak, and write about a work of art. Analyzing a work of art means describing and interpreting the most relevant deconstructed elements of that work, in order to discern which they are, what they may mean, how they interact to create the whole. In doing this, whether in speech or in writing, the students will employ all the necessary art-specific vocabulary and all linguistic competences; previous knowledge of the English grammar (morphology, syntax) and semantics is now integrated in the larger construct, following the logical sequence of the steps and moves, according to the communicative purpose of this specific genre. They will notice that there are some dominant linguistic choices for the discourse strategies of describing and interpreting the elements of the work of art they want to focus on. This time they will not have to give the definition of the noun, or the adjective, for example, but to simply use them, so that they should offer a clear picture of what can be seen in that work of art, while semantics may encourage them to make all sorts of speculations concerning the meanings of what they have just described.

Other (sub)genres they all study, for academic purposes, are the expository essay, the argumentative essay, and the compare and contrast essay (the block & point-by-point move-patterns), as critical essays. The latter proves quite helpful in the context of the arts, where comparison is an efficient and powerful tool for the research of works of art, of art

movements, of art features, artists, etc. The genre-texts studied to illustrate them refer to art. Actually, most of the texts have been written by former second-year students, as their semester projects.

The research paper, a science genre, is less specific to art higher education (except for the ITA program). Art students are not asked to write many seminar papers based on their personal research on a specific subject. Instead, their tasks may consist of critical essays of different types. Still, it is mentioned here, since their BA theses, MA dissertations, Ph.D. theses/ dissertations are to be instances of this genre (with a number of particularities determined by the art context).

The first-year ITA students make contact with the art news, as a subtype of the journalistic genre/s (Errami, 2016:35-49; de Melo & de Assis, 2016:49) of the news. They are only offered some general guidelines to the news writing, without insisting too much on the genre features and they are encouraged to read (online) as many pieces of art news as possible before writing their own. The artistic events they are supposed to write about are the ones they attended. The most important feature they need to focus upon is the objective and informative approach of their writing, that is, the" Who, What, Where, When, Why, How" of the respective event. The headline of the news needs to be catchy enough to attract attention, while the text itself should move from the most important aspect(s) to the less/least important one(s). After composing the news text, they will present it in class; their colleagues (under the teacher's guidance) will decide if the piece of news was well written, whether it offered the exact amount of information the public needed about that specific art event, whether it was objective enough while still offering some hints about the value of the art involved. The next step is the publication of the text on the weblog dedicated to the ITA students. (see fig. 1,2,3)



*Figure 1.* *Piece of art new by 1ˢᵗ year ITA student*

**SUBSTRAT, ARTRNEWS BY LAURA CARPOV-HRITAC, 1ST YEAR, ITA**

This year, the Art History and Theory students and those from the Graphics department at our university are organising exhibitions together. The first exhibition to mark this collaboration was *SUBstrat*. It took place at H33, a social hub in Cluj-Napoca, from 20 to 24 May. The title of the exhibition is a wordplay, highlighting the location choice and the theme of the artworks. The title literally translates as *substrate*. The capital letters in the title make up the Romanian word *sub* which translates as *under*. The location was a basement, with artworks depicting the under layers of the nowadays society.

The exhibition was curated by two BA students from the Department of Art History and Theory, Oana Dico and Sînziana Stănese. Those who exhibited at *SUBstrat* were twelve BA second-year students from the Graphics department: Adela Aldea, Lucian Barbu, Ovidiu Comanici, Adina Constantin, Sorina Crișan, Manu Harutyunian, Claudiu Daniel Iuga, Anke Renaud, Codrin Șotea, Sebastian Ștefan, Anca Vatavu and Alexandra Vasilescu.

The group of second-year Graphics department students put on display various works, from etchings to art installations. Colourful and witty, the artworks show the students' creativity and skill, proving that they are not afraid to explore both new and traditional artistic mediums. The opening of *SUBstrat* was crowded with students from Cluj-Napoca University of Art and Design, who came to admire the artworks and congratulate their colleagues.

**Figure 2.** *Piece of art news by 1st year ITA student*



**EUROPEAN NIGHT OF MUSEUMS, ARTNEWS BY ALEXANDRA CHARTIN, 1ST YEAR ITA**

The European Night of Museums took place this year on the 18th of May. Twenty cultural institutions kept their doors open until midnight, allowing the public free entry in an effort to raise awareness about the museum and its activities. The European Night of Museums takes place every year around the world.

One of the main locations was the Art Museum of Cluj-Napoca, institution which first opened its doors in 1956, and since then has attracted the public with its vast collection, notably on the Romanian art of the last century.

The public got to roam inside the multiple salons and exhibitions, soaking in the culture of the last centuries and assisting to artistic moments performed by the choreography section at „Gh. Dima" Arts and Music Highschool. Collaborations between the Art Museum and the History of Arts section of The University of Art and Design (UAD) offered a complete experience to the public, from carefully edited texts based on the artworks presented, accompanied by videos in which the students reimagined the famous paintings, to activities involving both students and children, aimed to educate the younger generation about museums and art. The night's program attracted over 20.000 people, including families, students and famous personalities of the Cluj artistic scene.

The evening was a true success, especially for the History of Art students, who learned first-hand what organizing an event of such proportions really means. All the preparation, work and sweat finally paid off when the first visitors entered, and watching

**Figure 3.** *Piece of art news by 1st year ITA student*

The second-year ITA students study all the genres mentioned above, while special attention is paid to the genre of the art review. This is a complex genre, partly belonging to journalism, and partly to art criticism. The theoretical course dedicated to this genre reveals the fact that it serves a wide range of communicative purposes, both immediate and in perspective, it addresses the general public, especially, but also the specialized one, it makes use of different channels, it may have a variety of authors, it offers the possibility of a rich number of discourse strategies, it may positively or negatively evaluate the art event/works; the students need to understand how important this genre is for their future professions. After reading and analyzing two such texts, one a positive review, the other a negative one, the students are encouraged to produce their own reviews of the exhibitions they attended. These texts are corrected by the teacher (grammar, vocabulary, rhetorical structure, etc.), discussed with the students, then sent via email to be published on the same blog dedicated to the ITA students. They are assessed and are part of the semester final grade. It often happens that the same art event is referred to both in a piece of art news (written by a first-year student), and in an art review (written by a second-year student) (see fig. 4).



*Figure 4.* Art review by 2nd year ITA student

If for the 2$^{nd}$ year ITA students the purpose of studying this genre is to offer them the know-how to produce a well-written account of an exhibition, as part of their future jobs, for the art students is to make them understand what a critic is interested in when reviewing their shows (and, therefore, act in consequence).

Other specific genres both the ITA students and the art students will make use of in their future careers are the exhibition catalog, the exhibition label, leaflet, and card. In fact, most probably, they will work together to produce such instances. The exhibition catalog is designed by the organizer of the exhibition (curator), who uses reproductions of the artists' works as illustrations. The works are critiqued, explained to the public, evaluated; sometimes artist statements are used to do that. The leaflets and cards are promotional materials, while labels are attached to the exhibited works to offer the viewer important information which is supposed to help him/her better understand and appreciate those works. Therefore, the purpose of studying these specific genres concerns the ability of future professionals in the field to produce the most relevant and effective texts for such materials.

The second-year art students will also focus on the artist('s) statement and résumé and on two online genres: the artist's blog and the artist's homepage/website. The theoretical course is meant to offer the students important guidelines about the specific features of these genres they will have to know and practice throughout their whole future careers.

An artist will most probably produce a great number of artist statements throughout a whole career, since the purpose of this genre is to facilitate a better understanding of one's art and creative persona by the public while the focus is placed on increasing the reader's interest in one's art; multiple sub-purposes relate to that most important one, coinciding with the standard moves and steps of the statement: the self-assertion of personal aesthetics/philosophy underlying an artist's work in general, or a particular work/exhibition; stating the reasons for creating one work or the other, mentioning the favorite themes; identifying oneself with a style; describing own techniques and giving reasons for own choices; sharing all the necessary information in order to be better understood by the public; advertising oneself, arousing reader's interest and curiosity are also taken into account. Attention should be paid not to turn the statement into a biography of the artist. For the ITA students, this genre is a valuable source of inspiration they should be able to read through in order to extract all the necessary information for their analyses, reviews, or any other types of texts they are likely to write about artists and about their works.

Just like in any other profession and/or career, artists should also be able to write good résumés, most often to accompany their artist statements.

A rather official document, a résumé is a kind of list rather than a text, a personal marketing tool through which the artist establishes credibility when approaching a gallery or any other institution. It is meant to offer more precise information about the artist: a short biography, education, experience in the field (exhibitions: local, elsewhere, solo, group), recognition (awards), the so-called "bibliography" (any newspaper articles, interviews, TV or radio appearances), representation (if there is a contract with a gallery), commissioned works (a list of important buyers of the works, museums, important collectors), all presented simply and neatly.

The two genres above may well be integrated into the artist's blog (the statement) and home page/website (the résumé). The purposes of also studying these online genres are multiple and various, but the fundamental one is that one simply cannot exist, as a professional, outside the Internet these days. Therefore, students must be made aware of the great opportunities offered by the Internet genres for their future careers (gain large audiences while combining images and words; advertise, etc.) (also see Crețiu, 2013: 1-29). They need to understand the generic features of the newer genres and exploit them for their precise purposes; they also need to understand the differences between the two genres and use them appropriately, according to the communicative purposes they serve. The art students will consider creating their own blogs/websites (see fig. 5, 6), where they should also use their artist statements and résumés.



*Figure 5. Artist website, 2<sup>nd</sup> year textile art student*

Naturally, these Internet creations will abound in art images, but what they need to pay attention to as well is the way they write the necessary texts to go with the images. The (English) texts are assessed by the teacher and they are (as included in the blogs and websites) the semester projects of the students who choose this type of assessment (instead of the exam proper). While the art students are supposed to create their blogs and/or websites, the ITA students will only produce the texts to be posted on the dedicated blog mentioned above (art news and reviews).
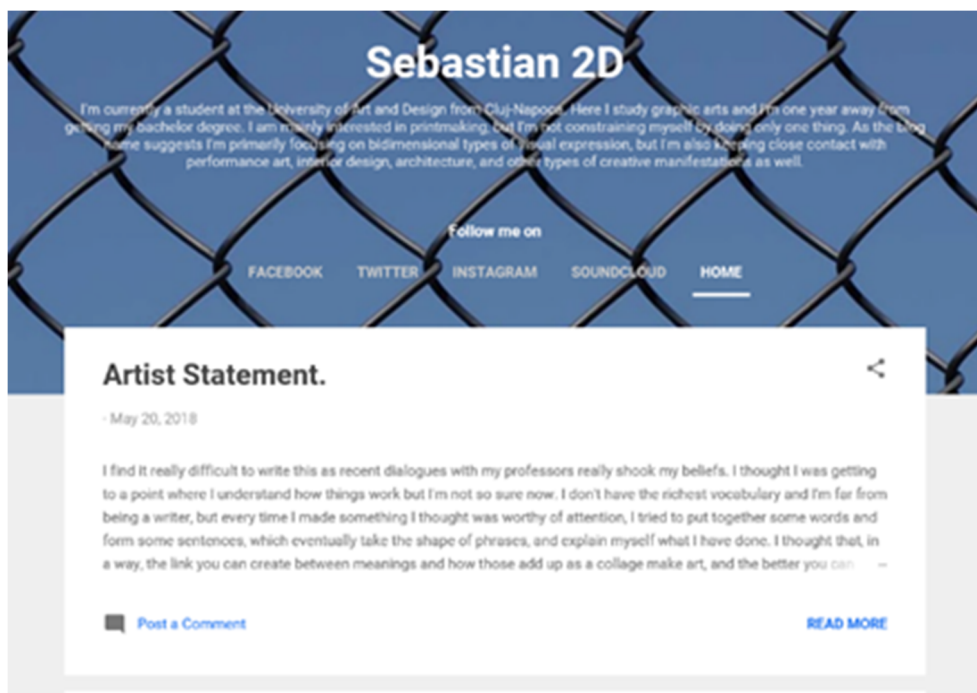


***Figure 6.*** *Artist's blog, 2ⁿᵈ year graphics student*

The design students study almost all the genres mentioned above. Instead of the artist statement, though, the more effective genres for them are the designer('s) concept statement and the client presentation. The main difference between an artist statement and a designer concept statement lies in the fact that former refers to the previous activity of the artist, while the latter speaks about a possible future activity (if the project is approved by the client). The designer's concept statement is actually a proposal a designer makes to the client(s); the goal of such a text is to clearly state the purpose, the focus, the fundamental concept of the proposed design project,

while also revealing the aesthetic and practical considerations the project is based on; the sources of inspiration may be of interest for the client; conducting previous research on the client's business interests, other products, types of customers is extremely helpful for both designing the product itself and for the proposal text, where this previous endeavor should pervade, raising the trust of the client; addressing the client's requests is of utmost importance; so is the emphasis on the originality of the concept and applicability of the project.

The oral counterpart of a designer concept statement, which is a written material, where the text accompanies detailed images, schemes, diagrams, representations (2 or 3D), etc. is the client presentation. This is an oral text which explains slides, for example, or any other visuals, real or digital (3D renderings), maquettes, etc. Rhetorical strategies should be employed to underline the merit of the design product, while also explaining the advantages and disadvantages of a number of samples or choices and proposing a budget.
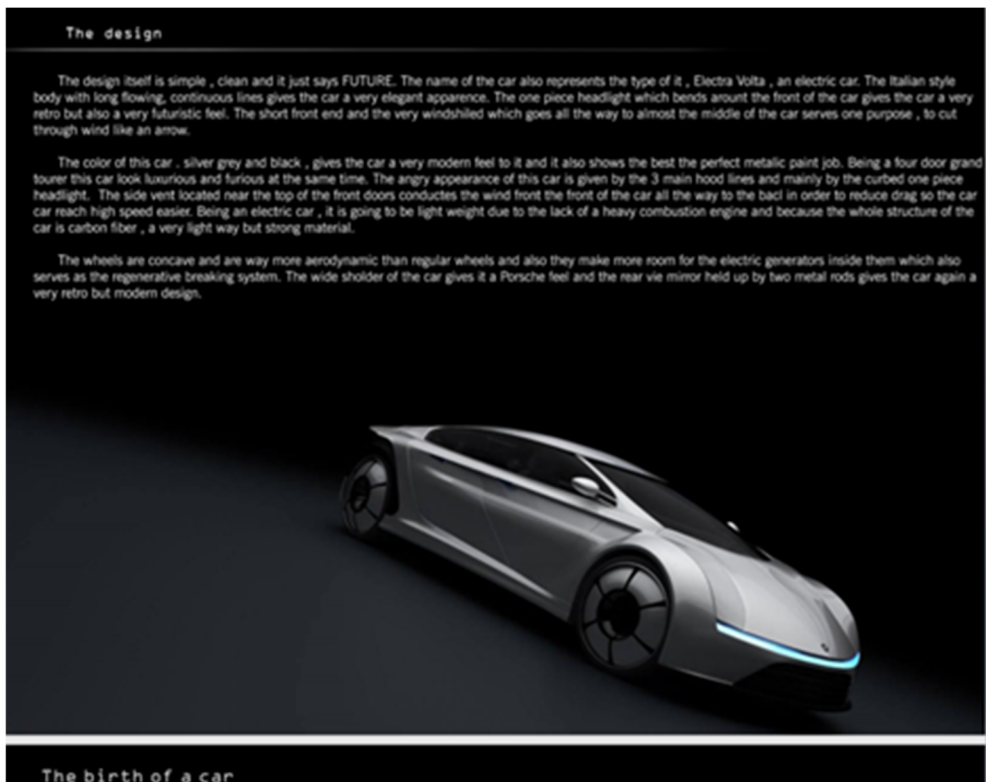


*Figure 7.* designer concept statement, 2ⁿᵈ year design student

The second-semester project for the design students consists of creating a designer concept statement (in English), one which should pair one real design they work at, and send it to the teacher via email (see fig. 7, 8). They may choose the format, which may be a pdf document or a PowerPoint one. The English text will be assessed from the points of view of the implemented genre characteristics and the use of language.
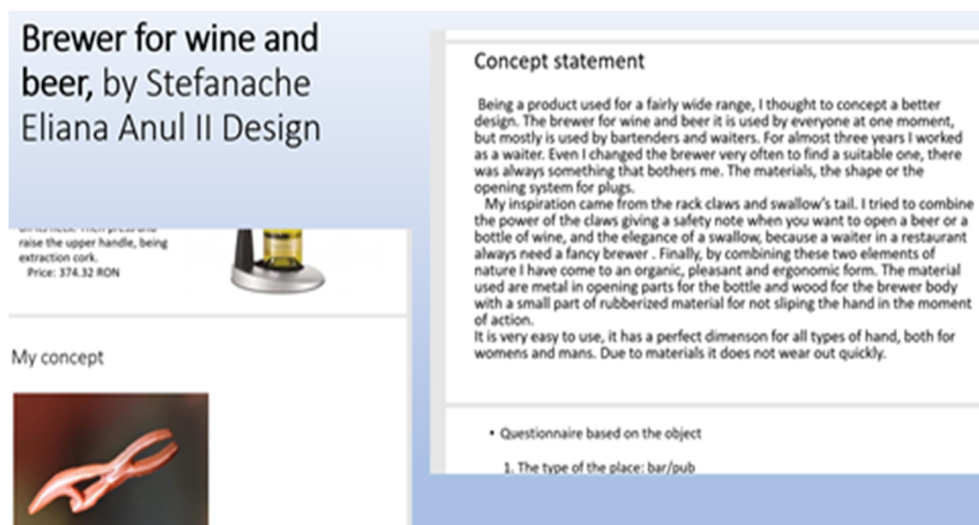


**Figure 8.** *designer concept statement, 2nd year design student*

## Conclusions and plans for the future

Class experience so far has proved that the ESP approach of Art English teaching and learning, combined with the method of applied genre analysis have been fruitful. Beginning with the first year, students almost have the revelation of the fact that what they are studying is not the language for its own sake, but language put to work for their own purposes. They relate to the proposed content and tasks more easily and open-heartedly, while manifesting a real interest. The English language teacher means to help them become better students (academically speaking) and better (future) professionals in the various fields they are going to build their careers within.

Years of research (and practice) have brought about important insights into the discourse used by the artistic discourse community, with a focus on its genres and on the particularities of the English language used in this context. There are some aspects though that need further study and

pondering upon. There are certain student groups who have not been attributed their own specific genres yet (restorers-conservators, art therapy, art pedagogy students). A deeper study of these fields seems necessary to distinguish whether or not there are such specific genres. A review of the importance of some genres for specific categories of students (while giving up others) should be made as soon as possible because the time allotted to the language study seems to grow lesser and lesser whereas information gets bigger and bigger. Research should be conducted upon other possible existing genres used by artists, designers, and art historians/critics-to-be (e.g. the gallery press release), while also surveying other genres just being born in the context of the arts, or simply changing some of their features (a permanent reality in the era of the new technologies).

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***Electronic sources (blogs)***
https://andacretiu.blogspot.com/
http://readingaboutart.blogspot.com/
http://andacretiu4ita.blogspot.com/

# The Use of Loanwords (*Gairaigo*) in Japanese Advertisements. Adverts as Teaching Materials

## OANA-MARIA BÎRLEA[1]

**Abstract:** The study of advertisements has become a subject of interest for many researchers from a wide range of fields such as sociology, linguistics, cultural semiotics, pragmatics etc. Advertising as discourse means to treat language and context holistically, thus to consider all elements involved in the process. The present paper aims to explore Japanese advertising discourse construction from a cultural semiotics and pragmatics perspective by focusing on the social function and effects of specific words. Starting from the idea that the analysis of non-literary texts can offer new insight on language in use and language as instrument serving social interactions, we intend to analyze a series of three ads focusing on loan words (*gairaigo*). Japanese has a complex vocabulary system consisting of four lexical strata: native Japanese (*wago*), Sino-Japanese (*kango*), mimetic (*giongo/gitaigo*) and foreign (*gairaigo*). Thus, there are many pair words which fulfil a specific role in a specific context. The hybrid composition of the lexicon increases meaning potential due to the wide palette of word choices, therefore we intend to reveal the role and effects produced by the same adjective, "beautiful", "nice" when expressed in *wago* and *gairaigo*. The extensive use of foreign words in media is due to the capacity to refer to the West and to novelty, not to their semantic properties and importance in creating meaning. The presence of loan words in adverts is a common practice, but in this case the use of both Japanese and foreign origin syllabicated words shows the dichotomy between what is perceived to be traditional, aboriginal and what is not. Also, the necessity to adapt to the requirements of students who expect to put in practical use the theory learned in class has led to the reconsideration of the teaching materials. Considering that advertising discourse is in its essence metaphoric and a representation of values and world view, we believe that L3 students can highly benefit from the analysis of authentic texts. The complexity of the lexicon along discourse ambiguity constitute the main difficulties in the translation process, therefore through this analysis we intend to offer possible solutions in overcoming these issues.
**Keywords:** *loan words, advertising discourse, authentic texts, Japanese advertisements, advertisements as discourse, integrated skills.*

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**Introduction**

The difficulty in giving a universally accepted definition to the term "discourse" appears mainly because of its polysemic nature, as it can refer to a wide variety of categories from conversations to games, news, advertisements, opera, gossip etc. In this article, we will apply Cook's (1992, 2001) model and use the term to refer to text and context together perceived as a meaningful unit. In the case of advertising discourse, the main difference from other types of discourse consists in its persuasive and argumentative nature (Cook 2001: 10), even though it is difficult to point out a precise set of features of this genre considering that in most cases ads have common points with poems, novels, cartoons. Most of the time a certain position in a specific place in a magazine or a short occurrence between TV shows is automatically perceived as an ad, thus it seems that the categorization of discourses is more related to the surroundings (Cook 2001: 14). The rapid economic and industrial changes in the context of globalization have led to the overpass of the pure economic function of advertising discourse and now its function consists more of representing and "selling" ideas, not products *per se*. Many ads can create and communicate powerful messages and this can be possible even solely through pictures and music, language-free (Cook 1992:39), as a result of the tendency to create implicit, rather than explicit meaning. The study of the language of ads in context can offer new perspectives in understanding language as a form of social practice and treating advertising as discourse is a complex process in which all constituent elements ought to be taken in consideration in order to convey a thorough analysis. Even though this article focuses more on language use, pictures, participants, purpose, etc. will be discussed as a whole. Advertisements can be categorized from numerous perspectives, but we will strictly refer to what we consider to be the basic nature of any ad: being product or non-product related. In the case of advertising discourse analysis semiotics plays a vital role in understanding how signs are used to represent something, but we believe that without pragmatics, a thorough understanding of the communication process cannot be achieved. Moreover, special attention must be given to the culture in which the discourse is constructed because (explicitly or not) adverts create worlds based on the values and norms of that society.

When translating specialized discourse such as advertising the translator must focus on conveying the intended message of the original one by adapting it to the target audiences' expectations to persuade, in order to

maximize the effect. Several studies have shown that an adaptation strategy is more efficient in the case of advertisements (Dow 2005; Calantone et al. 2006; Okazaki 2006; Wong & Merrilees 2007). Globalization has indeed influenced lifestyle and consumer behavior, but cultural values along with the mental processes (internal processes) and social processes (emotions, relationships) must be central when analyzing advertising discourse (de Mooij, Hofstede 2010: 86). This article intends to reveal the mechanism behind Japanese advertising discourse by focusing on word choice as a reflection of the intended purpose over the receiver who belongs to a specific cultural space. There is a considerable number of theories on translation and we cannot discuss about a universally accepted definition or view over this complex process, but we will focus on two basic approaches: linguistic and cultural (Waniek 2017: 15). Interlinguistic communication can roughly be perceived from four perspectives: philological, linguistic, communicative and sociosemiotic (Waniek 2017: 16-18). From these categories the communicative and the sociosemiotic approach seem the most appropriate when it comes to translating advertising discourse since it focuses on the context in which the communication takes place, the receiver, cultural difference awareness and all extralinguistic aspects in order to convey the essence of the original text in the target language. Having these aspects in mind we will try to explain the reasons behind the adverts and to analyze both linguistic and visual signs with a focus on foreign elements perceived as "triggers" (stimuli) for the idea of novelty and sophistication in the mind of the Japanese consumer.

## Japanese advertising discourse

*Table 1. Japanese lexicon*

| *Wago* (Japanese origin) | *Kango* (Chinese origin) | *Gairaigo* (foreign origin) | English |
|---|---|---|---|
| Poetic expressiveness | Science, philosophy, technologic terminology | Versatile | |
| Oral speech (colloquial) | Written speech (more formal) | Oral/written speech | |
| Native-origin phenomena | Native-origin phenomena | Foreign-origin phenomena, nonexistent concepts, terminology | |
| **Examples** | | | |
| *Futatsu* 二つ | *Ni* 二 | *Tsū* ツー | Two |
| *Kuchibeni* 口紅 | - | Rippu stikku リップスティック | Lipstick |
| *Onna no hito* 女の人 | *Jyosei* 女性 | *Redī* レディー | Lady |
| *Jidori* 自撮り | - | *Serufī-* セルフィー | Selfie |

In the case of Japan, a society constructed on the sense of uniqueness (de Mente, Botting 2018:109) in which members of the society act for the sake of group harmony, "things that cannot be quickly or easily resolved by consensus are usually tolerated until they change or die of their own accord" (de Mente 2018:112). This perception over the world is materialized in advertising discourse, especially in the case of noncommercial adverts where discourse is constructed mostly on humoristic tones through wordplay, anthropomorphism, and vivid colors, without imperative forms. The Japanese language consists of four scripts (*hiragana*, *katakana*, *kanji, rōmaji*) and the lexicon (Table 1) is based on *wago*, *kango*, *gairaigo* and "hybrid" words (a combination of all three: e.g. *daihitto* ("big hit") - 大ヒット), each having different functions (Waniek 2017: 32-33).

Another particularity consists in the rapid indigenization of foreign elements and the increasing number of loan words which do not come to replace Japanese words but come to enrich the vocabulary by referring to things perceived as non-traditional. For example in beauty adverts the Japanese word, *kawaii* ('cute'), usually written in *kanji* (Chinese origin ideograms) or *hiragana* syllable is often replaced by its English pair, *kyūto* (transliteration from the English 'cute') or even used together, functioning as synonyms, with the mention that loan words are used to "represent foreign elements" (Haarmann 1989: 231) and to emphasize on the exoticism of that product or service.

The difference between these words consists of the image created in the mind of the receiver, often being used to separate Japanese products/services from foreign ones. Moreover, the choice of the script (in this case *hiragana*, *katakana*, *kanji* and/or *rōmaji*) varies according to the intention of the writer (Kess, Miyamoto 2000: 99), thus the same word can be written in several different ways in accordance to the intended effect produced over the receiver. The occurrence of loan words in Japanese print advertising is extremely high (Maynard 1997: 67) and a case study conducted on three men's fashion/lifestyle magazines revealed that such words appear in 97,92% of cases and it seems that the most common explanation of this phenomenon is related to the capacity to trigger modernity and the sense of sophistication (Maynard 1997: 68). Besides this basic function, *katakana* words are used for brand names, nonexistent concepts, technical terms and euphemism (Maynard 1997: 68). In the case of fashion/beauty adverts, the presence of foreign/loan words along with Japanese origin words and/or English and French words come to emphasize

the exclusivity and novelty of the product by distancing it from traditional beauty ideals and values.

## Case study – Japanese commercial adverts

To give practical use of the above theoretical aspects, we will translate and analyze from a cultural semiotics and pragmatics perspective three Japanese commercial ads displayed after 2000. Since all advertisements are created based on cultural implications we intend to show the benefits of using ads as teaching materials in class to improve both language skills and cultural awareness. We discussed and analyzed the following adverts in the Japanese language seminar in 2017 and 2018 with 2nd year L3[2] students to enhance students' vocabulary and interest through non-traditional study materials and in a more interactive way. According to students' feedback, the use of authentic texts in class encourages both teacher-student interaction and group work while offering a new perspective in which language and culture are intertwined. We intend to continue to use in class both traditional study materials (language textbooks) and authentic texts (in this case, adverts) because so far we have noticed a significant improvement in terms of language acquisition and cultural knowledge.

The example in figure 1 is a commercial advertisement for Shiseidō, the largest cosmetic company in Japan and the top five in the world. The advert is also available online on Shiseidōs' official website (https://www.shiseidogroup.jp/artsandcrafts/) and it is part of a series that intends to promote Japanese craftsmen and artisans, traditional values and the glorious past. The company has a long history on the market, over 145 years in which it has developed based on Western technology and Eastern wisdom. This is another statement suggesting the prestige products and services from the West carried in Japan and the importance of blending two different worlds in harmony to succeed. The series of adverts opens with the following text: "Lacquerware, paper, sake, Japanese swords, fude[3]... The ancient traditions of Japan's beautiful craftwork are carried on by new generations of artisans. Their skilled hands, passion, and souls are, we believe, the origin of Shiseido's quest to inspire a life of beauty and culture—a story that began over 140 years ago in Tokyo's Ginza district". This description is meant to "prepare" the receiver and to give clues regarding the world created through media.

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[2] Third language or second foreign or non-native language. "A language that is different from the first and the second and is acquired after them." (Cenoz 2013, p. 3)
[3] The Japanese brush.

According to Shiseidō's official website, at the core of the company there are six principles: people first, diversity, science & art, uncompromising quality, Japanese aesthetics and *omotenashi*. We will focus on the last two due to the importance they play in the Japanese perception over the world. As seen in the advertisement in figure 1 the focus is on the uniqueness of Japanese aesthetics, in this case on Japanese pottery (Kutani ware), thus word choice is fundamental in giving the impression of tradition and respect towards old craftsmanship. The illustration of the advert is simplistic, based on monochromes with a touch of red from the pottery, associated with Shiseidō lipsticks. It is no coincidence that the pottery is colored with the help of colcothar, red iron oxide, since the same process is used in the making of Shiseidō lipsticks, as Miyoko Aizawa, Shiseidō Chief Color Coordinator confesses on the website. These details are of importance in understanding the idea behind the advertisement to conduct a thorough discourse analysis by taking into account all aspects. The motto of the series is "*Nihon no utsukushii monozukuri*"-日本の美しいものづくり, literary "Japan's Beautiful Craftsmanship", but in the English version available on the website the utterance becomes "The Pursuit of Beauty". This word choice and translation is strongly related to the idea of conveying the message in order to sound as natural as possible to the intended receiver, in this case, an English-speaking person. The word "*utsukushii*", is a keyword in Japanese aesthetics, similarly to the Beautiful in the West, usually referring to something "pretty and small", but it does not have the same theoretical esteem as it does in the West (Oosterling 2009: 28). "*Utsukushii*" does not imply the imperfection of form.



*Figure 1. Shiseidō advertisement, 2016*
*Source:* https://www.shiseidogroup.jp/artsandcrafts/

Also, by using the same word in different contexts, it does not automatically imply that it will convey the same "beautiful meaning", thus "the essence of a word involves not simply its utterance or its meaning, but the word carries with it the entire world of the speaker" (Ooka cited in Maynard 2007: 182). It is often used when describing traditional Japanese style and aesthetics and also in respect to the splendor of nature and this association has perpetuated in time due to the sole constant in the Japanese perception over the world: "…our lifestyle and our way of thinking changes along with times. […] But even today, deep in the hearts of most Japanese people, the view of nature and the sense of beauty remains the same as it was in the days of the ancient past […]." (Higashiyama, 1985:57) The adjective *kirei* also carries the meaning of "beautiful", but it is mostly used when describing more ordinary, daily activities (2nd meaning "clean") or as a compliment (synonym with "pretty"), thus word choice is of significant importance because of the world it portrays. In this case "*utsukushii*"-美しい is used instead of "*kirei*" -きれい or the loan word "*byūtifuru*"-ビューティフル to emphasize on traditional aesthetics and authenticity and to create the correlation between Shiseidō as cherishing and preserving Japanese culture and traditions through qualitative cosmetics for "*utsukushii*" Japanese women. Right under the motto is the following text: "*Shiseidō de ikiru hitobito ga meguru dentō no bi wo manabu tabi*" – 資生堂で生きる人々が巡る伝統の美を学ぶ旅, which would be translated as: "People living in Shiseidō spirit – a journey exploring traditional beauty", while the English version is limited to "Artisans and craftsmen in Japan". These differences in translation are another argument for the importance of adapting the discourse to the intended receiver's capacity to interpret culture-specific concepts/ideas. In this case, it would probably sound unnatural to someone unfamiliar (*gaikokujin* – 外国人, "foreigner") with the Japanese way of perceiving the world and arts, thus to understand "the completeness of their devotion to all arts that embody the essential reference point of impermanence" (Juniper 2003: 147). If the intention were to symbolize sophistication, coolness, the word "*Nihon*"-日本 ('Japan') would have been replaced by its *gairaigo* pair, "*Jyapan*"-ジャパン ('Japan') written in *katakana* syllable. The selection of one script over another is strongly related to the intended purpose of the person who creates the message and to the image he aims to project in the mind of the receiver. Another example in this sense is the word "*tabi*"-旅 meaning "trip" used instead of the Sino-Japanese word "*ryokō*"-旅行 having the same meaning

or the loan word "torippu"- トリップ ('trip'). The difference consists in the context in which the word is used and the role each word plays: "*tabi*" is closer to the English word "journey", while "*ryokō*" is often used with the verb "*suru*" ('to do') usually in daily conversations. The loan word, "torippu"-トリップ has the same effect as the word "*Jyapan*"-ジャパン ('Japan') does, that is to denote non-traditional concepts and ideas. This word is often associated with the West and it is most commonly used by teenagers or people in their 30s-40s. For example, instead of using "*hikaeri ryokō wo suru*"-日帰り旅行をする, they tend to use "*wan de- torippu ni iku*"- ワンデートリップに行く which has the same meaning, but the effect and intention of the speaker differs. By using Japanese/Sino-Japanese origin words Shiseidō wants to be regarded by the receiver as an indispensable agent in promoting traditional values by proposing a journey to Japans' fascinating and mysterious world of craftsmen while also being an innovator in the beauty industry. The text is written entirely in hiragana and kanji to visually portray authenticity and Japanese beauty ideals based on the country's rich tradition. The visual text maintains the overall idea expressed by the verbal text, thus we have the representation of one of the oldest Japanese arts, pottery in a specific tone of red in contrast with the dark font. The advert as a whole encompasses much of *wabi-sabi* aesthetics, characterized as "a minimalist aesthetic that emphasizes the beauty of simplicity and impermanence" (McRae 2018:133). In Japan, potters are perceived as artists and it seems that many different types of pottery (Bizen, Hagi, Raku, Shigaraki) are based even today on this aesthetics that developed centuries ago (Juniper 2003: 85). The choice of words, in this case, can simply be explained by the intention of creating a bond between tradition, Japanese authenticity, and the company Shiseidō. Through this discourse Shiseidō intends to take the receiver back in time through specific words like "*utsukushii*", "*Nihon*", "*bi*", "*dentō*" etc. and through visual texts based on wabi-sabi aesthetics to convey the essence of being Japanese.

The example in figure 2 is an advert for Panasonic, an official worldwide partner of the Olympics and Paralympics and partner of Tokyo 2020, designed to inspire all Japanese to build a unified team starting 2014 and to engage everyone in a 6 year plan called "*Byūtifuru Jyapan*"「ビューティフルジャパン」 (Beautiful JAPAN towards 2020); the first step being the launch of a true high-end technology (4K LED). Thus, through this strategy, the company aims to promote its new technology by appealing to all citizens' responsibility as promoters of Japanese traditions and values to the whole world in the context of the Olympics. According to the official

website        (https://news.panasonic.com/jp/topics/2014/38644.html)        the purpose of this campaign is to draw attention to the importance of challenge, the wonderfulness of pursuing dreams and to the beauty of Japan as "mother" of the young athletes competing in the games. The ambassador of the project is the top-leading actress, model and singer Haruka Ayase who has the mission to visit all 47 prefectures of Japan in the 6 years remained until the Olympics and to record in 4K the beauty of the landscapes, young athlete's intense practice, to capture their passion for the Olympics and the people who support them.



*Figure 2. Panasonic advertisement, 2014*
*Source: https://news.panasonic.com/jp/topics/2014/38644.html*

The company is committed to continuing these types of projects and emphasizes the importance of valuing what the country and its people have to offer. These videos are pre-installed on the newly VIERA 4K AX900 TV model so that everyone can enjoy the heartwarming stories whenever they like. The project is promoted through a variety of mediums both traditional (print, radio, TV) and online (e-mail, social media, mobile marketing, etc.)

This advert is an example of the coexistence of foreign and traditional elements in perfect harmony and this is reflected through advertising discourse construction. The text is written in all three scripts (without rōmaji which is not commonly used in this type of discourse) and the name of the project is written entirely in English in bigger font size characters. In the upper left part we have the partnership Panasonic-Worldwide Olympics logo exclusively in English: "Official Worldwide

Olympic Partner and Partner of Tokyo 2020", followed by a set of three lines text in Japanese: "*Kono utsukushii kuni wo/ Hitotsu no chīmu ni suru purojekuto. / "Byūtifuru Jyapan", hajimarimasu.*" - この美しい国を／ひとつのチームにするプロジェクト。／「ビューティフルジャパン」、はじまります。 literally translated as: "A project towards creating one team of this beautiful country. "Beautiful Japan" begins." In one of the English versions of the series, the text of the advert appears as: "Beautiful people living in a beautiful country. "Beautiful Japan"." In this poem-like structure, we encounter both the word "*utsukushii*" ('beautiful') and its *gairaigo* (loan word) pair "*byūtifuru*" (En. 'beautiful'). When used in relationship with the word "*kuni*" ('country') the Japanese word "*utsukushii*" is used in order to denote authenticity and tradition, while in the project name the loan word "*byūtifuru*" is preferred along "*Jyapan*" - ジャパン ('Japan'), both written in *katakana*. The choice of using the loan word instead of the Japanese word for the country's name, "*Nihon/Nippon*"- 日本 reveals the intention of dividing what is perceived as traditional vs. non-traditional in the desire to create a global image of the country with the occasion of the Olympics. The word "*Jyapan*" encompasses the modern, tech, "cool" nature of the country, whilst "*Nihon/Nippon*" represents the traditional, rigorous side. Some other examples in this sense are the *gairaigo* words "*chīmu*" - チーム ('team') and "*projekuto*" - プロジェク ('project'), which are more suitable in this context than the Japanese words written in *kanji*.

The visual text is again constructed within Japanese austere aesthetics based on blue and white tones symbolizing tranquility and the sea, the only element standing out being the red sphere symbolizing Japan, the Land of the Rising Sun. The verbal text is written entirely in white with different fonts and sizes in both English and Japanese. Another possible reason for using English in the main part of the poster is to make it readable for foreigners coming to Tokyo for the Summer Olympics. In conclusion, this advert is an example of a successful blending between Japanese style and foreign elements expressing both a modern, high-tech and a traditional, conservative image of Japan.

In the last example illustrated in figure 3, *katakana* syllable is used for loan words as well as for Japanese words and onomatopoeia to both emphasize and to denote novelty and exoticism. This is the front cover of a Japanese women magazine called "LDK the Beauty" which tests and reviews the latest cosmetics on the market. We have chosen to discuss also the cover of a magazine besides regular adverts because we intended to

show the endless options in analyzing advertising discourse (in class). Moreover, there is a specific "made in Japan" English word (*wasei-eigo*) for this type of publication, *mukku*-ムック, derived from the combination of "book" and "magazine". This 97 page long beauty book was released at the beginning of 2019 and it offers a detailed overview of cosmetics and beauty rituals for Japanese women (predominately teenagers). The monthly issued magazine is quite popular among Japanese teenagers being considered a "book" of reference when it comes to beauty and makeup techniques and claims to be unique in the world by "really evaluating cosmetics". The cover is full of verbal and visual text illustrated in pastel nuances with golden/yellow tones which is quite hard to process for an unfamiliar eye. This technique of using all available space is common for Japanese magazines in which not only the cover, but also the pages are filled with text, but in a very organized way (somehow similar to *manga*, Japanese comics).

In the upper right, we have the name of the publication written in English and the rest of the text is concentrated in the white circle icon. The direction of the text is from left to right, up-down, but the traditional Japanese writing style is from right to left and vertically up-down. This choice is the first signal for wanting to create a sense of foreignness and exclusivism of the publication. The discourse is constructed from interesting and unexpected word associations such as: "*zettai kai*"*na puchipura kosume 193*"- "ゼッタイ買い"なプチプラコスメ 193, translated as: "193 affordable and must buy cosmetics". Usually, the adverb "*zettai*" ('definitely', 'absolutely') is written in *kanji* or sometimes in *hiragana*, but in this case to emphasize on the necessity of buying and to draw the viewer's attention it is written in *katakana*. Besides the adverb "*zettai*", the adverb, "*hontō ni*" ('really'; 'truly') appears in *katakana* too, even though normally it is written in *kanji*. Another interesting aspect is the construction of an adjective from the verb stem "*kai*" + na (adjective ending), resulting in a new word, "must-buy". Normally, loan words such as "*hai kuoriti*" ('high quality'), "*hansamu*" ('handsome') etc. use "na" ending when modifying nouns, but in this case we have a verb stem. A construction like "*puchipura nanoni haikuoriti**na** kosume*"-プチプラなのにハイクオリティなコスメ, meaning "even though cheap, high-quality cosmetics". It seems that the word "*puchipura*" (according to www.gaijinpot.com) is the latest trend in Japanese cosmetics industry and has surpassed the function of the Japanese words "*takai*" ('expensive') and "*yasui*" ('cheap') and it is perceived as in between, that is "affordable". Instead of using the Japanese "*tegoro*" ('affordable') the advertisers prefer using the loan word because of the effect created. "*Puchipura*" is an abbreviation from the word "*puchi*

*puraisu*" derived from the French "petite price". We also encounter the Japanese word "*yasui*"- 安い ('cheap') along this newly created adjective with similar meaning, "*puchipura*"-プチプラ, but the effects produced are different. The latter is used several times to appeal more to Japanese women/teenagers because it is a construct based on *kawaii* ('cute') phenomena, the cult of cute. This is a very common practice especially in beauty adverts, but not limited to because *kawaii* imagery and words symbolize shyness, darlingness, and lovability. *Kawaii* culture is a worldwide phenomenon encompassing more than the general English term "cute" and it is commonly referred as "soft power". We will not elaborate on this subject, but it is important to mention that it plays a major role in creating a utopic world through media and *kawaii* signs are often used along *gairaigo* words.



***Figure 3****. LDK the Beauty - front cover, January 2019*
*Source: http://www.shinyusha.co.jp/media/yasuii_cosme/*

In the beauty industry new words appear at an incredible pace and words like "*kosupa*" ('cost performance'), "*wan ranku ue*" ('upgrade'), "*puremiamu*" ('premium') etc. have already replaced Japanese words or at least have embellished the vocabulary. Other examples in this sense are the preference for using the word "*kosume*", an abbreviation from the English word "cosmetics" or "*besuto bukku*" meaning "best book" instead of "*keshōhin*"-化粧品 or "*saikō no hon*"-最高の本 , Japanese words with the same meaning. The only text in English is the title of the publication as mentioned before and the title of the issue, "Low Price and Useful Cosmetics Best Book" written with round-shaped characters symbolizing femininity. As discussed in the beginning of the article, *gairaigo* is used primary for denoting things/concepts newly introduced to the Japanese and in this sense we have the words "*ai shadō*"-アイシャドー ('eyeshadow'), "*fande*"- ファ ンデ, abbreviated from "*fandēshon*"-ファンデーション ('foundation'), "sukin kea"-スキンケア('skin care') etc. This example is perhaps the most relevant one reflecting the rapid changes in Japanese advertising discourse construction determined by globalization and by the increasing interest in following global trends. In this sense, "katakana is known to attract special attention from the reader" (Maynard 2007:151) and it also suggests that the words have a special meaning and that they encompass foreignness and sophistication (linking it to the West, we would add).

## Conclusions

In the case of advertising discourse (but not limited to), word choice is of significant importance when it comes to creating a specific world for the receiver. Through various strategies, the advertiser aims to persuade the receiver by appealing to emotions triggered by the combination of certain signs. As resulted from the case study Japanese lexicon is represented through one of the three traditional scripts (*hiragana*, *katakana*, *kanji*) each having their particular role in discourse and the difference between the use of Japanese/Sino-Japanese origin words and loan words (*gairaigo*) is strongly related to the intention of the creator of the discourse. We have established the basic role of loan words in advertising discourse and discussed the variations in the representation of Japanese words in *katakana* syllable normally used for foreign origin words. Through the analysis of three Japanese commercial adverts, we have presented the contrastive nature created between what is perceived to be traditional and foreign, "of the West" via loan words written in *katakana* instead of native words with the same meaning. Of course, there are cases in which a certain concept/term

was newly introduced to the Japanese vocabulary, thus *gairaigo* words had the role to fill the gaps by enriching the corpus, imagery. This case was presented through the analysis of the advert in figure 3 in which technical (beauty) words like "*ai shadō*" or "*fande*" derived from English are used to refer to products from the West. That it is not to say that previously, before the massive loan word "wave" (postwar) there were no words referring to cosmetics, but that the use of Japanese native words (e.g. "*keshōhin*"-化粧品, instead of "*meiku*"-メイク both meaning "make-up"), especially in this field, is usually not preferred because it creates a traditional, old school image of the products/company. The presence of both Japanese and foreign words in the same advert as seen in the example in figure 2 shows the possibility of coexistence of the two without creating a sense of disorder and incompatibility. The native word "*utsukushii*" written in *kanji* ideograms along with the English derived word, "*byūtifuru*" refer to different sides of Japan: traditional and modern, following global trends. As discussed in the case study section, this type of activity in class can both increase interest in language learning by being exposed to authentic texts and to deepen cultural knowledge by enriching students' capacity to "decode" and interpret various messages. To conclude, the presence of *gairaigo* words in advertising discourse is a sign of the desire to follow social trends and to separate what is perceived to be traditional from foreign, but these phenomena should not be regarded as a threat to the Japanese language. On the contrary, studies on the use of loan words should be continued because it is a sociolinguistic phenomenon showing how language and language use changes.

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# Studentul-moderator – roluri sociale, interacțiune și perspectivă acțională în didactica limbilor străine

## Maria Grosu[1]

**Rezumat**: Studiul nostru ilustrează câteva strategii de orientare a demersului didactic spre o perspectivă acțională, în predarea limbii române ca limbă străină. Întrebări la care răspundem prin acest studiu, sunt: cum primesc cursanții roluri sociale, în cadrul activităților didactice, ce soluții adoptăm, pentru ca învățarea să facă parte dintr-un scenariu în care cursanții trebuie să îndeplinească o misiune, să atingă un obiectiv în plan social, să comunice pentru a atinge obiectivul propus. Într-un astfel de scenariu didactic, comunicarea ar fi mijloc de realizare a obiectivelor, nu scop în sine. Perspectiva acțională, promovată de CECRL și indispensabilă în demersul didactic actual, este încă sporadic abordată în resursele didactice din domeniul românei ca limbă străină, puse la dispoziția actualilor cursanți. În schimb, perspectiva comunicativă reprezintă o importantă resursă pentru activitățile didactice incluse în manualele publicate până la ora actuală. Vom prezenta provocările pe care le implică predarea limbii române ca limbă străină, unui public eterogen, format din adulți educați, probabil, în spiritul perspectivei acționale. Strategiile didactice pe care le vom evoca în acest articol, răspund nevoii de comunicare autentică a cursanților. Având în vedere faptul că româna ca limbă străină nu are tradiția limbilor de circulație internațională, este evident un decalaj metodologic în predarea românei ca limbă străină. Articolul nostru va ilustra soluții punctuale la aceste provocări, respectiv modalități de a implementa o abordare acțională în demersul didactic, folosind, în mare parte, materiale didactice care răspund abordării comunicative.

**Cuvinte cheie**: *perspectiva acțională, perspectiva comunicativă, didactica limbilor-culturi, actor social, comunicare autentică.*

## Introducere

Studiul de față prezintă o soluție practică de orientare spre perspectiva acțională a activităților didactice de tip comunicativ, din domeniul limbii române ca limbă străină. Propun termenul de student-

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moderator pentru a desemna cursantul care moderează o etapă de negociere a sensului, în vederea obţinerii soluţiilor finale, pentru exerciţii clasice de gramatică şi vocabular, precum şi pentru activităţile care vizează receptarea mesajelor scrise şi audio. Studentul-moderator este învestit cu sarcinile şi responsabilităţile profesorului, în etapa de verificare a exerciţiilor pe care cursanţii le fac individual sau în perechi. Implementarea practicii prin care studenţii adoptă, pe rând, rolul profesorului/moderatorului atrage mutaţii la nivelul întregului proces de predare-învăţare a limbii străine, pe plan cognitiv, social şi emoţional. Procesul de învăţare este descentralizat, profesorul nu mai este în centrul scenariului didactic şi deţinător al răspunsurilor corecte, ci devine coechipier în negocierea sensului pentru obţinerea soluţiilor finale. În plus, adoptarea soluţiilor finale doar cu aprobarea întregului grup de lucru implică interacţiune între colegi, demersuri argumentative şi explicative în limba ţintă. Comunicarea orală din etapa de validare a răspunsurilor completează exerciţiile ce vizează un singur segment al competenţei lingvistice: fie gramatica, fie vocabularul, fie receptarea textelor scrise sau audio. Astfel, se realizează integrarea activităţilor de comunicare scrisă şi orală. Prin introducerea studentului-moderator, demersul didactic este orientat spre perspectiva acţională: cursanţii primesc roluri sociale în interiorul grupului de lucru, comunicarea este autentică, nu simulată şi devine mijloc pentru acţiune şi interacţiune, nu scop în sine.

Premisa studiului meu este aceea că perspectiva acţională, direcţia teoretică promovată de *Cadrul european comun de referinţă pentru limbi*, este indispensabilă într-un demers didactic pliat pe nevoile generaţiei actuale de studenţi. Întrucât româna ca limbă străină nu are tradiţia limbilor de circulaţie internaţională, apare un decalaj metodologic între aşteptările publicului ţintă şi resursele didactice pe care le avem la îndemână, la ora actuală. Materialele din domeniul RLS, pentru nivelul A1, pe care le-am folosit în anul universitar 2018-2019 (Platon et al., 2012; Andreica et al. 2017; Andreica et al. 2018), adoptă perspectiva comunicativă şi doar sporadic sunt propuse activităţi de tip acţional. Introducerea rolului de student-moderator în demersurile didactice reprezintă o soluţie la provocarea de a preda conţinuturi elementare pentru comunicare, adoptând filosofia acţională în predarea limbilor străine şi folosind resurse realizate din perspectivă comunicativă. Analiza mea ilustrează avantajele învestirii studenţilor cu rolul de profesor/moderator, în cadrul demersurilor didactice, precum şi mutaţiile pe care le implică această inversare a rolurilor, în redefinirea procesului de predare-învăţare a limbilor străine.

## Premise: contextul de predare-învățare, profilul studenților, resursele didactice

Întrebările și provocările de la care pleacă studiul de față au un context specific de predare-învățare a limbii române ca limbă străină. La Universitatea de Medicină și Farmacie „Iuliu Hațieganu" din Cluj-Napoca studiază, conform statisticilor din ultimii ani, aproximativ 2500 de studenți internaționali, din peste 50 de țări, din Uniunea Europeană (aproximativ 1800 de studenți) sau din țări din afara Uniunii Europene (aproximativ 700 de studenți)[2]. Studenții care participă la cursurile practice de limba română formează un grup țintă care poate fi definit prin diversitate culturală extrem de ofertantă. De exemplu, la linia franceză sunt înscriși studenți din Franța, din Départements d'outre-mer – Territoire d'outre-mer (Guadelupa, Martinica, Mauritius), din țări francofone (Tunisia, Maroc, Algeria, Elveția), din Italia, Spania, China etc. La linia engleză, sunt înscriși studenți din Germania, Italia, Suedia, Israel, Anglia etc. Cursurile practice de limba română au ca scopuri integrarea studenților în mediul universitar și socio-cultural din România, precum și o rată mare de succes în anii superiori, când limba română devine mijloc de transmitere a cunoștințelor de specialitate.

Studenții se înscriu la linia franceză sau la linia engleză, limbi în care se țin toate cursurile, până în anul al III-lea, iar începând cu anul IV, studenții fac cursurile practice în limba română. În primii doi sau trei ani, în funcție de specialitate, studenții fac câte două, trei sau patru ore de limba română pe săptămână. De exemplu, la ora actuală, studenții înscriși la Facultatea de Farmacie au în programul de studii două ore de limba română pe săptămână, în anul I și al II-lea. Studenții internaționali de la Facultatea de Medicină Generală au câte trei ore de limba română pe săptămână, în primii trei ani, iar studenții de la Facultatea de Medicină Dentară au câte patru ore pe săptămână, timp de trei ani. Așadar, progresia cursanților în limba română, în mediul instituțional al universității, se realizează, în primii ani de studiu, de la zero, la nivelurile A2, B1 sau B2, în funcție de numărul de ore de limba română incluse în programul de studii. Prin urmare, grupul țintă al cursurilor practice de limba română este format din studenți internaționali, formați în sisteme de învățământ diferite, dar unitari din punctul de vedere al scopurilor pentru care învață limba română, precum și al nevoilor de învățare date de tehnologia actuală.

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[2] http://transilvaniareporter.ro/actualitate/planeta-umf-universitatea-cu-cei-mai-multi-studenti-straini-la-nivel-national/.

Cursanții din generația actuală sunt oameni ai secolului vitezei, crescuți cu noile resurse tehnologice și, în consecință, profilul lor este diferit de cel al generațiilor de acum 10 ani, de exemplu. În acest context, au o rată mică de succes predarea după metode care propun studiul individual în clasă, demersurile didactice în care profesorul are rol central, comunicând informații pe care cursantul le procesează, în scopul reproducerii, ponderea mare a exercițiilor structurale de gramatică sau activitățile repetitive, în care importantă este doar performanța lingvistică și în care cursanții nu sunt valorizați ca individualități distincte, cu preferințe, cu sentimente și cu o istorie individuală.

Clara Ferrão Taveras sintetizează trăsăturile generației de cursanți care au crescut în spiritul tehnologiei actuale și pe care îi numește „pronetari". Termenul este preluat de la Joël Rosnay și desemnează „noua clasă de utilizatori ai rețelelor numerice, capabili să producă, să difuzeze și să vândă conținuturi numerice, capabili să creeze fluxuri de vizitatori pe diferite site-uri și să se joace cu efectele amplificării mesajelor în mediul virtual."

> „J'appelle 'pronétaires' ou 'pronétariat' (du grec pro, devant, avant, mais aussi favorable à, et de l'anglais net, qui signifie réseau et est aussi l'appellation familière en français d'Internet – le 'Net') une nouvelle classe d'usagers des réseaux numériques capables de produire, diffuser, vendre des contenus numériques non propriétaires, en s'appuyant sur les principes de la ‹‹nouvelle économie››. C'est-à-dire capables de créer des flux importants de visiteurs sur des sites, de permettre des accès gratuits, de faire payer à bas prix des services très personnalisés, de jouer sur les effets d'amplification." (Rosnay, 2006, p. 12)[3].

Termenul este derivat al cuvântului „net", rețeaua de Internet, prin care societatea actuală trăiește o delocalizare spațio-temporală și care produce schimbări în profilul generației actuale de cursanți. Așadar, individul pronetar utilizează dispozitive electronice, este policron, publică textele și fotografiile sale pe rețele de socializare, se vede într-o oglindă narcisistă și dorește să împărtășească cu alții experiențe virtuale (Taveras, 2011, p. 4). În consecință, pronetarul vrea să contribuie la inteligența colectivă, e generos, scrie mult, citește mult, deși în mod superficial și este

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[3] Numim „pronetari" sau „pronetariat" (din grecescul „pro", „înainte de", „în față", dar și „pentru" și din englezescul „net", care semnifică rețea și termen familiar pentru Internet) o nouă clasă de utilizatori ai rețelei numerice de producere, difuzare, vindere a conținuturilor numerice fără drept de proprietate, utilizând principiile ‹‹noii economii››. Adică capabili să creeze fluxuri importante de vizitatori pe site-uri, să permită accesul gratuit, să plătească cu un preț minim servicii foarte personale și să se joace cu efectele amplificării (t. n.).

atras de scenarii virtuale reprezentate de jocurile video. Pe de o parte, scenariile din lumea virtuală a jocurilor îi antrenează pe cei implicați într-un demers similar cu cel științific, care presupune observare, formulare de ipoteze, construirea unor rețele personale de cunoștințe, analiză, testare și obținerea rezultatelor. Pe de altă parte, experiențele din lumea virtuală au efecte negative asupra memoriei, a atenției, care devine în mod excesiv distributivă și în consecință, parțială. În aceste condiții, agentul didactic, profesorul, trebuie să facă eforturi suplimentare sau să își asume o altă formare, astfel încât să capteze și să mențină atenția cursantului în sala de clasă (Taveras, 2011, p. 5).

Tinerii formați în spiritul tehnologiei actuale au un stil de învățare preponderent social și interacțional. Pentru indivizii pronetari, a învăța înseamnă a intra în relație cu alții, a ieși din sala de clasă, a citi un ecran, a citi autentic, a ierarhiza informații, a produce texte sociale, a construi inteligența colectivă, a împărtăși experiențe și a deveni actor social, participativ (Taveras, 2011, p. 10). Clara Ferrão Taveras susține că exercițiile structurale, deși sunt utile, nu pot răspunde nevoilor de învățare prin interacțiune socială, astfel că propune ca soluție clasa plurilingvă și pluriculturală : demersurile didactice care își deschid porțile spre realitate, pentru a deveni un mediu virtual delocalizat, prin care clasa iese din mediul fizic școlar, situația educativă transferându-se în realitatea exterioară școlii, profesorul și cursanții devenind actori sociali internauți (Taveras, 2011, p. 6). Multimodalitatea reprezintă interacțiunea între profesor și cursanți, între aceștia și obiectul de studiu, prin resurse și prin limbaj, precum și comunicarea prin diferite modalități senzoriale, recurgând la dispozitive tradiționale și multimedia (Taveras, 2009, p. 46). Astfel, viziunea multimodală și policronia sunt conceptele care, în opinia Clarei Ferrão Taveras, reorientează întregul demers didactic.

Revenind la contextul de învățare prezentat mai sus, subliniez că studenții internaționali care vin la Cluj-Napoca să facă studii medicale, pentru o perioadă relativ lungă, învață limba română, pentru a avea instrumentele minime necesare, într-un mediu lingvistic nou, în care limba română este dominantă. Este evident că aceștia sunt persoane pronetare, cu o vastă experiență în lumea virtuală, cu atenție distributivă dezvoltată și cu dorința de interacțiune și de punere în valoare a individualității fiecăruia. Marea provocare a fost să răspund nevoilor de învățare și de interacțiune ale studenților din anul I, utilizând resursele didactice existente, cu tradiție în predarea RLS, exercițiile clasice de gramatică și de vocabular, exerciții care nu necesită obligatoriu interacțiune sau exercițiile care vizează un singur tip

de comunicare (citire, ascultare, vorbire sau scriere). Așa cum am menționat și mai sus, manualele pe care le-am utilizat la nivelul A1 (Platon et al. 2012; Andreica et al., 2017; Andreica et al., 2018) propun activități proiectate din perspectivă comunicativă, iar sarcinile de lucru de tip acțional sunt reprezentate în mod sporadic. Dacă la nivelurile superioare, posibilitatea de adoptare a perspectivei acționale și de implicare activă a cursanților în demersurile didactice mi s-a părut mai accesibilă, întrucât cursanții au instrumentele lingvistice de bază, la nivelul A1, ieșirea din scenariul didactic clasic, în care profesorul este actorul principal, a ridicat probleme legate de posibilitățile lingvistice pe care le au studenții. Întrebarea care m-a condus spre proiectarea demersurile didactice construite din perspectivă acțională a fost: cum pot, la nivelul A1, când studentul nu are instrumente lingvistice minime de sprijin, să îi ofer posibilitatea de a fi actor social, utilizând resursele didactice de tip comunicativ?

Abordarea acțională, direcția promovată de CERCL, propune o filosofie a învățării similară cu jocurile video, de mare succes în rândul generației pronetare. Această perspectivă didactică îi oferă cursantului rol de actor social cu o misiune de îndeplinit, care comunică pentru a acționa, care realizează sarcini de lucru legate între ele printr-un obiectiv de natură extralingvistică și care își folosește toate resursele cognitive, volitive, emoționale etc. pentru a-și duce la final misiunea. În aceste condiții, discrepanța între resursele didactice și modalitatea de învățare a studenților a fost din ce în ce mai pregnantă, astfel încât am recurs la soluții imediate, prin care să folosesc resursele existente, într-o abordare adecvată orizontului lor de așteptare. Pentru a evita riscul monotoniei, al pierderii motivației studenților de a învăța limba română, am ales să le ofer posibilitatea de a adopta roluri sociale, în care comunicarea să fie autentică, iar interacțiunea să se realizeze între studenți, nu între profesor și student. În acest fel, am ajuns la implementarea la clasă a conceptului de student-moderator, ceea ce a generat mutații la nivelul întregului proces de învățare.

## Perspectiva acțională – aspecte teoretice

### a. Metodologii de predare-învățare a limbilor străine – scurt istoric

Pentru a putea plasa perspectiva acțională într-o istorie a disciplinei, vom face un scurt parcurs diacronic al metodologiilor de învățare a limbilor străine. Utilizăm cu precădere studiul autoarei Ana Rodriguez Seara, *L'évolution des méthodologies dans l'enseignement du français langue étrangère depuis la méthodologie traditionnelle jusqu'à nos jours*, publicat în 2001, care conține o prezentare diacronică a metodologiilor utilizate de

didacticieni, pe scară largă, pentru predarea limbii franceze ca limbă străină, până în 1990. Istoria metodologiei de predare-învățare a limbilor străine ilustrează mutații paradigmatice de la o epocă la alta, respectiv adaptarea continuă a filosofiei de învățare, la principiile epistemice ale timpului. Astfel, didactica limbilor străine trece de la paradigma pozitivistă a adevărului universal, la paradigma constructivistă a adevărurilor relative. În metodologiile pozitiviste, conținuturile sunt reprezentate de normele lingvistice, nu de mesajele transmise, iar învățarea presupune transfer de informații de la profesor la elev. În schimb, în abordările constructiviste, conținuturile sunt reprezentate de mesajele pe care le transmit indivizii, dincolo de corectitudinea lingvistică, precum și de acțiunea acestora asupra realității, iar învățarea presupune negocierea sensului spre adevăruri relative, interacțiunea socială și descentralizarea procesului de învățare, respectiv adoptarea de către profesor a unei poziții marginale, nu centrale (Grosu, Coiug, 2019, p. 221).

