RESEARCH CENTRE FOR SPECIALISED TRANSLATION AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest
Department of Foreign Languages and Communication

UTCB

BEYOND WORDS AND INTO THE MESSAGE. BUILDING COMMUNICATION ACROSS LANGUAGES, MEDIA AND PROFESSIONS

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Coordinators:

Titela VÎLCEANU **Carmen ARDELEAN** **Mălina GURGU**

Editor:

Marina-Cristiana ROTARU

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FOREWORD

Research is a major factor for the professional development in the field of academia. It is an expression of teachers' top results and, at the same time, the chance for sharing innovative methodologies, theoretical approaches and innovative practices in a wider framework, for the benefit of young teachers and researchers.

For many years, the Research Centre for Specialised Translation and Intercultural Communication in UTCB has had the honour of being the main organiser of various national and international conferences, round tables, Authors' Day events, summer and winter schools for students whereby experience and youth have had a chance to meet and learn from each other. Conference proceedings are published in separate volumes, while individual articles are published in our biannual Scientific Journal.

Our events have welcomed the presence of celebrated academics from universities in Romania and abroad, along with top researchers in the fields of cultural studies, teaching methodologies, translation and conference interpreting, literary and comparative studies. We constantly appreciate these participations, as a guarantee for interesting projects of cooperation, for the purpose of extending the areas of specialised communication, in view of increasing research awareness and the level of proficiency of each of our teachers.

The present volume, *Beyond words and into the message. Building communication across languages, media and professions*, includes the contributions of participants in our fourth International Conference, covering topics related to the theory and practice of translation, discourse analysis, terminology and semantics issues, as well as aspects of foreign language and Romanian language teaching methodologies. This volume stands proof of teachers' and researchers' interest in continuing this tradition in the future.

All the studies herein have been blind peer-reviewed and comply with the international rules of originality and correct rendering of bibliographical sources.

The volume opens with the extended version of Professor Titela Vîlceanu's keynote speech on entropy or loss in translation, focusing on the semantic, pragmatic and cultural values bore by the literary text, while discussing fundamental notions for the bilingual translator: readership's structures of expectation, text-type, equivalence, translation methods and procedures, culture-bound items. Following an outstanding plenary presentation, Professor Vîlceanu proposes a convincing journey through the realm of cultural and linguistic equivalence in literary translation, in which translators play a major role.

A wide range of studies follows, focussing on topics such as the translator's role as cultural mediator; technical translation – errors while translating into non mother tongue; specialised translation; localisation; teaching foreign languages and Romanian for foreign students; interdisciplinary challenges; aspects related to terminology; literary studies; discourse analysis focusing on wooden language, popular science and so on.

The diversity of the subjects proposed by the participants in our conference prove that humanistic studies cannot be restricted to a limited number of topics, and that innovative approaches and the resulting debates are bound to enrich an area of research which has already proved its validity and value.

We are proud to see that, under the auspices of the Research Centre for Specialised Translation and Intercultural Communication, young contributors are determined to leave their mark on contemporary research, thus ensuring that Translation Studies, Cultural Studies and the field of Humanities have a bright future.

The role of conference volumes is to ensure that ideas remain available for future readers, in a pool of wisdom, enthusiasm and creativity. We live in a world of constant human and technological development, in which, regardless of any fears, the role of culture and cultural mediators is secure and blooming. As part of this new multicultural world we are aware of our complex role as both trainers of future generations and gatekeepers of universal values.

Assoc. Professor Carmen ARDELEAN

Director of the Research Centre for

Specialised Translation and Intercultural Communication

LOSS IN TRANSLATION? BILINGUAL SYNONYMY AND CULTURAL INTERTRAFFIC

Titela VÎLCEANU

Abstract: The paper features an interdisciplinary landscape in addressing the topical issue of entropy or loss in translation at the semantic and cultural levels. Mainstream literature associates translation (as product or process) with partial transfers from the source language and culture to the target language and culture within the broad framework of equivalence*.* The bilingual translator embarking on the translation of a text should be aware of such notions as standards of *readership's structures of expectation, text-type, equivalence, translation methods and procedures*, *culture-bound items*, etc. We envisage literary translation as boosting context sensitivity in order to achieve and operationalise equivalence at the structural and functional levels. We aim to demonstrate that literary translation will, more often than not, unearth the hidden agenda, contexting the implicit and explicit semantic, pragmatic and cultural values.

Keywords: *bilingual synonymy, cultural translation, contexting*

Introduction

Etymologically, *translation* derives from the Latin verb *transducere – to carry over* and it used to be referred to as *translatio linguarum – the translation of languages* as opposed to other kinds of translation like *translation studii – the translation / transfer of knowledge*. Throughout centuries translators were aware that this kind of activity required much more than intuition and a protocol of experience. Besides the production of the target language text, translators and translation theorists are concerned with the rules – linguistic and not only (making up the ethics of translation) governing this linguistic and socio-cultural behaviour.

The bilingual translator embarking on the translation of a text should be aware of such notions as *standards* of *readership's expectations, text-type, equivalence, translation methods and procedures*, *culture-bound items*, etc. There is also the idea of the translator’s decision-making as indicated by the notions of *choice* or *focus*, which is to be understood as the responsibility that the translator undertakes when showing preference for one method or for a set of procedures.

1 .Language and culture in translation

1.1 Framing (bilingual) synonymy

To put it crudely, synonymy is a fundamental relation establishing global equivalence between two or more lexical items, belonging to the same morphological category (speech part) and displaying a common semantic core, while also differing at the denotative and/or connotative level. In other words, shared central semantic traits co-exist with exclusive, marginal ones, pointing to the highly context-dependent nature of synonyms.

Synonymy is a remarkably complex phenomenon widely investigated in (lexical) semantics, but which has also drawn the attention of specialists in an array of fields: language sciences (for instance, pragmatics, computational linguistics), neurosciences, philosophy, psychology, translation studies, etc.

According to Vîlceanu (2003), synonyms fall into two main categories - *absolute* (rare and featuring scientific and technical terms; some voices are even more sceptical characterizing absolute synonyms as instances of idealization, unstable in nature - notably Cruse, 1986; Lyons, 1995; Saeed, 1997) and *parasynonyms* (indicating similarity rather than sameness). The latter category is further subdivided into *relative* (interchangeable in some contexts of their occurrence) and *partial* synonyms (involving the actualisation of one of their multiple meanings). Furthermore, *relative* synonyms are differentiated by the presence of denotative and connotative overtones; connotative synonyms display *socio-cultural* (stylistic) variations (falling into *register-related, field-related, geographical* and *temporal synonyms*) alongside *expressive* ones (comprising *axiological* and *affective synonyms*). Needless to say that the same lexeme may belong simultaneously to several categories, acquiring different valences, i.e. indicating the number of contexts in which they can substitute each other (if we adopt Mounin's term, 1974). Hence, the granularity of representation (or the level of detail) of word meaning enables us to distinguish between parasynonyms. Owing to the fact that absolute synonyms are rare or that "there is a tendency to limit synonymic status to those elements, which given the identity of their referential, can be used freely in a given context" (Trantescu and Pisoschi, 2012: 68) meeting the criterion of *substitutability* (as earlier referred to by Trantescu, 2010: 379), and aiming at efficiency and effectiveness when discussing this all-pervading sense relation, I shall use the term *synonyms* indiscriminately to make reference to the two broad subdivisions, namely absolute synonyms and parasynonyms.

In all likelihood, this conceptual framework (including the definition and typology) applies to both monolingual and bilingual synonymy. With strict reference to bilingual synonyms, I prefer *heteronyms* so as to lend specificity to the proposed framework.

1.2 Contexting culturally

The ongoing discussion is premised by the idea that in the linguistic approaches to translation the translation unit is restricted to the word and sentence levels, which "could well be related to the dimensions of context itself" (Dimitriu, 2015: 6), with a special emphasis on the paradigmatic relations (synonymy, included).

The attempt to go beyond the mere replacement of words in translation underpins the topicalisation of the social nature of language: to use language is to perform an action. Language is a tool to represent, present reality and act upon reality in interaction with others. Hence "if language is viewed as action, then the overriding criterion for evaluating it is no longer grammaticality" unless we consider "a grammar of actions" or "action grammar" (Holtgraves, 2002: 180). In other words, language users display norm-governed behaviour in a particular conversational and socio-cultural contexts, and *agency* refers to "the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act" while *praxis* is the action itself (Ahearn in Jaspers *et al.*, 2010: 28ff).

The language-culture connection has long become axiomatic no matter the level we take into consideration, i.e. intralingual or interlingual. In this respect, Friedrich (1989) puts forward the notion of *linguaculture* to draw attention to the continuous balancing between language and culture (mostly in quantitative terms), whilst Agar (1994) endorses *languaculture* with reference to the unity of (parts of) culture to commonly used language. Furthermore, functional perspectives on language postulate that language competence is an aggregate notion, joining communicative competence and intercultural awareness.

The far-reaching implications of the translator's activity for cultural contact and the insights it brings into the workings of language, as well the relationships it fosters between originals and their versions, authors and readership, or the foreign and the domestic, have been investigated within interdisciplinary landscapes, including, but not limited to linguistics, hermeneutics, comparative literature, cultural anthropology, sociolinguistics, cultural studies, gender studies, intercultural communication, philosophy, history, sociology, postcolonial and subaltern studies. Therefore, due to the increasing awareness of the productive role of translators and to the concern with translation and its realities and dilemmas, a cluster of theoretical developments has emerged, alongside a substantial assortment of guidelines that have been considered more or less relevant in different contexts and circumstances.

Early cultural studies of translation relied heavily on the polysystem theory, originally developed as a theory of culture and cultural transfer with respect to literary translation (notably, Evan-Zohar, 1978, 1979; Giddeon, 1995; Hermans, 1994, 1999; Lawrence, 1995; Lefevere, 1992). Furthermore, we witnessed research interest in the cultural intertraffic as risk management rather than a neverending search for equivalence, and the translators' ideological affiliation with intercultures (see Chestermann, 1997, 1998, 2002; Pym, 1992, 1998, 2004; Pratt, 2002; Tymoczko and Gentzler, 2002, etc.). Gamal (2009: 67) discusses the narrow use of the term *cultural translation* as referring to "those practices of literary translation that mediate cultural difference, or try to convey extensive cultural background" and advocates its extension so as to incorporate the translation impact on the ideological traffic between cultures - we add the axiological component to broaden perspective.

In the age of the global village and of the internet, intercultural communication and translation research no longer aim at the resolution of conflict and assimilation of marginal individuals into mainstream society, but at enhancing intercultural contact and hybridity, reaching beyond the traditional views of ethnicity, nation, culture, language, and identities since national and professional cultures and communicative practices have become "deterritorialised", "denationalised" (Kramsch, 2009).

This view leads to another shift of emphasis: from forecasting management - intercultural awareness and translation competence are developed with a view to avoiding breakdowns or missed opportunities in communication between individuals who have been socialised in one culture and who come into contact with individuals from another culture - to transformative learning on the grounds that "cultures of the world continue to interface ever more closely at the grassroots level" (Kim, 2012: 128). From a functionalist translation-oriented perspective, translators are experts in text production for interactive communication, and the cultural intertraffic management poses the question of the remoteness of the two cultures involved, of implicitation and explicitation strategies, and of specific procedures.

The discussions centred on the nature and typology of culture-bound items, on their strategic importance in translation as promoting both linguistic accommodation and acculturation work (notably, Oksaar, 1980; Reiss and Vermeer, 1984/1996; Newmark, 1991; Baker, 1992, 1995; Aixelà, 1996; Nord, 1997; Robinson, 1997; Gambier, 2004; Lungu-Badea, 2004; Katan, 2009, etc.) stress the idea of the translator's responsibility as "cultural operator" (Hewson and Martin, 1991: 133).

In the attempt to further promote the status and merits of translation studies, we discard the anthropologically-driven concept of *translation of cultures* (associated with the British functionalism) since based on a hierarchy of cultures and on the hegemonic role of the source text and culture, in favour of *cultural translation*. Within this framework, *culture* is envisaged as a dynamic and hybrid entity/identity in contrast with the traditional views of monolithic, homogenous and unchangeable cultures. In line with Simeoni (2002: 190ff), we acknowledge that translation goes beyond specifically interlingual practices and the mere interchange between discrete wholes, in a complex process of *mutual manifestoes* (Alves and Gonçalves, 2003: 4) and syncretism, giving rise to layering and a space of in-betweenness.

1.3 Semantic loss in translation?

The concept of *loss* in translation seems to draw on the engineering concept of *energy loss* in the design of machinery, explaining why perpetual motion can never be achieved. Similarly, the translator should be aware of the loss and find the adequate solutions for minimizing it. Toresi (2007) claims that there is unavoidable loss of meaning in the verbal component of a text in an intersemiotic approach to translation. More often than not, mainstream literature advocates compensation strategies, broadly equated to adding an element elsewhere.

Our analysis of synonyms or, more exactly, heteronyms, is based on a parallel corpus, i.e. the translation of the novel *Le rouge et le noir* by Stendhal (1830) and its renderings into English - *Red and Black*, translated by Catherine Slater in 1991, and into Romanian - *Roșu și negru*, translated by Gellu Naum in 1997. As mentioned, the selection of the translations into English and Romanian is done according to the timeframe in which they were produced - the temporal gap is of only three years, which lends validity to the comparison in point of language evolution and cultural contact and transfer.

In numerous instances in the corpus, synonyms display a wide range of valences: 1, 2, 3 as follows:

- Valence 1, i.e. synonyms that belong to one single category or sub-category;
- Valence 2, i.e. synonyms that belong to two categories or sub-categories;
- Valence 3, i.e. synonyms that belong to three categories or sub-categories.

We shall exemplify in a quite prototypical and relatively balanced manner while highlighting different categories and sub-categories of synonyms so as to prove that the established typology is operational, viable and fit for purpose.

We shall equally provide the definitions of the targeted lexemes and their etymology with a view not only to clarifying (contextual) meaning, but also to better understanding language evolution (the three languages have been in permanent contact) and semantic loss or gain interlingually.

- **Valence 1 synonyms**

  [1830] 1990: La petite ville de Verrières peut passer pour l'une des plus **jolies** de la Franche-Comté. (p.21)

  1991: The small town of Verrières may be regarded as one of the **prettiest** in the Franche-Comté. (p.3)

  1997: Verrières poate fi socotit drept unul dintre cele mai **frumoase** orăşele din Franche Comté. (p. 12)

joli,-e - qui suscite, lorsqu'on le regarde, un agrément ou un plaisir, qui peut n'être que superficiel, par son caractère gracieux et bien fait < ancien scandinave *jôl, nom d'une fête païenne.*
pretty – characterized by delicacy, gracefulness, or proportion rather than by striking beauty; pleasing; attractive. The term is of Anglo-Saxon origin < Old English *prættig*, related to Middle Dutch *- brisk, clever*, obsolete Dutch *prettig - humorous, sporty*, from a West Germanic base meaning *trick*.
frumos, -oasă, - și, - oase - care place pentru armonia liniilor, mișcărilor, culorilor etc.; care are valoare estetică; estetic < Lat. *formosus*.

The lexemes function as denotative synonyms, differing in intensity since the Romanian adjective *frumoase* indicates a higher degree (its closest equivalent in English is *beautiful*).

> [1830] 1990: A peine entre-t-on dans la ville que l'on est étourdi par le fracas d'une machine bruyante et **terrible** en apparence. (p. 22)
>
> 1991: You have scarcely set foot in the town before you are deafened by the din from a noisy and **fearful**-looking machine. (p. 4)
>
> 1997: De cum intri în oraş, te asurzeşte larma unei maşini zgomotoase şi **îngrozitoare** în aparenţă. (p. 13)

terrible – qui inspire ou cherche à inspirer la terreur, qui provoque une émotion profonde < latin *terribilis,* de *terrere - effrayer* .
fearful - *experiencing fear; afraid; apprehensive*. The adjective is first recorded for Middle English, deriving from the noun *fear*, which has been used starting from Old English. *Fear* is of Germanic origin, where *far* meant *disaster*; in Old English, the term referred to *attack* or *unexpected danger*.
îngrozitór, -oáre, îngrozitori, -oare - care îngrozește; înspăimântător, înfricoșător, înfiorător, îngrozit, grozav, groaznic . The term is a derivative of *groază* < Slavic *groza*.

The three synonyms show different degrees of intensity - whereas the French and Romanian lexemes seem to totally overlap, the English one is less intense.

> [1830] 1990: Ce travail, si rude en apparence, est un des ceux qui **étonnent** de plus le voyageur qui pénètre pour la première fois dans les montagnes qui séparent la France de l'Helvétie. (p. 22)
>
> 1991: This rough-looking work is one of the activities which the traveller who ventures for the first time into the mountains separating France from Switzerland **finds most surprising**. (p. 4)
>
> 1997: Munca aceasta, atît de grea în aparenţă, îl **uimeşte** îndeosebi pe călătorul care pătrunde pentru prima oară în munţii de la graniţa dintre Franţa şi Elveţia.

étonner - *surprendre par quelque chose d'extraordinaire ou d'inattendu* < latin populaire **extonare,* du latin classique *attonare - frapper de la foudre*.
to surprise - *to cause to feel wonder or astonishment because unusual or unexpected.* The term belongs to Late Middle English < French *surprendre*.
a uimi - a stârni, a provoca o mare (și neașteptată) mirare, admirație, emoție; a impresiona puternic, a surprinde, a ului. The term is of unknown origin.

At the denotative level, all the synonyms feature [+unusual or unexpected]. Nevertheless, the French original term and the Romanian counterpart show greater intensity than the English lexeme.

- **Valence 2 synonyms**

> [1830] 1990: La **petite** ville de Verrières peut passer pour l'une des plus jolies de la Franche-Comté. (p.21)
>
> 1991: The **small** town of Verrières may be regarded as one of the prettiest in the Franche-Comté. (p. 3)
>
> 1997: Verrières poate fi socotit drept unul dintre cele mai frumoase **orăşele** din Franche Comté. (p. 12)

petit, -ite - [dans l'ordre quantitatif] *qui est d'une taille inférieure à la moyenne* < bas latin **pittitus,* du radical *pitt*. In some contexts, *petit* shows affection (used as an endearment term)*: mon petit ami, un petit geste amical, un petit coin tranquille.*
small – comparatively less than another or than a standard. The lexeme is of Anglo-Saxon origin < Old English *smael*.

In Romanian *orăşele* (noun) is a diminutive, meaning *small towns*, therefore incorporating by a reduction procedure the qualities expressed by the adjective and the noun in French and English.

The heteronyms differ at the connotative level; on the other hand, *petit* simultaneously pertains to denotative and connotative synonyms (i.e., expressive synonyms, more specifically affective ones).

> [1830] 1990: Cette vue fait oublier au voyageur l'atmosphère empestée des **petits** intérêts d'argent dont il commence à être asphyxié (p. 23)
>
> 1991: This view allows the traveler to forget the poisonous atmosphere of **petty** financial intrigue which is beginning to stifle him. (p.5)
>
> 1997: Priveliştea asta îl îndeamnă pe călător să uite atmosfera îmbîcsită de interesele băneşti care începuse să-l înăbuşe. (p. 14)

petite - [dans l'ordre qualitatif] *qui implique un trait minoratif.*
petty - 1. *having little worth, importance, position, or rank; trifling; inferior*. The lexeme was borrowed in Middle English from French < Old French *petit*, being used in a narrow sense to refer to quality. In the given context, petty

actualizes 2. *unduly concerned with trivial matters, especially in a small-minded or spiteful way.*

The Romanian translator simply omits the French term *petits -* to my mind, providing the Romanian contextual equivalent *mărunte* (much closer to the English *petty*) would not have affected the level of naturalness; on the contrary, this omission results in downgrading. Therefore, the two synonyms activate both denotation and connotation, the English term being marked axiologically.

> [1830] 1990: Le Doubs coule à quelques centaines de pieds au-dessous de ses fortifications, bâties jadis par les Espagnoles, et maintenant **ruinées**. (p. 21)
>
> 1991: The river Doubs flows several hundred feet beneath the old town walls, built in former times by the Spaniards and now **fallen into ruin**. (p. 3)
>
> 1997: Rîul Doubs curge la cîteva sute de paşi mai jos de fortificaţiile înălţate odinioară de spanioli, şi acum **ruinate**. (p. 12)

ruiner - 1. *dégrader une chose, la mettre en très mauvais état.* 2. Littéraire. *endommager gravement quelque chose, lui faire subir des dégâts* < latin *ruina,* de *ruere - faire tomber*.
to be / fall in ruin(s) – *to bring to ruin.*
ruin, noun - 1. *that which remains of something demolished, destroyed or decayed*. It is worth mentioning that the verb *fall* acquires an inchoative value. 2. fig. the disastrous disintegration of someone's life.
Ruin was borrowed in Middle English from French < Old French *ruine* < Latin *ruina* < *ruere - to fall*.
ruinat, -ă, ruinați, -te - 1. căzut în ruină; dărăpănat. 2. fig. *care și-a pierdut averea; sărăcit, scăpătat*. The lexeme was borrowed from Latin via French.

The above definitions point out to the fact that in the three languages, the terms can be used denotatively and connotatively, and that their meanings overlap almost totally. However, we have to acknowledge that the French lexeme is marked stylistically in point of register.

> [1830] 1990: Verrières est **abritée** du côté du nord par une haute montagne, c'est une des branches du Jura. (p. 21)
>
> 1991: Verrières is **sheltered** on its northern side by a high mountain ridge, part of the Jura range. (p. 3)

> 1997: Spre nord, Verrières e **adăpostit** de o creastă înaltă, una din ramurile munţilor Jura. (p. 12)

abriter – mettre à l'abri; la protection est naturelle ou du moins matérielle < ancien français *abrier, abriter*
to shelter – to provide protection or shelter for; shield, as from danger or inclement weather. The term is first recorded in Middle English, but it is likely to have been used before in Old English < *scieldtruma*: *scield - shield + truma - body of fighting man*.
adăposti - 1. *a pune, a ține la adăpost.* 2. fig. *a preveni un neajuns*, *stemming from* < Latin: *ad appos(i)tum* or *ad depos(i)tum.*

The heteronyms can be said to be used in their denotative meaning in this context, although, given the socio-cultural setting depicted in the novel, the connotative meaning may be also activated. Hence, the synonyms acquire valence 2.

> [1830] 1990: A peine entre-t-on dans la ville que l'on est étourdi par le **fracas** d'une machine bruyante et terrible en apparence. (p. 22)
>
> 1991: You have scarcely set foot in the town before you are deafened by the **din** from a noisy and fearful-looking machine. (p. 4)
>
> 1997: De cum intri în oraş, te asurzeşte **larma** unei maşini zgomotoase şi îngrozitoare în aparenţă. (p. 13)

fracas – 1. bruit fort et soudain de quelque chose qui se brise, qui heurte quelque chose, de ce qui éclat, etc. < italien *fracassare*
din – a loud continuous noise or clamor; a rattling or clattering sound. The term is of Anglo-Saxon origin, being circulated in Old English (*dyne* - *come rumbling down*). Stylistically, it is neutral, whereas denotatively it is marked by the trait [+loud noise].
larma - 1. *zgomot mare; gălăgie*. ♦ Fig. (Rar) *frământare, zbucium* < Hungarian *lárma* < Serbian *larma.*

The heteronyms differ denotatively as the French term is marked additionally by [+sudden]*.* Furthermore, the French and Romanian items may also be used figuratively. Under the circumstances, we think that the closest equivalent of the source language word is the Romanian one.

> [1830] 1990: Si, en entrant à Verrières, le voyageur **demande** à qui appartient cette belle fabrique de clous ... (p. 22)

1991: If on his arrival in Verrières the traveller **asks** who owns this fine nail factory ... (p. 4)

1997: Dacă, intrînd în Verrieres, călătorul **întreabă** cine e proprietarul frumoasei fabrici de cuie ... (p. 13)

demander – interroger, questionner quelqu'un à propos de quelque chose, solliciter de sa part une réponse < bas latin *demandare* - confier.
to ask - to put a question to. The term is of West Germanic origin < Old English *āscian*.
a întreba - a(-și) pune întrebări, în scopul de a afla un răspuns < Latin **interroguare* (= *interrogare).*

The three items share a common core of significance, i.e. *say something in order to obtain an answer or some information* and seem to display the same intensity, but the French and English lexemes can also actualise the meaning of *request*, which the Romanian *a întreba* does not have. Therefore, the terms become partial synonyms.

- **Valence 3 synonyms**

[1830] 1990: Un **torrent**, qui se précipite de la montagne traverse Verrières avant de se jeter dans le Doubs, et donne le mouvement à un grand nombre de scies à bois; c'est une industrie fort simple et qui **procure** un certain bien-être à la majeure partie des habitants plus paysans que bourgeois. (p.21)

1991: A mountain **stream** which comes tumbling down from the heights passes through Verrières on its way to join the Doubs, and supplies power to numerous sawmills. This simple form of industry **provides** a reasonably comfortable living for the majority of the inhabitants, who are peasants rather than townsfolk. (p. 3)

1997: Un **torent** care se prăvăleşte din munte străbate orăşelul înainte de a se arunca în Doubs şi pune în mişcare numeroase joagăre; îndeletnicirea aceasta foarte simplă **aduce** o oarecare viaţă tihnită majorităţii localnicilor, care sînt mai mult ţărani decît orăşeni.

torrent – cours d'eau à forte pente des régions montagneuses ou accidentées, à débit très irrégulier, à crues subites et violentes < latin *torrens, -entis.*
stream - a current or flow of water or other fluid. The term is of Anglo-Saxon origin < Old English *stream*.
torent – apă curgătoare (de munte) cu debit nestatornic, care apare în urma ploilor mari sau după topirea bruscă a zăpezii și care curge vijelios pe

povârnișurile munților sau ale dealurilor, având o mare forță de eroziune; puhoi, șuvoi < *French torrent.*

The French and Romanian lexemes have acquired a narrower meaning referring to flows of water in the mountains, and indicating a high intensity, being marked by the traits [+violence] and [+great velocity]. The English term is all-inclusive at the denotative level; with reference to its connotation, it can sometimes indicate *a mass of people or things moving continuously in the same direction*.. Besides, it is a multiple-meaning item, as it has acquired a specialized meaning in computing - *a continuous flow of data or instructions, typically one having a constant or predictable rate* (a socio-cultural field-related synonym).

Obviously, the French and Romanian terms are optimal equivalents.

procurer – faire obtenir à quelqu'un par ses soins une chose utile, agréable < Latin *procurare - prendre soin pour.*
to provide – to supply or furnish. The term was borrowed in late Middle English < Latin *providere*, when it preserved the original meaning: *to foresee,* from *pro- before* + *videre* - *to see*.
a aduce - a produce, a procura, a pricinui, a cauza < Latin *adducere*

In the first place, the three synonyms differ at the denotative level, where *procure* adds the trait [+effort], and *give* [+compensation]. Secondly, at the level of connotation, *procurer* and *provide* belong to the formal style, whereas *a aduce* is neutral; hence, the synonyms also fall in the category of stylistic register-related ones. Thirdly, all the lexemes are multiple meaning (becoming partial synonyms) and are interchangeable when actualising the above-mentioned meanings. The English and Romanian renderings of the French *procurer* are rather loose, in my opinion.

> [1830] 1990: Vingt marteaux **pesants**, et retombant avec un bruit qui fait trembler le pavé, sont élevés par une roue que l'eau du torrent fait mouvoir. (p. 22)
>
> 1991: Twenty **massive** hammers come thundering down with a noise to set the cobbles shaking, and are lifted up again by a wheel driven by the waters of the stream. (p. 4)
>
> 1997: Zeci de ciocane **grele**, căzînd cu un vuiet care face să tremure pavajul, sînt ridicate de-o roată pusă în mişcare de puhoiul torentului (p. 13).

pesants - qui pèse lourd, qui a un poids, du poids < latin populaire **pesare,* du latin classique *pensare,* de *pendere -* peser.
massive – constituting a large mass; ponderous; large. The term is a loan in Late Middle English < Old French *massis*, based on Latin *massa*.
greu, grea, grei, grele - care apasă cu greutate asupra suprafeței pe care stă; care are greutate (mare); care cântărește mult < Latin *grevis (= gravis).*

The French and Romanian synonyms can also be used figuratively, acquiring a negative connotation, whereas the English word when used in the informal style means *highly successful or influential* (a positive overtone). Besides, in English *massive* is field-related: in geology it means *having no discernible form or structure.* In point of intensity, we have the following decreasing order: *pesants* > *massive* > *grele*. There is need to highlight that the Romanian translator's choice, although downgraded in intensity meets the criteria of naturalness and coverage, being a closer heteronym of *pesant* than *massive*.

1.4 Culture-bound or culture-free?

The management of culture-specific items underpins a set of translation procedures, which I shall briefly exemplify below:

- **Transfer** - it concerns mostly toponyms and anthroponyms, which are found intact in the English and Romanian versions.

[1830] 1990: *en place de Grève* (p. 346)

1991: in the Place de Grève (p. 314)

1997: *în Place de Greve* (p. 270) (undergoing naturalisation).

The term has acquired historical force as in *Place de Grève*, Paris, public executions were inflicted; in 1806, it was renamed Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. In Romanian the toponym was recategorised as a common noun through metonymy, designating *workers' strike*;

[1830] 1990: *Sorbonne* (p. 346)

1991: *Sorbonne* (p. 248)

1997: *Sorbona* (p. 272) (undergoing naturalisation).

Definitely, *Sorbonne* does not require any extra-textual gloss on the part of the translator, and, most likely, the British readership associate it to Oxford and Cambridge. I call such instances *cultural labels* or *zero degree Kulturems* on account of the fact that they trigger instant associations and are the easiest to transfer;

[1830] 1990: un chevalier de Beauvoisis (p. 558)

1991: a Chevalier de Beauvoisis (p. 520)

1997: cavaler de Beauvoisis (p. 307).

The English translator favours a strategy of acculturation by not equating *chevalier de* (a non-hereditary title) to *knight of*. The Romanian rendering is in fact a loan word, indicating cultural and functional symmetry.

- **Through-translation**:

  [1830] 1990: ministre de l'intérieur (p. 25)

  1991: Minister of the Interior (p. 7)

  1997: ministru de interne (p. 16)

- **Transfer + through-translation**

  [1830] 1990: la reine Marguerite de Navarre (p. 346)

  1991: Queen Marguerite of Navarre (p. 314)

  1997: regina Marguerite (p. 345)

Marguerite de Navarre, better known as *la reine Margot*, ruled between 1553-1615 and was famous for her beauty, intelligence and love affairs. The English translator's mediation is visible enough since she prefers the English particle *of* indicating the noble origin, thus giving rise to a calque or through-translation. The anthroponym is transfered in both translations, preceded by the cultural/functional equivalent of *reine*: *queen* and *regina*, respectively.

- **Transfer + neutralisation**

  [1830] 1990: des **barons** et des **comtes** (p. 271)

  1991: **barons** and **counts** (p. 243)

  1997: **baroni și conți** (p. 266)

In the French culture, the terms refer to noble ranks, which hierarchically are ordered as follows: *baron – comte - marquis – duc* (bottom up). The same hierarchy is to be found in the British culture: *baron – count - marquis – duke*; the term *count* enjoyed popularity during the Norman Conquest, being later replaced by the term *earl*, of Anglo-Saxon origin. Nonetheless, the English translator provides *count* through acculturation work. With reference to the Romanian setting, these noble ranks are recognised with reference to Central and Western Europe.

- **Through-translation + neutralisation**

  [1830] 1990: *louis d'or* (p. 24)

  1991: *in gold coin* (p. 5)

  1997: *ludovici* (p. 21).

The monetary division is neutralised, being replaced by the generic term *coin* in English. In Romanian the second term of the original through-translated phrase *ludovici de aur* was omitted.

> [1830] 1990: vous figureriez sans doute à la **chambre des pairs** (p. 161)
>
> 1991: you would no doubt be a member of the **house of peers** (p.139)
>
> 1997: fără îndoială că ai fi făcut parte din **Camera pairilor** (p. 17).

Even if it seems that there seems to be cultural isomorphism, we draw attention to the functional asymmetry because the French Parliament (consisting of *Chambre des pairs* and *Chambre des deputés*), the British Parliament (comprising *House of Lords* and *House of Commons*) and the Romanian Parliament (also made up of two entities, namely *Camera Deputaților* (the *Chamber of Deputies*) and *Senatul* (the *Senate*) were founded under different circumstances and can be said to fulfill different functions. The two translators compromise by choosing a phrase which is natural neither in English nor in Romanian, although *peer* may refer to a member of any of five noble ranks (*baron, viscount, earl, marquis,* and *duke*) who has the right to sit in the House of Lords.

- **Through-translation or cultural equivalent**

  [1830] 1990: *avocat général* (p. 557)

  1991: the assistant public prosecutor (p.518)

  1997: procuror general (p. 524)

In France, *avocat général* refers to the assistant of *procureur général*. Hence, we can state that there is full equivalence in the English translation via explicitation whereas the Romanian equivalent is rather inaccurate referentially as indicating the superior hierarchic position instead of the subordinate one.

- **Through-translation or functional equivalent**

  [1830] 1990: Il n'y a point de **droit naturel** (p. 557)

1991: there is no such thing as **natural rights** (p. 518)

1997: asta le dă **drepturi imprescriptibile** (p. 271).

The phrase *droit naturel* can be rightly considered a cultural allusion, being launched by J.J. Rousseau in his famous work *Le contrat social* (1762). The rendering is a through-translation whereas the Romanian one is a functional equivalent.

- **Cultural equivalent**

[1830] 1990: directeur du dêpot de mendicité (p. 26)

1991: master of the workhouse (p. 8)

1997: director al Așezămîntului pentru săraci (p. 17).

We notice the domestication procedure.

[1830] 1990: **l'abbé** Chélan (p. 26)

1991: **Father** Chélan (p. 8)

1997: **Părintele** Chélan (p. 198).

Originally, the term *abbé* strictly referred to *abbot*, a superior religious rank in the Catholic Church, but it extended to denote any religious position. It was customary for the 19th century abbot which was not in office to be hired as a tutor for the upper class offsprings. The English and the Romanian translators provide a cultural equivalent, namely *Father and Părinte* which are used generically.

- **Neutralisation + semantic shift**

[1830] 1990: l'un de ces **hôtels** à façade si plate du fabourg Saint-Germain, bâtis vers le temps de la mort de Voltaire. (p. 278)

1991: one of those **houses** with very flat fronts in the Fabourg Saint-Germain, built around the time of Voltaire's death. (p.249)

1997: Era vorba despre una din **clădirile** acelea cu faţada grozav de plată, din foburgul Saint-Germain, ridicate cam la vremea morţii lui Voltaire. (p. 274)

At the time, *hôtel* referred to an elegant town house. It was only later that the term came to denote a place that offered lodging to travellers, and it was borrowed in English and in Romanian preserving only this last meaning. The solutions provided by the translators display different degrees of equivalence:

houses (neutral term), *clădiri* (a specialised term pertaining to architecture, also frequently used in ordinary language).

Conclusion

By using comparative and contrastive methods of analysis, we may conclude that the translators constantly go back to the original text in search for nuances of meaning and socio-cultural data embedded in the text in a more or less visible way. Every time such information is captured, there is entropy or loss. If the translators had favoured explicitation and (frequent) paratextual glosses, such increments would have resulted in the fragmentation of the reading process or in the diminishment of the aesthetic effects intended by the writer of the original. Hence, literary translation reveals the translator's twofold task: to interpret the original and to re-write the source language text, shifting the perspective if necessary. In line with Ardelean (2016: 65), we finally state that "a competent, quality translation" requires "adequacy to the content, the choice of an optimal variant, multiple solutions, and observance of cultural markers".

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About the author

Titela VÎLCEANU is an Associate Professor, Ph.D., University of Craiova, Romania.

E-mail: elavilceanu@yahoo.com

TRANSLATION OF RELIGIOUS TERMS IN HISTORICAL TEXTS

Raluca GHENȚULESCU

Abstract: The purpose of this article is to provide a few solutions to the problem of translating religious terms encountered in historical texts. By "religious terms", we mean the words and phrases referring to Biblical realities, the lexical structures used in prayers and during the divine service, as well as those terms describing various liturgical objects. All of these categories of terms may be encountered in historical texts related to diverse Christian communities throughout time. For example, a bilingual book that presents the objects exhibited by the National History Museum of Romania contains references to religious items used during the Orthodox Divine Liturgy, to various religious celebrations which require their use, and to different parts of a church or monastery in which these objects are displayed. Therefore, a good translation of such texts implies vast knowledge in the fields of Orthodox religion and religious architecture, as well as an appropriate technical background, in order to correctly render the terms referring to the materials and techniques used for creating those objects. The challenge is even bigger as the translator has to know the correspondence between different celebrations held by the Catholics and the Orthodox and to find the right equivalents in English for some specifically Romanian traditions influenced by religious events. Moreover, in Romanian, the terms that designate religious or cult objects have Slavic or Greek etymology, whereas their equivalents in English are of Latin or Germanic origin. Consequently, it might be very difficult to find the right correspondence between terms that have such a different etymology, purpose and frequency in the language, as this paper is going to show.

Keywords: *religious terms, historical texts, cultural translation, equivalence*

1. Challenges in translating religious texts

One of the main challenges in translating religious texts or, rather, historical texts with religious implications is to render the exact meaning accepted by the target readers. If they are a community of worshipers and give a specific connotation to a certain term, that connotation must be encountered in the translated texts, as well-rendered as in the original ones. For example, in the Catholic religion, Saint John the Baptist's day of birth, the 24th of June, is associated with the summer solstice and is also known as Midsummer Day. However, in the Orthodox religion, it has a different connotation, being known as *Sânzienele* or *Drăgaica* – a celebration rooted in the pagan cult of the sun, which implied the presence of some beautiful maidens, *Sânzienele*, adorned with the eponymous yellow flowers. Therefore, if the term of *Sânzienele* or *Drăgaica* is encountered in a historical text, it should be translated as "Midsummer Day", but an explanatory note would be necessary, in order to present all the implications of this day in the Romanian culture.

The term of *Drăgaica* is explained by Dimitrie Cantemir in *Descriptio Moldaviae*; he says that it is a Dacian tradition, originated in the Thracian ritual of fertility associated to an ancient goddess called *Thraeki-dica* (= "the Blessed"), which gave the name of this celebration in Romanian. Cantemir considers that the ritual was changed under the Roman influence of goddess Ceres's celebration and, thus, it was associated with the image of beautiful girls wearing crowns made of wheat ears and yellow flowers – *Sânzienele* – out of which the prettiest was called *Drăgaica* (Cantemir, 1716: 58).

Another challenge that a translator could face when dealing with historical texts with religious implications, such as quotes from the Bible in chronicles, might be related to issues of cultural translation. Some religious formulas in Romanian sound different from their counterparts in English, because the translation of the Bible into Romanian was influenced by the Slavonic language, whereas in English the Holy Book was translated directly from Greek or Latin. For example, the first beatitude is rendered in English as "Blessed are the poor in spirit", where the word "blessed" is a literal translation of the Greek word *makarios*, which could mean either "blessed" or "happy", whereas in Romanian it has been translated as *Fericiţi cei săraci cu duhul* (Matei 5:3, Biserica Ortodoxă Română Version) because, through the Slavonic influence, *makarios* – a word used mostly for describing the state of beatitude experienced by the Olympian gods – was perceived as closer to the idea of happiness than to that of blessing (Ruggiero, 2014: 1).

Dumitru Cornilescu, a priest who published a translation of the Bible into Romanian in 1924, understood the fallacy of the initial translation and tried to correct it, as part of his attempt to adapt the Biblical text to the current language of modern believers. Instead of *Fericiţi cei săraci cu duhul*, he proposed the formula *Ferice de cei săraci în duh* (Matei 5:3, Dumitru Cornilescu's translation). To avoid the ambiguity of the adjective *fericiţi*, he replaced it with *ferice*, which could also mean "spiritually satisfied". Furthermore, instead of the phrase *săraci cu duhul*, which has a negative connotation in Romanian, being considered a synonym for "stupid", he used *săraci în duh*, which relates to the idea of being previously denied the benefits of a spiritual life, but having the opportunity to enjoy God's blessings now, as true Christians.

Nevertheless, Cornilescu's Bible, which was suspected of having been translated from English or French, not from Hebrew or Greek, as the canons require, was rejected by the Romanian Orthodox Church, which claimed that the translator was no longer an Orthodox priest when he translated it, since he had converted to Evangelicalism and became one of the founders of the Evangelical Church in Romania. Cornilescu's approach as a whole, his intention to "modernize" the Bible, was harshly criticized, because many priests and believers claim that religious texts must have an aura of ancientness, which is part of their mystery, of their sacred character.

In many cases, the terms and phrases from the Bible have been literally translated, because it was believed that the word of God had to be strictly kept as in the source language. This is why many terms and phrases have not been understood by the ordinary speakers of other languages than Hebrew and Aramaic; however, they have been learned by heart and sacredly preserved as such. One of these phrases is "the righteousness of God", with its Romanian version *neprihănirea lui Dumnezeu*, which appears in several books of the Bible, but is more illustrative in Corinthians 5: 21:

> (En) God made him who had no sin to be sin for us, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God.
>
> (Ro) Pe Cel ce n-a cunoscut niciun păcat, El L-a făcut păcat pentru noi, ca noi să fim neprihănirea lui Dumnezeu în El. (Biserica Ortodoxă Română Version)

This phrase, both in English and in Romanian, is quoted in many historical and political texts as a metaphor of a desirable trait of character in a leader, alluding to his honesty, innocence or incorruptibility. However, its meaning in modern languages is different from the original one in Hebrew, due to a mistranslation. In Hebrew, the equivalent for the English "righteousness" or the Romanian *neprihănirea* describes both the trait of character of someone who is morally upright, without guilt or sin, and the ability to do justice to people, which is God's main attribute and the reason for which He gave His only Son to mankind.

Such a case of mistranslation, which is similar to the more famous one of "horned Moses" – Moses was depicted with horns instead of rays of light adorning his head, because the Hebrew word *qaran* could mean both horns and rays of light, and Saint Jerome opted for the better-known, but wrong meaning (Marshall, 2013: 1) – testifies that the first translators of the Bible thought that the language of the Holy Book should not sound like the ordinary language and, consequently, chose the strangest meaning of the word in either Hebrew or Greek. Nevertheless, their approach is not to be blamed because the Hebrews themselves thought that an intricate and highly metaphorical language was more suitable for prophecies.

The oral character of religious texts stems from the idea that the Word of God should be listened to rather than read, felt rather than understood. Therefore, there are a lot of catchy puns and patterns of verses in the original text, which must be preserved in the translations into various languages. Moreover, as David Crystal has shown, prayers, sermons, chants and litanies have a unique phonological identity and there is a strong grammatical identity in invocations, prayers, and other rituals (David Crystal, 1964: 148). This was a major challenge for the translators of religious texts, because they had to render the meaning perfectly, as close to the original one, not to spoil the aura of mystery, and to preserve the form as much as possible, to keep the same rhythm and musicality as in the original chants and prayers, which induce a certain peace of mind to the believers. In many historical texts, there are various quotes of different parts of a sermon or prayer that must be correctly rendered and, for this reason, the translator has to do a lot of research to comply with the norms of cultural translation.

Some historical texts in Romanian include a special category of prayers addressed to some sanctified voivodes of our nation, such as Ştefan cel Mare (Stephen the Great) and Constantin Brâncoveanu. Although they were introduced in the religious canon later than other prayers, when these rulers were canonized, in 1992, they follow the same pattern and, when translated into English, their archaic language, as well as their rhythm and musicality must equally be preserved.

The constant problems that translators of historical texts with religious implications have to face are challenging, mainly due to the fact that cultural awareness and the good knowledge of both history and religion are compulsory if the target is a meaningful and acceptable translation.

2. Categories of religious terms

According to David Crystal, there are seven distinct categories of religious terms (Crystal, 1964: 154–155), but for the scope of my paper I have decided to refer only to the most relevant six of them, which are the following:

1. Terms requiring explicit historical elucidation, usually with considerable emotional overtones, depending on the intensity of the user's belief (e.g. passions, crucifixion)
2. Terms requiring explicit historical elucidation, but with no definable emotional overtones (e.g. centurion, synagogue)
3. Terms referring to personal qualities and activities with no explicit correlation, but which need to be interpreted in the light of Christianity (e.g. pity, mercy, charity, prayer)
4. Terms designating commonly-used, specifically-religious concepts (e.g. heaven, hell, the sacraments, commandment, the trinity)
5. Technical terms (e.g. cruet = a small vessel for holy water, amice = a liturgical vestment consisting of an oblong piece of white linen)
6. Words used in the liturgical language, but which could occur in other styles or registers (e.g. transgression, bondage, vengeance).

All these six types of religious terms are well illustrated in the historical texts I have dealt with, especially in the book that presents the objects exhibited by the National History Museum of Romania, which I translated from Romanian into English, and in a few articles on religious architecture that I translated from English into Romanian.

In the articles in English I encountered the term "Calvary", referring to the location of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which coincides with the place where Jesus was crucified. The etymology of the word "Calvary" is Latin, from *calvus*, meaning "bald", because Golgotha, where Christ's Crucifixion took place, was also known as "the mountain of the skull", due to its shape. The etymology of the word "Golgotha" is Aramaic, from *gulgulta*, meaning "skull", but it was introduced into Romanian via Greek and the Slavonic language. In English and Romance languages like French or Spanish, the Latin etymology was preferred, from *calvarium* (= "skull"). This term, which I translated into Romanian as *Golgota*, is endowed with a special connotation for Christians and needs explicit historical elucidation, especially because in some cases it has a metaphorical connotation, of a difficult road to follow up to spiritual enlightenment.

Another typical case of cultural translation was that of the Book of Revelation, which in the Romance languages is named after the first word of the text, *apokalypsis*, meaning "revelation" in Greek. Therefore, its standard translation into Romanian is *Apocalipsa*, sometimes completed by the historical explanation *Sfântului Ioan*, in order to refer to its author, even if his true identity is still debated.

In the book about the masterpieces displayed by the National History Museum of Romania, I identified some religious terms belonging to the second category in Crystal's classification, namely that of terms requiring explicit historical elucidation, but with no definable emotional overtones. Some of these belong to the field of religious architecture, as they refer to various parts of a church or monastery, where different items exhibited nowadays by the National History Museum of Romania used to be displayed in the past. For example, the first three sectors of a church are named in Romanian *pridvor, pronaos* and *naos*. The first one is of Slavic etymology, whereas the other two are of Modern Greek origin. The situation in English is completely different from the etymological point of view, because the first part of a church is designated by a phrase created directly in English, "church porch" or "the porch of the church" *(= pridvor)*, whereas the other two sections are called "narthex" *(= pronaos)* – a word of Late Greek origin – and "nave" (= *naos*), whose etymon is the Latin *navis*, meaning "ship", just like the word *naos*, as an allusion to the boat of Jesus and His disciples, which symbolizes Christianity.

Other terms that need historical elucidation are those referring to various positions in the religious hierarchy, due to the differences in ranks between the Orthodox and the Catholic Church. In Romanian, most of the words referring to churchmen are of Slavic origin, whereas in English they are of Latin origin. For example, *schimnic*, from the Slavic *skiminiku* (= "person dressed in a robe"), has as an English equivalent the word "hermit", from the Latin *eremita* (= "person living in the desert"), whereas *stareț*, from the Slavic *starici* (= "old") has the equivalent "abbot", from the Latin *abbas*, coming from the Aramaic *abba* (= "father")*.* The term *mitropolit*, which entered Romanian from the Greek "metropolis" via the Slavic word *mitropolitu*, meaning "the head of an ecclesiastical metropolis", has as a English correspondent the phrase "metropolitan bishop", which is considered a synonym of "archbishop" in the Catholic Church, but is different in the Orthodox Church, where this position ranks above that of an archbishop.

Due to these differences between the Orthodox and the Catholic rites, some religious terms in Romanian do not have an exact equivalent in English, but they are explained by means of paraphrase. For example, the word *pisanie*, which appears in a historical text about the Hurezi Monastery, is translated into English, on the site www.proz.com, as "rotive in the church porch", although the term "rotive" is not even explained in any English dictionary.

Other translators propose the word "inscription" as an equivalent of *pisanie*, though it will imply a loss in meaning, since *pisanie* is a particular type of inscription. Therefore, I preferred to use in my translation a more common paraphrase, "votive inscription", which, in my opinion, renders the meaning more accurately.

From the third category of terms, namely those referring to personal qualities that need to be interpreted in the light of Christianity, I have encountered only one, *milostenie*, a trait of character associated to Alexandru cel Bun, who is presented in all the historical texts I have translated as the prototype of a Christian ruler. Instead of "pity" or "mercy", which are usually given in bilingual dictionaries as equivalents of this Romanian word, I have opted for "generosity", which implies not only mercy towards people in need, but also a propensity for donating to the poor and to churches – one of the highly praised virtues in Christianity.