Ca orice istorie a curentelor, istoria metodologiei de învățare a limbilor străine se construiește pe rupturi și pe simultaneități – unele curente metodologice sunt simultane cu cele precedente lor, înainte de a se impune (Rodriguez Seara, 2001, p. 139).

a. *Metoda tradițională, gramatică – traducere*, folosită pentru predarea limbii latine și a limbii greacă, a fost funcțională pe scară largă, în secolul al XVIII-lea și al XIX-lea. Activitățile de înțelegere și de producere a mesajului oral au fost aproape inexistente, întrucât în procesul de învățare, s-a promovat învățarea prin memorare, gramatica s-a predat în manieră deductivă, s-a impus metalimbajul gramatical, iar eroarea lingvistică nu era admisă. Profesorul avea rol central și dominant în scenariul didactic.

b. *Metoda naturală* s-a impus la finalul secolului al XIX-lea și a coexistat cu metoda tradițională. Nu a fost funcțională în sistemul școlar, dar a revoluționat metoda tradițională utilizată de contemporani. François Gouin a propus învățarea limbii străine după modelul limbii materne, prin expunerea cursantului la oralitate și la situații concrete de comunicare.

c. *Metoda directă*, folosită în Germania, Franța și parțial în SUA, la finalul secolului al XIX-lea și la începutul secolului al XX-lea, a fost prima metodologie specifică pentru limbile străine. Principiile fundamentale au fost următoarele: nu se traduce nimic, totul se explică prin cuvinte, gesturi, imagini, se recurge la oralitate, fără trecerea ei prin forma scrisă, clasele gramaticale se predau prin metoda inductivă. Metoda directă nu a avut succes în plan

instituțional, datorită intransigenței în utilizarea traducerii, inflației lexicale incontrolabile, refuzului profesorilor de a aplica această metodă impusă instituțional, printr-o circulară, precum și datorită competențelor orale puțin dezvoltate ale profesorilor de limbi străine.

d. *Metoda activă* s-a impus între 1920 și 1960 și a reprezentat un compromis între metoda tradițională și metoda directă. Așadar, conform metodei directe, didacticienii permit utilizarea limbii materne în clasă, unul dintre obiective fiind crearea unei ambianțe favorabile, care să stimuleze motivația.

e. *Metoda audio-orală* s-a dezvoltat în timpul celui de-al doilea Război Mondial, din nevoia de a-i învăța pe soldații americani să vorbească și alte limbi decât engleza, s-a practicat doar doi ani, dar a avut impact în didactica limbilor străine. Metoda audio-orală reprezintă un amestec între psihologia behavioristă și structuralismul lingvistic. Premisa este aceea că limbajul e un comportament uman, iar obiectivul cursurilor de limbi străine este de a forma reflexe lingvistice, prin metoda repetiției intensive care facilitează memorarea și automatismele. Cursanții fac exerciții repetitive și exerciții de imitație, iar vocabularul e pus în plan secund, în raport cu structurile sintactice. Metoda a fost criticată pentru lipsa de transfer în afara clasei.

f. *Metoda situațională engleză* s-a impus în jurul anilor 1950 și a avut la bază teoria behavioristă, dar a adus ca noutate practicarea structurilor sintactice în situații concrete. Parcursul demersului didactic implică introducerea cunoștințelor, fixarea în memorie prin repetiție și utilizarea structurilor, până devin automatisme.

g. *Metoda structuro-globală-audio-vizuală* a dominat didactica limbilor străine în Franța, între 1960 și 1970. Coerența metodei constă în folosirea conjugată a imaginii și a sunetului. Limba era considerată ansamblu acustico-vizual, iar gramatica, situațiile de comunicare și contextele lingvistice aveau ca scop integrarea cerebrală a stimulilor exteriori. Vocabularul se învață prin imagini, fără traducere, gramatica se predă intuitiv, cursanții fiind cei care deduc regulile. Metoda SGAV e definită de specialiști ca fiind o prelungire a metodei directe. În plus, viziunea structuro-globală-audio-vizuală ține cont de contextele sociale de utilizare a unei limbi, ceea ce conduce istoria disciplinei spre abordarea comunicativă, revoluționară pentru didactica limbilor străine, în ultimele decenii ale secolului trecut.

h. *Abordarea comunicativă* s-a dezvoltat începând cu anii 1970. E bazată pe funcționalism lingvistic și pe cognitivism psihologic. Premisa acestei metode este aceea că a învăța o limbă înseamnă a învăța să te comporți adecvat în diferite situații de comunicare. Învățarea unei limbi nu mai e considerată un proces de creare de mecanisme, ci un proces creativ.

Autoarea studiului publicat în 2001 se oprește aici cu istoria metodologiilor în didactica limbilor străine, descriind contextul actual prin sintagmele „eclectism metodologic", „criză metodologică" și remarcă un oarecare declin al abordării comunicative. Mergând mai departe și urmărind studii și documente de referință pentru didactica limbilor străine, din ultimii 20-30 de ani, aș remarca faptul că o nouă paradigmă metodologică în predarea limbilor străine are deja tradiție: perspectiva acțională și didactica limbilor-culturi. CECRL promovează abordarea axată pe acțiune, care se pliază pe profilul cursantului din Europa actuală (CECRL, p. 15).

i. *Abordarea acțională* se impune începând cu anii 1990. Cursantul devine actor social și trebuie să rezolve o sarcină de lucru care nu întotdeauna este de natură comunicativă, ci poate presupune rezolvarea unei probleme extralingvistice, cu care se poate confrunta orice actor social. Cursantul trebuie să ajungă la un rezultat, folosind toate resursele cognitive, afective, precum și totalitatea capacităților pe care le posedă. Perspectiva acțională este informată de socio-constructivism, astfel încât, învățarea reprezintă negocierea sensului, este eminamente socială și implică interacțiune cu Celălalt, interconexiune prin comunicare și acțiune asupra realității, împreună cu Celălalt (Piccardo, 2014).

## b. De la abordarea comunicativă, la abordarea acțională

Pentru o mai bună definire a caracteristicilor viziunii acționale și pentru a evidenția punctele de tangență între conceptul de student-moderator și abordarea acțională, vom sublinia câteva diferențe între abordarea comunicativă și cea acțională. Comunicativismul în didactica limbilor străine intră în declin, la finalul secolului al XX-lea, în timp ce abordarea acțională se impune și propune o reală ruptură epistemologică, în anii 2000 (Bourguignon, 2006, p. 59).

Diferențele majore între cele două perspective menționate mai sus, sunt date de contexte socio-culturale diferite și, în consecință, de politicile lingvistice diferite. Căderea zidului Berlinului și destrămarea URSS-ului au determinat o redefinire a spațiului geopolitic european și a frontierelor

culturale și lingvistice. Una dintre consecințe a fost vasta mobilitate socială, economică și lingvistică. Aceste noi condiții socio-politice au condus la nevoia de redefinire a politicilor lingvistice în Europa (Piccardo, 2014, p. 6). În plus, dezvoltarea Uniunii Europene, noul context socio-politic datorat imigranților tot mai numeroși, veniți de pe toate continentele, precum și eficiența dovedită a sistemului Cambridge au dus la constituirea *Cadrului European Comun de Referință pentru Limbi.* Situația socială de referință pentru abordarea comunicativă este călătoria turistică, care implică schimburi ocazionale și punctuale între europeni. De aici, caracteristicile dialogurilor simulate, ca rezultat al sarcinilor de lucru comunicativiste, sunt convorbiri între persoane care nu se cunosc și sunt la prima conversație. Contactele inițiale pe subiecte culturale se bazează, de cele mai multe ori, pe stereotipii, comunicarea presupune doar schimb de informații, iar dialogurile din manualele comunicativiste sunt închise în ele însele, caracterizate prin unitatea timpului, a locului, a personajelor și a acțiunii. Întâlnirea dintre cursanții în ipostaza de turiști este trăită esențialmente individual, iar conversațiile se fac în perechi (Puren, 2006 (1), p 40). În schimb, CECRL are în vedere mai multe situații de referință, nu doar ipostaza de turist: conviețuirea persoanelor de limbi și de culturi diferite, într-o societate multiculturală și multilingvă. De asemenea, mobilitățile din domeniul profesional reprezintă o altă categorie de situații sociale de referință pentru CERCL (Puren, 2006 (1), p. 40). Așadar, abordarea comunicativă nu este suficientă pentru noile condiții socio-culturale și se impune perspectiva acțională, pliată pe profilul cursantului actual. În abordarea acțională, dialogurile nu mai au scopul schimbului de informații, ci al acționării împreună cu Celălalt, al interacțiunii sociale pentru îndeplinirea unei misiuni comune. Demersurile didactice comunicativiste au în centru cursantul activ, dar sarcinile de lucru nu îl activează suficient, astfel încât el să devină actor social (Perrot, 2010, p. 48): nu solicită toate competențele cursantului, ci doar pe cele comunicative. În viziune acțională, cursantul trebuie să-și folosească toate resursele cognitive, volitive, emoționale etc., pentru a-și îndeplini misiunea. În plus, bariera dintre cursant și agentul didactic se estompează, limitele devin fluide. Studentul poate cere ajutor și poate oferi ajutor, profesorul nemaifiind singurul care știe și care ajută, studentul poate face propuneri și poate avea un rol esențial în deciziile privitoare la demersurile didactice (Perrot, 2010, p. 52).

Dacă perspectiva comunicativă favorizează învățarea individuală, perspectiva acțională favorizează relaționarea cu ceilalți. În timp ce

comunicativismul are ca obiectiv producerea și schimbul de acte lingvistice, acționalismul are ca finalitate actele sociale și acțiunea în context social. De asemenea, paradigma optimizării continue este înlocuită, în noua perspectivă didactică, de paradigma adecvării la context, la situația de învățare și la cursanți. (Bourguignon, 2006, p. 61). Didactica comunicativistă aduce societatea în sala de clasă, în timp de didactica acționalistă deschide ușa sălii de clasă spre societate. Analiza unui obiect de cunoaștere în abordarea comunicativă este înlocuită cu concepția proiectului (Bourguignon, 2006, p. 62). Dacă din perspectivă comunicativă, comunicarea este finalitatea în sine a învățării limbilor, din perspectivă acțională, comunicarea este în serviciul acțiunii, astfel încât nu se poate deconecta comunicarea de un obiectiv extralingvistic de atins. Sarcinile de învățare devin proiecte de predare/învățare, într-o logică acțională. Cursantul are „misiuni", pentru îndeplinirea cărora accesează toate competențele comunicative, în mod integrat (înțelegere, producere, interacțiune) și mai mult, presupune o luare de poziție (Bourguignon, 2006, p. 66).

În continuare, vom evidenția avantajele pe care le oferă ipostaza studentului-moderator, în demersurile didactice la nivelul A1, precum și elementele de tip acțional ale secvențelor didactice gestionate de studenți.

## Cursantul-moderator – descentralizarea procesului de predare

Soluția pe care am găsit-o în încercarea de a le da cursanților rolul de actori sociali, utilizând resursele de tip comunicativ, a fost aceea de a introduce conceptul de student-moderator. Întrucât activitățile de înțelegere a textelor scrise și audio, precum și cele de dezvoltare a competenței lexico-gramaticale propun, de cele mai multe ori, exerciții cu răspuns unic, de alegere multiplă, de asociere, de completare, de transformare etc., apare posibilitatea ca studenții să-și piardă interesul. Așadar, am propus ideea studentului-moderator, iar gradul crescut de implicare cognitivă și emoțională a studenților, precum și rezultatele în planul microsocietății clasei, m-au determinat să aplic în mod constant acest procedeu de didactică inversată. În ce constă acesta? Studenții primesc sarcina de lucru, fie exerciții de gramatică sau vocabular, fie exerciții de înțelegere a textelor orale sau scrise și lucrează în perechi pentru a o realiza. Pentru etapa de validare a răspunsurilor propuse, precum și pentru întrebările suplimentare de vocabular ale studenților, un student adoptă rolul de moderator. Acesta vine în fața clasei și moderează etapa de verificare a răspunsurilor propuse de echipele de lucru și de stabilire a răspunsurilor corecte. De fapt, este o

secvență de negociere a sensului, pentru a scrie pe tablă răspunsurile adoptate de întreaga clasă, în urma argumentelor aduse de colegi în favoarea unui răspuns sau a altuia. Studentul moderator este învestit cu puterea de a desemna persoanele care vorbesc, de a cere explicații suplimentare, de a valida răspunsurile, precum și cu responsabilitatea de a gestiona răspunsurile colegilor, pentru a ajunge la o soluție cu care toată lumea este de acord. În acest timp, cadrul didactic este alături de studenți, plasat spațial într-un loc marginal, iar intervențiile verbale ale acestuia sunt minimizate, impuse doar de situațiile în care moderatorul intră într-un impas și nu poate fi ajutat de colegi să depășească momentul dificil. Totuși, experiența ne-a ilustrat faptul că atât studentul moderator, cât și colegii acestuia cer permanent feedback din partea cadrului didactic, iar atât timp cât nu apar probleme pe care moderatorul împreună cu colegii lor să le poată depăși singuri, simpla aprobare gestuală este suficientă, pentru ca studentul moderator să continue activitatea și să-și mențină stilul de lucru.

Studentul moderator este obligat să adreseze întrebări în limba română, să aprecieze răspunsurile, să îi antreneze pe colegi în procesul de negociere a sensului, să ceară acordul colegilor pentru notarea pe tablă a răspunsurilor adoptate de întreaga clasă, iar în final să răspundă, în calitatea de expert, la întrebările suplimentare privitoare la exercițiul respectiv (aspecte de vocabular, de gramatică etc.) ale colegilor. În acest sens, strategia pe care am indus-o, în calitate de cadru didactic, este de a relansa întrebarea în grupul de lucru, astfel încât, răspunsul să vină tot din partea clasei. Dacă nici studentul-moderator, nici colegii acestuia nu pot răspunde la întrebare, intervine cadrul didactic cu întrebări ajutătoare.

Întrebările și formulele pe care studentul moderator le folosește în mod constant, după ce anunță numărul itemului, sunt: *Cine dorește să răspundă?/ Cine răspunde?/Ce propuneri aveți? Te rog. Mulțumesc! Sunteți de acord?/Toată lumea este de acord? Aveți și alte propuneri/soluții? De ce? Bine. Foarte bine! Aveți întrebări? Cine știe răspunsul la întrebare? Sunteți de acord cu răspunsul?* În final, studentul moderator se întoarce la locul din bancă, în aplauzele colegilor, ceea ce vine să sprijine ideea implicării și a colaborării acționale a cursanților. Vom prezenta în continuare o secvență coordonată de studentul-moderator, reconstituită. Trebuie să menționăm că exercițiul exemplificat a fost făcut la finalul anului universitar, când studenții aveau experiența moderării, astfel încât soluțiile corecte au fost găsite prin negociere, fără intervenția verbală a cadrului didactic.

**Citiți textul și decideți dacă afirmațiile sunt adevărate (A) sau false (F):**
*Tratamente naturiste pentru gripă*
*Semne pentru gripă*
*Când sunteți răcit, vă doare gâtul și strănutați sau tușiți, dar nu aveți temperatură ridicată. Știți că aveți gripă, dacă aveți febră, dacă vă dor mușchii, aveți dureri de cap și de gât. Nu aveți energie și obosiți repede.*
*Alimentație sănătoasă*
*Beți ceaiuri calde de plante medicinale, între patru și șase căni pe zi, mâncați legume bogate în vitamina C și A (morcovi, varză, conopidă, pătrunjel, spanac etc.), brânză de vaci, iaurt sau alte lactate.*
*Mâncați puțin și des. În primele zile, alimentele vor fi fierte, nu prăjite. Se recomandă supe și creme de legume, compoturi de fructe. Numai când vă ridicați din pat puteți mânca alimente crude, salate de legume sau fructe (mere, portocale, mandarine, lămâi, kiwi etc.).*
*De asemenea, consumați zilnic ceapă. Mâncați doi-trei căței de usturoi de două trei ori pe zi, între mese. Usturoiul este antibiotic natural.*
*Recomandări*
*Trebuie să stați în pat, într-o cameră aerisită, curată și încălzită. Puteți face un masaj cu ulei aromatic sau puteți bea mult ceai de plante. Un duș fierbinte este întotdeauna eficient.*

**1**. Când avem gripă, avem temperatură ridicată.
**2**. Când suntem răciți, ne dor mușchii.
**3**. Când avem gripă, în primele zile, trebuie să mâncăm multe legume crude bogate în vitamina C.
**4**. Lactatele sunt recomandate când avem gripă.
**5**. Când vrem să ne vindecăm de gripă, trebuie să mâncăm multă ceapă, de mai multe ori pe zi. (Platon et al., p. 192)

**Studentul-moderator**: Unu. *Când avem gripă, avem temperatură ridicată*. Cine știe răspunsul? Ana, te rog!
**A**: Fals
**Studentul-moderator**: De ce?
**A**: „[...] nu aveți temperatură ridicată".
**Studentul-moderator**: Sunteți de acord?
**Colegii**: Da. [Se scrie pe tablă].
**A-S**: Eu nu sunt de acord.
**Studentul-moderator**: De ce?
**A-S**: "Când sunteți răcit [...] nu aveți temperatură ridicată. [...] aveți gripă dacă faceți febră". Febra este temperatură ridicată.
**M**: Ce semnifică *răcit*?
**Studentul moderator**: Cine știe? Ce semnifică răcit? [Nu răspunde nimeni]
**Cadrul didactic**: Când afară e rece, nu e cald, când e iarnă, când sunt minus 15 grade, putem răci, adică putem face o viroză respiratorie.
**D**: *Rhume*?
**Cadrul didactic:** Exact!
**Studentul moderator:** Deci enunțul unu e „adevărat"?
**Colegii**: Da.

**Studentul moderator:** Sunteți de acord? Toată lumea este de acord? [Se șterge propunerea anterioară și se scrie pe tablă]. Mulțumesc, A-S! Doi. *Când suntem răciți, ne dor mușchii.* Adevărat sau fals? S, Te rog!

**S**: Fals.

**Studentul moderator:** De ce?

**S**: „Aveți gripă dacă [...] vă dor mușchii".

**Studentul moderator:** Sunteți de acord sau aveți altă propunere?

**Colegii:** De acord. [Se notează pe tablă „F"].

**Studentul moderator:** Enunțul trei. Adevărat sau fals? B, te rog!

**B**: Adevărat.

**Studentul moderator:** Mulțumesc! De ce?

**B**: „[...] mâncați legume bogate în vitamina C și A".

**Studentul moderator:** Sunteți de acord?

**Colegii:** Da.

**Studentul moderator:** Toată lumea e de acord?

**A-S**: Nu. Eu nu sunt de acord, B!

**B:** De ce?

**A-S:** "În primele zile, alimentele vor fi fierte ... Numai când vă ridicați din pat puteți mânca alimente crude".

**B:** Ce înseamnă „fierte"?

**A-S:** Ce înseamnă fierte? Cine știe?

**R:** Bouilli?

**Cadrul didactic**: Da. Transformate termic. Supa conține legume fierte, dar salata conține legume crude.

**Studentul moderator:** Deci ce soluție propuneți?

**Colegii:** Fals.

**Studentul moderator:** Toată lumea este de acord?

**Colegii:** Da.

[...]

**Studentul moderator:** Aveți întrebări?

**M**: Da. Ce semnifică *vă ridicați din pat*?

**Studentul moderator:** Cine știe?

Interacțiunea în vederea adoptării soluțiilor finale orientează secvența didactică spre o abordare acțională. Menționez elemente de tip acțional. În primul rând, studentul-moderator devine actor social, preia rolul profesorului, în microgrupul clasei și are sarcina precisă de găsi soluții la exerciții cu răspunsuri unice, cu care toți colegii sunt de acord. Rolul de student-moderator îi oferă un statut privilegiat, cu putere de decizie: cine răspunde, ce ritm adoptă, ce criterii de desemnare a respondenților folosește, ce întrebări adresează, ce soluție adoptă etc. De asemenea, studentul-moderator are responsabilitatea de a gestiona interacțiunea dintre colegi și soluțiile contradictorii. În al doilea rând, comunicarea este autentică, nu simulată, ca în paradigma comunicativă. Cursanții trebuie să îndeplinească o misiune, respectiv validarea răspunsurilor la exerciții pe care le-au realizat

individual sau în perechi. Comunicarea este mijloc pentru îndeplinirea misiunii, nu scop în sine. În plus, interacțiunile verbale nu presupun schimb de informații, ci deseori reprezintă scurte argumentații, cu argumente pro și contra unei soluții propuse.

Această strategie de descentralizare a procesului învățării antrenează cursanții într-un joc de putere și de interrelaționare care, pe lângă validarea răspunsurilor, implică multe alte rezultate în plan cognitiv, social și emoțional. În continuare, vom detalia avantajele pe care le aduce introducerea studentului-moderator în demersul didactic.

### a. Descentralizarea procesului de învățare

Procesul de învățare se descentralizează, cadrul didactic nu mai are rol central în etapa de verificare a exercițiilor, nu mai este pe o poziție ierarhică superioară, în raport cu studenții, prin deținerea răspunsurilor corecte. Profesorul adoptă o poziție marginală, devine consultant și adjuvant pentru situațiile în care studentul-moderator nu are instrumentele necesare pentru a gestiona conversațiile de negociere a sensului. Printr-un mesaj implicit, adoptarea rolului de student-moderator presupune găsirea soluțiilor de către studentul-moderator, prin apelarea la colegi, nu prin apelarea la profesor. Menținerea rolului de student- moderator până la finalul exercițiului, respectiv găsirea soluțiilor, fără a scoate profesorul din rolul de coechipier reprezintă reușita secvenței și atrage aprecierea celorlalți, prin aplauze. În timp, rolul de moderator este evaluat de către clasă, astfel încât, aplauzele devin adevărate indicii privind succesul strategiei adoptate. Așadar, studentul trebuie să găsească soluții, fără a spune „nu știu", ci prin relansarea întrebării și căutarea răspunsurilor în rândul coechipierilor, a colegilor. Dacă totuși studentul moderator nu poate răspunde la întrebările studenților, nu poate gestiona o situație, primește indicații de soluționare a problemei din partea cadrului didactic, dar nu răspunsurile. Dacă la început, în calitate de cadru didactic, confirmam răspunsurile adoptate de clasă, gestual sau verbal, cu timpul, în calitate de cadru didactic, am renunțat la statutul de specialist, în favoarea celui de coechipier, oferind cursanților încredere și ultimul cuvânt, în stabilirea răspunsurilor finale, scrise pe tablă de studentul-moderator. Descentralizarea procesului de învățare atrage mutații considerabile: binomul profesor – student, funcțional secole la rând în demersurile didactice se transformă în binomul student – student (pentru etapa de lucru în echipă pentru realizarea sarcinii de lucru), respectiv student – studenți (pentru etapa de verificare a exercițiului). În plus, interacțiunea

între cursanți este mult mai motivantă decât interacțiunea permanentă profesor – student. Atenția studenților este mai bine antrenată, cursanții se concentrează mai mult, atunci când colegul lor este moderator, în poziția de a-i provoca la răspuns în orice moment. Sigur, ipostaza de coechipier este adoptată doar în etapa de verificare a itemilor de tip obiectiv, cadrul didactic reluându-și rolul de specialist în etapele de introducere a noțiunilor noi.

*b. Integrarea activităților de comunicare (receptare și producere de mesaje scrise și orale)*

Pentru nivelul A1, spre deosebire de nivelurile superioare, exercițiile structurale care au ca scop dezvoltarea competenței lexico-gramaticale, au o pondere mai mare. În acest context, rolul studentului-moderator compensează acest dezechilibru între comunicarea orală și exercițiile de gramatică și vocabular. Studentul-moderator este obligat să producă mesaj oral, îi determină pe colegi să se implice în receptarea și producerea de mesaj oral, pentru negocierea sensului și pentru găsirea soluțiilor finale. De asemenea, studentul-moderator trebuie să scrie pe tablă cuvinte în limba română și în acest fel, se exersează ortografierea cuvintelor. Studentul moderator realizează o scriere asistată, întrucât colegii intervin cu observații și îl ajută, atunci când cuvântul nu este scris corect. În acest fel, atenția studenților este orientată și asupra dificultăților în scrierea unor cuvinte. În schimb, atunci când doar cadrul didactic scrie pe tablă, iar studenții copiază de pe tablă, absența greșelilor de scriere nu oferă șansa micilor momente de reflecție asupra scrierii.

*c. Interacțiunea socială pentru negocierea sensului*

Sensul se negociază, se construiește prin interacțiune socială, nu este dat, nu este predefinit; procesul de verificare nu înseamnă doar concordanța dintre răspunsurile date de cursanți și răspunsurile validate științific. Negocierea în sine reprezintă o etapă de comunicare esențială în demersul de învățare. Transferarea sarcinilor de la profesor la studentul-moderator atrage intensificarea contactelor între membrii grupului de lucru și multiplicarea situațiilor în care interacționează și în care folosesc limba română ca mijloc de mediere. Ritmul de lucru este mai lent decât în situația în care profesorul validează răspunsurile, iar numărul de exerciții realizabile în unitatea de timp este mai mic, însă câștigurile sunt remarcabile în planul funcțiilor comunicative, al interacțiunii, al implicării emoționale și al motivației studenților.

### d. Empatia și sudarea grupului de lucru

Spiritul de echipă, empatia și sudarea grupului de lucru sunt alte avantaje pe care le oferă introducerea studentului-moderator. Cursanții îl ajută pe cursantul-moderator în probleme de ortografie sau când acesta le cere ajutorul, cursantul moderator îi ajută pe colegii lui cu întrebări suplimentare, evită situațiile neconfortabile pentru colegi, respectiv nu desemnează persoane care nu sunt pregătite să răspundă. În plus, studentul-moderator este pus în situația de a acționa prin funcții comunicative: îi invită pe colegi să participe la realizarea sarcinii, apreciază răspunsurile lor, cere argumente în favoarea unui răspuns sau contraargumente, pentru a ajunge la soluția finală, le cere ajutorul și le mulțumește pentru implicare. Așadar, studentul moderator are un rol social și interacționează cu colegii lui în virtutea acestui rol. Schimbul de replici este autentic, nu simulat, cursanții comunică, pentru a acționa împreună, pentru a realiza o sarcină comună, nu doar pentru a produce secvențe dialogale corespunzătoare diferitelor situații de comunicare clasice, de altfel: *la cumpărături, la medic, la restaurant* etc. corespunzătoare abordării comunicative.

### e. Dinamismul

Schimbarea continuă a studentului-moderator oferă dinamism, alternanță în ceea ce privește ritmul de lucru, criteriile de desemnare a respondenților și atmosfera. Dacă profesorul are anumite tendințe de a colabora cu anumiți studenți și de a-i pune în umbră pe alții, schimbarea permanentă a studenților-moderatori elimină riscul de a aplica aceleași criterii în desemnarea persoanelor care răspund: unii studenți desemnează cursanții în ordinea din bănci, alții îi desemnează pe cei care ridică mâna, alții îi desemnează pe cei care nu au răspuns încă sau care nu se își anunță explicit dorința de colaborare. În acest fel, toți membrii grupului de lucru sunt implicați în mod aproape egal. De asemenea, deciziile privitoare la desemnarea studenților-moderatori le revine tot cursanților. Profesorul doar dă sarcina de a numi o altă persoană care va avea rolul de moderator, iar studentul-moderator alege/invită o altă persoană pentru rolul de moderator. În felul acesta, cursantul este învestit cu putere de decizie în privința secvenței următoare, cu responsabilitatea de a da o sarcină de lucru unui coleg, precum și cu autoritate. Se construiesc relații, în afara exercițiilor, cursanții sunt atenți la aceste jocuri de putere, comunică în limba română pentru a acționa, interacționează mai mult și contribuie la coeziunea grupului de lucru. Reușita în gestionarea secvențelor de validare a

răspunsurilor, în negocierea sensului, pentru a ajunge la răspunsurile finale scrise pe tablă, îi oferă moderatorului încrederea și motivația de a comunica în limba română.

### f. Implicarea pentru construirea unui statut social în grupul de lucru

Posibilitatea de a fi desemnați ca moderatori sau ca respondenți îi ține pe studenți prezenți și activi pe tot parcursul cursului. De obicei, dacă sunt desemnați de profesor ca studenți-moderatori, șansele de a refuza sunt mai mari decât în situația în care sunt desemnați de un coleg. Așadar, poziția socială în interiorul grupului de lucru, atât de importantă pentru cursanți, este definită și prin acest rol social, din cadrul cursului practic de limba română.

## Concluzii

Prin acest studiu, am ilustrat o modalitate de a răspunde nevoilor de învățare ale studenților din generația actuală. Atribuirea rolului de profesor/moderator studentului reprezintă o procedură simplă de descentralizare a procesului de predare-învățare a limbii române ca limbă străină, la nivelul A1. În plus, activitățile didactice clasice pot fi transformate în secvențe de tip acțional, în care studenții învață prin interacțiune socială, ducând la final o sarcină de natură extralingvistică, îndeplinind o misiune, respectiv găsirea soluțiilor pentru exerciții cu răspuns unic, fără intervenția profesorului. Puterea de a lua decizii cu care este înzestrat studentul-moderator, precum și responsabilitatea de a gestiona întreaga clasă îi atrage pe studenți într-un scenariu similar cu cel din jocurile video. De asemenea, interacțiunea între studenți, spiritul de echipă în realizarea sarcinii de lucru, atribuirea rolului de student-moderator tot de către studenți implică construirea unor relații care sudează grupul de lucru și le oferă studenților un confort emoțional necesar în învățarea și practicarea unei limbi străine, la nivelul A1. La finalul anului universitar, le-am cerut studenților un feedback privitor la cursurile practice de limba română. Majoritatea aspectelor pe care le-au menționat cursanții sunt în directă relație cu viziunea acțională impusă prin introducerea studentului-moderator, în scenariul didactic: eficacitatea învățării, participarea orală, activitățile în grupe de lucru, participarea întregii clase, interacțiunea între cursanți, ritmul de învățare adecvat. Așadar, filosofia acțională în predarea limbilor străine poate fi soluția prin care demersul didactic se pliază pe profilul și pe nevoile de învățare prin interacțiune socială, ale actualilor cursanți.

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# II. Lingvistică teoretică și aplicată

# The Typology of Cognitive Scenarios
# in Juridical Language: Universal and Particular

## DOINA BUTIURCA[1]

**Abstract:** The juridical field developed on the basis of varied cognitive schemata, consonant with the type of culture of a given period in the history of juridical language, with the type of society, with the mode of representation typical to that community, etc. It is the assertion we start from in our research. The general objective of the paper is the (partial!) research of quasi-universal cognitive scenarios offered by the Roman law in comparison with the particular features of modern law. Derived objectives: research of conceptual scenarios offered by Roman law – the ontological model, ontological dynamics, the anthropological model, etc; research of juridical linguistics from a descriptive-linguistic and structural perspective, research of the type of juridical metaphor.

One of the conclusions that we reach is that in juridical language the discourse about the referent, though conceptual in nature was constituted with compliance to certain preconceptual schemata, scenarios, metaphors built by analogy.

**Keywords**: *juridical, universal, particular, cognitive scenarios, juridical linguistics*.

## I. Observations regarding metaphor/conceptual scenarios in Roman law: the ontological model

The themes of the fields/branches of law imposes different cognitive schema, consonant with the type of culture of a given period in the history of formation of the juridical language, with the type of society, with the community's modes of representation, etc. There are quasi-universal scenarios, such as: JURIDICAL PROCEDURE IS a PATH; it was researched in English, German and Spanish terminology (see Laura Vegara Fabregat/ Ana Mansilla Pérez *Metáfora jurídica en la fraseología contrastiva en alemán y en español: el esquema de CAMINO, 2017*) on the basis of the PATH scenario, proposed by Lakoff and Mark Johnson (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999).

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It would be appropriate to note that the aforementioned scenario existed in Roman law, if we have in view the frequency of such verbs as *sequitur* and the noun *via, ae: actor sequitur; electa via*.

How did the Romans define the concept of *ius* and what are its conceptual schema?

I. Law is the art of the Good (*Ius est ars boni et aequi,* Celsus):

II. Law respects the natural given of the human being (*ius naturae/ ius naturale*)

III. The ontological model is very coherent in the process of conceptualising laws, procedures, the method: "prescription does not flow"(*Contra non valentem agere non currit praescriptio*); **"**..adoption imitates nature" (*Adoptio imitatur naturam…*), "from more to less" *(A maiori ad minus***)** are only a few of the laws that have passed the test of time. It is a complex model by summing up the features and principles common to any existence that can be summed up as follows:

1. *RES*: ACTIONS/JURIDICAL ACT/COMMON DECISIONS/ PROBATIVE FACTS/COSMIC GOOD (light,─air) etc. are *RES* (a plurivocal noun in the Latin language): *res iudicata/ res certa/ res probantes/ Res communis* (goods destinated for common use: light, air, etc. They cannot be private property according to Roman law). To designate patrimony, material things (belonging to a person) Romans used the term *res* (r*es mancipi* – slaves, land and animals; *res nec mancipi,* etc). *Fruits* is a conceptual metaphor of material goods in the juridical sense, etc.

In Roman law there are over 20 juridical concepts formed on basis of the *res* metaphor. There are few cases where *res* is used as a synonym of *facta.* Only *res probandae/ res probantes* are doubled by *facta probantia/ facta probanda.* Romanian juridical lexis uses the terms *proprietate* (property) and *bunuri* (goods) *public goods/private goods*).

A primary observation must be made regarding the fact that in the modern juridical field, conceptual constructs were developed starting from the same Roman model. The terminology is different though (Neolatin in source, especially French), if we have in view the Romanian language, for example.

The same ontological scenario comprises the analogy: LAWS are OBJECTS.

2. RATIO: juridical thinking. The most important contribution Roman law made was the development of modern juridical thinking. Both to the man of culture (Gémar, Jean-Claude 1990; Irinescu, Teodora 2003) and to the science specialist, Roman law led to the formation of juridical

practical feeling, through cognitive scenarios, which made it possible to concretize the abstract.

JURIDICAL THINKING is NATURE'S RIGHT REASON.

Right reasons "spread in all, constant and eternal"(*recta ratio, nature congruens difussa in omnes, constans sempiterna...),* conforming with the idea that nature is the fundamental model, was one of the laws that could not be abolished in the Roman law (see Cicero);

3. ANALOGY: Analogy was a procedure for constructive interpretation and highlighted the creative function of interpretation (*analogia iuris* – "Analogy of law"). It is the method through which, in the juridical practice, they made use of the natural laws.

4. ONTOLOGICAL DYNAMICS: Derived from the ontological model we have the cognitive schema: THE HUMAN BEING'S NATURAL STATE is WAR/FIGHT.

Through the expression *bellum omnium contra omnes* (everyone's war against everyone) – the Romans denominated the natural, presocial state of human kind (see Thomas Hobbes); through *homo homini lupus est* (see Plautus) relationships are characterised in the humans' natural state.

The ontological dynamics represent a cognitive schema that is omnipresent in modern law, easy to reconfigure conceptually (see chapter on *Extraordinary appeal paths*):

- PETITION/ APPEAL in a trial is ATTACK.
  Phraseology/fixed constructions are most revealing in this sense:
  - *decizia poate fi atacată de persoana*…; the decision may be appealed against by ...
  - *Hotărârile irevocabile pot fi atacate;* irrevocable decisions may be subject to redress.
  - *căi/ cale de atac*; appeal ways/paths.
  - *să atace o hotărâre judecătorească*; appeal against a court order.
  - *să depună o acţiune împotriva (martorului/ persoanei juridice/ refuzului ofiţerului de stare civilă/ hotărârilor pronunţate*) etc.; file a petition against (the witness/juridical person/refusal of the civil officer/orders), etc.

### I.1. The scenario of the juridical path

The scenario of the juridical path is a quasi-universal feature of modern juridical language.

THE ABSTRACT PATH of juridical procedures became known to the uninitiated through the analogy: *the abstract path is the concrete path*. It is a quasi-universal metaphoric schema that we find in Romanian law if we

look into the nature of verbs and nouns in phraseology. We find the scenario of the *path* from point A to point B, the juridical path in numerous phrases. There is a cognitive difference of representation and a terminological differentiation in accordance with the starting point, route and final destination/point of achieving objectives. We consulted in this sense *Law 202/2010 regarding some measures for the acceleration of solving trials*, as well as the Romanian *Code of Civil Procedure, consolidated in 2009*.

Cognitive constructs develop as a scenario: JURIDICAL PROCEDURE is a PATH. Applying one of Lakoff's schemas (Lakoff 1980), the elements of this scenario are: 1. *the initial situation* (ontological/source-domain): the metaphor of the road (for example: "requests setting in motion the criminal proceedings"); II. *Succession of events* is sustained by phraseological structures of the type: *în cursul urmăririi penale* – during criminal prosecution*, să întreprindă acțiuni în justiție* – take legal steps*; să urmeze legea* – abide by the law*; să urmeze regula* – follow the rules*; să urmărească un caz* – follow a case*; să urmărească un drept* – follow a right; *să urmeze regula* – follow the rule*; pentru a merge la lege / instanță / pentru a iniția acțiuni în justiție / să ia măsuri legale* - go to court / initiate legal procedures / take legal measures*. The succession of events unfolds in tree mode, knowing metaphoric branching – the speacialised register is very well-represented: 1. *complaint* is a type of deviation from the *juridical path* - "the complaint is drawn up", "the complaint against the organ of criminal prosecution"; 2. *appeal* in a trial is another type of deviation from the juridical path, developed on the basis of the *loop model* – sustained by phrases of the type: *să evite legea / să eludeze legea* – evade the law; III. juridical remedies of *complaint, appeal – the complaint suspends enforcement of fines*; *settle a complaint*; *enforcement order; take measures; execute a will*; *execute a sentence*.

Numerous phrases contain verbs of movement (continue, advance, move on) and appear in combination with terms from the abstract field of science: *să ajungă la un verdict / judecată, pentru a trece o rezoluție, să treacă o judecată* – reach a verdict/sentence, to pass a rezolution, pass (a) judgement.

## II. The organic model: the human body

Numerous other source-domains were used by the thinkers of Roman law, found if only partially in the modern juridical field, among which: man, nature, etc. Conceptualization of juridical subjects, material acts, psychological acts, etc. is realised starting from the organic model (the human body), with a role in argumentation and persuasion:

- PERSONALITY (only for free people, not for slaves) is CAPUT (the right to close juridical deals in your own name);
- MATERIAL ACTS are CORPUS. ("Totality of material acts through which physical ownership over a thing is achieved");
- CONCEPTS are CONCRETE ENTITIES;
- JURIDICAL SUBJECTS are PERSONS.

The most original form of conceptualization is the image through which the "person" designates objects of juridical rapports. People participate in juridical life either individually as natural persons or constituting certain groups, as juridical entities. The Romans created this concept and used it, applying it only to free people, not slaves – who were considered to be THINGS. "People's skill of participating in juridical life is called *personality* or juridical capacity." (Roman Law, Molcuț Emil 2006)

In this opposition another metaphoric concept is introduced, *capitis (capacity/ juridical personality)*, to which the "person" is connected. In the general Latin lexis, *caput, capitis* (heads, ends of things, individuals, beings, part / main thing, capital, etc.) was a polysemantic word and became one of the most prolific specialised terms in the vocabulary of Neolatin languages.

POSSESSION as well as DETENTION are ANIMUS ("A person's intent to keep one thing to oneself"). Possession comprised two elements - corpus (material element) and animus (an element of will): INTENTION is ANIMUS (*animus iocandi* – i. to joke, *animus nocendi* – i. to do evil; *a. novandi* – to do anew).

## III. Roman law: general lexis and the terminological metaphor

Roman law was born out of the *juridical habit* (*consuetudo*) kept secret by pontiffs (who sometimes willingly mistook *ius* and *fas,* i.e. law for religion), this being the only source of law for a century after the establishment of the Roman state. The *habit* had, among others, a creative function. Jurisprudents were scientists.

For these reasons, the numerous juridical concepts are ingeniously expressed through savant expressions, fixed expressions (Săuleanu Lucian, Răduleţu Sebastian 2011) - and this is a particular feature of the Latin juridical language. There are structures (Roland, Henri, Boyer, Laurent 1998; Roland, Henri 2002) that contain a huge amount of information: expressions used in common language: *ad litteram, ab initio, in fine, mutatis mutandis, sine qua non, stricto sensu, sine die, sui generis,* etc.; expressions constructed with various pronouns: *a quo* (a construction which designates the concept of date when a juridical act starts producing effects), *de cuius* (synonymous with the term of author or testator, in the case of succession of

will), *sine qua non*, *dies a quo, eo ipso*, *ad-hoc,* etc; expressions formed from of adverbs: *ex abrupto*…: *nunc pro tunc* (now for then ), *ex nunc, ex tunc*, *hic et nunc,* etc.; polylexical syntagms that express general rules, based on conceptual metaphors*: Fructus non sunt nisi decutis impensis* – 'No fruit comes if harvest is not made with expense'; maxims, aphorisms: *ad calendas graecas* (in Ancient Rome, debts were paid on the first day of each month, called *calendae*), *ex cathedra* (an expression used to characterise Popes' decisions regarding dogma), *Alteri ne faceris quod tibi fieri non vis* – Don't do unto others what you don't want done unto you.; adverbial phrases: *in extenso, manu militari, urbi et orbi* etc.; adages, sentences or phrases that form unitary linguistic structures, having a high semantic load: *Dura lex, sed lex* (adage from Roman law), etc.; historical allusion: Hannibal ad portas – "Hannibal at the gates"; expressions with logico-philosophical origins: *a posteriori* (a result deduced from what follows), *a priori* (a result deduced from the previous), *a pari,* etc. *Tabula rasa* – clean(ed) board is a syntagm that appeared with the Stoics and was consacrated in the modern era by John Locke. In the field of juridical sciences, the syntagm is used in international public law, in state successions to treaties, to designate the rule according to which successor states are not bound by international treaties by predecessor states; polylexical structures with high juridical specialisation: *res iudicata pro veritate accipitur* "the judged thing is accepted as expressing the truth", *onus probandi incubat actori* "the plaintiff must make proof for the cause" (fundamental rule of the trial procedure), etc. They are structures having concise forms and can be easily memorised.

Using adages is a quasi-universal feature of current juridical language that we find in the structure of the juridical system, in the formulation of legal principles (Cornu, Gérard 1990; Batiffol, Henri 1978).From among the functions mentioned in the specialty literature we propose: the function of Latin adages to designate juridical concepts; the mnemotechnical function and the role to disambiguate the utterance, in the situation where national languages formulate obscurely; the constitutive function; the argumentative function – serving to formulate the assertions and argumentation, the solemn function, etc.

## IV. Particular features in the Romanian juridical language

Romanian juridical language is ecclectic: it has Latin roots through the savant compounds, it has elements from Neolatin languages, especially French, to which elements are added from the general vocabulary (Stoichiţoiu-Ichim, Adriana 2001) of the Romanian language. From this point of view, the Romanian juridical language is prolific in the expansion of senses and, as a result, in the development of specialised metaphors. The

scientist uses metaphoric schema with which physical notions are taken and projected in the sphere of abstract concepts.

The world family of the Romanian noun *izvor – a izvorî, izvorât* etc. – source, spring - to spring, sprung built a metaphoric schema of sources (found in the definition of the concept) – a particular feature of Romanian juridical language. It is not a component of the road metaphor but designates the source of juridical acts, conflicts in the broad sense: "in requests that spring from a site rapport ... in the actions"; "in requests that spring from an exchange", "in petitions springing from a contract of transportation"; "When representation law springs from the law", "source of law".

There are metaphors with incidence only in the Romanian juridical terminology, stemming from words from the general vocabulary, by analogy. They acquired a certain degree of specialisation: *tulburare* – disturbance, *plângere* – complaint, *împiedicare* – hindrance, *stingere* – supression, *fructele* – fruits, *îngrădirea* – restriction, *tăgada* – uncertain terms (*tulburare a ordinii publice* – public order disturbance, *plângerea este întocmită* – the complaint is made, *tulburarea posesiei* – disturbance of possession, *stingerea unei obligaţii* – suppression of an obligation, *fructele bunurilor* – fruits of the goods; *îngrădirea drepturilor* – restriction of rights, *tăgada paternităţii* – uncertain terms of paternity; *vocaţie de moştenire* – inheritance vocation.). Numerous terms (Bidu-Vrănceanu, A. (coord.), 2002) were formed by *derivation*: *dezlegarea, desfacerea* – dissolution, dispensation (*dezlegarea dată problemelor de drept* – dispensation of law problems, *desfacerea căsătoriei* – dissolution of marriage).

Determined nouns actualise a lexicalised metaphoric sense (through catachresis) inside the juridical syntagm: "Juridical fruits are called income"; "Hidden flaws of the denoted goods". There are conceptual metaphors generated exclusively from words of the general lexis: *fereastră de lumină* – window of light, *fereastră de vedere* – window of view, *picătura streşinii* – drop from the gutter, *vânzare pe încercat e/ pe gustate / cu grămada / pe arvună* – sale upon liking / tasting / wholesale / retainer.

Sense expansion is another source of juridical metaphor: a. Ro. imobil (real estate) – *utilized with the sense of land lot:* "*Real estate,* in this sense is one or more land lots adjoined, regardless of the category of use, with or without constructions upon them." b. Ro. uzanţe (usage) – "by usage we understand the habit (custom) and professional usage";

In the stipulative definitions where the lawmaker imposes, through law – a specialised convenient meaning, juridical metaphor is omnipresent (see Civil Code): a juridical person is any "entity that *meeting the requirements of the law, is a holder of civil rights and obligations*" and appears in opposition to the natural person "an individual person as holder

of civil rights and obligations"; *professional headquarters* are defined indirectly "the one who exploits an enterprise has headquarters (...) of the given enterprise"; *fruits* are defined as being the "produce which derive from usage of goods …". They appear in opposition to *products* which are "obtained from goods upon consumption."

## Conclusions

The general conclusion of the research is that juridical language developed together with a certain type of culture, society and world view in the broad sense. In the process of formation of the field, cognitive models from Roman law played an important part, models that are quasi-universal and have (partially) survived in modern law.

Juridical language, the discourse about the referent, though conceptual in nature, was established with respect given to preconceptual schemas, scenarios, juridical metaphors formed by analogy, ensuring coherence and cohesion of juridical texts, from an heurisitic perspective. As regards the perspective of the relationship with the receiver, there are patterns that make specialised communication transparent.

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# Critical Period Hypothesis Revisited.
# A Neurocognitive Approach

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**Abstract:** There has been a long-standing debate in linguistics over the extent to which language acquisition is biologically linked to age. In this debate, the Critical Period Hypothesis was first proposed by Penfield & Roberts (1959) and later popularised by Lenneberg (1967) and Chomsky (1969). It refers to the existence of certain developmental constraints related to the time a first language can be acquired and it basically states that, if language acquisition does not occur by puberty, some aspects of it can still be learned but full mastery will not be achieved. Supporting or contradicting data come from a wide variety of fields, from theoretical arguments and analogies to other critical periods in biology, such as visual development (Fawcett, Wang & Birch 2005), to experimental and observational studies on deaf and feral children (Jones 1995; Saxton 2010; Vyshedskiy, Mahapatra & Dunn 2017) and bilinguals (Sebastián-Gallés, Echeverría & Bosch 2005) or the effects of ageing on language learning (Harley 1986). Although with less agreement, the CP hypothesis has also been extended many times to second-language acquisition (Birdsong 1999; Singleton & Lengyel 1995).
Despite the amount of empirical data, the debate is still open. The present paper investigates to what extent a neurocognitive theory of language can shed a new light on the matter. It uses the Relational Network Theory (García, Sullivan & Tsiang 2017; Lamb 1999, 2016) in order to assess the main assumptions put forward by the CP hypothesis and it shows that this neurologically plausible theoretical framework has a superior explanatory power in accounting for experimental findings.
**Keywords**: *language acquisition, SLA, Critical Period Hypothesis, neurocognitive linguistics, Relational Network Theory.*

## The Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH)

The idea that language acquisition is biologically linked to age was first proposed by Penfield & Roberts, who observed that "[…] on the purposes of learning languages, the human brain becomes progressively stiff and rigid after the age of nine […]" (Penfield & Roberts 1959:236). It was

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later popularised by Lenneberg (1967), who literally referred to a "critical period". He draws his conclusions from aphasia studies and observes that, when aphasia occurs in children four to ten years of age, the overwhelming majority of these children recover fully and have no aphasic residue in later life. Also, if language has developed before the onset of the disease, language will typically return to a child if he / she is less than nine years old at the time of the catastrophe. On the other hand, aphasia that develops during or after puberty or that has not had time to clear up by this stage, will commonly leave some trace behind which the patient cannot overcome, like odd hesitations, searching for words, utterance of an inappropriate word or sound sequence that cannot be inhibited, etc. (Lenneberg 1967:146-150). These observations led the author to conclude that there are certain "limitations to the acquisition of primary language around puberty" (Lenneberg 1967:178), and with that, to consolidate the CPH:

> Thus, we may speak of a critical period for language acquisition. At the beginning it is limited by lack of maturation. Its termination seems to be related to a loss of adaptability and inability and reorganisation in the brain, particularly with respect to the topographical extent of neurophysiological processes (Lenneberg 1967:179).

Building-up on this evidence from neurolinguistics, Chomsky speaks about an encapsulated Language Acquisition Device (LAD) and observes that this "language-acquisition system may be fully functional only during a « critical period » of mental development or, more specifically, that its various maturational stages […] have critical periods." (Chomsky 1969:206). With that, the CPH has been part of the linguistic mainstream dogma for more than half a century. Several other studies have investigated different aspects of the hypothesis with different results. In addition to aphasia cases, studies on deaf and feral children have also been carried out (Jones 1995; Saxton 2010; Vyshedskiy, Mahapatra & Dunn 2017). The main idea that most of the authors agree upon is that, unless acquired within a "critical period" language will never develop fully.

There is also a "lighter" version of CPH, when applied to Second Language Acquisition (SLA) which means that there is far less agreement on the existence of such a critical period for learning a second language. Some basic observations have been formulated by Scovel (1969) related to the adult native speakers' ability to identify non-natives by their accent immediately and accurately. It was also hypothesized that loss of brain plasticity at about the age of puberty accounts for the surface of foreign

accents. All these observations led to the emergence of "the sooner, the better" myth according to which it is desirable to start the acquisition of a foreign language as soon as possible because there will be better results. However, after thirty years, in a review of the literature, the same author points to a number of studies challenging the CPH and concludes that "we have learned to look at the critical period hypothesis a bit more critically" (Scovel 2000).

In conclusion, although there is still much debate around this topic, most of the studies seem to point to the following two main ideas:

1. Language acquisition seems to be biologically linked to age. If language is not acquired before a certain age (around adolescence), it will never be fully acquired.

2. When dealing with a second language, CPH would account for the emergence of "foreign accents", and is, therefore, valid mostly for speech, not for language in general. The acquisition of a second language seems to occur with more facility earlier in life ("the sooner, the better" myth).

Now, if we take these theses to be true (as suggested by experimental data) we need to answer these two main questions:

a. Why is language acquisition affected after a certain age?
b. How can age-related differences in SLA be explained?

Several speculative, possible answers have been proposed, coming mainly from neurobiology. Penfield & Roberts (1956) believed the phenomenon was due to decreasing brain plasticity, whereas Lenneberg suggested the lateralization of (language) functions as the main cause. Others referred to the maturation timetables of different types of brain cells (Diller 1981 *ap.* Singleton 2007) or even more specific processes such as progressive myelination of axons at neuron level (Pulvermüler & Schumann 1994 *ap.* Singleton 2007). Other explanations, coming from psychology, revolve around the idea that the onset of the so called "formal operations" inhibits the innate mechanisms of language acquisition and that, together with a high "affective filter" in adults, account for the inescapable decline in language acquiring capacity (DeKeyser 2006; Felix 1981; Krashen 1975, 1985; Rosansky 1975; Schumann 1994 *ap.* Singleton 2007).

There is quite a gap between this type of explanations and theoretical linguistics. The mainstream theories cannot offer a coherent model that would, at the same time, account for the experimental findings around the CPH and also encompass the kind of neurobiological and psychological explanations mentioned here. We argue that the neurocognitive model of

language, also known as the Relational Network Theory (RNT), unlike most of other theories, can do that. We will briefly present the main statements made within this framework in the next section and then, we will comment on how this model is compatible with (and explanatory for) the CPH.

**The Relational Network Theory (RNT)**

RNT is a theoretical model of language developed mainly by the American linguist Sydney Lamb. It was first presented as Stratificational Grammar (Lamb 1966) and, after more than thirty years of refining and expanding the model, the theory was fully formulated by Lamb in 1999. Some recent updates were introduced in 2016. Using as a starting point Hjelmslev's observations related to the purely relational nature of linguistic units (Hjelmslev 1961:61), Lamb develops a new model of language based on this main idea of relationships. Although it was not very explicit from the beginning, the theory has always aimed at building a model that correlates with the neural networks in the human brain. This is due to the fact that the theory imposes on itself three fundamental requirements of plausibility: a) operational plausibility (the model should explain how the linguistic system can be put into operation in real time to produce and understand speech); b) developmental plausibility (the model should be able to explain how the system can be learned by children); and c) neurological plausibility (the model must be consistent with what is known about the brain from neurology and cognitive neuroscience) (Lamb 1999).

The main idea, already formulated in the first version of the model (Lamb 1966), and based strictly on linguistic evidence, is that of the linguistic system being a stratified structure. All languages have (at least) four strata: a phonemic stratum, relating phonemic units of different complexity (phonemes such as /ʌ/, or syllables such as /ʌn/), a morphemic stratum, describing the relations of morphemes (such as "under" and "go"), a lexemic stratum, relating lexemes of different complexity (such as "undergo" or "undergo a treatment") and a sememic stratum comprising meanings (the concept UNDERGO). This structure is a hierarchical one which means that at any level, an element is 'content' relative to the lower stratum and, at the same time, is 'expression' relative to the upper one. Furthermore, strata have internal levels of structure and include their own patterns of arrangement, or tactics. For example, at the lexemic level, these patterns govern the way lexemes can be combined. Traditional models call this 'syntax', but it's obvious that the other strata have similar patterns

governing the arrangement of the 'units' at that level, so we can speak of phonotactics, morphotactics and semotactics[2].

The second main statement of RNT is that the linguistic system is a relational network comprising no objects, i.e. no units, but only relationships. The network is made of lines and nodes and a linguistic unit is nothing but a location in the network, the point where all the other nodes and lines to which it is connected converge. The system operates by spreading activation through lines with different (and changing) weights and nodes of different types (AND and OR nodes) and with different (and changing) thresholds. A special notation convention was devised in order to reflect the model (see Lamb 1999:66-83). By putting together these two statements, we can formulate the essential idea of RNT in the following terms: linguistic system is made of multiple interconnected subnetworks.

The model has a high explanatory power and proved to be successful in elegantly accounting for a wide array of linguistic phenomena in English (Lamb 1980, 1999; Sullivan & Tsiang 2011, 2012), Spanish (García 2015; Gil 2014, 2016), Russian (Sullivan W. J. 1969, 2017) and Polish (Sullivan & Tsiang 2017). It has also been used successfully in order to explain several marginal phenomena, which other theoretical models cannot usually explain, such as errors appearing during language acquisition (Lamb 1999), slips of tongue / Freudian slips (Gil 2014) or language contact phenomena (Buzilă 2017). Certainly, the theory comprises many other details not mentioned here, many of them of great complexity and still being explored. For the purpose of this paper - understanding the CPH through the RNT lens - we will only present how learning is conceived by this model so that we can check how this view is compatible with the experimental findings in CPH research.

## Learning in RNT and relevance to CPH

In order to explain how learning is conceived in RNT, we need to add some more details related to the network architecture[3]. In RNT, connections have different weights (strengths) so that a weak connection will carry activation with more difficulty (and slower) than a strong connection. Also, connections carry degrees of activation, a given degree at

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[2] García, Sullivan & Tsiang (2017) rightfully observe that this view of strata having each its own tactics pattern elegantly explain Chomsky's famous *Colorless green ideas sleep furiously* example (Chomsky 1957:15): it "observes lexotactic constraints while diverging from typical or unmarked semotactic patterns" (García, Sullivan & Tsiang 2017:17)

[3] The system is much more complex, we just try to offer a glimpse of how it operates.

any moment. There are excitatory connections carrying positive values and inhibitory connections carrying negative values. Nodes also have different thresholds so, in order to get activated, a high threshold node will need more activation than a low threshold node. Activation on a connection at a given time is the product of its weight and its current value (degree of activation). Nodes collect activations from all incoming connections as 'net input', adding excitatory activations and subtracting inhibitory activations and each node has a threshold activation function to determine the activation value to send out as a function of net input. Finally, all nodes operate in parallel (Lamb 1999:377).

With this architecture and operation mode in place, learning is conceived as the process of establishing connections[4]. In order to account for such a process, Lamb formulates the 'abundance' hypothesis, which states that each node has initially many very weak (latent) connections to many but not to all nodes of neighboring layers, so connections do not appear out of nothing but are a built-in feature from the very beginning. What happens is that some of them will get stronger and become dedicated for processing certain information via a Darwinian process of selection. Lamb explains the process in the following terms:

> […] connections are strengthened when they are active while the node to which they are connected has its threshold satisfied; concomitant with this strengthening, the threshold function is adjusted, to be 'less easily satisfied' in the future" (Lamb 1999:378).

After learning takes places, nodes continue to have many latent connections, but only few strong (established) connections to neighboring layers and their threshold is high so that, in the future, it can only be reached when the strong connections are active.

It is important to note that this process is a bottom-up process, as connections get established at the lower levels first (the ones receiving input from the interface with the physical systems, i.e. sensory organs such as eyes or ears) and subsequently spread to upper levels. Furthermore, we can observe a proliferation of nodes as we move up the hierarchy. This fact is supported also by linguistic data. We know that languages typically have around ten to fifteen phonons (distinctive features), fifteen to sixty-five phonemes, five to ten thousand morphemes, tens of thousands of lexemes and the number of 'units' can get to millions in the case of sememes (Lamb 1999:347). If we correlate these two findings, we can infer that layers of the system (which actually stand for cortical areas on the neocortex) get "filled"

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[4] This model accounts for learning in general, not only for language learning.

gradually from the bottom to the top. In the case of language, this means that, in the first period of life, connections are being established at the lowest level in the phonology stratum to process certain information related to sound features, such as voicing, plosiveness, etc. Next, connections for integrating these features into phonemes get established and so on. Therefore, the system will first discern between low level components such as voiced vs. unvoiced sounds, then will discern between sounds and so on. The same will be valid for production and we know that babies actually start by producing low level sounds, refine them afterwards and then start to integrate them into syllables and later on into basic words. But, at the same time, as the process continues in upper strata, these base connections are constantly being activated, so they become stronger and stronger and thus, they will stop other connections from processing slightly different input. What this means is that, after a while, when connections at the lowest levels get sufficiently strong, no new connections can be established at that level. Therefore, when "new" linguistic sounds (new phonemes) are heard later in life, the system will automatically assimilate them to other sounds, for whose processing the network already has very strong established connections. The other way round, when trying to produce the new sounds, the system will use the same already existing strong connections, resulting in native pronunciation. This model of learning explains why people tend to preserve their native accents when learning a foreign language later in life. It is a matter of inability to build new low level connections in the phonological stratum, and this inability is a consequence of the way learning works, which in turn, is a consequence of the network architecture. Thus, RNT seems to be fully compatible with the "lighter" version of CPH, applied to SLA.

The same reasoning can account for the strong version of CPH. In that case, the lowest layers of the phonology stratum do not receive linguistic input at all. The corresponding neocortical area is, arguably, genetically inclined to receive and process phonological information, but if such information is not available, we can assume that, because of brain plasticity, it will start processing other types of similar input (sounds in general, probably) and gradually, connections will get established for processing that kind of information. Layers will gradually get "filled" in the same way, only not with linguistic phonological information. Therefore, if the system is exposed to language later in life, one can expect that the basic features of linguistic sounds will not be fully acquired due to lack of "space" to accommodate new connections in the lowest layers. And that's why, in

cases such as Genie's, phonology, morphology and syntax are the most impaired levels although the subjects demonstrate the ability to acquire a relatively high number of words (lexemes) and concepts (sememes) (Jones 1995). Thus, we can see that the RNT model is also compatible with the strong version of CPH.

## Conclusions

We have tried in this paper to argue in favour of a new model of language, i.e. the Relational Network Theory and to show that it can successfully be correlated with the experimental findings coming from Critical Period Hypothesis research. We offered a brief review of the strong and the lighter versions of the CPH. We then presented the main statements made by the RNT model and insisted on the way it conceives the learning process, showing how this conception of bottom-up learning of the linguistic structure can account for the main experimental findings related to the inability of people to fully master language if learned later in life or to the emergence of native accents and the inability to master foreign accents in SLA. Although many aspects of RNT still need to be investigated, we believe that we have managed to suggest that the neurocognitive approach has a strong explanatory power and that RNT is currently one of the few models that comply with the requirement of neurological plausibility.

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# Genre Hybridization in the Romanian and American Infotainment. Case Studies & Analyses

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**Abstract:** The 21st century has redefined journalism by the subjectivity with which several topics of national interest are addressed. Following the American model and considering the era of globalization we live in, the initial principles of journalism are considerably losing their importance, converging to entertainment. We shall approach the problem of genre hybridization within the televisual press, insisting upon the emergent forms proposed by an American (*The Daily Show*) and Romanian show *(Starea Nației)*. Hence, the two case studies plan to emphasize the conjunction of some serious and non-serious genres, in an attempt to define the variable forms of an "ongoing journalistic genre" (infotainment).

To demonstrate this aspect, we shall be showing the adherence of these texts to both the serious and non-serious discourses by means of sequential type of analysis. In fact, our goal will be to punctually emphasize the informative side, as well as the entertaining components of each show in discussion.

**Keywords:** *media genre, hybridity, infotainment, sequential analysis, genre analysis, serious discourse, non-serious discourse, entertainment, information.*

## Introduction

This study aims to draw a comparison between two nations (American and Romanian) from the perspective of these *infotainment shows.* The fundamental question that remains to be answered is to what extent the shows are different in terms of *serious* versus *non-serious* discourse presence, what are their similarities, but also by which elements they can be distinguished one from another. Before proceeding, let us briefly bring into discussion the definition of *infotainment:*

> Infotainment refers to a cluster of program types that blur traditional distinctions between information-oriented and entertainment-based

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genres of television programming. Primarily a pejorative term, infotainment is often used to denote the decline of hard news and public affairs discussion programs and the corresponding development of a variety of entertainment shows that mimic the style of news. At the same time, however, the early years of the twenty-first century have seen the increasing emergence of programs that more thoroughly blend the content and form of various genres of public affairs and entertainment. (Baym, 2008, p.1)

Going back to the distinction between *serious* versus *non-serious discourse,* we would like to emphasize Searle`s distinction between serious and non-serious discourse, as this will be very relevant to our further demonstration. In the excerpt below, Searle emphasizes the set of conventions clearly established when entering the world of fiction, which, represents a non-serious discourse:

> The Distinction between Fictional Speech and Figurative Speech: It is clear that just as in fictional speech semantic rules are altered or suspended in some way we have yet to analyze, so in figurative speech semantic rules are altered or suspended in some way. But it is equally clear that what happens in fictional speech is quite different from and independent of figures of speech. A metaphor can occur as much in a work of nonfiction as in a work of fiction. Just to have some jargon to work with, let us say that metaphorical uses of expressions are "nonliteral" and fictional utterances are "non-serious." To avoid one obvious sort of misunderstanding, this jargon is not meant to imply that writing a fictional novel or poem is not a serious activity, but rather that, for example, if the author of a novel tells us that it is raining outside he isn't seriously committed to the view that it is at the time of writing actually raining outside. It is in this sense that fiction is non-serious. (Searle, 1975, pp. 320-321)

Hence, it is essential to reinterpret these terms. Seen from this aspect, we shall also understand by *serious discourse* everything that has a foundation in real life, being concrete and verifiable, while *non-serious* discourse will be primarily based on fiction. This association between fiction and *non-serious* discourse is even more meaningful if we consider Stuart Hall`s opinion, to which we absolutely agree with: "the event must become a story before it can become a communicative event." (Hall, 1980, p. 164) An important mention here would be the transcription code we have used in order to emphasize this distinction: capital bold letters for marking the *non-serious discourse* within the texts, while small italic letters were used to mark the *serious-discourse.*

Since our entire research is based on corpus analysis, some definitions and particularities of this notion are required. Hence, we shall start with a brief classic definition of what corpus means, as given by Jacques Guilhaumou: "The corpus, in its classical definition, designates a set of texts to which we apply a defined method."

Having considered all these, we have chosen to represent in our corpus a singular topic discussed within all the shows: the terrorist attacks in Paris, November 2015. As it has been worldwide debated news, the broadcasts of our choice dedicated more or less show space to this topic.

As we would like to offer equal chances to all the shows, the next sub-section will cover the American show (*The Daily Show*) lead by Trevor Noah and we shall then dedicate our attention to the Romanian show *Starea Nației* in our third section.

The fourth and maybe the most relevant and compelling part of this study is the one dedicated to a punctual comparison between the *Romanian* and *American infotainment shows.* In our attempt to punctually identify elements of *serious* versus *non-serious discourse,* this sub-section's goal can also be seen as a summary of our study, as it will be meant to present the shows in parallel, emphasizing both the common and distinct elements.

**The American Infotainment TV Shows: Serious versus Non-Serious Particularities**

*The Presence of Serious Discourse in The Daily Show*

To begin with, we shall understand by 'serious genres' everything that is 'hard news' and non-serious genres will be defined as "light, entertaining and about relatively obscure matters" (Rudin, 2002, p. 8). One of the most pregnant serious elements is the presence of *reported speech,* which betrays in a certain way the presence of the *news magazine.* Even if we are dealing here with the reporting of a TV news broadcast (and not news from a printed newspaper), we argue that the discourse situation is similar. In the following example, a line pertaining to a NBC news reporter is restored:

> (1) Speaker 1 (NBC news reporter): *counter terrorist officials tell nbc news that ISIS recently launched a 24 hours helpdesk xxx by a half dozen senior operatives;*

The following instances of reported speech are not part of a news programme, but still, they were also used within formal, serious contexts (a press conference in Antalya, live interviews on different American talk-shows that aim to discuss the events of national interests). We shall only retain three of these instances, exemplifying:

- a question from a reporter during a press conference in Antalya addressed to Barack Obama:

> (2) Speaker 2 (reporter during a press conference in Antalya): *i think a lot of americans have this frustration that they see that the united states has the greatest military in the world it has the backing of nearly every other country in the world but when it comes to taking on isis aaa I guess the question is and if you forgive me the language, is why can't we take out these bastards/*

- Obama's reply:

> (3) Speaker 3 (ex-President of the United States Barack Obama): *oh/ (…) we are gonna continue to pursue the strategy that has the best chance of working even though it does not offer the satisfaction I guess of aa aa a neat headline or an immediate resolution/*

- The words of the former governor Mike Huckabee pertaining to a dialogue concerning Islam:

> (4) Speaker 7 (fmr. Gov. Mike Huckabee): *they are more interested in protecting the image of Islam than they are in protecting Americans/ tucker if these were militant Methodists extreme xxx bad boy Baptists do you think we would be afraid to say that/*

The way the presenter preserves his line of reasoning and arguments shows his very well-defined purpose, which is to show the stages of political grief, ironizing the American political world.