In the text to translate from Romanian into English, I have also found a lot of terms from the fourth category, which designate specifically-religious concepts or, more precisely, Christian celebrations. Unlike in Romania, where the two celebrations of Virgin Mary are ranked according to their importance, as *Sfânta Maria Mare* and *Sfânta Maria Mică*, in English they are neutrally perceived and simply designated by different terms: "The Assumption (of the Virgin)", from the Latin verb *assumere* = to take up, and "The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary", with an explanatory phrase.

The technical terms that designate liturgical objects, which belong to the fifth category, are not difficult to translate, even if the terms in Romanian are of Slavic or Greek origin and the ones in English have a Latin or Germanic etymology. For example, *ripidă*, from the Slavic *ripida* (= "protection"), has as an equivalent in English the phrase "church hand fan", which explains the shape of this object designed for keeping away the insects from the sacramental wine. A similar word is *epitrahil/ patrafir*, from the Slavic *petrahilu* (= "cap"), which has a perfect equivalent in English, "stole".

Some words that are used in the liturgical language, but which could occur in other styles or registers, are frequent in historical texts. For instance, the word "trespasses" is used in an English article on the topic of historic preservation, with the figurative meaning it has in the prayer to Our Father. This is the reason why, in the context "we should be forgiven for our trespasses", related to the incapacity of preserving and restoring important historic monuments, I have translated this phrase as *ar trebui să ni se ierte nouă greşelile noastre*.

Since all the categories of religious terms are illustrated in the historical texts I had to translate, it was a good opportunity for me to start a glossary, which could help me (and others) in the future, when dealing with this type of language. The archaic character of such terms, their different etymology in English and Romanian and the emotional connotations they are endowed with in either language makes any terminological endeavour worth accomplishing.

Conclusion

Even if Umberto Eco used to say that translation is the art of failure, historical texts prove that sometimes, instead of a loss, there is a gain in meaning when they are translated into another language. When speaking about the translation of religious terms in historical texts, there is definitely a gain for all the agents involved. The translators gain a lot of knowledge when doing their job, because without thorough research it is impossible to find the right cultural equivalents. The reader gains a deeper understanding of some issues that go beyond the historical value of a monument or artefact and reach a certain level of spirituality. Last, but not least, the author of the source text gains, over time, a new form of recognition from a target audience who, otherwise, would have never understood the true message of his work. The translation of historical texts that contain a lot of religious terms is certainly more complex and, consequently, more demanding than many other types of translation, because of the amount of general knowledge and expertise in both history and religion it requires, the emotional involvement it implies, the implications it may have if "trespassing", or deviating from the traditional interpretations of certain canonical passages, celebrations, rituals, etc., and the cultural differences between the times and places that the texts refer to and the current reality.

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About the author

Raluca GHENŢULESCU is a Lecturer, Ph.D., at the Department of Foreign Languages and Communication, Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest.

Email: raluca.ghentulescu@utcb.ro

TRANSLATING CIVIL ENGINEERING TEXTS INTO NON-NATIVE TONGUE: ROMANIAN TO ENGLISH

Liliana-Florentina RICINSCHI

Abstract: Western communities and Western scholars such as Newmark consider that translations are to be made only towards one's mother tongue (Newmark, 1999) whereas users of a minor language or "a language of limited diffusion" (Pokorn, 2009) have always been forced to translate into foreign languages. Translations into a non-mother tongue thus reflect the common practice of minor-language communities. The number and variety of errors in translations with the source language as mother tongue exceed by far the number of errors with the target language as mother tongue. This article focuses, therefore, on the analysis of errors encountered in translations of civil engineering texts from Romanian, as other tongue, to English, with the objective of establishing possible causes for which those errors occur.

Keywords: *civil engineering, non-mother tongue, translation error, error frequency, linguistic transfer*

Introduction

The general tendency when faced specialized translations is to treat them, not as the complex phenomenon they represent, but as a simple transfer of terms from source to target text. However, besides the terminological aspect of the matter, there are other issues that arise in the case of specialized translation. "This highlights that a translation, apart from being cohesive, must also be coherent. The translator must take into account the contextual clues embedded in the discourse in order to avoid ambiguities in the produced document, as long as such ambiguity did not exist in the original one" (Olteanu, 2012: 13).

Translations from the civil engineering domain, as a subcategory of technical ones, are subject to the same rules and constraints as other domains of specialised translations, be they medical, economic or belonging to different industries.

Function of the complexity of the source text and or its degree of specialization, the translator is confronted with a series of difficulties when reproducing the message into the target language. Due to the specificity of each language errors or imprecisions might occur.

1. Specificity and difficulties in specialised translations

Translating specialised text involves choices at several levels: terminological and lexical level, text and discourse level, when the choices of discourse pattern and translation method are decided, and so on. According to Gerzymisch-Abrogast (2008) these choices and solutions are not repeatable, some of them being based on the translator's individual decisions. Taking this into consideration, it is obvious that translation cannot be ruled by objectivity. There are, however, issues and solutions to these issues which are subject to rules when produced, investigated and discussed. We consider that some of these rules are related to the specificity of the text to be translated and to the difficulties that each type of text might raise. Therefore, identifying the above-mentioned aspects helps the translator make the correct decision.

1.1 General remarks

When discussing the specificities of technical translations, Newmark (1993) emphasises the tendency of using highly specialised terminology, disregarding the target reader and the level of expertise they have. We concur with Newmark in that translations should be adapted to the audience's needs and that one and the same text may be translated differently for laymen and for experts or academic staff. In the end, an informative text should give "the information clearly, neatly and elegantly (that is its 'literary' quality), preferably in professional language (technical and ordinary). It need not give all the information explicit in the original, provided it is implicit in the translation, and that the reader is likely to grasp it (Newmark, 1993: 2).

The same criticism with respect to the disregard of the end audience is highlighted by Dollerup (2006), this time about the difficulty the ordinary customer has in understanding the description of a pharmaceutical product. Despite the fact that the specifications of the law are such that the language used in these leaflets should be understandable for the ordinary customer, there is often only one translation available, the one addressing the pharmacist.

Newmark links the difficulties with which a translator is faced with the applicability of translation methods:

> Briefly, a translation problem arises from a stretch of text of any length which is not readily amenable to literal or word for word translation. Therefore there will be a choice of translation procedures,

> depending on the relevant contextual criteria. Even after arriving at a preferred solution, there may well be approximately synonymous solutions of equal merit; much translation is a compromise between one solution and another; a juggling act, a toss up, a tightrope; it is often subject to a change of mind within any space of time on the translator's or reader's or critic's part. (Newmark, 1993: 2)

With respect to the difficulties encountered during the translation process, Croitoru considers that "in translating and interpreting, difficulty is [...] both a psycholinguistic and a linguistic matter, if not linguistic to a much greater extent" (Croitoru, 1996: 133).

Croitoru goes further and identifies as possible stages at which difficulties may occur, namely the level of language competence both receptively and productively. Another aspect which may mislead the translator is the apparent surface similarity between the ST and the TT, as in the case of false friends.

It is therefore necessary for the translator to master to a high degree the formal structures of the ST and the communicative context. Beside the lexical and grammatical structures with which a translator must operate, the phraseology and collocation patterns of the TT must also conform to the target language norms.

There can be, therefore, several domains where particular difficulties are identified, out of which terminology and morphology, more specifically the construction of Noun Phrases, are presented below.

1.2 Terminology

Terminology, descriptive terminology to be more specific, concerns itself with degrees of stability and variation, particularities regarding the use of terms and their specialised meaning, as well as with identifying possible terms for newer domains, selecting appropriate contexts and grouping them around one term (Bidu-Vrănceanu, 2011). All play an important role in decoding the meaning of a term, therefore offering crucial information to the translator. Additionally, we concur with Ghenţulescu (2015) in that translators draw on theoretical terminological principles in order to better grasp relationships between concepts, the ways to create new syntagmatic units and to choose the best equivalents in the target languages. Terminology is also an instrument for translators to distinguish between simple words and terms.

Another important aspect regarding terminology is connected with measuring the terminological density in a text (Ghenţulescu, 2015). Running this type of terminological analysis enables the translator to estimate the degree of specialisation of a text. The texts selected as corpus fall into two categories. The first one is made of texts with a high terminological density, which exhibit an important number or complex terms. Eurocodes are the documents exhibiting this high terminological condensation. The other category is represented by texts with smaller number of terms, therefore with a less degree of specialisation. Scientific articles and technical expertise reports are part of this category.

1.3 Noun phrases

The next category contains difficulties related to the translation of morphological categories. When translating specialised texts, especially highly specialised ones, a very difficult issue is the length of the Noun Phrases. English complex noun phrases, called "noun strings" by Trimble (1985), were usually made up of juxtaposed nouns without any preposition that would identify their semantic connections.

The advantage of using noun phrases was that they allow "complex information to be compressed into a word. And it also allows a high level of abstraction" (Paltridge and Starfield, 2013: 165). Yet, the disadvantage was that the semantic explicitness was sacrificed on behalf of linguistic economy.

Noun phrases have caused both morphological and semantic problems, such as ambiguity. Some sentences could be given two interpretations as a result of the arrangement of words. It was not the number or words that caused the problem, but the multiplicity or confusion of grammatical roles and relationships. It was very important to identify the relationships within the elements of the structure. These relationships, as identified by Croitoru (1996) can be made more difficult to grasp because of deletion of information from surface structure, such as a preposition, or a relative clause which could have clarified the meaning.

2. The concept of translation error

In defining the term "error" we decided to adopt Hansen's (2010) line of thought. Thus, if translation is defined as the production of a target text which is based on a source text, a translation quality assessment should take into account the relationship between the two texts. House (1997) added to this the relationship between features of the two texts and the way they are perceived by author, translator, and recipient.

A second aspect worth mentioning is the difference between the concepts of "error" and "mistake". Hubbard et al. (1991: 134) defines the two as follows: while genuine errors are produced by the insufficient knowledge about L2 (in this case English) or "by incorrect hypotheses about it", mistakes are due to "temporary lapses of memory, confusion, slips of the tongue and so on". Another author to adopt the distinction "mistake" vs. "error" is Pym. For him the former occur if a choice is wrong when it should have been right, with no shades in between: "Properly translation errors result from situations where there is no clear-cut separation of right from wrong" (Pym, 1993: 102-103).

The present research focused on "errors" as defined by Hubbard, completely disregarding "mistakes".

2.1 Translating into non-native tongue

Although Western communities and Western scholars, such as Newmark consider that translations are to be made only towards one's mother tongue, users of a minor language or "a language of limited diffusion" (Pokorn, 2009), have always been forced to translate into foreign languages. Translations into a non-mother tongue thus reflect the common practice of minor-language communities. Since the number of errors in translations with the source language as mother tongue exceeds by far the number of errors with the target language as mother tongue, they are the first to be described and analysed.

The aim of this subchapter is to identify errors present in translations having English as target language and to establish possible causes for which those errors occurred. A classification of these errors is also provided together with some statistics regarding their number and frequency.

We decided to group the errors encountered in these translations according to their typology/specificity. Thus, there will be sections containing the following types of errors: linguistic errors, which are further split into morphological and syntactic, lexical and terminological ones, register errors, cases of underusing or overusing translation procedures and methods, stylistic errors mainly including punctuation and formatting.

A similar taxonomy in classifying errors in translating or in writing specialized discourse in English was found, among others, in Moldovan (2011) with respect to writing medical texts, Bazlik (2009) for legal texts and Fraile Vicente (2007) for business idioms.

2.2 Error analysis

The current sections of the paper present one or two examples of errors found in the main traditional linguistic fields, namely morphology, syntax, terminology and lexis, as well as a series of stylistic and formatting errors, which are usually less dealt with in specialised analyses. The selection is structured as a table, with a short explanation regarding the corrections that led to the second translation variant.

The corpus on which the error analysis presented here is based consists of research papers in the domain of civil engineering, a technical expertise of a telecommunication pillar and the websites of several civil engineering companies.

2.2.1 Morphological errors

<table>
<tr><th>Source Text</th><th>Translation 1</th><th>Translation 2</th></tr>
<tr><td>Drumul naţional 2, clasificat ca drum european, E 85, face legătura între capitala ţării, Bucureşti, km 0+000 şi nordul Moldovei, la graniţa cu Ucraina, km 482+230. Tronsonul supus studiului are 8 km lungime, între km 342+000 (Săbăoani) – km 350+000.</td><td>The national road 2, rated as European road, E 85, represents a connection between Bucharest, km 0+000 and the north of Moldova, at border with Ukraine[1], km 482+230. The road section under study has 8 km length[2], between km 342+000 (Săbăoani) – km 350+000.</td><td>The National Road 2, rated as European Road, E 85, represents a connection between Bucharest, km 0+000 and the North of Moldavia, at the border with Ukraine[1a], km 482+230. The road section under study has 8 km in length[2a], between km 342+000 (Săbăoani) – km 350+000.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">[1]Definite determiner missing from a Noun Phrase made definite by the PP modifier with Ukraine.
[2] Absence of preposition – the lack of preposition in the source text had an influence for the target text, where the preposition required in this structure was also overlooked.
[1a] The definite determiner the has been added.
[2a] The preposition in has been added, thus making the structure grammatical.</td></tr>
</table>

pământul de fundare este **preponderent constituit** din argilă prăfoasă, P5, şi prafuri argiloase, P4, conform studiilor geotehnice, pământuri clasificate ca "foarte sensibile" la acţiunea **fenomenului de îngheţ-dezgheţ**;	- The subgrade **consists prevalent of**[1] dusty clay, type P5 and clayey dusts, type P4, according to the geotechnical studies, soils rated as "very sensitive" at action of **frost-thaw phenomenon**[2]**;**	- The subgrade **consists prevalently of**[1a] dusty clay, type P5 and clayey dusts, type P4, according to the geotechnical studies, soils rated as "very sensitive" at action of **the frost-thaw phenomenon**[2a];
[1]There is an adjective form used instead of the correct adverbial one, presumably due to the influence of Romanian, where the adverb and the adjective share the same form. [2]Lack of definite determiner with a singular countable noun describing a unique phenomenon. [1a] The correct form of the word has been inserted. [2a] The right determiner has been inserted.		

Table 1. Morphological errors

2.2.2 Syntactical errors

Source Text	Translation 1	Translation 2
Asupra tronsonului de drum studiat se pot face următoarele aprecieri generale : • se încadrează în tipul climateric II, fiind caracterizat printr-un regim hidrologic defavorabil, tip 2b, conform prevederilor STAS 1709/2, având-se în vedere existenţa unor şanţuri neimpermeabilizate şi cu funcţionare necorespunzatoare ;	As concern the studied road length, the following remarks can be done: • It frames into climatic type II, being characterized by **a hydrologic regime unfavorable,** type 2b, **according to stipulations of STAS 1709/2,** taking into consideration existence of **some ditches non-waterproofed** and with inadequate operation;	The following remarks can be made on the studied road length: • It is part of the climatic type II, being characterized by **an unfavorable hydrologic regime**, type 2b**, according to STAS 1709/2 stipulations,** taking into consideration the existence of **some non-waterproofed ditches** with inadequate operation;
Both noun phrases highlighted above exhibit wrong adjective-noun order, namely the adjective in the string is placed before the noun. The phrases have been rewritten so as to respect the rules in the TT.		

Presiunea de contact şi bazinul de deflexiune este stocat pentru trei lovituri în fiecare secţiune de măsurare, fiind utilizate datele din ultima lovitură, primele două având scopul de a asigura un contact cât mai bun între placa de măsurare şi suprafaţa îmbrăcămintei rutiere.	The contact pressure and deflection basin is recorded for three drops in each test section, **being used the last drop,** the first two having the role of assurance of a good contact between the test plate and road surface.	The contact pressure and deflection basin is recorded for three drops in each test section, **the data from the** last drop **being used**, the first two having the role of assurance of a good contact between the test plate and road surface.
The subject in this sentence is missing, thus rendering the sentence ungrammatical. A subject has been added so as to respect the structure of the TT, where the presence of this sentence constituent is compulsory.		

Table 2. Syntactical errors

2.2.3 Lexical and terminological errors

Source Text	Translation 1	Translation 2
Asupra tronsonului de drum studiat **se pot face următoarele aprecieri** generale :	**As concern** the studied road length, the following **remarks can be done**:	**On** the studied road length, the following **remarks can be made**:
Poor choice of words in the translation of **asupra**. Wrong verb: the collocation is *to make remarks*. *On* is more appropriate in the context. The verb *to do* has been replaced with *to make*.		
• În primăvara anului 2005, capacitatea portantă a complexului rutier a crescut puţin, (deflexiune mai mare cu doar 1,4% faţă de primăvara anului 2004) în condiţiile în care tronsonul de drum studiat a preluat traficul de calcul în perioada 2004-2005. Această situaţie se datorează în principal îmbunătăţirii condiţiilor hidrologice (deflexiunea la	• In spring of the year 2005, the pavement bearing capacity had a slow growth (**deflection higher with only 1,4% given that in spring**[1] of the year 2004) **in circumstances of carrying on of the design traffic for the period 2004– 2005 by the road section under study.**[2] This situation is due mainly to improvement	• In spring 2005, the pavement bearing capacity had a slow growth **(deflection higher with only 1,4% compared to the one in**[1] spring 2004) **following the transfer of the design traffic for the period 2004-2005 to the road section under study.**[2] This situation is due mainly to

ultimul senzor fiind mai mică în 2005 faţă de 2004, cu 7,3%).	of the hydrological conditions (deflection at the last sensor being lower than in year 2004, with 7,3%).	the improvement of the hydrological conditions (deflection at the last sensor being lower than in 2004 with 7,3%).
Wrong choice of phrases. Wrong choice of prepositional phrases and of verbs. The wrong or inappropriate structures have been replaced with more appropriate ones.		

Table 3. Lexical and terminological errors

2.2.4 Stylistic and formatting errors

Source Text	Translation 1	Translation 2
Durata de viaţă la oboseală poate fi împărţită în două stadii : - durata de viaţă până la iniţierea fisurii ;	Fatigue life can be divided into two stages: - the lifetime **till** crack initiation;	Fatigue life can be divided into two stages: - the lifetime **until** crack initiation;
Till – informal, inappropriate for a scientific article. Its formal counterpart has been introduced.		
Din cauza modului pretenţios de a confecţiona epruvetele de acest tip s-a conceput de către autor, un cofrag care să ermit realizarea unei probe de tip grindă ce prezintă două secţiuni slăbite (figura 3).	Due to the complicated way of manufacturing this kind of sample specimen, **an encasing was designed by the author an encasing to allow** the achievement of a girder type sample which presents two weaken sections (figure 3).	Due to the complicated way of manufacturing this kind of sample specimens, **an encasing was designed by the author to allow** the achievement of a girder type sample which presents two weakened sections (figure 3).
Typical structure for Romanian meant to lay emphasis on a particular item, but unnecessary in English since there is no similar effect to be obtained. The second occurrence of the term has been deleted.		

Table 4. Stylistic errors

3. Interpretation of the data

As expected, almost all of the errors encountered are caused by "negative linguistic transfer, that is, a high level of interference between the lexical and grammatical structures of the native tongue and the ones of the target language" (Presadă and Badea, 2014: 53). The table below contains the results of the quantitative analysis and was adapted from Presadă and Badea (2014).

Type of error	Number of occurrences
Word order	46
Lexical confusions	41
Misuse of the definite and indefinite articles	39
Wrong syntactic construction	36
Misuse of prepositions	35
Use of the wrong morphological category	30
Omission of prepositions	28
Misuse of tense or aspect	25
Double subject	21
Wrong plural forms	16
Omission of subjects	13
Inaccurate terminology	10
Addition of unnecessary prepositions	10
Stylistic inconsistency	8

Table 5. Quantitative analysis of errors when translating into English

As can be seen from the table above, the highest percentage of errors is represented by the wrong word order in the target text. This occurs due to the tendency to "closely mimic the Romanian phrasing" (Moldovan, 2011: 392) when translating into another language and since the Romanian language being more flexible than English, and thus leading to the production of inaccurate structures in the target language.

The second best represented category of errors is represented by instances of lexical confusions. As opposed to the majority of the other errors, this type of error has less to do with the influence of the mother tongue but is rather linked to the nuanced contained by the discourse. These nuances may be somewhat more difficult to grasp for the non-native speaker but are not necessarily influenced by the translator's mother tongue.

An important number of errors encountered include the lack of correspondence between structures containing prepositions in Romanian vs. English and the lack of correspondence between the use of articles in the two languages. Both the above-mentioned aspects result in inaccurate translations.

The use of tenses and especially the use of aspect, either perfect or continuous, also seemed to raise a series of difficulties. But, as opposed to the errors described in the last two paragraphs, in the case of aspect errors occur because of the absence of the concept in the Romanian language.

A less well represented category is that of terminological errors. These are rather errors of accuracy or of nuance, not connected to the linguistic pattern of the Romanian language.

It is also important to notice that there are very few mistakes that alter the meaning of the Source Text. The majority of the errors are structural, without affecting the quality of the message.

The chart below is a graphical representation of the way errors are spread in the corpus.

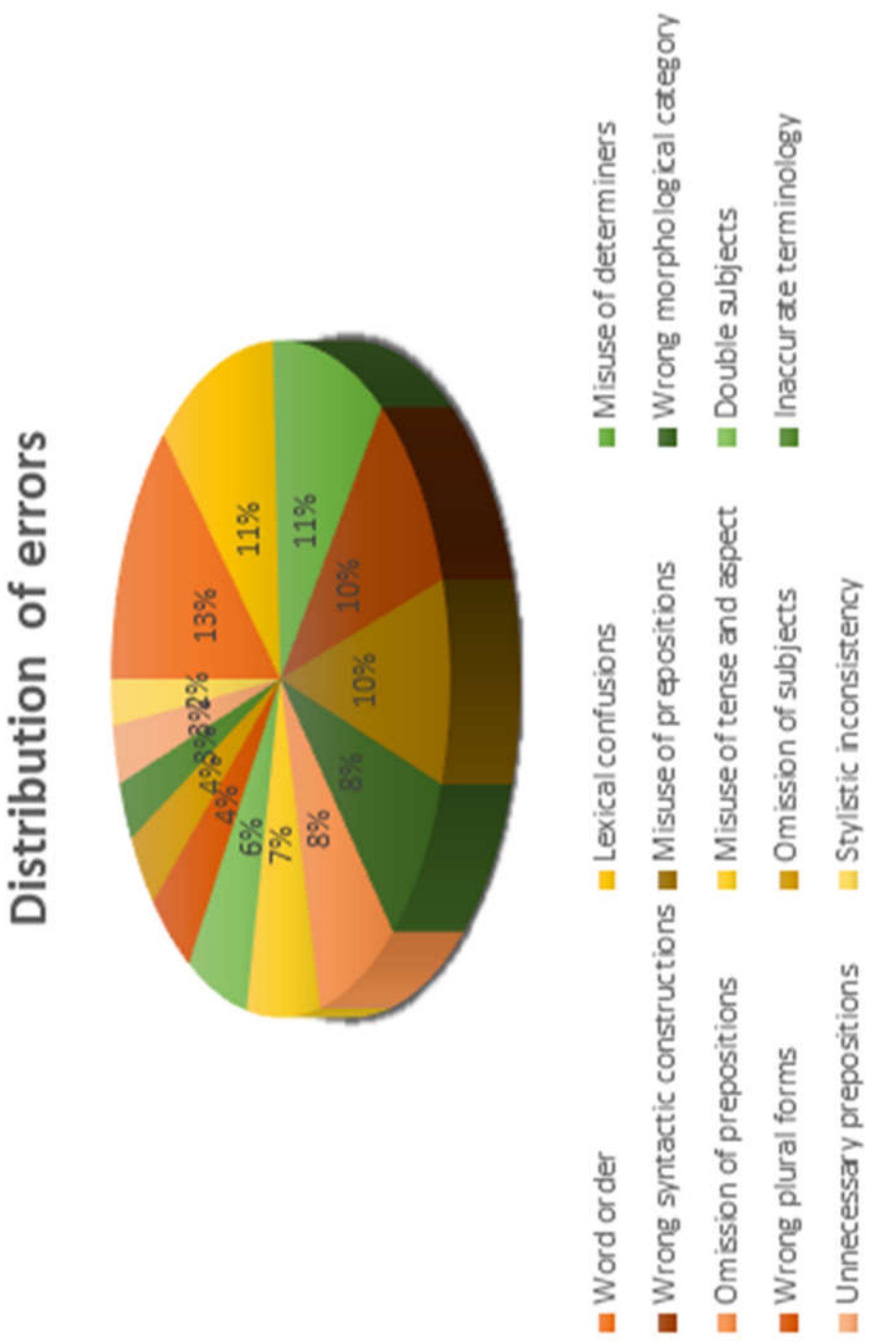

Figure 1. Distribution of errors across texts with Romanian as ST

Conclusions

The first conclusion that can be drawn after the qualitative and quantitative analysis is that there are significant quantitative errors in translations where the source text is the translator's mother tongue. If a comparison is drawn with translations having the target text as mother tongue, in our case Romanian, we notice that the number of errors in the case in which the mother tongue is the source language is significantly higher than in the other situation.

A second conclusion that becomes apparent deals with the type of errors that are recurrent in these texts. In this case an influence of the Romanian morphological and syntactic pattern can be noticed. The majority of the errors were actually based on this influence and were of syntactical nature.

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About the author

Liliana-Florentina Ricinschi is PhD candidate and teaches English linguistics and translation at the Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest.

E-mail: florentina.ricinschi@utcb.ro

TRANSLATORS' ETHICAL DILEMMAS IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION.

PERPETUATION OF STEREOTYPES VS. THE LOSS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Diana OȚĂT

Abstract: As cross-cultural mediators, translators invariably commute between the source language cultural settings and the target language background in search of the most appropriate translation strategy to meet the rigors imposed by up-to-date quality assurance standards of this profession. Besides two central translation principles, i.e. the functionalist view as endorsed by Nord (1997) that the source text transference into the target language needs to fulfil the appropriate function for which it has been produced, both in form and content, and Venuti's (1995) foregnizing perspective aimed to diminish ethnocentrism and provide the readership with the socio-cultural savour of the source text, we still need to grow aware of a third truism - that translators observe product or expectancy norms (Toury, 1995). Hence, since translators are readership-oriented, seeking to meet its expectations, they tend to become affiliated with certain prevailing ideologies, attitudes, behaviours, and shared values. Under the circumstances, translation ethics is challenged. Beyond its narrow sense, to domesticate or to foreignize a target text, translation ethics may give rise to further moral dilemmas. Designed as a corpus-based analysis, our present paper aims at investigating the Romanian translated version of some newspaper headlines and short statements released by foreign agencies. Thus, we seek to investigate whether via translation some source-culture socio-cultural stereotypes are inclined to perpetuation and overgeneralisation into the target culture, hence a detrimental effect upon intercultural communication sensitivity. However, a reversed facet of the ethical issue in translation will be also placed into discussion. We shall highlight some effects foreignizing or exoticizing translation practices, as manifestations of the contemporary globalised consciousness, may have upon national and cultural identity.

***Keywords**: translation strategies, translation ethics, cross-cultural communication, cultural identity*

Introduction

Even though our modern society has broadly regarded the concept of ethics within the institutionalised network of a code of practice or a code of conduct, the ethics that govern contemporary professions escape our office ambit, envisaging social accountability and a communicative approach to shape up a sustainable interface facing cultural barriers.

Thus, by approaching a diachronic perspective, in what follows, we shall review the profession of translation in terms of ethics. Our theoretical framework will be rounded by means of a corpus-based investigation focusing on the *Colectiv nightclub fire* phenomenon, a phenomenon that crossed national boundaries via translation.

We have embarked upon our study by distinguishing between two core concepts that govern each contemporary profession:

ethics [usually treated as plural]
Moral principles that govern a person's behaviour or the conducting of an activity.
"a code of ethics"
The moral correctness of specified conduct.
https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ethics

norms - something that is usual, typical, or standard.
standard or pattern, especially of social behaviour, that is typical or expected.
"the norms of good behaviour in the Civil Service|
https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/norm

Then, we come to understand that while
Ethics - are social-imposed rules based on core notions of what is morally good or bad.
Norms - set up standard principles that define the appropriate behaviour.

Since the contemporary society has approached these two concepts within the institutionalized framework of a code of practice or conduct, i.e. the ethics that govern current professions, axiomatically, translation, as a profession, once acknowledged with the foundation of FIT (Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs / International Federation of Translators) in 1953 and the endorsement of the Translator's Charter (http://www.fit-ift.org/translators-charter) at Dubrovnik in 1963, establishes a set of professional responsibilities and rights translators have, on the one hand in relation to his/her product, and, on the other hand in relation to his/her client. According to the code itself, in terms of professional responsibilities and ethics, translators shall focus on his/her clients' demands. First and foremost the translator shall provide clients with accurate and high quality translations, observing confidentiality clauses, in exchange of a fair payment, while denoting accountability and professionalism, for "every translation shall be faithful, and render exactly the idea and form of the original. This fidelity constitutes both a moral and legal obligation for the translator." (International Federation of

Translators – FIT, from The Translator's Charter, approved by the Congress at Dubrovnik in 1963 and amended in Oslo on July 9, 1994).

1. Translation ethics – a diachronic perspective

As opposed to the conventional mind-set towards translators' codes of conduct, Baker (2015) labels them as "traditional cornerstones of professional translation and interpreting that are disseminated and circulated within translation training programmes mainly from the perspective of the service economy rather than social responsibility or human dignity."

Hence, beyond affiliation with certain prevailing principles, attitudes, behaviours, and shared values, translators may face additional moral dilemmas in terms of social responsibility and human dignity. We could then render translation ethics as a twofold approach i.e. professional and personal ethics, what Baker (2011: 276) defined in terms of "deontological" and "teleological" models. According to Baker (2015), "deontological models" refer to "what is ethical by reference to what is right in and of itself, irrespective of consequences, i.e. rule-based models", whereas, a "teleological approach would justify an action on the basis of the envisaged end results".

In terms of professional ethics, a diachronic overview upon the process of translation vis-à-vis the *translatum*, i.e. the translation outcome, would depict this dichotomy as reduced to a central effort, to preserve the meaning of the source text as accurate as possible. In line with this, prominent scholars had advocated that the translator needs to stay invisible, for the target audience to hear the voice of the original writer, rather than the voices of any other party. Under the circumstances, translation norms and ethics became somehow parallel terms used to highlight that the practice of translation means, as endorsed by Chesterman (1997: 149), "a strict commitment to precise expressions". Accordingly, loyalty and faithfulness stand as key concerns to achieve a word-for-word translation of the target text, though, as put forward by Nord (1997), the result might not be considered satisfying, or appropriate for the intended purpose.

Once functionalist approaches emerged, starting with the 70's, prominent names such as Reiss (1971), Vermeer (1989/2000) and Nord (1997) highlighted that real life situations of a source culture cannot be rendered via equivalence into the target culture, since the target text is purpose-oriented. Translation has then been approached as intentional and purposeful for context-based situations, while the translator needs to observe particular norms in relation to the target audience and in compliance with the socio-cultural background to meet, as emphasised by Nord (1997: 12), "expectations and communicative needs". Though, while doing this, Vermeer (1989/2000) claims that the translator may deviate from a faithful rendering of a source text.

Later on, modern functionalist outlooks bring to the fore the communicative dimension of translation. Thus, Newmark (1981) advocates that translation has a communicative purpose and the translator should focus on transferring the most relevant contextual meaning of the original source text. Then, in terms of ethics, translators become less concerned with the representation of the source text, focusing rather on the principle of facilitating effective communication and cooperation.

Chesterman puts forward an integrated approach to translation as practice and profiles it as a service aimed at meeting clients' demands (2000: 19). Consequently, the ethical norms would focus to fulfil high standards of a professional service. Thus, Chesterman distinguishes between:

- norm-based ethics: ethics are incorporated within particular socio-cultural norms imposed throughout a certain time span;
- ethical behaviour: the appropriate/inappropriate behaviour appropriateness as imposed by the norm-based ethics.

Some other contemporary approaches have carried on exploring the impact of translation within ideological, cultural and social settings. Lefevere (1992) argues that the validity of translation is determined by ideology. Also, Tymoczko (2006: 448) advocates that translation can be adapted to suit different contexts, readership, media, technology, etc.

Within this context, we come to understand that translators need to interconnect professional and personal ethics with two other central principles, accountably and socio-cultural awareness. At this point, we embrace Pym's (2012: 1) approach with reference to translators' ethical responsibilities and rights. As highlighted by the author, such responsibilities and rights go beyond the ambit of the professional agenda, as they need to observe and function in compliance with the socio-cultural and political landscape of both source and target texts.

Thus, in line with Baker and Perez-Gonzalez (2011: 39), we grow aware that translation ethics play a key role in "promoting cultural and linguistic diversity and developing multilingual content in global media networks and the audiovisual marketplace". Furthermore, as endorsed by Baker (2015), ethics "have also become central to the delivery of institutional agendas in a wide range of settings, including supranational organisations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the European Commission and the Football Association (FIFA), among others, as well as cultural, judicial, asylum, healthcare and social work services at the national level". Baker motivates this multi-faceted growth of ethics as based on the rapid and far-reaching changes on the labour market that triggered in recent years an energetic responsiveness on behalf of prominent academics concerned with the issue of translation and interpreting ethics. Thus, Baker (2015: 67) highlights the need for "increased accountability; increased engagement by professional translators and interpreters with issues of ethics and a growing willingness among them to exercise moral judgement". Moreover, the author advocates that translators and interpreters should become more visible in the "international arena as a result of the spread and intensity of violent conflict; and technological advances which have had a major impact on the profession". At this point, the distinction between deontological and teleological perspectives could help us map new approaches in translation while observing socio-cultural values and the selection of the most appropriate vocabulary in real-life contexts, based on multiple ethical considerations.

Within this context, based on the premises that contemporary translation ethics envisage not only compliance with form and function, but also increased accountability, social responsibility and human dignity, we seek to investigate whether translators are inclined to perpetuate and overgeneralize socio-cultural stereotypes of the source culture into the target culture, since translation could be adapted to suit different contexts, readership, media, technology, etc.

2. Translation ethics as increased accountability, social responsibility: a corpus-based analysis

In what follows we shall adopt a two-fold approach to test translation ethics in terms of

- form and function as indicators of norm-based ethics (Chesterman, 2000: 18);
- accountability and responsibility as means of intercultural mediation competence – i.e. ethical behaviour (Chesterman, 2000: 18).

To carry out our investigation we have designed a specialised corpus, based on internal sampling criteria, encompassing 11 news articles posted on the official site of BBC News www.bbc.com, thus observing the norms of representativeness and size.

The samples selected were posted on the official site of BBC News between 31 October 2015 and 3 March 2016 to release worldwide the news about *Colectiv*, "the Bucharest nightclub fire".

Our research focused on the translated version of state representatives' statements/ witnesses' testimonials / Romanian media headlines. As research parameter we have set translation ethics in relation to the functionalist perspective: appropriateness of translation strategies and procedures in compliance with text type and text purpose to analyse behavioural ethics, i.e. the degree of stereotyping, as means of over-generalizing socio-cultural markers of the source culture into the target culture.

To test our hypothesis, we have carried out a corpus-based investigation. By applying both quantitative and qualitative research methods, we have developed a two-level contrastive analysis setting as variables:

a. text function – the functionalist approach,
b. the appropriateness of translation strategies and procedures in compliance with text type and text purpose

in relation to behavioural ethics implication, i.e. the connotation of the translation choices and the equivalents selected.

Tables 1 and 2 below illustrate instances of professional ethics in relation to text function and the appropriateness of translation strategies and procedures applied.

In order to secure accurate results we sought to carry out a contrastive investigation of the corpus, aiming to develop qualitative analyses and to clearly illustrate frequency rates of the results encountered.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="8">INFORMATIVE TEXT TYPE - 11 BBC news articles</td><td colspan="2">Text function</td></tr>
<tr><td>✓</td><td>✗</td></tr>
<tr><td>plain communication of facts - information transmitted through a logical and referential language dimension</td><td>the inducing of behavioural responses – reactions: manipulation via witnesses testimonials - emotional aspects</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">"More than 140 survivors are still in hospital. Some with severe burns.
Hundreds of people had been at a rock concert at the Colectiv club on Friday when the fire broke out, prompting a rush for the doors.
Reports suggest the cause of the blaze may have been fireworks that were let off inside the club." (BBC, 2015a)</td><td>"People were fainting, they were fainting because of the smoke. It was total chaos, people were trampled"
(summaried statement of a longer testimonial in Romanian)
"Noi am ieșit afară trecând la propriu peste alți oameni și alți oameni trecând peste noi […] Eu am ieșit în primul val, în al doilea val erau oameni răniți. Arseseră, nu mai puteau să respire și încercam să îi tragem să-i ducem mai în stânga […]" (Achim, 2015)</td></tr>
<tr><td>"I would've given first aid but what can you do when someone is hot with burnt skin? You couldn't even touch them." (BBC, 2015)
(summaried statement of a longer testimonial in Romanian)
„M-am gandit la primul ajutor, dar nu știam ce înseamna primul ajutor, pentru că îi vedeai că sunt pe picioarele lor, aveau haine fumegande, vedeai pielea arsă, dar nu puteai să pui mana pe ei" (Achim, 2015)</td></tr>
<tr><td>The communicative intention is centred on the 'topic' of the text</td><td>Lack of objectivity – similar approach as in advertising - vocative functions implied</td></tr>
<tr><td>Twenty-seven people - mostly teenagers and young people - have been killed after fire broke out at a nightclub in Bucharest, officials say.
The blaze took hold at the Colectiv club on Friday night, causing a stampede for the exit.
Emergency response chief Raed Arafat said 155 people were being treated in hospitals in the Romanian capital. (BBC, 2015b)</td><td>"Do you want my honest opinion? It will only increase bribes"

Use of slogans:
"Corruption kills!"
"Down with Ponta!"
"Down with Oprea!"
"Down with Piedone!"
(BBC, 2015c)</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1. Professional ethics in relation to text function

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3">INFORMA TIVE</td><td colspan="2">Translation strategy in compliance with text purpose</td></tr>
<tr><td>✓</td><td>✗</td></tr>
<tr><td>ST and TT purpose: informative information content of the text</td><td>TT hybridized: informative and manipulative purpose - impacting on the reader, especially on the emotional</td></tr>
</table>

	Selection of translation procedures in compliance with text purpose	
	Literal translation	**Omission**
	"It is a very sad day for all of us, for our nation and for me personally." (BBC, 2015b) "Este un moment foarte trist pentru noi toți, pentru națiunea noastră și pentru mine personal." (DCNEWS, 2015) "the club tragedy affected the nerve of the nation" (BBC, 2015d) "Această tragedie a afectat nervul naţiunii". (Iohannis, 2015)	"I am deeply grieved by the tragic events that happened this evening in downtown." (BBC, 2015b) "Sunt cutremurat și profund îndurerat de tragicul eveniment care s-a produs în această seară în centrul Capitalei." (DCNEWS, 2015) "We already have indications that the legal regulations had not been respected and nightclub regulations ignored" (BBC, 2015a) "Am deja indicii că nu au fost respectate reglementările legale și că ignorarea legilor a dus la această tragedie" (Peia, 2015)
	Situational equivalence	**Through translation - Allusion**
	"sea change" - Sea change (idiom), an idiom for broad transformation drawn from a phrase in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* IN 6 OF 11 ANALISED TEXTS "o schimbare de paradigmă" http://www.cotidianul.ro/	Cristian "Piedone" Popescu Piedone (Bigfoot) - comedy role of Bud Spencer (Carlo Pedersoli)

Table 2. Professional ethics in relation appropriateness of translation strategies and procedures in compliance with text type and text purpose

The outcomes of our analysis have been then approached in relation to behavioural ethics implications, as we aimed at investigating the connotation of the translation choices and the equivalents selected. Table 3 below illustrates some of the most frequently encountered instances.

Choice for equivalence	**EN**	**RO**	**Comment**
ignorance (law) *ignoranță*	-	0	negligence
	"Criminal law *Mens rea*, in Anglo-American law, criminal intent or evil mind. In general, the definition of a criminal offense involves not only an act or omission and its consequences but also the accompanying mental state of the actor. All criminal systems require an element of criminal intent for most crimes. Only Anglo-American systems, however, employ the term *mens rea*. Countries such as France and Japan simply specify that there must be a criminal intent unless a specific statute directs otherwise." (Encyclopaedia Britannica)	"Criminal law In most countries the law recognizes that a person who acts in *ignorance* of the facts of his action should not be held criminally responsible." (Encyclopaedia Britannica)	
sentiment of revolt *sentiment de revoltă*	-	0	
	"[mass noun] An attempt to end the authority of a person or body by rebelling." (English Oxford Living Dictionaries)	"s. f. 1. Sentiment de mânie provocat de o nedreptate sau de o acțiune nedemnă; indignare. 2. Răscoală spontană, neorganizată; răzvrătire, rebeliune. – Din fr. révolte." (Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii Române)	
sea change *schimbare de paradigmă*	+	+	socio-political context awareness
	"a change brought by the sea." (English Oxford Living Dictionaries) The term originally appears in William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* in a song sung by a supernatural spirit, Ariel, to Ferdinand, a prince of Naples, after Ferdinand's father's apparent death by drowning - therefore often used to mean a metamorphosis or alteration.	"schimbare de paradigmă"	

Choice for equivalence	EN	RO	Comment
irresponsible *iresponsabil*	-	0	faulty neglectful
	"adjective a person, attitude, or action not showing a proper sense of responsibility. carefree, non-compos mentis" (English Oxford Living Dictionaries)	"adj. (Adesea substantivat) Care este în situația de a nu putea răspunde de actele sale (reprobabile); p. ext. care este lipsit de simțul răspunderii; neresponsabil. – Din fr. irresponsable. adj. inconștient. (O faptă ~.)" (Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii Române)	

Table 3. Behavioural ethics implication: connotation of the selected equivalents

2.1 Results interpretation

According to our analysis, we would highlight that certain terms/structures were constantly repeated throughout the 11 articles released between 31.11.2015 and 03. 03.2016. Thus, we have found that some statements are reiterated constantly in most of the articles released within this time spam and within the production of the news text. Figure 1 below illustrates the frequency rate of the terms and structures encountered within our corpus-based analysis, both in text production and testimonial translation.

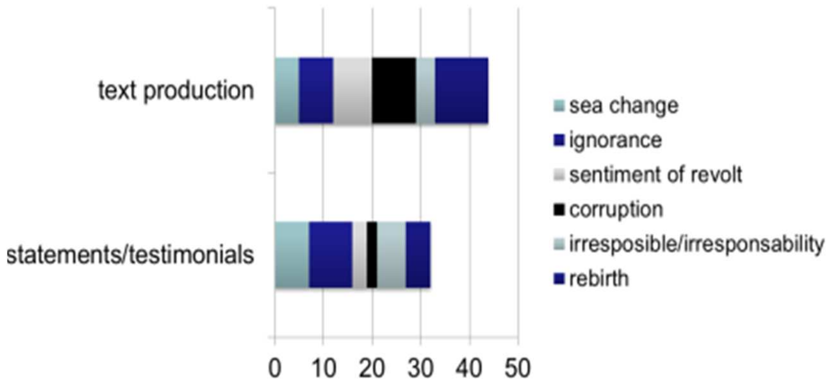

Figure 1. Frequency rate in equivalents selection

- In terms of professional ethics, we would argue that the informative function of the texts has been occasionally overtaken by the vocative, appellative one, since we all agree that repetition in vocative texts functions a persuasive, a brain-washing means to manipulate audience.

- In terms of behavioural ethics, the atypical repetition of certain terms/structures in informative text may imply some sort of subjective approach to a stereotypical image of the Romanian political scene, as governed by ignorance, corruption and irresponsibility

Under the circumstances, we could mention Venuti's (1995) view, as he advocates that translations may cause scandals and these scandals may be cultural, economic or political – generally due to a lack of awareness with regard to the socio-cultural background of the source culture, which may lead in the end to recurrent stereotyping.

However, the results encountered show that the Romanian socio-political scene depicted within the investigated articles has not been rendered necessarily via negative stereotypes.

The recurrent use of *rebirth* may have been selected as a specific feature of a nation who has the power to rebirth after national tragedies.

Moreover, a sense of domestication can be perceived from the translated version of the Romanian authorities' statement "sea change". Here, the domestic value of "sea change" was preferred to a word-for-word translation of "*schimbare the paradigmă"*. Ethically, the translation of this structure indicates solidarity, humanity and accountability.

Conclusion

To put in a nutshell, we could conclude that in terms of translation ethics, the translation of the statements and testimonials with regard to the tragic event of *Colective* released by BBC News did not approach an ethnocentric attitude, but rather a sentiment of solidarity and support towards a tragedy that has turn into a national phenomenon, and why not into a culture-specific notion – a *kulturem* of the contemporary Romanian society. Although some of the news texts were domesticated inevitably, hence some socio-cultural values might have been preserved and other excluded, the over-all impact did not lead to any scandal. In terms of ethics, we could validate that the source culture, i.e. the Romanian social and political context, has not been described via an ethnocentric attitude, but rather an ethno-relativist one, exhibiting joint effort and fraternization.

And even though, *colectiv* ro. / *collective* en. means:

0	0	-
"NOUN A count noun that denotes a group of individuals (e.g. assembly, family, crew)." (English Oxford Living Dictionaries)	"s. n. Grup de persoane cu interese și concepții comune, organizat pe același loc de producție, în vederea unor scopuri bine determinate și în care fiecare poartă răspunderea muncii de puse, se supune unei discipline liber consimțite și acceptă o conducere unică" (Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii Române)	Negative connotation ↓ Context-embedded ↓ The tragedy of a nation

within the specific socio-political context of 30 November 2015, the "Colectiv" event emphasises a common, shared history, and history has always to do with remembrance and memory (see 11 September 2011).

Thus, in the collective memory – the concept "Colectiv" carries across the language barrier the suffering and the tragedy Romanians went through and their typical feature of rebirth, while acting as a collective.

A relevant point highlighted within our research study, then, is whether professional codes of ethics ought to encourage, to a greater degree than they currently do, the role of personal ethics, and particularly the wider socio-cultural responsibility of the translator.

In conclusion, beyond professional codes of ethics, the role of personal ethics, and particularly socio-cultural responsibility of the translator may raise the case in favour of this approach to translation ethics.

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About the author

Diana OȚĂT is a Junior Lecturer, PhD, Department of British-American and German Studies, Faculty of Letters, University of Craiova.

E-mail: otatdiana@gmail.com

THE BENEFITS OF TERMINOLOGY MANAGEMENT

Maria Cătălina RADU

Abstract: The consistent use of terminology and a solid terminology management are primary conditions for maintaining consistency and quality in translation. CAT tools provide invaluable support when it comes to managing the terminology by using built-in features of the respective tools or creating so-called termbases. The purpose of this article is to explain the meaning of professional terminology management in the context of technical and specialized translation as well as to present the main benefits derived from using CAT Tools for terminology management.

Keywords: *terminology management, CAT tools, termbase, consistency, quality*

Bad terminology is the enemy of good thinking.
(Warren Buffet)

Introduction

Technology is the heart of human progress and development and it had influenced and guided the social and economic progress of the humanity of the past few centuries. In fact, technological progress is about improvements in the way goods and services are made available to the public.

Globalisation and the growth of international trade have led to an unprecedented development of the translation industry. Organizations all around the world have increased their needs for translation services in order to be present on worldwide markets. During the last decades, more than ever, translation became a key player in every single field, mainly due to the technological progress and the process of globalisation.

As every other aspect of the current society, the translation industry is highly influenced by the development and involvement of technology in the translation process. The availability of new translation tools based on translation memories and terminology management has led to dramatic changes in both the translator's work and the relations with the clients.

Translators are now relying on information technologies to make tight deadlines and deliver high-volume translations. Automated translation (AT) and computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools are a must in order to increase the productivity.

1. Everything starts with terminology

1.1 General aspects of terminological work

Translators often have to work with very specialised language, especially when translating technical and scientific documents that contain subject-specific terms. One of the most difficult tasks in this case is to find an equivalent term in the target language that has exact the same meaning in the context. This is where terminology becomes involved.

Terminology has developed as a discipline in recent years and the advances in technology had an essential role to play in this concern. In order to make the terminology useful for the translation process, a lot of terminological work is necessary, including the creation of vocabularies, glossaries, specialized dictionaries and term banks (Ghențulescu, 2015: 134).

Terminology became nowadays an indisputable subject when relating to technical and scientific translations. However, if the importance of a good terminological management is generally accepted as a key factor in assuring accuracy and consistency in translation, the amount of work that is necessary in order to create valuable terminological bases can be overwhelming. In *A Guide to Terminology*, Raluca Ghențulescu describes the essential principles that are to be followed when creating a terminology.

> […] the basic principles to be taken into consideration when creating a terminological collection are to thoroughly analyze the already existing terminologies, to identify the necessities of the target audience, to decide what terms will be included and how they will be recorded and accessed, to select original definitions or to create new ones, to organize the records, to provide additional information related to variants or recommended usages, to check the equivalence and to provide the right equivalent for each term in the collection. (Ghențulescu, 2015: 137)

Taking into account the high volume of work and the difficulty involved in creating terminological resources, as well as the limited possibilities to account for such an activity, a problem that arises is the lake of terminology specialists for the growing translation markets around the world.