### The Presence of Non-Serious Discourse in The Daily Show

The *non-serious* is highly present as well within the American shows. As we shall see, the first measure of *entertainment* is given by the amount of *humour* encountered in the texts. Of course, subjectivity markers, as well as other *entertaining* elements are present as well, but, by far, *humour* prevails. **The Daily Show** is one of the most complex in terms of *entertaining* means, as *humour* represents the first and foremost means of entertainment. Therefore, we have identified the following elements:

- *Irony* is a recurrent element within the American shows, and it is also, here and there, a common element within the Romanian

broadcasts as well. Although there are plenty of instances showing it, we have chosen the following examples:

(5)  ISIS HAS A HELPLINE / FOR TERRORISTS / THIS IS INSANE AND ALSO A GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR US /

- *Imitation.* The presenter is making use of this technique very frequently, being one of the essentials means in creating *humour.* A strong advocate of *non-seriousness* and *humour,* the presenter employs all the necessary instruments in creating the act of imitation (gestures, mimicry, change of accent and voice tone). It is encountered in the next instances:

(6)  YES YEAH I'M SORRY YOU'RE HAVING TROUBLE WITH YOUR SUICIDE VEST YES ARE YOU ALONE IN AT HOME BY YOURSELF GOOD WELL HAVE YOU TRIED TURNING IT OFF AND BACK ON AGAIN (*LAUGHING*) HELLO HELLO NEXT CALLER

- *Minimizing comparisons* also represent a very solid argument in favour of the *humour* creation within the American shows, in general. They are meant to create analogies between several themes, to bring high-ranking topics (such as the Paris terrorist attacks) towards a very simple, easily understandable way of perceiving the world. We have observed the following examples:

(7)  WHAT WHY IS YOUR ANSWER ALWAYS MORE GUNS IT'S LIKE SAYING LET'S DIG OUR WAY OUT OF THIS HOLE WITH MORE HOLES SORRY THE LAST TRANSFORMERS MOVIE SUCKED HERE WE'LL FIX IT WITH ANOTHER ONE

- *The false dialogue* is also common among all eight shows in discussion. Mostly, because various public opinions are reiterated during the broadcast, and the presenters want to confirm or infirm these opinions, hence creating a *false dialogue* with the respective person:

(8) Trevor Noah (the presenter of the TV show): I'M SORRY PRESIDENT OBAMA THIS NON-IMMEDIATE RESOLUTION STUFF IS JUST NOT GOING TO CUT IT THESE ARE AMERICANS YOU'RE TALKING TO THE PEOPLE WILL SPEND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS A YEAR ON DIET PILLS THAT WE'LL MAKE YOU LOSE FIFTY POUNDS IN FIVE DAYS THESE ARE THE INVENTORS OF THE TV DINNER AMERICANS WON'T EVEN XXX UNLESS IT'S INSTA

What is also highly noticeable is the transfer from *seriousness* towards *nonseriousness* in only eight minutes of the shows. What is more, the plethora of images inserted across the show (see corpus transcription in appendix) are also a valid proof of the *multimodality,* but also *complexity* of the show. Although subsidiary to *humour, subjectivity* also appears to be an essential means in creating *entertainment.* The most eloquent indicator of subjectivity is the employment of *evaluative expressions* such as "this is insane", "the last transformers movie sucked", "torture either way", "potty mouth of yours", etc. Besides their *entertaining* nature, another possible role within the texts is the *argumentative* one, as the use of evaluative expressions also aims to form opinions among the audience. Their argumentative orientation implicitly leads towards conclusions.

## The Romanian Infotainment TV Shows:
## Serious versus Non-Serious Particularities

### The Presence of Serious Discourse in Starea Nației

As we might expect, the topic of the *terrorist attacks in Paris* would impose a certain degree of *seriousness* that is unfortunately highly lacking in the Romanian shows. Moving forward, the next show to be discussed is **Starea Nației.** Although the respective episode is plentiful in terms of subjective comments, the show brings to light brief excerpts that also prove the seriousness of the text. First, Dragoș Pătraru makes a summary of the event using a very objective tone, as shown below:

> (1) *fundamentaliștii aparţinând statului islamic au revendicat atentatul de la paris -- așa cum l-au revendicat și pe cel din beirut\ și cum sunt vinovaţi și de cel din bagdad\ ba și de cel din turcia\*
> [the fundamentalists of the Islamic state have claimed the paris attack – just as they claimed the one in beirut \ and just like they are guilty of the one in baghdad \ even for the one in turkey \ *(Our translation)*]

It is essential to also discuss the presence of *reported speech* as one of the meaningful elements of *seriousness.* Pătraru quotes both France's president and Traian Băsescu, the Romanian one, with respect to the topic discussed:

> (2) ((00:12:00 discurs ținut de președintele franţei, tradus pe fundal și reprodus în transcrierea noastră)) *dragi compatrioţi (.) atacurile de la paris (.) și saint denis sunt un act de război\))*
> [((00:12:00 the speech held by the president of France, translated on the background and reproduced in our transcription)) dear

compatriots (.) the paris attacks (.) and saint denis are an act of war\
*(Our translation)*]


### *The Presence of Non-Serious Discourse in Starea Nației*

Besides the worldwide recognition of this *news,* one of our intentions when choosing to deal with the topic of terrorist attacks was also to observe the manner in which it can be presented in an *entertaining* way. Within the Romanian shows, *entertainment* takes interesting forms. **Starea Nației** presented by Dragoș Pătraru stands out by a broad range of *entertaining* means, and derails when it comes to presenting the news in an objective manner. Thus, in matters of *subjectivity* we can rely on the following instances:

- First person markers (singular forms): "eu", "știu", "voi explica" [ "I", "I know", "I will explain" *(Our translation)*]
- First person markers (plural forms): "s-o spunem", "nu putem", "să nu discutăm", "ne-a afectat", "suntem", "să ne îndreptăm", "noi", cunoaștem", "vrem", etc. ["let`s say this", "we cannot", "we cannot discuss", "it affected us", "we are", "we are heading", "us", "we know", "we want", etc. *(Our translation)*]
- Evaluative expressions: "o glumă destul de proastă", "e tragic", niște barbari" ["a pretty bad joke", "it is tragic", "some barbarians" *(Our translation)*]
- Subjective comments:

  (3) DESIGUR/ EVENIMENTUL CARE NE-A AFECTAT CEL MAI MULT PE NOI ROMÂNII A FOST CEL DE LA PARIS\ PENTRU CĂ PARISUL ESTE ÎN EUROPA PENTRU CĂ SUNTEM O ȚARĂ EUROPEANĂ ȘI: NU ÎN CELE DIN URMĂ FRANCOFONĂ IAR LA PARIS ÎN SERIA DE ATENTATE DE VINERI AU MURIT ȘI DOI ROMÂNI\
  [OF COURSE THE EVENT WHICH has AFFECTED US THE ROMANIANS THE MOST WAS THE ONE IN PARIS \ BECAUSE PARIS IS IN EUROPE BECUASE WE ARE A EUROPEAN FRANCOPHONE COUNTRY AND BECAUSE TWO ROMANIANS HAVE ALSO DIED IN THE PARIS ATTACKS *(Our translation)*]

*Subjectivity* shows here that the presenter desires to approach his audience. There are many subjective markers (first person, plural forms) that are intended to synchronize the opinions of the show's host and the public's with respect to the events. In what concerns the evaluative expressions, their

purpose is also to form opinions among the spectators, but also to amuse them, and to create a conjunction with the audience.

*Irony* is also a key-element in creating *entertainment* that Dragoș Păstraru uses frequently. Below, we can see two of the excerpts that drew our attention, the first one is addressed to the president of France who understood some of the French issues too late, and the second one ironically talks about the people's mentality associating Middle East refugees with potential terrorists:

(4) DAR ABIA DUPĂ ATENTATELE DE LA PARIS A ÎNȚELES ASTA ȘI PREȘEDINTELE FRANȚEI\
[BUT ONLY AFTER THE PARIS ATTACKS DID THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE ALSO UNDERSTANDS THIS *(Our translation)*]

An impressive and at the same time remarkable element of *entertainment* within this episode is the presenter's attempt to *anticipate the audience's thoughts*. The paragraph quoted here is the first thing stated by Pătraru during this episode, as it aims to attract his audience from the very beginning of the show. He appeals to a joke with respect to the underwear of the young man proposed for the role of Health Minister in the Dacian Cioloș government. He, then, continues with blaming and ironizing the technocrats who were incapable of offering competent ministers (he also offers the example of the Ministry of Justice). By starting with an ironical tone with respect to the political world in Romania, the presenter is winning over his audience. What is more, this discourse strategy is very common among the American TV hosts as well, as it represents a very refined and delicate technique to win viewers on your side. Below, we can see the paragraph exemplified:

(5) ȘTIU CU TOȚII AȘTEPTAȚI GLUMELE DESPRE CHILOȚII TÂNĂRULUI REMANIAT DE LA SĂNĂTATE ÎNAINTE DE A FI NUMIT\ ȘI GLUMELE DESPRE PROGRAMUL DE GUVERNARE CARE ESTE TREBUIE S-O SPUNEM ȘI VOI EXPLICA ȘI DE CE-N EMISIUNE/ DOAR O GLUMĂ\ O GLUMĂ DESTUL DE PROASTĂ\ AȘA CUM ESTE ȘI NOMINALIZAREA LA JUSTIȚIE A UNEI PERSOANE FĂRĂ STUDII JURIDICE\ CAM PÂNĂ AICI MERGE TEHNOCRAȚIA NU/ BREASLA ASTA ATÂT DE NUMEROASĂ N-A PUTUT SĂ DEA NICIUN OM BUN PENTRU MINISTERUL JUSTIȚIEI\ CICĂ CIOLOȘ AR FI SUNAT LA DREPT SĂ CEARĂ UN OM DAR I S-A SPUS CĂ PENTRU UN TEHNOCRAT LA JUSTIȚIE TREBUIE SĂ ÎNCERCE MAI BINE LA POLITEHNICĂ\ E

ÎNAINTE DE A NE DISTRA PE SEAMA NOULUI GUVERN
ÎNAINTE DE A-L FACE DE RÂS NU PUTEM SĂ NU
DISCUTĂM DESPRE SFÂRȘITUL DE SĂPTĂMÂNĂ
ÎNSÂNGERAT \ DESPRE UN NOU SFÂRȘIT DE SĂPTĂMÂNĂ
ÎNSÂNGERAT
[YES WE AL KNOW YOU ARE WAITING FOR THE JOKES ON
THE UNDERWEAR OF THE YOUNG RESHUFFLED MINISTER
OF HEALTH BEFORE HE WAS EVEN NAMED \AND THE
JOKES ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMME WHICH IS
WE HAVE TO SAY IT \ A PRETTY BAD JOKE \ JUST LIKE IT
IS NOMINATING FOR JUSTICE A PERSON WITHOUT ANY
JUDICIAL STUDIES\ THIS IS THE FARTHEST THAT
TECHNOCRACY CAN GO RIGHT / A BUNCH OF PEOPLE
THAT COULD NOT GIVE A GOOD PERSON FOR THE
MINISTERY OF JUSTICE \ SUPPOSEDLY CIOLOȘ WOULD
HAVE CALLED THE LAW SCHOOL TO ASK FOR A PERSON
BUT HE HAS BEEN TOLD THAT FOR A TECHNOCRAT WE
SHOULD BETTER TRY THE POLITECHNICAL UNIVERSITY \
WELL BEFORE MAKING FUN OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT
BEFORE MAKING A FOOL OF IT \ WE CANNOT BUT
DISCUSS ABOUT THE BLOODY END OF THE WEEK \
ABOUT ANOTHER BLOODY END OF THE WEEK *(Our
translation)*]

## Final Remarks on Romanian & American Infotainment

As the title reveals, we aim to sum up the main common and
distinctive particularities of the eight American and Romanian *infotainment
broadcasts.* What we can agree on is that *infotainment* is the macro-genre
covering all shows, but also the starting point of our study. As *information*
and *entertainment* are the two pillars of the term, we shall discuss each of
them in turn.

To start with, *information* is the key-element when discussing
*serious discourse*. In both the American and Romanian shows, the presence
of *information* as well as a certain preoccupation for the *daily news* and
*public interest events* are undeniable. Some of the shows even use reported
speech in order to quote current newspapers or to reiterate fragments from
various news programmes (the reason why we considered them to be *close
to the news magazine genre)*. Thus, a very pregnant element in both
Romanian and American shows is definitely the interest for public affairs.
However, despite the obvious common purpose, the two nations chose to
express their concern for the *daily news* in a very diverse way. While the

American show follow a specific goal when airing their episodes, the Romanian one uses a more disparate way of approaching its topics. Whereas it is easier to integrate the show across the Atlantic under the larger term of *comedy news,* we cannot say the same thing about the Romanian shows, which vary in terms of their way of distribution and purpose. It is clear that the way in which the *information* is delivered differs from one nation to the other. The argumentative and informative sides of the American show are built in a more consistent way, as the fragility of the informative content and the lack of a proper argumentation are visible within the Romanian one.

In matters of *means of entertainment,* the two continents also differ more than they resemble one another. Whereas the employment of *subjectivity* is the defining element in *Romanian infotainment, humour* and *comedy* are the most frequent techniques present in the *American infotainment* broadcast. Still, what we can mostly see in the Romanian infortainment is an endless chatter that starts from the main topic of public interest but rapidly deviates towards personal opinions, feelings or even the personal experiences of the presenter. *Entertainment* is therefore reduced to a large number of *subjective markers* that may entertain the audience while creating a familiarity and a connection between the presenter and the public. But in terms of the discourse structure and the messages sent, the Romanian show is definitely lacking complexity. On the other hand, though, the American show is far from being *spontaneous creations* even if they create this illusion. The images inserted during the show, the clever lines and their core structure and argumentation disclose a very solid preparation of each episode.

All in all, despite the diversity that stands out from this analysis, it is essential to remember that *infotainment* as a macro-genre remains a cardinal exponent of *genre hybridization* and a perfect synonym with *genre innovation* that is constantly in a revival and changing process, according to the cultural differences of each country. And in this sense, we believe the most fascinating element of our analysis is getting to the conclusion of how easily a discursive model can circulate – the *idea of infotainment* adapted and renewed according to each country's cultural needs (in this specific case, the transfer of this discursive model from the United States to Romania.

**Appendix**

## A. GENERAL TRASCRIPT CONVENTIONS

Listening Difficulties: *X* - misunderstood syllable

> > *XXX* - various misunderstood syllables or words

Long pronunciation of certain sounds:

> : medium duration
> :: long duration

Pauses: (…) important pauses

Parentheses:

- ( ) approximately transcribed segments are placed between parentheses
- (laughing) or any other paraverbal acts are placed between parentheses

Orthographical Conventions: using the î instead of â orthography (in the middle of a word)

- Intonation: ascendant ↑
- descendant ↓
- continuos →
- ascendant and descendant /↓

Types of discourse identified in the texts transcribed:

- **NON-SERIOUS DISCOURSE (capital bold letters)**
- *serious discourse (small italic letters)*

## B. THE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE SHOWS

*The Daily Show* **(Host: Trevor Noah) - Tragedy in Paris: The Three Stages of Political Grief (see details of transcription)**[2]



Trevor Noah (the presenter of the TV show): **OFF TO THE ATTACKS IN PARIS: THE WAR ON TERROR IS HEATING UP AGAIN AND WE'VE JUST LEARNED SOMETHING NEW ABOUT THE TERRORIST DEVIOUS TACTICS**

Speaker 1 (NBC news reporter): *counter terrorist officials tell nbc news that isis recently launched a 24 hours helpdesk xxx by a half dozen senior operatives* (silence and laughing)

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[2] **Transcriptor:** Rada Bogdan (married Nicoară)
  **Duration:** 8'37''

Trevor Noah (the presenter of the TV show): **ISIS HAS A HELPLINE / FOR TERRORISTS / THIS IS INSANE AND ALSO A GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR US BECAUSE YOU SEE ALL WE NEED TO DO NOW IS MAKE SURE THAT NONE OF THEIR ATTACKS EVER WORK AGAIN AND ALL WE NEED TO DO IS SECRETLY REPLACE THEIR HELPDESK OPERATORS WITH OUR GUYS IMAGINE WHAT WE COULD DO IF WE COULD INFILTRATE THE SYSTEM YEAH WE'D JUST BE THERE LIKE YES YEAH I'M SORRY YOU'RE HAVING TROUBLE WITH YOUR SUICIDE VEST YES ARE YOU ALONE IN AT HOME BY YOURSELF GOOD WELL HAVE YOU TRIED TURNING IT OFF AND BACK ON AGAIN (LAUGHING) HELLO HELLO NEXT CALLER BUT OF COURSE GETTING RID OF ISIS IS NOT THAT SIMPLE WHICH IS WHY PRESIDENT OBAMA HAS BEEN FACING SOME REALLY TOUGH QUESTIONS**

Speaker 2 (reporter during a press conference in Antalya*): i think a lot of americans have this frustration that they see that the united states has the greatest military in the world it has the backing of nearly every other country in the world but when it comes to taking on isis aaa i guess the question is and if you forgive me the language is why can't we take out these bastards /*





Speaker 3 (ex-President of the United States Barack Obama): oh/



Trevor Noah (the presenter of the TV show): *first of all kudos to the president for only cussing that journalist out in his head (laughing)* and **SECONDLY CNN'S JIM ACCOSTA**



**I'M GLAD YOU APOLOGIZED FOR THAT POTTY MOUTH OF YOURS (LAUGHING) YEAH I GOTTA APOLOGIZE FOR THESE BASTARDS OHOO SOMEBODY'S BEEN HANGING OUT WITH HIS OLDER COUSIN OHOO HEY GUYS ARE WE GONNA GET THIS ISSIS KNOCK SOME HEADS OR WHAT COME ON THEY'RE A BUNCH OF JERKQUADS I'M TELLING THE XXX BRAINS WILL KNOW WHAT'S COMING WE GOTTA GIVE THESE ISIS XXX YO RING A DINGDING WHO ARE YOU LUCKILY THE PRESIDENT RESPONDED AS IF THE QUESTION WAS ACTUALLY COMING FROM AN ADULT**

Speaker 3 (ex-President of the United States Barack Obama): *we are gonna continue to pursue the strategy that has the best chance of working even though it does not offer the satisfaction i guess of aa aa a neat headline or an immediate resolution*

Trevor Noah (the presenter of the TV show): I'M SORRY PRESIDENT OBAMA THIS NON-IMMEDIATE RESOLUTION STUFF IS JUST NOT GOING TO CUT IT THESE ARE AMERICANS YOU'RE TALKING TO THE PEOPLE WILL SPEND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS A YEAR ON DIET PILLS THAT WE'LL MAKE YOU LOSE FIFTY POUNDS IN FIVE DAYS THESE ARE THE INVENTORS OF THE TV DINNER AMERICANS WON'T EVEN GRA:M UNLESS IT'S INSTA BUT OF THE XXX OF TRAGEDY I UNDERSTAND THAT IMPULSE THAT WE JUST WANT TO GET REVENGE YOU KNOW I GET IT I GET IT NOW THAT'S ANGER AND THAT'S ONE OF THE STAGES OF GRIEF THAT MOST PEOPLE GO THROUGH IF THEY'RE NORMAL BUT I'VE BEEN SEEING IN THE LAST FEW DAYS NOT EVERYONE IS NORMAL AND MOST OF THEM ARE RUNNING FOR OFFICE YOU SEE FOR SOME POLITICIANS THEY ARE LIMITED TO THE REGULAR FIVE STAGES OF GRIEF DENIAL ANGER BARGAINING AAA ANGER AND THE DEPARTMENT OF CONGRESS for example politicians grieving stage one use the tragedy as an excuse to say what you would have said anyway

Speaker 4 (Donald Trump – candidate for the US Selections at the time): YOU CAN SAY WHAT YOU WANT BUT IF THEY HAD GUNS IF OUR PEOPLE HAD GUNS IF THEY WERE ALLOWED TO CARRY IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A MUCH MUCH DIFFERENT SITUATION

Trevor Noah (the presenter of the TV show): WHAT WHY IS YOUR ANSWER ALWAYS MORE GUNS IT'S LIKE SAYING LET'S DIG OUR WAY OUT OF THIS HOLE WITH MORE HOLES SORRY THE LAST TRANSFORMERS MOVIE SUCKED HERE WE'LL FIX IT WITH ANOTHER ONE IT DOESN'T WORK THAT WAY AND ONCE YOU WORKED

**THROUGH THE FIRST THEN YOU CAN MOVE TO THE NEXT STAGE OF POLITICAL GRIEF BREAKOUT AND NAZZI COMPARISONS**



Speaker 5 (news reporter): *secretary Clinton here did not want to use the word radical islam in response*

Speaker 6 (Marcu Rubio, senator): i *think that's i don't understand it that would be like saying we won't go at war with nazzis cuz we are afraid to offend some germans who may have been members of the nazzi party* but *weren't violent themselves*



Trevor Noah (the presenter of the TV show):





HMM THAT'S NOT EXACTLY THE SAME THING YOU SEE BECAUSE ISLAM IS A RELIGION IT IS OPEN FOR VIOLENT INTERPRETATION AND IS OPEN FOR PEACEFUL INTERPRETATION JUST LIKE HOW CHRISTIANITY CAN ACCOMPLISH BOTH THE SPANISH INQUISITION AND THE LITTLE OLD



LADY IN CHURCH WHO KEEPS TALKING TO YOU ABOUT HER CAT'S DIABETES MEDICINE SO BASICALLY TORTURE EITHER WAY BUT BUT STILL MARCO RUBIO TO SAY NON-RADICAL MUSLIMS ARE THE SAME AS NON-VIOLENT NAZZIS IS NOT QUITE CORRECT BECAUSE YOU SEE THE NAZZIS PRETTY MUCH KNOW WHAT THEY WERE GETTING IN FOR IS NOT LIKE THE VAST MAJORITY OF NAZZIS WERE IN IT FOR NON-FASCIST REASONS I MEAN YEAH LOOK YOU KNOW I'M ALL FOR THE BOOTS AND THE RALLYS BUT THE VIOLENCE STUFF TORTURE TOTALLY NOT COOL YEAH (APPLAUSE) *you see you see what's happening here is some democrats for instance hillary clinton think it is unwise to use the term radical islam to describe these terrorists now* because *of that some republicans* for instance *most of them are accusing democrats of not genuinely wanting to defeat isis*



Speaker 7 (fmr. Gov. Mike Huckabee): *they are more interested in protecting the image of islam than they are in protecting americans tucker if these were militant methodists extreme xxx bad boy baptists do you think we would be afraid to say that*

Trevor Noah (the presenter of the TV show): NO WE WOULD NOT BE AFRAID TO SAY THAT BECAUSE BAD BOY BAPTISTS IS AN AWFUL NAME FOR A TERRORIST GROUP BUT A GREAT NAME FOR YOUR CHRISTIAN SOUL ROCK ONE MAN BASE ONLY ALBUM YEAH YEAH MY PERSONAL FAVOURITE TRACK THREE BLESS IT ON THE FUNKY *but going to my cxxx we need to recognize our desperate situation*

Speaker 7 (fmr. Gov. Mike Huckabee): *the ones who are ready to cut our heads off the one that are boiling up people in paris and all over the world just happens that they are all radical muslims we'd better wake up and smell the falafel*

Trevor Noah (the presenter of the TV show): NOW THERE ARE A FEW THINGS WRONG WITH THAT STATEMENTS NUMBER ONE FALAFEL IS NOT A BREAKFAST FOOD NUMBER TWO IT DOESN'T REALLY SMELL LIKE ANYTHING AND NUMBER THREE THE RACISM I REALLY SHOULD HAVE XXX WITH THE RACISM I KNOW I KNOW THEN THERE'S THE FINAL STAGE OF POLITICAL GRIEF FOCUSED ON HOW TO HANDLE THE TIDE OF REFUGEES FLEEING SYRIAN ISIS THIS STAGE IS KNOWN AS JUST SAY SOMETHING REALLY *** AND CRAZY

Speaker 7 (fmr. Gov. Mike Huckabee): *if we displace people who are used to a dessert climate living in the middle east speaking a language that is not common to america and essentially living in a culture and amidst of religion that is not that common here we really are creating a disruption if we're serious about wanting to protect them then let's do it in a climate with a language with a culture and with a religion they're more comfortable with*

Trevor Noah (the presenter of the TV show): YOU KNOW MIKE HUCKABEE MAKES SOME GOOD POINTS CAN YOU IMAGINE IF PEOPLE START COMING TO AMERICA FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD BRINGING THEIR DIFFERENT LANGUAGES CULTURES AND RELIGIONS MIXING AND CHANGING THE CULTURE THAT'S ALREADY HERE UNTIL IT BECOMES SOMETHING TOTALLY NEW WHAT KIND OF COUNTRY WOULD THIS BE BUT YOU KNOW WHAT MIKE HUCKABEE I I UNDERSTAND YOU AS SOMEONE WHOSE FAMILY HAS BEEN HERE FOR GENERATIONS AS A I GUESS AS A NATIVE AMERICAN YOU CAN SAY I CAN SEE WHY THIS IDEA WOULD FRIGHTEN YOU/

***Starea nației* (Host: Dragoș Pătraru) – 15 Noiembrie 2015, Ultimul concert la Paris[3] (see details of transcription)[4]**



DP*: /bun găsit la starea nație: i eu sunt dragoș pătraru gazda dumneavoastră\ /*da ȘTIU CU TOȚII AȘTEPTAȚI GLUMELE DESPRE CHILOȚII TÂNĂRULUI REMANIAT DE LA SĂNĂTATE ÎNAINTE DE A FI NUMIT\ ȘI GLUMELE DESPRE PROGRAMUL DE GUVERNARE CARE ESTE TREBUIE S-O SPUNEM ȘI VOI EXPLICA ȘI DE CE-N EMISIUNE/ DOAR O GLUMĂ\ O GLUMĂ DESTUL DE PROASTĂ\ AȘA CUM ESTE ȘI NOMINALIZAREA LA JUSTIȚIE A UNEI PERSOANE FĂRĂ STUDII JURIDICE\ CAM PÂNĂ AICI MERGE TEHNOCRAȚIA NU/ BREASLA ASTA ATÂT DE NUMEROASĂ N-A PUTUT SĂ DEA NICIUN OM BUN PENTRU MINISTERUL JUSTIȚIEI\ CICĂ CIOLOȘ AR FI SUNAT LA DREPT SĂ CEARĂ UN OM DAR I S-A SPUS CĂ PENTRU UN TEHNOCRAT LA JUSTIȚIE TREBUIE SĂ ÎNCERCE MAI BINE LA POLITEHNICĂ\ E ÎNAINTE DE A NE DISTRA PE SEAMA NOULUI GUVERN, ÎNAINTE DE A-L FACE DE RÂS NU PUTEM SĂ NU DISCUTĂM DESPRE SFÂRȘITUL DE SĂPTĂMÂNĂ ÎNSÂNGERAT \ DESPRE UN NOU SFÂRȘIT DE SĂPTĂMÂNĂ ÎNSÂNGERAT\ *joi un dublu atentat sinucigaș a provocat patruzeci și unu de morți și două sute de răniți la Beirut\ iar vineri seara mai mulți demenți au omorât la paris o sută douăzeci și nouă de oameni și au rănit alți trei sute cincizeci\ tot vineri la bagdad au murit optsprezece oameni și au fost peste patruzeci de răniți într-un atentat organizat în timpul înmormântării unui militar UCIS în lupta cu statul islamic\ sâmbătă în turcia mai mulți polițiști de frontieră au fost răniți într-un alt atentat sinucigaș\* DESIGUR/ EVENIMENTUL CARE NE-A AFECTAT CEL MAI MULT PE NOI ROMÂNII A FOST CEL DE LA PARIS\ PENTRU CĂ PARISUL ESTE ÎN EUROPA PENTRU CĂ SUNTEM O ȚARĂ EUROPEANĂ ȘI: NU ÎN CELE DIN URMĂ FRANCOFONĂ IAR LA PARIS ÎN SERIA DE ATENTATE DE VINERI AU MURIT ȘI DOI ROMÂNI\









(( 00:51:00 înregistrare filmare atentatele de la paris))

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[3] The Status of the Nation: November 15th 2015, The Last Paris Concert (*Our translation)*
[4] **Transcriptor:** Rada Bogdan (married Nicoară)
  **Duration:** 5'49''

**DP: E TRAGIC CE S-A ÎNTÂMPLAT ÎN FI:ECARE DINTRE CELE TREI CAPITALE\ DAR ESTE OMENEŞTE SĂ NE ÎNDREPTĂM ATENŢIA ŞI COMPASIUNEA ÎNSPRE PARIS\ PENTRU CĂ ESTE MULT MAI APROAPE DE NOI ŞI PENTRU CĂ FIIND MAI APROAPE NE PUTEM GÂNDI CĂ SUNTEM ŞI NOI ÎN PERICOL DINCOLO DE NUMĂRUL FOARTE MARE DE VICTIME ÎI CUNOAŞTEM ACUM ŞI PE AUTORII ATENTATELOR\** *fundamentaliştii aparţinând statului islamic au revendicat atentatul de la paris -- aşa cum l-au revendicat şi pe cel din beirut\ şi cum sunt vinovaţi şi de cel din bagdad\ ba şi de cel din turcia\* **PRACTIC NIŞTE BARBARI AU DECLARAT RĂZBOI LUMII\ NU AZI NU VINERI/ CI CU MULTĂ VREME ÎN URMĂ/ DAR ABIA DUPĂ ATENTATELE DE LA PARIS A ÎNŢELES ASTA ŞI PREŞEDINTELE FRANŢEI\**

((00:12:00 discurs preşedinte franţa, tradus pe fundal şi reprodus în transcrierea noastră)) *dragi compatrioţi (.) atacurile de la paris (.) şi saint denis sunt un act de război\))*

**DP: şi/ NICI NU SE OPRISERĂ ÎMPUŞCĂTURILE LA PARIS NICI NU SE DETONASE ULTIMUL ATENTATOR CĂ VUIA/ DEJA LUMEA ARĂTÂND CU DEGETUL SPRE REFUGIAŢII DIN ORIENT\ ORICÂT DE CINIC AR SUNA CEI O SUTĂ DOUĂZECI ŞI NOUĂ DE MORŢI DE LA PARIS AU DEVENIT JUSTIFICAREA IDEALĂ PENTRU ADEPŢII ÎNCHIDERII GRANIŢELOR ÎN FAŢA VALULUI DE REFUGIAŢI\**

((00:06:00 discurs raportat din presă al unei declaraţii a lui Traian Băsescu): *dacă vrem o soluţie realistă închiderea frontierelor ue şi expulzarea migranţilor este soluţia corectă\*

TB: *noi avem de făcut câteva lucruri\ în primul rând să NU acceptăm varianta cotelor (.) este greşită n-are nimic comun cu interesele ţării şi cu: ă: viziunea popoarelor cărora le trimiţi ă: cu cultura cu viziunea cu acceptabilitatea popoarelor cărora le trimiţi tu administrativ câteva mii de musulmani\ românia NU trebuie să primească ă: sînt ă: trebuie să refuze varianta cotelor\*

**DP: HM/ ÎNCĂ NU ŞTIE NIMENI\ NICI/ MĂCAR IMENSUL APARAT DE SECURITATE FRANCEZ CUM AU FOST PREGĂTITE ATENTATELE ŞI UNDE\ E FOARTE PROBABIL CA MULŢI DINTRE ATENTATORI SĂ FIE FRANCEZI\ NĂSCUŢI CRESCUŢI ŞI EDUCAŢI ÎN FRANŢA\ DAR CÂT DE CONVENABIL E PENTRU UNII SĂ DEA VINA PE REFUGIAŢI\ MAI ALES/ CĂ ASTA LE CONFIRMĂ TEORIILE A:NTI-**

UMANITARE ORICUM E AGITAȚIE MARE ÎN CANCELARIILE MONDIALE CUM A FOST DE FIECARE DATĂ DUPĂ ASTFEL DE EVENIMENTE ȘI DUPĂ ATACURILE DIN STATELE UNITE/ ȘI DUPĂ CELE DE LA MADRID/ CELE DE LA LONDRA/ SAU CHIAR CEL DE LA ÎNCEPUTUL ANULUI DIN REDACȚIA CHARLIE HEBDO\ A FOST AGITAȚIE LA NIVEL ÎNALT/ DAR ATENTATELE AU CONTINUAT/ BA CHIAR S-AU ÎNTEȚIT\ DE CE/ HM PENTRU CĂ POLITICIENII N-AU SOLUȚII\ SAU NU LE GĂSESC PE CELE BUNE\ VA MAI TRECE TIMP PÂNĂ CÂND ALEȘII NOȘTRI PESTE TOT ÎN LUME VOR FI CAPABILI ȘI DE ALTCEVA DECÂT DE DISCURSURI RĂZBOINICE POST ATENTATE\ PÂNĂ ATUNCI ÎNSĂ REMARCĂM REACȚIILE UNUI POPOR CARE A ALES SĂ NU SE TEAMĂ\

(( 00:30:00 filmarea cu cetățeni francezi cântând imnul franței ))



DP: ȘI MAI E CEVA/ TERORIȘTII FUNDAMENTELIȘTI DIN STATUL ISLAMIC SUNT PRINCIPALII VINOVAȚI PENTRU SITUAȚIA ACTUALĂ\ DAR N-AR FI PUTUT AJUNGE ATÂT DE DEPARTE FĂRĂ COMPLICI\ IAR PRIN DECIZIILE PE CARE LE IAU DE ANI BUNI/ COMPLICI NU SUNT ALȚII DECÂT POLITICIENII CARE CONDUC LUMEA/ AȘA-ZIS CIVILIZATĂ\ ȘI TOT DIN VINA POLITICIENILOR DE DATA ASTA AI NOȘTRI/ SE MOARE ÎN CONTINUARE DUPĂ TRAGEDIA DIN COLECTIV\ NUMĂRUL VICTIMELOR A AJUNS LA CINZECI ȘI ȘASE LA CARE AM ÎNREGISTRAT EMISUNEA\ SĂ NU UITĂM ASTA // SĂ NU NE PIERDEM CONCENTRAREA DOAR PENTRU CĂ NE FLUTURĂ UNII TEHNOCRAȚIA PRIN FAȚA OCHILOR\ SĂ NU PLECĂM PE FENTELE ASTEA/ DA/ VĂ ROG\

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# Preservación de las lenguas minoritarias: valenciano (España) y náhuatl (México) y actitudes lingüísticas de los escolares bilingües

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**Resumen.** El objetivo de la investigación es fomentar el aprendizaje cooperativo a través de un entorno virtual entre los alumnos de tercer curso de la Facultad de Magisterio de la Universidad de Valencia, que cursan la asignatura "Desarrollo de habilidades comunicativas en contextos multilingües" con hablantes de lengua náhuatl y con profesores.

Este estudio es innovador en el ámbito del bilingüismo en Valencia dado que se encamina hacia la preservación de la lengua valenciana en relación con el rescate de lengua minoritaria náhuatl, *lingua franca* del imperio precolombino y de la primera época de la Colonia, a través de un análisis exhaustivo de las producciones y actitudes lingüísticas de los alumnos bilingües de la Comunidad Valenciana.

Además del análisis del componente lingüístico y de las actitudes de los estudiantes hacia las lenguas minoritarias, este proyecto desarrolla el tema de los recursos humanos que contribuye al uso de las TIC para mejorar la enseñanza de la lectoescritura en las lenguas en contacto y promover la revitalización de las lenguas minoritarias.

Gracias al intercambio de opiniones, los alumnos valencianos han convivido y se han educado interculturalmente con otras personas pertenecientes a diversas raíces culturales. De esta manera, han mantenido su identidad cultural, su integración al pluralismo cultural existente en la Comunidad Valenciana que fomenta actitudes positivas hacia la diversidad cultural.

**Palabras clave**: *lenguas minoritarias, bilingüismo, identidad, lectoescritura, entorno virtual.*

## Introducción. Presentación de la investigación

El trabajo de rescate de lenguas minoritarias se ha llevado a cabo en la plataforma Facebook *TV Malintzin*, página de internet creada en el año 2013 por estudiosos en bilingüismo de la Universidad de Arizona (Estados

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Unidos) y de la Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla (México). El objetivo de la elaboración de la plataforma fue el de proponer un espacio de reflexión sobre los géneros artísticos (narrativa, poesía y música), testimonios de tradición oral de hablantes indígenas de la comunidad San Miguel de Canoa (México). En los discursos presentados por los hablantes indígenas se pueden descubrir las historias personales de cada hablante, narrativas que representan experiencias de vida relacionadas con su origen étnico-geográfico, la diversidad cultural y la vida cotidiana. Cabe destacar que los mismos hablantes indígenas presentan sus testimonios en la lengua náhuatl y que ellos mismos realizan la traducción al castellano o hacen una interpretación en la lengua castellana de la historia presentada. De esta manera, dan a conocer al mundo entero a través del uso de dos idiomas su propia voz.

En relación con la investigación desarrollada en la Facultad de Magisterio de la Universidad de Valencia a través de un proyecto de innovación, destacamos que el objetivo parte del rescate de los géneros artísticos en contextos de desplazamiento lingüístico y cultural de las lenguas minoritarias: valenciano y náhuatl. Asimismo, analizamos los procesos de transferencia y competencias académicas entre la lengua materna (L1) y la segunda lengua (L2) a raíz de un análisis exhaustivo de las producciones lingüísticas y artísticas de los hablantes bilingües indígenas y de los alumnos bilingües de la Universitat de València, que cursan la asignatura "Desarrollo de habilidades comunicativas en contextos multilingües". Tal y como se especifica en la Guía Docente Oficial, la asignatura "pretende dar a conocer la situación lingüística del País Valenciano, especialmente en el mundo educativo, donde conviven las dos lenguas oficiales y una o dos extranjeras, y proporcionar conocimientos y herramientas a los futuros maestros para que sean capaces de desarrollar las habilidades comunicativas de sus alumnos. Esta materia trata aspectos relacionados con la sociolingüística, con la didáctica de la lengua en situaciones de contacto de lenguas y con la multiculturalidad y la globalización como nueva concepción de la realidad educativa". A raíz de los conceptos básicos acerca de la didáctica de las lenguas primeras y segundas y de las situaciones de las lenguas en contacto, los estudiantes pueden hacer una selección de la metodología más adecuada para la didáctica de la lengua en función de las necesidades del aula, en el marco del currículo escolar.

Esta asignatura es fundamental para los futuros maestros dado que a través de los contenidos se les enseña diferentes estrategias de comunicación

que se necesitan para integrar y educar en grupos multilingües a los alumnos provenientes de otras culturas y con lenguas maternas distintas a las dos presentes en la Comunidad Valenciana. El hecho de vivir en una sociedad bilingüe, multilingüe y multicultural nos obliga a atender en las aulas y fuera de ellas la diversidad.

A continuación, vamos a presentar algunos aspectos teóricos sobre el tema del bilingüismo, cambio de códigos y la identidad y, seguidamente, explicaremos los resultados extraídos del análisis de las producciones lingüísticas de los alumnos bilingües de la Comunidad Valenciana del entorno virtual en el que han participado en grupos.

## Bilingüismo y cambio de códigos

El bilingüismo es un fenómeno social e individual cada vez más presente en diferentes contextos en los que conviven dos o más lenguas. En España el estatus de las lenguas cooficiales junto con el castellano se explica detalladamente en el estudio de Chireac y Devis (2017), a través de las políticas lingüísticas existentes en cada comunidad autónoma. Según Santiago Guervós y Fernández González (2017), la dimensión social del bilingüismo plantea diferentes retos entre los cuales, se mencionan los educativos y los de integración social. Como se puede observar, el bilingüismo social está intrínsecamente relacionado con el bilingüismo individual de cada hablante quien generalmente, está expuesto al uso de dos lenguas desde la infancia.

Desde el punto de vista educativo, en el caso de la Comunidad Valenciana, los estudiantes de la Facultad de Magisterio de la Universidad de Valencia siguen cursos con asignaturas en las dos lenguas oficiales: valenciano y castellano de tal modo que, al finalizar la carrera, obtienen el título en las dos lenguas y se capacitan para ser maestros con competencias bilingües en los dos idiomas en contacto. Por lo general, los alumnos dominan las dos lenguas y pueden usarlas en cualquier contexto, ya que se trata de bilingües equilibrados. Ahora bien, si analizamos el grado de competencia en las dos lenguas, podemos distinguir entre los alumnos que tienen una competencia lingüística mayor en un cierto idioma debido a diferentes causas o circunstancias de vida. Es decir, el supuesto de que una persona domine a la perfección dos lenguas no se da por completo. El dominio de las lenguas difiere puesto que siempre una lengua prevalece por encima de la otra, ya sea en ámbitos específicos o destrezas específicas. Santiago Guervós y Fernández González (2017) comentan que las causas del desequilibrio idiomático pueden ser: la edad de adquisición de las

lenguas, la cantidad del *input* recibido, el prestigio social, educativo y cultural de cada lengua o la frecuencia con la que se usa un idioma, entre otros aspectos. No obstante, no debemos perder de vista la valiosa tarea del lingüista Mackey (1968) en el ámbito canadiense, al revisar el concepto de bilingüismo. Para este autor, hay varias cuestiones que se deben tener en cuenta:

- el **grado** que se refiere al análisis de las cuatro destrezas básicas del bilingüe (expresión oral, expresión escrita, comprensión oral, comprensión escrita)
- la **función** que desempeña cada una de las lenguas del bilingüe
- la **alternancia o cambio de códigos** (*code-switching*)
- la **interferencia** lingüística o mezcla de códigos (*code-mixing*) como uno de los factores básicos en la descripción del bilingüismo

La alternancia de códigos es el uso de una u otra lengua por razones contextuales o personales. Para Thomason (2001), la alternancia de códigos significa solamente el uso de dos lenguas por parte de un hablante en contextos distintos. Por el contrario, Silva-Corvalán (2001) utiliza el término de alternancia de códigos e intercambio de códigos como sinónimos. El término *cambio de lenguas* es el más utilizado para designar el fenómeno del cambio entre lenguas. Varios autores como Myers-Scotton (2001) o Poplack (1980) han intentado definir el concepto en relación con el cambio entre oraciones, dentro de oraciones y el cambio en el que los dos idiomas son equilibrados en relación con la cantidad de frases, oraciones, voces, etc., que presenta cada lengua.

Los alumnos bilingües que han participado en este estudio son capaces de usar las lenguas en función del interlocutor con el que están hablando. En este caso, alternan los códigos, es decir, el uso de una u otra lengua por razones contextuales, personales o estilísticas. Podemos afirmar que los hablantes operan en su discurso cambios de constituyentes mayores que involucran la sintaxis, la morfología, las oraciones enteras. En palabras de McClure (1981), este proceso de cambio de códigos se denominaría *codechanging*. Hablar dos lenguas y ser capaz de comunicarse en dos idiomas es un proceso íntimamente ligado a la dimensión social, al deseo o motivación de pertenecer a los dos grupos de hablantes bilingües; es un factor crucial en cualquier proceso de asimilación lingüística.

**Identidad lingüística y su relación con la lengua**

No es posible abordar el uso de las lenguas mayoritarias o minoritarias en contextos multilingües sin tener en cuenta el tema de la

*identidad*. Cada lengua tiene su signo de identidad y de patrimonio colectivo. Según Marcia (1966) la identidad es el significado de lo que somos y nuestra relación con el mundo o, de acuerdo con Pavlenko y Blackledge (2004), la identidad se define como un concepto dinámico, negociable y cambiante condicionado por el contexto. La *identidad* permite hacer la diferencia entre un grupo de otro, entre un pueblo de otro. La identidad se construye, por una parte, a partir de la manera en la que una persona se define, y, por otra parte, en función del contexto social en el que se encuentran los individuos.

La lengua es uno de los elementos esenciales en la construcción de la identidad de los hablantes, en otras palabras, es un marcador de identidad de suma importancia. Zentella (2002) destaca que la cultura se transmite por medio de la lengua y que por medio de ella podemos estudiar el grado de identificación de los hablantes con distintos grupos en diferentes situaciones. Varios autores como Sebba y Tate (2002) afirman que la identidad se construye y se manifiesta con la ayuda del contenido y de la forma del discurso. De esta manera, los hablantes optan por una palabra en lugar de otra sinónima o eligen una variedad lingüística en vez de otra.

Las lenguas maternas de nuestros alumnos son rasgos definitorios de sus identidades sociales, lenguas con características lingüísticas determinadas, capaces de transmitir significados o connotaciones sociales, además de valores sentimentales. Es bien sabido que la escuela desempeña un papel fundamental en la construcción, representación y negociación de las identidades de los alumnos. En nuestro proyecto de innovación analizamos los discursos de nuestros alumnos, la lengua como un símbolo o un emblema de pertenencia a un cierto colectivo (Edwards, 1985) con tal de promover la revitalización de las lenguas minoritarias. Para este fin, nos interesa la lengua con dos de sus funciones: cognitiva o comunicativa y conductista o simbólica. Por un lado, estudiamos la lengua en su contexto social como una expresión de identidad y no únicamente como herramienta de comunicación, y, por otro lado, analizamos el significado social del acto del habla enfocado en la función conductista de la lengua.

**Participantes**

En este proyecto participan anualmente alrededor de 350 estudiantes del 3 curso de Educación Primaria de la Facultad de Magisterio de la Universidad de Valencia que siguen durante el 2º cuatrimestre la asignatura "Desarrollo de habilidades comunicativas en contextos multilingües", así

como varios docentes que imparten clases de la misma asignatura tanto en castellano como en catalán.

Durante las primeras clases, se ofrece a los alumnos una primera aproximación a lo que son los elementos teóricos fundamentales sobre el bilingüismo, la educación bilingüe, el funcionamiento del cerebro bilingüe, el individuo bilingüe. Los estudiantes podrán conocer los tipos y los grados de bilingüismo, las formas de adquisición del bilingüismo, los conceptos sobre lengua primera y lengua segunda, lengua primaria y lengua secundaria, lengua mayoritaria y lengua minoritaria, lengua materna (L1), lengua segunda (L2) y lengua tercera (L3). En relación con el individuo bilingüe, es importante explicar a los alumnos los factores que definen y caracterizan a los bilingües y las actitudes hacia el bilingüismo. Asimismo, es relevante presentar las ventajas y las desventajas del ser bilingüe en función de las innumerables investigaciones nacionales e internacionales llevadas a cabo en este ámbito.

Después de presentar el fenómeno bilingüe, se adentra al alumnado en las variedades y usos de las lenguas en contacto, destacando el concepto de *diglosia*. Este es el momento propicio para que se den a conocer los factores que influyen en el desarrollo, mantenimiento y pérdida de una lengua en contacto, haciendo hincapié en el papel de las lenguas indígenas de América Latina.

**Desarrollo del proyecto y materiales analizados**

Los alumnos de la Universidad de Valencia participaron activamente durante el curso académico 2016-2017 en la plataforma *TV Malintzin* elaborada con testimonios de la población mexicana bilingüe comentando las experiencias de vida de dicha población y además aportando sus propias experiencias personales. Asimismo, rescataron la narrativa valenciana y crearon sus propios vídeos en base a relatos de tradición oral valenciana recogidos por el cuentista Enric Valor en la segunda mitad del siglo XX.

Después de haber explicado la teoría de varios contenidos de la asignatura, los profesores han planteado varias actividades que giran en torno a unas preguntas planteadas en un foro de la plataforma Facebook *TV Malintzin*. A continuación, presentamos algunas actividades:

A) "La actividad tiene que ver con el vídeo de Hilaria que nos cuenta su experiencia de aprendizaje de una segunda lengua, el idioma náhuatl, en una edad adulta. Al mismo tiempo, podéis ver el video del maestro Carmen Zepeda que explica cómo aprendió la lengua castellana. Al tener dos

ejemplos de personas que aprenden una lengua indígena, por un lado, y una lengua mayoritaria, la castellana, por otro lado, y tomando como punto de partida vuestras experiencias personales de aprendizaje de dos lenguas en contacto, nos preguntamos por qué para Hilaria hacerse bilingüe era una necesidad, por qué adquiere la lengua náhuatl después de muchos años de haber estado en contacto con la lengua castellana. ¿Consideráis que para ella la lengua es un signo de identidad cultural? ¿Y para vosotros? Esperamos vuestras aportaciones y una implicación y participación activa en el foro de debate, este escenario de comunicación virtual que tiene como objetivo compartir el conocimiento entre todos nosotros, aprender sobre la diversidad y la realidad cultural de otros contextos bilingües."

Asimismo, para ver la diferencia entre las dos lenguas en contacto, el náhuatl y el castellano, antes de hacer la actividad propuesta, se visualiza un vídeo de una persona mayor de Zoquitlán (Puebla, México) que nos cuenta cómo aprendió el náhuatl, el uso y la importancia de la lengua en su pueblo. Es un vídeo que recomendamos utilizar en clase dado que en la entrevista aparecen los subtítulos en náhuatl y en castellano también. De esta manera, los alumnos pueden contrastar las dos lenguas y ver la dificultad del náhuatl en comparación con el castellano y también percibir las interferencias lingüísticas y las palabras del castellano que puedan aparecer en el discurso del entrevistado.

Cabe destacar que después de visualizar los vídeos en clase, los alumnos, por equipos, intentan contestar por escrito a las preguntas y suben sus respuestas en la plataforma. Una vez que todos acaban la actividad, se realiza una puesta en común con el grupo grande de las ideas más importantes de la tarea.

A continuación, exponemos algunas respuestas de nuestros alumnos:

1. "Aunque hablamos del año 1922, una época en que la educación utilizaba técnicas verdaderamente perjudiciales para el niño, como por ejemplo: memorización, repetición, manipulación ideológica, segregación de género, etc., aun así, vemos como el caso del maestro Carmen, el cual era un alumno nuevo en el colegio y desconocía la lengua náhuatl, pudo solucionarse gracias a la iniciativa de los propios docentes, los cuales estuvieron dispuestos a permitir que este no realizase los exámenes en el término estipulado, junto con el resto de los alumnos, sino que pudiese realizarlos aparte, con la única presencia de su profesor o en el despacho del director. Contrasta bastante con el caso de Hilaria, la cual no tuvo todo el apoyo de

todas las habitantes de San Miguel Canoa, pero aun así encontró apoyo en algunas personas. El maestro Carmen nos cuenta que su profesor era un hombre bueno, pero exigente, la cual cosa demuestra que ya incluso en esos años existía la innovación educativa, puesto que seguramente no se había previsto la creación de ningún plan educativo para responder a dichos casos similares. Lo que hoy en día conocemos como, plan de inmersión lingüística."

2. "Respecto al vídeo del maestro Carmen, resulta asombroso ver como a pesar de las condiciones difíciles para el niño, el acto de inmersión lingüística total en el contexto de una lengua que no es la materna ayuda al niño a adquirir una serie de conocimientos esenciales. La necesidad de adaptación y las ganas de aprender del estudiante son factores clave y juegan un papel de suma importancia a la hora de aprender el español. A pesar de las complicadas situaciones que se le presentan, como el hecho de estar lejos de su familia y amigos, sobre todo al principio, dificultan aún más la ardua tarea de aprendizaje de una segunda lengua. La inmersión completa puede suponer un gran trabajo inicialmente, pero, consideramos, que a la larga resulta beneficioso ya que como mejor se aprende una lengua es estando presente en el contexto y cultura en la que se habla. En conclusión, lo que nos enseña el maestro es que, con ganas y esfuerzo, bastante esfuerzo, se puede conseguir aprender otro idioma."

3. "Como hemos podido observar, para Hilaria aprender náhuatl forma parte de su identidad, de la que se siente muy orgullosa no sólo por el inmenso esfuerzo que significó para ella aprenderlo sino también por el hecho de facilitarle el conocer e integrarse en una comunidad con la cual comparte sus raíces. Para Hilaria no saber náhuatl no sólo era una necesidad para relacionarse y formar parte de la comunidad, sino que, además, sentía como que había perdido parte de su identidad. Para que los niños de la sociedad actual no pasaran por la misma situación que ella, les ayuda a adquirir el idioma nativo, y así, al mismo tiempo, reivindica e incita a los padres a que lo sigan haciendo. El mantenimiento y aprendizaje de lenguas ofrece la posibilidad de abrir puertas al conocimiento de nuestra cultura y a otras nuevas. Esta situación es similar a la del valenciano y el castellano, una no es menos que la otra, sino que se le ha dado más prestigio, pero nosotras como valencianas sentimos que la lengua forma parte de nuestra identidad y además nos facilita la posibilidad de formar parte de nuestra comunidad."

B) Esta actividad aborda el tema de los proyectos para desarrollar la lengua oral a partir de la literatura oral, más precisamente, tomando como punto de partida los cuentos que forman parte de la tradición oral de los pueblos de habla náhuatl de Puebla y Tlaxcala, volumen titulado *Cuentos náhuatl de la Malintzin*. Los cuentos han sido recopilados y traducidos al castellano por Pablo Rogelio Navarrete Gómez, maestro promotor de la tradición oral de la lengua náhuatl.

Dado que la literatura infantil es una herramienta socializadora y un instrumento culturalizador, fruto del imaginario universal de la memoria colectiva, nos planteamos si a través de los cuentos se puede preservar y rescatar una lengua, el idioma indígena, náhuatl, o la lengua valenciana, como idioma minoritario. ¿De qué depende la salvación de estos idiomas? ¿Qué papel tienen los cuentos? ¿Nos ayudan a descubrir nuestra identidad, los valores de una cultura? Desde el punto de vista didáctico, ¿cómo se podría trabajar en el aula con cuentos de lenguas minoritarias? ¿Qué tareas y proyectos se podrían desarrollar en el aula con los alumnos de Educación Primaria?

A continuación, exponemos algunas respuestas de nuestros alumnos:

1. "Desde el punto de vista cultural, un cuento de una lengua minoritaria, en comparación con otro cuento tradicional, nos aporta conocimiento sobre la cultura y la lengua del cuento. En el aula, podríamos trabajar estos cuentos mediante actividades de creación propia e interpretación, así como actividades de búsqueda de historias populares a través de entrevistas a las personas mayores, abuelos y abuelas, para poder conservarlas así estas no caigan en el olvido."

2. "Los valores de una cultura nos ayudan a descubrir nuestra identidad ya que mediante las historias tradicionales de un pueblo representan los usos, costumbres, formas de vida, expresiones artísticas y culturales, que otorgan un carácter determinado a un colectivo. Sin estos valores los pueblos carecerían de riqueza cultural que los distingue del resto."

3. "La lengua minoritaria, por ejemplo, en el caso del valenciano, podría trabajarse en el aula a través de diferentes actividades funcionales y dentro de un contexto comunicativo, para que los niños aprendan la utilización de dicha lengua en su contexto real. Algunas posibles actividades para conseguir este objetivo serían: grabar

rondallas por grupos y luego mostrar las grabaciones en el aula; que la profesora lea un cuento a los niños en valenciano; que representen cuentos de forma teatral; contar cuentos mediante recursos visuales, entre otras."

4. "Desde nuestro punto de vista y después de haber leído el cuento de *La flor Dalia*, el hecho de poder conservar un idioma depende de la actitud y el interés de los hablantes hacia este, para así usarlo y que no desaparezca. Del mismo modo, una manera de conservar una lengua es por medio de los cuentos y leyendas, que generación tras generación se van trasmitiendo, pudiendo así conservar la lengua y perpetuar la cultura propia de esa comunidad de hablantes. Mientras la cultura de un sitio permanezca fuerte, la lengua también lo hará. Del mismo modo, podemos trabajar cuentos y leyendas propias de nuestra cultura (en este caso la valenciana). Podemos proponer que los alumnos traigan sus cuentos e historias favoritas, e incluso que sean los familiares los que vengan al colegio a narrarlas. Después podemos analizarlas y buscar conceptos que los niños ya conozcan o sean propios de su entorno, y así poder hacer conexiones entre la lengua, la cultura y su vida cotidiana".

5. "La salvación de estos idiomas depende de fomentar su uso a través de diversas narraciones y cuentos que mantienen vivas las expresiones y costumbres de estos pueblos, entonces las generaciones más jóvenes podrán conocer las historias populares que se transmiten a lo largo del tiempo."

6. "Los cuentos tienen el papel de transmitir de forma atractiva y dinámica los conocimientos lingüísticos y la sabiduría tradicional a las futuras generaciones. También tienen un papel de recopilación donde se plasman todas las historias que se cuentan de forma oral y de este modo no se pierden en el tiempo."

7. "Los valores de una cultura nos ayudan a descubrir nuestra identidad ya que mediante las historias tradicionales de un pueblo representan los usos, costumbres, formas de vida, expresiones artísticas y culturales, que otorgan un carácter determinado a un colectivo. Sin estos valores los pueblos carecerían de riqueza cultural que los distingue del resto."

8. "En el aula se podría trabajar de diferentes formas: -podríamos invitar a los alumnos a escoger libros de forma libre, para que posteriormente expresen delante de sus compañeros aquellas ideas y opiniones que han podido extraer de este. Es una forma de que el

resto de alumnos se vea motivado a interesarse por este tipo de narraciones, ya que la opinión de un compañero siempre será más cercana a su propio contexto. -Podríamos trabajar con libros que estén escritos en dos lenguas de forma que se pueda seguir la lectura en las dos lenguas de forma simultánea y utilizar nuestra lengua materna como plataforma de aprendizaje."

Estas actividades han fomentado la empatía hacia las demás culturas y el respeto por las mismas. Cabe señalar que los alumnos se han posicionado a favor de su propia lengua materna y han valorado tanto el valenciano como lengua minoritaria, así como el náhuatl, antigua lengua de los imperios precolombinos. De esta manera, sus actitudes hacia las lenguas minoritarias y sus culturas han sido positivas. Al mismo tiempo, con la ayuda de las actividades planteadas en el foro propuesto por los docentes, los alumnos han compartido su conocimiento en la red al expresar su punto de vista libremente sobre las preguntas presentadas con tal de dar respuestas firmes en relación con la preservación y el rescate de las lenguas minoritarias en la Comunidad Valenciana y en otros territorios.

## Discusión y conclusiones

La presente investigación se ha planteado con la finalidad de impulsar el conocimiento de otras realidades bilingües y fomentar la cooperación y el intercambio de información entre nuestros alumnos hablantes de lengua valenciana y castellana y los hablantes de habla indígena náhuatl, en un entorno virtual. Como punto principal destaca la idea de que la lengua valenciana se debe preservar, valorar por todos los hablantes, sobre todo en el ámbito educativo.

El despertar de la propia identidad se ha producido al escuchar los testimonios, las historias de vida contadas por los hablantes de lengua náhuatl. Gracias a estas historias de otro pueblo con otra lengua minoritaria, los estudiantes han despertado la inquietud por conocer otra forma de pensar y de vivir que les han facilitado la comprensión sobre la diversidad cultural y la actual sociedad multicultural.

## Apoyo:

417099 otorgado por el Vicerrectorado de Políticas de Formación y Calidad Educativa de la Universidad de Valencia.

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# Los ingredientes de la gastronomía en expresiones coloquiales: convergencias y divergencias entre el español y el rumano

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**Resumen:** Nuestra ponencia se propone destacar las similitudes y las diferencias que existen entre las expresiones coloquiales que contienen términos de la gastronomía, en concreto, de los ingredientes que se usan en la preparación de la comida, en español y en rumano. En ambos países existen, por un lado, recetas tradicionales, que son el resultado de la mezcla de las peculiaridades de la cocina de los pueblos que convivieron tanto en la Península Ibérica, como en Rumanía, y, por otro lado, ha surgido a nivel internacional un tipo nuevo de cocina, la cocina de autor. Indudablemente existen conceptos idénticos en ambas lenguas, pero también muchos otros que solo existen en español, precisamente por ser España un país mediterráneo, donde abundan el pescado, el marisco, el queso, el vino, o solo en rumano (por ejemplo, el concepto *smântână* no tiene un equivalente perfecto en español – se traduce por *nata*, pero, en realidad, es la nata que se emplea en la preparación de los postres -, ya que en la preparación de los caldos españoles no se utiliza). Bastantes palabras tienen difusión internacional, por influencia del francés (brioche, champaña), del inglés (brandy, güisqui) o del italiano (espaguetis, pizza). Haremos referencia solamente al español peninsular, ya que un estudio más amplio sobre las expresiones que contienen ingredientes de la gastronomía latinoamericana merece investigación aparte. Clasificaremos la terminología en los siguientes grupos: frutas y verduras; pescado y marisco; carnes y embutidos; especias.
**Palabras clave:** *traducción, ingredientes, comida, español, rumano.*

## Introducción

La fraseología bilingüe o comparada es una de las áreas de investigación más difíciles y que más retos supone para los traductores. Asimismo, las frases hechas son un verdadero desafío para los aprendices de cualquier lengua extranjera.

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Las expresiones coloquiales aparecieron en las lenguas como resultado de la experiencia de las personas y son elementos culturales que definen los pueblos y las culturas: "[…] la realidad de las lenguas, internamente y en sus relaciones con otras, no se sustenta solamente en principios lógicos y formales, sino también en lo que la gente, de manera rutinaria e inconsciente, consolida en la práctica diaria, con frecuencia rompiendo las leyes de la lógica" (Sánchez, 2007, p. 170).

El tema que nos ocupa, la existencia de equivalentes totales, parciales o la inexistencia de los mismos en lo que concierne las expresiones que contienen términos gastronómicos, está relacionado, obviamente, con la actividad traductora: "[…] uno de los aspectos más apasionantes de la traducción es que se trata de una actividad que está constantemente en contacto con el mundo, con la sociedad y con las culturas, con modos de vida diversos y con los problemas y vivencias más íntimas del ser humano. Tal vez sea por eso por lo que un importante reto actual de la traducción tenga que ver con cuestiones de multiculturalismo, puesto que es precisamente la interacción entre los pueblos una de las características del mundo contemporáneo" (Vidal Claramonte, 2007, p. 109).

Muchos investigadores se dedicaron a definir las expresiones coloquiales, les acuñaron distintos términos, pero de la multitud de definiciones seleccionamos las siguientes dos:

Según la catedrática e investigadora española Gloria Corpas Pastor, "las unidades fraseológicas se caracterizan por ser combinaciones estables formadas por al menos dos palabras cuyo límite superior se sitúa en la oración compuesta y se caracterizan por la alta frecuencia de aparición en la lengua" (Corpas Pastor, 1996, p. 18).

Las unidades fraseológicas son "frozen patterns of language which allow little or no variation in form and, in the case of idioms, often carry meanings which cannot be deduced from their individual components" (Baker, 2001, p. 63).

## Corpus

En lo sucesivo, presentamos una lista con algunas de las expresiones[2] coloquiales del español que contienen ingredientes para la preparación de la comida, agrupadas por temas y por tres vertientes, según la clasificación propuesta por Gloria Corpas Pastor: equivalentes totales,

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[2] Seleccionamos las expresiones de los diccionarios incluidos en la bibliografía e indicamos solamente la traducción mediante una expresión coloquial, puesto que una expresión como *estar alguien metido en carnes* tiene también una traducción formal: *a fi gras*.

equivalentes parciales y equivalentes nulos. Existe equivalencia total cuando ambas unidades fraseológicas se traducen mutuamente mediante la sustitución y se da en denominaciones científicas y en unidades fraseológicas cuyo origen es común. Se alcanza la equivalencia parcial cuando los componentes léxicos no coinciden plenamente y las dos locuciones no expresan los mismos valores. En el caso de la equivalencia nula, no existe equivalente, ya que se trata de elementos culturales que no tienen equivalente en la otra lengua.

### a. Carnes y embutidos:
Las expresiones que son equivalentes perfectos en español y rumano tanto desde el punto de vista semántico como de la estructura son:
- En carne viva: în carne vie;
- Estar con/Tener/Ponérsele a alguien la carne de gallina: a i se face pielea de găină; a-l trece toți fiorii; a sta cu frica-n sân;
- Estar en carne y hueso: a fi prezent în carne și oase;
- Herir en carne viva a alguien: a lovi în inimă/în carne vie;
- Ser alguien carne de cañón: a fi carne de tun;
- Ser alguien de carne y hueso: a fi din carne și oase; a fi supus slăbiciunilor;
- Yo soy la carne y usted el cuchillo: Eu sunt pâinea și dumneavoastra cuțitul.