In this light, one of the solutions proposed for the lack of human resources is the development of tools that would be able to assist the translator in their work. As the automated translation is still far away from being a solution and the human translation cannot cover anymore the huge demand of the market, the only realistic solution seems to be the cooperation between humans and technology.

1.2 The relation between terminology and translation

Terminology and translation present a series of coincidences. Firstly, terminology and translation are characterized by their long tradition as applied subjects, in contrast to their recently established character as disciplines. Terminology and translation arose from the practical activity caused by the need to express specialized thought or to solve comprehension problems.

Second, due to their relatively recent scientific recognition, both translation and terminology try to advance in the reaffirmation of their status as disciplines by placing emphasis on the features that distinguish them from other subjects and adhering to theories which sustain their autonomous nature as fields of knowledge.

Thirdly, terminology and translation are interdisciplinary fields having a cognitive, linguistic and communicative basis. As a result, their foundation principles come from the cognitive, language and communication sciences. Besides, both subjects are information and communication areas which have knowledge categories and units expressing them that are projected on communicative acts immersed in particular social contexts.

Last but not least, language is the essence of both disciplines. Language is the expression system that reflects speakers' conception of reality and allows individuals to interact and express their ideas and thoughts.

1.3 Terminology resources for translators

To solve the terminological problems that arise in the translation phase, all involving the search for an equivalent or the selection of the most appropriate equivalent, translators make use of three main types of resources:

- Monolingual textual documentation resources: specialized texts on the subject, preferably in digital format, usually via the Internet.
- Terminological documentation resources: bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, terminology and knowledge databases.

- Bilingual or multilingual textual resources: parallel or multilingual comparable corpus.

2. The importance of Computer-Assisted Translation (CAT)

2.1 Translation memory (TM) and alignment tools

CAT tools can vary in the functionality provided, but at a basic level CAT tools offer at least Translation Memory (including alignment) tools or Terminology Management tools, or both. At a more advanced level, both the architecture and functionality of the tools are increased.

A TM consists of a database of texts and their corresponding translation(s), divided into segments, often at sentence level, for future reference or reuse. The main advantage of a TM is that "it allows translators to reuse previous translations" (Bowker, 2002, p. 111) quickly and efficiently. TMs are particularly suited to technical documentation because they allow a fast and easy retrieval of any previously used content (Bowker, 2002, p. 113) and work by comparing the current source text to translate to previously translated documents.

One method of creating a TM is by aligning a source text with its translation. Alignment is the process of comparing both texts and matching the corresponding sentences which will become segments, known as translation units, in the TM. In many CAT tools, the alignment is carried out automatically by the software.

In this case, it is almost inevitable that some of the segments will be misaligned (e.g. Bowker, 2002, p. 109), but some alignment tools cater for this possibility by allowing manual post-editing of the results of the alignment process.

2.2 Terminology management

Along with the TM, the terminology database, or termbase, is an essential component of CAT tools, as terminology is a crucial task in technical translation. A termbase is a database, but it differs from a TM in that it is used to store and retrieve segments at term level, e.g. phrases and single words, whereas the TM is typically used for sentences.

Depending on the level of sophistication of the CAT tool, the termbase can also be used to store and retrieve various kinds of information about the term, such as gender, definition, part of speech, usage, subject field, etc. In addition, the termbases in some CAT tools allow the storage and retrieval of multimedia files, e.g. graphics, sound or video files, etc., much more quickly and efficiently than spreadsheet software such as MS Excel. Further, they can allow for a hierarchical organisation of the information.

2.3 Translation memories

Translation memories (TMs) are programs that create databases of source text and target-text segments in such a way that the paired segments can be re-used. These tools are invaluable aids for the translation of any text that has a high degree of repeated terms and phrases, as is the case with user manuals, computer products and versions of the same document (website updates). In some sectors, the use of translation memories tools has speeded up the translation process and cheapened costs, and this has led to greater demands for translation services. The memories do not put translators out of work; they ideally do the boring routine parts of translation for us.

Translation memory tools re-use previous translations by dividing the source text (made up of one or several files in electronic format) into segments, which translators translate one-by-one in the traditional way.

These segments (usually sentences or even phrases) are then sent to a builtin database. When there is a new source segment equal or similar to one already translated, the memory retrieves the previous translation from the database.

An example of the Trados Workbench translation memory suite can be seen in Figure 1. Here we are translating the segment "Restart your notebook" (highlighted in gray); the memory has proposed "Apague su ordenador portátil" as a translation, based on the translation of a previous segment (in fact the one translated just three segments earlier). But "apague" means "turn off", and here we need "restart". This is where translators either type a new target sentence or modify the result from the memory database. In this case, we would accept the suggested phrase but change "apague" to "reinicie" (restart). We do not have to rewrite the rest of the phrase.

At the top of the screenshot we see that Trados Workbench has highlighted the differences between each segment and reminds us about the language combination with a flag system. With Trados, we can translate Word documents using the Word itself, but files with other formats need to be translated using specific built-in translation environments.

The platform used by most other translation memory suites (DéjàVu, SDLX, Star Transit) is quite different. Figure 2 shows the user interface of DéjàVu X. Here we have the source text in the left column and the translation in the right one. The suggestions made by the translation memory are in the bottom right corner of the screen. In this system we do not see the document layout, since all the formatting is represented by the bracketed

Conclusions

Technology is not an option in today's professional world; it is a necessity. Years ago one talked about Computer-Aided Translation (CAT). That now seems a redundancy. Virtually all translating is aided by computers. Further, the most revolutionary tools are quite probably the everyday ones that are not specific to translation: Internet search engines, spell checkers, search and replace functions, and revision tools have had a huge impact on all forms of written communication. On countless levels, the advantages presented by technology are so great that they cannot be refused. Translation memories perform the most repetitive tasks so that translators can concentrate on the most creative aspects of translation. The intelligent use of machine translation should mean that our best human efforts are focused where they are most needed. However, technology is not perfect, and translators must be very aware of those imperfections. Here, in closing, we offer a list of those aspects where critical awareness seems most needed.

Each new technology requires new investment, not just in purchasing tools but also in learning how to use them. In all cases, the investment you put in should be less than the benefits you expect to gain. This means, for example, that the kind of text corpora that linguists use in order to study language are generally not cost-beneficial tools when applied to professional translation. They address problems that are more easily solved with a quick web search, and the kinds of quantitative data bases they use have little to do with those developed by translation memory tools. Or again, there is little need to take a course in a particular translation-memory suite if you already know how to use a rival brand. All the products are similar in their underlying technology, and you should be able to find your own way from one to the other. As a general rule, inform yourself before buying anything or signing up for courses. Demonstration versions of all tools are usually available on the web for free, many of them with online tutorials, and translators' forums can give you numerous pointers about the relative advantages and drawbacks of each tool.

All these barriers can, of course, be overcome. Translators can and do move into high-tech sectors; some do become project managers, marketing experts, or owners of companies. In general, the way to advance within the profession usually involves more conceptual control over technology, not less. Too often, the dominant industry workflows impose their own specific technologies and processes. Only when translators are critically aware of the available tools can they hope to be in control of their work.

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About the author

Maria Cătălina RADU is an Assistant Professor, Ph.D., in German and French Translation Studies at the Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest.

E-mail: catalina.radu@utcb.ro

LES TERMES MIGRANTS : LE BLEU DANS LES LANGAGES SPÉCIALISÉS

(MIGRANT TERMS: THE 'BLUE' IN SPECIALIZED LANGUAGES)

Iuliana-Florina PANDELICĂ

Abstract: The objective of the article "Migrant terms: The blue in specialized languages" is to present on the one hand, the presence of the term "blue" in the specialized languages and, on the other hand, to provide its translation into Romanian language and to compare the meaning of the term in different contexts. We will highlight the trajectory of this term from its origins to the specialized use. We will try to make a comparison between the terms which evolve in a language and are taken up by specialized languages from the general language and those who are entering the respective language through translation, due to the need for standardization.

Keywords: *blue, terms, migration, specialized language, contexts*

Introduction

Questions de recherche

Notre problématique s'organise autour de quelques questions de recherche : Où se situe le bleu : il relève du lexique ou du vocabulaire ? Fait-il partie du langage courant ou des langages spécialisés ? Les équivalents roumains diffèrent-ils en fonction des langages spécialisés desquels ledit terme fait partie ? Est-il possible d'employer le même sens dans plusieurs domaines spécialisés ? Quel est le rôle du processus de normalisation dans la migration des termes ?

L'objectif de notre démarche est de souligner la présence du terme « bleu » dans les deux lexiques, le lexique courant et le lexique spécialisé, de trouver les équivalents roumains de ces termes et d'essayer de retracer le parcours du terme.

Le corpus que nous nous sommes proposé d'analyser est composé de l'œuvre de Michel Pastoureau *Bleu. Histoire d'une couleur*, le dictionnaire d'Annie Mollard-Desfour *Le Bleu, Dictionnaire de la couleur. Mots et expressions d'aujourd'hui (XXe – XXIe siècles)*, et des dictionnaires français-roumain pour la traduction en roumain des termes français relevés.

Nous avons choisi ce corpus parce que Michel Pastoureau s'occupe dans *Bleu. Histoire d'une couleur* de la place de la couleur dans la société européenne, à tous les niveaux, depuis son apparition dans l'histoire. Il est le vrai historien des couleurs et il a dédié une grande parte de son œuvre à retracer le devenir de plusieurs couleurs, parmi lesquelles **le bleu**.

Annie Mollard-Desfour, la présidente du Centre Français de la Couleur et membre de l'équipe de rédaction du Trésor de la Langue Française, nous offre un matériel extrêmement riche à travers son dictionnaire *Le Bleu, Dictionnaire de la couleur. Mots et expressions d'aujourd'hui (XXe – XXIe siècles)*, nous y trouverons les termes qui composent le champ lexical du bleu, pour en extraire ceux qui ont migré vers des domaines spécialisés.

Notre **méthodologie** consiste à constituer un corpus qui puisse servir de base à la recherche de termes, tout en dressant une liste de mots ou de termes du domaine général ou des domaines spécialisés. Notre méthodologie vise également l'étude d'un dictionnaire français-roumain, pour y rechercher la traduction des termes figurant dans le corpus portant sur le lexique. Nous nous servirons des dictionnaires français-roumain pour trouver les équivalents roumains des termes français étudiés. Les dictionnaires nous seront très utiles pour démontrer en quelle mesure le roumain a cherché à trouver une traduction, le correspondant d'un terme ou il l'a fait entrer en langue en tant que néologisme.

À l'aide de ce corpus, nous illustrerons le phénomène de **terminologisation** du bleu.

1. Cadre théorique de l'analyse du corpus

La question de la délimitation nette entre la **langue générale** et la **langue de spécialité**, ou, pour être plus précis, les langues de spécialités, est assez délicate, étant donné le fait que les mots circulent incessamment et que la vie personnelle côtoie la vie professionnelle et il n'y a pas de frontière, visible ou invisible, qui puisse séparer l'usage de certains termes seulement dans un domaine spécialisé, comme par exemple en médecine, en technique, en histoire ou en d'autres domaines spécialisés. Il n'y a aucune règle qui impose l'usage des termes uniquement au niveau professionnel ou dans une certaine communauté limitée ayant pour partage un domaine commun et un lexique approprié.

Pour pouvoir suivre le trajet parcouru par le terme **bleu**, nous définirons tout d'abord les deux concepts. La langue générale est définie par Maria Teresa Cabré (1998 : 115) comme « [u]ne langue […] constituée par un ensemble diversifié de sous-codes que le locuteur emploie en fonction de ses modalités dialectales et qu'il sélectionne en fonction de ses besoins d'expression et selon les caractéristiques de chaque situation de communication. » De cette partie de la définition donnée par l'auteure, nous pourrions penser qu'il n'y a pas une délimitation claire entre la langue générale et la langue de spécialité, puisque dans le cas de la dernière c'est justement une sélection que le locuteur fait en vue de communiquer dans une situation de communication spécifique, manière adaptée vraiment au contexte où il se trouve. Mais la continuation de la définition rend plus claire cette délimitation : « Cependant, au-delà de cette diversité foisonnante, toute langue possède un ensemble d'unités et de règles que tous ses locuteurs connaissent. Cet ensemble de règles, d'unités et de restrictions qui font partie des connaissances de la majorité des locuteurs d'une langue constitue ce qu'on appelle la langue commune ou générale. » D'une part, le fait d'élargir le public qui devient l'utilisateur de la langue générale et de ses règles nous aide à trouver une frontière entre les deux. D'autre part, la langue de spécialité suit à son tour les règles de la langue générale, les règles de grammaire ou de syntaxe, règles connues par la majorité dont parlait Maria Teresa Cabré. Par conséquent, où pouvons-nous trouver la séparation des deux langues ? Y a-t-il une frontière fermement délimitée entre les deux ? Est-il possible d'interdire ou d'empêcher la migration des termes vers le lexique général et des mots vers la langue spécialisée ? Au niveau uniquement du lexique, nous pensons que les réponses apportées à toutes ces questions pourraient satisfaire aux exigences des spécialistes, qui connaissent très bien la place, la signification et le rôle de chaque terme, mais pour un non-spécialiste il est possible de les confondre, de les introduire sans même le vouloir et sans être conscient des transformations qu'il provoque au niveau de son vocabulaire et du vocabulaire de ses proches, voire de la communauté à laquelle il appartient. Selon Lerat (1995 : 21), « [u]ne langue spécialisée ne se réduit pas à une terminologie : elle utilise des dénominations spécialisées (les termes), y compris des symboles non linguistiques, dans des énoncés mobilisant les ressources ordinaires d'une langue donnée. On peut donc la définir comme l'usage d'une langue naturelle pour rendre compte techniquement de connaissances spécialisées ».

En ce qui concerne la définition de la langue de spécialité, c'est une question qui suscite encore l'intérêt des spécialistes et qui provoque encore des débats. Par exemple, certains chercheurs affirment que les langues de spécialité bénéficient d'une terminologie propre, d'autres considèrent qu'une langue de spécialité est une terminologie, en réduisant de la sorte toute une langue à son lexique uniquement.

Dans son *Dictionnaire des sciences du langage*, Frank Neveu (2004 : 284) appelle la langue de spécialité « technolecte », une langue « parlée au sein d'une communauté technique et scientifique bien déterminée », utilisée « dans une situation de communication où se transmettent des informations relevant d'un champ d'expérience particulier ». Il restreint le domaine à celui technique et scientifique.

Nous ajoutons la définition que le *Grand Dictionnaire, Linguistique & Sciences du langage* (2007 : 440) donne à la langue de spécialité : « un sous-système linguistique tel qu'il rassemble les spécificités linguistiques d'un domaine particulier ». Selon ses auteurs, la « langue de spécialité s'oppose à langue commune ».

Dans cet article, nous nous occupons du passage du **bleu** de la langue générale à la langue de spécialité, ce qui pourrait être reformulé de la manière suivante : du mot **bleu** au terme **bleu**.

2. Analyse du corpus

2.2.1. Où se situe le bleu : il relève du lexique ou du vocabulaire ?

Si nous prenons en considération la « naissance » assez tardive du bleu par rapport aux autres couleurs, fait démontré d'une manière très rigoureuse par Michel Pastoureau dans son ouvrage *Bleu. Histoire d'une couleur*, nous nous posons cette question légitime : c'est le peuple qui a remarqué en fin de compte sa présence ou ce sont les spécialistes qui l'ont mis en valeur, étant donné qu'il est clair que la couleur existait sans aucun doute : le ciel a la même couleur depuis toujours, elle existait en nature, elle existait certainement dans le corps humain (la couleur des yeux).

Selon Michel Pastoureau, le bleu est plutôt un fait de société. Jusqu'au XIIe siècle, il paraît inexistant, même si la nature l'offrait généreusement à l'individu. Les spécialistes se sont posé la question si les gens voyaient cette couleur. Ils la voyaient, mais ils choisissaient de l'ignorer, parfois ils la détestaient. Ils détestaient même les personnes aux yeux bleus. Ils refusaient la porter, fait attesté par l'absence de cette couleur de leurs vêtements, ceux-ci constituant les objets qui constituent la preuve la plus fidèle et la plus commune pour démontrer la place occupée par une couleur à une certaine époque ou dans une certaine civilisation, plus facile à analyser que la peinture ou l'art en général. Alors, si une fois découverte la couleur fait son apparition sur les habits, en peinture ou sur d'autres supports (étoffe, textile, parures, minerai, émail, mosaïque) c'est parce que les gens ont commencé à utiliser des matières colorantes, à chercher des procédés par lesquels se réjouir de la présence du bleu dans leur vie. De l'œuvre de Michel Pastoureau nous pouvons extraire beaucoup de termes appartenant aux langages spécialisés. À vrai dire, tous les termes que nous retrouvons dans son œuvre sont des termes spécialisés, puisqu'il s'agit d'une œuvre historique, et par conséquent, d'un domaine spécialisé. De plus, vu le fait que l'histoire de l'humanité vise tous les aspects de la vie humaine, le langage historique est parsemé par des termes appartenant à d'autres domaines spécialisés (géologie, chimie, biologie, etc). En étudiant les matières colorantes de l'œuvre de Pastoureau (guède, végétaux, kermès, molusques, indigo, indigotine, minéral, coquillage, saponaires, pyrite de fer, carbonate basique de cuivre, lessive, cendres, céruse, etc.) nous avons constaté que le bleu devait être recherché ailleurs, parce que bleu en soi n'existe pas. C'est seulement une couleur qui existe en nature, domaine où l'homme ne peut pas intervenir (il ne peut pas changer la couleur du ciel), mais qui n'existe pas en tant qu'objet. L'humanité, nous la voyons bien, a fait des efforts supplémentaires pour s'en réjouir.

Nous ferons une recherche du bleu dans plusieurs domaines, nous les présenterons brièvement tour à tour et nous ferons une analyse et une comparaison de tous les domaines mis en discussion.

2.2.2. Le bleu en médecine

Le **bleu** représente une ecchymose, c'est à dire une collection de sang sous la peau provoquée par un traumatisme et qui est visible. Selon le CNRTL, le nom d'œdème bleu désigne une « tuméfaction bleue ou violacée qui se produit spontanément chez certains hystériques ».

Toujours dans la médecine, nous trouvons le bleu dans l'expression « maladie bleue », appelée également cyanose. La maladie bleue apparaît dans le *Trésor de la langue française informatisé* comme étant « caractérisée par une cyanose (coloration bleue de la peau), en rapport avec le passage du sang veineux « bleu » (sang à réoxygéner) dans le sang artériel « rouge » (sang réoxygéné) et un rétrécissement sur la circulation du sang veineux ». C'est justement la coloration bleue, symptôme provoqué par la maladie, qui lui a donné le nom. Le même dictionnaire en ligne ajoute le syntagme « enfant bleu » qui est un enfant « atteint de la maladie bleue ».

Un autre syntagme utilisé en médecine et en pharmacie est celui de *bleu de méthylène* (*chlorure de méthylthioninium*), utilisé auparavant pour lutter contre les bactéries, les champignons et d'autres virus grâce à ses vertus fongicides et antibactériennes (il était utilisé même pour combattre la malaria) et à présent il enregistre un emploi assez large, par exemple pour tester la perméabilité des tissus organiques, comme colorant histologique, contre la méthémoglobine, en tant qu'antiseptique ou pour soulager les blessures ou des plaies plus superficielles.

D'un usage plus récent et d'origine anglaise, le *code bleu* est présent toujours dans le domaine médical et signifie *code d'urgence* de l'arrêt cardiaque ou respiratoire et c'est une expression employée surtout dans les hôpitaux pour demander l'aide urgente dans les situations mentionnées.

2.2.3. Le bleu en justice

Nous avons également recherché la présence de bleu dans le domaine juridique, plus précisément dans des documents officiels de l'Union Européenne et dans des affaires présentées devant la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne ou devant le Tribunal.

Dans le *Règlement (CE) no 1223/2009 du Parlement européen et du Conseil du 30 novembre 2009 relatif aux produits cosmétiques*, le terme qui fait l'objet de notre analyse apparaît au niveau des colorants des substances utilisées dans le domaine en cause. Par exemple, il y a dans le texte le bleu de Prusse et au niveau du syntagme « CI pigment bleu 28 » la coloration précisée est verte. Le terme est utilisé dans le texte surtout pour préciser la coloration des substances : « 29H,31H-Phtalocyanine », « 5,5'-(2-(1,3-Dihydro-3-oxo-2H-indazole-2-ylidène)-1,2-dihydro-3H-indole-3-one)disulfonate de disodium » ou « 1-Amino-4-(cyclohexylamino)-9,10-dihydro-9,10-dioxoanthracène-2-sulfonate de sodium » et beaucoup d'autres exemples, la coloration est bleue. Dans le *Règlement (CE) n° 2003/2003 du Parlement européen et du Conseil du 13 octobre 2003 relatif aux engrais*, le bleu est présent également : « bleu de méthylène » (en roumain « albastru de metilen »), « bleu de disulfine » (« albastru de disulfoniu »), « bleu de bromophénol » (« albastru de bromfenol »), et « bleu de bromothymol » (« albastru de bromtimol »).

Dans le *Règlement (Ce) no 216/2009 du Parlement européen et du Conseil du 11 mars 2009 relatif à la communication de statistiques sur les captures nominales des États membres se livrant à la pêche dans certaines zones en dehors de l'Atlantique du Nord*, le terme « bleu » est utilisé pour le domaine de la pêche, surtout pour nommer des espèces de poissons. Nous avons analysé la version française et la version roumaine, pour bénéficier de la traduction effectuées par les juristes-linguistes qui s'en sont occupés. Pour ce qui est des espèces, nous avons trouvé : « merlan bleu », traduit en roumain par « putasu », « peau bleue », traduit par « rechin albastru », « makaire bleu de l'Atlantique », traduit par « merlin albastru » (mais pour lequel nous avons trouvé dans un autre document le terme latin « makaira nigricans » au lieu de la traduction roumaine) et trois autres espèces pour lesquels il n'y a pas d'équivalent roumain et pour lesquelles les spécialistes roumains ont utilisé les termes latins : « taupe bleu » (« isurus oxyrinchus »), « pagre à points bleus » (« pagrus filos ») et « merlan bleu austral » (« micromesistius australis »).

Pour conclure, nous constatons qu'il y a beaucoup de règlements et de directives dans lesquels le bleu est présent, mais il apparaît aussi dans des affaires, il constitue l'objet de divers litiges qui cherchent leurs solutions auprès d'une instance nationale ou internationale, dans les arrêts prononcés par le Tribunal ou par la Cour de justice, dans les conclusions des avocats généraux présentées dans les affaires portées devant les instances. Par exemple, dans le recours présenté une affaire portant sur « une demande d'enregistrement du signe figuratif représentant un motif à carreaux gris foncé, gris clair, bleu clair, bleu foncé, ocre et beige comme marque communautaire », nous pouvons remarquer dès le titre que la couleur constitue l'objet du litige, les couleurs qui constituent un certain motif.

Dans tous les exemples que nous avons donnés, des exemples pris du site entièrement juridique, un domaine spécialisé, nous constatons que le bleu appartient en fait à d'autres domaines, toujours spécialisés, mais en aucun des cas présentés le terme n'appartient au langage juridique. Nous avons eu des exemples de langage des domaines comme la chimie, la pêche, la cosmétique ou l'esthétique et les exemples peuvent continuer.

2.2.4. Le bleu en architecture

En architecture, le **bleu** est réservé aux habitations côtières, aux bâtiments construits au bord de la mer, voire sur les bateaux. Il est présent dans la peinture des cathédrales, dans les églises et monastères (Église Sainte-Élisabeth ou église bleue à Bratislava, le monastère Voroneţ de Bucovine en Roumanie), chapelles (Sainte-Chapelle à Paris), sur les bâtiments qui abritent des institutions comme de conseils généraux, des mairies, des locaux municipaux (dans ce cas, le bleu peut avoir une signification politique, par exemple le bleu républicain, le bleu régional, le bleu des armoiries) ; toits, tuiles, plafonds, coupoles, dômes (dans les îles grecques).

Il est fièrement présent sur les façades (par exemple, des façades en enduit bleu, des façades miroirs du ciel bleu), sur les porcelaines (porcelaine de Sèvres) les céramiques et les mosaïques (en appartenant au style mauresque).

Au niveau des logements, il triomphe sur les volets (par exemple à Jurilovca, au Delta du Danube en Roumanie, en Provence ou les portes et les fenêtres grecques) dans les cuisines, dans les salles de bains et c'est surtout la couleur des piscines, pour suggérer le bleu de l'eau de la mer ou de l'océan et pour créer une atmosphère de détente, de calme dont nous avons besoin pour être heureux.

En urbanisme, nous pensons que l'expression *zone bleue*, qui désigne l'ensemble de certains quartiers centraux de grandes villes où la durée de stationnement des automobiles est limitée, est la seule qui n'a aucune liaison avec la couleur proprement-dite.

Dans tous les autres exemples, le **bleu** décrit la couleur, même si le terme est employé en langage de spécialité.

2.2.5. Le bleu en gastronomie

La gastronomie est un autre domaine où le terme **bleu** a fait son apparition. Il est employé surtout dans des expressions, que nous allons rappeler ci-dessous :

- « cordon bleu », dont l'équivalent roumain est « gospodină pricepută, rafinată » ;
- « bifteck bleu », traduit en roumain par « bifteck în sânge » ;
- « cuire une truite au bleu », syntagme traduite en roumain par « a fierbe un păstrăv aruncându-l direct în apă fiartă » ;

- « pied-bleu », qui n'est pas exactement traduit en roumain, mais qui bénéficie plutôt d'une explication : « specie de ciupercă comestibilă » (ce qui veut dire « espèce de champignon commestible ») ;
- « bleu d'Auvergne », qui est un fromage au lait de vache, persillé de moisissures gris-bleu ou vertes, sans traduction en roumain ;
- « bleu de Termignon », un bleu que même les Français caractérisent d'atypique, un fromage rare, qui est fabriqué artisanalement en Savoie, à une grande altitude, sur le versant qui sépare la France de l'Italie. Pour le produire, il y a une équipe de 7 producteurs qui fabriquent une quantité de 20 tonnes environ en utilisant le lait de 60 vaches. L'espèce de fromage n'a pas d'équivalent en roumain, les traducteurs peuvent seulement traduire l'explication ci-dessus, par exemple.

2.2.6. Le bleu en œnologie

Un autre domaine dans lequel le terme **bleu** est utilisé est l'œnologie. Il apparaît pour caractériser le vin, mais étant donné que la couleur du vin n'est en aucune cas la couleur bleue, le terme est employé pour transmettre une autre idée, un trait qui n'a aucune liaison avec la couleur proprement-dite.

Les termes sont les suivants :

- « vin bleu », vin de mauvaise qualité ;
- « gros bleu », défini par Annie Mollard-Desfour (2013 : 74) comme « vin rouge de qualité médiocre (laissant sur la table des taches bleuâtres) » ;
- « petit bleu » qui désigne, selon Annie Mollard-Desfour (2013 : 74) est un « vin rouge, de qualité médiocre, plus léger que le gros bleu ».

2.2.7. Le bleu dans d'autres domaines

Le **bleu** est entré dans beaucoup d'autres domaines, par exemple : en géographie (« le Danube bleu », « le fleuve bleu », « le Pavillon Bleu », « le Plan bleu », « la Route bleue »), en économie (« houille bleue », « or bleu ») en histoire (« Cavalier Bleu », « époque bleue » ou « période bleue »), en finances (« billet bleu », « carte bleue », « crédit bleu », « livret bleu »), en doit ou en justice (« papier bleu », « livre bleu »), en tourisme (« petit bleu », « guide bleu »). Dans la plupart de ces exemples, l'utilisation du terme **bleu** dépasse sa signification première, son rôle de désigner la couleur de l'objet dénommé : par exemple, une « époque bleue » ne fait aucune référence à la couleur du temps qui s'écoule, le temps désignant une notion abstraite, que nous ne pouvons pas voir, par conséquent pour de telles séquences nous devons chercher le sens connotatif qu'un tel terme peut acquérir dans la langue.

2.3. Les équivalents roumains diffèrent-ils en fonction des langages spécialisés desquels ledit terme fait partie ?

Dans l'analyse du corpus que nous avons présentée ci-dessus, nous avons essayé de prouver la présence du terme **bleu** dans plusieurs domaines spécialisés.

Pour ce qui est de la traduction de ces termes, le roumain a parfois des difficultés à trouver un équivalent, surtout s'il s'agit des produits spécifiques de la France (par exemple, « bleu d'Auvergne », « bleu de Termignon », « pied-bleu », etc.).

Dans les documents officiels qui nous ont servi de corpus pour le domaine juridique, nous avons trouvé, dans la traduction faite par les juristes-linguistes des institutions européennes, des situations dans lesquelles ils ont utilisé le terme latin au lieu d'une traduction. Dans un dictionnaire, nous pouvons trouver une explication, mais dans un règlement ou dans une directive cela n'est pas possible, il faut avoir un terme précis. Par conséquent, les traducteurs roumains ont fait appel au latin pour que le texte garde la cohérence et la précision requises à ce niveau. Comme nous l'avons déjà précisé, il s'agit de textes comportant des termes spécialisés d'autres domaines, comme par exemple la pêche, d'où nous avons sélecté les termes suivants : « taupe bleu » pour lequel la version roumaine utilise « isurus oxyrinchus », « pagre à points bleus » pour lequel la version roumaine utilise « pagrus filos » et « merlan bleu austral » pour lequel la version roumaine utilise « micromesistius australis ».

2.4. Est-il possible d'employer le même sens dans plusieurs domaines spécialisés ?

Pour répondre à cette question, nous devons prendre en considération les sens que le terme *bleu* a dans les domaines que nous avons étudiés.

Dans des domaines comme l'architecture (« églises », « bâtiments », « toits », « tuiles », « plafonds », « coupoles », « dômes », « volets bleus ») ou la pharmacie (« bleu de méthylène »), par exemple, le sens du mot est dénotatif, il s'agit d'un usage commun, c'est-à-dire pour décrire la couleur ou il donne le nom d'un produit qui est en étroite liaison avec le nom du produit en cause.

Dans d'autres domaines, par exemple en médecine (« enfant bleu », « maladie bleu », « code bleu »), en œnologie (« vin bleu »), en gastronomie (« cordon bleu », « cuire une truite au bleu », « pied-bleu »), l'emploi du terme dont la fonction primaire est de désigner la couleur n'est plus lié à la couleur en soi. Nous ne verrons jamais un « vin bleu » ou un « enfant bleu ». Cet emploi est plutôt le résultat d'une convention au sein de la communauté qui l'a imposé.

Pour conclure, il est possible d'utiliser le même sens surtout s'il s'agit de caractériser un objet, d'en décrire la couleur, ou d'un objet dont le nom a été créé justement à partir de sa couleur qui est unanimement reconnue et, par conséquent, facile à imposer à la communauté scientifique ou au grand public. Pour ce qui est du roumain, de la traduction roumaine des termes analysés, nous constatons dans la plupart des cas l'absence du terme « albastru » des expressions ou des syntagmes qui, en français, ont en commun la présence du **bleu**.

2.5. Quel est le rôle du processus de normalisation dans la migration des termes ?

La normalisation terminologique est apparue à la suite de l'essor des sciences et de la technologie, ce qui a eu pour conséquence l'effort de trouver une solution au problème de dénomination soulevé par la vitesse de leur développement et de leur circulation rapide aux quatre coins du monde. Par conséquent, les conditions sociales, économiques ou politiques imposent l'usage de termes dont les sens soient très clairs, termes unanimement reconnus dans les communautés qui l'utilisent.

Selon Maria-Teresa Cabré le rôle de la normalisation de la terminologie est essentiel dans les domaines scientifiques et techniques où un usage correct des termes ne peut être assuré qu'à l'aide d'une uniformisation de ces termes véhiculés pour effectuer le transfert des connaissances sans donner lieu à des ambiguïtés. Le résultat en est, selon l'auteure, l'appauvrissement de la langue. Le terme proposé par l'auteure est « standardiser », et le rôle qui revient aux spécialistes (linguistes et scientifiques) est de se mettre d'accord sur une dénomination standardisée. Elle présente également de différents types de normalisation : la normalisation interne (dans le cas, par exemple d'une communauté ou d'une institution qui décide pour elle-même l'emploi d'un certain terme), la normalisation internationale (cas où une organisation internationale recommande l'emploi commun d'un certain terme) et la normalisation non interventionniste (fondée sur l'autorégulation faite par les usagers). Parmi les exemples que nous avons présentés ci-dessus, revenons à la « maladie bleue », traduite en roumain par « maladia albastră ». Étant donnée l'importance de la communication professionnelle internationale dans le domaine médical, nous pensons que les traducteurs ont choisi la traduction littérale du terme, pour que cela n'empêche en aucun cas la précision que le domaine requiert. Quant au syntagme « cordon bleu », les traducteurs auraient pu faire appel au même raisonnement, mais ils ont préféré de chercher l'équivalent roumain (« gospodină pricepută, rafinată »), l'enjeu étant cette fois-ci la compréhension culturelle du syntagme.

Conclusion

Nous nous réjouissons chaque jour de la présence de la couleur dans notre vie. Nous ne nous imaginons pas la vie sans elle et notre humeur en dépend parfois. Quand nous parlons de la présence de la couleur dans notre vie, nous pensons en premier lieu à la beauté qu'elle ajoute aux objets qui nous entourent ou à la nature, nous pensons au sentiment de calme, de sérénité, de paix qu'elle nous procure à tout moment, nous pensons à la nature qui nous crée le cadre parfait pour être heureux et les exemples pourraient continuer…

Est-ce que nous pensons jamais quand nous parlons du bleu en dehors du contexte professionnel au bleu de méthylène ? Ou à la maladie bleue ? Nous oserions répondre « Pas du tout ». Nous pourrions expliquer ce phénomène par le fait que la couleur est l'un des éléments les plus fréquemment utilisés chaque jour et que, généralement, les pensées sont positives. D'autre part, quand nous parlons du bleu de méthylène, ce n'est pas pour peindre, ce n'est pas pour décrire le ciel ou pour parler de l'eau de la mer, mais c'est dans un contexte qui renvoie au domaine spécialisé. Même si nous employons le terme dans la vie quotidienne, nous le faisons pour parler d'un terme spécialisé, soit de la maladie, soit d'un produit de pharmacie.

Nous pourrions conclure que, étant donné le manque de délimitation claire entre la vie professionnelle et la vie personnelle et, par voie de conséquence, entre le langage commun, général et celui spécialisé, les mots et les termes se partagent parfois les mêmes sens dans des contextes différents ou des sens différents dans des contextes similaires ou identiques.

Nous ne connaissons que très bien la distinction entre le lexique général, qui englobe tous les mots dont l'individu pourrait se servir au quotidien, et la terminologie, qui traite des termes spécifiques à un domaine précis.

Notre analyse nous a conduit à la conclusion que le mot **bleu**, en tant qu'unité du lexique, et le terme **bleu**, en tant qu'unité de la terminologie, ne sont pas tellement différents : en peinture, le **bleu** ne désigne autre chose que ce qu'il désigne dans le langage courant, le ciel est bleu quand nous le regardons de nos propres yeux et le ciel reste bleu dans sa représentation sur toile ou dans la critique faite à une toile par un spécialiste…

Les spécialistes s'intéressent souvent au phénomène de passage d'un terme de la langue de spécialité au langage courant, plus précisément, au phénomène de déterminologisation. Selon Guilbert (1975 : 84), « [l]e transfert par métaphore de la réalité au plan de la désignation linguistique s'opère désormais à partir des concepts scientifiques les plus vulgarisés ou des pratiques techniques les plus courantes ». Pour l'auteur, le passage du terme spécialisé en langue générale porte le nom de banalisation lexicale.

Ce que nous avons essayé de démontrer, c'est justement le phénomène inverse, celui de terminologisation, qui se préoccupe des mots de la langue courante qui pénètrent dans le langage de spécialité.

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About the author

Iuliana-Florina PANDELICĂ is a PhD student at the Doctoral School of Human Sciences of University of Craiova. Her scientific coordinator is Cristiana TEODORESCU, University Professor at the University of Craiova. She teaches French at Voltaire High School of Craiova, Dolj county, Romania.

E-mail: iuliap51@hotmail.com

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE IN POWERPOINT DESIGN AND DELIVERY – BEYOND THE 'CLASSICAL' TIPS

Yolanda-Mirela CATELLY

Abstract: One of the most widely spread manners of presenting one's message is that based on designing PowerPoint slides. Therefore, the psycho-pedagogical, linguistic and communication connected paradigms in teaching such a useful vehicle are worth being debated upon, in an attempt to go one step beyond merely listing/discussing/assessing the already commonplace tips to be found in the literature. Consequently, the focus of this study is placed on analyzing the components of a coherent approach to the teaching/learning of creating and delivering content based on PowerPoint. The specific features of the educational context profile, engineering students in a technical university taking ESP and/or CLIL courses, are taken into account. A selection of tasks meant to turn the theoretical support into concrete examples is briefly suggested, covering key stages in the process - ways of sensitizing the learners to the topic, providing examples of good (or bad!) practice.

Keywords: *PowerPoint design and presentation, writing & speaking skills, L2 education, ESP, engineering higher education*

Introduction – paper background and aim

In our times, in professional and academic environments one of the most frequently used manners of presenting content to (large) audiences is that by means of PowerPoint slides. These have been around for over two decades now, evolving in terms of degree of complexity from the technical point of view from the initial 2.0 and up to the latest one, introduced in 2016, the 16.0 version. Its advantages for high quality in conveying meaning to people have long been under debate of scientists, but it seems that research results cannot yet reliably point to its superiority in terms of efficiency for the retention of information by an audience.

In this study we are not going to analyze in depth each of the complex individual paradigms underlying obtaining high effects of qualitative PowerPoint presentations, but rather look at the psycho-pedagogical, communication, linguistic and even technical and visual components that combine in various manners in the interwoven relationships that exist among these paradigmatic elements from a language teacher's perspective.

Moreover, as the educational context taken into consideration is that of a technical university, viz. POLITEHNICA University of Bucharest, the technical aspects related to designing PowerPoint presentations from the mechanical viewpoint will be considered as background knowledge that engineering students already have and frequently use by the very nature of their profile. Therefore, what this study attempts to achieve is to step beyond the review of the rich literature of PowerPoint presentations tips/Do's & Don'ts and the like, together with examples of how these are applied in the current educational practice – and move forward, focusing on proposing a **process** type of approach to the teaching/learning of PowerPoint design and delivery, that envisages sensitizing learners with respect to understanding the deep connections between content and design/delivery options, respectively, against each contextual complex of features that may arise in real life situations.

Quite often, whenever people attend PowerPoint presentations, particularly if they are delivered in a foreign language and not in the presenter's L1, they are faced with a variety of styles and approaches. In some of them, there are (typical) mistakes: presenters display chunks of (small print) text taken with copy-paste from their initial paper, they turn to the screen and read everything word by word, or – on the contrary – they show one big (already known from Google images) picture, based on which they start reading abruptly from their written notes. So, is there such a thing as an **optimal** approach to designing and delivering a presentation based on PowerPoint?! If yes, what is that?! If no, then again, what would be the best tips as to creating a good one, which involves: selection of the content that appears on the slides, selection of what is presented in one slide, planning and designing each presentation using an adequate number of slides in function of purpose/time/audience profile, delivery tips and so on?!

Such basic questions are important – and there is extensive bibliography on it, of course, but in what follows we would like to focus on one aspect in particular, namely on identifying means of sensitizing trainees towards the acquisition and development of the skill of becoming/remaining alert to discovering the best ways of turning the specific content they wish to convey each time into a convincing 'performance' of a PowerPoint presentation in point of slide structure and sequence, delivery of the essential information etc.

1. Literature on PowerPoint making – viewpoints

Given the nature of the topic, this bibliographic selection is essentially of the **electronic** type – and quite recent in fact. In general, if someone wishes to get advice for PowerPoint design and delivery, they can find a plethora of design/technical tips, models and templates for beginners and up to trainers in the field.

In what follows, a brief review of several resources is made, with the precise aim of showing the areas for which the literature is generous in providing good practice advice and examples. These can certainly represent a good starting point to be covered by both the teacher and the trainees; however, as it will be pointed out later in this study, they are **not** enough. What matters more is that the students should be made aware of the best ways of carrying out the logical persuasive connection and suitability between the content they want to deliver and the manner and format chosen for design and delivery.

Among the resources addressing to engineers (Olas, 2013), alongside the mechanics and techniques of PowerPoint making, several sections of specialized courses are devoted to **presentation skills**. It is interesting to note that the section is subdivided into: Presentation Tips and PowerPoint tips, plus Preparation and Delivery, respectively – as the case actually goes with many similar resources. As a comment at this stage, it is indeed quite difficult to conceive a **holistic** type of approach to the teaching of PowerPoint presentations as a complex phenomenon, i.e. by dealing with **all** its facets. Therefore, if a teacher needs to include it in the course, they should collate various resources into one purposeful whole, with stages and tips linked in the best possible manner so as to help the trainees to pass through the necessary psychological steps, from developing an awareness of models and up to being able to decide for themselves **what** to select and **how** to deliver content in each real life situation.

There are some relatively recent rich resources (Cipolla, 2012) that reunite most of the aspects of interest, viz. stages in making a PowerPoint presentation, models of slides, tips for delivery, visual aids structuring, the 'bad' examples and further reading lists. Although nobody can actually study all of them, it is necessary that a top list of criteria be made available to those interested - teachers and learners alike.

There are authors that focus on **design** tips, as it is important that there is coherence between content type and design patterns; some add useful pieces of advice concerning design mechanics (Uebelhor, 2015). One useful tip is that for the success of any presentation the graphic quality is essential in order to fight against the "epidemic of bad presentation design".

As with all the other aspects connected with achieving a qualitative PowerPoint presentation, successfully delivered to a satisfied attentive and participative audience, the manner of **delivery** is equally important (Boundeless.com, 2016). The site is focused on the connection between success of delivery and the appropriate manner of choosing the **method** of delivery. Other distinctions of interest are those between "impromptu" and "prepared" speeches, as well as that concerning the **manner** of delivery, that can be either based on some notes or from memory. Subtle differences in delivery style are shown as being related to the particularities of each context and expectations.

PowerPoint presentations have been around and in fashion long enough so as to turn us all, in our capacity as members of an audience, into demanding critics. Therefore, in order to resuscitate what is labeled (Booher, 2012) as "Death by PowerPoint" and even raise it to the level of high professionalism expected today - and envisaged for a tomorrow that is getting closer and closer, the author proposed an array of very **refined tips**. Such resources generally assume that those readers willing to develop their skills in this respect are already familiar with the theory and practice of PowerPoint presentations design and delivery. Consequently, they point to those fine-tuning adjustments that can be added in order to stimulate the audience's "need for visual explanations" which originates in the very nature of the human psychological structure. Here are some of the main ideas extracted from this resource:

- keeping the "story" attractive;
- knowing the content in depth, in order to be able to alternate the pace of the presentation;
- avoiding overused Google images that have lost freshness and appeal;
- avoiding pausing while passing from one slide to the other like a mechanism that is turned on only after the image appears, therefore making smooth transitions from slide to slide;

- maintaining a "uniform flow" of the presentation by choosing a certain (moderate, never exaggerated) effect.

Such tips can be useful for a teacher that designs tasks meant to enhance the trainees' awareness of the best approaches to designing and delivering PowerPoint presentations.

The suggestions presented in this section are certainly a useful starting point in an effort to create a comprehensive coherent approach to the teaching of making PowerPoint presentations, but they should be integrated in especially designed tasks that cover not only the **external** aspects of the mechanical/technical – or even linguistic – kind, but also the **deep** connections that can be established among all the components.

2. PowerPoint presentations – main features of proposed approach

2.1. Context profile vs frame of pedagogical principles underlying approach

The educational situation for which the approach was created, namely bachelor and master engineering students who take ESP and/or CLIL courses, comprises a number of **features** that contribute to the teacher/materials designer's decisions in creating the PowerPoint chain of tasks to be integrated in the module devoted to this topic.

To begin with, engineering students – and particularly Computer Science ones, are experienced users of PowerPoint techniques (or at least they can rapidly learn them). However, as they are at the beginning of their academic activity, they have not been required to make use of such knowledge very frequently, although almost 75% of their faculty courses input come in electronic format. They have good Internet search skills and are quick learners in this respect. In general, the language level of such trainees is within the B2/CEFR level, which means they do not have serious hindrance in designing and delivering PowerPoint presentations in their fields of study.

Therefore, the approach to teaching/learning such presentations relies on a set of well-grounded **pedagogical principles** that are briefly presented in what follows. Firstly, the model proposed is designed to be included in a post communicative approach to the teaching of English for Specific Purposes - ESP of the **eclectic** type, focused on developing, in an integrated manner, all the four skills and/or subskills required in PowerPoint design and delivery in L2.

The main ideas at the basis of the proposed approach refer to the need that the trainees should be **sensitized** as to the importance of **selecting in a well-justified manner** the most appropriate slide format, structure and sequence for each type of content, taking into consideration also the audience profile and expectations, as well as the presentation purposes.

This should be done by providing both positive **models** and negative ones; these should be analyzed according to awareness raising questions in order to ensure that the trainees acquire and develop a refined sense of appropriating form and delivery approach to the content conveyed. The teacher is the one that should first guide them on their way to identifying models of good practice that exist in the literature (Mineo, 2015).

Another phase should be that during which the learners take over the role of authors, by experimenting with various possible contexts, from small to larger sizes of presentations. A good starting point is that of creating so-called **off-the-cuff presentations** (Meikle, 2013), i.e. small scale PowerPoint presentations of one to three slides. The hidden agenda of using such exercises is multiple: the trainees get used to organizing their ideas, they get experience in adjusting format to content in flexible manners, and the natural apprehension when presenting in public they may feel is diminished by such low challenge activities.

2.2. Task types and sequencing

There are certainly various possible tasks to be included in a chain of activities meant to sensitize students as to PowerPoint design and delivery, therefore the ideas briefly presented below are mere illustrations of the principles in the approach proposed in this study. They can be enriched, selectively amended and adapted to the particular needs of each educational setting, but the **order** in which they are taught should be observed, as it answers the specific demands of a well-justified psycho-pedagogical rationale.

Thus, an idea for a **warmer** is that of eliciting from the students what PowerPoint procedures and techniques they prefer, for what particular purposes – with arguments for their options. This can provide the teacher - and the learners themselves - with a clear image of the interest and degree of information they have on the topic at the beginning of the teaching/learning module. From the experience acquired so far with such activities in the case of engineering students, a certain tendency has become visible towards a display of knowledge in terms of technical aspects: a lot of animations, fonts that are more decorative than legible, clipart and not very inspired color matchings – these are some of the typical features of beginners, naturally out of a wish to impress, at least visually.

That is the reason why a discussion of both good and bad **models** is mandatory. Students are given various models and guiding questions for awareness raising reasons. **Variables** should be analyzed, for instance audience profile and its importance, presentation purpose and context, type and structure of content to be presented etc.

The next stage is the analysis of existing **guidelines**, first provided by the teacher, and later by the students themselves, who are asked to search for useful tips for each of the stages in the process of PowerPoint design and delivery – this phase certainly depends on the time available and prioritized module objectives. As a **follow-up** task, the trainees will have to select the appropriate slide format and delivery approach for several types of content and contexts and to justify their options based on deriving certain essential principles as a sort of checklist they will thus generate.

The next stage turns the learners from almost passive analysts into active authors of their own products, first on a small scale, based on **off-the-cuff** presentation design and delivery. They can be given either the slide and be asked to recompose the corresponding scientific paper text, or, reversely, they can start from content extracted from a given scientific paper text and create very short PowerPoint presentations (of one to three slides), working firstly in groups and then individually.

An important aspect is that of permanently asking the learners to verbalize the **rationale** for each of their creative options and gestures – as one of the most important aims of the module is that of developing an **awareness** of the necessary coherence between content and slide. That is the reason why all tasks should start from **authentic** content if possible, meant for audiences that are plausible, in spite of the fact that they are re-created in the artificial context of the language class.

Moreover, students should be made aware of the fact that they should stay tuned to the changes that naturally occur in the style and approach to presenting content worldwide. For instance, with the more recent **Prezi** that has become the new star of professional presentations, the burden of choice has indeed increased. On the one hand, people seem not to be aware of the most modern possibilities of PowerPoint, which can be made to look very neat and well-groomed, thus answering every high expectation of a demanding audience. On the other, Prezi has a stronger type of dynamic that keeps viewers alert. So, what should we choose? The teacher's role is to help the learners to become expert presentation designers, able to select their tools in such a manner as to ensure success and efficiency of the activity of presenting any content.

3. Open conclusions

It is a certainty that PowerPoint presentations are a complex area to teach, particularly when they are included in a language course, where the linguistic aspects should also be selected and incorporated in such a manner as to enhance the learners' ability to confidently make presentations in L2.

Once they have passed through the stages of conceiving input in L2 and turning it into an intellectually attractive and challenging visual presentation, the students will have to learn how to deliver the products successfully. All these components take quite long to be internalized and practiced to a level of satisfaction.