Las que son equivalentes desde el punto de vista semántico, pero que se estructuran de modo diferente desde el punto de vista lingüístico son:
- Abrír(se)le/Temblarle a alguien las carnes: a sta cu frica-n sân; a tremura de spaimă; a tremura ca varga; a-l trece fiori reci/toate nădușelile/toate sudorile;
- Cobrar/Tomar carnes: a pune carne pe ele;
- Criar/Echar carnes: a așeza/pune carne pe anumite părți ale corpului;
- Dolerle algo a alguien en carne viva: a provoca o durere profundă cuiva;
- En vivas carnes: gol pușcă;
- Estar alguien metido en carnes: a-i atârna șuncile;
- Estar hecho un chorizo de gordo: a fi gras ca un porc;
- Metido en carnes: durduliu, dolofan;
- (No) (ser) algo ni carne ni pescado: a nu fi nici cal, nici măgar; a nu fi nici în car, nici în căruță; a fi fără cap și fără coadă;
- Pez gordo: mare grangur; barosan;

- Picar el pez: a cădea în capcană; a înghiți momeala;
- Por la boca muere el pez: Toată pasărea pe limba ei piere.
  Hay algunas expresiones que son completamente diferentes:
- Carne y sangre: rude de sânge;
- Confundir el tocino con la velocidad: a face un talmeș-balmeș;
- Echar/Poner toda la carne en el asador: a juca totul pe o carte;
- Estar alguien en carne viva: a fi cu capsa pusă/a fi pus pe harță;
- Estar alguien pez en algo: a fi tabula rasa; a nu avea habar; a fi tufă de Veneția; a fi în plop; a nu ști o boabă;
- Dar morcilla a alguien: a face de petrecanie cuiva;
- Hacer carne: a face măcel;
- Hacer carne y sangre de algo: a băga în buzunar;
- Hacerse carne: a-și face rău cu propria mână; a deveni realitate;
- Hacer chuletas en un examen: a avea fițuici la examen;
- Pasarlo jamón: a se distra de minune;
- Reírse alguien de los peces de colores: a face pe cineva să moară de râs;
- Que te den morcilla: Du-te naibii!; Cară-te de aici!
- Salga pez o salga rana: Fie ce-o fi.
- Ser de/Tener buenas carnes: a avea corp frumos;
- Ser un chorizo: a fi un borfaș/golan;
- Tener carne de perro: a fi puternic/rezistent/tare ca piatra;
- Un jamón con chorreras: Pune-ți pofta-n cui!; Șterge-te pe bot!
- ¡Y un jamón!: Nici vorbă!; Nici nu te gândi!; Nici pomeneală!

### b. Cereales:

En lo que concierne las expresiones que contienen cereales, algunas tienen significado parcial:

- No es todo trigo: Nu există grâu fără neghină.
- No ser trigo limpio: Nu-i lucru curat.; Dă de bănuit.; E ceva puted la mijloc.
  Otras son completamente diferentes:
- Arroz y gallo muerto: un ospăț ca-n povești;
- Echar por esos trigos: a o lua razna; a bate câmpii; a o lua pe arătură;

### c. Especias y otros ingredientes:

Las frases hechas con especias que tienen equivalencia perfecta son:

- Con sal y pimienta: cu chiu cu vai; cu sare și piper;

- Dormirse alguien en los laureles: a se culca pe lauri/pe o ureche;
- La sal y la pimienta de algo: sarea și piperul.
  Las siguientes son equivalentes parciales:
- Azúcar y canela hacen la vida buena: a-și îndulci sufletul;
- Cacao mental: zăpăceală; buimăceală;
- Deshacerse algo como la sal en el agua: a fi făcut praf; a se alege praful de ceva;
- Estar/Ponerse de buen/mal café: a fi bine/prost dispus; a fi în dispoziție bună/proastă;
- Hacerse/Volverse sal y agua: a fi făcut praf; a se alege praful de ceva;
- Importar un comino (a alguien): a-l durea în cot; a nu-i pasa;
- No alcanzar/llegar a alguien la sal al agua: a fi sărac lipit; a nu avea nici după ce bea apă; a nu avea de nici unele;
- No valer un cacao: a nu face doi bani/nici cât o ceapă degerată;
- No valer algo/alguien un comino: a nu face nici două parale; a fi apă de ploaie;
- Poner sal a alguien en la mollera: a învăța minte pe cineva; a pune la punct; a-i băga mințile în cap;
- Ser alguien/algo canela fina/en rama: a fi de clasă; a fi clasa întâi;
- Ser como una pimienta: a fi spirt;
- Tener mucha pimienta: a avea un preț piperat.
  Entre las que hay equivalencia nula mencionamos:
- Comer pimienta: a se face foc; a sări în sus de supărare;
- Con azúcar está peor: a sări din lac în puț;
- Echarle en sal algo: a pune la dospit ceva; a pune la păstrare;
- No dormir alguien en los laureles: a fi mereu cu ochii în patru;
- No todo el monte es orégano: Nu tot ce zboară se mănâncă.
- Orégano sea: Doamne-ajută!
- Sal quiere el huevo: Lipsește numai bomboana de pe tort.

**d. Frutas, frutos secos, verduras y legumbres:**
En cuanto a esta clase de expresiones, son totalmente equivalentes:
- Crecer algo como hongos: a crește ca ciupercile după ploaie;
- Estar como una pasa: a se stafidi; a fi numai piele și os;
- Estar hasta el coco de alguien: a fi sătul până peste cap de cineva/ceva;
- Quedarse como una pasa: a se stafidi; a fi numai piele si os;
- Sacarle las castañas del fuego a alguien: a scoate castanele din foc;

- Ser la manzana de la discordia: a fi mărul discordiei.

Las expresiones que mencionamos a continuación tienen correspondencia parcial:

- Andar/Estar metido en el ajo: a fi la curent; a fi în miezul problemei; a fi amestecat într-o afacere/intrigă;
- Apretar a alguien la nuez: a strânge de gât pe cineva;
- Catar el melón: a întoarce pe toate fețele;
- Comerse el coco: a-și stoarce creierii; a-și frânge mâinile;
- Conocer las uvas de su majuelo: a-și cunoaște meseria;
- Cuando lluevan habas: la Paștele cailor; la sfântul așteaptă;
- De higos a brevas: din an în Paști;
- De uvas a peras: din an în Paști;
- Echar las habas: a ghici în bobi;
- Encontrar alguien su media naranja: a-și găsi jumătatea;
- Escoger como entre peras: a-și lua partea leului;
- Estar a partir un piñón con alguien: a fi prieten la cataramă cu cineva; a mânca din aceeași strachină cu cineva;
- Estar/Ponerse (colorado/encarnado/encendido/rojo) como una cereza: a se face roșu/ca racul de rușine;
- Estar colorado/encarnado/rojo como un tomate: a fi roșu/ca focul/para focului/racul de rușine;
- Estar/Ponerse como una guinda: a fi roșu ca racul de rușine;
- Ganarse alguien el garbanzo: a-și câștiga existența;
- Ganarse alguien las habichuelas: a-și câștiga existența;
- Garbanzo negro: oaia neagră;
- Importar un higo/pepino/pimiento/rábano (a alguien): a-l durea în cot; a nu-i pasa;
- Más fresco que una lechuga: proaspăt;
- Meter uvas con agraces: a amesteca mere cu pere; a arunca la grămadă;
- No entender/saber un pimiento de algo: a nu ști o boabă/iotă; a fi tămâie; a fi tufă de Veneția;
- No valer algo/alguien un higo/pepino/pimiento: a nu face nici două parale; a fi apă de ploaie;
- Oler a ajos y cebollas: a mirosi urât; a duhni;
- Partir peras con alguien: a mânca din același blid cu cineva; a se trage de șireturi cu cineva;
- Pasarlo/Pasárselo pipa: a se distra grozav; a petrece formidabil;

- Pedirle peras al olmo: a cere luna de pe cer;
- Ponerse como un pimiento: a se face ca racul;
- Ponerse como un tomate: a se face roșu ca focul/racul; a se înroși ca un rac;
- Ser alguien más fresco que una lechuga: a avea obraz gros; a fi fără obraz; a fi un obraznic fără pereche;
- Ser alguien una pera/perita en dulce: a fi pâinea lui Dumnezeu; a avea inimă de aur; a fi ca un înger;
- Ser como unas ortigas: a fi ursuz; a fi țepos ca un arici;
- Ser del año de la pera: de pe vremea bunicii; de pe vremea lui Pazvante Chioru; de când lumea;
- Ser habas contadas: a putea fi numărat pe degetele unei mâini;
- Ser la guinda del pastel: a fi bomboana/cireașa de pe tort;
- Ser la media naranja de alguien: a fi jumătatea cuiva;
- Ser un tonto del higo: a fi prost de dă în gropi; a fi un cap sec.
  Entre las que tienen equivalencia nula destacamos:
- ¡Ajo y agua!: N-ai ce-i face!; Răbdare și tutun!
- Andar/estar con la berza: a fi buimac/zăpăcit; a fi cu capul în nori;
- Beber con guindas: a fi din cale-afară de delicat; a strâmba din nas;
- ¡Bueno anda el ajo!: Am încurcat-o!; Am pus-o de mămăligă!; Am făcut-o de oaie!
- Cambiar el agua a las aceitunas: a urina;
- Cascarle a alguien las nueces: a-i trage cuiva o mamă de bătaie; a bate pe cineva de-i merg fulgii; a lua la ceartă pe cineva; a sta/se pune cu gura pe cineva;
- Coger/Tomar el rábano por las hojas: a nu vedea pădurea din cauza copacilor;
- Comer el coco: a face pe cineva să-și piardă capul; a duce de nas; a trage pe sfoară;
- Comer los piñones en alguna parte: a petrece noaptea de Crăciun într-un loc anume;
- Como una lechuga: Plesnește de sănătate; roșu în obraji;
- Como pera(s) en tabaque: cu deosebită grijă;
- Dar a alguien la castaña: a duce de nas; a trage pe sfoară; a bate la cap; a-i sta în drum cuiva; a sta/fi în picioarele cuiva;
- Dar a alguien para castañas/peras: a-i da cuiva câteva; a i-o arăta cuiva;

- Dar calabazas (a alguien): a pica pe cineva la examen; a da papucii cuiva/a face vânt cuiva/a întoarce spatele cuiva;
- Dar las uvas (a alguien): a trage clapa/țeapă cuiva;
- Dar una piña (a alguien): a da o mamă de bătaie cuiva;
- De/por carambola: din întâmplare; la nimereală;
- Decentar el melón: a exista riscul să se sfârșească prost;
- De la media almendra: răsfățată; capricioasă; fandosită;
- ¡Échale guindas al pavo!: Nici vorbă!; Nici gând!; Pune-ți pofta-n cui!
- Echarle guindas a la tarasca (a ver cómo las masca): a fi totul inutil; a trece ca prin brânză;
- En todas partes cuecen habas: Se întâmplă și la case mai mari.
- Entrar por las uvas: a-i pune pielea la bătaie; a-și risca pielea;
- Esa lechuga no es de su huerto: Repetă ce spun alții; Nu vine de la el.
- Escardar cebollinos: a tăia frunză la câini; a arde gazul de pomană;
- Estar colorado como una manzana: a plesni de sănătate;
- Estar como una uva: a fi beat criță/mort;
- Estar de mala uva: a fi prost dispus; a fi întors pe dos; a fi cu fundul în sus;
- Estar en berza: a fi necopt;
- Estar más chupado que la pipa de un indio: a fi slab ca o scândură; a fi numai piele și os; a fi un fleac; a fi la îndemâna oricui;
- Estar sano como/más sano que una manzana: a plesni de sănătate;
- Esto son lentejas, si quieres las comes y si no las dejas: Faci ce crezi!
- Hacer morder (en) el ajo a alguien: a necăji pe cineva; a duce cu vorba; a lăsa pe cineva să sufere;
- Hacer cocos: a tămâia; a se gudura; a-și trimite bezele;
- Harto de ajos: bădăran; țărănoi; necioplit; neam prost;
- Hecho una uva: beat criță/mort;
- Irse a escardar cebollinos: a se duce dracului; a se duce învârtindu-se;
- Irse/Andar a freír espárragos: a se duce pe apa sâmbetei; a se duce naibii; a se duce dracului; a se cara;
- Llegar a las aceitunas: a ajunge la spartul târgului;
- Machacar/Picar el ajo: a clămpăni;
- Más tieso que un ajo: bățos; țâfnos; cu nasul pe sus;

- Mandar a freír espárragos: a trimite pe cineva la dracul/naiba; Cară-te!; Du-te de te plimbă!; Întinde-o!; Fă pași!; Eliberează locul!; Plimbă ursul;
- Mandar a escardar cebollinos a alguien: a trimite pe cineva la dracu-n praznic;
- Meterse alguien en el ajo: a da de belea;
- Mondar nísperos: a o lua razna; a bate câmpii; a sta cu mâinile în sân; a sta degeaba;
- ¡Naranjas chinas! / ¡Naranjas de la China!: Nici vorbă!; Nici nu te gândi!; Nici pomeneală!
- Ni patata: a fi tabula rasa; a nu avea habar; a fi tufă de Veneția; a fi în plop; a nu ști o boabă;
- Quedarse más fresco que una lechuga: a rămâne cât se poate de senin;
- Quien se pica, ajos come: a se simți cu musca pe căciulă;
- Pera en dulce: o minunăție;
- Perejil mal sembrado: barbă rară;
- Poner a alguien como hoja de perejil: a face cu ou și cu oțet;
- Ponerle a alguien las peras a cuarto/ocho: a lua pe cineva la rost/la trei păzește; a pune pe cineva la locul său; a trage cuiva o săpuneală/un perdaf; a face pe cineva albie de porci/cu ou și cu oțet;
- Por carambola: indirect; pe ocolite;
- Revolver el ajo: a căuta cearta cu lumânarea; a bate la cap; a pisa;
- Ser la berza: a avea două picioare stângi;
- Ser la (re)pera: a fi cum nu s-a mai văzut/pomenit; a fi de pomină; a fi fără pereche;
- Ser de mala uva: a fi prost dispus; a fi întors pe dos;
- Ser/Parecer un coco: a fi urât ca dracul;
- Ser un melón: a fi tare de cap;
- Ser una piña: a fi trup și suflet unul pentru altul;
- Tener mala uva: a fi prost dispus; a fi întors pe dos;
- Tocarse la pera: a sta degeaba; a sta cu brațele încrucișate;
- ¡Toma castaña!: Ia te uită!; Uită-te!; Nemaipomenit!; Ca să vezi!; Nu mai spune!
- Tomar pipa: a o șterge; a o întinde;
- Venir el coco: a veni bau-bau;
- Volver las nueces al cántaro: a repune o temă pe tapet;
- ¡Y un pimiento!: Nici vorbă!; Nici nu te gândi!; Nici pomeneală!
- ¡Y un rábano!: Nici vorbă!; Nici nu te gândi!; Nici pomeneală!; Aiurea!

### e. Pescado y marisco:

Entre las expresiones que tienen correspondencia perfecta en ambos idiomas indicamos las siguientes:

- Estar/Sentirse alguien como pez en el agua: a fi/a se simți ca peștele în apă/în largul/elementul său;
- Estar como sardinas en lata: a sta/merge ca sardelele;
- Meterse en su concha: a sta în propria cochilie; a nu ieși din propria cochilie/carapace;
- Vivir metido en su concha: a trăi departe de lume/în cochilia lui.
  En cuanto a las que se asemejan parcialmente hay que señalar:
- Aburrirse como una ostra: a se plictisi de moarte; a muri de plictiseală;
- Estar más despistado que un pulpo en su garaje: a fi cu capul în nori;
- La última sardina de la banasta: pe ultima sută de metri; la fundul sacului; la capătul drumului.
  Algunas de ellas son diferentes:
- Agarrar/Coger/Pescar/Pillar una merluza: a se face criță/pulbere; a i se urca băutura la cap;
- Ahumársele a alguien el pescado: a sări în sus de mânie; a-i sări cuiva țandăra; a sări ca ars;
- Ayudar/Comer trucha: a juca totul pe o carte;
- Cortar/partir el bacalao: a avea pâinea și cuțitul;
- Echar otra sardina: a apărea pe nepusă masă; a pica ca musca-n lapte;
- Estar más seco que un bacalao: a fi sărac lipit;
- Meter la gamba: a face o gafă/boacănă;
- Poner a alguien como un pulpo: a snopi pe cineva în bătaie; a bate măr pe cineva;
- Por atún y al ver al duque: a împușca doi iepuri dintr-o dată; a fi și în car, și în căruță și în teleguță;
- Tener muchas conchas/más conchas que un galápago: a fi șmecher/prefăcut/viclean;
- Tener una merluza: a fi beat criță/turtă; a fi cu chef; a fi lulea; a merge pe două cărări;
- Ya te veo, besugo, que tienes el ojo claro: Știu eu bine ce hram porți/ce-ți poate pielea.

**f.  Productos apícolas:**

Entre las expresiones en las que hay equivalencia parcial ponemos de relieve:

- Dejar a alguien con la miel en los labios: a lăsa pe cineva cu buzele umflate;
- Estar hecho unas mieles: a fi numai zâmbete; a fi mieros; a fi numai lapte și miere;
- Hacerse de miel(es): a fi numai zâmbete; a fi mieros; a fi numai lapte și miere;
- Quedarse a media miel: a gusta plăcerea numai pe jumătate;
- Ser de mieles: a avea gust bun; a i se topi ceva în gură;
- Vender miel al colmenero: a vinde castraveți la grădinar.
  No hay equivalencia en las siguientes:
- Miel sobre hojuelas: cu atât mai bine; mai bine nici că se poate;
- Saberle algo a miel sobre hojuelas a alguien: a-i merge la inimă ceva.

**g.  Productos ovolácteos:**

De las expresiones que encontramos en los diccionarios analizados, solamente dos son iguales en las dos lenguas:

- Estar en leche: a fi în lapte/necopt;
- Pisar sobre huevos: a călca parcă pe ouă.
  Son parecidas las que indicamos en lo sucesivo:
- Al freír los huevos: când se văd roadele; când începe să ia formă;
- Cacarear y no poner huevo: a fi numai gura de cineva; a vorbi mult și a face puțin;
- Costar/Valer un huevo (y la yema del otro): a costa cât ochii din cap;
- Dar en la yema: a da de greu;
- Estar con la leche en los labios: a fi cu caș la gură;
- Estar hasta los (mismísimos) huevos de alguien/algo: a fi sătul până peste cap;
- Importarle a alguien/algo un huevo/tres huevos: a-l durea pe cineva în cot de cineva/ceva; a nu-i păsa nici cât negru sub unghie;
- Ir alguien pisando huevos: a merge ca melcul;
- Juntársele a alguien las mantecas: a plesni de gras;
- Meterse hasta los huevos en algo: a fi băgat până în gât în ceva;
- No valer alguien/algo un huevo: a nu face nici cât o ceapă degerată; a nu face nici doi bani;
- Olerle a queso a alguien: a nu-i mirosi bine;

- Parecerse dos o más personas como un huevo a otro huevo: a fi ca două picături de apă; a fi bucățică ruptă;
- Parecerse dos o más personas como un huevo a una castaña: a nu semăna nici cât negru sub unghie; a fi diferite ca de la cer la pământ;
- Saber un huevo de algo: a ști de-a fir a păr;
- Ser bobo/tonto de los huevos: a fi prost de dă în gropi; a fi prost ca noaptea;
- Ser la flor y la nata: a fi crema societății;
- Tener/Traer la leche en los labios: a fi cu caș la gură.

Las expresiones que son totalmente distintas se detallan a continuación:

- Aborrecer los huevos: a lăsa baltă un lucru când cineva stă prea mult prin preajmă;
- A huevo: la îndemână; ieftin ca braga; ca pe apă/roate;
- A puro huevo: din rărunchi; cu opinteli;
- A toda leche: cu mare viteză;
- Chuparle un huevo/los huevos a alguien: a lăsa rece pe cineva; a durea în cot; a pupa undeva;
- Como manteca: moale, ca mătasea;
- Dar con los huevos en la ceniza: a irosi orzul pe gâște;
- Darse/Pegarse una leche: a se lovi groaznic; a se face praf;
- Dárselas a alguien con queso: a trage pe cineva pe sfoară; a trage clapa/țeapă cuiva; a juca cuiva o festă;
- De huevos: de milioane;
- Dejarse los huevos en casa: a fi foarte supus;
- De la leche: mizerabil; groaznic;
- De los huevos: execrabil; insuportabil;
- Echarle huevos a algo/al asunto: a lua taurul de coarne; a-i veni să verse; a i se face greață;
- El que asó manteca: un fel de Tândală;
- Estar como un queso: a te linge pe degete;
- Estar/Ponerse de mala leche: a nu fi în apele sale; a fi în toane rele; a fi întors pe dos;
- Estar mal/tocado el queso: a nu fi întreg la minte; a fi scrântit la cap;
- Hinchársele los huevos a alguien: a-și pierde răbdarea;
- Límpiate, que estás de huevo: Lasă vrăjeala!; Las-o baltă!
- Mala leche: intenție rea;
- Mamar algo con/en la leche: a învăța ceva din fragedă pruncie;

- No haber más huevos que: a nu exista altă ieșire/soluție/scăpare;
- Parecer que alguien está empollando huevos: a se învârti pe lângă casă;
- Partirse/Romperse los huevos: a se speti muncind;
- Pasarse alguien algo por los huevos: a nu lua în seamă ceva;
- Poner de mala leche a alguien: a face cuiva sânge rău;
- Ponerse de mala leche: a-și face sânge rău;
- Ponérsele los huevos de/por corbata a alguien: a se speria tare de tot; a trage o sperietură pe cinste; a i se face părul măciucă; a face pe el de frică;
- Por huevos: cu forța; cu japca;
- ¡Qué leches!: La naiba!
- ¡Qué … ni qué leches!: La naiba cu…!
- Rascarse los huevos: a pierde vremea; a nu ridica un deget;
- Salirle algo de los huevos a alguien: a avea chef de ceva; a vrea mușchii săi ceva;
- Ser la leche: a fi culmea culmilor; a fi din cale-afară; a fi prea de tot; a pune capac la toate; a întrece orice închipuire;
- Ser un mala leche: a fi un om rău;
- Ser un nata: a fi un om rău;
- Sórbete ese huevo: Să-l mănânci fript/copt!; Să-l mănânci cu fulgi cu tot!
- Tener huevos: a fi viteaz;
- Tener leche: a avea noroc/baftă;
- Tener mala leche/nata: a fi om rău/dracul gol;
- Tener los huevos cuadrados/en su sitio: a fi curajos;
- Tocarle los huevos a alguien: a sta pe capul cuiva;
- Un huevo, y ese, huero: a avea un singur copil și acela beteag;
- ¡Y un huevo!: Nici vorbă!; Nici nu te gândi!; Nici pomeneală!

Según el significado, la mayoría de las expresiones anteriores se refiere al carácter de las personas, al estado de ánimo o son expresiones eufemísticas.

**Conclusiones**

Algunas de las frases hechas enumeradas anteriormente tienen equivalencia perfecta en los dos idiomas, tanto desde el punto de vista de sus componentes, como del significado (en carne viva: în carne vie;

dormirse alguien en los laureles: a se culca pe lauri/pe o ureche; crecer algo como hongos: a crește ca ciupercile după ploaie; estar como sardinas en lata: a sta/merge ca sardelele); otras, son parcialmente equivalentes, presentan estructuras parecidas, por lo tanto, por un lado, existen términos de la gastronomía en ambas lenguas, aunque son diferentes y, por otro lado, tienen estructura diferente, ya que en rumano no se utiliza un concepto gastronómico (abrír(se)le/temblarle a alguien las carnes: a sta cu frica-n sân¸ a tremura de spaimă; a tremura ca varga; a-l trece fiori reci/toate nădușelile/toate sudorile; No es todo trigo: Nu există grâu fără neghină; No valer un cacao: a nu face doi bani/nici cât o ceapă degerată; apretar a alguien la nuez: a strânge de gât pe cineva; aburrirse como una ostra: a se plictisi de moarte; a muri de plictiseală; dejar a alguien con la miel en los labios: a lăsa pe cineva cu buzele umflate; costar/valer un huevo (y la yema del otro): a costa cât ochii din cap); otras son completamente diferentes desde el punto de vista de la estructura, ya que en rumano no se utiliza un concepto de la gastronomía en su traducción (confundir el tocino con la velocidad: a face un talmeș-balmeș; echar por esos trigos: a o lua razna; a bate câmpii; a o lua pe arătură; No todo el monte es orégano: Nu tot ce zboară se mănâncă; beber con guindas: a fi din cale-afară de delicat; a strâmba din nas; agarrar/coger/pescar/pillar una merluza: a se face criță/pulbere; a i se urca băutura la cap; saberle algo a miel sobre hojuelas a alguien: a-i merge la inimă ceva).

Nuestra investigación se puede ampliar en el futuro con expresiones que contienen otros ingredientes, ya que para este estudio seleccionamos solamente algunos y, asimismo, se pueden incluir expresiones y frases hechas que contienen platos de comida, tanto de España como de Latinoamérica.

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# Rolul metaforei conceptuale în formarea terminologiei gramaticale românești

MIRCEA MINICĂ[1]

**Rezumat.** Contribuția de față își propune să aducă într-o discuție comparativă două perspective curente în studiile de terminologie, în acest scop folosindu-se exemplul formării terminologiei gramaticale în limba română. Mai multe voci din cercetările terminologice afirmă că, spre deosebire de cuvintele unei limbi obișnuite, termenii specializați funcționează ca „etichete" pentru conceptele științifice, corelând direct un semnificant cu conținutul conceptual corespunzător. Pe de altă parte, în special (dar nu exclusiv) cercetările de terminologie care se revendică de la paradigma cognitivistă argumentează că nomenclaturile nu sunt alcătuite doar din termeni-etichetă, conceptualizările metaforice jucând un rol în formarea terminologiei științifice. În studiul de față ne propunem să arătăm, prin exemplificări preluate din terminologia gramaticală românească timpurie că, într-adevăr, într-o primă etapă, metaforele conceptuale/cognitive joacă un rol esențial nu doar în denumirea, ci chiar în formarea unor concepte științifice. Pe de altă parte, după ce aceste concepte științifice au fost bine precizare și integral achiziționate într-o limbă, conceptualizările metaforice nu mai sunt necesare, vechile metafore sau calcuri lingvistice putând, eventual, să fie în-locuite – așa cum se întâmplă în majoritatea cazurilor în terminologia gramaticală românească – cu termeni neologici care funcționează ca „etichete" pentru conceptele corespondente. Astfel, la finalul analizei de față credem că se poate afirma că ambele perspective enunțate mai sus sunt pertinente, însă fiecare cu referire la o altă etapă din formarea unei terminologii.
**Cuvinte cheie:** *calc, gramatică, metaforă cognitivă, neologism, termen gramatical, terminologie.*

Un punct de vedere destul de frecvent întâlnit în cercetările de terminologie – înțeleasă ca disciplină care studiază limbajele specializate, indicându-le specificul – este cel enunțat, de pildă, de M. T. Cabré: „lexico-logia se preocupă de cuvinte și nu este interesată de sens decât în relație cu cuvântul; dimpotrivă, terminologia consideră că preocuparea sa principală,

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conceptul, precedă termenul care îl denumește, putând fi luat în considerare independent de acesta" (Cabré, 1992/1999, p. 33)[2]. Câtă vreme interesul pentru concept este incontestabil în cazul terminologiilor științifice, alte studii (de exemplu, în volumul colectiv Faber 2012) au arătat că o descriere corectă și comprehensivă a domeniului nu poate să pornească de la premisa că toți termenii științifici sunt simple „etichete" aplicate biunivoc, neambiguu și convențional unor concepte deja existente. Dimpotrivă, după cum s-a argumentat (Boyd, 1993), există situații în toate disciplinele științifice, mai ales atunci când au loc progrese de cunoaștere, în care noile concepte avute în vedere nu sunt încă suficient de clar precizate, astfel încât nu li se poate aplica un termen-etichetă, recurgându-se, în schimb, la formulări metaforice. Esențial în cazul acestor „metafore științifice", cum le numește Boyd, este faptul că ele „constituie, cel puțin pentru o vreme, o parte de neînlocuit a mașinăriei lingvistice a unei teorii științifice: [....] sunt metafore de care oamenii de știință se folosesc pentru a exprima puncte de vedere teoretice pentru care nu există nicio parafrază literală cunoscută. Astfel de metafore sunt constitutive – nu doar explicative – pentru teoriile pe care le exprimă" (Boyd, 1993, p. 486)[3].

Faptul că o formulare metaforică poate să fie necesară pentru însăși precizarea deplină a conceptului/-elor vizat/-e pare să fi fost scăpat din vedere în unele contribuții românești care au evidențiat, pe de altă parte, existența și importanța metaforelor terminologice în alcătuirea terminologiilor științifice. Atât E. Toma (1982), cât și A. Bidu-Vrănceanu (2012), în studiile lor consacrate metaforei terminologice, o văd pe aceasta ca suplinind un deficit de nomenclatură: „aceste metafore [...] corespund absenței termenilor apți de a exprima conținutul unor științe moderne în limba română" (Toma, 1982, p. 23) și „desemnează un concept nou, pentru care era necesar un termen" (Bidu-Vrănceanu, 2012, p. 35). Credem, însă, că nu în toate situațiile lucrurile stau astfel. Dimpotrivă, metafora științifică este adesea o metaforă cognitivă, al cărei rol nu este acela de a denumi un concept nou, dar deja bine precizat în conținutul său, ci de a facilita chiar formarea conceptului, achiziția acestuia fiind realizată cu ajutorul conceptu-

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[2] În original, „lexicology is based on words and does not conceive of meaning unless it is related to the word; terminology, in contrast, considers that the concept, which is its main focus, is prior to the name and can be conceived of independently from the name or term that represents it".

[3] În original, „constitute, at least for a time, an irreplaceable part of the linguistic machinery of a scientific theory: [....] there are metaphors which scientists use in expressing theoretical claims for which no adequate literal paraphrase is known. Such metaphors are constitutive of the theories they express, rather than merely exegetical".

alizării metaforice. Este ceea ce au susținut reprezentanții semanticii cognitive începând cu cartea fundamentală a lui G. Lakoff și M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). Potrivit acestora, metaforele cognitive (numite și conceptuale) nu țin în primul rând de limbaj (aceeași metaforă putând avea mai multe expresii lingvistice), ci de procesele fundamentale ale gândirii, în sensul că la baza conceptualizărilor metaforice stă stabilirea unor corespondențe (*mappings*) între domenii conceptuale diferite, ceea ce le permite vorbitorilor „să înțeleagă un conținut relativ abstract sau în mod inerent nestructurat în termenii unui conținut mai concret sau măcar în mai mare măsură structurat" (Lakoff, 1993, p. 245)[4].

Or, felul în care s-a format terminologia lingvistică românească în perioada sa timpurie credem că poate fi analizat cu folos dacă se ia în considerare modelul cognitivist de înțelegere a metaforicității. După cum se știe, într-o primă etapă (secolul al XVIII-lea și o parte a celui următor) au predominat gramaticile în care terminologia greacă și latină a fost preluată în mod covârșitor prin calcuri și traduceri (fie direct, fie, mai rar, prin intermediere slavonă), urmând ca treptat neologismele să înlocuiască această primă serie de termeni cu alții, în cea mai mare măsură internaționali, care sunt în uz și astăzi. Recursul predilect, inițial, la traducere și la calcul lingvistic a fost explicat de specialiști ca decurgând din aceea că limba română nu era la momentul respectiv „încă aptă să preia și să integreze deplin, în propriile ei sisteme, numeroasele împrumuturi cu origini diferite" (Toma, 2003, p. 95) de care ar fi fost nevoie sau ca traducând o aspirație puristă (Toma, 2003) sau, mai adesea, ca exprimând intenția didactică a autorilor care doreau să facă accesibil conținutul cărților lor (Ursu, 1962; Toma, 2003; Soare, 2013). Toate aceste ipoteze ne par plauzibile și întemeiate. Ceea ce dorim însă să subliniem în cele ce urmează este că, indiferent de ce anume le-a motivat, unele dintre aceste „metafore-traduceri, cu model în altă(e) limbă(i)" (Toma, 1982, p. 20), nu erau doar termeni-etichetă: traducând sau calchiind, primii autori de gramatici în limba română au asumat și au perpetuat, conștient sau nu, modelul greco-latin de conceptualizare metaforică.

Pentru a da un prim exemplu, în toate gramaticile românești de până la 1800 conceptul de „caz" este redat prin termenul *cădere* (Eustatievici, Macarie, Șincai, Văcărescu, Școleriu, Tempea, acesta din urmă adăugând și forma din limba latină: *casus*), declinările aferente fiecărui caz fiind *plecări* (Eustatievici, Macarie, Șincai, Școleriu), *aplecări* (Tempea, care introduce

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[4] În original, „to understand a relatively abstract or inherently unstructured subject matter in terms of a more concrete, or at least more highly structured subject matter".

și termenul neologic *declinație*) sau *înduplecări* (Văcărescu)[5]. Se recunosc aici, cu ușurință, calchieri ale termenilor latini și grecești corespondenți. Se recunoaște însă, credem, și metafora cognitivă subiacentă. În greacă, iar apoi în latină, cazurile fuseseră conceptualizate drept *căderi* succesive de la forma de nominativ, aceasta din urmă desemnată drept *casus rectus*, „căderea dreaptă" (Valpy, 1836, p. 19)[6], întrucât nominativul era văzut ca fiind cazul non-dependenței relaționale, nume al obiectului perceput în sine însuși. Raportat la această poziție verticală a nominativului – poziție reprezentată explicit, în mod vizual, prin diagrama care figura cazurile în gramaticile antice (Valpy, 1836) –, celelalte forme ale substantivului se prezintă sub forma unor căderi poziționate oblic (*casus obliqui*), flexiunea însăși a substantivului fiind văzută ca o aplecare progresivă, pe măsură ce acesta devenea în mai mare grad „dependent", din punct de vedere relațional, de alte părți de propoziție. Se observă astfel cum un segment din domeniul conceptual al gramaticii (pe atunci o disciplină abia emergentă) este corelat cu – și înțeles prin – domeniul conceptual al raporturilor umane de putere, respectiv, servitute. Vertical (nominativ) înseamnă „independent", înclinat (celelalte cazuri) înseamnă „în poziție de supunere": cel care depinde de altceva, „slujind" unei alte părți de propoziție (adică substantivul în alt caz decât nominativul), se apleacă înaintea celui care e independent și desemnează doar realitatea lucrurilor (substantivul la nominativ, dar și alte categorii verbale de care putea depinde substantivul, în propoziție)[7]. Or, acest tip de conceptualizare metaforică moștenită de la greci și latini se recunoaște până târziu în gramaticile românești. În lucrarea sa *Temeiurile gramaticii românești* (1815-1820), I. Budai-Deleanu – care, de altfel, avea să fie unul dintre primii cărturari ce vor substitui vechii terminologii împrumuturile neologice, inclusiv prin folosirea termenului *caz* în loc de *cădere* – explică: „cazul de întii, adecă nominativul, este cazul derept, fiindcă nu să înduplecă [= nu se înclină], ci rămâne în data sa cea de

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[5] Pe lângă gramaticile pe care le-am consultat în mod direct, în alcătuirea listelor de termeni din exemplificările date în cuprinsul acestui articol ne-am folosit și de *Glosarul de termeni gramaticali* furnizat de M. Marcu (2005) la finalul cărții sale *Evoluția terminologiei gramaticale românești în perioada 1757-1877*.

[6] A se vedea, pentru o discuție mai amplă privind cazurile în limba greacă, și Frede 1975.

[7] Semnificativ pentru pregnanța acestui model metaforic este faptul că inițial nominativul nici nu era considerat *cădere*, ci, pur și simplu, forma de bază a substantivului, poziția sa verticală în vorbire, doar celelalte cazuri fiind înțelese – și conceptualizate metaforic – drept *căderi* de la aceasta. Ulterior, întrucât nominativul era și el, asemeni celorlalte cazuri, tot o „formă" a substantivului, a primit și el, în gramatici, denumirea de *cădere* (*ptosis, casus*).

întii. Iară înduplecările ce să fac la cealelalte patru întrăbări [*a cui? cui? pre cine?* și *de la cine?*] să zic cazuri strâmbe" (p. 445).

Pentru multă vreme, gramaticile românești au reprodus lista părților de vorbire după aceea consacrată în gramaticile grecești sau, mai adesea, latinești. Astfel, sunt îndeobște menționate și discutate, conform modelului latin, numele, pronumele, verbul, participiul, prepoziția, adverbul, interjecția și conjuncția (în *Gramatica românească* a lui Macarie, inspirată de modelul grecesc, locul interjecției este luat de articol, iar în gramaticile lui Văcărescu și Tempea sunt înregistrate ambele părți de vorbire, numărul total al acestora ajungând, astfel, la nouă). Sub clasa numelui sunt subsumate deopotrivă substantivul, adjectivul și numeralul. Termenii pentru substantiv(e) sunt *nume înființitor* (Eustatievici), *nume* (Macarie), *nume stătornic* (Șincai), *nume sostantivu* adică *ființat* (Văcărescu), *substătătoriu* (Școleriu), *nume starnice* – și neologismul *substantive* – (Tempea), *nume* sau *substantivă* (Budai-Deleanu), *nume înființetóre* sau *sustantive* (Diaconovici-Loga), *substantive* (Heliade Rădulescu), *nume ființătoare* sau *substătoare* (Săulescu), *sostantive* adică *ființate* (Golescu), *nume înființătoriu* (Bălășescu), *nume sustantive* (Cipariu). Pentru adjectiv(e) se folosesc denumirile: *nume adăogător* (Eustatievici, Macarie), *nume adăogătoriu* (Șincai), *adiectivu* sau *nume apelativu* (Văcărescu), *nume însoțitoare* (Școleriu), *nume mutarnice* – și termenul latinesc *adjectiva* – (Tempea), *nume însușitoare* sau *adjetive* (Diaconovici-Loga), *aieptive* sau *nume însușitoare* (Săulescu), *agetive* adică *adăogate* (Golescu), *adjective* (Heliade Rădulescu), *nume adiectivu (*sau *nomen adjectiva)* (Bălășescu), *adiective* (Cipariu).

Termenii enumerați mai sus corespund unora dintre cei utilizați în gramaticile antice și medievale. După cum se știe, adjectivul în limbile latină și greacă se declină și se comportă la fel ca substantivul, fapt ce a fost considerat o explicație pentru împrejurarea că gramaticienii antici au văzut aici o singură parte de vorbire. Este de presupus, însă, că explicația este și de natură conceptuală, nu doar formală. La Aristotel, distincția substanță-accident este particularizată, cu referire la limbă, prin opoziția ὄνομα (onoma) - ῥῆμα (rema), nume - verb, filosoful subsumând primului termen și ceea ce el numește ἐπίθετον (epitheton), fără să îl vadă însă pe acesta ca pe o parte de vorbire distinctă, ci doar ca indicând orice fel de perifrază „ornamentală" (fie că aceasta este, din perspectiva terminologiei moderne, un adjectiv, un substantiv sau chiar o sintagmă) adăugată unei părți de vorbire (Alfieri, 2015, p. 363). Gramaticienii latini ai primelor veacuri creștine „au modificat ușor distincția aristoteliană dintre nume și verb. Numele, la care se făcea în mod tradițional referire ca la substrat, substanță

sau subiect al discursului, ajunge să trimită și la substanța individuală a referentului. În consecință, epitetul [...] a fost definit ca o utilizare specială sau un tip special de nume și a fost folosit pentru a se adăuga o calitate ac-cidentală numelui, însă nu a fost considerat deloc o parte independentă de vorbire" (Alfieri, 2015, p. 364)[8]. Terminologic, gramaticienii latini „redau ὄνομα ca *nomen*, ῥῆμα ca *verbum*, ἐπίθετον ca *appositio* sau *adjectivum* și ὑπαρκτικόν ca *subjectum* sau *substantivum*" (Alfieri, 2015, p. 372)[9].

Nu dorim să detaliem felul cum, pornindu-se aici și în urma substanțialei reinterpretări medievale a lui Aristotel, se ajunge la situația în care, în gramaticile moderne, adjectivul este văzut ca o parte de vorbire de sine stătătoare (pentru întreaga discuție, v. Alfieri, 2015). Atragem, însă, atenția asupra faptului că și în cazul raportului (modern) substantiv-adjectiv terminologia folosită inițial se bazează pe o metaforă cognitivă prin care se încerca, e de presupus, conturarea și precizarea conceptelor avute în vedere. Astfel, termenul grecesc folosit de Aristotel și de gânditorii în tradiția sa pentru a se referi la „subzistentul" numelui (în baza presupoziției că „numele este ceea ce există prin natura sa și este subiectul/substratul propoziției" (Alfieri, 2015, p. 372)[10]) este ὑποκείμενον (hypokeimenon), care literal înseamnă „ceea ce se află dedesubt". Prin comparație, orice ἐπίθετον (epitheton) nu face decât să numească o calitate incidentală, un accident al substanței (al ființei), fără existență independent de aceasta – de aici desemnările ulterioare *nomen mobile, appositivum, adi/jectivum* sau *accidentale*. Transpare metafora cognitivă prin care gânditorii antici încearcă să își precizeze cadrul conceptual: într-o înțelegere în termeni concreți, numele cu determinările sale adjectivale este, probabil, văzut ca o clădire în care baza, substratul, este substantivul, partea profundă și stabilă, iar calitățile/atributele (adjectivul) sunt ornamentele adăugate ulterior, ce fac parte din aceeași clădire (neputând exista autonom), fără a-i fi însă indispensabile acesteia. Ecouri ale acestei conceptualizări, cu avatarurile

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[8] În original, „slightly modified the Aristotelian distinction between noun and verb. The noun, which was traditionally referred to as the substrate, the substance and subject of the discourse, begins to also refer to the individual substance of the referent. In turn, the epithet [...] was defined as a special use or a special type of noun and was used to add an accidental quality to the noun, but it was not at all considered an independent part of speech".

[9] În original, „render ὄνομα as *nomen*, ῥῆμα as *verbum*, ἐπίθετον as *appositio* or *adjectivum* and ὑπαρκτικόν as *subjectum* or *substantivum*".

[10] În original, „the noun is what exists by nature and is the subject/ substrate of the proposition".

sale, răzbat încă în *Prima principia latinae grammatices* a lui Gh. Șincai (1783):

> „6. Numele e de doao fealiuri: stătornic și adăogătoriu. 7. Numele stătornic e care prin sine însemnează ceva lucru și poate fi sângur în vorbire, precum: Dumnezeu. 8. Numele adăogătoriu e carele prin sine niciun lucru mărginit nu însemnează, ci numai proprietățile numelui celui stătornic le arată, pr.: mare, bun" (p. 87).

Și în alte situații, terminologia din primele gramatici românești reflectă procesul de trecere de la un stadiu pre-conceptual la conturarea clară – adesea cu ajutorul inițial al unei înțelegeri metaforice – a conceptului. După cum se știe, în gândirea grecilor formele de conjugare ale verbelor au fost văzute – în scrierile aristotelice, de pildă – ca un fenomen similar cazurilor substantivelor, fără să se facă o distincție terminologică și conceptuală între cele două, ambele fiind numite πτῶσις (ptosis), *căderi*. Probabil același tip de înțelegere a fenomenului se regăsește în termenii pe care Școleriu și Tempea îi folosesc pentru conjugări: *plecare*, respectiv, *aplecare*, aceiași pe care îi folosesc și pentru declinările substantivului (Tempea adaugă pentru ultimele și neologismul *declinație*). Pe de altă parte, I. Budai-Deleanu, în lucrarea sa *Temeiurile gramaticii românești*, trimițând la conceptualizările mai târzii din gramaticile latine, procedează la stabilirea explicită a unei diferențe terminologice:

> „fiindcă verburile sânt o parte a voroavei mutăreață, adecă ce-și mută terminația după moduri, fețe și vreme, trebuie a ști dar că această mutare a lor nu să zice declenație, ca la nume, ci grămăticii lătinești i-au dat numele conjugație (conjugatio), ce va să zică românește împreună-înjugare, sau, tălmăcit din cuvânt în cuvânt, cujugăciune. Noi le vom numi conjugație, până nu să va așeza, cu sfatul de obște a celoralalți știutori de limbă, un stătătoriu nume" (p. 454-455).

Există însă și cazuri în care o metaforă pre-conceptuală (care precedă formarea conceptului) rămâne ca atare în nomenclatura unei discipline, nefiind înlocuită cu un termen științific neologic nici chiar după achiziția conceptului. Credem că termenul gramatical „viitor" reprezintă un astfel de exemplu. Subiacentă în folosirea cuvântului „viitor" pentru desemnarea timpului verbal este o conceptualizare metaforică potrivit căreia ceea ce se află cronologic în fața noastră este înțeles drept ceva care „vine" înspre noi – în simetrie cu ceea ce se află în spate și care, prin urmare, e (și a) „trecut" – deși, firește, definiția riguros gramaticală a timpului viitor nu reflectă o astfel de înțelegere. Cu toate acestea, termenul neologic care ar fi corespuns mai precis acestei înțelegeri conceptual-gramaticale nu s-a impus: pornind de la latinescul *futurus* (participiul viitor al lui *sum, esse, fui*, care, literal,

înseamnă „care urmează să fie/să existe"), se propusese *foturu* (Văcărescu), *futurum* (I. Budai-Deleanu și Diaconovici-Loga) sau *futuru* (Golescu și Cipariu), însă cuvântul care a avut câștig de cauză a fost „viitor". Situația nu este, însă, una tipică: în multe alte cazuri, metafora (pre)cognitivă care a stat, inițial, la baza unui termen gramatical folosit în limba română nu se regăsește în formă directă în nomenclatura curentă (fiind, totuși, recognoscibilă prin analiza etimologică a termenului modern). Exemplele sunt numeroase. De pildă, denumirile vechi ale cazurilor trimiteau, toate, la un semantism metaforic, atribuit prin analogie conceptului gramatical pe cale de constituire. Pentru a da un singur exemplu, genitivul era numit cel mai adesea *cădere născătoare* (Eustatievici, Macarie), sau, cu derivate de la conceptele de „neam" și „rudă", *nemuitoare* (Văcărescu), *ruditoare* (Școleriu) sau o combinație a acestora, eventual cu adăugarea termenului neologic. Transpare aici metafora cognitivă a filiației prin care se încearcă precizarea semnificației cazului: așa cum oamenii sunt legați prin raporturi de paternitate/maternitate, tot așa, se presupune, cuvintele aflate unul cu altul în relația indicată de această *cădere* se „înrudesc" între ele (mai precis, designatele lor). Ulterior, odată ce înțelegerea gramaticală a conceptului de „caz genitiv" se precizează, conceptualizarea metaforică inițială nu mai este necesară, fiind adoptat cuvântul neologic (pentru care trimiterea la ideea de filiație nu este transparentă decât în urma analizei etimologice).

În fine, în unele situații segmente ale terminologiei gramaticale premoderne sunt abandonate pur și simplu, mai degrabă decât înlocuite, atunci când înțelegerea modernă a fenomenelor în cauză diferă substanțial de cea a autorilor mai vechi. De exemplu, în gramatica lui D. Eustatievici (1757/1969, p. 33-34) există un capitol consacrat derivării substantivului, aceasta fiind desemnată prin termenul generic, arhilexematic, nespecializat gramatical, de „chip" (schimbarea formei substantivelor prin derivare este văzută nediferențiat ca o modificare a „chipului", a „felului" acestora). După cum precizează Eustatievici, *chipul* este de două feluri: *întâitori* și *purcezători*, primul corespunzând formei de bază a substantivului, iar al doilea formelor derivate. Pentru acestea din urmă, autorul propune următoarea taxonomie:

> „numele cel purcezători [...] care de la nume purcede [...] este de șase feliuri: 1. Zicători sau numitori, care de la alt cuvânt numirea sa priimește, precum: *cornurat*, de la *corn*. 2. Cel patronimicesc sau părințesc, care de la numele părinților sau altiia familii purcezând însemnează oriprecine din neam, precum: *Priamidis*, fiul lui *Priam*, *Constantinesc* și altele. 3. Cel stăpânitori, care lucru sau stăpânire care să cuvine oareșicui, sau stăpânit de oareșicine, sau osebire însemnează, precum: *împărătesc, ostași*. 4. Cel de seminție sau de neam, care de la

neam a fi purces înseamnează, precum: *samaritean.* 5. Cel de patrie, care de la patrie trage numirea sa, precum *ierusalimnean, ierusalimesc.* 6. Micșoritori, care micșorarea întâitoriului său înseamnează, precum: *împărățel, soborel.*"

După cum se poate remarca, Eustatievici nu clasifică tipurile de derivare a substantivului în funcție de prefixele sau sufixele care o fac posibilă (cu excepția tipului șase, unde face referire la ceea ce avea să fie numit, mai târziu, „sufix diminutival"), ci pornind de la sensul cuvintelor derivate. Schimbându-se ulterior maniera de înțelegere a derivării nominale, terminologia propusă de Eustatievici este abandonată odată cu conceptualizarea subiacentă.

Privită în ansamblul său, perioada dintre a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea și ultimele decade ale veacului următor este una a tranzițiilor multiple, inclusiv în privința limbii, o perioadă în care „lucrările de gramatică [...] reflectă agitațiile și contradicțiile unei epoci când tendințe din cele mai variate se încrucișau și influențau mișcarea lingvistică. Mulți autori [...] se îndreaptă spre neologismul latinesc sau romanic, dar aspectul fonetic al termenilor împrumutați e încă modelat după pronunțarea grecească, germană sau italiană. Uneori, scriitorii nu sunt unitari și consecvenți nici în interiorul propriei lor opere. Sursele de unde se împrumutau noii termeni nu erau întotdeauna aceleași. În Muntenia și Moldova se constată abundența elementelor de proveniență neogreacă și rusă, iar în Transilvania a numărului mare de termeni de origine latină, germană sau italiană" (Marcu, 2005, p. 148). Sfârșitul acestei epoci este marcat, după cum se știe, de declinul – iar apoi abandonul – purismului latinist, concomitent cu procesul de „reromanizare" a românei culte datorită numeroaselor neologisme, în majoritate de origine franceză, care intră atunci în limbă. În cazul terminologiei gramaticale se observă cum neologismele internaționale înlocuiesc în tot mai mare măsură vechile calcuri, punându-se bazele unui proces de modernizare care continuă și în primele decade ale secolului al XX-lea (Marcu, 2005, p. 149). La cumpăna dintre veacuri se tipăresc, în continuare, gramatici școlare, dar și gramatici teoretice; una de o remarcabilă importanță este cea a lui H. Tiktin (1891-1893), care contribuie „la fixarea terminologiei gramaticale, atât în domeniul morfologiei, cât și în cel al sintaxei [...] Pentru prima oară sunt folosiți, într-o lucrare de gramatică românească, toți termenii necesari denumirii diferitelor categorii de forme gramaticale" (L. și M. Seche, 1978, p. 79). Din perspectiva avută în vedere în lucrarea de față, renunțarea, în această perioadă, la terminologia

gramaticală premodernă, predominant metaforică, poate fi privită ca decurgând din fixarea terminologică a conceptelor gramaticale, în sensul că, odată stabilit clar conceptul, acesta nu mai avea nevoie de suportul metaforei pentru realizarea funcției designaționale. Termenul neologic împrumutat putea foarte bine să preia rolul de „etichetă" pentru conceptul acum deja clarificat. Astfel, se adoptă terminologia gramaticală modernă, în uz și astăzi, care din punctul de vedere al limbii române este opacă lexical (substratul metaforic nemaiputând fi recunoscut decât printr-o analiză etimologică), dar precisă și neechivocă designațional (v. și Chivu, 1981, p.59).

În partea introductivă a studiului de față atrăgeam atenția cu privire la două perspective teoretice care coexistă în domeniul studiilor de terminologie, una care afirmă că, spre deosebire de cuvintele unei limbi o-bișnuite, termenii specializați corelează direct un semnificant cu un concept, iar cealaltă care susține că nomenclaturile nu sunt alcătuite doar din termeni-etichetă, conceptualizările metaforice jucând un rol în formarea terminologiei științifice. La finalul analizei de față credem că se poate afirma că ambele perspective sunt pertinente, însă fiecare cu referire la o altă etapă din formarea unei terminologii. Într-adevăr se poate spune că termenii taxonomiilor moderne – deja bine stabiliți și confirmați prin uz în fiecare disciplină – nu au semnificat lexical sau, cel puțin, trecerea de la semnul lingvistic la designatul acestuia nu este mediată de un semnificat de limbă, ci semnul corespunde în mod direct designatului (care este conceptul științific), căruia i se aplică asemeni unei „etichete" ce îl identifică neechivoc și biunivoc (pentru argumentarea acestui punct de vedere, v. Coșeriu, 1977 și 1987). Pe de altă parte se impune constatarea faptului că un concept nu se formează într-un stadiu prelingvistic și, odată format, primește expresie lingvistică, ci el trece – și are nevoie să treacă – printr-o fază lexicală, adesea (dar nu în mod obligatoriu) metaforică, ce face posibilă structurarea și organizarea lui ca atare[11]. În concluzie, pe de o parte, termenii ce corespund conceptelor științifice nu au nevoie de semnificat lexical. Pe de altă parte, achiziția (aprehensiunea) conceptului presupune cu necesitate o etapă lexicală – în multe cazuri este vorba despre recursul la o metaforă cognitivă, după cum s-a ilustrat în exemplele de mai sus – în care

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[11] Pentru înțelegerea, în sensul integralismului coșerian, a limbajului ca activitate primar și fundamental cognitivă vezi Vîlcu, 2002-2003.

trăsăturile esențiale ale acestuia sunt identificate, structurate și organizate cu metodele și instrumentele proprii limbajului.

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# Culturemele:
# taxonomii și implicații traductologice

## IMOLA KATALIN NAGY[1]

**Abstract:** Realiile și culturemele sunt lexeme sau unități lingvistice care desemnează sau poartă informații culturale. Ele sunt tratate drept sinonime și definite ca fiind lexemele care desemnează realitățile caracteristice unui grup anume, care au un sens conotativ și afectiv-emoțional specific și care, datorită bagajului cultural comun, trezesc asociații similare la membrii grupului sau comunității. Realiile se situează la punctul de interferență, de convergență dintre cultură și limbă. Problema culturemelor a fost abordată în traductologia internațională de mai mulți specialiști. În acest studiu ne propunem să prezentăm câteva taxonomii importante, precum cele ale lui V. Skalkin, Vereşciagin și Kostomarov, Sipko, Vlahov și Florin, Newmark, Molina, Lungu Badea ș.a. De asemenea propunem și o încercare de taxonomie proprie, compartimentând elementele culturale în patru mari categorii și oferind exemple pentru fiecare.
**Keywords:** *realia, cultureme, traducere, cultura română, cultura maghiară..*

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## Precizări conceptuale

Realia (*realia, culture-bound terms, cultural references* în limba engleză, *realia, termes culturels, designateurs culturels* în limba franceză, *Realia* în limba germană, *reália* în limba maghiară) este un termen provenit din rusescul *Realii*. În literatura traductologică românească noțiunea de *realia* și noțiunea de *culturem* sunt folosite alternativ ca fiind lexeme sau unități lingvistice care desemnează sau poartă informații culturale. Culturemele sunt caracteristice mai degrabă textelor literare decât celor tehnice și pot pune probleme de (in)traductibilitate.

Tellinger subliniază polisemantismul termenului realia, precizând că acesta desemnează pe de o parte obiectele specifice unei comunități date, iar pe de altă parte realia înseamnă și cuvintele care desemnează acele obiecte. Realiile, prin urmare, cuprind atât entitățile din lumea obiectuală cât și unitățile lingvistice care numesc acele obiecte. Dacă traductologia maghiară

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operează în general cu varianta *reália/realia* sau sinonimele *kulturális reália/realia culturală, kultúrszó/termen cultural, lefordíthatatlan elem/element intraductibil, nonekvivalens lexéma/lexem nonechivalent, kultúraspecifickus szó/cuvânt cu specific cultural*, Tellinger introduce deja termenul culturem sub forma de *etnoculturem/etnokulturéma*. Tellinger enumeră apoi denumirile diverse date acestor categorii de lexeme cu încărcătură culturală: *realii, cuvinte connotative, lacune, etnocultureme* (Tellinger, 2005, p. 124).

## Definiții și taxonomii

Realiile au fost definite mai întâi de Vlahov și Florin (1970) ca fiind elemente textuale care furnizează culoare locală și istorică (cf. Vlahov&Florin, 1970; Shutteleworth-Cowie, 2007, p. 139). Vlahov și Florin (1970, p. 438) definesc culturemele sau realiile ca fiind cuvintele și expresiile dintr-o limbă națională care denumesc obiecte, concepte sau fenomene caracteristice unui anumit mediu geografic și cultural, realităților cotidiene sau specificului socio-istoric al națiunii sau țării respective. Aceste cuvinte și expresii dau culoarea națională, locală sau istorică și, de multe ori, nu au lexeme corespondente sau echivalente în alte limbi.

În articolul *Az etnokulturémák szerepe a műfordításban/Rolul etnoculturemelor în traducerea literară*, Tellinger face o trecere în revistă a pozițiilor literaturii de specialitate față de cultureme, precizând că definirea mai largă a conceptului de realia, cuprinzând dincolo de cuvinte care desemnează obiecte cu specific cultural, și obiceiuri, noțiuni, apelative etc. – definire și abordare răspândită azi – își are originea în traductologia rusească a anilor 1970-1980. Tellinger (2007, p. 18) citează și contribuția unui specialist austriac, Elisabeth Markstein (*Realia*, in Snell-Hornby, M- Hönig, H.G.-Kusmaul, P., Schmitt, P.A. *Handbuch Translation*, Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag Brigitte narr, 1998, p. 288-291), care definește realiile ca fiind unitățile purtătoare ale identității culturale, naționale sau etnice dintr-o regiune, țară sau teritoriu geografic anume. Definiția lui Markstein este apropiată de celebra definiție dată de Vlahov și Sorin (*Neperevodimoje v perevode, Moscova, Mejdunarodnije otnosenija*, ediția din 1970 fiind urmată de o reeditare în 1980): realiile sunt cuvintele caracteristice unui popor, lexemele care reflectă modul de viață și de gândire al acelui popor (Vlahov& Sorin 1980, 9 apud Tellinger 2007, p. 18).

Definiția sumativă dată de Tellinger etnoculturemelor este aceea de lexeme legate de cultura unui popor, lexeme care în traducere impun informații de ordin extralingvistic (Tellinger, 2005, p. 125). În volumul

*Kultúrne otázky prekladu umeleckej literatúry/Probleme culturale ale traducerii literare*, apărut în 2005 la Kosice, Editura Typopress, el încearcă o dezvoltare a acestei concepții asupra realiilor, afirmând că problematica realiilor intră în tematica mai largă a etnoculturemelor. Bazându-se pe contribuția lui Komissarov (1990), Tellinger susține că în cazul traducerii literare demersul traductologic nu înseamnă pur și simplu un act de transfer interlingvistic, ci și eminamente intercultural (în sensul cel mai larg al termenului cultură, acesta cuprinzând totalitatea aspectelor legate de modul de viață al oamenilor, valori morale și etice, convenții sociale, relații interumane sau chiar știința). Având în vedere faptul că limba se află într-un proces de schimbare continuă (mutability), domeniul realiilor și etnoculturemelor se schimbă și el: dispar unele realități, unele persoane (mărfuri, numele unor branduri, lanțuri de magazine, ziare, partide politice, numele conducătorilor etc.) și se creează altele noi. Și din acest motiv traducerea unei opere literare nu oferă niciodată un text final și perfect, orice traducere putând fi urmată de alte traduceri, posibil mai bune, fiecare epocă putând aduce alte lecturi, alte interpretări și implicit alte traduceri. Trebuie să precizăm însă că aceste noi traduceri nu invalidează traducerile anterioare.

Culturemele sau lacunele culturale (fr. *cultureme; termes culturels*; en. *cultureme; culture-bound terms, culture bump*; ge. *Kulturem; kulturspezifische Termini, kulturelle Zusammenstoss*) sunt, în teoria comparativ-culturală a traducerii promovată de Lungu Badea, niște „cuvinte purtătoare de informații culturale sau cea mai mică unitate purtătoare de informație culturală. Aceste informații culturale, deși implicite în intenția autorului, nu rămân fără ecou din partea destinatarului limbii sursă." (Lungu Badea, 2012, p. 54-56) Termenul de culturem a fost creat din punct de vedere formal prin analogie cu termenii fonem, morfem, lexem (culture + sufixul -eme).

Ca foarte multe concepte din traductologie, și termenul culturem are o puternică latură interdisciplinară, fiind utilizată în studiile culturale, studiile interculturale, sociologie și didactica limbilor străine. Moțoc (2017, p. 153) arată că în discursul științific spaniol termenul culturem a fost introdus în terminologia didacticii limbilor de către Fernando Poyatos, după care a fost reluat și nuanțat de către teoreticieni ai traducerii precum Hurtado Albir, Molina și alții.

Deși în practica utilizării cotidiene a terminologiei traductologice tindem să tratăm termenii culturem și realia ca fiind sinonime perfecte, există diferențe de nuanță semantică între cele două concepte: în timp ce

culturemele sunt cuvintele care desemnează obiecte sau fenomene cu încărcătură culturală, sunt, bunăoară, cuvinte purtătoare de informație culturală, realia desemnează, în viziunea Georgianei Lungu Badea, ceea ce literatura de specialitate de limbă engleză numește common knowledge sau common ground, adică acel set de cunoștințe care sunt comune pentru cele două culturi. „Realia este cunoașterea comună, adică ceea ce permite unor limbi din familii diferite să înțeleagă și să admită atitudini identice față de lume, pentru că în principal fiecare limbă poate exprima același lucru ca oricare alta, chiar dacă prin categorii diferite și prin diferite mijloace de expresie. Elemente purtătoare de informație culturală, concepte ori cultureme care ridică probleme specifice de traducere. De fapt, realia nu desemnează obiecte, ci semne ori cuvinte care desemnează obiecte specifice culturii materiale locale, particularități istorice, artistice, culturale, sociale, politice, afective, naționale (de exemplu, bărăganul românesc, stepa rusească, pusta maghiară, preria nord-americană, pampasul sud-american), particularități istorice, artistice (călușarii românești, tarantella italienească, guignol franțuzesc, cazaciocul ucrainean), culturale, sociale, politice, afective (dorul românesc, regretul american), naționale. In studiile de traducere, externă și, respectiv, internă, este necesar a se face distincția între realia-obiecte și realia-cuvinte." (Lungu Badea, 2012, p. 118)

Moțoc subliniază felul în care marele contributor la literatura culturemului, Georgiana Lungu Badea construiește un sistem în care face o diferență clară între conotație și culturem, aluzie și culturem, respectiv neologism și culturem. Conotația este sensul figurat al unui cuvânt simplu sau compus, sens actualizat de context. Aluzia este evocarea indirectă, printr-un cuvânt sau o sintagmă, a unei persoane sau a unui obiect, fără a-l desemna. Neologismul este un mijloc de îmbogățire a vocabularului în cazul existenței unei lacune lexicale. În schimb, culturemul este un lexem – fie simplu, fie complex – care funcționează ca o unitate semantică, a cărei înțelegere depinde de cunoașterea contextului cultural de origine; este un lexem care desemnează în mod direct obiectul sau persoana la care se referă, și nu este un simplu mijloc de împrumut prin care se îmbogățește vocabularul.

Georgiana Lungu Badea definește culturemul ca fiind unitatea minimală purtătoare de informație culturală, un

> Concept complex, (care) derivă din varietatea fenomenelor și realităților pe care le desemnează. El apare în metalimbajul teoreticienilor traducerii și al traducătorilor din necesitatea de a reconsidera din perspectiva teoriilor despre traducere anumite aspecte, tradițional cercetate și studiate de lingvistică (precum conotațiile, câmpurile semantice etc), în vederea

constituirii aparatului critic adecvat acestui proces. Deoarece fac aluzie la un context extralingvistic, la o situație, culturemele pot fi istorice, culturale, literare etc. (Lungu Badea, 2004, p. 24-68)

Obiectivul Georgianei Lungu Badea (2004), așa cum autoarea mărturisește în introducerea la volumul Teoria culturemelor, teoria traducerii, este acela de a propune și promova un tip de traducere culturală în cazul acelor elemente și structuri care sunt purtătoare de informație culturală. Culturemul este, în viziunea ei o unitate monoculturală, realativă, autonomă față de traducere. În acest punct, arată Moțoc (2017, 157-158), abordarea lui Lungu Badea și abordarea lui Molina diferă, deoarece pentru specialistul spaniol culturemele se manifestă și se actualizează în cadrul procesului traducerii, nu există în afara traducerii, în timp ce pentru traductologul român ele există și în afara procesului traductiv.