Moreover, the trainees' sensitivity and awareness as to all the requirements and expectations that they need in this process also take time to be developed. That is why **awareness raising tasks**, together with **models analysis** and **off-the-cuff presentations** are essential options that could support the learners' effort to reach the desired level of competence in this respect.

Therefore, one of the teacher's roles is not only to stay tuned to all new approaches that may appear in this field and select the most appropriate ones for the particular educational context needs, but also to foster a similar skill development with their students, the future engineers/authors of professional presentations.

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About the author

Yolanda-Mirela CATELLY is an Associate Professor, Ph.D., University POLITEHNICA of Bucharest.

E-mail: yolandamirelacatelly@yahoo.com

DÉVELOPPER LA COMPÉTENCE STRATÉGIQUE DANS LES ÉCHANGES DISCURSIFS AVEC LE GROUPE-CLASSE EN FLE

(DEVELOPING STRATEGIC COMPETENCE IN DISCURSIVE EXCHANGES WITH THE CLASS-GROUP IN THE FLE)

Euphrosyne EFTHIMIADOU

Abstract: In the Didactics of FLE, the cooperative approach aims to give the learner a central place to make him/her active and aware of his/her strategic choices in the learning process. While taking into account the skills to cultivate, the strategic competence is the ability to be able to assemble and organize various tasks with the maximum efficiency. Even if the cognitive strategies are proved to be of premium order in the execution of a task, the socio-affective strategies aim to encourage the interaction, in order to promote control of the affective dimension in discursive exchanges. Finally, the constructive metacommunication focuses on general attention, selective attention and self-management. Therefore, the choice of effective initiatives helps the learner acquire new know-how and developes his/her degree of strategic competence, thus allowing the class-group to assume all its energy in discursive exchanges.

Keywords: *cooperative approach, strategic competence, cognitive and socio-emotional strategies, metacognitive strategies, acquisition of new know-how*

Introduction

Dans la didactique du FLE, l'approche coactionnelle vise à accorder une place centrale à l'apprenant pour le rendre actif et conscient de ses choix stratégiques dans le processus d'apprentissage. Tout en tenant compte des compétences à cultiver, la compétence stratégique se définit comme la capacité à pouvoir assembler et agencer diverses tâches avec une efficacité maximum. Il est question de bien gérer les stratégies d'apprentissage pour favoriser les rapports entre animateur et apprenants et éviter les malentendus ou tout échec éventuel dans les échanges discursifs. Plus précisément, on va, d'une part, observer dans quelle mesure l'animateur contribue à favoriser les interactions verbales et permettre à son groupe de développer la compétence stratégique. D'autre part, on va s'intéresser à cultiver trois types de stratégies : cognitives, socio-affectives, métacognitives, en vue de maîtriser pleinement l'instauration de situations contextualisées. Enfin, on va se demander dans quelle mesure la métacommunication constructive pourra ouvrir les pistes de la gestion de l'information, afin de permettre au groupe d'acquérir de nouveaux savoir-faire.

1. Comment développer la compétence stratégique ?

La mise en œuvre des stratégies d'apprentissage donne lieu à un meilleur traitement de l'information, ce qui donne accès à l'élimination de l'échec. D'abord, le système cognitif intègre les schémas de connaissance, qui permettent de représenter l'organisation des connaissances en mémoire et d'exprimer comment ces connaissances sont utilisées pour comprendre, mémoriser, faire des inférences. Ensuite si l'on encourage l'interaction, il est plus facile de contrôler la dimension affective de l'apprentissage. Quant à la métacommunication, il vaudrait mieux rechercher des solutions qui répareraient les effets d'ennui ou de fatigue tout en se souciant d'une intervention réciproque efficace, qui pallierait la distance entre animateur et participants.

1.1 Définir la compétence stratégique

Selon Canale et Swain (1980), la compétence stratégique fait partie de la compétence de communication pour définir les types de stratégies verbales et non verbales auxquelles le locuteur pourra recourir pour enlever tout obstacle dans le développement des compétences grammaticale, discursive et sociolinguistique. Plus tard, Bachman (1990) va concevoir la compétence stratégique comme une habileté à intégrer toutes les compétences en les associant. Comme le signale Pradeau C.,

> Bachman présente la composante stratégique, non pas comme une manière de combler les lacunes dans les autres composantes, mais comme la disposition du locuteur à puiser dans toutes les composantes pour produire un discours cohérent. La composante stratégique relie ainsi toutes les composantes entre elles. (Pradeau, 2016)

Le Cadre Européen Commun de Référence pour les langues se réfère à l'ensemble des tâches communicatives, exécutées dans une visée actionnelle pour « parvenir à un résultat donné en fonction d'un problème à résoudre, d'une obligation à remplir, d'un but qu'on s'est fixé » (CERCL, 2001 : 16). Sous cet aspect, les stratégies à adopter sont définies comme « tout agencement organisé, finalisé et réglé d'opérations choisies par un individu pour accomplir une tâche qu'il se donne ou qui se présente à lui » (CERCL, 2001 : 15).

1.2 Développer la compétence stratégique

Le développement de la compétence stratégique se construit progressivement chez l'apprenant, qui organise activement son savoir et son savoir-faire en recourant à des stratégies cognitives, socio affectives et métacognitives. Sous cet aspect, les connaissances antérieures servent de tremplin pour passer à l'acquisition de nouvelles dans la prise de conscience des situations contextualisées.

1.2.1 Acquisition de nouvelles compétences pour l'enseignant

En ce qui concerne l'enseignant, il devient un stratège pour impliquer les participants dans des situations portant une signification pour eux parce qu'elles sont reliées à la vraie vie. De cette manière, le conseiller-consultant guide ses membres et est en mesure de négocier avec eux pour faire face aux impasses rencontrées, en vue de les conduire avec réussite dans la réalisation des tâches et des problèmes à résoudre ayant un but précis. L'adoption d'une attitude positive face à l'erreur se transforme en outil d'apprentissage pour son groupe qui s'oriente à son rythme vers l'autonomie.

1.2.2 Responsabilisation de l'apprenant

Quant à l'apprenant, il devient conscient de son processus d'apprentissage car il devient acteur en activant son savoir et son savoir-faire et ose prendre des initiatives et même des risques. Parallèlement, il participe à des tâches collaboratives avec ses pairs et se responsabilise pour réaliser des scénarios en assumant toute son énergie dans l'acte d'apprendre dans le but de mieux gérer ses compétences. La réalisation des tâches communicatives permettent de faire acquérir chez l'apprenant une compétence d'observation de son propre apprentissage mais aussi de son comportement face au parcours pédagogique.

1.2.3 But de la tâche et gestion du message diffusé

L'instauration de contacts authentiques en classe de langue favorise les interactions et mobilise le potentiel cognitif des apprenants dans un climat de coopération. D'un côté, le rôle du formateur se centre sur la construction d'un parcours, qui conduit l'apprenant à la sensibilisation. De l'autre, l'apprenant contrôle les déficits et se permet de les compléter, pour adopter une tactique de la réussite. Comme l'indique Efthimiadou E.,

> Le but d'une tâche éducative serait de développer les ressources cognitives et affectives d'une personne et de l'encourager à porter un

> regard nouveau, afin de mieux gérer ses potentialités. D'une part, une meilleure **gestion du message** et, d'autre part, l'**apprentissage coopératif** aident à créer dans la classe un milieu de vie et de travail bien partagé. On arrive à aider les élèves à développer leurs capacités de travailler ensemble à la résolution de problèmes, à mettre leurs forces à contribution pour accomplir une tâche, à s'ouvrir à la différence et à prendre leurs responsabilités en tant qu'apprenants, mais aussi en tant que membres d'un groupe. (Efthimiadou, 2011 : 168)

Ainsi, l'acquisition d'une compétence stratégique se construit dans la recherche d'une procédure, qui donnera l'opportunité à l'apprenant d'observer les étapes de sa progression et remédier éventuellement à toute lacune pendant son parcours d'apprentissage. L'entraînement progressif du groupe à des tâches, qui encouragent la gestion de l'information, donne lieu à une conscientisation des comportements adoptés dans la praxis didactique pour entreprendre des actions efficaces.

1.3 Types de stratégies à adopter pour enlever les blocages dans les échanges verbaux

Dans les interactions verbales, il est de prime importance d'enlever les blocages, qui se heurtent aux problèmes de communication. Selon le CECR, les stratégies de communication

> sont le moyen utilisé par l'usager d'une langue pour mobiliser et équilibrer ses ressources et pour mettre en œuvre des aptitudes et des opérations afin de répondre aux exigences de la communication en situation et d'exécuter la tâche avec succès et de la façon la plus complète et la plus économique possible – en fonction de son but précis. (CECR, 2001 : 48)

On peut y distinguer deux types de stratégies: d'une part, les **stratégies d'évitement** comme le changement du sujet de la conversation et l' adéquation aux moyens d'expression dont dispose l'apprenant et, d'autre part, les **stratégies de réalisation**, à titre d'exemple les paraphrases et les descriptions pour tenter de simplifier le message diffusé et retenir la communication. Pourtant, il est à noter que l'implicite devient une composante, qui peut bloquer le mécanisme de compréhension mutuelle. Comme le signalent Cuq J.P. et Gruca I., l'association « entre le verbal et le gestuel, les traits émotionnels et l'implicite que véhicule l'oral et toutes les formes d'interaction sont autant de facteurs qui complexifient le domaine et peuvent être sources de blocage pour un étudiant étranger. » (Cuq, Gruca, 2005 : 179).

D'autre part, de recherches plus récentes effectuées dans la résolution de problèmes favorisent l'autoformation à l'aide de plateformes collaboratives numériques. Dans cette perspective, on observe que les apprenants activent des stratégies communicatives pour combler leurs lacunes dans les interactions. Selon Rebecca Oxford, les stratégies socioculturelles-interactives sont considérées comme des tactiques utilisées pour gérer la communication tout en tenant aussi compte des facteurs émotionnels. D'après Christoforou et Kakoyianni-Doa, la chercheure Oxford

> elle les présente comme des tactiques faisant partie d'une seule stratégie socioculturelle-interactive. (…) En outre, Oxford propose des solutions aux blocages également par l'intermédiaire des stratégies affectives : 1) « l'activation d'émotions, croyances et attitudes de soutien » et 2) « l'engendrement et le maintien de la motivation » (p. 64). (Christoforou et Kakoyianni-Doa, 2014 : 916).

2. Les stratégies transactionnelles dans les échanges discursifs

La mise en œuvre des stratégies transactionnelles permet à l'enseignant de langue d'assumer un rôle de médiateur, qui permettra à l'apprenant de faire évoluer ses compétences et de se prendre en charge pour continuer à acquérir de nouveaux savoir-faire en vue de garantir la confiance en soi et l'énergie nécessaire pour lutter contre tout échec éventuel.

2.1 Quelles stratégies et interactions à adopter dans la communication en classe de langue ?

Le Modèle des Stratégies et Interactions en Communication développé par Jean-Louis Lascoux depuis 1991 conçoit la personne humaine comme un système qui : a. reçoit de l'information, b. traite de l'information, c. émet de l'information. « Dans les interactions de ces trois moyens de fonctionner, ce système est générateur d'état de conscience La conscience produite peut permettre à ce système d'interagir sur lui-même, ce qui lui rend possible d'avoir des relations plus ou moins conscientes avec ses propres représentations et avec le monde réel. » (WikiMediation). Pour établir la communication, il est nécessaire de recourir aux stratégies transactionnelles y intégrant les canaux sensoriels dans la réception de l'information, la réflexion par l'analyse, l'analogie et l'affectif dans le traitement du message émis et l'expression verbale mais aussi l'action et l'émotion dans l'émission des données recueillies.

2.2 Distinguer quatre étapes dans l'élaboration d'une compétence stratégique

La planification des méthodes et des moyens utilisés s'avère nécessaire pour atteindre les objectifs d'apprentissage visés selon l'âge et le niveau requis du public visé. Pour cette raison, l'enseignant-stratège devra prévoir des étapes successives, en vue d'adopter une stratégie efficace dans le processus pédagogique. On peut y distinguer les quatre étapes suivantes dans l'élaboration d'une compétence stratégique dans le contexte didactique:

> **1. L'introduction – accueil - mise en situation – engagement – amorce :** c'est l'étape de motivation. C'est une étape cruciale qui consiste à capter l'attention des étudiants et à leur donner le goût de s'engager dans l'activité d'apprentissage proposée.
>
> **2. L'activité d'apprentissage – expérimentation – exercice – problème – projet :** c'est l'étape où se font vraiment l'acquisition des connaissances et le développement des habiletés visées.
>
> **3. L'objectivation – réflexion :** c'est l'étape où s'effectuent la prise de conscience et l'appréciation de ce qui a été appris avec l'étape précédente.
>
> **4. Le réinvestissement - transfert des acquis – démonstration de la compétence :** c'est l'étape où l'étudiant montre qu'il a compris et appris en appliquant ses connaissances de façon pertinente dans un contexte approprié. (Ruph)

Pour sa part, l'apprenant devient une personne consciente de son parcours et trace le chemin qui l'amène à l'autonomie. Loin de se croire déçu, il envisage d'améliorer ses performances, puisque l'animateur prend soin de le préparer psychologiquement tout en stimulant son intérêt et ses ressources de dynamisme pour atteindre à la réalisation des objectifs fixés à l'avance. De cette manière, une relation constructive et d'équilibre se crée entre animateur et public, ce qui évite les conflits et le cas de blocage qui sont les raisons essentielles de l'échec pour se conduire vers une pédagogie de la réussite.

2.3 Grille d'analyse du scénario pédagogique/enseignement stratégique

En ce sens, il devient question de motiver la personne humaine qui s'encourage à entreprendre des initiatives efficaces qui concernent son évolution progressive dans l'acte d'apprendre. Selon la Grille d'analyse du scénario pédagogique/enseignement stratégique, Boisvert L. et Tardif F. proposent deux étapes : la planification et l'intervention en classe de langue. Au moment de l'intervention, ils distinguent la phase de préparation des phases de réalisation et d'intégration en citant des critères bien précis pour faire preuve d'une approche stratégique.

Phase de réalisation

J'enseigne des savoirs (connaissances déclaratives) et des savoirs-faire (connaissances procédurales et connaissances conditionnelles) en lien avec les objectifs d'apprentissage)
J'enseigne de façon explicite et systématique des stratégies cognitives et métacognitives par : -le modelage -la pratique guidée -la pratique autonome
J'amène les élèves à réorganiser au fur et à mesure leurs connaissances et à modifier ainsi leur réseau sémantique.
Je tiens compte des aspects suivants : -je valorise les efforts -j'encourage la persévérance et la détermination -je situe l'élève dans ses progrès (feuille de route...) -je fais voir l'efficacité de la stratégie.

Phase d'intégration

J'amène l'élève à observer sa pratique à partir du schéma organisationnel de départ: -ce qu'il a appris (ses acquis) -comment il a appris : *sa démarche ; *ses difficultés ; *ses stratégies ; -ce qu'il doit améliorer
J'amène l'élève à généraliser des règles
Je fais le point sur les connaissances erronées
Je tiens compte des aspects affectifs : -j'accompagne l'élève dans le refaçonnement de ses croyances et de ses capacités ; -je sonde son degré de satisfaction par rapport à son progrès, sa réussite ;

-je réponds à son désir de dépassement en lui proposant un nouveau défi.
Je supporte le transfert des connaissances en proposant des situations de consolidation ou d'enrichissement diversifiées.

(Boisvert L. Tardif, J.)

En définitive, l'application des stratégies cognitives permet de libérer l'enseignant, qui peut se consacrer aux activités qui nécessitent son intervention personnelle, ce qui contribue à centrer son intérêt sur les lacunes des sujets. Quant aux stratégies métacognitives, elles permettent de réfléchir sur le processus d'apprentissage, le contrôle ou le *monitoring* des activités pédagogiques. L'adoption des stratégies socioaffectives consistent à encourager l'interaction en vue de favoriser la coopération, le contrôle des émotions parmi les membres du groupe. Dans une perspective actionnelle, les rapports enseignants-enseignés s'enrichissent par une redéfinition des rôles de chacun tout en visant à l'amélioration des performances.

3. Recourir à la métacognition: les stratégies métacognitives

Cultiver la compétence mémoire signifie favoriser l'entraînement de ses capacités d'attention, de perception et d'organisation des informations. Si l'on souhaite découvrir les étapes de mémorisation, il faudra passer de l'acquisition au traitement et à l'organisation de rappel.

3.1 La compétence mémoire

La mémoire est également utilisée pour retenir l'information et active les sens de la vue et de l'ouïe d'abord pour consolider ensuite l'information par le jugement. Ce processus par des étapes successives permet parallèlement à l'apprenant d'analyser les étapes de son raisonnement. Ainsi, l'assimilation du savoir se construit sur un axe triple qui peut fonctionner dans tous les sens : a. regard extérieur et intérieur, b. jugement, c. mémoire. Le message diffusé, activement mis en réserve en mémoire, peut intervenir dans une reconstruction de l'information.

La mémoire humaine est une succession de trois étapes :

- l'encodage (l'entrée de l'information : transformer l'information et les stimuli),
- le stockage (maintien des informations en mémoire),
- la récupération des souvenirs.

> Les processus qui sous-tendent ces 3 étapes sont moins faciles à appréhender. L'encodage peut être intentionnel ou par incident, le stockage peut durer quelques secondes comme plusieurs années et enfin la restitution peut être consciente ou non. (Observatoire B2V de Mémoires)

A coup sûr, la compétence mémoire initie l'élève à un véritable entraînement de ses capacités d'attention, de concentration, de perception et d'organisation des informations. L'élève découvre et comprend les grandes étapes de la mémorisation : acquisition, traitement et organisation du processus de rappel afin de développer des capacités spécifiques de type verbal, spatial, logique, qui font appel à la coordination, à la structuration et à l'imagination.

3.2 Le feed-back élaboré

Chercher le feed-back, c'est chercher la relation. Grâce à la flexibilité de l'animateur, on observe un inversement de rôle: le récepteur devient émetteur en passant par la reconstruction à l'élaboration constructive des acquis. L'attention doit être portée non seulement aux caractéristiques du public mais encore aux valeurs affectives et comportementales sans négliger les interprétations plurielles des sujets. De cette manière, ces derniers passent activement à l'application de ses connaissances antérieures et se donnent la possibilité d'en construire et d'en synthétiser progressivement de nouvelles.

Par conséquent, les participants se sentent capables de créer des situations en ajoutant des schèmes analogiques, divergents et parfois originaux puisés de leur imagination. Une métacommunication constructive aide les sujets à agir avec flexibilité et ouvre les pistes d'expérimentation à tout niveau. Pour Noël B. & Cartier S., il existe une interdépendance entre la métacognition et l'apprentissage autorégulé dont le but est « d'identifier les facteurs personnels et contextuels d'influence et leur interaction. Dans ce cas, l'interaction à propos des facteurs personnels se situe entre les connaissances, mais également avec les perceptions, les comportements et les émotions » (Noël et Cartier, 2016 : 10). En fin de compte, la métacognition consiste à réfléchir sur la façon d'agir du groupe, afin de développer son efficacité stratégique dans les interactions en classe de langue.

3.3 Les différentes mémoires selon la neuropédagogie

La programmation neurolinguistique (PNL), discipline développée à la fin des années 70, aide à mieux comprendre les comportements et fonctionnements cognitifs. Par l'utilisation de la PNL, on aidera l'apprenant à augmenter sa valorisation personnelle et sa confiance en lui et à améliorer ainsi sa performance lors du processus pédagogique. D'une part, la mémoire sensorielle reste liée à la représentation mentale. D'autre part, le décodage et l'encodage de l'information se cultive avec la mémoire à court terme tout en associant l'aspect cognitif à la dimension affective dans l'élaboration et l'organisation des tâches accomplies. Enfin, la mémoire à long terme passe par le stockage à la récupération des données mises en réserve pour aboutir à un feed-back élaboré de la version initiale. A coup sûr, l'encodage donne lieu à la rétention de l'information. Pour arriver à mémoriser, il faudra assurer le processus du traitement de l'information, qui permet d'aller de la transformation à la reconstruction des données stockées en mémoire. Comme le mentionne Trocmé-Fabre H., « Les étapes de la mémoire encodage, stockage, rappel et reconnaissance, sont intimement liées au processus de l'apprentissage (prise d'information, traitement et production) » (Trocmé – Fabre, 1987 : 74).

En ce qui concerne les lieux de la mémoire, on peut distinguer, d'une part, la mémoire sémantique capable de mémoriser les notions de la mémoire procédurale liée à la motricité et aux habilités cognitives cultivant le savoir-faire dans l'apprentissage. D'autre part, la mémoire épisodique permet de se souvenir des événements de notre vie ainsi que de nos émotions. Enfin, la mémoire de travail ou mémoire active sert d'activer toutes les informations emmagasinées dans notre cerveau dans le but d'exécuter une ou plusieurs tâches simultanées.

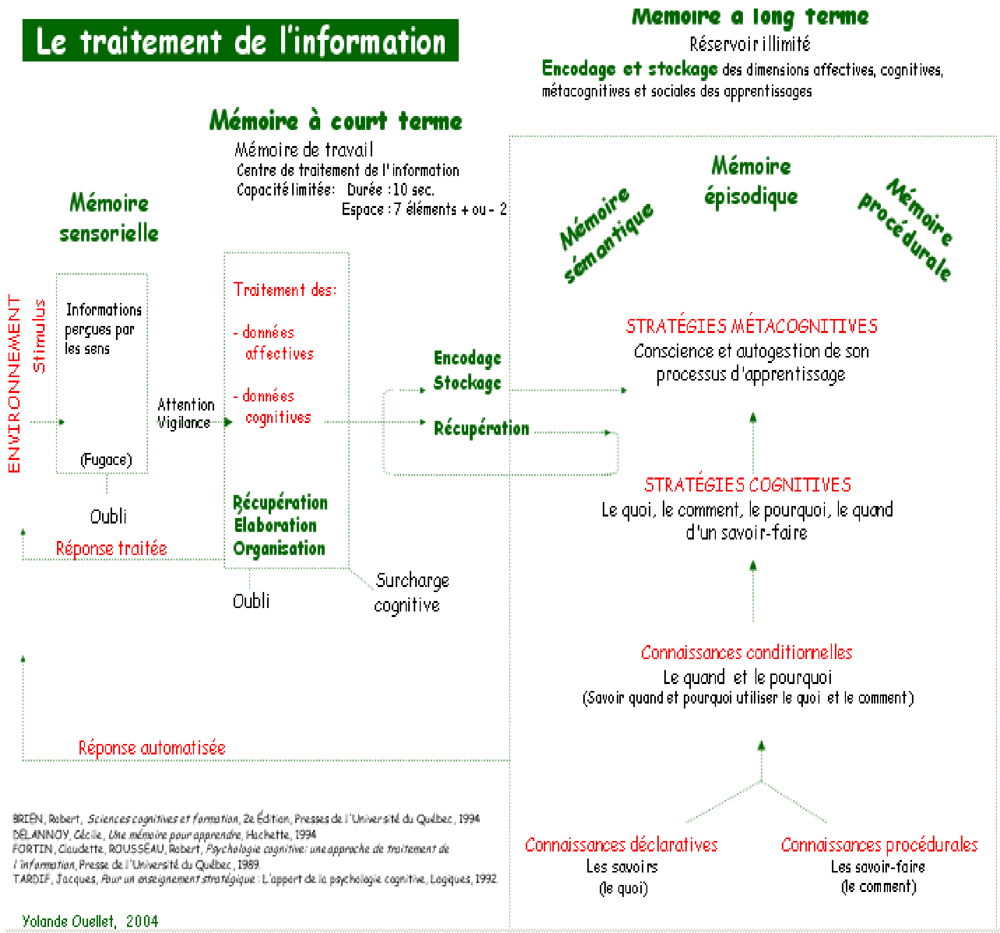

Image 1 : Ouellet et Jacob, 2007-2008 : 15

Par conséquent, les différentes mémoires jouent un rôle prépondérant non seulement dans la réception des données de l'environnement mais encore dans le traitement de l'information car elles dépendent de l'encodage et stockage des prises de décision cognitives, socioafffectives et métacognitives dans toute situation d'apprentissage mais aussi de la vie humaine. Comme le notent Gaussel M. & Reverdy, C., les interactions et rétroactions, qui se déroulent dans le processus pédagogique, restent complexes et touchent à la fois enseignant et enseignés.