Culturemele sau realiile sunt definite ca elemente lexicale specifice unei culturi anume[2]. Kim Ebensgaard Jensen (2008) îl citează pe Newmark atunci când distinge între limbajul universal, limbajul cultural și limbajul personal. Culturemele, crede el, se situează la nivelul limbajului cultural, deoarece acest tip de limbaj cuprinde concepte specifice unei culturi și/sau unei subculturi date. B. Osimo[3] citează definiția lui Vlahov și Florin, definiție conform căreia culturemele sunt cuvinte sau sintagme are reprezintă obiecte, concepte sau fenomene tipice unui spațiu geografic dat, al vieții materiale sau particularităților socio-istorice al unor populații sau națiuni anume, cuvinte sau sintagme care poartă, astfel o coloratură specifică, neexistând astfel termeni echivalenți în alte limbi sau culturi.

În volumul Victoriei Ungureanu (2013) realiile sau culturemele sunt percepute ca niște unități lexicale și frazeologice, numite „elemente exotice, realii, cuvinte intraductibile, etnografisme, cuvinte de fundal, străinisme. Aceste unități proprii doar unui popor, vor fi cu atît mai evidente cu cît ele vor fi relevate prin metode contrastive, cînd vor fi supuse traducerii și vor deveni clasice prin faptul, că ele constituie deja niște simboluri ale intraductibilității: charme (fr), gentlemen (engl), dor, taină (rom)." (Ungureanu, 2013, p. 69)

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[2] *lexical items designating elements specific to a particular culture*, http://www.translation directory.com/article

[3] [*realia are] words (and composed expressions) [...] representing denominations of objects, concepts, typical phenomena of a given geographic place, of material life or of social-historical peculiarities of some people, nation, country, tribe [sic], that for this reason carry a national, local or historical color; these words do not have exact matches in other languages* http://www.logos.it/lang/transl_en.html

Carmen Maftei (2006) include în categoria culturemelor și arhaisme sau regionalisme (clăcași, boier sarmale, piftii, caltaboși, toba, parastas, pomelnic, colaci, colivă), ceea ce este absolut corect. Însă corpusul de elemente realia din cercetarea lui Maftei arată clar un aspect nesesizat și neprecizat de literatura de specialitate, și anume un grad de relativitate în cazul unor cultureme. Dacă în privința tipologiei culturemelor există mai multe categorii, ordonate după diverse criterii, s-ar putea opera, la fel de bine, o divizare a culturemelor în cultureme absolute (lexeme care au întotdeauna, în orice context traductologic, calitatea de culturem), respectiv cultureme relative (adică lexeme realia care-și revelează statutul doar în anumite contexte traductologice). Exemple perfecte pentru culturemele relative ar putea fi câteva din gastronimele selectate de Maftei (2006): mămăligă, caltaboși, tobă, sarmale, care pot funcționa drept cultureme în traducerea din română în limba engleză, franceză, norvegiană etc. (culturi în care preparatele culinare respective nu sunt cunoscute, deși pentru mămăligă există preparatul și termenul echivalent polenta, preluat din italiană în engleză), dar ele nu sunt cultureme în contextul unor traduceri interlinguale est- sau central-europene: sarmaua este un preparat cunoscut de mai multe culturi gastronomice central- și est-europene, prin urmare există termeni echivalenți (ma. töltöttkáposzta care a generat forma calchiată stuffed cabbage în limba engleză). Caltaboșul este un preparat binecunoscut gastronomiei din Bazinul Carpatic, prin urmare traducerea termenului în limba maghiară (májashurka) sau germană (Leberwurst-ul sașilor și șvabilor) nu ar pune probleme deosebite, termenul caltaboș este culturem în traducerea româno-engleză, dar nu este un culturem în traducerea româno-maghiară.

Kinga Klaudy (2006, p. 21) definește realiile în sens restrictiv, ca fiind obiectele care sunt specifice unei culturi date (mâncăruri, băuturi, vestimentație, etc), cunoscute unei colectivități dar necunoscute alteia. În această accepțiune lexemul reália/realia este sinonim al lexemului kultúrszó/cuvânt cultural, culturem, arată Klaudy-Simigné Fenyő (2000, p. 50). Specialiștii maghiari includ în categoria acestor lexeme realia sau lexeme culturale frazemele (angolosan távozik/ to take French leave – tradus prin transformare totală), elementele deictice, sintagmele legate de ranguri, funcții, statut social, sintagme onorifice precum lexemele prin care se desemnează în limba maghiară statutul femeilor căsătorite (Kászonyiné Kakas Hanna/Mrs Kászonyi – tradus prin omisiune și adaptare), denumirea unor premii (Kossuth díj/Kossuth Prize sau premiul Kossuth).

Realiile și culturemele sunt tratate drept sinonime și definite ca fiind lexemele care desemnează realitățile caracteristice unui grup anume, care au un sens conotativ și afectiv-emoțional specific și care, datorită bagajului cultural comun, trezesc asociații similare la membrii grupului sau comunității. Realiile se situează la punctul de interferență, de convergență dintre cultură și limbă. La nivelul langue aceste lexeme nu au echivalente în celelalte limbi, dar la nivelul parole traducătorii reușesc să stabilească, să identifice acele lexeme care pot servi drept traduceri ale acestora. Realiile mai sunt numite în limba maghiară lexeme non-echivalente (non-ekvivalens lexika) sau elemente lexicale dependente cultural (*kultúrafüggő elem*) (cf. Forgács, 2004; Honti, 2011).

Tamás Farczádi Bencze (2011) prezintă o panoramă a reflecțiilor teoreticienilor maghiari în tematica realiilor și culturemelor. Astfel el citează studiile lui Erzsébet Forgács (2002. *A reáliák fordítási nehézségeiről szépirodalmi szövegekben. Magyar-német kontrasztív vizsgálat/Despre dificultățile traducerii culturemelor în texte literare. Studiu contrastiv maghiar-german*, in *Fordítástudomány*, 4/2, 63-82, sau 2004. *Reáliák és fordításuk Garaczi László műveiben/Culturemele și traducerea lor în operele lui László Garaczi*, in *Fordítástudomány*, 6/2, 38-56) precum și studiul lui Endre Lendvai (2005. *Reáliafelfogások napjaink magyar fordításelméletében/Abordări ale culturemelor în traductologia maghiară contemporană* in Dobos Csilla. Kis Á. Lengyel Zs. *Mindent fordítunk és mindenki fordít. Értékek teremtése és közvetítése a nyelvészetben*, Bicske: SZAK kiadó Kft, 67-71), Albert Vermes (2004. *A relevancia-elmélet alkalmazása a kultúra specifikus kifejezések vizsgálatában/Utilizarea teoriei relevanței în analiza culturemelor*, in *Fordítástudomány* 6-2, 5-17) sau studiul semnat de Zsuzsa Valló (2000. *A fordítás pragmatikai dimenziói és a kulturális reáliák/Dimensiunile pragmatice ale traducerii și realiile culturale*, in *Fordítástudomány*, 2/1, 34-55)[4].

Forgács (2002, 2004) extinde sfera semantică a termenului realia și include expresiile frazeologice și paremiologice. Valló (2000) extinde și mai mult semantismul termenului, afirmând că întregi construcții textuale, cântece, piese literare pot fi considerate realii, dacă sunt purtătoare de conotații emoțional-culturale pentru o comunitate dată. Valló include în

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[4] În afară de aceste titluri, se mai pot menționa următoarele studii: Simigné Fenyő S. 2006. *A fordítás mint közvetítés*. Miskolc: Stúdium Rendezvények és Nyelvtanfolyamok. Simigné Fenyő S. 2007. *A fordítás mint nyelvi, kulturális és politikai közvetítés*. Miskolc: A Miskolci Egyetem Habilitációs Füzetei Társadalomtudományi Habilitációs Tanács. Tellinger, D. 2003. *A reáliák fordítása a fordító kulturális kompetenciája szemszögéből*. In *Fordítástudomány* 5. évf. 2. szám 58–70.

cadrul lexemelor realia și sintagmele care dau expresie cunoștințelor sau experienței membrilor unei culture date, sintagme care au o semnificație special în cadrul și contextul cultural respectiv. Definiția dată de Valló (realiile sunt lexeme care exprimă experiența, cunoștințele, obiectele, noțiunile, conceptele, schemele sau modelele emoționale și mentale care au o semnificație particulară într-un context cultural dat) este prea permisivă și elastică, afirmă Farczádi (2011, p. 77) lărgind prea mult sfera de curpindere a termenului. Albert Vermes (2004) definește realiile drept lexeme care desemnează referenți cu specific cultural, referenți care fac parte din bagajul cognitiv și cultural al unui grup dar nu face parte din bagajul cognitiv al celuilalt grup.

Lendvai (2005) în schimb revine la definiția clasică a termenului realia (aidoma sensului circumscris de Forgács), precizând că este nevoie de o reterminologizare a conceptului: astfel realia ar putea fi definit ca un concept cu un câmp semantic alcătuit din cercuri concentrice: în centru se află realiile lingvistice, urmate spre exterior de termenii cu specific cultural și expresiile frazeologice cu semantism cultural.

Un studiu metaanalitic foarte bun, prelucrat și utilizat de către Farczádi Bencze Tamás (2011) este acest articol semnat de Lendvai Endre *Reáliafelfogások napjaink magyar fordításelméletében/ Abordări ale culturemelor în traductologia maghiară contemporană*, în care autorul descrie și prezintă opiniile lui Nándor Papp (2004. *Terminológia és reáliák*. In Dróth Júlia. *Szaknyelv és szakfordítás*. Gödöllő, Szent István Egyetem, p. 79-90 ), Zsuzsa Valló (2000), Erzsébet Forgács (2002), Albert Vermes (2004), Péter Iván Horváth (2004. *Közigazgatási reáliák a hiteles fordításban/Cultureme administrative în traducerile autorizate*, in *Fordítástudomány*, 2004. VI/2, p. 38-57), Dusán Tellinger (2003. *A reáliák fordítása a fordító kulturális kompetenciája szemszögéből/Traducerea culturemelor din perspectiva competenței culturale a traducătorului*, in *Fordítástudomány*, 2003. V/2, p. 58-70) și Tünde Wallendums (2003. *Kulturális reáliák fordítási megoldásairól a pizzanevek tükrében/Soluții de traducere a culturemelor în cazul denumirilor legate de tipurile de pizza*, in *Fordítástudomány* 2003. V/2, p. 71-79).

La Papp (2004) se cuvine remarcată observația pertinentă privitoare la existența îndelungată nu a unor principii sau metode, ci a unei filozofii a traducerii, care a făcut posibilă acea adaptare pragmatică asimilantă, operantă până în secolul al XIX-lea, care a făcut posibilă traducerea unor nume proprii care, fiind realii, azi nu s-ar mai traduce (exemplul cel mai faimos fiind traducerea numelui lui Jules Verne în Verne Gyula).

La Zsuzsa Valló (2000) Lendvai scoate în evidență extinderea sferei semantice a termenului realia, care cuprinde în opinia specialistului maghiar nu doar unități ale lumii obiectuale, ci entități din planul conceptual, valoric, afectiv, etic relațional etc., deoarece efectul culturii nu se rezumă la planul obiectelor sau fenomenelor fizice, ci și la planuri mai profunde, mai subtile. O altă idee a lui Valló, apreciată de Lendvai se referă la necesitatea clarificărilor de ordin metalingvistic și denominativ (respinge varianta kulturális reália/ realia culturală pentru că este tautologică).

În cazul studiilor lui Forgács (2002, 2004) Lendvai face o selecție a frazemelor pe care autoarea le include în categoria realiilor maghiare, precizând că unele dintre ele sunt într-adevăr cultureme tipice maghiare (szaloncukor, kisdobos, nyilas) dar altele nu (pongyola, középkáder, csősz), iar precizarea limitelor noțiunii realia ar fi binevenită.

Vermes (2004) propune înlocuirea termenului *reália/realia* prin sintagma *kultúr-specifikus kifejezés/expresie cu specific cultural*. Din nou, o parte a exemplelor furnizate de Vermes intră în categoria culturemelor maghiare (*Bolyai/*un matematician maghiar, *Belváros*/Centrul capitalei, *ÁVÓ*/abrevierea numelui organului care corespunde Siguranței din anii 1950, *keserves*/dans sau cântec de jale, *kuruc*/curuț, haiduc sau răsculat în timpul răscoalei lui Rákóczi Ferenc al II-lea de la începutul secolului XVIII, *labanc*/lobonț sau soldat al armatei imperiale în timpul răscoalei de la începutul secolului XVIII), în timp ce altele nu (*kocsma*/cârciumă, *harisnyaszem-felszedő*/meseria de remaiator ciorapi).

Nu există o definiție unanim acceptată a termenului realia, există definiții mai restrânse (doar lexeme referitoare la mâncăruri, vestimentație, obiecte speciale, cf. Klaudy) sau mai permisive (care includ și lexemele legate de istorie sau religie). Kinga Klaudy (1999) crede că realiile sau culturemele au patru funcții majore, care acționează sincretic:

- Funcția dramatică (*dramaturgiai szerep*), prin care se revelează statutul și poziția socială a personajelor;
- Funcția emoțională sau afectivă (*hangulatteremtő funkció*) prin care se creează coloritul local;
- Funcția informativă (*ismeretterjesztő funkció*), realiile transmit informații legate de stilul de viață, obiceiurile, obiectele utilizate de membrii culturii;
- Funcția interculturală (*kultúraközvetítő szerep*), prin care se atenuează lacunele sau golurile comunicaționale dintre cultura sursă și cultura țintă.

Prin urmare, credem noi, culturemele sau realiile sunt acele unități lingvistice care sunt purtătoare de informație culturală, fac parte din cultura despre care furnizează informații, o descriu sau definesc un segment din acea cultură, sunt legate de cultură și sunt înrădăcinate în ea, au un semantism care trezește asociații legate de cultura respectivă. In acest studiu vom subsuma termenului de culturem sau realia acele sintagme (cuvinte, combinații de cuvinte, expresii) care se referă la existența etnică, culturală a unei populații date, toate elementele lingvistice ce țin de cultura materială, spirituală, administrativă, comunicațională a acelei populații sau comunități:

- Termeni și sintagme legate de gospodărie, casă, loc de trai, domiciliu (*pagoda, jurta/iurtă*);
- Mijloace de transport (*riksa, gondola*);
- Evenimente specifice (târg de fete), detalii legate de viața socială, obiceiuri (*paparude, colindat*);
- Sărbători, cultură și artă, tradiții (*Crăciun/ Christmas/ Karácsony, Hanuka, Mikulás/ Sf. Nicolae, karácsonyfa/ pom de Crăciun, Paște. Easter/ Pâques/ Húsvét, Rusalii/ Whitsun, Whitsuntide/ Pentecôte/ Pünkösd*);
- Elemente etnografice (*doină*), vestimentație (*kilt, catrință, ie, párta*/un obiect vestimentar purtat în cap de fetele necăsătorite);
- Sentimente și emoții ce țin de paideuma sau sufletul supraindividual al popoarelor (*dor*);
- Unități de măsură (*pound*); monede (*fillér*/o monedă cu valoare mică);
- Gastronime (*tortilla, kürtőskalács/ cozonac secuiesc, rántott csirke/pui prăjiți pane, galuska/ găluște făcute din ouă și griș, puliszka/mămăligă, gomolyasajt/ un tip de cașcaval, szilvás gombóc/ găluște cu prune, pecsenye/ carne prăjită într-un mod special*);
- Băuturi (*grog, pálinka/ un fel de rachiu*);
- Denumiri geografice (*plai, preerie, canyon, stepa, taiga*);
- Profesiuni (*serpa, cowboy*[5,] *bojtár/ boitar*);
- Etnonime regionale sau dialectale (*moț, moroșan, palóc, vasas németek, drótos tótok/* denumiri arhaice ale unor grupuri etnice de pe teritoriul Ungariei, substantive însoțite de adjective care se referă la profesiunile practicate de aceste etnii);

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[5] În mod interesant, deși în cultura maghiară a existat cândva o profesiune oarecum similară profesiunii cowboy (*hajdú*, cei care se ocupau cu creșterea, mânatul, vânzarea etc. cirezilor de vaci în pusta maghiară), în traducere nu se folosește termenul resimțit prea arhaic pentru a înlocui termenul anglo-american.

- Administrație (*canton, shire, ținut, járás/plasă, vármegye/district*);
- Ranguri sau funcții politice (*țar, faraon, tory, lord*), sau militare (*huszár, dragonyos*/denumirea arhaică a unor ranguri);
- Denumirea regională sau dialectală a unor categorii sociale (*răzeș, iobag, boier, jobbágy/iobag, hétszilvafás nemes/mic nobil*);
- Simboluri politice sau culturale, denumirea unor instituții, organizații (*Union Jack*/drapelul național al Regatului Unit, *Taj Mahal, Duma, Bundestag);*
- Locurile sau entitățile cu un simbolism special (*Loch Ness, Macondo*);
- Lexeme legate de existența arhaică, patriarhală (*furulya/fluier, kunyhó*/un tip de domiciliu aflat undeva între colibă și căsuță) sau dimpotrivă, cosmopolită a unei comunități, realiile vieții urbane sau rurale (*maidan, mahala, csuklós autóbusz/un tip de autobuz, átszállójegy*/bilet de călătorie care permite tranzitul, transferul de pe un mijloc de transport pe altul);
- Expresii legate de fenomene ale naturii (*aurora borealis, fata morgana/délibáb*);
- Expresii legate de flora sau fauna specifică unei regiuni: *Gingko Biloba*;
- Lexeme legate de viață militară, istorie (*iatagan, legiune*);
- Mitologie (*ielele, Muma Pădurii/Vasorrú Bába, táltos/vraci*);
- Expresiile palimpsest, trimiterile intertextuale (*zăpezile de altădată* retradus în franceză va fi întotdeauna *les neiges d'antan*, și nu *d'autrefois*, iar în maghiară *tavalyi hó);*
- Modalități de adresare, formule de salut sau de relaționare socială, urări de bine, imprecații, acte de vorbire declarative etc. (*How do you do, Doamne ajută, Adj`Isten*);
- Interjecții și expresii onomatopeice, sunete din natură (ro. *cotcodac*/ma. *kotkodács, zbârr*) și sunete scoase de om în mod voluntar (ro. *îhî/* ma. *ühüm*, ambele echivalând cu un răspuns afirmativ);
- Interpretarea sunetelor scoase de organisme vii în mod involuntar (de exemplu verbele referitoare la sunetele scoase de animale: ro. *pisica miaună*/ma. *a macska nyávog* sau de cele legate de corpul uman: hapciu/hápcsi);
- Antroponime și toponime, personaje literare sau nonliterare celebre (*Harry Potter*);

- Unități idiolectale și sociolectale (elemente sociolectale, detalii legate de accent, elemente de argou, vorbirea colocvială sau eufemistică);
- Lexeme legate de comportamente sociale (*transhumanță, pelerinaj, gentry, metrosexual, DINKI/double income, no kid* etc.);
- Expresii verbale paremiologice, zicători, textele scurte pentru copii, formule fixe, comenzi etc.

Adoptăm așadar o abordare mai largă a conceptului realia sau culture, și propunem o diviziune mai simplă a culturemelor în cultureme antropologice, cultureme sociale, cultureme discursiv-comunicaționale și cultureme naturale. În această accepțiune mai largă a termenului, pe care o avem în vedere, intră lexeme simple, lexeme compuse sau sintagme și chiar texte foarte scurte (ro. *Melc, melc codobelc*/ ma. *Csiga-biga gyere ki*), după cum intră substantive comune și substantive proprii, unități lingvistice, antropologice, sociale, culturale etc.

Precizăm, totodată, că nu toate numele proprii, expresiile frazeologice, mici cântece sau poezii, și nu toate proverbele intră în categoria realiilor sau culturemelor, doar acelea care sunt specifice unei culturi date și transmit informații, sentimente legate de ea, au un simbolism special (un exemplu de proverb cu statut de culturem ar fi proverbul maghiar *Több is veszett Mohácsnál* (în traducere literală: *mai mult am pierdut noi/ a fost pierdut la Mohács/în lupta de la Mohács*) face trimitere la lupta de la Mohács, unde armata Regatului maghiar a fost înfrântă de soldații sultanului Suleiman. Multe din exemplele identificate de noi (vezi Nagy 2015) sunt incluse, de către Magda Jeanrenaud (2006, p. 146) în categoria onomasticii care se întinde pe trei domenii: antroponimia (studiul numelor proprii), toponimia (investigația asupra numelor de locuri), și cel de-al treilea, axat pe referenții culturali (sărbători, instituții etc).

## Tipologia culturemelor sau realiilor

V. Skalkin a oferit o taxonomie a etnoculturemelor, pe care le numea realii, schițând astfel o concepție mai extinsă a sferei semantice a termenului. Așadar, Skalkin a enumerat următoarele categorii de etnocultureme:

1. Lexeme referitoare la realități din sfera producției, a vieții socio-culturale și cotidiene;

2. Noțiuni abstracte din sfera producției, a vieții socio-culturale și cotidiene, precum evenimente istorice, tradiții, sărbători;

3. Denumiri ale structurilor statale, sociale, tehnice sau economice;

4. Mărfuri, creații sau produse ale activităților tehnice, artistice, juridice sau de cercetare;

5. Toponime;

6. Antroponime, numele unor personaje reale sau ficționale cunoicute de toată țara;

7. Persoane cu funcții în diverse organizații, membrii unor mișcări, locuitorii unor localități, orașe (Skalkin, 1976 apud Tellinger, 2005, p. 124)

O altă taxonomie a școlii ruse de traductologie vine din parte perechii de autori J. Vereșciagin și V. Kostomarov (1976), care au făcut o clasificare a termenilor fără echivalent, apreciată ca reprezentând circa 6-7% din vocabularul activ al limbii ruse. Vereșciagin și Kostomarov încorporează lexemele fără echivalent și cuvintele connotative, propunând următoarele categorii:

1. Sovietisme;

2. Cuvinte care reflectă realității sovietice;

3. Cuvinte referitoare la existența cotidiană și obiectele acesteia;

4. Frazeologismele (lexemele istorice, arhaismele sau termenii din slava veche);

5. Lexemele legate de folclor;

6. Cuvintele rusești de origine nerusă (taiga, hetman) (Vereșciagin și V. Kostomarov 1976 apud Tellinger, 2005, p. 124).

Slovacul Josef Sipko, specialist în limba rusă are o abordare largă a termenului realia, aidoma abordărilor sus menționate. Acesta concepe realiile ca fiind lexeme referitoare la:

1. Antroponime și numele unor personaje literare;

2. Lexemele care denumesc diferite realii (obiecte specifice unei comunități): denumiri administrative, profesiuni, monede, unități de măsură, mâncăruri, băuturi);

3. Apelative și expresii afective (Sipko, 1999 apud Tellinger, 2005, p. 124-125).

Taxonomia bulgarilor S. Vlahov și S. Florin a reușit să facă o carieră în traductologia internațională, fiind până azi considerată punctul de plecare al celor mai multe abordări ulterioare. Există, prin urmare, în taxonomia lui Sergej Vlahov și Sider Florin (1970, p. 438) patru categorii majore de cultureme: a. geografice și etnografice, b. folclorice și mitologice, c. din viața cotidiană, d. socio-istorice.

Categoriile de realii sau cultureme sunt următoarele:

1. Realii geografice:

- Formațiuni geografice naturale: *preeria, Magyar Alföld*;

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- Obiecte geografice artificiale, clădiri: *Múzeum, Füvészkert*;
- Nume endemice (fitonime și zoonime specifice unei arii restrânse): *ciprus, babérfa*.

2. Realii etnografice:

- Realiile vieții cotidiene: mâncăruri și băuturi (*törökméz, halva, medvecukor, diákabrak, szentjánoskenyér*), vestimentație (*felöltő*), domiciliu, mobilier și menaj (*lópokróc),* mijloace de transport (*lóvonat, komfortábli*);
- Realiile muncii: denumirea unor meșteșuguri, denumirea unor unelte (*srófhúzó, spárga*), nume legate de organizarea muncii, materiale (*viaszkosvászon*);
- Realii artistice și culturale: muzică și dans (*csárdás*), instrumente muzicale (*zongora-verkli*), teatru și actanți, sărbători și jocuri (*méta*), tradiții, obiceiuri, ritualuri și actanții la acestea;
- Realii etnice: etnonime, porecle *(pocok)*, denumiri legate de locul de proveniență (*alföldi*).

3. Realii socio-politice:

- Administrație, organizare statală: unități administrative, localități, părți ale localităților (denumirea districtelor: *Józsefváros, nagy dűlő*);
- Puterea politică: organe de conducere, persoane de conducere;
- Viața politică: activitatea politică și participanții la ea, organizații sociale și membrii, mișcări sociale și participanții, ranguri, titluri și apelative (pedellus), instituții educative, clase, pături și caste sociale, simboluri politice;
- Realii militare: unități militare, armament (tomahawk), vestimentație militară, ranguri și funcții militare (*közlegény*). (cf. Vlahov& Florin, 1970, p. 438; Honti, 2010)

Lipsesc din această taxonomie numele proprii, numele personajelor literare, lexemele legate de mijloace de plată (*krajcár, penny*), cuvintele onomatopeice *(tülkölni),* cele legate de comportamente sociale (*gigerli, metrosexual*), arhaisme (*ladik*), idiolecte, sociolecte, formulele fixe (comenzi, saluturi, expresii pragmatice): *Hapták/Habt acht, Indulj, Marș*.

O altă clasificare a realiilor o propune și lingvistul rus A.Reformatski (apud Ungureanu, 2013, p. 70) și anume: 1. Cuvinte ce se referă la nume de persoane, 2. Monede, 3. Funcții și denumiri pentru persoane, 4. Detalii de costume și podoabe, 5. Mîncăruri și băuturi, 6. Adresări și titluri.

Newmark (1988) oferă o listă care cuprinde tipurile de cuvinte culturale, cultureme sau realii. Astfel există cultureme în domeniile:

- Ecologiei: nume legate de floră, faună, vânt, câmpuri, formațiuni geografice etc;
- Al culturii materiale: mâncare, îmbrăcăminte, tipuri de case, așezări umane, forme de transport etc.;
- Al culturii sociale: muncă, relaxare;
- Al organizațiilor, al obiceiurilor: concepte politice sau administrative, concepte religioase, fenomene artistice etc.;
- Domeniul gesturilor și al obiceiurilor.

În accepțiunea lui Molina (apud Moțoc, 2017, p. 159-160) există următoarele categorii de cultureme:

- Cultureme ale mediului natural (denumiri din floră, faună, fenomene atmosferice, climatice, peisagistice –naturale și artificiale – toponime, ecologice etc.);
- Cultureme ale patrimoniului cultural (numele de personaje și personalități, evenimente istorice, religioase, festivități, obiceiuri, credințe, folclor, opere sau monumente emblematice, nume proprii, obiecte, ustensile, instrumente legate de muzică, magie, exploatarea pământului, pescuit, vânat, activități arhaice, comportamente culturale, realii folclorice sau mitologice în terminologia lui Vlahov);
- Elemente ale culturii sociale (convenții sociale, formule de politețe, de salut, de adresare, mâncare, vestimentație, valori morale, sisteme politice, legale, educative, meserii, monede, unități de măsură etc.);
- Cultureme lingvistice (antroponime, transliterații, proverbe, cultura paremiologică, asociații simbolice, interjecții, insulte, blasfemii etc.).

Taxonomia termenilor cu specific cultural/referințele culturale va include, după Chifane (2011, p. 31) o multitudine de alte elemente după cum urmează:

- Referințele la mitologie și credințele populare (de exemplu numeroasele proverbe și zicători din basmele populare românești), elemente traduse de obicei prin note de subsol sau traducerea acestuia prin intermediul unui obicei similar din cultura țintă);
- Elemente legate de cadrul istoric, religios și politic, traduse prin note de subsol;
- Denumiri legate de clădiri și mobilier casnic, tipuri de mâncare;
- Obiceiuri și practici, joacă și jocuri;
- Floră și faună;

- Antroponime, toponime;
- Unități de măsură și expresii idiomatice.

Clasificarea culturemelor se poate face după mai multe criterii, afirmă Georgiana Lungu Badea (2012).

După criteriul formal există:

- Cultureme simple: lexii simple (nume comune sau nume proprii), lexii compuse: *colivă, cornecul, chrysantheme, Elysee, Fătălăul, Feuillants, optimisme, Polichinelle, Procust, Freron, sauna, mistral, White House, Halloween.*
- Cultureme compuse: sintagme și unități frazeologice: raison suffisante, engl. *fish and chips, Trece ca Vodă prin loboda, Dar eu cu cine votez?* (Caragiale) ori expresii palimpsest (*coup de pub* după *coup de theâtre; Au bonheur des ogres* (D. Pennac) după *Au bonheur des dames* (Zola); *Science please*! (titlu de emisiune difuzată pe canalul Discovery după *Silent please*!) sau *Drink positive*! după *Think positive*, în publicitatea la băutura răcoritoare Lipton.

După criteriul funcțional există:

- Cultureme istorice: actualizează relația dintre emițător și epoca sa (optimism/Voltaire; limbă/popor). „Această accepție, arhaică azi, îi conferă valoare de culturem cuvântului limbă, care avea o reprezentare clară în trecut, „popor, vorbitor al unei limbi". In limba română actuală, se impune traducere internă, glosarea sau nota de subsol. Arhaismele ar putea fi considerate cultureme istorice, iar în traducerea interlinguală găsirea arhaismului echivalent ar fi o soluție traductivă externă anevoioasă, dar și arhaizant-naturalizantă care, chiar dacă ar garanta o atmosferă culturală veche în LȚ, nu ar asigura echivala istoricitatea TS. De exemplu: fr. *louis d'or*, redat de Șăineanu prin napoleon, „veche monedă franceză de aur în valoare de 20 de franci, cu efigia lui Napoleon I și, mai târziu, cu cea a lui Napoleon al III-lea" (DEX), în loc de *ludovic*, -i sau scud, -zi de aur (monedă pusă în circulație în 1640, de Ludovic al XIII-lea produce nu numai o alunecare de sens ci și un sens fals, prin modificare referenților monarhie/imperiu." (Lungu Badea, 2012, p. 54-56)
- Cultureme actuale: „Expresia engl. fish and chips este puternic marcată cultural, astfel că greu se poate găsi o soluție de traducere potrivită, cu excepția traducerii iconice (împrumut, calc sau

traducere literală, „pește și cartofi prăjiți").” (Lungu Badea, 2012, p. 54-56)

Dacă ar fi să propunem o tipologie proprie a realiilor sau culturemelor, aceasta ar fi următoarea:

1. **Antropoculureme**: acele cultureme care sunt legate de cultura și microuniversul existenței omului (termeni și sintagme legate de gospodărie, casă, loc de trai, domiciliu, mod de trai, gastronomie, obiceiuri, vestimentație, idei și mentalități, arhitectură, profesiuni, credințe, comportamente, elemente folclorice, etnologice, mitologice, religioase, spirituale, sărbători, cultură și artă, tradiții, elemente etnografice, sentimente și emoții ce țin de paideuma sau sufletul supraindividual al popoarelor, lexeme legate de existența arhaică, patriarhală sau dimpotrivă, cosmopolită a unei comunități, realiile vieții urbane sau rurale etc.

**Exemple de cultureme românești (cu unele variante traduse în limba maghiară**): *vatale/ szövőszék-bordák, suveica/ vetélő, hora/hóra, pomană/ pomána, Crăciun/ Karácsony, ceaslov/ imádságos könyv, psaltire/ zsoltár, aproape de Moși/ halottak ünnepe táján, coliva/ diós-mézes főtt búzakása, cătrință/ katrinca, borangic, prispa/ tornác, foișor/ ámbitus, „Colindele de lume”/ A colindele lume-nak nevezett játékok, Sorcova, plugușorul, buhaiul, jocul caprei, vicleimul/ betlehemes; brezaia, țurca, Noaptea Sânzienelor/ Keresztelő Szent János napja, strigăte peste sat/ úgynevezett strigări peste sat-okat (kihírdetéseket, drogálásokat), călușarii, drob, tochitură, dor, halva, rahatlocum, prescurile – preszkúra- (notă de subsol- \*élesztő nélkül készített, szentelt kenyér); cojocul alb de oaie – fehér kozsokba-\* juhbőrből készült suba (notă de subsol).*

**Exemple de cultureme maghiare (cu unele variante traduse în limba română**): *párta, sarkantyú, bábakalács/babele, legényes, csárdás, kürtöskalács/cozonac secuiesc, pálinka/pălincă, diákabrak, medvecukor, törökméz/nugat, szentjánoskenyér, Gundel palacsinta – clătite Gundel, forgatós/ Învârtita*

2. **Socioculureme**: acele cultureme care sunt legate de mediul social, politic, istoric, coordonata temporală a existenței, organizații, evenimente istorice, instituții, antroponime de prestigiu, personalități istorice, personaje reale sau imaginare faimoase, simboluri socio-istorice, roluri, funcții, evenimente specifice detalii legate de viața socială, obiceiuri, unități de

măsură, monede, etnonime regionale sau dialectale, administrație, ranguri sau funcții politice sau militare, denumirea regională sau dialectală a unor categorii sociale, profesiuni, simboluri politice sau culturale, lexeme legate de viață militară, istorie, lexeme legate de comportamente sociale, mijloace de transport, sărbători, cultură și artă, tradiții, etnonime regionale sau dialectale, denumirea unor jocuri etc.

**Exemple de cultureme românești (cu unele variante traduse în limba maghiară**): *vornic/ biró, pitac/ peták, mocan/mokány, moț/móc, vremea zavarei[6], sorocovăț[7]/ húszas, joia mare"/ Húsvét előtti csütörtök, Dumineca Tomii - a húsvét utáni első vasárnap, boieri-, Făt-Frumos – Tündérlegény.*

**Exemple de cultureme maghiare (cu unele variante traduse în limba română**): *huszár/husar, szórvány, ballagás/festivitate de absolvire, honvéd/honved, hajdú, palóc, vármegye/district, hétszilvafás nemes/mic nobil, Ludovika, verkli, rabló-pandúr, Nemecsek, krajcár/creițar, gigerli/fante, filfizon, a prímás/țiganul care cântă la prima vioară, Rektori Tanács/Colegiul Senatului; nemzetiszín kokárda/fundă tricoloră, főtisztelendő püspök úr/ preasfințitul episcop, mise, istentisztelet/slujbă religioasă, a Kúria/Curtea Supremă.*

3. **Cultureme discursiv-comunicaționale**: trimiterile intertextuale, expresiile palimpsest, latinisme, modalități de adresare, formule de salut sau de relaționare socială, urări de bine, imprecații, acte de vorbire declarative, interjecții și expresii onomatopeice, sunete din natură și sunete scoase de om în mod voluntar, interpretarea sunetelor scoase de organisme vii în mod involuntar, antroponime și toponime, personaje literare sau nonliterare celebre, unități idiolectale și sociolectale (elemente sociolectale, detalii legate de accent, elemente de argou, vorbirea colocvială sau eufemistică); expresii verbale paremiologice, zicători, textele scurte pentru copii, formule fixe, comenzi etc.

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[6] Sintagma *vremea zavarei* înseamnă „Răscoală grecească de la 1821 contra asupririi turcești"6, iar *felkelés idején* tradusă prin generalizare.

[7] *sorocovăț* înseamnă Veche monedă de argint, a cărei valoare a variat în decursul timpului. O piesă de argint corespunde cu 20 de crăițari.

**Exemple de cultureme românești (cu unele variante traduse în limba maghiară)**: *a mâncat papara/megkapta a magáét, bădița /bácsi, moș /apó, a necheza/nyeríteni, Calul Bălan/ Pejkó, babă/vénasszony,*

*Exemple de cultureme maghiare (cu unele variante traduse în limba română): „Elmegyung!", papuskám, Hapták!, Abcug, Hol volt, hol nem volt/A fost odată ca niciodată, Maximné, Kft /SRL.*

4. **Cultureme naturale**: acele cultureme care sunt legate de mediul fizic, biologic și geografic, coordonata spațială a existenței, elemente climatice, ecologice, atmosferice, floră și faună, denumiri geografice, geografie, locurile sau entitățile cu un simbolism special, expresii legate de fenomene ale naturii, sintagme legate de flora sau fauna specifică unei regiuni etc.

**Exemple de cultureme românești (cu unele variante traduse în limba maghiară)**: *iarba fiarelor/ vadpaprika, iarba dracului/ dohánylevél, mătrăguna/ nadragulya, stânca Baba Dochia de pe Ceachlău/a Baba Dochia szikla a Csalhón, Detunata din Munții Apuseni a Detunata a Nyugati Érchegységben.*

**Exemple de cultureme maghiare (cu unele variante traduse în limba română)**: *pónyik/poinic, batul/patule, komondor, puli, racka, szürkemarha, kendermagos, Magyar Alföld.*

## Concluzii

Oricare dintre taxonomiile enumerate mai sus le-am avea în vedere, în categoria culturemelor intră elemente din toate cele trei nivele ale sistemului culturii (cf. Munteanu, 2011, 117): paracultură (norme, reguli, comportamente, idei și concepte valabile pentru întreaga societate), diacultură (norme, reguli, comportamente, idei și concepte valabile pentru un grup specific dintr-o societate), idiocultură (cultura unui individ izolat). Un culturem de tip paracultural ar putea fi termenul *dor* pentru cultura română, un culturem diacultural este, de exemplu, termenul *kürtöskalács* (cozonac secuiesc) din limba maghiară, iar lexemul *moft*, în sensul în care îl folosește Caragiale sau numele proprii Bubico, Trahanache etc. fac parte din categoria culturemelor idioculturale (și datorită acestor elemente ce țin de idiolectul personajelor, textul lui Caragiale este foarte greu de tradus). Realiile sau culturemele se regăsesc atât în textile literare cât și în textele specializate (corpusul pe care am lucrat și din care am extras exemplele de

mai sus aparțin mai multor stiluri funcționale. Culturemele uneori pot pune probleme de intraductibilitate, dar în cele mai multe cazuri traducătorii au reușit să identifice cel puțin un echivalent cultural și funcțional.

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# Student străin în România: eticheta verbală și non-verbală în comunicarea interculturală

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**Abstract:** Marile universități din România ultimelor două decenii au strâns studenți din culturi din ce în ce mai numeroase și mai diferite între ele, fie datorită oportunităților socio-politice și economice create prin aderarea la UE, fie prin inițierea de către instituțiile de învățământ a unor programe și linii de studiu în limbile străine de circulație internațională. Prin urmare, mediul universitar românesc a devenit tot mai deschis, dar și mai eclectic. Dobândirea competenței interculturale care însoțește învățarea limbii noi, respectiv a românei ca limbă străină, este necesară și reconfortantă pentru reacția adecvată și coerentă a rezidenților temporari, în contexte sociale și academice specific românești. Dacă există un șoc cultural înainte de adaptare, prima etapă a imersiunii o constituie înțelegerea și învățarea codurilor comunicaționale: tabuurile lexicale, eticheta socială manifestată verbal, limbajul non-verbal, argumentarea și puterea de convingere etc.
**Cuvinte cheie**: *interculturalitate*, *etichetă verbală*, *tabuuri lexicale*, *comunicare non-verbală.*

## Introducere

Studiul acesta intenționează, așa cum anunță titlul, să cartografieze măcar parțial zonele de specific cultural românesc în interacțiunea verbală, pentru studenții străini tot mai numeroși din țara noastră. Am lăsat de o parte expații și alți rezidenți temporari, restrângând grupul țintă la comunitatea de studiu din orașele mari pentru că, în primul rând, reprezintă grupul cel mai numeros și mai omogen, iar apoi ei vin cu backgroundul unui plurilingvism în formare, legat inevitabil de pluriculturalism. Adică, stăpânesc deja o limbă a doua, de obicei engleza, această *lingua franca* necesară în comunicarea specifică unei lumi globalizate, și învață româna ca a treia sau a patra limbă. Ca să încheiem justificarea elementelor semantice incluse în titlu, trebuie să menționăm că eticheta verbală nu e înțeleasă doar

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cu sensul restrictiv din dicționar, de reguli convenționale de purtare politicoasă în viața de zi cu zi, ci mai larg, cu înțelesul conferit de Gabriele Kasper, de organizare a discursului social, așa încât să fie adaptat la evenimentul de comunicare curent (Kasper, 2005, p. 58). În paginile care urmează vom utiliza taxinomii cvasididactice care să ne permită conștientizarea, numirea și explicarea specificităților culturale românești în comunicare, mai precis în interacțiunea verbală, cea mai frecventă, dar și cea mai sensibilă zonă a disensiunilor culturale.

## Instrumente de decodare a culturii românești. Taxonomii și exemple

Pentru profesorul european care predă o limbă străină și e conștient de importanța construirii simultane a competențelor de comunicare verbală și interculturală, cel mai util instrument s-a dovedit în ultimii ani *Cadrul European de Referință pentru Limbi*, în special *Companion Volume* (2018). Încă din 2001, plurilingvismul și pluriculturalismul sunt tratate în tandem, dar în noul ghid există explicații și grile cu descriptori mai extinse și mai aplicate pe realitățile unei Europe actuale globalizate. Cele două profile nu se suprapun, poate exista la același student o bună cunoaștere a culturii țintă, dar o însușire a limbii mai săracă sau invers (CECRL, 2001, p. 133). Gestionarea obiectivelor și a pragurilor interculturale după modelul familiar al competențelor de comunicare, de la A1 la C2, permite profesorului o adaptare consecventă și adecvată a transmiterii conținuturilor și strategiilor de comunicare interculturale. Odată cu progresia lingvistică, e de dorit să se monitorizeze și să se ajusteze evoluția abilităților interculturale, de la nivelul minim, al exprimării pragmatice cu accent pe conținuturile lexicale – A1: Poate recunoaște diferite feluri de a număra, a spune ceasul etc, chiar dacă are încă dificultăți în a le aplica în tranzacțiile cotidiene concrete. – până la gestionarea diferențelor în convențiile socio-lingvistico-pragmatice și a reflecției critice asupra propriului mesaj verbal sau nonverbal – B2: poate iniția și controla propriile acțiuni și forme de expresie în acord cu contextul, fiind conștient(ă) de diferențele culturale și ajustând subtil mesajul, ca să prevină sau să repare neînțelegerile și incidentele culturale (*Companion volume*, 2018, p 159).

Care sunt cele mai eficiente instrumente de „citire" a unei culturi, la ce tip de indicii trebuie să fie atentă o persoană imersată sau doar interesată de o cultură diferită de a ei? În bibliografia ultimilor ani există mai mulți descriptori, organizați în grile ample sau elementare. Ne-au atras atenția

două modele în special, pentru concretețea și uzul lor facil în contexte culturale diverse. Prima aparține cercetătorilor americani Porter Samovar și Ray McDaniel, cu numai trei criterii de descifrare a regulilor sociale:

1. gradul potrivit de formalitate și informalitate;
2. influența asertivității, înțeleasă ca intervenție categorică pentru apărarea propriilor opinii, și armonia interpersonală;
3. influența relației de putere, adică felul cum percepe și răspunde o cultură la ierarhie. (Samovar, McDaniel, 2007, pp. 311-319).

A doua grilă pentru înțelegerea și adaptarea la contextele culturale aparține cercetătorului olandez Geert Hofstede și asociaților săi. Include șase criterii, stabilite ca opoziții între polii cărora o cultură poate obține un scor mai mic sau mai mare:

1. colectivism/individualism;
2. feminitate/masculinitate;
3. distribuirea/concentrarea puterii;
4. evitarea/angajarea incertitudinii;
5. orientarea pe termen scurt/pragmatism;
6. reprimare/indulgență. (Minkov *et alii*, 2012, pp. 38-58).

Deși modelul lui Samovar/McDaniel e mai structurat și pune culturile într-un context mai larg, cu mai multe exemple, vom utiliza cu preponderență al doilea model, mai ales pentru că e grila cea mai utilizată și mai adaptată la contextul românesc de către Daniel David, în studiul lui despre specificul cultural românesc (*Psihologia poporului român*, 2015), din perspectivă cognitiv-experimentală. Iată care sunt concluziile despre România, în comparație cu alte culturi:

1. E o țară colectivistă, alături de Bulgaria, Grecia și Portugalia în cadrul UE. Comportamentul depinde de grup, iar individul își exprimă dorințele și scopurile în forma agreată de colectivitate. Totuși, scorul de colectivism nu e foarte ridicat la români, probabil nu e constituțional, ci creat istoric, din nevoia de supraviețuire sub ocupații, întărit de perioada comunistă. Deci e posibil să evolueze curând spre individualism.
2. E caracterizată de feminitate, e consensuală, adică bazată pe cooperare, modestie, calitatea vieții și grija față de cei slabi.
3. Are o distribuție scăzută a puterii, prin urmare o concentrare crescută: acceptă ușor ierarhiile, considerându-le normale, fără a

le pune sub semnul întrebării și fără a cere justificări pentru existența lor.

4. După maniera în care se raportează la incertitudinea asupra viitorului și la situații noi și neprevăzute, România e printre țările cu grad mare de evitare a incertitudinii. Oamenii nu acceptă ușor idei și comportamente noi, securitatea și nevoia de reguli sunt importante, chiar dacă aceste reguli nu funcționează sau nu sunt respectate adesea.

5. Din punct de vedere al orientării în timp, e o țară intermediară, în echilibru, tinzând spre orientarea pe termen lung, adică spre pragmatism.

6. E mai mult represivă decât indulgentă cu gratificările personale, cu satisfacerea nevoilor și a dorințelor, pe care le controlează prin norme. (David, 2015: 99-102 *et passim*).

Conceptele operaționale de mai sus sunt utile în sine pentru un străin care are de-a face cu situații de comunicare uzuale sau inedite în România. Ele modelează și nuanțează interacțiunea verbală, așa cum vom demonstra în analiza studiului de caz din ultima parte a articolului, un model de citire adecvată și justificabilă a unor reacții ce pot părea discoerente și inexplicabile unei persoane din exterior.

## Interacțiunea verbală: diferențe culturale și strategii de comunicare

Cum menționam în introducere, obiectul studiului de față este în mod special interacțiunea verbală și variațiile sale culturale. Chiar dacă celelalte elemente de comunicare nu fac obiectul interesului nostru – ritualuri de salut, distanță socială, vestimentație etc. – vom face referire la ele atunci când adaugă un plus de conținut dialogului.

În cele ce urmează, așadar, prezentăm elementele de comunicare la care un străin trebuie să fie atent în dialog, în condițiile în care evoluează conștient în construirea competenței interculturale și e interesat de decodarea corectă a culturii române. Tabelul sintetic de mai jos concentrează modelul propus de Andra Vasilescu (Șerbănescu) în cele două volume din 2007 și e foarte util ca filtru de înțelegere a interacțiunilor în cultura română. Pornind de la nivelurile comunicării, cercetătoarea își argumentează/ exemplifică supozițiile cu expresii idiomatice, proverbe, clișee lingvistice frecvente la români, dar și cu exemple culturale comparative.

**Tabel 1.** *Diferențe comunicative induse cultural*
*(sistematizare a informațiilor din Șerbănescu, 2007)*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Nivelul lingvistic | 1.2. Lexic | |
| | 1.2. Gramatică | |
| 2. Nivelul discursiv | 2.2. Scripturile culturale | |
| 3. Practicile discursive | | |
| 4. Construirea semnificației | 4.1. Gestionarea temei | 4.1.1. Tiparul discursiv (inductiv/deductiv) |
| | | 4.1.2. Progresia tematică |
| | | 4.1.3. Gradul de focalizare |
| | | 4.1.4. Narativizarea |
| | | 4.1.5. Structura retorică |
| | 4.2. Relația text-context | |
| | 4.3. Performarea actelor de vorbire | |
| | 4.4.Cooperarea interlocutorilor | |
| | 4.5. Negocierea | |
| 5. Structura interacțiunii | 5.1. Inițiativa verbală | |
| | 5.2. Accesul la cuvânt | |
| | 5.3. Semnalele de recepție | |
| 6. Relațiile personale | 6.1. Importanța acordată relației | |
| | 6.2. Construirea relației prin intermediul conversației fatice | |
| | 6.3. Gradul de deschidere comunicativă și intimitate | |
| | 6.4. Politețe și impolitețe comunicativă | |
| | 6.5. Empatizarea cu interlocutorul | |
| | 6.6. Emoția | |
| | 6.7. Consens vs conflict | |
| | 6.8. Atitudini comunicative | atitudine rigidă/relaxată, creativitate, complexitate cognitivă, conformism/ conformitate cu normele de comunicare, asertivitate, argumentativitate, stabilitate |
| 7. Contribuția elementelor paraverbale și nonverbale la construirea semnificației | 7.1. Elementele paraverbale | |
| | 7.2. Elementele nonverbale | |

Preferăm, în demersul nostru inductiv, să discutăm terminologia practică de mai sus, deci să oferim câteva chei de decodare în interacțiunea cu un român, concentrându-ne pe un dialog de tip dispută cu argumente, televizat recent, încărcat de mărci culturale.

## Studiu de caz: o dispută televizată despre vaccinuri

Chiar dacă nu sunt identificate toate valorile ce reflectă personalitatea românilor, interacțiunea de mai jos pune în discuție multe dintre perechile antonimice ale lui Hofstede, invocate mai sus și, cel mai

important, poate creiona un stil de comunicare specific românesc. E vorba despre doi interlocutori, invitați într-o emisiune de televiziune, „Vorbește lumea", din 21 martie 2019, a cărei temă este vaccinarea copiilor. Ei discută de pe poziții contrare: medicul pediatru Mihai Craiu susține necesitatea absolută a vaccinării, iar fosta jurnalistă Olivia Steer e împotriva vaccinării, din cauza efectelor adverse. Din rațiuni de spațiu, am selectat și transcris mai jos numai două secvențe, de câteva minute: prima e importantă pentru intenționalitate și perspectiva colectivistă accentuată, în timp ce a doua e o confruntare cu argumente, mai relevantă pentru celelalte dimensiuni ale comunicării. Pentru a face referirile la transcriere mai ușoare, utilizăm abrevierile V1 (Vorbitor 1 – Olivia Steer) și V2 (Vorbitor 2 – Mihai Craiu), numerotăm replicile (Re1, Re2 etc.) și marcăm între paranteze pătrate momentele de suprapunere, de vorbit simultan.

**Transcriere 1:** *Dialog din emisiunea Vorbește lumea:*
*https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ms6SdAwlJ_I&t=33s*

*(1.54-2.07)*

Re1    **OS**: *Ăăăă, noi suntem în postul Paștelui, asta în primul rând. Așa că îmi doresc foarte mult o discuție calmă, în niciun caz de pe poziții de frondă sau pro și contra.*

*(6.00-8.18)*

Re2    **OS**: Dar pot să vă pun o întrebare, domnule doctor?

Re3    **MC**: Da, vă rog.

Re4    **OS**: Cum vă explicați că, în anumite vaccinuri, în prospectul anumitor vaccinuri, apare la reacții secundare, efecte adverse, autismul. Și aș putea să vă arăt chiar acum o captură după un astfel de prospect al ROR-ului în care producătorul, da(?), care înainte să pună pe piață un astfel de vaccin face niște studii, recunoaște că acest vaccin poate să producă autism.

Re5    [**MC**: Haideți să nu amestecăm lucrurile, pentru că acest…

Re6    **OS**: Nu, nu, vă rog să-mi răspundeți la această întrebare… De ce producătorul recunoaște în prospect că acest vaccin poate să producă autism?]

Re7    **MC**: Nu, asta-i interpretarea dumneavoastră despre prospect. Trebuie spus că în prospect scrie că după vaccinare au fost descrise, nu scrie că vaccinul produce autism. [Asta trebuie să înțeleagă cititorul neinformat.

Re8    **OS**: Da, înțeleg și asta.]

Re9    **MC**: Coincidența temporală nu înseamnă cauzalitate. Acum, dacă ieșim afară, este înnorat și este joi, asta nu înseamnă că noi avem această discuție pentru că este înnorat afară. Deși e un pic cam tensionat [și aici trebuie să fac o mărturisire…

Re10    **OS**: Da, eu zic să nu băgăm în derizoriu discuția] și să revenim la cercetătorii științifici care au o părere, deci, cu argumente, ei explică de ce e posibil ca autismul să apară în urma vaccinării. Și e vorba despre un adjuvant, respectiv despre aluminiu. Și, dacă îmi permiteți, vreau să citez… deci este o carte de referință, *nu este pentru lumea profană, ea… deci oricine poate să citească această carte, dar ea se adresează în primul rând specialiștilor, da?* [*Și aici, la aluminiu…*

Re11    **MC***: Tocmai că specialiștii nu citesc această carte,* ] nu vreau să înțeleagă ascultătorii noștri că aceasta este o carte pe care noi o studiem la facultate, [*sau la rezidențiat sau…*

Re12    **OS***: Din păcate, din păcate! Deci este o…*

Re13    **MC***: …pentru că*] *are vicii grave de concepție… se numește cherry picking, adică, pe românește, să culegi cireșele care-ți convin din articolele științifice! Și atunci putem ajunge la o concluzie sau la altă concluzie.*

Re14  **OS**: *Şi nu faceţi şi dumneavoastră acelaşi lucru, domnu` doctor?*
Re15  **MC***: Diferenţa dintre noi doi este că eu nu am nevoie de acea carte că să ştiu ce scrie în ea, pentru că eu mă confrunt în fiecare zi la spital cu pacienţii care au aceste probleme. Deci e de spus că amândoi vrem acelaşi lucru.* [*Să fie bine copiilor.*
Re16  **OS**: Da, sănătate. Exact, asta e.]

1. La nivel lingvistic, se poate observa doar uzul constant al pronumelui de politeţe și al mărcilor de adresare adecvate registrului formal, politicos, păstrat fără excepţie, în ciuda registrului tot mai accentuat pasiv-agresiv. Într-o limbă cu trei praguri de politeţe – tu-dumneata-dumneavoastră - o schimbare a lui *dumneavoastră* cu *tu* sau chiar *dumneata*, ar echivala cu renunţarea la convenţii, și implicit cu finalizarea abruptă a interacţiunii. Forma *dumneata* tinde azi să-și reducă utilizarea, e folosită „mai ales în adresarea condescendentă a persoanelor mai în vârstă către cei tineri, în contexte ironice sau chiar agresive" (GBLR, 2010: 110). Există două adresări formale, „domnu(le) doctor", și trei ocurenţe ale lui *dumneavoastră* în text. Acolo unde se foloseşte persoana a II-a singular, nu e o schimbare de registru, ci un *tu* general, echivalent cu *oamenii, lumea*.

2. Nivelul discursiv, respectiv scriptul situaţiei de comunicare corespunde cadrului preconturat, al dialogului dintre două persoane adulte, care nu s-au mai întâlnit până în acel moment. Discuţia rămâne politicoasă, se utilizează formulele de respect în uz, aşa cum menţionam mai sus. Deși există un dezacord puternic, mărcile de aprobare sunt mai numeroase decât cele de negare, de opoziţie: în cele 16 replici există numai doi „nu", dar patru „da", din care doi sunt retorici, de cerere a acordului, un „înţeleg", un „vrem acelaşi lucru" şi „un exact, asta e". Mai mult, V1 deschide dialogul cu o invitaţie idilică la cooperare: Re1 „*Ăăăă, noi suntem în postul Paştelui, asta în primul rând. Aşa că îmi doresc foarte mult o discuţie calmă, în niciun caz de pe poziţii de frondă sau pro şi contra.*", deși chiar sensul discuţiei este unul de confruntare, de concurenţă pentru adeziunea privitorilor. Fraza citată poate fi decodată în mai multe maniere: *captatio benevolentiae*, autoînvestire cu atribute pozitive, sau – cel mai probabil – asumare exprimată verbal a rolului social, de reprezentant al grupului antivaccinist.

3. La nivelul practicilor discursive, e vizibilă preferinţa pentru modelul monologic de comunicare „în care vorbitorul tinde să monopolizeze cuvântul, pretinzând interlocutorului să îl asculte" (Şerbănescu, 2007: 355) şi să urmeze scenariul său: Re6 „nu, nu, vă rog să-mi răspundeţi la această întrebare". Monologul are un caracter slab structurat, cu reveniri (Re4, Re9), parenteze şi treceri de la o idee la alta (Re10), care demonstrează lipsa unui plan, în favoarea limbajului de

moment. E o curgere specifică pentru discursul la români. În centrul comunicării se află vorbitorul, care caută dovezi pentru propriile argumente – V1, captură pe telefon, carte de referință – dar nu-și finalizează verbal argumentul, lăsând în sarcina receptorului problema înțelegerii.

4. În construirea semnificației, deși românii preferă tiparul discursiv inductiv, al acumulării de elemente și al formulării ideii argumentate abia la final, aici tiparul e unul deductiv, în care ambii participanți își exprimă teza de la început și caută ulterior argumente care să o susțină. Pauzele și repetițiile se întâmplă să rupă coerența internă (Re10), dar firul reapare prin mărci specifice de reluare: „deci este o carte de referință", „să revenim la cercetătorii...". Gradul de focalizare al informației e scăzut la V1: face afirmații generale, fără detalii (Re4 - vaccinurile provoacă autism, Re10 – autismul apare în urma vaccinării). Ideile nu sunt ierarhizate cronologic sau cauzal, ci mai degrabă juxtapuse, eventual cu așteptarea implicită ca receptorul imediat sau telespectatorii să cuprindă și să suplinească lipsa de coerență. Alt element de construire a semnificației este narativizarea: «Românul nu relatează sec fapte, ci „mai pune de la el", „le înflorește", „le exagerează", „spune numai ce-i convine", „povestește din doi în doi"» (Șerbănescu, 2007: 356). Acest lucru îi este reproșat lui V1 de către V2 prin expresia „cherry picking" (Re13). Persuasiunea este realizată adesea la români nu prin mijloace verbale, ci în virtutea relației dintre interlocutori: dacă persoana are un statut social sau ierarhic mai mare, dacă e mai în vârstă, are dreptate în virtutea autorității, dar nu e cazul aici. În schimb, elementele retorice corespund unei societăți colectiviste, unde comunicarea e adesea făcută de pe poziția de rol, deci argumentele emoționale prevalează față de cele logice (consistente totuși la persoanele educate). V1 se erijează în reprezentanta mamelor care nu-și mai vaccinează copiii, conștiente de riscurile inerente, ba chiar susține într-o replică netranscrisă aici că fiul celei mai bune prietene a avut simptome de autism a doua zi după vaccin. Prin urmare, emoționalitatea înaltă, completată verbal și paraverbal, suplinește la V1 repetat argumentele logice, și lucrul acesta e semnalat de două ori de V2: Re7 „Nu, asta-i interpretarea dumneavoastră despre context" și Re9 „Coincidența temporală nu înseamnă cauzalitate".

În performarea actelor de vorbire, se evită adesea stilul asertiv, hotărât, revendicator din societățile individualiste. Aserțiunile sunt atenuate și formulate ca incertitudini sau ca întrebări, cu scopul inconștient de a putea reveni asupra lor, deci de a nu afecta major relațiile interpersonale: Re4 „în care producătorul, da (?)… recunoaște că acest vaccin…", Re6 „De ce producătorul recunoaște în prospect…?". Există un protocol nescris ca, în

situații de conflict, interlocutorii să evite întrebările, resimțite ca agresive, ca atac la persoană, și să le reformuleze ca sugestii sau ca opinii, cu intonație ezitant-descendentă. În discuția transcrisă, opiniile total opuse sunt atenuate lexical: Re6 „vă rog să-mi răspundeți la această întrebare", Re10 „și, dacă îmi permiteți, vreau să citez"; sau puse ca interogații dubitative: Re14 „Și nu faceți și dumneavoastră același lucru?"

Negocierea, ca figură discursivă, nu evoluează la români spre consens, spre o soluție comună, ci spre impunerea propriului punct de vedere. Fiecare vorbitor reiterează punctul său de vedere, ignoră punctul de vedere al celuilalt, exagerează beneficiile personale, prin urmare negocierea se apropie adesea de conflict, cum este și cazul interacțiunii citate. De exemplu, atunci când V2 afirmă că volumul citat de V1 nu e relevant și, deci medicii nu-l citesc, V2 replică „Din păcate, din păcate!" (Re12).

5. Dintre elementele constitutive ale structurii interacțiunii (inițiativa verbală, accesul la cuvânt, semnalele de recepție, importanța acordată relației) cea mai relevantă pentru studiul nostru de caz este accesul la cuvânt. Prescripțiile culturale în această situație sunt „Nu e frumos să întrerupi" și „Nu e frumos să vorbești tare". Între persoane cu statut egal există multe întreruperi, totuși, considerate ca participare interesată la discuție. Suprapunerile repetate peste replicile interlocutorului, la ambii vorbitori (Re5 și Re6, Re7 și Re8, Re10 și Re11, Re12 și Re13), indică percepția reciprocă de egalitate în discuție, pe de o parte, iar pe de altă parte are un rol pasiv-agresiv de opoziție față de ideile exprimate de partenerul de dialog.

6. Păstrarea relațiilor interpersonale este mai importantă în interacțiuni decât rezolvarea problemei discutate. Cum menționam mai sus, conservarea imaginii publice e obiectivul interlocutorilor, indiferent de statutul social. Nu contează atât de mult tehnicile de transmitere a informației, cât modalitățile de construire a imaginii personale. Atenuatorii de expresie, cuvintele de umplutură, ezitările, semnalele de acord aparent (da, da, exact, înțeleg), zâmbetul folosit ca mască a dezacordului sau a sentimentelor negative sunt toate acte de vorbire indirecte, cu rol de menținere sau flatare a imaginii interlocutorului, pentru a evita conflictul deschis. V2 trage o concluzie falsă, dintr-o premisă neadecvată, pentru a conserva respectul și relația bună în aparență: Re 15 *„Diferența dintre noi doi este că eu nu am nevoie de acea carte ca să știu ce scrie în ea, pentru că eu mă confrunt în fiecare zi la spital cu pacienții care au aceste probleme. Deci e de spus că amândoi vrem același lucru. Să fie bine copiilor.", iar V2 îi răspunde cu același semnal fals de acord: Re 16 „Exact, asta e.".*

În ce privește emoțiile, cultura română manifestă un „vag emoțional", adică „indivizii își analizează puțin emoțiile, le exteriorizează superficial și imprecis, trăiesc emoții de nuanță (dor, supărare, bucurie), de obicei de scurtă durată și fluctuante… tind să-și exteriorizeze în special emoțiile negative (nemulțumire, indignare, frustrare, dispreț), în timp ce emoțiile pozitive sunt exprimate mai superficial și mai succint." (Șerbănescu, 2007: 366). În dialogul citat, emoția e prezentă mai ales nonverbal și paraverbal, așa cum vom exemplifica puțin mai jos.

Conflictul este ocolit de obicei în interacțiuni, dat fiind că românii au o cultură feminină, consensuală. Dacă există, el e orientat mai mult spre relație decât spre problemă. V2 refuză dovada asocierii dintre vaccinuri și autism printr-un adevărat atac la persoană: Re7 „Nu, asta-i interpretarea dumneavoastră despre prospect. Trebuie spus că în prospect…". Încărcătura emoțională a replicii e mare, ceea ce face ca expresia să fie directă și frustă.

7. Elementele verbale și paraverbale joacă un rol adaptativ atât în interacțiunile din interiorul unei culturi, cât și în contactele dintre persoane ce aparțin de culturi diferite. În general, cu cât distanțele dintre interlocutori sunt mai reduse, cu atât ei se adaptează mai rapid unul cu celălalt. La nivel paraverbal, românii percep animozitatea verbală, când nu depășește un anumit volum, ca pe un semn de deschidere comunicativă, în timp ce tonalitatea monotonă și joasă ca pe o rezervă.

Deși distanța spațială e redusă, prin contextul impus de formatul TV, comunicarea nonverbală pare că eșuează, privirile interlocutorilor nu se întâlnesc aproape deloc:V1 privește mereu camera din față când vorbește, iar atunci când urmărește explicațiile interlocutorului, privirea e interogativă, iar bărbia ridicată, parând astfel replicile celuilalt. V2 ezită între focusarea privirii pe prezentator, respectiv în jos, atunci când caută argumente. V1 are gesturi largi, cu mâinile, ca și cum ar încerca să ocupe spațiul acolo unde argumentele nu sunt formulate integral, în timp ce V2 are gesturi mici, mâinile de obicei rămân împreunate în față. Gesturile obturatoare, care izolează vorbitorii și blochează apropierea, dublează de fapt distanța creată verbal și întăresc senzația de discursuri paralele. De altfel, atunci când V2 inițiază o confesiune – Re9 „și aici trebuie să fac o confesiune…", V2 îi refuză intenția și îi propune să revină la argumente. Zâmbetul, când e folosit, nu exprimă acord, ci ofensă (Re13) din partea lui V1. De altfel gesturile ei aproape continue, mestecatul gumei și creșterea progresivă a intonației conturează o prezență angoasată, mascată de un *savoir vivre* controlat, dar neautentic: amabilitate, politețe, acord simulat.

După trecerea prin grila elementelor specifice pentru stilul românesc de a comunica, se poate afirma că, în dialogul analizat, deși dezacordul rămâne puternic până la final, deși niciunul dintre participanți nu pare să fie influențat de opiniile contrare ale celuilalt, totuși la nivelul discursului și al mărcilor nonverbale se urmărește menținerea acordului aparent, a imaginii sociale a interlocutorului și a propriei imagini.

## Concluzii

Cele mai noi anchete sociologice și psihometrice, dar și studiile recente despre identitate, conturează un portret al românilor în schimbare, sub influența globalizării, dar cu câteva specificități incontestabile. Cultura română e în continuare una colectivistă, dar cu o evoluție timidă spre individualism, e feminină, deci bazată pe căutarea consensului, acceptă ușor ierarhiile, nu suportă incertitudinea, tinde spre pragmatism și e ușor represivă cu nevoile individuale. Toate aceste caracteristici determină modul de comunicare între indivizii din interiorul culturii, dar și cu persoane venite din exterior, care învață româna, odată cu abilitățile de a răspunde adecvat cultural în contexte diferite. Studenții care învață limba română pot asista des la secvențe de comunicare cum a fost cea din studiul de caz de mai sus. Rezultatele analizei noastre au arătat ce trăsături culturale caracterizează interacțiunea între nativii români: formalism și politețe; model monologic de comunicare; idei neierarhizate, juxtapuse; aserțiuni atenuate, reformulate; reiterarea punctului de vedere; conflict disimulat verbal; importanța mai mare acordată relațiilor interpersonale decât rezolvării problemei discutate.

O bună competență pluriculturală, alături de cea lingvistică, va permite grupului țintă o înțelegere completă și adecvată a sensurilor și a reacțiilor interlocutorilor. Până la urmă, cum se afirmă în *Companion Volume*, scopul celui care învață o limbă nouă nu este să stăpânească respectiva limbă la nivel de maestru, ci să o folosească adecvat, conform situației sociale și comunicative în care se află.

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# A avea întotdeauna dreptate.
## Introducere la o teorie a conversației

HOREA CĂPUȘAN[1]

**Rezumat:** Prezenta lucrare pornește de la premisa că aproape oricare dintre dialogurile din limbă poate fi privit ca o confruntare – și de aceea putem studia cu mijloacele lingvisticii metodele prin care un locutor poate încerca să-și impună supremația în cadrul dialogului, ca și metodele complementare pe care le are la dispoziție oponentul său pentru a păstra conversația deschisă. Concluzia, provizorie, este că nu există mijloc garantat de a obține primul rezultat sau celălalt.
**Cuvinte cheie:** *conversație, discurs, pragmatică, strategii discursive, „ultimul cuvânt".*

> Motto: „O luptă-i viața; deci te luptă
> Cu dragoste de ea, cu dor."
> (George Coșbuc, *Lupta vieții*)

Printre multele metafore, mai mult sau mai puțin adecvate, folosite pentru a descrie limba (limba ca sistem, limba ca organism, limba ca succesiune de straturi temporale asemenea straturilor geologice), există și metafora limbii ca luptă. Se poate vorbi de o luptă pentru supremație între limbi sau dialecte ale unei limbi, de o luptă în cadrul aceleiași limbi între diferite variante (diacronice, diatopice, diastratice), de luptă între forța de constrângere a limbii ca *langue,* în sens saussurian, și creativitatea lingvistică manifestată ca *parole,* spre a nu cita decât câteva exemple. Dar la fel de bine poate fi descrisă limba și ca o luptă între diferiții vorbitori ai săi. Să ne amintim, de pildă, de viziunea asupra societății, așa cum apare ea la Thomas Hobbes în *Leviathan.* Astfel, pentru gânditorul englez omul nu este un animal social (așa cum îl vedea Aristotel), ci unul singuratic. Instinctul lui primar nu este dragostea de semeni, ci neîncrederea față de ei. De aici, o luptă pentru supraviețuire între indivizi – și dacă oamenii acceptă o autoritare exterioară lor, e doar pentru că-și dau seama că nu pot învinge

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întotdeauna, că prețul războiului tuturor împotriva tuturor e perpetua nesiguranță. De aceea și numai de aceea acceptă să-și suspende libertatea punând-o în mâinile unui monarh.

S-ar putea susține că aceeași viziune hobbesiană funcționează și în limbă, sau mai precis în cazul transpunerii ei individuale, în ceea ce Saussure numește *parole* sau Coșeriu *habla*. Se poate spune că în cadrul limbii, războiul tuturor împotriva tuturor poartă un nume – se numește dialog sau conversație. Un dialog poate fi considerat într-adevăr o luptă, uzând de mijloacele limbii pentru a obține o anumită supremație în cadrul utilizării ei. Diferența poate fi aceea că, spre deosebire de teoria politică hobbesiană, aici nu există stare de natură, cel puțin nu în mod absolut. Dialogul lingvistic are loc numai dacă cele două părți au interiorizat în prealabil regulile unei autorități devenită astfel, în același timp, interioară și exterioară lor – prin utilizarea lor liberă nefăcând de fapt decât, în mod doar aparent paradoxal, să consacre și să extindă autoritatea (care în cazul de față se poate numi *langage,* ca la Saussure sau *norma,* ca la Coșeriu). Astfel, acest mod de a vedea limba o consideră ca pe un instrument de dominare a celorlalți, în cadrul unei competiții guvernată totuși de reguli. Din acest punct de vedere, scopul celor mai multe comunicări (dacă nu al tuturor) este acela de a obține, în fața interlocutorului, o poziție dominantă. Poziție dominantă care se traduce în plan lingvistic printr-o replică în măsură să închidă, măcar temporar, schimbul de replici; câștigătorul reușește să pronunțe replica devenită câștigătoare. O asemenea replică poate fi numită „ultimul cuvânt". Evident, ultimul cuvânt nu este deloc ultimul cuvânt sau ultima replică, în sens strict, așa cum se vede și din următoarea butadă: „În casă are întotdeauna ultimul cuvânt: Așa e, nevastă!"[2].

În interiorul acestei lupte numite *dialog* competiția seamănă cu acea întrecere în care fiecare dintre concurenți (sau dintre echipe, căci și grupurile pot intra în dialog) se străduiesc să tragă de o frânghie pentru a-i face să cadă la pământ pe oponenți[3]. O luptă al cărei rezultat nu e niciodată dat dinainte, ai cărei sorți de izbândă pot înclina când într-o parte, când în cealaltă și care poate cunoaște și finaluri neașteptate, adevărate lovituri de teatru. Pe scurt, lucrurile se întâmplă ca în orice luptă adevărată – și astfel

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[2] Sau, într-o altă variantă pe care o spune un miner în documentarul *Planeta Petrila,* regizat de Andrei Dăscălescu: „Domnule, bărbatul are în casă ultimul cuvânt: Da, iubire!"

[3] Se poate pune într-adevăr problema dacă orice dialog poate intra în acest model. De pildă, unde am putea situa o convorbire între doi îndrăgostiți? S-ar putea, pe de altă parte, argumenta că, în măsura în care un asemenea dialog implică subjugarea partenerului prin seducție, asemenea convorbire intră și ea într-un model de tip agonistic al dialogului. Problema ar merita, de altfel, o discuție și e în orice caz legată de definiția filozofică pe care suntem dispuși să o dăm dragostei.

discuția poate fi descrisă, în devenirea ei, ca o succesiune de stări, urmărind modul cum balanța victoriei în conversație se înclină când de o parte, când de cealaltă. Cele două extreme ar fi în acest caz închiderea discuției și, în consecință, victoria pentru oricare dintre cele două părți, între ele întinzându-se un spectru relativ larg de stări intermediare. Dar două noțiuni trebuie să ne rețină în mod special atenția: închiderea și deschiderea conversației. Fiecare dintre cei doi interlocutori [4] încearcă să închidă conversația, dar să o și redeschidă dacă celălalt e pe punctul de a o închide. Închiderea și (re)deschiderea sunt, de fapt, realități primordiale ale conversației. Lucrarea de față studiază, de fapt, mijloacele prin care se poate închide sau redeschide o conversație. Pentru a începe discuția cu închiderea conversației, orice ins are de ales dintr-o multitudine de mijloace; și, desigur, bătutul cu pumnul în masă, trântitul sau tonul răstit sunt numai mijloacele cele mai elementare[5]. Dar bineînțeles că sunt mijloace extrem de folosite, încât sunt locutori care fac din asta o strategie permanentă și asta tocmai cu scopul de a avea întotdeauna posibilitatea închiderii conversației oricând doresc.

Dar acesta nu este, în fond, decât vârful aisbergului. Mai puțin evidente, dar, cel puțin uneori, chiar de multe ori, mai eficiente sunt acele metode care, față de primele, pot fi considerate indirecte. Cel mai clar este cazul acelor enunțuri care conțin ele însele o marcă a caracterului decisiv al replicii – în așa măsură încât putem vorbi chiar de replici decisive sau, cel puțin, concepute ca atare de locutor. Există, în primul rând, (în această enumerare care e departe de a fi exhaustivă), anumite cuvinte care, prin ele însele, constituie mărci ale caracterului presupus decisiv al replicii. Chiar un simplu cuvințel ca *păi* e o asemenea marcă[6]:

„ – M-au întrebat dacă chiar le-ai dat nota 1 (unu).
– **Păi**, dacă chiar au copiat!"

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[4] S-ar putea pune întrebarea dacă ar putea exista o discuție între mai mult de doi interlocutori (fie și colectivi). Fără a intra deocamdată în această problemă considerăm că și dacă ar exista o asemenea discuție între mai mulți interlocutori, ea se poate, în cele din urmă, descompune în mai multe discuții cu doi interlocutori.

[5] De altfel, „tonul ridicat" nici nu e necesar să fie folosit într-o conversație care urmărește intimidarea interlocutorului; simpla utilizare a unui ton amenințător poate avea efect disuasiv. Un șef cu autoritatea funcției și care, pe deasupra, mai intră și în trombă, trântind ușa și începând cu reproșuri de cum intră în sală nu va fi ușor de contrazis. „La șef se intră cu părerile proprii și se iese cu părerile lui" spune un vechi adagiu.

[6] Autorul acestor rânduri a tratat mai pe larg problema lui *păi* ca marcă a caracterului decisiv al replicii în comunicarea *Considerații despre un cuvânt ignorat: păi* ținută la Universitatea din Suceava și publicată în *Actes du colloque „Langage et communication"*, 2002, p. 79-85.

„Și-acuma se dă mare anticomunist, mare dizident [...] **Păi** el ar trebui și-acuma să închine ode comuniștilor, că doar ei l-au scăpat din pârnaie când l-a omorât pe taică-su!" (Eugen Barbu în *România Mare* nr. 3/1990)

Pe lângă *păi* și în concurență cu el, subdialectul crișean al dialectului dacoromân mai posedă o altă marcă a caracterului decisiv al replicii: *dară*, situat de obicei spre sfârșitul enunțului:

„M.: – Pune-ți asta pe tine și merem.
D.: – Da' plouă, **dară**!"

„A.: – Știți unde este agenția CEC Bank în Florești?
B.: – Da' știu, **dară**!... Lângă primărie."

Un alt cuvânt care marchează puternic caracterul decisiv al replicii este adverbul *chiar,* care marchează insistența și prin aceasta este foarte potrivit pentru a încheia discuția; de aceea, e deseori asociat cu *păi*:

„Păi, dacă **chiar** a copiat!"

„Dar eu nu-l fac pe el un imbecil, el **chiar** este un imbecil!" (spectacol cu piesa *Cafeneaua* de Sam Bobrik și Ron Howard, regia: Horațiu Mălăele)[7]

*Doar* poate și el juca același rol:

„Că **doar** ei l-au scăpat din pârnaie..."

„**Doar** n-ai să vii să-mi spui că nu tu ai făcut-o!"

Conform profesorului Jacques Lebaud de la Universitatea din Besançon, în limba franceză locuțiunile *en tout cas* și *de toute façon* se deosebesc prin aceea că prima admite ca posibilă versiunea preopinentului, pe când a doua o socotește absolut nerelevantă – ceea ce înseamnă că, în termenii noștri, a doua locuțiune e mult mai potrivită pentru a încheia o conversație:

„**De toute façon**, tu n'as aucune excuse!"

(De altfel considerații asemănătoare se pot face și despre locuțiunea spaniolă *de toda forma* și ea având aceeași vocație concluzivă: „¡De toda forma, yo no quiero recibirlo!", la fel ca și italianul *insomma*: „Insomma, basta!", „Ma insomma!")

În fine, în toate limbile pământului adjectivele care circumscriu ultimul element dintr-o serie sunt deosebit de potrivite pentru a se situa în replici concluzive:

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[7] Spectacol prezentat la 26 ianuarie 2014 la TNC.

„Doctorul: Are you the icemaker?
Traficantul de droguri: Yes. And who the hell are you?
Doctorul: Your **last** customer. (Împușcătură)" (din filmul *Death Wish,*
regia: Eli Roth)

De asemenea, în franceză, conjuncția *puisque* prin nota de inferență necesară pe care o introduce este și ea deosebit de potrivită pentru a se situa într-o replică decisivă:

„Mais, **puisque** tu es si malin, répare-la !"[8]

De asemenea, anumite acte de vorbire, în sensul austinian al termenului, sunt, previzibil, mai indicate pentru a da un caracter concluziv replicii. Unul dintre acestea este, evident, amenințarea. Ce replică ai putea da unor enunțuri ca acesta:

„Now, listen to me, malpalidos, motherfuckers! I will kill your wives, your children, your sisters and they will bleed to death before your eyes!",

mai ales când ele sunt proferate de Pablo Escobar în persoană (din filmul *Loving Pablo*, regia: Fernando León de Aranoa)? Dar, de cele mai multe ori, nici nu este nevoie de asemenea desfășurări retorice: în fața unei mame, simpla pomenire a copilului e de ajuns (ceea ce, de asemenea, se vede în numeroase filme cu mafioți)[9].

Apropiată de amenințare, prin răspunsul univoc pe care-l cere, este întrebarea – care nu este de fapt o întrebare – retorică:

„Voi sunteți urmașii Romei? Niște răi și niște fameni!" (Mihai Eminescu, *Scrisoarea III*).

Spre deosebire de întrebarea obișnuită, al cărei scop e să problematizeze, să evoce mai multe posibilități, întrebarea retorică e menită, sub aparența unei întrebări obișnuite, să orienteze spre un singur răspuns posibil:

„Doar 5, 99 lei pentru un McPuișor? La prețul ăsta știi ce ai de făcut!" (reclamă McDonalds)

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[8] Considerațiile pe care profesorul Jacques Lebaud le-a făcut despre locuțiunile *en tout cas* și *de toute façon* și despre conjuncția *puisque* apar într-un curs ținut de domnia sa la universitatea din Besançon între 20 și 31 august 1990.

[9] Sau, în filmul *Afacerea Est* de Igor Cobileanschi, faptul că niște oameni de afaceri prezintă protagoniștilor pe asociatul lor, „campion georgian de judo" e suficient de grăitor prin el însuși.

> „N-ai dori să te răsfețe cineva cu muzică bună, știri proaspete și multe subiecte din toate sferele culturii?" (publicitate la matinalul Radio România Cultural)

Mai puțin constrângătoare decât amenințările, totuși, și cererile sau rugăminţile pot avea același efect, în funcție de context: pot exista rugăminţi de genul celor care nu se pot refuza (cum sunt cele din schița *Lanțul slăbiciunilor,* a lui Caragiale) sau cele pe care le facem doar ca să nu zicem că n-am încercat. Dar și enunţurile ce se prezintă ca strict afirmative și informative pot să joace același rol, atunci când sunt însoțite de o afirmare clară a certitudinii, de genul aceleia care transpare în utilizarea adverbelor *sigur, clar,* în limba română, a verbului *can* în engleză sau, în franceză, în utilizarea adverbului *certainement* sau a locuțiunilor *à coup sûr* și *bien entendu.*

La acestea mai trebuie să adăugam și un act de vorbire cu caracter special – scuza: și ea ne permite să încheiem conversația, chiar dacă în sens invers; orice scuză e o încercare de a face, cum spune francezul, „amende honorable", de a nu mai prelungi o discuție din care locutorul nu are decât de pierdut.

Trecând acum la un nivel superior de complexitate, acela al textului, există și aici destule strategii discursive ce permit închiderea unei conversații. Una dintre ele, cea mai comună și cea mai vulgară este stilul care s-ar putea numi „băgăreț"[10]:

> „X (băgându-se în fața subsemnatului la automatul de bilete): Domnule, dă-te odată, că nu pot să aștept până-ți cauți dumneata banii, că mă grăbesc!"

> „Y (care circulă cu mașina pe trotuar): Domnule, dă-te-odată, că nu pot să stau după tine!".

Asociată cu tonul înalt și cu grosolănia este și insulta; tonul depreciativ joacă rolul unui factor paralizant, într-un fel de război preventiv, în care unul dintre locutori vrea să înfrângă de la bun început rezistența celuilalt:

> „Yes, and your mother realized that he (tatăl scriitor al interlocutorului, n.n. H. C.) was not exactly Eugene O'Neill, so she left him!" (din filmul *Whiplash*, regia: Damien Chazelle).

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[10] Conform lui Radu Paraschivescu (*Ghidul nesimțitului*, passim), unul dintre comandamentele de bază ale acestei categorii este acela de a pătrunde peste tot, de a nu se lăsa „marginalizat".

Sau, în piesa *Împăiați-vă iubiții* de Teodor Mazilu, personajul masculin face mereu aluzie la trecutul de actriță „la Deva" al partenerei lui de discuție.

Nu este de neglijat nici evocarea unor subiecte pe care le știm sensibile (tactică pe care Arthur Schopenhauer (2010) o denumește „tehnica răsucirii cuțitului în rană", într-o carte remarcabilă și din punctul de vedere al lingvistului, *Arta de a avea întotdeauna dreptate*). Fuga mamei și ratarea literară a tatălui, în primul caz, trecutul de obscură actriță de provincie în cel de-al doilea joacă rolul cuțitului răsucit în rană. Și-acolo unde durerea nu-și poate juca rolul ei „disuasiv" o poate face ridicolul:

„Picanterii: am aflat că Liviu Vălean de la *Baricada* are acasă o nevastă unguroaică care-l pocnește din când în când și din pricina asta omul nu îndrăznește să zică nimic bun de Vatra Românească. Ține-o tot așa, neni draghe, arde-l pe mitocan!" (Alcibiade – probabil Corneliu Vadim Tudor – în *România Mare,* nr. 5/1991).

Sau

„Cei de la *Ziua* sunt falimentari: Adrian Pătrușcă a schimbat doi dolari ca să-și cumpere o ciorbă de burtă." (titlu în *Atac la persoană,* nr. 7/2005).

Și cu aceasta putem trece la un alt procedeu favorit de reducere la tăcere a adversarului: caricaturizarea. Procedeul e de multă vreme cunoscut în vorbirea cotidiană, ca și în discursul politic sau jurnalistic, el constând în încadrarea forțată a interlocutorului într-o categorie dotată automat cu toate trăsăturile negative care se pot imagina (se mai poate numi și „înfierare"). Interlocutorul devine, astfel, o categorie extrem de convenabilă, pentru că poate fi oricând dat ca un exemplu negativ și astfel i se poate răpi preopinentului orice drept la replică.

Astfel, pentru editorialistul anonim al *Jurnalului capitalei* (nr 9/1990), criticul Gheorghe Grigurcu este „michiduță cu mintea încețoșată de alcool", „un scâlâmb cu mersul împiedicat de elasticele chiloților care-i cad pe vine". De altfel, tot articolul vine pe un fond de amenințare: „îi atrag atenția acestui michiduță...!"

Sau iată-l și pe criticul Nicolae Manolescu: „El strâmbă din nas la scriitori naționali ca Bălcescu și Alecu Russo, dar se topește ca o fetiță după prozele scriitorului israelian cu nume de mașină de cusut Bashevis Singer."[11] Un Manolescu dușman al valorilor naționale și prieten al evreilor – ce poate fi mai rău pentru antisemitul care a fost Corneliu Vadim Tudor?

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[11] De altfel, caricaturizarea numelui este un procedeu în sine. Astfel, pentru același Alcibiade, esteticianul Victor Ernest Mașek are „nume de șuncă presată" pentru că „nu e român". Aceeași revistă *România Mare* scria constant numele scriitorului Octavian Paler

Caricaturizarea – și tocmai aici stă eficiența procedeului – se bazează pe reducerea interlocutorului la o singură trăsătură considerată a fi chintesența răului:

„Iliescu KGB-ist,
Văcăroiu alco[o]list" (scandare antiguvernamentală din anii '90);

„Sunt toți homosexuali!" (replica lui George Becali la adresa contestatarilor săi dintre suporterii clubului Steaua).

Un asemenea personaj, întruchiparea unei trăsături detestabile, nu trebuie în niciun caz să mai aibă drept la replică.

Într-o altă metodă, e drept, mai complexă, de reducere la tăcere a dreptului la replică se poate înscrie și ceea ce am numi strategia „de a bate câmpii" în mod voit. Orice conversație (e un truism acesta) nu se poate desfășura în afara unei minime raționalități. De aceea, prin contrast, orice replică în mod vădit nerațională, care sfidează în mod voit bunul-simț comun acceptat, are darul de a pune capăt conversației. Și, de aceea, orice interlocutor se poate folosi în mod deliberat de o replică irațională pentru a curma conversația care nu-i convine. E destul să urmărim aceste dialoguri, unde ultima replică încheie în mod brutal dialogul:

„ – Și dacă nu-ți intră banii atuncea ce-o să faci?
– Atunci am să jefuiesc o bancă!"

„ – Și-atuncea ce-ai să mănânci?
– Atuncea nu mai mâncăm și bună ziua!".

Iraționalitatea voită a replicilor are asupra conversației același efect inhibitor ca și grosolănia. Alteori, iraționalitatea replicii se poate combina cu o notă de ironie sau glumă (fără însă ca funcționarea ei să fie diferită):

„ – Și ce-i cu chestia asta că scrii numai poeme de trei versuri, numai *haiku*-uri?
– Acuma îți spun, da' rămâne-ntre noi: eu am în lucru un roman fluviu și-o epopee..."

Alteori, într-o replică având aceeași funcție ironică, se poate accentua iraționalitatea de-a dreptul până la obrăznicie:

„ – Și cam din ce-o să trăiești de-acuma-ncolo?

cu doi l, pentru a-i „demonstra" originea neromânească. Și ca să dăm și exemple din partea cealaltă a spectrului politic, Ion Iliescu este numit deseori Ilici sau Ion Ilici, în publicații precum *Cațavencu,* iar o broșură de propagandă împotriva lui Adrian Năstase se numește *Năstase Șase Case* sau *Năstase Scatiu.*

– De exemplu, mă căsătoresc. Aș putea să vă seduc fiica. Dumneavoastră sunteți șef mare, o să-mi faceți rost de o slujbă și de-un apartament." (din filmul *Curierul*, regia: Karem Șahrazanov).

Un alt truc discursiv pe care același Schopenhauer îl semnalează (precum și experiența de zi cu zi a conversației) este recursul la autoritate. În mod invers față de metoda precedentă, care se bazează pe închiderea conversației prin dereglarea ei logică, în cazul acesta e vorba de închiderea conversației prin recursul la o autoritate împărtășită (sau, cel puțin, așa se speră). Practic, aici un interlocutor se străduiește să-l convingă pe celălalt că „o autoritate se află de partea lui", că „spune ce a spus și el". Oricine, credem, a auzit numeroase fraze de acest fel, începând cu copiii care au fost convinși să ia un medicament anume pentru că „așa a spus domnul doctor" și până la universitari cărora li s-a sugerat să susțină un anumit punct de vedere pentru că și o altă somitate îl susține. Sunt lucruri cât se poate de banale.

De altfel, acest recurs la autoritate își are reversul lui – așa cum există autorități, există și non-autorități absolute. Non-autoritatea absolută este nebunul. Nu întâmplător aluzia la „problemele mentale" ale cuiva reprezintă un mijloc extrem de eficace de închidere a conversației. Astfel, un singur exemplu: după instalarea de către primarul de atunci al Clujului, domnul Gheorghe Funar, a unui panou cu conținut ofensator în fața Consulatului Republicii Ungare la Cluj, deloc întâmplător, UDMR a cerut o lege privind examinarea psihiatrică a aleșilor, iar în reviste precum *Cațavencii* sau *Academia Cațavencu* aluziile la „lipsa de sănătate mentală" a lui Corneliu Vadim Tudor sau a membrilor PRM erau frecvente.[12]

Pentru a finaliza această foarte sumară expunere a metodelor de încheiere a conversației, trebuie să menționăm, la modul radical, că inclusiv alegerea limbii poate fi un factor de excludere din conversație – atunci când ea este puțin sau deloc înțeleasă de celălalt. Astfel, de exemplu, în filmul iranian *Tristețe de frontieră* (regia: Babrak Jabali) un personaj poate, la adăpostul lingvistic al limbii sale materne (turkmena), să vorbească la telefonul mobil în felul acesta despre un personaj de față:

„Ce fac? Iar a venit dobitocul ăla de la Teheran... Ce? No, stai liniștit, că nu pricepe el!"

Mai există și un alt factor care trebuie luat în considerare cu privire la presupusul caracter decisiv al replicii: poziția în cadrul conversației. Poziția finală este, evident, mai bună pentru încheierea acesteia. Nu e o

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[12] Astfel, în numărul din 23 februarie 2003 apare un montaj fotografic care îi atribuie lui Ilie Neacșu, senator dizident al PRM, un discurs „incoerent" (în pagina a 7-a).

întâmplare că, de pildă, Gheorghe Grigurcu îşi încheie recenzia la o carte despre poezia contemporană cu fraza:

> „Dacă arta este precum spune Doamna de Staël „une noble inutilité", iată că există şi cărţi de o inutilitate ignobilă" (*Între critici*, p. 282)

sau că Răzvan Petrescu, vorbind despre ultimul roman antum al lui Robbe Grillet, încheie cu

> „Voi mai spune un singur lucru despre Robbe Grillet: Bine c-a murit!" (*Ursuleţul lui Freud*, p. 322).

Ambele fraze au aerul unei execuţii definitive, al unor sentinţe implacabile. Nu este, de asemenea, o întâmplare că numeroşi detectivi celebri (de la Colombo până la Myron Bolitar, detectivul portretizat de Harlan Coben) îşi încep de obicei interogatoriile cu întrebări aparent anodine pentru ca abia la final să plaseze întrebarea cu adevărat decisivă. Tot ca un fel de lovitură de graţie vine şi următoarea replică, spusă de un bolnav de cancer în fază terminală:

> „Şi, Maria, să nu vii la înmormântarea mea. S-ar putea să te bântui." (din filmul *Jamaica*, regia: Andreas Morfonios).

Cu atâtea mijloace la dispoziţie, s-ar părea că victoria în cadrul unei conversaţii este asigurată: ajunge doar să ai o bună stăpânire a lor (sau măcar mai bună decât a adversarului) pentru a putea învinge în schimbul de replici. Din păcate, însă, aşa ceva nu se întâmplă. Dacă, după cum spune Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1999), orice comunicare este probabilistică, înseamnă că orice schimb de replici va avea un rezultat incert. Niciunul dintre procedeele prezentate aici nu va garanta victoria, cel mult ele reprezintă încercări de a o obţine.

În practică, de fapt, orice încercare de închidere a conversaţiei poate atrage oricând reversul ei: o nouă deschidere. Încercărilor unui interlocutor de a încheia un schimb de replici i se poate oricând opune, măcar în teorie, o încercare a celuilalt de a menţine conversaţia deschisă. Chiar dacă în practică nu se întâmplă întotdeauna astfel, chiar dacă există şi replici numeroase care încheie definitiv discuţia, totuşi, posibilitatea contrară rămâne şi ea. Aceeaşi discuţie ar putea fi reluată în circumstanţe schimbate, cu un rezultat total diferit. Sau poate că o posibilitate de a continua discuţia există, doar că interlocutorul cu pricina n-a sesizat-o.

Oricum ar fi, fapt este că-n orice conversaţie există măcar o speranţă de a nu fi închisă, de a continua, astfel că redeschiderea unei conversaţii care părea la prima vedere închisă e un fenomen la fel de real ca şi în-chiderea ei. La oricare dintre procedeele de închidere a conversaţiei pe care

le-am enumerat, există, în contrapondere, un mod de a menține conversația deschisă. Dar nici redeschiderea conversației nu are întotdeauna aceeași origine. Uneori, pur și simplu, redeschiderea conversației nu e deliberată, ci rezultă doar dintr-o neînțelegere: un interlocutor nu sesizează că intenția celuilalt era să-i dirijeze răspunsul, să-l facă să dea un anume fel de răspuns și numai unul. Contrastul dintre răspunsul așteptat de interlocutor și cel pe care-l primește efectiv este generator de efect comic:

> „Ofițerul: Soldat Gus, ce simți când vezi fâlfâind steagul patriei?
> Gus: Curent, dom' sergent!" (tipărit pe o pungă de pufuleți *Gusto*)

> „Tipătescu: Uite, nenorocitule, miroși cale de-o poștă! (îl respinge)
> Cetățeanul (șovăind): Asta-i mirosul meu naturel.
> Tipătescu: Miroși a rom.
> Cetățeanul: Ei, bravos! Vrei să miros a gaz?" (I. L. Caragiale, *O scrisoare pierdută*)

> „Regizorul: No, you won't be an actor. Not in a million years!
> Actorul veleitar: And after that?" (din filmul *The Disaster Artist*, regia: James Franco)

Cu totul alta este situația atunci când redeschiderea conversației nu este un efect întâmplător al unei naivități de moment sau constitutive, ci rezultatul unei strategii cât se poate de bine calculate: interlocutorul vrea să păstreze conversație deschisă. El se opune deliberat închiderii conversației de către celălalt. Atunci conduita lui lingvistică va ajunge să fie calchiată după aceea a oponentului său în discuție, pe care va ajunge s-o contreze sistematic. Aici, abia, lupta lingvistică va apărea cu adevărat.

Și, oricare ar fi procedeele de închidere a conversației pe care le-am menționat, ele își regăsesc o replică exactă în procedee de redeschidere a ei. Astfel, pentru a da doar câteva exemple dintr-o listă potențial mult mai lungă, în cazul particular al lui *păi,* care marchează caracterul presupus decisiv al replicii, e de ajuns să vedem că-n practică, de multe ori, locutorul pronunță *păi* și apoi se oprește ca și cum și-ar fi dat seama că s-a înșelat cu privire la caracterul imparabil al replicii. Dar chiar și dacă această suspendare a replicii nu are loc, contracararea ei rămâne întotdeauna posibilă – o replică cu *păi* poate fi contracarată de o altă replică (tot) cu *păi*:

> „ – Păi, nu așa ne-a fost vorba?
> – Păi, cum nu așa ne-a fost vorba? N-ai zis că te duci tu?"

Afirmațiile peremptorii, ce conțin un indice al afirmației sigure, pot fi demontate ironic:

> „Agentul britanic 1: What? No! These women are idiots. I can recognize an idiot when I see one!

Agentul britanic 2: In a mirror, yes!" (din filmul *The Spy Who Dumped Me,* regia Susanna Fogel)

Întrebările retorice pot fi și ele demontate în mod simplu dând exact răspunsul contrar celui așteptat:

„Ofițerul de poliție: Credi che sono così imbecile per credere?
Piedone: Si, così credo!" (din filmul *Piedone d'Egitto*, regia: Steno – Stefano Vanzina)

„Ofițerul britanic: You won't expect us to pull out like this immediately!
Mahatma Ghandi: Yes!" (*Ghandi*, regia Richard Attenborough)

„Fata nr. 1: Why are you doing this (să omori oameni – n.n. H.C)?
Fata nr. 2: Why not?" (din filmul *The Strangers: Prey at Night*, regia: Johannes Roberts)

Nu e deloc o întâmplare că aceste replici provoacă un efect comic (sau de oroare în cazul ultimei). Și comicul și oroarea nu fac decât să arate distanța dintre răspunsul așteptat și cel primit.

Amenințarea poate fi bagatelizată prin minimalizarea obiectului ei:

„ – Nici nu trebuie să vă bat io, că vorbesc cu prietenu' meu...
– Hai, mă, pe bune?",

la fel cum scuza poate fi făcută derizorie prin menționarea frecvenței ei mult prea mari, ce-o face să fie cu totul fără valoare:

„Fratele 1: Je suis désolé!
Fratele 2: Ah, oui! Tu es désole toutes les semaines !" (din filmul *Santa & Cie*, regia Alain Chabat)

sau grosolănia poate fi învinsă prin altă grosolănie, insulta prin altă insultă[13]:

„Juan: Y si no fuera la tontería, no tendríamos a Manuel.
Manuel: ¿Que dices, cono?
Juan: ¡Nada, cabrón!" (*Midnight Family*, regia Luke Lorentzen),

iar înfierările și caricaturizările pot fi învinse prin alte înfierări și caricaturizări la fel de gogonate. În fine, autoritatea discursivă poate fi și ea contracarată printr-o referință ironică:

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[13] De altfel, acest tip de dialog, constând într-un schimb de insulte are inclusiv o veche tradiție. Eroii din *Iliada* lui Homer contribuie cu bucurie la asemenea schimburi de replici, la fel ca aceia ai *Eneidei* lui Virgiliu sau soldații albi și roșii în *Donul liniștit* de Mihail Șolohov. De asemenea, în teatrul clasic francez există foarte des scene de luptă verbală între femei (la Corneille, în piese precum *Pertharite, Sophonisbe* sau, în mod ironic, la Molière, în *Mizantropul*).

„Fata: But you are a failed writer!

Tatăl: Your mom told you that when she was drunk at 2 pm." (*A Simple Favor,* regia: Paul Feigl)

și nici chiar folosirea unei limbi presupuse necunoscute de către interlocutor nu este o garanție absolută. Căci, dacă acesta, în pofida așteptărilor celuilalt, cunoaște limba în care i se vorbește, atunci avantajul în conversație trece de partea lui. De aceea, asemenea schimburi, când un locutor cunoaște o limbă pe care ceilalți presupun că nu o cunoaște, generează un puternic efect comic, la fel de intens ca și secvența din *Tristețe de frontieră.* E îndeajuns să dăm un singur exemplu, luat din filmul *Hasta la Vista* (regia: Geoffrey Enthoven). În el trei personaje, toate trei vorbitoare de flamandă, fac o serie de comentarii nepoliticoase despre însoțitoarea lor francofonă, numind-o inclusiv *mammouth,* dar nu mică va fi mirarea unuia dintre ei când femeia îi va răspunde:

„Bineînțeles că am priceput, că doar atâta flamandă știu și eu. Și-apoi cuvântul *mammouth* e la fel în toate limbile, nu?"

La fel, în filmul *Pacific Rim: Uprising* (regia: Steven S. DeKnight), un personaj feminin își va exprim în felul acesta decepția la vederea personajului principal (în chineză): „Ăsta e?! Credeam că e mai solid." La care personajul principal va începe să vorbească într-o chineză perfectă, întrucât el copilărise în China.

În acest context, un tip de replică atrage în mod deosebit atenția. O putem numi „replică în oglindă". Este un enunț ce reia parțial sau total enunțul interlocutorului pentru a-l demonta în mod ironic:

„Traficantul de droguri: ¡Ramírez! ¡Cada vez más gordo!

Ofițerul: ¡Y tu cada vez más feo!" (*Pájaros de verano*, regia: Cristina Gallego, Ciro Guerra).

„Bătrânul libidinos: Lasă-mă să fiu prosopul tău!

Tânăra basarabeancă: Vezi să nu-i spun la prietenu' meu, să te facă el prosopul lui!" (*6,9 pe scara Richter*, regia: Nae Caranfil).

Uneori, ca aici, enunțul interlocutorului poate fi doar parțial reluat, alteori însă toată replica poate fi reluată, eventual cu o intonație depreciativă, sau, alteori, în fine, se face doar o reluare a ideilor interlocutorului, subliniate ironic:

„Tatăl: Și, zi, din salamu' ăsta nu mai dai și la alții?

Fiul: Păi, tu ziceai că totul trebuie să fie cu caste... Și nu-ş'ce, cu Nietzsche..."

În definitiv, la capătul acestor rânduri, încă o dată foarte provizorii, avem totuși o certitudine: nu există un mijloc garantat de a pune capăt unei conversații, totul este o chestiune de context și de libertate a locutorului. Ceea ce este, totuși, un adevăr reconfortant, până la urmă.

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# III. Studii literare

# Possible Worlds Versus Fictional Worlds.
# A Comparative View of the Worlds of Fiction

**ADRIANA DIANA URIAN**[1]

**Abstract:** This article proposes an unpretentious account within the framework of possible world semantics of discussing the different natures of possible worlds and the worlds of fiction. It discusses the notion of world from the perspective of fictionality and from the perspective of possible world semantics considering the models put forward by Kripke, Thomas Pavel and Ruth Ronen. Essential to this particular study is also handling the notions of truth in fiction and fictional characters through the magnifying glass of fictionality and the possible world system.
**Keywords:** *possible worlds, fictional worlds, fictionality, possible world semantics, fiction, modal logic.*

## Introduction

The study of fictionality and fictional worlds constitutes an essential theme within postmodern logic and philosophy. In parallel, the concept of possible worlds and possible-world semantics refers to a system of modal logic according to which meaning is assigned to sentences in terms of the truth-values they take across the various possible worlds. While preserving a certain degree of similarity, the two concepts of possible worlds and fictional worlds are fairly different constructs and their contrasting natures will be explained and contrasted by way of various arguments and theories with the finality of edifying that they should be understood and distinguished in their individuality.

Quite traditionally, fictionality is thought to engulf sets of inexistent entities, entities that need to be separated to a safe degree from reality, an equation within which reality is defined by that which is the opposite of fiction and the equivalent of what is sensed to be real. However, the realm of non-existent objects does not pertain solely to the fictional universe (Oltean, 2009). It is also very well engendered within everyday language,

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which harbors the existence of such terms as *unicorns*, *dragons*, *hobbits* and offers the possibility of making statements about such entities, without being considered completely illogical or void of meaning.

Just like in the case of the terms mentioned above, which do not pertain to the actual world of existence, when attempting to understand and resolve the problem of fictionality and fictional worlds, one fallacy would be to consider that the only legitimate mode of existence is actual existence and that the actual world must be the only valid universe of discourse. This interpretation of fictionality can be located into the *one-world semantics* views and it is rooted in the theories of Frege (1980) and Russell (1905).

The Fregean and Russellian one-world perspective is contrasted by the *possible-worlds framework*. Since literature deals with particular fictional entities, fictional settings, fictional temporal boundaries, and since such elements cannot be accommodated by the one-world views for the obvious reason that they strictly relate to the actual, real world, it would result in a series of restrictions imposed on the fictional world domain. For instance, when referring to Hamlet, which is a fictional character, according to these theories, one would not be able to accept its existence in terms of the real world and one would be forced to conclude that Hamlet is a mere representation of Shakespeare's thoughts when writing the famous play or just as equally a representation of the audience's thoughts when watching or reading the play.

Exploring further possibilities of how the contrasting natures of fictional worlds and possible worlds without any pre-imposed limitations, leads to considering the perspectives of theorists such as Kripke (1972), Thomas Pavel (1986), Marie-Laure Ryan (2004).

## Fictional Worlds, Possible Worlds and Their Boundaries

The treatment of possible worlds when applied to the framework of fictionality generally encounters a wide range of skepticism and such a reception is mostly due to the traditional, one-angled perspective upon fictional worlds, which focuses on the mimetic function of literary worlds. It has been common practice for decades to report to fictional worlds only by way of the representations they borrow from a pre-acknowledged reality.

However, while nobody questions the notion of reality as much and while fictional worlds, at least according to this interpretation, draw their existence from the imitation of what is believed to be real, a basic notion should be reinstated: fictional worlds are imaginative constructions.

The difference in this approach of fictional worlds influenced by philosophical logic implies accepting a different view on fictionality, namely that fictional worlds are given a pragmatic position, they are no longer identified with components of the literary text in itself, but rather given a more cultural context, a note of interdisciplinarity. In this respect it can even be said that the notion of possible worlds may be used to show the fact that the fictionality of texts is the property which derives from cultural and historical decisions.

According to these interpretations, for instance, novels such as Tolstoy's *War and Peace* are fictional texts just as much as the novel *The Mind/Body Problem* by Rebecca Goldstein or even McEwan's *Atonement*, for that matter. The fact that a series of historical facts identifiable in Tolstoy's novel may be traced back to a series of actual events documentable in the actual world, does not translate the novel into anything else than a fiction. To the same extent Rebecca Goldstein's character Saul Kripke, even though it bears the name of the famous American linguist, is just as fictional as Anna Karenina or Clarissa Dalloway or Harry Potter.

The possible-worlds framework is rooted in the belief that there exist other ways things could have been, that there exist other possible states of affairs (Ronen, 1994). And it is this particular trait of the possible-worlds framework which generates a remarkable amount of dissention and philosophical debate. Which possible world is the "right" possible world? Are there any "impossible" possible worlds? In order to clarify such ambiguities and to further reinstate the identity of the fictional entities inhabiting such possible worlds, it would primarily be of aid to analyze the specific versions of possible-worlds models. The various positions adopted with regards to possible worlds represent various views on the degree of realism to be ascribed to possible worlds.

If the notion of realism is viewed in connection to that of possible worlds, then it would be an imperative to run this realism through Kripke's own system fixed by an inaugural "baptism" or act of naming. In developing his theory, Kripke (1972) had in mind overcoming the contradictions left over by Frege (1980) and Russell (1905). These theoreticians identify entities across possible worlds by means of an associated cluster of descriptive attributes which serve to define particular items. The magic of Kripke's theory is that it provides the necessary means by which it is possible to identify entities across possible worlds by removing such ambiguous descriptions. The example which Kripke uses in this case is the one of *Julius Caesar*. Thus, Kripke (1972) asserts that it is not the case that

Julius Caesar is synonymous with such descriptions as the Roman general who was named Julius or the Roman general who defeated Pompey.

For Kripke (1972), such descriptions are not enough to set clear demarcations by means of which fictional entities can be identified. The reason for this is that such descriptions may be altered. For instance, if Julius Caesar hadn't been named Julius, if he had been named Cornelius. Or if Julius Caesar had not defeated Pompey, one could easily reach the erroneous conclusion that Julius Caesar is not Julius Caesar simply because by altering the descriptions one also alters the entire puzzle containing traits and particularities which lead to acquiring the complete image of Julius Caesar. Kripke (1972) however states precisely the opposite. Julius Caesar is Julius Caesar even in those worlds in which he doesn't defeat Pompey. Krikpe (1972) obviously identifies entities differently across worlds and this is indeed the vision which seems to produce the least amount of confusion when dealing with entities inhabiting multiple worlds. Therefore, "an individual in any possible world who has the same parents as the actual Julius Caesar, and comes from the same fertilized egg is a possible Julius Caesar even if, in the possible world in question, he has a different life history than the actual Julius Caesar, is given a different name etc." (Putnam,1983)

Kripke's theory of possibility identifies individuals across possible worlds on the basis of origin and history. Identity is thus fixed once any individual is named as a matter of transworld necessary truth and his name will at all times pick out the same individual irrespective of the range of experimentally varying descriptions which can be devised so as to invent alternative lives and careers in a ramble through any accessible possible worlds.

Kripke's claim is that the idea of possible worlds has its source in modal logic, which is a branch of logics concerned with matters of necessity and possibility. As such, modal logic provides some powerful argumentative resources in other fields such as philosophical semantics, epistemology, metaphysics and philosophy of science and it also brings about the distinction between a priori and a posteriori truths. Probably the most important notion to be tackled with here would be that of a posteriori truths for they, unlike a priori truths, are not self-evident to reason, but yet provide, as a matter of necessity, truths about the world. Such is the case, for instance, with certain scientific discoveries of which the best example would be the molecular constitution $H_2O$ which has been the generator of much philosophical debate even within the field of modal logic.

As a mere example of how possible worlds combine in the field of modal logic, Hilary Putnam (1983) sets the basis of his own thought-experiments starting from Kripke's very example of *water* scientifically known to all under the $H_2O$ format. Putnam (1983) starts the hypothesis of a duplicate planet, Twin Earth, where there seems to be plenty of water, with the sole essential distinction that the liquid on Twin Earth has the chemical formula XYZ. Thus, if we were to take the substance on Twin Earth as the equivalent of the water on Earth, this would simply be a wrong assumption because no list of descriptive criteria could ever suffice in order to distinguish genuine from non-genuine samples of a natural kind or to determine the truth value of sentences such as "this is water". Deciding upon the truth value of such natural kinds is strictly dependent on their molecular structure. This is also what distinguishes the substance on Earth from the one on Twin Earth. Apart from this defining distinction, the water on Twin Earth may be described in the exactly same terms as the water on Earth: it falls as rain, it fills up lakes, it has cleansing properties, it boils and freezes at certain temperatures.

This example yet again indicates that sense does not determine reference as Frege (1980) and similar theoreticians would imply. Descriptions of entities (see the case of water) or individuals (see the case of Julius Caesar) are most often incomplete, may be prone to misinformation and thus may lead to false assumption when assigning truth values. For what Putnam's example actually points out is that, by taking the theory of description as guidance, one would be driven to conclude against all possible reason that "water is actually not water". Just like Kripke or Julius Caesar or John Fitzgerald Kennedy are just the same individuals across all possible worlds even in those worlds in which their lives might have taken divergent directions, so water is water (as $H_2O$) in any possible world physically congruent with this world as long as it abides by the particular well known formula, whatever its differences in other contingent aspects.

The essential breakthrough brought by Kripke (1972) and Putnam's theories (1983) by way of modal logic is that it promises to resolve the long-debated issue of personal identity or more importantly, identity across possible worlds. What are the chief components to be taken as immanent when determining the identity of an individual? Continuing on Kripke's example of Julius Caesar, what distinguishes an individual across all possible worlds is "the fact of his having been conceived by certain parents at a certain moment in time." (Norris, 2010) This, as stated before, is the

landmark of Julius Caesar's identity even in those possible worlds in which he is not a great Roman emperor.

Historians often resort to the possible-worlds game in order to explain how things might have happened if it hadn't been for one particular moment in time. For instance, what if Caesar hadn't defeated Pompey? What if he had not been killed by his 'son' Brutus? Thus, historians in their attempt to portray history as it actually happened are in need of the element of contrast, deploying possible world scenarios to show how things would have turned out as a consequence of various antecedents in the sequence of events. In this case the problem of character identity does not stand, since it is primarily assumed by both the historians and the possible receivers that Julius Caesar that defeated Pompey has to be identical to the Julius Caesar that, in a possible world, does not defeat Pompey. Simply admitting that there is no identity correspondence between the two instances of the same character would render such demonstrations void of meaning.

Kripke (1972) and his notions of fixed reference, as is the case of proper nouns, assigned through the process of "naming" which creates the "necessity" of establishing individual identity across all possible worlds, manages to neutralize the chief issue of the descriptivist theories which is based on correctly assigning the appropriate descriptions to match a particular individual. How these descriptions fall into place, however, is a quite indefinite process due to the fact that individual speakers may often lack the adequately informed conceptual-descriptive notions related to the referent they are trying to pick out. In this respect individual speakers may refer successfully to Aristotle while being completely ignorant of the fact that he was also the philosopher who tutored Alexander the Great or of what he had written.

Nevertheless, even if Kripke's causal theory succeeds in resolving the chief ambiguities consistent with the descriptivist theories of the sort "Aristotle is not Aristotle" or "Water is not water", there would be slight modifications to be operated on the causal system. Theorists such as Putnam, Quine, Burge that based their own theories on Kripke's causal system reveal that some of the descriptivist need to be incorporated within the Kripkean method. Taking yet again the example of Aristotle, and reviewing it as depicted above it would result that "the fact that any extra information acquired – say through our reading the latest scholarship – will impinge upon the process of reference transmission to a point where it may quite radically affect our grasp of what counts as truth-apt statement about Aristotle." (Norris, 2010)

Concluding the causal vs descriptivist debate, the causal theory does avoid the illogical statements that result from the purely descriptivist accounts, but at the same time the descriptivist theories would best explain how to make sufficient allowance for the corrective input of expert knowledge and the reference modifying role of newly acquired scientific or other information.

*But then why perform any act of reading if we still find ourselves trapped in the actual world? Why the necessity of further reinterpretations of the latter, when it is scientifically equipped with firm logic and precise systems? Why do we treat fiction and fictional worlds independently in any act of reading? Why, when reading, do we accept the fictional characters to be as real as our neighbor next door?*

*To a probably not so surprising extent, none of the counter-theories would be able to prompt the necessary reasoning for why, with "fictional re-centering" as Marie Laure Ryan (2004) points out, there occurs a re-centering, which is all the more necessary for preventing particularly the scientific actual world from interfering with the fictional world or worlds, leading to a rough misinterpretation of the piece of fiction itself.*

## Fictional Worlds and Possible Worlds in Fictionality

The boundaries of fiction appear to be very well determined. As such, we might consider that the worlds of fiction and the fictional characters that inhabit them are only liable to possess any kinds of properties within the fiction which enables them, for at the end of it these fictional entities, they are most likely forced out of existence as well.

We may assert, just as Kripke (1972) does, that "Holmes is actually an impossible entity", and to a very large extent this assertion is undeniably true, but within Arthur Conan Doyle's fictional endeavor, Sherlock Holmes is very much possible and can be identified by any reader whatsoever as being the famous detective whose story is related by his assistant, Dr. Watson. We can also state that *Sherlock Holmes is a detective* and that statement needs to be allowed to be true, at least when considering the fictional environment. If such a statement would not be logically legitimate, then probably the entire bulk of commonly accepted literary criticism of the sort: *Emma Bovary is one of Flaubert's most vivid characters*, would necessarily appear as roughly meaningless. And all the more, other types of similar utterances which work with fictional characters across different fictions, such as: *Emma Bovary and Anna Karenina are stylistically unparalleled characters*, would follow the same path of bearing no meaning

whatsoever. For a set of metaphysically impossible entities, fictional characters are indeed given a lot of stylistic importance. We would therefore have to draw the very appropriate conclusion that, perhaps, despite their metaphysical incongruity, fictional entities acquire a different form of status that poses a temporary hold on metaphysical and logical incongruities solely to allow an imaginative attempt of believing that such an individual as Emma Bovary or Anna Karenina might have ever existed. This imaginative attempt does not imply an actual belief that such individuals ever did exist in the actual world at a particular point in time, but rather introduces a very comfortable possibility.

The constructs of the human mind tend to be very much linked to the coordinates it identifies in the actual world. Of course, science-fiction might be considered as an exception to this type of rule, but subconsciously the justification for agreeing with this kind of fictions as well, also stems from imagining a possible world construct based on the actual reality where things degenerate or progress that much that it allows human beings to travel into space, for instance, and fight or shake hands with extraterrestrial entities.

Every imaginative process needs to find at least one tiny grip within what is known as reality and build up different worlds, possible for actual existence or highly imaginative and fictional like. This is probably also why we instinctively want to believe that Anna Karenina might have existed once or perhaps that, even if she did not exist at all, what the narrative creates fictionally, acquires a sort of magnitude, which within the fiction and outside it, translates into an artifact, a produce whose existence is limited and bound to a narrative process resulting into a work of fiction, which needs to be granted perhaps a brand new metaphysical legitimacy. The idea that accepting fiction starts from creating a possible world construct with any justification at all within the actual world does not necessarily mean that the unexperienced mind of the readers assigns actual existence to fictional entities, it simply accommodates them with a possible world reality the readers can relate to. It results that we have a possible world deriving from the actual world in which we believe that Anna Karenina did exist. This particular possible world also acquires a different status from the rest of the possible worlds whose existence we accept in relation with the actual world.

If we have a closer look at the following two examples:

*(1) If Princess Diana had not divorced Prince Charles, she might still be alive.*

*(2) If Anna Karenina hadn't fallen in love, she wouldn't have committed suicide.*

Example (1) is obviously an assumption based on an event which took place in the actual world, the death of Princes Diana in a tunnel in Paris while she was trying to escape the engulfing mass media attention. Based on this actual world event, one can deduce the following assumption, which generates a possible world adjacent to the actual world in which Princess Diana does not divorce Prince Charles and therefore has no business being in a tunnel in Paris running from the press avoiding as such her untimely death. This type of assumption is altogether just a possible world, since we know we need to accept the actual world fact that Princess Diana is indeed dead. Therefore, the conditions that could have transformed the world of our assumption into the actual world were not met. If these conditions had been met, then the actual world as we know it would have been a completely different universe. What this example ultimately means to demonstrate is the fact that any possible world which is intrinsically connected to the actual world is a reality in itself. Yet the actual world comprises only that reality which satisfies the current state of affairs, namely that Princess Diana did divorce Prince Charles and years later she did die in a car accident.

When it comes to example (2) things tend to get a little bit more intricate. For one, if we compare the two very distinct situations, in example (1) we could easily dismiss the context for being non-actual due to our knowledge of the actual world facts. However, in example (2), the actual world situation isn't of much help at all. All the information available about Anna Karenina is restricted to the fictional information provided in the novel she pertains to. In order to evaluate and accept this type of assertion, it is first necessary to establish a set of binding conditions:

(1) Anna Karenina is a fictional character and is therefore bound to the fictional world.
(2) The actual world is in no way related to the fiction itself.
(3) The fiction needs to be granted a sense of autonomy.

If we accept from the start the fact that Anna Karenina is a fictional character, then we can restrict the number of possible worlds related to this character merely to the fictional domain of the narrative. In accordance, we can distinguish the fictional entity Anna Karenina who falls in love, since this is what the narrative suggests. The narrative might also add that Anna Karenina is placed in a rather difficult position because of this aspect. For this particular statement, fiction needs to be considered as the only point of reference, therefore fiction is temporarily granted a sense of autonomy

which is similar to the autonomy the actual world has in example (1). In these terms, the narrative and its framework construct an artificial actual world. In *Anna Karenina* the actual world for this particular statement consists of the information provided in the narrative and according to which Anna Karenina is married, but falls prey to an adulterous love affair. By way of this argument, example (2) may be given a similar structure to example (1), the only difference between the two being which actual world they abide by. While example (1) is supported by the actual world consisting of the reality of 2019 which has already seen the events that led to Princess Diana's death, example (2) is supported by an actual world which has been constructed by the fiction itself and according to which a particular fictional individual Anna Karenina commits suicide because of an infelicitous love story.

The very concept of world and how it appears within literary criticism in the way of fictional worlds and within the determinations of modal logic, in the way of possible worlds, is bound to set a couple of distinctions which are worth examining for a further understanding of the difference between fictional worlds and possible worlds. Returning to Kripke (1972), the ultimate authority in the field of modal logic, the concept of world is assigned to a set of objects which constitute the domains of the various possible worlds available. The sense of world Kripke (1972) refers to is structurally different from the sense preferred by literary theorists such as Lotman (1977) or Ingarden (1973). Indisputably the purposes of literary theorists are by nature different from the intentionality of theorists such as Kripke (1972) whose purpose is not defining fiction or literature, but rather subcategorizing it to logic.

In distinguishing how the concept of world is differentiated by the two authorities mentioned above, Ruth Ronen (1994) provides one such interpretation: "for Kripke a world consists only of the first level of objects, a level to which Lotman and Ingarden added a secondary level of elements and rules."

Quickly assessing just how Lotman (1977) and Ingarden (1973) clearly envision the concept of world as opposed to Kripke constitutes a detour which will bring a clarification of a higher level in the manner in which the concept of world needs to be understood. Lotman's concept of world is fixed somewhere between the set of components of the artistic universe and the specific rules which dictate how this universe is formed. In addition to this interpretation of the term of "world", Lotman (1977) also views it as a particular stage in which the processing of the artistic text at

the semantic and linguistic levels has been completely integrated. On the other hand, Ingarden (1973) provides a more phenomenological interpretation of the same concept. According to his interpretation the worlds of fiction are the result of the intentionalities of an aesthetic consciousness.

Structurally, Ingarden's world concept is a stratified notion, each level corresponding to a particular area of interpretation. The first level is that of the utterance, by way of which the fictional components are brought into existence, the second level begins to assign meaning to the units created; the next level is the result of combining the two first levels into syntactic structures which will then result into what Ingarden (1973) identifies under the denomination *the objects represented*. As such, Ingarden's view (1973) of the world concept is that of a combination of represented objects which receive an ontic distinction by way of the aesthetic conscience which creates them. What Lotman (1977) and Ingarden (1973) have in common is the fact that, in their vision, the concept of world refers to a certain mode of representing or organizing knowledge.

Kripke (1972) is in no way concerned with aesthetics or with the artistic construction of worlds, nor is he inclined to justify his choices by crediting any such esthetic consciousness above logic. The Kripkean model of world is a sheer semantic construction which does not serve any esthetic purposes, but rather answers to the claims of modal logic. To a certain extent Kripke's views need to be applied on a territory which isn't concerned with philosophy at all, which is thoroughly based on the unvarying field of logic and merely studies the manner in which possibility works within everyday discourse. For in fact, possible world semantics interprets modality as quantification over possible worlds, constructing a system that works with assigning actuality to worlds to which non-actuality is attributed. A clear example of such a situation would be example (1) discussed above. This marks a clear difference from the concept of world in the acceptance of the literary theorists who are much rather attempting to organize and distinguish between the different inner layers of a fictional work. Their perspective has nothing to do with the possible worlds of modality which are not mere dimensions waiting to be discovered, but rather valid possibilities which have not been actualized, but could aspire to actuality if the conditions implied are met.

There are also ontological differentiations between what is actualized and what could be actualized in terms of possible worlds, this could also provide a clearer explanation for why it would be impossible to

actually meet Anna Karenina and Clarissa Dalloway or any other fictional characters, in the street or any place else in the actual world.

Fictional worlds, in the sense of world that Kripke would intend, also have their very own ontological delimitations and a certain sphere of existence which also implies that the problematic of transworld possibilities with fiction has to be more mental than actually actual. It would appear that the concept of world as intended to appear within this study as well, has an ontological organization and is not solely limited to providing a sense of internal coherence. We could also think about it as a complete symbiosis between the more traditional interpretations of the concept of world and those types of relations fiction may form with other ontological systems, and in understanding the latter, Kripke's system really does come in handy.

Thomas Pavel (1986) is yet another name that comes to mind in this category as well. Pavel is also probably better known within the field of literary theorists with a claim to ontology by way of his interpretation of fictional entities as being attributed specific features on the basis of the ontological perspective of the text in question. However, within the field of modal logic as Kripke envisioned it, even in those cases in which an attempt was made to adapt this rather philosophic mechanism onto fiction, Pavel's does not prove to be the most valid option. The justification doesn't lie in the fact that Pavel's system is by any means incomplete in itself, but much rather because it seems to be slipping a little too much into the field of literary semiotics and a little too little into the field of modal logic. Yes, Pavel is also concerned with a sense of ontology within fiction, but not in a pattern which could effectively accommodate a semantics of the possible world system within fiction.

Pavel (1986) studies the case of entities with contradictory properties, such as square circles, and states that the presence of such entities in fictional worlds prevents identifying fictional worlds with possible worlds, concluding that possible-world semantics is not adequate for the nature of the fictional discourse. Nonetheless, Pavel chooses to keep the notion of "world" and he elaborates the notion of fictional worlds with their own level of actuality, including entities such as the world of the novel *Don Quijote* which develops around a different system of actuality than Dickens' *Pickwick Papers*.

According to Oltean (2009), it would follow that fictional worlds are minimal, they stem from the fictional texts that created them and are specifically designed to cater for the very same fictional texts. Fictional worlds cannot account for the problematic of the reference of the fictional

texts they belong to and for the realities that these texts comprise: truth values cannot be established and there are sets of undetermined notions which cannot be accounted for, since truth values in fictional worlds are strictly dependent on the information available within the fictional text itself and not the other way around. (Gregory Currie 1990).

As such, even entities which are impossible from a logical viewpoint can appear as being real in fictional worlds, a fact which cannot be accepted and which bluntly differentiates the limited nature of fictional worlds from the logical semantic apparatus of possible worlds. While satisfying several purposes of the literary theorist, fictional worlds prove to be insufficient when establishing truth values in fiction.

## Fictional Worlds and Fictional Entities

What Kripke (1972) and other modal logicians aim at, when taking on the concept of world, is pinpointing first and foremost a dualism which is inherent within their vision of the concept. The dualism consists of the two combining connotations of the term under discussion. The first type of connotation sets a distinction between an ontologically distinct set of entities united in the sense of their common modality and sharing a common ontological order. The second type refers to the concept of possible worlds as a whole, which is in very simple terms a way of verifying the manner in which fiction might relate with the external reality of the actual world. It is not wrong to think of literary texts as constructing a world in itself, because this world is ontologically different from the actual world. In the same sense as previously mentioned, obviously nobody will be able to meet or find any of the fictional entities in the actual world. In less modal terms, this idea is also accepted by the more literary interpretations of the nature of fiction and fictionality. The ontic distinction brought into the field of interpreting fictionality offers the possibility of cutting fiction off from the limitations of relating it strictly to the actual world of existence.

Fictional entities are neither real nor actual; the events they are involved in are strictly related to the fictional text. Despite the various points of disagreement regarding the application of possible worlds onto fiction, it is overtly accepted that what is fictional needs to be preserved as fictional and that nobody will go looking for fictional entities in the actual world, *ergo* these entities are ontologically delimited. In further clarifying the concept of world as it needs to be understood for the present analysis, Ruth Ronen (1994) defines it on a set of three main coordinates which will be exemplified in what follows.

The first such coordinate postulates that each world is defined by its unique ontic position relative to worlds of other ontic determinations. A fictional world has a distinct ontic property distinguishing it from other worlds and their beings (Ronen,1994). In itself, this area does not bring anything essentially new in the intricate picture of the possible world schemata. It seems like a natural estimation that fiction should be granted a sense of independence from other worlds and other beings, and by this the main reference falls into the terms of distinguishing the world of fiction from the actual world.

The second coordinate insists on the autonomy which is in itself implied within such a concept insisting that each world is a domain subjected to one modality that ensures its distinctness from other worlds and secures its autonomy. This definition should be seen as a continuation of the initial coordinate for, by being endowed with a distinct ontic property, the concept of world will implicitly gain a certain degree of independence. Due to the fact that within the parameters of modal logic, the concept of world is organized as such as to consider autonomy or independence as a core characteristic, it provides us with the necessary justification to defend the argument that fiction needs to be considered as a reality on its own. What this means is not that fiction is real or that it has any claim to actuality, but rather that, similarly to the more traditional views, of fictional worlds as hermetic or partially closed artistic systems.

All of these prerequisites dwell on the concept of world and its ontic determinations as being mandatory for understanding exactly how such a distinctly logical parameter could apply to the more or less indeterminate fictional universe. Perhaps this is justification enough for accepting with quite a bit of a surprise Ronen's third coordinate which suggests that a definition of world does not require the existence of a stable ontology. Ronen (1994) relates this with the fact that fiction cannot rely on actuality as a stable system of reference, which is indeed a valid point of view.

Her analysis goes even further towards rejecting mimeticism in the relations between the fictional and the actual worlds, but this detail is a far too literary bound perception of the concept of world, which need not be considered within the particular system under development here, since it is intended to be a far closer mirroring of modality and a far less attempt in the direction of any detailed literary theory. Still, keeping on the safe side, there are quite a few meaningful notions which Ronen's more literary oriented argumentation mentions and which are useful to consider for the future. One of them is the legitimacy of granting ontic independence to fictional worlds,

safeguarding them from any interference with and from the actual world. This would also be in line with what Kripke had in mind for his modal system. Then, just as importantly, it might be useful to remember that fiction is not an entirely stable universe and therefore this instability is bound to appear within its ontological nature.

## Conclusions

As this non-comprehensive article attempted to demonstrate possible worlds and fictional worlds are entirely different constructs.

Fictional worlds refer to worlds within which the story is related as a known fact, which is assumed to be true. Yet because of the gaps in the fictional text, different "facts" or different "realities" in the same text can render various fictional possibilities, which would result in the compatibility of several fictional worlds with the same text, hence a wide range of indeterminacy.

Possible worlds are constructs of a system of modal logic, with clear, logical principles in establishing truth values and can constitute valuable instruments in the analysis of fiction, presenting a non-trivial way of accepting fictional realities.

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poetry was increasingly a challenge to the aesthetics of the previous generation" (Garton, 1983, p. 216). The poetry and the poets from the 1960s created an intellectual background, being influenced by existentialism and modernism. These poets wanted to renew the literary language and to "deromanticize" the poetry. The aim of the article is to explore the notion of simplicity as it is illustrated in the poems of William Carlos Williams and Jan Erik Vold, with a special focus on natural and cultural elements.

One of the Norwegian writers that brought innovations to the Norwegian poetry was Jan Erik Vold. He was a poet, but also an essayist, a translator and a performer. He made a series of translations from the American poetry, of William Carlos Williams's poems. He was influenced by the American poet and he promoted his poetry in Norway. Jan Erik Vold was also an important cultural and literary figure, being preoccupied by the cultural and social problems of the ordinary people.

William Carlos Williams was an American poet, a representative of the imagism and modernism. He was a poet, but also a physician. He was preoccupied by the simplicity of the poetic language, being influenced by the movement of imagism. He believed that the poet should describe the reality as it is, with the help of the simple things, without using a complex and sophisticated language. "No ideas but in things" is one of his famous mottos.

Both poets were preoccupied by the notion of simplicity in their poetry. They wanted to write a poetry that could be easily understood by the readers. They used a simple language, describing the everyday life and the simple things. They were also preoccupied by the natural and cultural elements.

Modernism that had taken over during the late 1950s and made Norwegian poetry difficult and to some extent hermetic, was primarily intellectual. [...]. The 1960s became a decade of literary experiments, in Norway as well as in the other Scandinavian countries" (Aarseth, 1985, p. 338, p 342). It is of great importance to mention that the new wave of Modernism in the Norwegian literature of the 1960s was brought by a young generation of poets through a great amount of poems translated from foreign languages. According to Odd Martin Mæland, the Norwegian literature of the 1950s was lacking "innovation, freshness and force, [...] and it is the young people who are creating the profile of the new Norwegian literature" (Mæland, 1974, p. 35). The new generation of writers was gathered around different literary circles among which there was the Literary Circle *Profil* from the University of Oslo. "This magazine became their most important organ for the development of new and radical ideas about literature's form and function, the role of the writer in modern society, and so on" (Mæland, 1974, p. 35). Dag Solstad, Tor Obrestad, Einar Økland, Jan Erik Vold, Paal-Helge Haugen, Espen Haavardsholm are only a few writers of this new experimental generation who through their ambitious literary projects wanted to re-create the Norwegian literature through their innovative ideas having in focus the everyday world expressed through simple thoughts and words, being able to detect "a simpler, more realistic, and popular writing" (Mæland, 1974, p. 36), far from symbolist depictions and metaphorical complexity and different literary analogies.

In 1962 Jan Erik Vold received one year scholarship to Santa Barbara in California, USA. The Norwegian poet was very impressed by the American cultural scene especially by jazz music and by very many scholars and writers. Hugh Kenner (1923-2003), an important Canadian literary figure was one of Vold's professors at the University of California, Santa Barbara. "He has written books about Becket and Pound and Eliot and James Joyce. And he is a great expert on William Carlos Williams"[2] (Grøgaard, 1989, p. 62, my own translation). At the University of California Jan Erik Vold became little by little interested in American literature and especially in Williams's literary work and his poetic view. According to Vold, Williams (1883-1963) "was presented in book form in Norway earlier than anywhere else in Scandinavia. In Sweden, *the new simplicity* had been discussed since the beginning of the 1960s, Williams never being mentioned. There are many things to say about the concept of *new*

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[2] "Han har skrevet bøker om Beckett og Pound og Eliot of James Joyce og disse. Og han er en stor ekspert på William Carlos Williams."

*simplicity*, [...]. But if one has something to build on, Williams is the man – the one who made a programme out of being simple without being flat. He made it"[3] (my own translation, Grøgaard, 1989, p. 63).

William Carlos Williams is one of the prominent American literary figures of the 20th century who was also a doctor born in Rutherford, New Jersey. He wrote poetry: *Patterson* Book I (1946), Book II (1948), III (1949), IV (1951), and V (1958), *The Complete Collected Poems Of William Carlos Williams 1906-1938* (1938), *Pictures from Brueghel and Other Poems* (1962),etc., prose *The Great American Novel* (1923) - A novel, *Selected Essays* (1954), *The Selected Letters of William Carlos Williams* (1957), etc., drama *Many Loves and Other Plays: The Collected Plays of William Carlos Williams* (1962), and translations *By Word of Mouth: Poems from the Spanish*, 1916-1959 (2011) - *Poetry of Spanish and Latin American authors*, etc.

With regard to the Norwegian literary magazine *Profil*, it included not only several articles about the new experimental Norwegian literature but also translations from world's literature, especially American literature.

> Vold has translated novels and plays by Samuel Beckett, short stories by Peter Bichsel and Bob Dylan, [...]. Firstly, Vold's translation has had a ripple effect in the North, and there is every reason to believe that his translated poems, especially those by William Carlos Williams, have had a correspondingly significant impact. [...]. Vold has translated Beckett, Rimbaud, Apollinaire and Eluard, [...], from French, but he finds his closest poetic relatives in American Modernism, including William Carlos Williams, Robert Creeley, Bob Dylan, Frank O'Hara and Richard Brautigan. And it can be said: The choice of Williams and Stevens is an echo of his literary debate with the high modernist Brekke- tradition in Norwegian lyric; Brekke chose Eliot and Pound as known[4] (Karlsen, 2011, p. 247-248, my own translation).

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[3] "ble presentert i bokform i Norge mye tidligere enn noe annet sted i Skandinavia. I Sverige hadde man diskutert nyenkelhet siden begynnelsen av 60-tallet, men kom aldri til nevne Williams. Det kan sies mye om nyenkleheten, [...]. Men skal man ha noe å bygge på der, så er jo Williams mannen – han som gjorde et program utav det å være enkel uten å bli platt. Han fikk det til."

[4] "Vold har oversatt romaner og skuespill av Samuel Beckett, kortprosa av Peter Bichsel og Bob Dylan, [...]. For det første: Volds oversettelse har således hatt ringvirkninger i Norden, og det er all grunn til å tro at hans lyrikkgjendiktninger, kanskje særlig av William Carlos Williams, har hatt tilsvarende stor betydning. [...]. Vold har gjendiktet Beckett, Rimbaud, Apollinaire og Eluard, [...], fra fransk, men sine aller nærmeste poetiske valgslektninger finner han i den amerikanske modernismen, innbefattet William Carlos Williams, Robert Creeley, Bob Dylan, Frank O'Hara og Richard Brautigan. Og det kan sies: Valget av Williams og Stevens er et ekko av hans oppgjør med den

For instance in the 4th issue of *Profil* from 1966, Jan Erik Vold published three American poems translated into Norwegian: Louis Simpson's (1923-2021) "Amerikanske Drømmer" ("The American Dream"), James Wright's (1927-1980) "Høsten begynner i Martins Ferry, Ohio" ("Autumn Begins in Martin Ferry, Ohio") and Robert Creeley's (1926-2005) "Uvisst av hvilken grunn" ("For No Clear Reason"). Through this new wave of translations, "a great variety of poets from many foreign countries and representing different periods and styles, were now available. In addition, the increased scope of higher education tended to reduce the effect of some language barriers" (Aarseth, 1985, p. 342). *Nyenkelheten* (*the new simplicity*) and *konkretismen* (*concretism*) came into the Norwegian literature through a series of literary translations made by Norwegian modernist writers of that period from Swedish, Finish, French, English and American literature. *Nyenkelheten* (*the new simplicity*) came into Norwegian literature also through Jan Erik Vold's translations from American literature especially from Williams's poems. In the anthology entitled *Entusiastiske essays. Klippbok 1960-75* (*Enthusiastic Essays. Scrapbook 1960-1975*) there is an article "Glem ikke det grønne glasskåret. Etterord til William Carlos Williams: LOVE" ("Do Not Forget the Green Shards of Glass. Afterword to William Carlos Williams: LOVE" in which Vold translated a few of Williams's poems among which there are: "Spurven" ("The Sparrow"), "Til en stakkars gammel kone" ("To a Poor Old Woman") and many others.

Jan Erik Vold wrote in the aforementioned article that Williams "managed to break the gap between Academia and our ordinary world. [...]. He chose to pursue a poetic poem based on life here and now"[5] (Vold, 1976, p. 365, my own translation). In addition, Williams's literary model was the American poet and literary critic Ezra Pound (1885-1972). In Williams's book *I Wanted to Write a Poem – The Autobiography of the Works of a Poet*, Pound stated that: "Mr. Williams may write some very good poetry. It is not every one of whom one can say that. Mr. Williams has eschewed many of the current American vices; I therefore respect him. He has not sold his soul to editors. He has not complied with their niminy-piminy restrictions" (qtd. Pound in Williams, 1958, p. 12).

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høymodernistiske Brekke-tradisjonen i norsk lyrikk; Brekke valgte seg som kjent Eliot og Pound."

[5] "klarte å slå en bresje i denne muren mellom den akademiske verden og vår vanlige. [...]. Han valgte å satse på en livskraftig poesi basert på livet her og nå."

It has to be mentioned that Jan Erik Vold was one of the most Norwegian modernist poets preoccupied by these literary phenomena (*nyenkelheten – the new simplicity* and *konkretismen – concretism*). "Vold began as a self-conscious experimentalist preoccupied by solipsism, and his early work includes forays into emblematic verse and concrete poetry" (Preminger, 1993, p. 6). In this respect, Vold's first volumes poetry were purely experimental: *mellom speil og speil* (*Between Mirror and Mirror*, 1965), *blikket* (*The Gaze*, 1966) and HEKT (*The Grab*, 1966). This type of poetry can be regarded as being a novelty in this literary field. In other words, these poems were called *concrete poems*. Another representative volume is *Mor Godhjertas glade versjon. Ja* (*Mother Goodhearted's Happy Version. Yes*) published in 1968 and being Norway's bestseller in the 1960s. These poems were different from the experimental poems, the former being *nyenkle dikt* (*new simple poems*).

> It was in poetry that the 'ny-enkel' movement was particularly successful in Scandinavia, with poets like the Swedish Sonja Åkeson and the Danisk Jørgen Leth, who had been present at the poetry seminar Solstad attended. Several of Solstad's Profil-colleagues flirted with the genre – some of Tor Obrestad's poems, [...], and of Paal-Helge Haugen's in *Sangbok* (*Song Book*, 1969) show clear affinities. But it was Jan Erik Vold amongst Norwegian poets who most wholeheartedly embraced 'ny-enkel' in his poetry, and in fact pioneered its introduction to the Norwegian cultural scene from 1965 onwards. In his happiest and most popular poems, from *Mor Godhjertas glade versjon. Ja* (*Mother Goodhearted's Happy Version. Yes*, 1968) he demonstrates an easy familiarity with the world and with the rhythms of everyday language which provoke delighted recognition (eg 'Tale for loffen' - 'In Praise of White Bread'; 'Kropper' - 'Bodies'). (Garton, 1985, p. 356)

While the concrete poetry operated with poems written in different forms in order to create a special and unique visual effect, the *new simple* poems were the so-called open poems because it was created a special scenery including simple and common things which were able to mirror the everyday life with simple and "a more extrovert kind of poetry, [...] which paved the way for lyrical expansion" (Aarseth, 1985, p. 345). In his article "Glem ikke det grønne glasskåret. Etterord til William Carlos Williams: LOVE" ("Do Not Forget the Green Shards of Glass. Afterword to William Carlos Williams: LOVE" Vold presents briefly the literary work of the American poet with a special focus on his writing style, more exactly on Williams's programmatic slogan "no ideas but in things", which was also embraced by Vold, and used in his *ny-enkle* (*new simple*) poems, especially those published in the volume *Mor Godhjertas glade versjon. Ja* (*Mother*

*Goodhearted's Happy Version. Yes*) and in *spor, snø* (*Traces, Snow*). According to Terry Eagleton regarding Williams's writing style: "language on this view is at its most trustworthy when it is thing-like, and thus not language at all. An its most authentic, it flips over into something else" (Eagleton, 2007, p. 140).

Both in Vold's and Williams's poems, the rhythm is of great importance. The lecturer of English literature at Shiraz University, Iran, Laleh Atashi states in one of her articles entitled "The Status of William Carlos Williams in American Modernism" that "the use of rhythm in a poem is what Williams considers the most important distinguishing feature that separates the domain of poetry and prose. [...]. Williams insists on simple understandable poetry and reacts to the philosophical complexities: he believes that modernism had at its base a commitment to 'the reality of the word', and to the dominance of language over ideas, [...]" (Atashi, 2016, p. 54-55). Williams himself stated in the book entitled *I Wanted to Write a Poem – The Autobiography of the Works of a Poet* that "the rhythmic unit decided the form of my poetry. When I came to the end of a rhythmic unit (not necessarily a sentence) I ended the line. The rhythmic unit was not measured by capitals at the beginning of a line or periods within the lines. I was trying for something. The rhythmic unit usually came to me in a lyrical outburst. [...] The rhythmic pace was the pace of speech, an excited pace because I was excited when I wrote" (Williams, 1958, p. 15).

With regard to the two translations into Norwegian made by Vold, namely "Spurven" ("The Sparrow") and "Til en stakkars gammel kone" ("To a Poor Old Woman") it is important to notice that : "One will enjoy reading Williams's poems, the best of them, a contamination of the same healthy lifestyle that is so central to everything he has written - the simple joy of being and experiencing people and things around him"[6] (Vold, 1976, pp. 366-367, my own translation). Referring strictly to the way in which Vold translated the poems, he preserved the main idea and the theme, but in order to create the tone and the musicality, Vold sometimes added a new word or he was building the line being focused especially on its rhythm. Like Williams, Vold did not use any punctuation marks, but a full stop, the intonation being the important element which is able to create the rhythmical pattern of the poems.

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[6] "man blir glad av å lese Williams' dikt, de beste av dem, en smittes av den samme friske livsstil som står så sentralt i alt han har skrevet – den enkle gleden ved å være til og oppleve mennesker og ting omkring seg."

| Til en stakkars gammel kone | To a Poor Old Woman |
|---|---|
| som står og gumler på | munching a plum on |
| en plomme på gaten og har | the street a paper bag |
| hele posen full | of them in her hand |
| | |
| De smaker så godt | They taste good to her |
| De smaker så | They taste good |
| godt. De smaker | to her. They taste |
| så godt | good to her |
| | |
| Se bare på den måten | You can see it by |
| hun gir seg hen | the way she gives herself |
| til den ene hun holder | to the one half |
| halvspist i hånden | sucked out in her hand |
| | |
| og den trøst hun føler | Comforted |
| En lindring av modne | a solace of ripe plums |
| plommer ligger i luften | seeming to fill the air |
| De smaker så godt | They taste good to her |
| (translated by Jan Erik Vold, 1976, p.366) | (William Carlos Williams, 1985, p. 43) |

The poem "Til en stakkars gammel kone" ("To a Poor Old Woman") is built upon kinaesthetic and action verbs such as: "munching/ gumler på (no.)", "sucked out/ gir seg hen (no.)" and "taste/ smaker (no.)" which are able to create a real image of a woman eating ripe plums. The poem is built around a series of visual elements among which the "ripe plums/ modne plommer (no.)" which are very well poetically emphasised both by Williams and by Vold with the help of visual images. According to Terry Eagleton "images, on this theory, are representations so lucid that they cease to be representations at all, and instead merge with real thing. Which means, logically speaking, that we are no longer dealing with poetry at all, which is nothing if not a verbal phenomenon" (Eagleton, 2007, p. 140). With the help of these action verbs the reader can visualize the whole scene having in its centre an old woman while "munching a plum on/ the street a paper bag/ of them in her hand". Thus, the poet engages the eye and the senses (munching, tasting, seeing, smelling, etc.) in order to create a real and everyday image. While translated this poem into Norwegian, Vold preserved the "sound texture" (Eagleton 2007, p. 121) by using appropriate Norwegian verbs thus creating the right image. He preserves also the number of stanzas and lines. The message of the poem is a simple one "we have to rediscover the world, by sensing things, seeing them, every discovery is just as significant because it is the conquest of a new piece of reality"[7] (Vold, 1976, p. 367, my own translation). The reader can notice the

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[7] "vi må oppdage verden på ny, ved a sanse tingene, se dem, hver oppdagelse er like betydningsfull fordi den er erobring av et nytt stykke virkelighet."

simplicity regarding the message of the poem but also its complexity referring to the senses implied: tasting, seeing, and smelling ("a solace of ripe plums/ seeming to fill the air/ en lindring av modne/ plommer ligger i luften (no.)").

In the anthology of poetry entitled *I Vektens tegn: 777 dikt* (*Under the Sign of Libra. 777 Poems*, 2000), Jan Erik Vold has published several poems from different volumes of poetry among which from the volume *spor, snø* (*Traces, Snow*) published in 1970. It includes haiku-like poems made of three short lines which are different from a traditional Japanese haiku, when referring to the content and the message of the poem. All haiku poems written by Jan Erik Vold are very simple and they present common things taken from everyday world: "jeg tror/ jeg går en tur jeg/ jan erik" ("I think/ I go for a walk (I)/ jan erik", Vold, 1970, my own translation). The reason why I chose this haiku poem written by Vold is because its construction and its message is similar to another poem written by William Carlos Williams entitled "This is Just to Say" - "I have eaten/ the plums/ that were in/ the icebox/ and which/ you were probably/ saving/ for breakfast/ Forgive me/ they were delicious/ so sweet/ and so cold" (Williams, 1985, p. 35). They both resemble a note left on the kitchen table in order to inform the person who first enters the house about something that has happened. Terry Eagleton states that "the poem might even have been a message to his wife. There is a parody of the piece of Kenneth Koch (1925-2002), [an American poet and playwright]: 'I chopped down the house that you had been saving to live in next summer./ I am sorry, but it was morning, and I had nothing to do/ and its wooden beams were so inviting, [...]'" (qtd. Koch in Eagleton 2007, p. 39). The message of Williams's poem is a pragmatic one and the whole poem "is cast in the form of a message, which is a pragmatic piece of language; and it concerns the equally pragmatic or instrumental action of storing some fruit away in the fridge to eat for breakfast" (Eagleton, 2007, p. 40). In this sense, the poet emphasises the tactile senses throughout the poem. Thus, the reader is able to feel the sweetness and the coldness of the plums while tasting them imaginary. It is important to notice Richard Cureton's remark in his article entitled "Readings in Temporal Poetics: Four Poems by William Carlos Williams", namely: "The strongest physical/ sensuous presence in the poem is its metricality, which is not at all expected in this case, [...]. It is tightly organized, with a regular triple pulse and conventional tetrameter and pentameter lines. [...] The poem is densely alliterated: 'so'-'so'-'sweet'-'saving'; 'plums'-'probably'; 'were'-'which'. The text is about eating, one of most basic, visceral activities" (Cureton, 2017, p. 193). William Carlos

Williams himself explained in an interview the way in which "This is Just To Say" became a poem: "My wife being out, I left a note for her, just that way, and she replied very beautifully. Unfortunately, I've lost it. I think what she wrote was quite as good as this. A little more complex, but quite as good. Perhaps the virtue of this is its simplicity" (qtd. Williams in Wallace, Gerber, 1976, p. 16).

All in all, the notion of simplicity and the Scandinavian *nyenkelhet* (*new simplicity*) were introduced in Norwegian literature by Jan Erik Vold both through his *nyenkle* (*new simple*) poems and through the literary translations especially from American literature to Norwegian. William Carlos Williams was a leading figure of simplicity in words and in this sense a prolific literary model for Norwegian poetry. In one of his essays entitled *On the Poem* his states the following ideas: "We forget what a poem is: a poem is an organization of materials. [...] You have to take words, as Gertrude Stein said we must, to make poems. Poems are mechanical objects made out of words to express a certain thing. [...] I would say that poetry is language charged with emotion. It's words, rhythmically organized. A poem is a complete little universe. It exists separately. Any poem that worth expresses the whole life of the poet. It gives a view of what the poet is" (qtd. Williams in Wagner, 1976, p. 73). The simplicity of things can be found in everyday life activities and events, and *the new simplicity* can be interpreted as being the simplicity rediscovered by the Scandinavians and it is strongly related not only to the literary field but also to the cultural and social life, including friends, sports, neighbours, places, etc. For instance, Vold's poems from *Mother Goodhearted's Happy Version. Yes* are *new simple* poems presenting the city of Oslo and its surroundings, together with the poet's friends, places, events, being characterised by the notion of *nyenkelhet* (*new simplicity*) which makes the poet and the reader alike to cohabit in the same world under the sign of simplicity. Moreover, "most of Williams's minimalist and objectivist poems tend to be, but a chance encounter with a small bit of everyday language – a brief note of apology left perhaps on a kitchen table or pinned to a refrigerator door" (Cureton, 2017, p. 191). Thus, this minimalist and everyday language which is far from being symbolic and full of metaphors is the new modern poetic language focused especially on small and simple things, based entirely on creating visual images full of assonance and alliteration that describes the life as it is.

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is a well-known fact the Soviet fiction became a tool for the development of the reading culture, a way of building and solidifying the Soviet identity for the masses (Dobrenko, 1997). The Soviet prose dedicated to the war events occupies a special place in this respect, as it combines the programmatic goals of the Socialist Realism with the emotional and psychological impact of authentic war experiences.

The war prose reflects various periods of the Soviet literary and ideological realities. The first wave of war prose, written during and immediately after the war, is marked by the pathos of the heroic deed and heroic death, as well as by the optimistic tone and the certainty of the coming victory. The second wave of war prose, called "lieutenant's prose", appeared in the post-Stalinist period, in the late 1950s and 1960s, and it is characterized by a more realistic and authentic depiction of the war events, a focus on the individual experiences of the soldiers and the moral issues of the war.

The writers of the second wave of war prose were mostly former front-line soldiers, who had experienced the war as young lieutenants, hence the name of this literary trend. Among them, V. Bykov and Yu. Bondarev stand out as the most prominent representatives of the "lieutenant's prose". Their writings are marked by the attempt to reveal the authentic face of the war, the moral dilemmas of the soldiers and the questionable cases of heroic death.

also provided a link between the defensive war against Napoleon in 1812, on the one hand, and the rightful war against the fascist attackers, on the other. Thus, World War II is known in the Soviet and post-Soviet context as the "Great Patriotic War" (*Velikaia Otechestvennaia Voina*), linking it to the "Great War" of 1812 (*Otechstvennaia Voina*).

Based on the fact that the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War played a huge role in shaping the Soviet cultural history, we propose four main perspectives on Soviet war literature (Grădinaru, 2018). The first is entitled the revolutionary perspective; it is better historically delimited during the coexistence of various literary circles. In that period the term 'Soviet literature' was coined by Alexander Voronsky, probably the most notable literary critic of the late '20s. The second perspective is the heroic-romantic perspective, where we include A. Fadeyev's novel *The Young Guard*, V. Polevoi's *A Story About a Real Man* and others, broadly written during the Stalinist era. The third one – the psychological perspective - refers to the Thaw era and it is mainly known as literature that received the title of 'lieutenants' prose' (*leitenanskaya proza*). The main features of this 'new war prose' consist of the focus on 'trench truth' (*okopnaia pravda*) and the plot being reduced to a piece of land (*pjadʿ zemli*) as opposed to the previous wave of war prose with the romantic-revolutionary tone and large perspective on events (called *masshtabnostʿ*). Among strong representatives of this generation of writers, called *okopniki*, we mention Yu. Bondarev, G. Baklanov, V. Bogomolov, E. Kazakevich, O. Gonchar, V. Grossman, K. Simonov, V. Bykov. And the fourth perspective on war is the philosophical one (mainly during post-Stalinist years), where L. Leonov (*The Russian Forest*) and Yu. Bondarev (the second stage of his creation – *The Shore, The Choice*) occupy the main positions, with echoes in P. Proskurin's, V. Rasputin's, C. Aitmatov's, E. Nosov's writings.

Our focus is on V. Bykov's and Yu. Bondarev's writings – the story *Obelisk* (1971) and, respectively, the novel *Hot Snow* (1969). Both authors fought during the war and embraced writing in the post-Stalinist period; the first one was nominated for Nobel Prize in literature in 1998. Their writings reveal moral issues of the Soviet heroism on the battlefield and behind the front lines unlike the triumphalist tone of the previous decades. The Soviet daily heroic deed (*podvig*), the core of Russian-Soviet mentality is questioned and nuanced. Moreover, heroic death specific to Stalinist Socialist Realism texts is overshadowed by doubt, criticism and re-conceptualization in these writings. While in Stalinist literature, death played a symbolical role, contributing to the ideological rebirth of the

society of new men (even in war prose), it is de-heroicised after the Thaw and rarely gains metaphorical connotations.

## Heroic Deed on Trial

The concept of *podvig* ("heroic deed") underwent several mutations gained different nuances over time (Vinogradov, 1968). It was only in the 19th century when the word began to be used in the nowadays sense – "heroic, dignified act/deed" – as the Dictionary of Russian and Slavic-Ecclesiastical Language testifies (*Slovar` tserkovnoslavianskogo i russkogo iazyka v chetyrekh tomakh,* 1847). *Podvig* of the Soviet war prose has a double origin – in epic-historical literature (with its climax in Leo Tolstoy's realistic prose) and in revolutionary literature of the middle of the 19th century. That double origin contributes to the ambiguous character of the concept when it comes to popular Soviet culture and its use for the "daily heroic deed" in building communism. In its didactic fervour, war literature of the newly founded Soviet state started re-semanticizing *povdig* according to ideological purpose and communist propaganda (Grădinaru, 2018, pp. 32-34). The campaign gained mythical dimensions with the Nazi attack on USSR on June 22, 1941, as merely any deed on the battlefield would be considered heroic and patriotic since it was for the defence of the Motherland against the capitalist world.

Both Bondarev and Bykov, along with other writers of the second wave of war prose, explore the core of *podvig* in unusual, naturalistic and bitter writing. This type of prose questions the core of the "heroic deed", as it is no longer focused on grand battle scenes written in patriotic tone. Moreover, both writers depict sensitive subjects even for the Thaw period, one of which is "ours against our own". That motif challenges the ideal patriotic order among the Soviet soldiers, revealing the inter-ethnical conflicts, the tensions between commanders and soldiers, and strategic mistakes on the battlefield. That is especially the case of Bondarev's *Hot Snow*, and the conflict (as well as rivalry over Zoya) between Drozdovsky, the division commander, and Kuznetov, the platoon commander. Although in higher rank, Kuznetsov questions his authority to send to death simple soldiers. Thus, Bondarev's novel raises moral issues regarding command's responsibility for the lost lives.

Besides, the narration that comprises 48 hours of battle near Stalingrad offers new categories of death (beside the well-known "heroic death") – useless and useful death. And those categories are closely linked to commander's responsibility for the lives of his soldiers. Sergunenkov's

death has a special place in Bondarev's narration - an eighteen-year-old soldier was sent by Drozdovsky to destroy a German tank with a grenade. Boys' blue eyes before his imminent death remain in Kuznetsov's conscience for a long time, as he felt responsible for not interfering with division commander's absurd order.

Another useless death is Zoya's death, as Drozdovsky decides to take her in a mission to recover a "tongue" on very dangerous ground. After she gets killed, both Drozdovsky and Kuznetsov carry her body to their trenches. This new huge mistake of the selfish command deepens the conflict between the two officers to the point of "psychological collision" (Gorbunova, 1981, p.19) and set them on entirely different moral-ethical positions. Although the few survivors get a military order after the end of the battle, Drozdovsky and Kuznetsov included, the reader might wonder about the validity of such an order considering character's attitudes and motivations.

While Bondarev's perspective in *Hot Snow* is focused on a small battle near Stalingrad, writer's masterful narrative construction compensates with offering General Bessonov's view on events. That narrative peculiarity offers a (deceptive) comforting impression for a Soviet censor or critic of the era, as it contributes to the desirable massive view (*massshtabnost`*) on war events. Bykov's events in *Obelisk* are set in a Nazi occupied village, which makes it almost impossible to find any heroic deeds. Therefore, concerning Soviet heroic patterns concerning the war prose, Bykov's writings challenge the canon and its basic ingredients. The question is: would the reader be able to distinguish the brave, pure and heroic heart despite the confusion and rigidity of the Soviet value criteria?

V. Bykov's short story *Obelisk* is focused on discussing Ales Moroz, a teacher's death in a Belarusian Nazi occupied village. The story of a former partisan – Tkachuk - is triggered by the death of the former teacher's pupil and it follows the meandering path of the partisan's memory, witness of the war events. His discourse offers different perspectives on heroic/ heroicized/ non-heroic death, as he tells the story of teacher Ales and his controversial death. Teacher's choice to teach the children during the occupation is considered as traitorous by some, but it proves nothing else but his loyalty. In a childish attempt of revenge, several boys decide to kill two Germans – an initiative that contributes to boys' arrest. Although hiding with the partisans at that moment, the teacher decides to surrender and to die with his pupils. However, he helps Pavel (Pavlik) Miklashevich to run away by distracting the guard's attention on their journey to execution; though

wounded, the boy survives. The same concept of useless vs. useful death resurfaces when discussing Ales' choice. Considering his moral duty to be near his pupils in their last hours, the teacher gives up his safety and life, which is, in narrator's view, a heroic deed. In this context, not fighting on the battlefield, not the number of killed enemies counts, but the human, moral quality of the deed.

*Obelisk* is Bykov's only story where three-time frames intertwine: the after-war period; the war and prewar periods. The complexity of the narrative structure and ethical arguments concerning the heroic deed and heroic death shape the psychological perspective on war. The inscription of the teacher's name on the village obelisk, near the names of the five tortured and executed boys, is the first step toward public rehabilitation. Considered a traitor for voluntarily surrendering, it took time and effort to bring light into his motivation. The former partisan recognizes the fact that a blunt mention of Moroz in partisans' files was the cause of this misconception. That is why both Miklashevich and Tkachuk fought for changing Moroz's status – from traitor and coward to hero - in the eyes of the community. And that was no simple mission, given the Soviet distrust for the Belarusian population due to the third change of regime in one generation's life (Bykov, 1977, p. 183).

Despite rewriting Soviet heroic literary patterns, Bykov uses several Stalinist motives: the invalid (Moroz and Miklashevich) as the subdued hero of the state; the mentor and disciple, or "fathers" and "sons" relationship, and picking up the banner. However, in the case of Bykov's heroes we cannot apply Lilya Kaganovsky's pattern of "heroic invalid" (Kaganovsky, 2008, pp. 120-122) as in Alexei Meresiev's case, the hero of Polevoi's *A Story About a Real Man* (Grădinaru, 2017, pp. 43-52). Ales' handicap is from childhood and though he refuses the heterosexual fulfillment, being dedicated to teaching, he is not symbolically reestablished in state order after being punished for insubordination. On the other hand, Ales Moroz has a special bond with Pavlik, an abused pupil, whom he saves from his father's hand and from execution. The motif of picking up the banner from the mentor is present, as Pavlik becomes teacher and dedicates to this vocation; he also refuses to marry because of his health problems. Moreover, picking up the banner lacks the communist ideological motivation, as it is evident in A. Fadeyev's *Young Guard* and many other Socialist Realism novels and short prose of the previous period. As Tkachuk states, Miklashevich resembled Moroz in matters of character, goodness and correctness (Bykov, 1977).

While in Bykov's short story Moroz is slightly idealized, in *Hot Snow* the characters are constructed in a realistic-psychological manner. In both cases, there is no poetization of the heroic deed. Despite the "moral maximalism" (Dedkov, 1990, p. 38) considered specific to Bykov's prose by the Soviet critics, we regard the collocation as a way of dealing with Bykov's uncomfortable topics.

**Adapting the Heroic Dilemma**

Following the Soviet tendency of film adaptation of famous war stories and novels, Richard Viktorov and Gavriil Egiazarov directed the films inspired by Bykov's and Bondarev's writings. It is worth mentioning that Vasil Bykov is the writer with the most film adaptations in the Soviet period (fourteen film adaptations), and *Obelisk* is the seventh adaptation (1976). The writer also contributed to the script writing, alongside the director.

*Obelisk*'s film adaptation uses the narration in narration frame, as well as analepsis and prolepsis, maintaining the specificity of the short story. However, the film reuses several key-scenes as reference points – the scene of the parents' meeting at school with Moroz in the prewar period, the scene when Moroz surrenders and the scene when Moroz and the boys are led to execution. The duration of these three key-scenes is relevant, as the meeting at school with the parents is composed of long sequences, filming objects, fragments of clothes, boots, gestures, while Moroz's surrender scene is made of short sequences (and therefore) dramatic cuts. The last journey of the boys and their teacher follows longer movements of the camera, increasing the dramatic tone.

The film adaptation uses visual metaphorical and acoustic elements aplenty in order to increase the dramatic tension and the impact on the viewer. The relationship between Moroz and Miklashevich is staged employing an expressive montage, or, in Balăzs's terms, a metaphorical montage (Martin, 1981, p. 251), using the image of the road as pretext for rememorating events of the past when Tkachuk, as a school inspector, visited the village. The director stated that he did not emphasize the tragic nature of the short story, as he was focused on the moral issue of an adult's responsibility toward children, of a teacher's duty to his pupils (Bulychev, Viktorov, 1980). We consider that the film has a dramatic tone, while the message resides in the imperative of re-evaluating the heroic norms.

The analepsis has the same role in the film adaptation – to establish Moroz's character so that the audience may decide upon the truthfulness of

his heart and his decision to surrender. The war events, the life in the village under the fascist occupation, the boys' childish act of revenge and the teacher's retreat to the woods, near the partisans, occupy the largest space in the film. A shadow of a doubt weighs on Moroz's activity of teaching under the Nazi occupation, but during the brief visit of the partisans, the teacher's motives are clarified. His teaching under the Nazi occupation contributed to regard as a betrayal Moroz's abrupt decision to surrender in order to spend his last moments near the arrested boys.

At the same time, the opposition between the teacher and the traitor of the village – Cain – is obvious. The narrator shares his negative perception concerning the fascist occupation and its collaborators without resorting to ideological communist propaganda, as in the case of Fadeyev's *The Young Guard* (1948), with the film adaptation directed by S. Gerasimov. The status of the hero and heroic deed is adjusted to the ethical and realistic norms of the post-Stalinist society. It is therefore important that Moroz is mainly presented among his pupils before, during and after the war, facing the consequences of his either "suicidal"/ "pointless" or "heroic"/ "necessary" decision.

Tkachuk's narrative voice offers ethical insight into the above-mentioned events, as he shares the same interpretation with the recently deceased Miklashevich. The viewer watches Tkachuk in his double role as narrator and character, as the audience is invited to be the moral judge of those complicated events. Tkachuk, school inspector and partisan, presents the double moral reading of the events. Nevertheless, the difference between the two interpretations of the teacher's decision is evident in Tkachuk's position during the war (useless sacrifice, close to betrayal) and after the war (necessary and understandable sacrifice). Thus, the spectator witnesses the heroic dilemma, in all its details, and could incline towards Tkachuk's later (heroic) reading of events.

The heroic deed is also the centre of Bondarev's film adaptation (script written by Yuri Bondarev, Evgeni Grigoriev and Gavriil Egiazarov), the second Soviet film to deal with the heroic battle of Stalingrad. The first film was A. Ivanov's film *Soldaty* (1956), the film adaptation of V. Nekrasov's novel *In Stalingrad Trenches* (1946), followed in 1975 by S. Bondarchuk's film *They Fought for Motherland*, based on M. Sholokhov' novel. The December 1942 battle near Stalingrad, on the Myshkova River, against the German Army led by Marshal Erich von Manstein, brought about the victory of the Red Army. The script follows the events from the novel chronologically and presents key-scenes from the novel, while neglecting only the scenes before the battle, such as the meeting between

General Bessonov and Stalin, the ambiguous situation of Bessonov's son lost at war, dialogues between Kuznetsov and Tanya (Zoya in the novel). Although the absence of the meeting between Bessonov and Stalin may be the result of the de-Stalinization campaign, the other missing scenes could have contributed to the de-heroicised image of war. In addition, the main difference between the novel and the film consists in the lack of personalized perspective – Kuznetsov is the hero-raisonneur in the novel and his thoughts and feelings were disregarded in the film adaptation. That aspect may shift the attention of the viewer from the main hero and his attitude and motivation to the military events. Moreover, an extra-diegetic narrative voice presents the situation of 1942 at the beginning of the film, while the ending image is the photograph of the surviving seven soldiers, with their medals, succeeded by other war photos, as well as pictures of the victorious Soviet Army in Berlin and coming back home.

The rivalry between Kuznetsov and Drozdovsky is part of the "ours against our own" theme, as this tense relationship reveals non-heroic aspects of the Soviet military. While Kuznetsov communicates easily with soldiers, Drozdovsky is used to reducing his communication to orders (even in his relationship with Tanya). On the other hand, Kuznetsov's position among the soldiers and his previous war experience recommend him as a hero, unlike Drozdovsky's preoccupation for a military career at all (human) costs. Their opposite view on the value of the human life is highlighted in the above-mentioned scene with Sergunenkov's suicidal mission. It is also emphasized in the scenes building up to Tanya's (pointless) death. Different angles on "soldiers" and "people" depending on the military position are underlined in the dialogue between General Bessonov and Commissar Vesnin. However, upon Vesnin's unexpected death, Bessonov would regrettably state: "We couldn't protect such a man!"

Given the fact that the bombing starts in the film only in the thirty-seventh minute, the first half an hour sets the atmosphere of the war – relationships between the soldiers and their mission to march in freezing winter to their position on Myshkova River. The detachment's march is filmed from different perspectives to render the difficulty of the advancement, while the temporal ellipsis shortens its length. A gross-plan of the frozen land, dug up by Kuznetsov, announces the end of the march and the preparation for the battle after days of no sleep and no food. These descriptive scenes contribute to the understanding of the human sacrifice in the Stalingrad battle and confer a heroic perspective to the daily duties and activities of the soldiers. On the other hand, the accelerated rhythm of

montage is used for battle scenes, alternating foreground and background plans, increasing the tension and atmosphere of imminent death. The most used connection between the scenes through cut is specific to the period and suitable for a dynamic war representation (in an attempt to emulate western films).

After the counter-attack, General Bessonov searches for the surviving soldiers among the bombed tanks and hundreds of corpses. His face in the foreground upon finding Kuznetsov and the others transmits his emotions as he gives them the orders. In spite of a thriving victory cult linked to the cult of the Second World War, this last scene is de-heroicised; it lacks the triumphal notes and this simplicity reaches the audience, while the General says: "Thank you very much for the destroyed tanks!" Stopping the advancement of Manstein's tanks was the ultimate goal of the troops on Myshkova River. However, the double significance of those awarded orders resides not only in the destroyed tanks with inhuman efforts, but in the human quality of the survivors (at least in Kuznetsov's case). One might question the heroic nature of Sergunenkov's (useless) death, or the deaths of Tanya, Vesnin and many others. And the answer is given by General Bessonov's distinction between "soldiers" and "people". They were all fulfilling their duty as soldiers and defenders of the motherland. The only dilemmatic heroism is in Drozdovsky's case, as it questions deeper, into his character, motivations and attitudes.

**Brief Conclusive Notes**

Both authors resort to subtle comparisons between the characters on the battlefield or beyond the front lines in order to reveal the de-heroicized face of the war, in realistic stories of everyday life using psychological means specific to the Soviet prose of the '70s. Although Bykov and Bondarev focus on different spaces during the war, the marginality of their micro-universes contributes to successful exploration of the status, nature and role of *povdig*. The superfluous use of heroic terms in the Stalinist period is rethought after the Thaw, offering nuanced perspectives on not so heroic, at a first glance, events, decisions and positions during the war. The heroic death depicted in the previous wave of literary works is replaced in terms of useful vs. useless death during the war, closely linked to commander's (ir)responsibility.

The authors' visions are successfully adapted on screen in the Soviet period, transmitting this shift in the perception of the hero and the heroic deed. Both Viktorov and Egiazarov used the authors as collaborators in

writing the scripts. Nevertheless, Egiazarov's beginning and ending of the film is part of the heroic rhetoric of the cult of the so-called "Great Patriotic War", despite rendering the tensions within the victorious Red Army.

The second wave of the Soviet war prose shaped a nuanced understanding of the notions of hero, heroism, and *podvig* ("heroic deed"), preparing the way for naturalistic tones of the survivors of the war. Both Belarusian writers Ales Adamovich and Svetlana Alexievich continued Vasil Bykov's course and explored the war theme in beautifully constructed oral interviews.

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# Cultural Identity and the Immigrants' Sense of Belonging. *Giants in the Earth* and Beret's Angst in the New World

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**Abstract.** This article explores the dilemma of identity and belonging in the case of Norwegian immigrants in America as it emerges from Beret Holm's story in *Giants in the Earth* (1927), a novel written by Ole Edvart Rølvaag. In the beginning of the study, the focus will be placed on the concept of cultural identity, and the attention will turn to immigrant experiences and to the issues of longing and belonging, in order to highlight the homesickness, loneliness and disillusionment felt by the main female character in Rølvaag's immigrant narrative. Although the immigrants tried hard to find their place in the New World, they would remain strangers longing for the old home while feeling a little lonely in the vast prairie. The gains for the immigrants were significant, but they experienced a great loss: alienation.

**Keywords:** *cultural identity, immigrants' sense of belonging, Norwegian American immigrants, Giants in the Earth, Beret's angst.*

## Introduction

Questions of belonging inevitably trigger questions of identity. Whenever we are insecure, and don't know where we belong, we start thinking about identity, as Professor Zygmunt Bauman also mentioned in his contribution to *Questions of Cultural Identity* (Bauman, 1996, p. 19). Just as we feel the lack or loss of something when we no longer have that thing, in a similar way, we start wondering who we are and what makes us who we are when we find ourselves in situations of uncertainty, when "one is not sure how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns, and how to make sure that people around would accept this placement as right and proper, so that both sides would know how to go on in each other's presence" (Bauman, 1996, p. 19).

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Identity could be hence seen as an anchor that keeps the individual afloat while linking her or him to the shore, to the outer world. From the opposite perspective, identity could be considered as a lighthouse for the others, signalling the traits that distinguish the newcomer. Both perspectives indicate that identity offers stability, and provides escape from the uncertainty (Bauman, 1996, p. 19) of not having a place in the world. I will continue to use sea-related metaphors throughout the article as they seem to reflect very well the dynamics of the concepts of identity and belonging.

The migrants find themselves in a position in which the need to fit in or/and to belong becomes especially acute. This article will explore the dilemma of identity and belonging in the case of Norwegian immigrants in America as it emerges from Beret Holm's story in *Giants in the Earth* (1927), a novel written by the Norwegian American writer Ole Edvart Rølvaag. In the beginning, the study will concentrate on definitions of cultural identity, the attention will shift to immigrant experiences and the issues of longing and belonging, with reference to the process of acculturation and the difficulties it implies, the inner conflicts that arise along the way, only to highlight the homesickness, loneliness, and disillusionment felt by the main female character in Rølvaag's immigrant narrative.

## What Is Cultural Identity?

The question of identity has always preoccupied mankind, though it has taken different names and forms. A discussion on the subject is hence rather complicated, considering the different and sometimes divergent paths taken by theorists. Stuart Hall states in the beginning of his famous essay *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* (1990) that "identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think" (Hall, 1990, p. 222), drawing the attention upon the fact that the concept of identity, despite being so widely discussed and analysed, should not be taken for granted or considered as easy to grasp.

Johan Schimanski, in his article about the borders of identity and the role of national identity in literature, writes about the history of the concept of identity: "The concept of identity has a history. In this history, the concept wanders between different antipoles: individual/collective, constructed/essentialist" (Schimanski, 2001, pp. 59-60). [Original text in Norwegian: "Identitetsbegrepet har en historie. I denne historien vandrer begrepet mellom forskjellige motpoler: individuelt/ kollektivt, konstruert/ essensialistisk."]

For a long time, identity has been defined based on similarities, on what was considered common to a group. Taking into account the way identities emerge, Stuart Hall has provided in *Questions of Identity* (1996) some of the most comprehensive explanations regarding the concept:

> Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity – an 'identity' in its traditional meaning (that is, an all-inclusive sameness, seamless, without internal differentiation). (Hall, 1996, p. 4)

Identity becomes the result of differences rather than that of similarities. Furthermore, Hall underlines the core function of identities as points of identification, that act through exclusion, and that are defined through what lacks instead of what unites:

> Throughout their careers, identities can function as points of identification and attachment only *because* of their capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render 'outside', abjected. Every identity has at its 'margin', an excess, something more. The unity, the internal homogeneity, which the term identity treats as foundational is not a natural, but a constructed form of closure, every identity naming as its necessary, even if silenced and unspoken other, that which it 'lacks'. (Hall, 1996, p. 5)

In the attempt to rethink identities, Stuart Hall continues to explain his use of the term 'identity':

> I use 'identity' to refer to the meeting point, the point of *suture,* between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us (Hall, 1996, pp. 5-6)

Identity-building and culture are intrinsically linked, because, as Professor Bauman mentioned, these concepts "were and could only be born together" (Bauman, 1996, p. 19). T.S. Eliot was concerned with the evolution of culture – before the related concept of identity, in its modern sense, occupied the scene – and published in 1949 *Notes towards the Definition of Culture,* where he argues that culture cannot be planned, it cannot be induced in an artificial way. In his attempt to define the concept as "the way of life of a particular people living together in one place [...]

made visible in their arts, in their social system, in their habits and customs, in their religion" (Eliot, 1949, p.: 120), he grasps its complexity: "but just as a man is something more than an assemblage of the various constituent parts of his body, so a culture is more than the assemblage of its arts, customs, and religious beliefs. These things all act upon each other, and fully to understand one you have to understand all" (Eliot, 1949, p. 120). Since culture is more than what can be seen at a first glance, Eliot is also aware of the unconscious side of it: "culture can never be wholly conscious— there is always more to it than we are conscious of; and it cannot be planned because it is also the unconscious background of all our planning" (Eliot, 1949, p. 94).

Seeking to open a much needed dialogue on cultural identity and representation, Stuart Hall distinguishes between two ways of thinking about cultural identity: the first one sees cultural identity as "a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common." (Hall, 1990, p. 223), reflecting thus common experiences and providing unchanging "frames of reference and meaning" (Hall, 1990, p. 223). If the first perspective on cultural identity focuses on the fixed elements, on the shared cultural codes, on what is common, the second perspective on the concept highlights its dynamism, its volatility, its capacity to constantly evolve and transform itself: "Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture." (Hall, 1990, p. 225).

Consequently, Hall argues that cultural identity goes through constant changes, without being fixed in the past. It does not represent a safe depository of unchanged elements that secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, since it is "always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth." (Hall, 1990, pp. 225, 226). This perspective on identity is similar to the principle in which Heraclitus of Ephesus believed, namely that the very essence of life is change, a continuous flow which makes it impossible to step into the same river twice (*panta rhei*), since the waters of a river stream incessantly, never the same. The focus shifts from the concept of being to that of becoming.

## Immigrant Experiences. Longing and Belonging

Migration has always been studied as a collective phenomenon, the attention being drawn to statistics, to numbers, rather than people. The focus

moved to the individual only later, when concepts like identity and cultural identity became consistent and more vocal. Personal stories of migration, as they emerge from literature, deserve more attention as they are first-hand accounts from people who experienced things they never had before, who had the courage to embark on a life changing voyage across the Atlantic in search of better prospects.

The world is a vast sea, offering a multitude of possibilities, of perspectives, and, not seldom, one could be compared to a grain of sand in the immense ocean, or to a piece of wood carried away by the waves to unexpected shores. Young Rølvaag left Norway for America in 1896, and, as he was crossing the Atlantic Ocean, he had the image of the vast sea in front of his eyes, with the mountains sinking lower and lower into the horizon, until nothing else remained but a thin, almost invisible line between the sea and the sky. "When nothing more could be seen but a low, rugged cloud bank, I went below, crept into my bunk and bawled like a whipped child. That was my farewell to the Fatherland" (Rølvaag, 1971, p. 20), he confesses in the imagined America letters he published in the volume *Amerika-breve fra P.A. Smevik til hans far og bror i Norge* (1912), which has been translated in 1971 as *The Third Life of Per Smevik*.

Whenever we distance ourselves from the shores, from the familiar surroundings which normally offer stability, and from the people we know and love, we become aware of a certain lack, of a certain loss. This need for anchoring, for filling the void left by this lack, naturally leads to identity questions, and the migrants are those who deal most with identity and belonging issues. They are the ones who leave the culture they have been born and brought up into and choose to live in a different culture. On their way to finding their place in the adoptive culture, they have to face the problems of adjustment, and the difficulties arising from acculturation. Finding themselves caught between the desire to preserve their home culture and the need to integrate in the new one, to find their place in the world, migrants often feel they no longer belong to their homeland, nor entirely to their new land: "We have become strangers; strangers to those we left and strangers to those we came to." (Rølvaag, 1971, p. 126). Professor Orm Øverland emphasizes Rølvaag's idea of the immigrant as a stranger, as a foreigner in his *Immigrant Minds, American Identities. Making the United States Home, 1870-1930* (2000):

> To be characterized as foreign has been central to the experience of so many first- and second-generation Americans who came from a European country other than the United Kingdom that one can only wonder why lexicographers of a nation of immigrants have not noted this meaning of

the word. Migrations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made European immigrants foreigners in an absolute sense. […] On either side of the Atlantic their formal citizenship would not be germane to the identity bestowed upon them by other residents. (Øverland, 2000, p. 1)

The American historian Oscar Handlin, while writing about the American immigration history in his epic book *The Uprooted; the Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*, was among the first who acknowledged that American history is the history of immigrants, as he mentioned in the beginning of the book: "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American history" (Handlin, 1973, p. 3). In his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, he described how emigration uprooted immigrants and what effect it had on their lives:

> Emigration took these people out of traditional, accustomed environments and replanted them in strange ground, among strangers, where strange manners prevailed. The customary modes of behaviour were no longer adequate, for the problems of life were new and different. With old ties snapped, men faced the enormous compulsion of working out new relationships, new meanings to their lives, often under harsh and hostile circumstances. (Handlin, 1973, p. 5)

With so many changes, and different problems to deal with, the immigrants went through a cultural shock that lasted for many years, as Handlin argues (Handlin, 1973, p. 6). In a world so different from what they had been used to, "strangers, the immigrants could not locate themselves; they had lost the polestar that gave them their bearings. They would not regain an awareness of direction until they could visualize themselves in their new context" (Handlin, 1973, p. 85).

Even though the United States was a land of immigrants, how welcomed did the thousands of newcomers from the Old World feel? It is arguable whether the fact that there were so many immigrants, although they were facing more or less the same difficulties in adapting despite the longing for their homeland, made the adjustment easier or not. "They are wanderers to the wide world and often yearn toward the far direction whence they have come." (Handlin, 1973, pp. 231-32), says Handlin; their yearning is the more acute during tough times, uprooted as they may have felt, and the image of the homeland appears as liberating, comforting: "Can ever a man feel really happy condemned to live away from where he was born? Though by leaving he has cut himself off and knows he never will return, yet he hopes, by reaching backward, still to belong in the homeland." (Handlin, 1973, p. 232). Hence, the homeland remains imprinted in the

immigrants' mind, revealing a strong connection to the places in which they lived their lives until emigrating. More recently, Stuart Hall reiterates the importance of the homeland and the need to go back to origins: "It is because this New World is constituted for us as place, a narrative of displacement, that it gives rise so profoundly to a certain imaginary plenitude, recreating the endless desire to return to 'lost origins', to be one again with the mother, to go back to the beginning." (Hall, 1990, p. 236)

Away from the familiarity of the homeland, migrants begin to question their identity, to feel the difficulties of finding their place in a completely new environment, and immigrant literature is a highly valuable source in this sense. Dorothy Burton Skårdal dedicated a complex volume to the study of the immigrant experience of Scandinavians in America as it is portrayed in literature, *The Divided Heart. Scandinavian Immigrant Experience Through Literary Sources* (1974), in which she analyses the immigrants' struggles to adapt to a culture in which everything is strange and foreign to them: "identity and culture belong together. In a stable cultural situation, identity is no problem to the individual; but when a person leaves the culture in which his personality was formed, and plunges into a society whose ways are strange to him but where he means to stay, the confrontation will force him into painful personal change." (Burton Skårdal, 1974, p. 20). This painful personal change is caused by the cultural shock, "common and central to all immigrant experience" (Burton Skårdal, 1974, p. 20), the main theme of Scandinavian American literature.

Ingeborg Kongslien's Ph.D. thesis, published in 1989 as *Draumen om fridom og jord. Ein studie i skandinaviske emigrantromanar* (*The Dream of Freedom and Land. A Study of Scandinavian Migrant Novels*), comes to support the role immigrant literature has in understanding the past. Professor Konsglien underlies the fact that immigrant literature, beyond its primary aesthetic role, is an excellent tool in reconstructing the past, as it teems with first-hand perceptions of the emigration. More than that, it reaches a greater number of readers than historical productions on immigration, shaping people's image of the emigration. (Kongslien, 1989: 13)

Moreover, immigrant experiences, as they emerge from literature, are revealing in what concerns the complexity of acculturation. If promoters of the much longed-for American dream focused on highlighting the opportunities immigrants could find in the New World, little was known about the inner struggles the immigrants faced. As Harold P. Simonson noticed, "the immigrant experience brought something new to the American scene; it brought a contrast between the security of the past and the

vulnerability of the present, and between not only a lost country but a lost youth on the one hand and pragmatic actualities on the other." (Simonson, 1983)

Questions of identity generate questions of belonging, as a result of the longing for a place to call 'home'. Belonging has oftentimes been defined as a synonym of identity, but Marco Antonisch has come up with significant explanations of the concept. The discussion on belonging, Antonisch states, should focus on two major dimensions: "belonging as a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness) and belonging as a discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (politics of belonging)." (Antonisch, 2010). The first dimension is the most obvious of the two, and, due to the emotional connotation attached to it, it makes reference to rootedness, sense of place, and place identity (Antonisch, 2010). Identifying several factors which can contribute to creating belonging as a feeling of home, or place-belongingness, namely auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic, and legal (Antonisch, 2010), Antonisch completes the picture by stressing how important it is that "one's personal, intimate feeling of belonging to a place should always come to terms with discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion at play in that very place and which inexorably conditions one's sense of place-belongingness." (Antonisch, 2010), how one can feel at home in a place only when one is also welcomed and accepted by those who are already there. Belonging to a place, Antonisch says, means also belonging to a group of people (Antonisch, 2010).

Naturally, immigrants felt as strangers upon their arrival in the New World. Everything was new to them: new landscapes, new cities or settlements, new people, new language, and, above all, new ways of seeing life and doing things. Inner conflicts appeared, as they struggled to fit in, urged by the need to find themselves a new home, by the need to belong. The image of the homeland is vital, as it gives them a sense of belonging, although to a distant place. Homesickness, not knowing the language, the fear of not being understood, not knowing what the future had in store for them, all these generated a state of desolation, almost despair, at times. This was the beginning of most immigrant experiences. And yet, the longing and belonging that caused them to feel at a loss at the start of their new lives would be those offering the incentive to move on, to work hard towards achieving their goals, towards finding or building themselves a place to call 'home'.

**Beret Holm in *Giants in the Earth*. Angst in the New World**

America provided the suitable environment for immigrants to develop and achieve success, though not at an easy cost. Ole Edvart Rølvaag was one of them. Leaving Norway as a fisherman in 1896, he worked on farms in South Dakota, and due to his huge desire to learn to write, he enrolled in Augustana Academy, later in St. Olaf College – both institutions founded by Norwegian Americans – only to become a professor at the latter in 1906. After years of hard work, he started writing about the major theme that would occupy his entire life: the journey of the Norwegian settlers in America, and the struggle to preserve their homeland identity and heritage while becoming good American citizens, especially since Rølvaag could see "no conflict between the cultivation of the Norwegian language in America and Americanization." (Øverland, 1979, p. 80)

Rølvaag was, and remained, according to Professor Orm Øverland, a writer between two countries, as his life experience was that of a Norwegian American, and could be understood only by those who had lived it themselves:

> Rølvaag lived in a Norwegian culture in that he felt himself in competition with and measured himself against Norwegian writers rather than American writers about whom he had very little to say. His vantage point, however, was that of an American. The immigrant experience was an American experience and could not possibly be understood by those who had remained in the old country. (Øverland, 1979, p. 78)

However, "what is unique about Rølvaag's texts is their transnational and transcultural nature; Norwegian-American literature is, thus, the term that best defines them." (Kongslien, 2012, p. 177). He did gain recognition in his homeland almost twenty years after emigrating, when he published his books *I de dage. Fortælling om norske nykommere i Amerika* (*In Those Days. A Story about the Norwegian Immigrants in America*, 1923) and *Riket grundlægges* (*Founding the Kingdom*, 1924) at one of the leading Norwegian publishing houses. The books were translated into English by Rølvaag and Lincoln Colcord, and published as one book, in 1927, with the title *Giants in the Earth*. Together with *Peder Victorious* (1928) and *Their Father's God* (1931), the books form a trilogy focused on the story of a Norwegian family settling in the Dakota Territory. The trilogy deals with the difficulties faced by the settlers, both in what concerns the land they are about to conquer, but also in what concerns their relationships,

their sense of belonging and the preservation of their identity in the endless wilderness of the prairie.

The main characters in *Giants in the Earth* are Per Hansa, a Norwegian fisherman whose determination and almost frantic courage lead him to accomplish nearly surreal deeds on his way to becoming a man of the prairie, and Beret, his wife, for whom the traditions inherited from their homeland and her faith in God are the sole comfort in the wretched life she is bound to live in the wild Dakota. Per Hansa and his wife Beret are built antagonistically, each of them having very different views about life. Per Hansa is always busy, working hard to build themselves a good life in America, while Beret feels lost in this new environment, and she constantly looks towards home and the past. They, as husband and wife, seem to want very different things and, in the end, Per Hansa, although successful, succumbs to the harshness of the prairie weather, while Beret continues her existence as a pillar of the settlement's community, a reminder of the religious and moral values of the Old World.

Rølvaag is well aware that rootlessness is a fact in the case of immigrants. In *Giants in the Earth*, he demonstrates how the experience of finding oneself in completely strange environments works either as energetic on some individuals, empowering them to achieve even the unimaginable (Per Hansa), or it can paralyze them, making them feel afraid even of their own shadow, driving them insane (Beret). Beret sees how the distance from family and friends, from the authority of the church, makes her husband do things he would have never done at home, things of questionable ethics. She embodies the old, traditional world in the process of being engulfed by the new world, while showing resistance to change, but a strong attachment to the religious values and principles of her ancestors.

Some literary critics argue that the Norwegians, prone to contemplation due to the long winters they had to go through, and coming from mountainous areas, felt lost in the vast, flat Dakota, and found no natural shelters, nothing to hide behind, just as Beret felt (Simonson, 1983). They felt doomed as their former ties were broken, and there was no way of going back home; "the monotony of the prairie plus a deep nostalgia for the homeland stirred up psychological turmoil in many a melancholy pioneer, unbalancing the personality already inclined toward moroseness by the long dark Arctic winters." (Simonson, 1983)

From the very moment Per Hansa and his family reach the settlement in which they would build their new home, Beret has a bad feeling about the prairie, doubting she could ever feel at home there:

> … Was this the place? … *Here*! … Could it be possible? … She stole a glance at the others, at the half-completed hut, then turned to look more closely at the group standing around her; and suddenly it struck her that *here something was about to go wrong*… For several days she had sensed this same feeling; she could not seem to tear herself loose from the grip of it. … A great lump kept coming up in her throat; she swallowed hard to keep it back, and forced herself to look calm. Surely, surely, she mustn't give way to her tears now, in the midst of all this joy…" (Rølvaag, 1927, 1929, pp. 28-29)

While her husband and the other fellow Norwegian settlers are enthusiastic about the prospects of their new lives in Dakota, Beret doesn't share their joy, sensing the solitude that would await her in the vast prairie: "It reminded her strongly of the sea, and yet it was very different. … This formless prairie had no heart that beat, no waves that sang, no soul that could be touched … or cared. …" (Rølvaag, 1927, 1929, pp. 37-38). Although the broad expanse reminded her of the ocean, she felt the Dakota prairie was devoid of life; the silence could have brought her peace, "if it had not been for the deep silence, which lay heavier here than in a church." (Rølvaag, 1927, 1929, p. 38). Thinking back to their voyage from Norway to America, Beret has the impression they had been caught up in a spinning wheel that doesn't seem to stop: "But it had been as if a resistless flood had torn them loose from their foundations and was carrying them helplessly along on its current – flinging them here and there, hurling them madly onward, with no known destination ahead. Farther and farther onward … always west. …" (Rølvaag, 1927, 1929, p. 40). This continuous swirl, this incessant journey makes her feel as if "she had lived many lives already, in each one of which she had done nothing but wander and wander, always straying farther way from the home that was dear to her." (Rølvaag, 1927, 1929, p. 40).

Beret needs to feel at home, and her home is far away from the godforsaken place Per Hansa had brought her to. A sense of guilt grips her as they begin a new life in the New World; the guilt of having left her home, and her aged parents, sensing she has lost the familiar surroundings of Norway (Paulson, 1995, p. 202). More than that, the evil seems to have gripped them all, all settlers, especially Per Hansa, as they distance themselves from the traditions in the homeland, from the teachings of the Bible, they Americanize their Norwegian names… As time goes by, Beret's fears grow, she becomes more and more distant, behaving strangely in the

eyes of her neighbours, who cannot seem to understand her sensitivity, her longing for the homeland. Kristoffer Paulson manages to synthetize perfectly the fears Beret experiences:

> Beret fears the empty prairie itself and fears its seductive power and its effect on Per Hansa's dream of a material kingdom. She comes to believe that the American pioneering experience is so transforming her husband that he is no longer the good, honest, and loving man she married. She shrinks from what she sees as his increasing ambition and hardening will, his indifference to anything but his singular vision, his American dream of conquest and empire-building. Beret seems negative, fearful, and downright grim. She fears the future, fears God's retribution for her own supposed sins and for Per Hansa's pride that surely will bring destruction on her, on him, and on their family. She fears that his drive to create his Dakota kingdom places him in jeopardy of losing his soul. (Paulson, 1995, p. 202)

The psychological danger in uprooting oneself from the soil of one's origin becomes visible in Beret's case. These wounds caused by the uprootedness would last a lifetime. (Simonson, 1983) She becomes more and more alienated as the settlement grows and develops. The worst is yet to come when a plague appears in the region, as the Bible says about the plagues of Egypt. Hordes of locusts devastate the land. As Per Hansa had been the first to seed and then to harvest, he was the only one saved by the plague. All the others' crops are destroyed by the insects, which are threatening as they fly everywhere in huge numbers that Beret's anxiety reaches paroxistic heights. Her only refuge is the family chest, the one she had inherited from her parents, where she tries to hide together with the children, being convinced they would be all soon engulfed by the evil which surrounds them. She felt helpless in front of the evil: "Beret, who, locking her past inside a trunk, stood a stranger in the American wilderness, a place of crisis where light and dark held tryst and where the terror beyond the promontory filled the earth and sky." (Simonson, 1983).

Beret's angst would never disappear, but a communion service held by a Norwegian Lutheran priest who wandered through the prairie managed to bring her peace. The family chest, in which she kept all the treasures from the homeland, and her refuge during the locust plague, would become the altar for the ritual of communion; she would eventually find inner peace, especially after Per Hansa refuses to give his newborn, Peder Victorious, to his friends who were worried Beret was not capable of taking care of due to her condition (Paulson, 1995, p. 207). God's divine grace and Per Hansa's love are the antidote to Beret's disquietude, but she would never feel she belonged to the prairie.

## Conclusions

The quest for identity in the case of immigrants is poignant. Once the ties with the homeland were broken, there was no way back. Modelled in the Old World, they had to deal with the challenges of the New World, all the time trying not to lose themselves. Beret Holm is a symbol for the price paid by immigrants in going to America, as she struggles to hold on to the past, to the familiar and meaningful life she had lived in the homeland, not willing to sacrifice these ties (Simonson, 1983). In contrast to her husband, Per Hansa, who is closer to the figure depicted in the frontier myth, demonstrating independence, will and character, Beret, though appearing weak, demonstrates "a sense of belonging to what gives life wholeness and consecration" (Simonson, 1983). Rølvaag created in Beret a character who "knows that true strength and wholeness eventuate within relationships, not apart from them. From relationships within one's native culture as well as from those beyond it comes strength greater than the autonomous self, even though empowered with imagination, is ever able to generate." (Simonson, 1983). Most likely, Beret is the vessel that carries forward Rølvaag's belief, namely that only by preserving their cultural heritage can the immigrants know their true selves. He must have, of course, felt guilty for leaving Norway, and he "always retained a sense of loss of something his new country could never give him. Thus, he can let Beret speak with such conviction." (Øverland, 1979, pp. 84-85).

No matter how much one tries to adjust, one will always carry the seeds planted in the home country, the memories and longing for the past will always be present. Although the pioneers tried hard to find their place in the New World, they would always remain strangers longing, consciously or not, for the old home while feeling a little lonely in the vast prairie. Professor Orm Øverland may have provided the most pertinent conclusion: "Although the gains for the immigrant were many and significant, the losses were irreparable and the greatest loss is the tragedy of alienation" (Øverland, 1979, p. 81).

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Oittinen (Oittinen, 2000, p. 6). Le texte de jeunesse s'adresse donc principalement aux enfants, bien qu'il ne leur soit pas exclusivement destiné.

La littérature scandinave de jeunesse est peu traduite en roumain, malgré sa qualité. Une des raisons pourrait être la difficulté de mettre en équilibre les références sociales, historiques ou culturelles qui se retrouvent dans le texte et la réalité du lecteur.

Le livre *Ninja Timmy och de stulna skratten*, écrit et illustré par Henrik Tamm, est paru en Suède en 2014. Il a été traduit en plusieurs langues, dont le roumain.

Oittinen qui définit la littérature de jeunesse comme une littérature écrite, produite et lue par les jeunes (Oittinen, 2000, p. 61).

En effet, le problème du destinataire dans la littérature de jeunesse représente un point important dans la traduction, idée soutenue montrée aussi par Roberta Pederzoli dans le titre de son ouvrage (Pederzoli, 2012). Mais ce n'est pas le seul dilemme qui nous concerne. La position du traducteur est également centrale. « Pour qui écrit-on ? » et « Pour qui traduit-on ? » sont deux questions qui indiquent des réalités complémentaires, si l'on pense au côté culturel, souvent différent d'un pays à l'autre, et que le traducteur doit prendre en considération avant de commencer son travail. Oittinen affirme que lorsqu'il traduit un texte, le traducteur – soit-il de littérature de jeunesse ou non – transporte sa propre richesse culturelle. Souvent, lorsque le destinataire est adulte, nous partons de l'idée que la traduction est plus complexe et que le travail mené par un tel traducteur est plus difficile. Lorsque le destinataire est l'enfant, le texte traduit semble simplifié, pour ne pas dire simpliste, ce qui fait que la liberté dont jouit le traducteur est plus étendue que la liberté de traduction d'un autre type de texte (Tarif, 2015).

Pour voir quels sont les enjeux de la traduction de la littérature de jeunesse suédoise, plus précisément dans le livre d'Henrik Tamm, *Ninja Timmy och de stulna skratten* [*Ninja Timmy et les rires volés*] (Tamm, 2013), nous allons nous appuyer sur la fausse simplicité du texte littéraire et des techniques de traduction, sur la relation mot-image, ainsi que sur la manière employée par le traducteur afin de rendre les aspects culturels propre aux pays nordiques et de maintenir leur exotisme et leur spécificité.

## De l'image au texte

Henrik Tamm est un illustrateur suédois de rénom qui s'est intéressé à la littérature de jeunesse. Ses projets romanesques impliquent des textes pour enfants, mais également des romans historiques pour le grand public. Nommé souvent « citoyen du monde » à cause de ses multiples voyages à travers la mappemonde, Tamm fait référence dans ses ouvrages aux lieux visités. Né en 1972, en Suède (à Halmstad), il passe sa petite enfance en Tanzanie, au Pakistan ou au Pérou. Le clivage entre les cultures occidentales et orientales auxquelles il fut exposé en tant qu'enfant s'observe aussi dans *Ninja Timmy,* par l'intermédiaire des expériences-limites vécues par ses personnages. Sa carrière d'illustrateur conceptuel à Hollywood commence à 19 ans, quand il s'installe à Los Angeles. Depuis, il a travaillé pour créer des films tels *Shrek* et *Le Monde de Narnia*. De ce fait, il est frappant de constater que le premier projet littéraire d'envergure pour cet auteur suédois, la série

sur Ninja Timmy, a eu un grand succès non seulement en Suède, mais aussi à l'étranger. Jusqu'à présent, Tamm a écrit quatre livres et un cinquième roman est en route, tandis que la série a déjà été traduite en onze langues. En roumain, l'éditeur a obtenu les droits pour les deux premiers livres sur Ninja Timmy publiés en suédois, aux éditions Bonnier Carlsen, en 2013, mais seulement le premier volume, *Ninja Timmy och de stulna skratten* [*Ninja Timmy et les sourires volés*] fait l'objet de notre article. Timmy est un chat qui a comme copains un vison (Simon), les frères cochons (Jasper et Kasper) et Alfred, le fabricant de jouets merveilleux. Ils vivent dans une ville fictionnelle nommée Elyzandrium où ils fondent une bande ninja et partent à la recherche des voleurs, pour installer la paix dans les quartiers.

     Ce qui est très intéressant dans ce roman écrit par un illustrateur, c'est que le texte en soi fonctionne comme un métatexte autoréférentiel par rapport à l'image, dans la mesure où il brise les conventions narratives et mêle de différentes techniques présentes dans la cinématographie. Notons, par exemple, que le dialogue est souvent accompagné ou précédé d'une description de la scène et de ce que les personnages vont faire. Tout se passe comme si le dialogue en soi ne suffisait pas et que le message devrait être rendu par le biais de l'image, des répliques, mais aussi de la description. La structuration de l'action en vue de rendre la lecture plus facile et visuelle, est parachevée par une oscillation entre l'image et le texte, parfois superflue. C'est pourquoi, dans la traduction en roumain, nous avons dû défaire le discours narratif, tout en différenciant d'un côté entre le dialogue et le reste du texte et d'un autre, entre l'espace textuel et l'espace visuel.

| Texte original (en suédois), p. 192 | Traduction en roumain |
|---|---|
| Timmy kände hur hoppet dalade. Så det var för sent. Den Blå Kaninen hade gjort sig av med henne. | Motanul a simțit cum i se risipesc speranțele. Așadar, au ajuns prea târziu; Iepurele Albastru s-a descotorosit de ea. |
| "Du dödade henne!" | -Ai omorât-o! a urlat el*. |
| "Dödade henne?" Kaninen gjorde den där fruktansvärda skrattliknande grimasen igen. "Varför skulle jag göra det? Jag sa ju att jag övervägde att hålla henne vid liv och sedan bestämde jag mig för att göra det." | -Omorât? a zis Iepurele schițând din nou grimasa aia îngrozitoare, în loc de zâmbet*. De ce-aș fi omorât-o? Doar ți-am spus că m-am tot gândit dacă să o țin în viață sau nu. Dar apoi m-am hotărât. Așa că încă trăiește. |
| Timmys hjärta hoppade till av lycka. Den Blå Kaninen fortsatte: | Inima lui Timmy a tresăltat de bucurie. |
| "Men tyvärr så måste jag meddela att hon kommer med mig. Jag tycker om hennes livfullhet. Hon har … hur säger man … gnista. Just det, gnista. Precis vad jag behöver. Och när jag väl har en själ, en riktig själ, då kommer hon att lära sig att älska mig och vi kommer att resa iväg tillsammans. | -Dar din nefericire trebuie să te anunț că o s-o iau cu mine, a continuat Iepurele*. Îmi place însuflețirea ei. Are ceva…cum să zic…ceva înăuntrul ei, ca un fel de scânteie. E fix lucrul de care am nevoie acum. Și după ce o să capăt și suflet, un suflet adevărat, o să învețe să mă iubească și vom fugi împreună în lume. |
| | *C'est nous qui soulignons. |

Après avoir transformé les descriptions évoquées en haut dans des répliques, pour rendre le dramatisme de la scène et souligner la dynamique du texte et de la conversation entre le Lapin Bleu et le chat Timmy, nous avons vérifié si l'image correspond pour de vrai à ce fragment. La stratégie que déploie Tamm est, paradoxalement, de couper la continuité textuelle et de mettre ainsi en œuvre une symbiose entre le visuel et l'écrit. Cela se passe, peut-être, comme l'indique José Yuste Frias dans son article « Traduire le couple texte - image dans la littérature pour l'enfance et la jeunesse » parce que, lorsqu'on « [...] traduit des textes à images on constate que l'image n'est pas universelle, qu'elle peut avoir un sens différent, voire étranger, d'une langue à l'autre, d'une culture à l'autre » (Frias, 2011, p. 38).

Prenons pour exemplifier la scène de la page 190, qui précède l'échange de répliques entre les personnages. Elle se compose d'une série de phrases qui sont coupées par l'insertion d'une page entière avec des illustrations. Au traducteur, donc, de contextualiser les actions et de télescoper l'accent de l'écrit vers l'image.

| Texte en original (en suédois) |
|---|
| p. 190 |
| "Maskinen är färdig, fortsatte han. "Ni kan inte |
| p. 191- illustration |
|  |
| p. 192. |
| stoppa den. Eller mig. Ni besegrade mina iguanakaptener. Bra gjort! |
| Men mig kommer ni aldrig att kunna besegra. |

La structuration de la page signale non seulement l'image qui sépare, mais aussi deux espaces à temporalités différentes, puisque le texte surprend le dialogue entre les deux personnages, tandis que l'illustration montre leur rencontre. Le décalage entre les deux scènes et l'oscillation entre le virtuel infini et la réalité finie introduit un effet dynamique, où le traducteur détient un rôle central.

Le problème du paratexte s'avère être essentiel dans *Ninja Timmy*. Le traducteur a la possibilité de franchir le seuil vers une nouvelle étape de l'histoire et refaire la linéarité du roman à l'aide du puzzle des illustrations. José Yuste Frias soulignait d'ailleurs par rapport à cette idée dans « Au seuil de la traduction : la paratraduction » que:

> Ces signalisations paratextuelles semblent ne pas faire partie du contenu du texte à traduire et ont été considérées plutôt comme son enveloppe, son habillage. Or, ces marques constituent une incitation à traduire d'une certaine manière, à paratraduire. Car le traducteur sait très bien que l'ensemble de différents types de paratextes aident à construire l'image du texte traduit comme le fait le regard avec l'objet. Si les paratextes présentent les textes, les paratraductions présentent les traductions (Frias, 2010. pp. 287-316).

Notre apport en tant que traducteur a été dans ce cas de mettre en balance le texte et l'image pour retrouver le fil rouge du roman et donc faciliter la lecture d'une histoire qui donne à lire, mais aussi à voir.

## La « fausse simplification » de la traduction

Conformément à *Svenska Barnboksinstitutet*, les publications de littérature de jeunesse représentent en Suède environ 10 % de la production totale des livres (Gossas & Lindgren, 2015). Mais, lorsqu'il s'agit de la traduction de ces textes en roumain, il existe une tendance de traduire les ouvrages par l'intermédiaire de l'anglais. C'est pourquoi, pour nous, le fait de traduire le livre *Ninja Timmy och de stulna skratten* directement du suédois a été une étape essentielle quant à l'appropriation du contenu. Mais traduire directement du texte original n'implique pas toujours une traduction de qualité. Pour qu'on puisse parler d'une traduction « heureuse », il faut qu'il y ait une solution aux difficultés du texte, de sorte que le lecteur soit tenu en haleine et que la lecture en roumain soit intéressante, linéaire. Le lecteur adulte risque, dans ce cas, de classer le livre de jeunesse dans la catégorie des lectures simples. Il faut préciser que, bien que le texte semble être simple du point de vue de la narration et des techniques romanesques, la façon dont Henrik Tamm construit ses phrases indique une « trompeuse simplification » qui s'accompagne d'une « fausse infantilisation » du

message transmis. Parlant d'Elena Paruolo et de son expérience en tant que traductrice de littérature ludique, Muguraş Constantinescu présente quelques règles propres à cette activité, que nous considérons très importantes quant à notre texte :

> Premièrement, la règle d'or de cette activité, dictée par l'évidence et le bon sens : traduire du simple est plus difficile que traduire du compliqué car il s'agit en fait d'une trompeuse simplicité. Deuxièmement, ne pas infantiliser, en le traduisant, un texte déjà écrit pour les enfants ou qui, par certaines couches s'adresse aux enfants, connu donc dans sa culture d'origine, comme texte appartenant à la littérature de jeunesse (Constantinescu, 2007, p. 231).

Les difficultés du travail mené par nous, traducteur de littérature de jeunesse, ont été multiples, puisque nous avons dû prendre en compte le message de l'auteur, la réalité présente dans le texte en suédois, les intérêts du lecteur, son niveau d'expérience, etc.

Prenons par exemple la construction des propositions dans *Ninja Timmy*. Apparemment, la syntaxe du suédois dans ce texte n'est pas difficile. Cela ressort assez clairement dès la première lecture : sujet, verbe, complément. Nous avons rarement des cas où les propositions s'entremêlent pour former une phrase et presque jamais des fragments qui indiquent une double signification :

> "Timmy koncentrerade sig. Han såg kisande på mässingsgångjärnet som han försökte skruva fast i den komplicerade träkonstruktionen". (p. 2).
> "Timmy era foarte concentrat. Privea cu ochi pătrunzători balamaua de alamă, încercând să asambleze complexa construcţie de lemn". (Notre traduction en roumain).
> "Timmy était très concentré. Il a regardé furtivement la charnière en laiton qu'il voulait visser dans la structure en bois compliquée". (Notre traduction en français).

Mais, des fois, cette apparente simplicité s'avère être une complexité. Plusieurs éléments peuvent être pris en considération ici. Tout d'abord, le niveau de langue indique des mots spécialisés, que l'on utilise d'habitude dans la technique « charnière », « laiton », « visser » et que nous avons traduit tout en utilisant un dictionnaire de synonymes, pour trouver le terme le plus connu. En plus, la phrase peut contenir des renvois ironiques ou culturels, que seulement les adultes peuvent comprendre et qui n'empêchent pas, apparemment, la lecture. L'écrivain alterne entre le lecteur enfant et le lecteur adulte au niveau du sens, par donner à ses phrases de degrés différents de compréhension :

> "Han hade därför bestämt att Gribblarna skulle sluta hos honom. Oturligt nog för dem så betydde det döden. Men det borde de ha förstått. De borde

ha sett det finstilta i kontraktet. Vem lusläser inte sina kontrakt? Och visst, självklart hade de blivit upprörda. Men vad kunde han göra? Om ryktet spred sig att den Blå Kaninen var vek mot sina anställda skulle det bli kaos. Anarki. Nej, det skulle inte gå an". (p. 119).

"Așa că s-a hotărât să scape de verișori. Din nefericire pentru ei, asta însemna că aveau să moară. Era convins că mistreții o să-i înțeleagă decizia, pentru că toate astea erau scrise migălos în contractul pe care îl semnaseră. Și cine nu citește cu multă atenție contractele pe care le semnează? Că aveau să se supere, era ceva absolut firesc, dar ce putea face? Dacă s-ar răspândi zvonul că Iepurele Albastru e milos cu angajații lui, s-ar instala haosul, anarhia. Nu, nu putea lăsa să se întâmple una ca asta".

Ensuite, il y a eu le problème du temps verbal. En roumain, la traduction d'une narration peut se faire avec l'imparfait, le passé simple ou le passé composé. Si dans les textes pour le grand public le passé simple prédomine d'habitude, les textes de littérature de jeunesse oscillent entre le passé composé et le passé simple en fonction de l'âge du groupe cible et d'autre critères administratifs.

Quant au sujet des contraintes éditoriales de la traduction, Bernard Friot affirme dans son article « Traduire la littérature pour la jeunesse » : « Un livre traduit doit donc trouver sa place dans une collection qui a ses caractéristiques propres, sa ligne éditoriale, sa présentation graphique, voire un nombre de pages fixés à l'avance! Cela contribue à modeler fortement son interprétation, au-delà du travail de traduction *stricto sensu* » (Friot, 2003, p. 51). Or, pour intégrer notre traduction dans la lignée de la collection dont elle ferait partie, l'éditeur a demandé expressément l'emploi du passé composé, mesure qui a imposé une certaine restructuration de la phrase originale et des dialogues :

| Texte en original (en suédois), pp. 5-6 | Traduction en roumain |
|---|---|
| Nu kunde inte Timmy hitta gångjärnet han sökte efter, och han tittade upp på Simon. "Har du ett extra gångjärn där borta?" Simon kastade över ett till Timmy och sa: "Dra inte åt det för hårt nu som du gjorde sist, så att pluggarna åker ur." Timmy log. "De måste sitta hårt för att fjädringsmojängen ska fungera", svarade han självsäkert. "Dessutom, min käre minkvän, så är det din uppgift att se till att träpluggarna sitter som de ska." Han tittade upp och flinade. "Använd massor med lim." | Timmy nu-și mai găsea cealaltă balama, așa că l-a privit pe Simon și i-a zis: - Ai vreo balama în plus pe-acolo? Simon s-a uitat în jur după una, i-a aruncat-o și i-a răspuns: -Nu înșuruba prea tare, ca data trecută, că altfel se desprind niturile! -Dar trebuie să stea bine prinse pentru ca mecanismul cu arc să funcționeze, i-a spus motanul. A zis toate astea uitându-se zâmbitor spre Simon. În plus, dragul meu prieten nurcă, este responsabilitatea ta să verifici ca niturile de lemn să nu se desprindă. N-ai decât să pui mai mult lipici. |

Troisièmement, il y a eu le problème de certains termes qui changent de genre en suédois et en roumain. Simon, l'ami de Timmy, est un vison. Si le mot en suédois est masculin - « en mink » -, le personnage étant en plus une sorte de symbole de la masculinité, la traduction en roumain est « nurcă », terme au féminin. Dans ce cas particulier nous avons dû remplacer quelques adjectifs par des mots où le sens n'indiquent pas une ambigüité, mais nous avons choisi de ne pas traduire les noms, pour maintenir la spécificité du texte original.

## Les difficultés de traduire les aspects culturels

Une notion importante dans le contexte de la traduction des aspects culturels est représentée par l'horizon d'attente du lecteur adulte (Simeonidou-Christidou, 2006). Cependant, pour le lecteur enfant, les références sociales, historiques, culturelles se trouvent en arrière-plan, l'auteur ayant comme intention non pas le désir de brouiller le sens de la narration, mais, au contraire, de l'enrichir, de faire découvrir une autre culture, une autre mentalité. Cette pluralité du sens est un principe dynamique de la production textuelle dans *Ninja Timmy.*

Contrairement à d'autres romans fictionnels de jeunesse qui décrivent avec beaucoup de détails les personnages, nous avons assez peu de termes employés pour rendre l'image du Lapin Bleu: « grand », « haut », « bleu ». Un aspect culturel intéressant qui revient pourtant dans sa description, est le fait qu'il aime manger des produits de pâtisserie. Un lecteur familiarisé avec la société scandinave sait que les Suédois sont parmi les plus gros consommateurs de bonbons en Europe, tout comme il sait qu'une des règles les plus connues est que les enfants peuvent consommer des gâteaux seulement en week-end. Dans *Ninja Timmy*, Le Lapin Bleu adore le sucre. Cette caractéristique d'un personnage négatif peut paraître surprenante et superflue pour un lecteur non avisé. Toutefois, un connaisseur comprend que la méchanceté du Le Lapin Bleu est d'autant plus suggestive surtout parce qu'il ne respecte pas les règles et décide de faire ses prisonniers parler tout en les « torturant » avec des gâteaux:

| Texte en original (en suédois), p. 154 | Traduction en roumain |
|---|---|
| Sedan fick han en idé som kanske skulle kunna lugna ner den ilskna kattflickan.<br><br>"Vill du lukta på en bakelse?" frågade han. | Iepurele Albastru i-a întors spatele și s-a dus către o masă de unde a luat încă o prăjitură. Apoi i-a venit o idee care ar fi putut s-o calmeze pe pisica furioasă.<br>-Vrei să miroși o prăjitură? a întrebat-o el. |

L'expression des sentiments est aussi une question culturelle, surtout parce que le livre est construit autour du discours du Lapin Bleu et de sa quête : la découverte d'une âme. L'archétype de l'initiation acquiert dans ce roman une pluralité de sens, puisque ce n'est pas seulement Timmy, le chat, qui part à la recherche de soi-même pour sauver le monde. C'est aussi au Lapin Bleu, son ennemi, d'essayer de devenir humain. Si le bût de la quête du lapin est particulièrement impressionnant, les moyens utilisés pour le faire – le vol des sourires des enfants – ne le sont pas du tout. Le Lapin Bleu, marginalisé et autoexilé, s'avère être finalement un jouet. S'il se console de sa marginalité par son ton ironique et sa vision du monde, il recherche également une âme, essayant de ressembler aux gens qu'ils détestent. Ce paradoxe entre le désir de domination et la quête de l'émotivité s'expriment dans le texte par le biais des phrases interrogatives.

| Texte en original (en suédois) | Traduction en roumain |
|---|---|
| "Hur mår du? Jag hoppas att mina pojkar inte gjorde dig illa, fortsatte han". (p. 152) | -Cum te simți? Sper că băieții mei nu te-au rănit, a continuat el. |
| "Du tog barnen. Varför gjorde du det? I vilket syfte?" (p. 190) | -Ai luat copiii, a spus el nervos. De ce ai făcut asta? Ce sens are? |
| "Dödade henne?" Kaninen gjorde den där fruktansvärda skrattliknande grimasen igen. "Varför skulle jag göra det?" (p. 192) | -Omorât? a zis Iepurele schițând din nou grimasa aia îngrozitoare, în loc de zâmbet. De ce-aș fi omorât-o? |
| "Va? Vem där?!" (p. 194) | - Ce-ai zis? Cine e acolo? a întrebat Iepurele. |

La tâche du Lapin Bleu de se trouver une âme demeure inaccomplie. Mais comme il ne peut pas mourir, parce qu'il n'est pas vivant, le temps et la durée s'assimilent dans son cas dans une sorte de temporalité seconde qui a la potentialité d'accueillir un nouveau départ, une nouvelle tentative d'humanisation. Or cette temporalité particulière a été difficilement transposable en roumain. D'un côté parce que Le Lapin Bleu aime bien son distance au monde, tout comme les Suédois. Sa marginalité, son exil n'ont pas les mêmes connotations dans la culture roumaine, que dans la société suédoise. Son désir de trouver l'amour n'équivaut pas à l'amour des films hollywoodiens où la spontanéité est essentielle. Le Lapin Bleu ne tombe pas amoureux, il veut apprendre à aimer et à être aimé. Il n'il y a pas de sentiments dans sa vision sur l'amour. C'est une action comme toutes les autres, d'où la difficulté de traduire les scènes liées à cette problématique. De l'autre, parce que la lutte entre le bien et le mal n'est pas présente ici en tant que contraste entre le blanc et le noir. Le Lapin n'est pas tout à fait méchant, il est capable d'avoir des amis, de s'intéresser aux autres. De même, Alfred ne le haït pas, mais, tout au contraire, il est dévasté par sa

disparition. Il s'agit plutôt des attitudes différentes en fonction du contexte présenté, à la manière de ce que François Mathieu appelle un « état de lieux » (Mathieu, 1997).

## Conclusion

Le roman *Ninja Timmy*, nourri d'une connaissance de la réalité suédoise et d'une intention pédagogique, nous impressionne d'autant plus que l'activité centrale de l'écrivain Henrik Tamm est celle d'illustrateur à Hollywood. Ces pages sur la tolérance, sur l'importance de la lecture ou du sourire ont rendu notre travail de traducteur très difficile, puisqu'au-delà de traduire un texte nous avons dû transmettre la même vision du monde. Dans la traduction nous avons essayé de ne pas infantiliser le langage et de rendre les aspects culturels propres à la société suédoise de manière intéressante et vraisemblable, tout en tenant compte du fait que le destinataire du texte est le lecteur enfant et que le rôle du traducteur est celui de capter son attention pour ce genres de livres.

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# IV. Masa rotundă / Round Table

# The Role of Foreign Languages
# in European Universities.
# Local, National and International Perspectives
## (13th June 2019)

In order to mark the 25th anniversary of the Department of Foreign Languages for Specific Purposes, the organisers of the conference on "The Dynamics of Specialised Languages" have decided to bring together LSP specialists and practitioners, as well as members of the academic body and international organisations responsible for supporting and promoting language learning in Europe. Their shared concern for ensuring quality in the process of language teaching and learning and for implementing a sustainable language policy has resulted in a fruitful exchange of ideas on the following matters:

- multilingualism;
- the role of transversal departments (e.g. LSP/language and/or communication departments or teams) in their universities;
- language policies and the collaboration between content experts and language teachers;
- LSP departments and students' needs and expectations;
- benefits and challenges of teaching foreign languages in general and LSP in particular;
- sharing strategies for promoting LSP research.

The list of invited speakers included: Manuel Célio de Jesus da Conceição representing the European Language Council, the University of Algarve and CLUNL NOVA in Portugal, Monica Fekete and Liana Pop from the Faculty of Letters at Babeș-Bolyai University, Veronica Armașu and Nicolae Șera from the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration at Babeș-Bolyai University, Anda Crețiu from the University of Art and Design in Cluj-Napoca, Ruxanda Literat from the Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, Mihaela Mihai from the University of Agricultural Sciences and Veterinary Medicine in Cluj-Napoca, Anca Ursa from the University of Medicine and Pharmacy in Cluj-Napoca, Diana Cotrău, Cristina Felea and Elena Păcurar as hosts and members of the

Department of Foreign Languages for Specific Purposes at the Faculty of Letters, Babeș-Bolyai University. As attendance to the round table was open to an international audience, the working languages were both English and French.

**Elena Păcurar**

**Elena Păcurar**: Dear colleagues, I wish to thank you for joining us and for agreeing to take part in the round table session. As previously agreed, we have decided to invite our keynote speaker Prof. Manuel Célio de Jesus da Conceição to open the floor to discussions with a brief overview of the main activities and projects supported by the European Language Council. After that, we will proceed to sharing our perspectives on the role of foreign language instruction in and outside the academic system, in English or French, according to preferences. Prof. Conceição, please!

**Manuel Célio de Jesus da Conceição**: My colleague, Diana Cotrău, who is the representative of Babeș-Bolyai University in the European Language Council, suggested to the organisers to disseminate the activity of CEL/ ELC to use 10 minutes or so to present the activities of CEL. Unfortunately, Diana has a health problem and cannot be present here today, so I have been asked to do it on her behalf. Is it possible to do it in French?

**E.P.**: Yes, of course, you can switch from English to French.

**M.C.C.**: Le Conseil européen pour les langues est une association européenne qui a été créée il y a une vingtaine d'années à la demande de la Commission Européenne pour qu'il y ait une représentation unie des gens qui font des recherches en langues. Et on entend *langues* dans le sens le plus vaste : les langues, les métiers des langues c'est-à-dire traductions, interprétations mais aussi l'enseignement des langues, tout ce qu'il y a à voir avec les langues dans l'enseignement supérieur. Donc, c'était fait à l'origine, ça a été créé à la demande de la Commission européenne pour qu'il y ait un interlocuteur pour les organismes européens avec qui discuter des questions des langues et des politiques linguistiques en Europe. Ça a été créé par un professeur allemand, un collègue qui s'appelle Wolfgang Mackiewicz de l'Université Libre de Berlin et l'idée a été de mettre ensemble les universités, les centres de langues, les facultés, les associations de traducteurs, d'interprètes, les fédérations, enfin tout ce qui a à voir avec les langues. Et le Conseil Européen pour les langues a réussi à mettre ensemble plus de 200 institutions en Europe, entre universités, associations de traducteurs enfin toute sorte de choses. Et c'est donc une association suivant le droit belge, belge parce que la Commission est à Bruxelles et que le droit belge a des droits spécifiques sur l'association donc il n'y a pas d'impôt etc. Le siège officiel est à Bruxelles, à L'université Libre de Bruxelles, juste une question d'arrangement mais il y a des universités qui sont membres. L'Université de Cluj est un des membres depuis la fondation de cette association. Donc Cluj a été repéré à l'époque parce que c'est une université trilingue au sens où les langues avaient une grande importance

par la situation géographique avec le hongrois, l'allemand et le roumain. Et donc le représentant de Cluj à l'Université de Bruxelles a été pendant longtemps le professeur Stefan Oltean, souvent parfois aussi remplacé par la professeure Rodica Baconsky dans certaines réunions autour de la traduction. Le représentant suivant a été Monica Fekete qui a représenté après cette université. En ce moment c'est Diana Cotrau qui représente. Alors qu'est-ce que fait ce conseil ? Au début quand les langues étaient importantes pour la politique européenne, ça a été pendant longtemps une espèce de stakeholder de la Commission. C'est-à-dire quand la Commission a voulu lancer tous les programmes de plurilinguisme, multilinguisme ou des *thematic network in languages* et toute la recherche et les langues Erasmus etc. le Conseil Européen pour les langues a été consulté dans l'élaboration des programmes européens en rapport avec les langues. C'était un crescendo, c'est arrivé au moment le plus important pour les langues où nous avons eu même un commissaire en Europe dédié seulement aux langues qui était le roumain Leonard Orban. Donc vous savez à la Commission il y a une vingtaine de commissaires, enfin ça dépend des pays, il y avait un commissaire qui avait la fonction de gérer le multilinguisme en Europe. Et depuis, non seulement il y a plus de commissaire pour les langues mais comme il n'y a plus de dignité pour les langues, les langues à Bruxelles pratiquement ont disparu. Et en ce moment les langues sont dispersées entre la DG Employment, la DG Research and Innovation, la DG Justice etc. Les langues n'ont plus d'espace particulier parce qu'elles sont partout. Ils disent *embedded languages*, *languages are embedded*. Mais *embedded* veut dire partout et nulle part. C'est-à-dire qu'en fait il n'y a plus de programme pour tout ce qui est multilinguisme pour tout ce qu'il y a eu pendant longtemps. Et donc Le conseil européen pour les langues essaie de récupérer de l'espace dans l'agenda pour que les langues deviennent une affaire de tous encore une fois parce qu'il est clair que les objectifs posés par la Commission n'ont pas été atteints, l'un des objectifs qui était une langue plus deux après, bon, rien de tout ça mais rien n'a été atteint. Ça n'a pas marché. Ce qui s'est passé c'est que l'anglais pas l'anglais de l'Angleterre mais l'anglais de Bruxelles l'anglais européen a pris une place très grande et les autres langues se voient remplacés à un état secondaire tertiaire. Et ce que l'on fait au Conseil en ce moment on a restructuré l'organisation. Ça s'est fait au début quand j'étais président et on continue ; moi j'étais président du Conseil Européen entre 2012, 2013- 2016 je sais plus exactement et ce que j'ai essayé de faire d'abord…ça a une importance et je vous le dis pourquoi. Il y avait beaucoup de membres du Nord de

IV. Round Table

l'Europe, il y a beaucoup d'Anglais quand je dis du Nord c'est-à-dire des non latins, non slaves donc beaucoup d'Anglais, beaucoup de Danois, Finlandais, beaucoup de Suédois, des Allemands, des Hollandais et puis il y avait un petit portugais comme ça tout seul et puis il y avait des Français mais des Français qui ne parlaient que anglais, il y avait quand même une Suisse tête comme tout qui insistait en disant « je ne parle que français ». Et ce que j'ai essayé de faire et j'en suis très content et très fier d'avoir réussi c'est d'avoir déplacé le centre du Conseil Européen pour les Langues du Nord de l'Europe vers le Sud. Et j'ai contacté pendant longtemps des collègues, avec l'aide d'autres collègues aussi, d'ici aussi, contacté des collègues de Roumanie, de Pologne, parce que les Slaves n'en faisaient partie non plus, aussi de Grèce, de Roumanie, d'Italie d'Espagne et on a fait entrer du monde latin, ce qui a énervé beaucoup le Nord parce que du coup la discussion ne portait plus seulement sur les cadres conceptuels nordiques mais l'on tenait compte de l'Europe du Sud. Or, l'Europe du Sud a des besoins linguistiques complètement différents de l'Europe du Nord et ça a tellement énervé les Nordiques que les Danois sont sortis. Parce qu'ils ont dit que c'était impossible de gérer avec ces gens espèce de Gipsy roumains, des sous-développés Portugais, des bruyants Espagnols mais on est restés. Par exemple on a fait rentrer 18 universités espagnoles comme ça d'un coup, 4 universités grecques, 12 universités polonaises, la Croatie est rentrée en force, la Slovénie qui n'était pas non plus. Donc on a un peu retrouvé ça et j'en suis très fier parce que je pense que le Conseil européen des langues est une association qui représente à peu près l'Europe…sauf la France ; la France est très mal représentée parce que les français sont trop franco français en se disant « uh c'est pas notre affaire ». La personne qui représentait les Français était une prof de Bordeaux qui soutient que tout doit se faire en anglais et lors des dernières élections elle n'a pas été réélue pour le bord. Donc pour aller vite je vous conseille pour toutes ces informations de consulter notre collègue Diana qui est la représentante et qui peut vous donner et qui siège au bord de l'administration. Sinon nous avons produit ce poster ; ça a été produit par un collègue de l'Université d'Anvers essayant de synthétiser. Nous allons essayer de mettre le logo de CEL à toutes les conférences européennes pour qu'il soit connu et que les gens sachent. Donc veuillez trouver dans le site, qui est très simple à trouver, sur google si vous tapez www.celelc.org vous trouverez tout ce qui a été fait, tout ce qu'on est en train de faire, tout ce qu'on veut faire, comme on veut le faire. D'abord, je vous explique, c'est une question d'argent parce que sans argent on ne peut pas fonctionner. Le Conseil Européen pour les

langues ne fonctionne en ce moment que sur les paiements de cotisations de ses membres. On n'a plus du tout de subventions européennes. On a eu beaucoup de subventions européennes à un moment mais on n'a plus du tout. Donc chaque membre à titre institutionnel paie 250 euros par an mais en échange il reçoit une revue indexée du publiant qui est *European Journal of Language Policy*. Donc en fait chaque membre paie la revue. C'est tout. Il n'y a pas d'autre argent. C'est une revue bilingue publiée par Liverpool University Press qui est indexée, dans laquelle on peut publier et nous sommes à la recherche désespérément d'articles an français. La revue est publiée en français et en anglais mais on a du mal à trouver des articles en français parce que tout le monde nous dit « moi je veux que mon article soit en anglais, je n'écris pas en français parce que l'anglais a plus de points». Nous voulons leur dire le contraire exactement, voilà. Voilà c'est ce qu'on fait. Pour en finir, en ce moment nous avons réorganisé la mission du conseil, nous avons travaillé sur trois axes que j'ai mentionnés ce matin, trois groupes de travail ; il n'y a pas d'ordre enfin. Il y en a un qui s'appelle « Langue et droit », qui est coordonné par le professeur Maurizio Viezzi, de l'Université de Trieste, professeur d'interprétation. Il travaille beaucoup sur les questions des langues par rapport au droit, à la migration, à l'interprétations, les interprètes communautaires, aux langues en situation de santé, dans les hôpitaux, pour l'asile, pour tout ce qui a à voir avec les droits pas seulement les droits humains mais les droits au sens général, les rapports avec les langues. Donc médiation, traduction et tout ça. Un autre axe qui est « Langue et éducation », qui est coordonné par Piet Van de Craen, de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, et qui se divise après en plusieurs sous-groupes et qui travaille sur le CLIL dans l'enseignement supérieur en français, sur CLIL et CALL, qui travaille avec les ordinateurs, sur les niveaux curriculum dans l'enseignement supérieur par rapport aux changements qui se produisent et sur la formation des enseignants surtout dans les centres de langues. Et d'ailleurs cette année la conférence annuelle que nous organisons et qui se tiendra fin novembre à Bruxelles et le sujet sera précisément langue et éducation, le changement de l'éducation au niveau européen. Et puis un troisième axe dans lequel je m'insère et que je coordonne qui est « Langues et sciences », l'importance de la langue dans la recherche scientifique et du multilinguisme dans le cadre de la recherche scientifique. Ça n'est pas tombé du ciel. D'ailleurs la dernière conférence qui était à Berlin le mois de décembre, je vous dirai un mot là-dessus, les langues et la science, on a invité un physicien un géographe un climatologue un historien un chimiste. On leur a demandé de nous expliquer comment la

langue était importante pour leur discipline. Il n'y a pas eu de linguistes du tout. Il n'y avait que des scientifiques au sens que c'étaient des gens sérieux pas comme nous. Par exemple, Jean Marc Lévi-Leblond qui est un physicien et il nous a montré comme la diversité linguistique l'aide à progresser dans les équations machin les théories compliquées de la physique. Et ceci pour en terminer. Le Conseil a longtemps travaillé sur des projets européens qui étaient issus de la réflexion de ce Conseil. D'ailleurs Diana nous parlait ce matin d'un exemple de projet européen DYLAN Dynamique langagières qui est un gros projet européen, l'autre projet européen dont on parlait ce matin, MIME ce sont des projets de 5 millions d'euros donc vous voyez ce que ça donne c'est beaucoup de monde, ce sont des projets issus non du Conseil mais de la réflexion qui se produit dans le Conseil qui permet après de faire des candidatures donc c'est des petits enfants du Conseil et d'autres vous les trouverez sur Internet. Toutes les informations sont là. Merci.

**E.P.**: I would like to invite anyone who wishes to take over and pick up on the idea of the importance of such bodies and organisms in regulating quality language assurance and policies. I have to mention that besides the people who are normally attending the conference, we have special guests today. I'm going to start from my left with Nicolae Șera and Veronica Armașu. They come from the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration. Liana Pop comes from the Faculty of Letters, and so does Monica Fekete. You have met Monica earlier today. Cristina Felea is my colleague, member of department, devoted member of department, and she is almost as young a member of this department as the department itself.

**Cristina Felea**: [laughs.] Yes. Thank you! Thank you for emphasizing that.

**E.P.**: Yes, our history has been greatened thanks to Cristina. Ruxanda Literat and Sonia Munteanu come from the Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, Andra Crețiu from the University of Art and Design, Cluj-Napoca, Anca Ursa represents the University of Medicine and Pharmacy, and Mihaela Mihai comes from the University of Agricultural Studies and Veterinary Medicine. They are all members of similar departments or similar teams that have to do with the teaching, testing, language instructors for LSP students and not only LSP students. Cristina, perhaps a few words on behalf of the department? No more suitable person to represent the history of the department or to say a few words about it as well as Liana Pop.

**C.F.**: I would like to invite Liana to start...

**E.P.** (cont'd): Liana is a former head of the department before Diana. Before my time, so to say. So, we can switch from English to French.

**Liana Pop**: Je n'ai absolument rien préparé, donc je suis très contente d'être parmi mes anciens collègues et sujets, avec qui j'ai lié beaucoup d'amitiés, de liaisons et ça a été effectivement une expérience pour moi, comme on le dit ici, entre les langues et les domaines spécialisés. Enfin, après, en tant que femme savante que je me réclame, j'ai eu beaucoup de déceptions parce que tu parlais de Français qui ne parlaient que l'anglais, donc j'ai eu beaucoup de déceptions dans mon travail scientifique quand j'ai vu que mes recherches n'étaient pas visibles et je n'étais pas visible avec ces travaux en français. J'ai trouvé ça inadmissible surtout qu'on avait le Conseil Européen des langues surtout qu'on avait le droit à ces langues qu'on représentait. Même ma thèse d'habilitation, par une mauvaise compréhension des politiques linguistiques dans les universités de Roumanie devait être écrite en anglais et j'aurais dû soutenir ma thèse d'habilitation en anglais alors que je suis moi-même professeur de français. J'ai refusé, j'ai défendu le droit du français à la science tout ça et on ne m'a pas refusé ça, ce qui est une bonne attitude à mon avis. Et je parle là aux autres langues que l'anglais parce que je sais que la majorité vous êtes pour l'anglais mais il faut absolument qu'une discrimination qui est trop évidente pour les autres langues que l'anglais dans la science, dans les recherches etc. dans l'enseignement ne se produise plus et à mon avis c'est très important. Mais c'est vrai enfin, je reconnais, je parle un peu anglais, je me débrouille, je lis en anglais tout ça, mais il faut absolument que chaque langue puisse s'exprimer dans tous les domaines. Et j'ai voulu formuler mon point de vue vis-à-vis des langues qui deviennent minoritaires à part l'anglais et avec ça je vais terminer : j'ai récemment entendu, pas moi-même, mais j'ai entendu que le vice-recteur Daniel David qui est responsable pour la recherche scientifique à l'université nous a lancé un appel « Ecrivez en roumain ! » Parce qu'on n'écrit plus en roumain, les revues en Roumanie, si tu publies en roumain, elles n'acceptent pas qu'on publie en roumain, donc toutes les revues se convertissent à un plurilinguisme, tout ce que vous voulez, et le roumain n'est plus représenté en tant que langue scientifique, ce que je trouve vraiment catastrophique. C'est pour vous dire qu'il faut absolument lutter pour toutes les langues, il faut encourager la diversité et voilà je suis contente de voir ici une diversité de langues représentées n'est-ce pas, Nick [Nicolae Şera]?

**M.C.C.**: Je contribuerai avec un exemple, Liana. C'est quand même un mouvement. Personne n'a rien contre l'anglais. C'est pas ça la question.

L'anglais va devoir se développer en tant que langue de connaissance, pas en tant que code, une charabia que personne ne comprend. Parfois les Anglais disent « surtout ne parlez pas anglais parce qu'on ne vous comprend pas » parce que c'est pas de l'anglais, c'est n'importe quoi. Personne n'est contre l'anglais, on n'a rien contre la langue mais prenons cet exemple : Le gouvernement hollandais a fait sortir une loi l'an dernier fin octobre qui interdit aux universités d'avoir plus de 40 pourcent de diplômes en anglais parce que beaucoup d'universités hollandaises en étaient à 80, 90 de tous les cours en anglais ; et maintenant ils ont besoin pour se réadapter pour revenir sur le hollandais. Le hollandais disparaissait de l'enseignement supérieur. On est à ce niveau.

**L.P.**: C'est la notion d'internalisation.

**E.P.**: Monica, I think you would agree, with your expertise in internationalization.

**Monica Fekete**: C'est pas notre cas parce que nous avons un nombre réduit de programmes en langues étrangères sauf la Faculté des Lettres évidemment. Et donc une petite suggestion pour vous aussi en ce qui concerne la dimension d'internalisation, vous pouvez intervenir auprès de vos facultés, c'est de tenter de composer, d'instituer des programmes conjoints avec des universités européennes ou pas parce que vous êtes spécialistes pas seulement des langues mais vous avez un domaine de compétences transversales et c'est fondamental pour toutes les facultés où vous enseignez notamment géographie histoire etc droit parce que vous avez la chance. Nous comme Faculté de lettres nous avons la chance que notre département de langues étrangères, langues de spécialité, enseigne presque à toutes les facultés de l'université, plus ou moins 18, sauf les 2 autres facultés où enseigne l'autre département aussi. Mais c'est une suggestion pour vous aussi parce que étant donné ce nombre extrêmement réduit de programmes dans une langue non seulement en anglais mais français ou d'autres langues devrait être une chance de réussite pour vous aussi de pouvoir pénétrer sur cette filière et de tenter d'internationaliser votre département. J'ai noté avec une grande satisfaction que dans les deux dernières années j'ai vue des initiatives d'établir des contacts et surtout de formaliser ces contacts à travers des accords Erasmus. C'est l'unique programme dont on dispose maintenant qui est financé ? Autrement nous avons des accords interuniversités mais le problème du financement, le manque de financement, est un problème majeur donc j'espère que quelque chose dans l'avenir va changer. J'espère.

**E.P.:** Veronica, we do share a very similar profile inside the same University.

**Veronica Armașu***: I am afraid I do have to turn to English...*

**E.P.** [laughs]: Back to linguistic imperialism!

**V.A.:** Yes, I mean no discrimination against our French speaking colleagues here. I do represent the Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication within the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, together with my colleague, Nicolae, who teaches French. There has been a lot of controversy as to whether or not we do have a purpose, and whether or not we should continue our activities within the Faculty of Economics. And Elena and I know very well that there are financial reasons very, very often brought to table and we do fight with decision-making factors, let's call them, individuals or bodies that very often do not consult as, do not turn to us as professionals, as experts in the field. Within our department there are people teaching English, but there are also teachers and researchers teaching French, Spanish, Italian, German and we have been trying very hard for the last three years to keep it together, to have this added value that should not only demonstrate that indeed we do have a purpose, but we have been teaching courses to students ranging from, you know, the first year of studies, second, third, we have a Master program which unfortunately was stopped, because this has not been profitable enough last year. So what I am trying to say is that teaching modern languages applied to economics is what we do and we have been doing it since 1990. But it has been more difficult in the last two year to prove that yes, indeed, we do have something unique to offer. And together with our colleagues within the Faculty of Letters we have tried to show that there is a long-term value to what we do as teachers, as professors and as researchers as well. About 2 years ago, I guess, we collaborated on the mediation project which was an extremely welcomed opportunity and I think that the question I would like to ask on behalf of all 24 people of our department is to what extended do you think financial reasons should dictate what type of feedback we should allow from the dean's office, from the rector's office, why not? Do you think that they should be the ones deciding over such programs and the curricula?

**M.C.C.:** [laughter] I don't have the answer. I wish I had the answer. In Europe people think that we don't need languages. All over the Europe we just say: "Foreign languages? What for? We don't need them!" We have Google to translate, we have YouTube to see whatever, we have I don't know what to see I don't know what and there is no need to know another language. So this is a question that is posed everywhere in Europe,

unfortunately. However, I think that asking whether or not it is profitable is not the right question; it is the wrong way to see the role of higher education in society. Why do we need universities? Similarly, we can very well ask why study Mathematics in the university? What for?

**E.P.**.: It's not profitable.

**M.C.C.**: Not profitable at all. The same goes for History or Psychology. Why? First of all, I think it's a question of awareness and trying to explain to people that you cannot be a real economist and an international player if you just know one language. That's one question. Another question is the relationship with colleagues from different content areas. Perhaps we need to further investigate this relation. I don't know the particulars of your case, but in some other cases language departments have been put away or they put themselves away, segregated themselves from the content departments. So this is the wrong way to do things. First of all, perhaps try to show them, and use their own examples, to show that they need languages. Because it's not a question of teaching English just for fun, they have to make decisions within the International European Central Bank, for example, and yet they are not interested in learning foreign languages. So the solution is to try to raise awareness, to explain to them...I know it's not a direct answer to your question which was why everything is oriented on profitable vs. non-profitable. But the bigger question is: why do you need education in society? You can very well choose not to have an education. Don't waste money on education. It's the same question, but you will need to ask it using the proper terminology, the proper register, the proper rhetoric, the specific rhetoric for economy and for management. Make them aware that it's not just a matter of speaking French or English, but that you need to be properly trained to use specific terminology for economics in that language. So the question is to show them that this is a real need. Perhaps we all failed when we didn't raise awareness about our role in society and the role of languages. I think we have to be proactive and more collaborative.

**C.F.**: Show that your expertise is indispensable…

**E.P.**: Cristina Felea has had such a wonderful experience of collaborative work, and working side by side and together with a content teacher and a colleague and a friend of ours Liana Stanca. They have been working together for several research projects. Cristina, would you like to say a few words about...?

**C.F.**: Yes, if it fits here, I think it fits here.

**E.P.** (cont'd): I think it's very important as it somehow tackles Veronica's question on whether financial constraints are supposed to dictate what we can do, what the possible solutions are. Collaborations with content teachers might be a solution.

**C.F.**: Well, mine is a little bit of a story because Liana Stanca is a teacher and researcher in computer science at the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, but she also teaches computer science for non-specialist. So it is similar in a way with what we do. I shall use this personal experience to illustrate a career path that tried to keep pace with the extraordinary changes brought about by globalization and also by technological advance. You know that these are all complex phenomena that we cannot ignore. It all started with a translation job, because I'm also a translator or at least I was. I am no longer an active translator but I used to be when Liana and I met. However, I used to translate mostly literary texts. So, my friend Liana wanted me to translate to English a research article in Computer Science that used a lot of statistics, two very specialized areas that I had no experience with. She was convinced that a language expert like me would have no problem in doing so, it will be just a word to word rendition of her text and everything would be fine. As you might expect it was not so. Yet our sort of maieutic, mutual maieutic at that time required that we understand each other and reach some common ground. This was the basis of a process of mutual discovery and a quest for finding a common ground that could be expressed through language. Yet, low and behold, it was kind of scary since many languages emerged from this interaction, our native language, the foreign language, the language of science, the language of programming, all with many other layers and varieties. Next we realized that we had a keen interest, the both of us, we had a keen interest in didactics, that is in finding ways to communicate with and to our students to ensure the learning outcomes are relevant for the job market they were preparing for. So together we tried to build a learning environment that would bridge brick and mortar. At that time Web 2.0 was dawning on us and online experiences were becoming more common and we founded our research on a complex needs analysis based and derived from the theory of Languages for Specific Purposes which was really useful at that time because it included not only students' needs, which was expected, but also the context of the change in terms of skills anticipated to be necessary. And our purpose became clear: to find modalities to improve participation, students' participation and their skills needed for lifelong learning, which was gaining attention at that time, as well as job market integration. We tried to maximize learning opportunities and we

started building all sorts of platforms and e-learning instruments, trying to keep the pace with what was happening around us. Gradually it became apparent that the main concept applying to our disciplines was *transversality*. And that working together was no longer optional, but was becoming a must, both for us as researchers and teachers and for our students. For example, in order to cater to the specific needs of our students we need to pay attention to attributes such as learner profiles, personal learning paths, competency-based progression and flexible learning environments. In the era of big data, the analysis methods provided by my colleague helped me adapt my methods, tools and materials and then research their impact so as to improve them constantly. Sharing all these with colleagues and fellow researchers all over the world can be done now with the help of Open Education Resources, with open courseware and projects and text books and other digital tools. Inviting students and future employers to participate in such education and research project is also no longer optional. I share the opinion that a permanent curricular redesign based on complex and dynamic frameworks that promote transversal competencies, such as foreign languages and programming languages, because both of them are indispensable at this time in our history, should be implemented not only to keep abreast of technological advance, but also to be able to identify the new skills that our society may need in the future. And, by order of consequence, improve the academic offers. So transformational pedagogies, I don't know how familiar you are with Learning by Design that is meant to embed multiliteracy such as language literacies and so on, are no longer optional but a must. To conclude, while I'm not sure that we live in a post digital era, our current experience shows that living online and offline is becoming more and more a seamless experience. So we no longer segregate offline from online. And we need to be ready to bridge the digital and real worlds in which the young people of today live and will live in the future. I think that tirelessly negotiating common ground with our colleagues of other specialisations is the only way to help us build solid foundations for a liveable and reasonable future where I'm sure we all have our special place. I'm sure of that. Thank you.

**E.P.**: Thank you, Cristina, and I guess this is very important as it is one of the best examples of good practice in the field of cooperating with the content experts. I am very curious to find out if there are any other similar success stories. How far do you collaborate, do you draft projects together, and do you get involved in curricula planning maybe, formulating language policy documents together with the content experts? So my question would be: How do we make ourselves visible to the content experts?

**Ruxanda Literat:** Are you inviting me? This is an important issue, we also deal with it and we also communicate with students and teach students how to deal with professional situations. Now, I have to introduce not only myself, but also my colleague, Sonia Munteanu. We represent the Technical University in Cluj, so we can safely say that we are the most exposed to the advancement of technologies, one way or the other. Our department has an experience of over 60 years, it was founded before 1989…

**E.P.:** It is one of the oldest transversal departments found in Romanian universities.

**R.L.:** Yes, that is true. Now, in reference to our topic which is the relationship with the content teachers, the professional collaborations between the teaching staff and the language instructors. I would say that it really exists, especially in our case, and it is facilitated by the fact that we have teachers that have classes with students only from one faculty, from one specialisation. For example, Sonia mainly has students in Computer Science. The majority of them choose to study English. It is debatable whether studying only English is useful for them, so, together with the dean of the faculty we have also introduced French and German groups, two languages which are in high demand right now, so we are promoting other languages besides English, although the study of English is important for our department. I can say that we are lucky, in the sense that two years ago all the curricula were revised in accordance with the new ARACIS standards, and the mandatory study of foreign language was introduced. It was not mentioned how many classes per week, but what was mentioned was the number of semesters, which in our case is four. Some faculties have reduced the number to one hour per week, taking into account their needs, not necessarily our needs, their financial needs first and foremost, but, all in all, we remained, over the years, a significant and important department. So, there are all sorts of ingenious strategies and procedures that we have to cope with and we also have to be willing to negotiate. What I have learned one way or the other in the past two years is to negotiate deal by deal with the head of the eight faculties, to convince them to give us something in exchange when they decide, for instance, to cut the number of classes, so that we can continue to provide the best foreign language training to our students.

**E.P.:** Thank you, Ruxanda. So the engineers will be leading the way obviously, as they usually do [laughter]. What about the artists and the medical specialists, what have they decided?

**Anda Crețiu:** I must tell you from the beginning that my University is probably the smallest in the country. We only have two Faculties, the Fine Arts and the so-called "Decorative Arts" plus Design and my department belongs to the second, mostly for financial reasons. We are actually a transversal department because we teach all the theoretical disciplines and the languages are part of the theoretical core. So we teach all the students there. They are quite different, they belong to different areas: painters, sculptors, photographers and so on. So the content is quite different, even though everybody thinks that art is just art. But I must say I was lucky from the very beginning because when I arrived there my artist colleagues had a chance to exhibit abroad, to gain international visibility, and they needed their texts to be translated to English. And well, I tried to do it, but I was at the beginning, I tried to translate the information and it was only later that I found out that it belonged to a specific genre, that this is what I was supposed to deal with. That there was a specific terminology I needed to learn. However, the important aspect is that they understood very quickly that if they wanted to gain international visibility, they needed foreign languages. And we had three of them at the beginning, we had German, we had French and English. Now we only have English and French.

**E.P.**: So your theoretical department transverses together with other content experts maybe?

**A.C.** (cont'd): Yes, we need to work with them, we need to work together so that the students can access whatever they need to access, because everybody wants to sell their work abroad, everybody wants to become known internationally. And actually they have managed to do so, they have been very successful lately. I don't know whether you're aware that we have probably one of the best sold painters, Adrian Ghenie.

**E.P.**: Is he a product of your University?

**A.C.** (cont'd): Yes and he is not the only one, we also have others. So yes, they do need foreign languages and they understand that. This didn't stop the management from reducing the number of language classes, however. But we still have four semesters in the first year, just one hour per week, and then two hours per week in the second year. We are somehow managing to offer the students what they need and they tell us they need.

**E.P.**: So they do communicate?

**A.C.** (cont'd): Ah yes, yes. And the students have to read a lot of bibliography in foreign languages, English mostly but other languages too. Our library is very well endowed with mostly English bibliography, for contemporary art especially, but not only. Of course, things could be better,

much better. We also have to deal with very large groups of students per class, which can prove problematic, but we do the best we can to manage the situation.

**E.P.**: Thank you, professor Crețiu. Anca, what about the University of Medicine and Pharmacy? Are you a hybrid department, a transversal department? Do you get to mix with the content teachers as well?

**Anca Ursa**: Sont séparées, en fait, toutes les disciplines dans tous les sens ; on a son bâtiment, on a ses professeurs et on a peu de contacts, malheureusement, avec des professeurs qui enseignent les disciplines de spécialité ; j'ai peu des réponses aujourd'hui et beaucoup de questions, une multitude de questions à propos de la partie linguistique, de la partie culturelle etc. On est chanceux, en fait, la part des spécialistes ici vont peut-être, va obtenir des réponses qui nous aideront faire bon dans ce défi des langues aujourd'hui, dans les spécialités pour objectifs spécifiques. Pour comprendre un peu le contexte, moi et notre collègue, Maria Grosu qui se trouve à côté, nous enseignons le roumain pour les étrangers et on a deux lignes : française et anglaise ; on enseigne le roumain comme langue étrangère à partir de la première année jusqu'à la troisième année ; exemples de, pour dire quelques exemples de bonnes pratiques, tout d'abord, et après je vais poser mes questions. On a eu un bon projet, en fait, qui est très fonctionnel, Madame la Professeure Liana Pop, en fait, le connaît, il s'appelle « Tandem Linguistique », il a été initié par notre collègue Aurora Băgiag ça fonctionne après cinq ans encore, on a couplé, en fait, sur une plateforme un roumain et un étudiant, un étranger qui… ça peut être un allemand, un espagnol, etc. avec un roumain et pour changer, en fait, des bonnes pratiques dans sa langue maternelle. Quelque chose d'autre. Pour revenir à la collaboration avec les professeurs des qui enseignent les autres disciplines, les disciplines de spécialité, en fait, c'est ma première question : « Comment faire pour amplifier le degré de réfléchir, en fait, de réflexion, sur les besoins linguistiques ? ». En fait, notre objectif se dessine pour servir à nos collègues dans le stage pratique, ça peut être la discipline de sémiologie, disons, dans les hôpitaux avec les patients roumains, ça peut être dans les contextes où on utilise le roumain dans les, pendant les laboratoires, etc. – comment faire pour obtenir des réponses vraiment révélatrices parce que d'habitude on dit comme ça « c'est bon, c'est pas bon », la réponse est d'habitude, on a essayé de parler avec les professeurs qui enseignent par exemple la *reumatologie* [rhumatologie], on a dit : « lorsqu'il n'y a des Noirs, vos étudiants, NOS étudiants en fac, lorsqu'ils sont ici, dans la clinique, pendant la cinquième année, ils parlent très bien le

roumain, c'est bon ». Parfois, on reçoit ce genre de messages : « ils ne se débrouillent très bien, ils ne se débrouillent pas dans les contextes où, par exemple, le patient parle un peu, disons, comme dans la Transylvanie », c'est pas le langage littéral, c'est [*rires*] ok et il faut prendre en considération que nos étudiants sont en ce moment pendant la troisième année lorsqu'ils rencontrent ce genre de patients à A2, B1, peut-être, comme ça. Quelque chose d'autre, après ce genre de sujets, j'ai essayé, en fait, d'assister et il faut – je vous l'ai dit - à quelques, je sais pas, des laboratoires, des cours de sémiologie, dans les hôpitaux et les collègues des autres disciplines ont été d'accord à y participer et on a vu, en fait, que l'analyse des besoins qui s'est basée avant sur des questionnaires, sur des interviews, etc. a été un peu marginale pour les choses importantes par rapport à ce qu'on a vu se passer. Et on a repensé, en fait, les objectifs et, à partir des objectifs, la part d'évaluation et, à partir de l'évaluation, les contenus tout comme ça. Et maintenant, ma question à propos des collègues qui attendent, qui ont des attentes de part de nous, de notre discipline, c'est comme ça : « Comment faire pour éviter cette pression d'enseigner seulement les compétences orales parce qu'ils nous disent tout le temps : Nos étudiants ont besoin de communiquer à l'oral ; évitez l'écrit, oubliez l'écrit ! Ils n'ont pas besoin d'écrire, ils ont besoin de parler avec les patients, c'est ma deuxième question : « Comment faire, comment peut-on construire toutes les competences en roumain?

**Nicolae Şera**: Alors, comment peut-on les aider a rédiger les rapports sur la maladie, par exemple?

**A.U.**: Ils ne doivent pas écrire, ils font seulement l'anamnèse au patient

**N.Ş.**: Et quand ils seront des médecins…en Roumanie ?

**A.U.**: La plupart d'entre eux, ils partent, ils le savent. Ils sont ici pour faire leurs études et après ils partent, alors c'est un peu difficile de garder l'équilibre.

**E.P.**: Veronica, you do have teachers in your department that teach Romanian for international students?

**V.A.**: We used to have…

**E.P.**: So, you no longer do? I was just asking to see if you could mirror the situation.

**V.A.**: Not quite, she's teaching Hungarian-speaking students. They come from the Hungarian communities in Romania.

**E.P.**: So it is Romanian as a second language…

**V.A.**: Exactly, we have about 40 such students at our university. However, I would just like to make one additional comment concerning our collaborations with the private sector and how they change the way we teach content. It is quite interesting because it is not necessarily about languages, it is more about intellectual humility related issues. You get feedback from them that goes beyond teaching language, but rather touching upon the soft skills they need. It is difficult to change someone's mind set when they are hired. So, this is extremely interesting and has contributed a lot to the way we teach content. Human resource managers or departments are aware of what a "profit and loss account" or an "income statement" is. But when you ask the question "Why that is?" or "Can you tell me what do you think the reason behind this or that is?", so when it comes to critical thinking, being open-minded, identifying the rationale behind a certain issue, employees tend to have problems. As a result, we have made many content-related changes over the last two years based on such feedback.

**E.P.**: I agree. Changes in curriculum redesign are to be expected. This was actually the topic of our presentation earlier today. Roxana and I were conducting a study on how to address the question of curriculum redesign based on the responses we got from undergraduate and graduate students, from the employers and also from the content teachers that we interviewed. Roxana, I think we reached a similar conclusion in our study, right? There is more focus, more demand for soft skills rather than hard skills, for transversal skills rather than highly specialised skills. And I think that we ended our session with some rhetorical questions: "What is the purpose of individuals specialising in LSP? Are we are preparing our students for something beyond LSP, beyond the narrow LSP field?

**C.F.**: LSP is dynamic because we deal with language. So whether they are hard skills or soft skills, you have language at your disposal to do whatever it takes, you have a larger room for manoeuvre.

**Roxana Mihele:** Our conclusion was that we have to interrogate our students constantly, every four, five years or so, regarding their needs, their perception of fields, because as professor Conceição said earlier, we will have to prepare students for jobs that do not exists nowadays, jobs that could be very popular within 10 years, 15 years, so we will need to prepare them for more than just the content related to Tourism, for instance. Or any other field for that matter.

**C.F.**: I think the job market tells you a lot, much more that students can, because sometimes they don't even anticipate the fact that on the job they will most likely be asked to engage in creative, critical thinking or use

their soft skills and team work abilities and so on. As students, they are not yet aware of these aspects. I know from my friend Liana who organised meetings between students and stakeholders – that is, future employers – and they said "We are not that interested in content, that is in hard skills, we are more interested in the way you can fit in our team, because everything else you will learn on the job." I think this is valid for all of us, for our work experience. We are all confronted with the practical, rather than the theoretical aspects of our professions.

**R.L.**: I would also like to add one aspect. Last year, I was invited to a meeting organised by our Faculty with 14 representatives from companies coming from Transylvania, from Leoni Bistrița, from Jucu and so on, an opportunity for content and language teachers to discuss with specialists in the field. And the surprise was that every single representative, very straight forwardly, directly, said they are interested in two things when interviewing applicants for a job. Firstly, they are interested in their communicative abilities. Secondly, they are interested in their knowledge of foreign languages and only thirdly do they inquire about the applicant's specialisation, about his or her knowledge of field-specific content. I asked them why communicative and foreign language skills were top priorities, given the fact that they do have translators hired, and they promptly answered that before employees might require the services of the translator, they have to be able to establish direct contact with the costumers, with partners, on the phone, in writing or in person, to be able to convince them to choose a certain product and provide additional explanations. That is why communicative skills are necessary. And I think this could be an open question for us, at least within the foreign language department of the Technical University: What are the best methods to include communicative skills in our syllabi, to bring them closer to the real needs of the professional environment.

**E.P.**: Mihaela, would you tell us a few words about your department?

**Mihaela Mihai:** Yes. Good afternoon and thank you for the invitation. We are not a formal department of the University of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine, we are embedded as you said, so we can say that we are everywhere and nowhere, basically. However, in recent years we have managed to be more visible, beyond the usual translation work or projects related strictly to translation work. Because we are a relatively small university, with all the faculties in the same campus, we are a close-knit community, or at least that is how I perceive it. So, we are privileged to have more direct interactions with the Rector or the Vice Rectors, and as a

result of these fruitful talks, we have managed to present a language strategy based on the model provided by Babeș-Bolyai University. And what we achieved was a sort of standardizing or labelling of the curricula in such a way that all specialisation can have the same number of classes per week. So we have two classes, two hours per week for the first year – which is mandatory and students can choose between English, French, or German (only in the case of two of our Faculties) – and the second year is optional, in the sense that their credits do not amount to the 60 credits they have to gather per year. However, we to are confronted with language hegemony – I teach English so I guess I am safe [laughter] – since, last year, for instance, in the Food Science Faculty, of about 100 students, only 2 opted for French, despite the fact that we have multiple projects, we have the *Centre de Réussite Universitaire*, we have a lot of gastronomy related projects, French cuisine, we have a French line at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, alongside and English line. So theoretically, students are provided with the opportunities to actually be proficient in French and use their knowledge in French. Nevertheless, the large majority of them choose English so we are confronted with large heterogeneous groups of students, we have elementary students with upper-intermediate students in the same group, sometimes even forty students. What we cannot do officially, we do secondarily, we organize contests, public speaking contests, dealing with the soft skills that are so important today. We are part of a ROSE project regarding Secondary Education. I personally work with students in organizing debates, so we are trying to find ways to add value to their official language training. There are just four of us, so we do what we can. Thank you.

**E.P.**: Thank you, Mihaela. I think one of the possible solutions or answers to some of our almost rhetorical questions is gatherings such as this one, inviting people from very similar fields and coming together under a certain umbrella whether we decide to formalise these nice meetings or not. Thank you very much for coming here today and I would like to invite everyone to join us for the coffee break and hopefully continue our fruitful discussions!

Voices: Thank you! [Applause]

*Transcript by Bianca Bretan, Vlad Dobroiu and Georgiana Todoran*
*Final revision by Eugen Wohl and Horia Căpușan*

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