Affirmant que l'enseignement est un processus dynamique d'engagement de l'enseignant en vue de développer l'apprentissage,

> Rodriguez (2012) aborde l'enseignement comme un système dynamique complexe. Elle propose un modèle de « cerveau enseignant » calqué sur le fonctionnement du système nerveux et présentant trois grandes fonctions : la perception de l'apprenant dans son contexte, le traitement de l'information (ou processing) centré sur l'apprenant ou sur l'enseignant lui-même et la réponse de l'enseignant (Rodriguez, 2013). Les interactions entre enseignant et apprenant sont multiples et fondamentales dans ce modèle puisque des rétroactions sont faites par l'enseignant. (Gaussel et Reverdy, 2013 : 29)

En fin de compte, il s'avère de prime importance de savoir bien gérer les échanges discursifs avec le groupe-classe pour valoriser le potentiel humain. Il ne faut pas négliger que toute tactique du groupe dépend aussi des facteurs émotionnels et de l'instauration des conditions favorables, qui peuvent éveiller la confiance en soi, ce qui autorisera chaque apprenant à mieux se connaître et à trouver en soi les ressources cachées en vue de faire évoluer ses stratégies dans l'acte d'apprendre.

Conclusion

L'acquisition de la compétence stratégique donne lieu à une optimisation de la praxis didactique car elle exige l'observation et l'apport de jugement de la part des sujets en ce qui concerne leur intégration dans l'acte d'apprendre. Loin de se sentir marginalisés, les apprenants se sentent responsables du parcours tracé, qui se divise en points de repère, où ils peuvent revenir en arrière pour cultiver des compétences cognitives, socioaffectives et métacognitives. D'une part, les participants parviennent à dépasser leurs premiers obstacles, tout en s'investissant dans la situation établie. D'autre part, l'appel à l'imagination ou à la créativité enrichit la situation établie avec de nouveaux éléments que le groupe lui-même invente. Enfin, les sujets se sentent responsables de leur parcours par la réalisation des tâches constructives en assumant toute leur énergie dans l'acte d'apprendre. Pour sa part, l'animateur favorise la construction de connaissances fondées sur des expériences vécues par les participants et permet à son groupe de créer des liens sociaux pour expérimenter les acquis. D'ailleurs, le discours métalangagier peut conduire les participants à l'assimilation des connaissances et à une adoption de tactiques permanentes. Donc, l'élaboration de la compétence stratégique centrée sur le groupe se considère comme une nouvelle dynamique, qui réussit non seulement à optimiser les attentes du public mais aussi à faciliter les interactions parmi tous les actants en classe de langue, en vue de garantir l'équilibre dans les échanges discursifs.

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About the author

Euphrosyne EFTHIMIADOU is an Associated Professor, Ph.D., Hellenic Air Force Academy, Greece.

E-mail: efrosin13@yahoo.com

TYPOLOGIES DES BLOGUES DE FLE

(TYPOLOGIES OF THE FLE BLOGS)

Elena-Georgiana VINTILĂ

Abstract: New technologies are increasingly more used in the learning process, particularly in the field of foreign languages. Not only students employ such technologies, either to have access to authentic documents, or to deepen newly discovered cultures, but also professors and field specialists who have by now understood the impact that these technologies can have on the learning process of a new language. Our work analyses web available FLE blogs, by paying special attention to blogs created by FLE professors.

Keywords: *blogs, education, French, digital*

Introduction

Le numérique trouve toujours sa place dans notre vie quotidienne, son utilisation ne nous surprenant plus, qu'il s'agisse de la lecture des journaux en ligne ou simplement de l'utilisation des réseaux sociaux. Mais on peut aussi « profiter » de l'intérêt que la jeune génération accorde à toutes ses fonctionnalités en intégrant l'espace numérique dans la salle de classe et dans le processus d'apprentissage. C'est le cas des personnes qui ont créé des blogues à des fins pédagogiques, des professeurs ou des professionnels travaillant dans le domaine de l'enseignement du FLE. Il y a une grande variété de blogues qu'on nous propose et leur nombre augmente chaque jour. Notre recherche ne se propose donc pas d'être exhaustive, ce serait impossible d'inventorier tous les blogues existants parce qu'on peut créer un nouveau à chaque moment de la journée et dans n'importe quel coin du monde. Par contre, nous essayerons d'établir une typologie des blogues de FLE à partir d'un certain nombre de blogues analysés. C'est ici l'intérêt de cet article, la visée portant sur une description typologique dont les critères de classification nous ont été suggérés par les blogues-mêmes et le contenu de la première page. Nous avons insisté sur quelques détails qui peuvent, à nos yeux, constituer une base de catégorisation : ils tournent autour de la personne qui crée le blogue et le public visé.

1. Autour du « blogue »

Le mot blogue est un mot nouveau :

> Le terme *blogue*, forme francisée de *blog*, a été proposé par l'Office québécois de la langue française, en octobre 2000, sur le modèle de *bogue*, pour remplacer les termes anglais *weblog* (de *web* et *log* « journal, carnet ») et *blog*, très employés en français. Le mot *blogue* a permis la création de plusieurs dérivés, dont *bloguer*, *blogueur* et *blogage*, qui sont de plus en plus répandus. (Office Québécois de la langue française)

« Blogue » ou « blog » est donc un mot récent et encore instable pour ses utilisateurs, qui l'orthographient différemment, mais dont le fonctionnement repose sur 'animation', 'liberté éditoriale', 'interaction', caractéristiques retenues par l'Office québécois : « Le blogue, qui est créé et animé généralement par une seule personne, mais qui peut aussi être écrit par plusieurs auteurs, se caractérise par sa facilité de publication, sa grande liberté éditoriale et sa capacité d'interaction avec le lectorat. »

Le Dictionnaire Larousse le définit ainsi : « Site Web sur lequel un internaute tient une chronique personnelle ou consacrée à un sujet particulier. » (Dictionnaire Larousse) Si les formes dites classiques d'imprimés avait une forme matérielle propre qui indiquait « non seulement ce qu'il est : livre, journal, magazine ou prospectus » (Després-Lonnet et Cotte, 2007 : 112) les blogues ne sont plus soumis aux mêmes caractéristiques. Cette forme matérielle laisse entrevoir aussi son contenu ; il suffit de regarder les imprimés pour dégager son contenu tandis que pour les blogues c'est à l'inverse : il faut les visiter et les parcourir pour dégager leur contenu et décider si ce contenu t'intéresse.

En dehors des textes, le blogue contient des images (dessins, photos) des fenêtres qui s'ouvrent, il est associé quelquefois à d'autres espaces, sa matérialité complexe est multimodale. Les marques classiques de l'énonciation éditoriale comme : la nature des police et caractère, l'illustration des couvertures, le choix des couleurs ou les formes de la mise en page, toutes ces marques ont subi des transformations avec le numérique.

2. Les blogues de FLE

Le fonctionnement de la Toile est de temps en temps mis au service de l'enseignement et sa forme ne peut pas être séparée de celle du contenu – la forme de la Toile apparaît comme telle grâce à l'intention du blogueur, mais elle évolue en rapport avec les contenus. Imaginons, par exemple, un blogueur français qui s'adresse à un public chinois et un autre qui s'adresse à un public américain. Les différences culturelles entre la culture française et celle chinoise sont immenses. Le blogueur qui s'adresse à ce public doit connaître lui-même la culture chinoise pour bien faire comprendre à ses apprenants ses différences, pour expliques les mots et les coutumes qui sont spécifiques à une certaine culture d'entre les deux. La forme qu'il va utiliser sur la Toile va être tout à fait différente de la forme que le blogueur qui s'adresse au public américain va choisir.

3. Corpus des blogues analysés

Nous avons analysé un nombre de 201 blogues jusqu'au 1 novembre 2015[1] et on a relevé trois grandes classes de types de blogues :

- blogues créés pour des apprenants / étudiants.
- blogues créés pour d'autres professeurs de FLE / Partage entre les paires.
- blogues à destination plutôt communicationnelle et moins didactique.

Pour chaque catégorie, on a analysé un certain nombre de blogue et on est arrivé à la classification ci-dessous.

3.1 Blogues créés pour des apprenants / étudiants (162 blogues analysés)

a. Professeurs de FLE avec un seul blogue;
b. Professeurs de FLE avec plusieurs blogues (des blogues de français pour des apprenants, des blogues sur la culture française, des blogues sur les échanges scolaires ou simplement d'autres blogues) ;
c. Blogues créés par des professeurs de FLE pour leurs élèves ;
d. Blogues créés par d'autres organismes ou d'autres personnes du domaine du FLE, mais pas de professeurs (écoles de français, étudiants en master, assistants, apprenants ou même des blogueurs qui ne se présentent pas).

[1] Tous les détails liés au contenu des blogues sont valables seulement pour les dates indiquées, les ressources en ligne étant susceptibles d'être modifiées, voire disparaître.

3.2 Partage entre les paires (32 blogues analysés)

Des professeurs de FLE qui partagent avec leurs collègues des ressources, des stratégies, etc. Il y a des blogues animés soit par un professeur soit par plusieurs professeurs :

a. Blogues créés par un professeur/formateur;
b. Blogues créés par plusieurs professeurs/formateurs ;
c. Blogues créés par d'autres institutions ou des blogueurs qui n'indiquent pas leur profession.

3.3 Blogues à destination plutôt communicationnelle et moins didactique (7 blogues analysés)

Catégorie moins nombreuse, sur ces blogues on retrouve des ressources pour d'autres professeurs, mais aussi des exercices pour des apprenants qui veulent pratiquer la langue. Les blogueurs ne sont pas tous des professeurs de FLE.

a. Blogues créés par des professeurs ;
b. Blogues sans indication du métier.

Une première observation se dégage après cette analyse : les blogueurs espagnols sont les plus nombreux tandis que pour les pays de l'Europe du Nord – la Norvège, la Suède, la Finlande, la Danemark, l'Islande, l'Estonie – on n'a pas trouvé de blogues de FLE.

4. Blogues créés pour des apprenants / étudiants

On limitera notre analysé à la catégorie des blogues spécialement pour ses/des apprenants et/ou étudiants. Pour des raisons typographiques, nous ne pourrons pas utiliser des images des blogues, mais on essayera de les détailler le mieux possible. Nous avons analysé un nombre de 162 blogues et nous sommes arrivés à la classification présentée au-dessous.

4.1. Professeurs avec un seul blogue

Dans cette catégorie, nous avons sélectionné 21 blogues[2] créés par un professeur pour des apprenants / étudiants, avec une seule exception, le blogue FLEvideo.com qui propose des quiz vidéo pour les niveaux A1, A2, B1 et B2 à des apprenants / étudiants, mais ce blogue n'est pas créé par un seul professeur, mais par 448 professeurs dont Mademoiselle Sandrilla, Elena Buric

[2] Consultés le 23 novembre 2016.

ou Carmen Vera, des blogueurs qui ont aussi leur propre blogue, des blogues pour leurs élèves. On a décidé d'ajouter ce blogue dans cette catégorie-ci parce que c'est un blogue créé par des professeurs qui travaillent dans le domaine de l'enseignement et il est destiné à des apprenants, comme sa présentation le signale aussi, présentation qui apparait sur la page d'accueil du site: Professeurs de français langue seconde créent des quiz vidéo de FLE pour des étudiants de FLE.

4.1.1. L'identité sociale des blogueurs

Il y a des blogueurs qui utilisent leur vrai nom sur les blogues et qui donnent des détails sur leur expérience professionnelle, l'institution dans laquelle ils travaillent, etc. Il y a d'autres professeurs – moins nombreux – qui choisissent un pseudonyme ou, dans le cas du blogue collectif, de laisser le professeur qui y contribue de choisir la manière dans laquelle il se fait reconnu.

4.1.1.1. Nom et prénom

Treize blogueurs[3] de 21 blogues utilisent leur identité complète, c'est-à-dire leur nom et leur prénom et, en plus, ils se présentent comme professeurs de FLE – avec deux exceptions : Luzencia Isla et Teresa López, la plupart d'entre eux indiquant aussi leur lieu de travail, leurs passions, etc. :

a. Angeles Prieto, responsable du blogue *Notre petit blog FLE* indique son sexe – féminin, le secteur dans lequel elle travaille – enseignement, le poste occupé – profesora de francès, le pays – Espagne, ses centres d'intérêt – música, idiomas, lectura, naturaleza et ses goûts musicaux – casi todas.

b. Aurelio Levante, responsable du blogue Chansons et Images de France. Canciones et Imágenes de Francia. FRANÇAIS LANGUE ÉTRANGÈRE POUR DES ÉLÈVES D'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE. FRANCÉS LENGUE EXTRANJERA PARA ALUMNOS DE ENSEÑANZA SECUNDARIA. Il indique son sexe – masculin, le pays – Espagne, et les liens vers d'autres catégories – clip audio.

c. Aude Chauvet, responsable du blogue *Tourisme à Paris*. Elle indique la date de création du blogue – juin 2004, son émail – aude_chauvet@yahoo.fr et comment ce blogue est apparu – dans le cadre de la validation du module 4 « TIC et formation en LVE » du

[3] En italique, le texte tel qu'il apparaît sur les blogues.

DESS Politiques Linguistiques et Technologiques Educative-Université d'Angers et du Maine.

d. Chris Martin, responsable du blogue: *FLE AU LYCÉE*. Elle indique seulement son sexe – femme et son métier – professeurs de Français, présent.

e. Evguéni Erokhine, responsable du blogue *LE FLE AVEC MÉDIAS*. Il est le seul blogueur russe trouvé sur la Toile pour le moment. Il commence sa présentation en russe, suivie de la traduction en français : « professeur de FLE à l'Institut français de Moscou. Lauréat du concours national "Meilleur professeur de la ville". Examinateur-formateur DELF-DALF. Examinateur OGE-EGE. Pour me joindre evgueni@eml.cc. TWITTER : https://twitter.com/Evgueni_ »

f. Jean-Nicolas Lefilleul, responsable du blogue *Apprentissage du français*. Aide aux étudiants de Français Langue Étrangère dans leur apprentissage. Sa présentation est la suivante :

> Prof de FLe à l'université Galatasaray à Istanbul, j'ai souhaité ouvrir un blog pour aider les étudiants qui apprennent le français dans cette université, et ailleurs, à mieux dépasser les difficultés inhérentes au français. Ce site s'adresse plus particulièrement aux étudiants de préparatoire, mais peut intéresser tous les autres. Je souhaite à tous beaucoup de courage et "que du bonheur" dans l'apprentissage de cette belle langue moteur de la francophonie qui gagne petit à petit ses galons par rapport aux autres langues dominantes.

g. Luzencia Isla, responsable du blogue LE FLE D'ÉMILIE. Elle indique seulement son sexe – femme et son lieu de résidence – France.

h. Nathalie Maguérès, responsable du blogue Paris Monterrey. Nathalie se présente en quatre langues : français – la plus longue présentation :

> Bonjour à toutes et à tous ! Je suis **Nathalie Maguérès**. Je viens de **Brest** en Bretagne. La Bretagne, ma terre celtetant aimée, où j'ai étudié d'abord une Licence d'Italien à l'Université de Rennes et ensuite une maîtrise de Français Langue Étrangère (FLE) à l'Université de Nantes. Après avoir habité aux USA et en Italie, j'ai décidé d'aller faire un petit tour au **Mexique** où je suis depuis quelques années. Douze ans d'expérience comme enseignante, et en 2010 j'ai eu envie

> de me lancer dans une nouvelle aventure: un blog de français. Parallèlement je continue mon activité professionnelle comme professeur de FLE dans de prestigieuses universités de la ville. À travers le blog, je voudrais partager quelques activités de **FLE,** mais aussi des infos et des impressions sur d'autres thèmes comme le ciné ou un livre, un festival … les cultures de la Francophonie en général. J'attends bien évidemment vos commentaires =D. À très bientôt !!! Cordialement Nathalie Maguérès.

Mais aussi en espagnol, italien et anglais – la plus courte présentation : « **Hello !** I am Nathalie, a french teacher from Brittany. I'd like to share with you some activities for French as a Second Language. I hope you'll like it and I wait for your feedback! See you »

i. Pascale Duvigneau, responsable du blogue La boite à FLE. Pascale présente sa vie en grande ligne – son lieu de naissance, ses expériences comme fille au pair, son passage à Vancouver, en Géorgie et puis son retour à Tours où elle enseigne pour le moment : « Je m'appelle Pascale DUVIGNEAU et je suis l'auteure de ce blog. Je suis professeur de Français Langue Etrangère depuis 2005…mais commençons par le début ! Je suis française, née à Tours, dans la Vallée de la Loire ! […] »

j. Patrizia Arghirò, responsable du blogue LA PROF DE FLE. Elle indique son sexe – féminin, le secteur dans lequel elle travaille – enseignement, le poste occupé – insegnante, la localité – Specchia, Lecce et une coute introduction – « Patrizia Arghirò Insegnante di lingua francese presso la scuola secondaria di primo grado "Don Luigi Sturzo" di Specchia (LE). »

k. Pierre Babon, responsable du blogue FRANÇAIS AVEC PIERRE. Dans la section du blogue Qui suis-je il y a une longue présentation qui commence avec la présentation personnelle du blogueur et de la raison pour laquelle il a créé le blogue :

> Je m'appelle Pierre Babon, je suis français, de Bordeaux et je suis professeur de FLE (français langue étrangère), c'est-à-dire, français pour toutes les personnes qui ne sont pas françaises si vous préférez. J'ai actuellement 41 ans (en octobre 2015) et je suis père de 3 enfants. Après avoir travaillé dans de nombreux projets, j'avais envie de créer quelque chose qui soit plus personnel, c'est pour cela que j'ai décidé de l'appeler Français avec Pierre.

La présentation continue avec les raisons pour lesquelles il faut visiter son blogue et les projets dans lesquels il travaille.

l. Silvia Glacalle, responsable du blogue Le coin du fle. Elle indique seulement son métier – Professeur de Français à l'École de Langues de Tomelloso.

m. Teresa López, responsable du blogue NOTRE CLASSE DE FRANÇAIS. Elle indique seulement son sexe – femme.

4.1.1.2. Prénom

Cinq blogueurs préfèrent se présenter seulement par leur prénom. Ces blogueurs ne donnent pas beaucoup de détails sur eux, certains ne se présentent même pas du tout, comme c'est le cas de Patricia ; c'est grâce à l'étiquette d'identification affichée après chaque message posté qu'on connaît son prénom, mais on n'a pas aucune autre information sur elle.

a. Beatriz, responsable du blogue *Chez Bea*. Elle indique seulement le pays – Espagne.

b. Patricia, responsable du *blogue PARLEZ-VOUS FRANÇAIS ? One year to improve your French conversation!* Aucune indication sur son métier, son lieu de résidence, etc.

c. Susana, responsable du blogue *INTERFLE*. Elle indique son sexe – féminin, le secteur dans lequel elle travaille – enseignement, le poste occupé – Prof de Français et la localité – Galicia, Espagne.

d. Yolanda, responsable du blogue *Mon blog de français*. Elle indique son sexe – féminin, le secteur dans lequel elle travaille – Enseignement, le pays –Espagne et une courte introduction – Professeur de français IES Severo Ochoa (Madrid).

e. Yolanda, responsable du blogue *Yolanda eoi francés*. Elle indique son sexe – féminin, le secteur dans lequel elle travaille – Enseignement, le poste occupé – Enseignante, la localité – Alcazar de San Juan, Ciudad Real, Espagne, une courte introduction – Prof de vocation et passionnée de la langue et la culture française, ses centres d'intérêt – la lecture, la peinture, la natation, les promenades avec ma famille, films préférés – Avatar, Goûts musicaux – La musique pop rock et ses livres préférés - "La petite fille de Monsieur Lihn" de Claudel, "Elle s'appelait Sarah" de Tatiana de Rosnay, "35 kilos d'espoir" de Anna Gavalda, "Les yeux jaunes des crocodiles", "Les heures solitaires" de Kate Morton, etc…

4.1.1.3. Pseudonymes

Les derniers 3 blogues de cette catégorie sont gérés par des blogueurs qui refusent d'indiquer leur nom ou leur prénom; un seul blogueur se présentant comme "enseignant" – FFCV. Pour le blogue "les Picasso" c'est grâce à la présentation du blogue qu'on peut situer au moins du point de vue géographique son responsable – l'Espagne.

a. FFCV, responsable du blogue *En Français, SVP...* Il indique son sexe – Masculin, le secteur dans lequel il travaille – Enseignement, le poste occupé – Profesor de Secundaria et la localité – La Rioja, Espagne.

b. les Picasso, responsable du blogue *Oui, je parle français*. Blog de l'IES "Pablo Ruiz Picasso" pour les élèves qui aiment la langue française. Elle indique seulement son sexe – femme.

c. 448 blogueurs qui contribuent au blogue *FLEvidéo.com*.

Pour le dernier blogue que nous avons choisi, FLEvidéo.com, chaque quiz est créé par un professeur qui utilise soit son nom ou son prénom soit un pseudonyme. Grâce à l'étiquette "Professeurs" nous accédons à la liste des professeurs qui ont mis des quiz sur le site. À part les deux premiers contributeurs, les autres contributeurs sont listés en ordre alphabétique.

4.1.2. Niveaux et thématiques des blogues

Comme un grand nombre de blogueurs espagnols n'utilisent pas le système CECR pour indiquer le niveau du blogue et des exercices proposés, voilà les 3 acronymes le plus utilisés et leur traduction ou leur correspondance en français :

ESO – Educacion Segundaria Obligatoria - Enseignement Obligatoire Secondaire. L'enseignement secondaire espagnol est composé de l'ESO qui dure quatre années et du Bachillerato qui dure deux ans, tout se déroulant dans l'IES.

IES – Instituto de Educación Secundaria - Institut d'éducation secondaire, souvent appelé Instituto – Lycée

EOI - Escuela Oficial de Idiomas - École Officielle de Langues.

> Les Écoles Officielles de Langues sont des centres publics dépendant de la Consejería de Educación de la Junta de Andalucía. Grâce au Plan de Développement du Plurilinguisme, ils sont devenus et se sont transformés en des centres complets de formation de langues, qui proposent des enseignements présentiels, semi-présentiels et en ligne.

4.1.2.1. Le niveau

Les blogueurs de cette catégorie proposent soit des blogues avec des exercices pour tous les niveaux soit des blogues pour un certain niveau.

4.1.2.1.1. Blogues pour plusieurs niveaux

Il y a six blogueurs espagnols qui proposent des activités pour tous les niveaux de l'enseignement secondaire, avec différentes étiquettes en espagnol pour chaque niveau :

a. *Notre petit blog de FLE* : 1°ESO, 2°ESO, 3°ESO, 4°ESO, 1°BACHILLERATO – 2°Idioma, 2°BACHILLERATO (Nivel inicial).

b. *Mon blog de français* : 1°ESO, 2°ESO, 3°ESO, 4°ESO, 1°BACHILLERATO, 2°BACHILLERATO.

c. *EN FRANÇAIS, SVP…* : 1°ESO, 2°ESO, 3°ESO, 4°ESO, 1°BACHILLERATO, 2°BACHILLERATO.

d. *Chansons et Images de France* : 2°, 3°, 4° ESO Y 1° BACHILLERATO (A1, A2, B1).

e. *FLE AU LYCÉE* : 1°ESO, 2°ESO, 3°ESO, 4°ESO, 1°BACHILLERATO, 2°BACHILLERATO.

f. *NOTRE CLASSE DE FRANÇAIS* : 1°ESO, 2°ESO, 3°ESO, 4°ESO, 1°Bachillerato, 2°Bachillerato, 1°Bachillerato bilingue, 1°ESO bilingue, 3°ESO bilingue.

4.1.2.1.2. Blogueurs qui utilisent les niveaux du CECR

Six blogueurs de nationalités différentes utilisent les niveaux proposés par CECR :

a. *Oui, je parle français* – blogueur espagnol : Compréhension écrite B1, Compréhension orale B1
b. *FLEvidéo.com* – plusieurs nationalités : Débutants (A1), Élémentaire (A2), Intermédiaire (B1), Avancé (B2).
c. *LE FLE AVEC LES MÉDIAS* – blogueur russe : A1+A2, A2+B1, B1+B2.
d. *Le coin du fle* – blogueur espagnol : A1, A2, B1, B2.
e. *INTERFLE* – blogueur espagnol. Ce blogue est conçu uniquement pour les niveaux A1 et A2, comme le blogueur le signale dès la couverture. Il n'y a pas d'étiquettes pour chaque niveau, mais il y a 68 étiquettes thématiques : grammaire, compréhension, fêtes, chansons, etc.
f. *La boite à FLE* – blogueur français. Il n'y a aucune étiquette de niveau, mais cinq catégories différentes : images, musique, idées, mots et outils. Pour le niveau, le blogueur a choisi de l'indiquer dans le titre de chaque message posté : Le segway (B1/B1+).

4.1.2.1.3. Blogueurs qui utilisent les niveaux d'ACTFL[4]

Quatre blogueurs espagnols utilisent les étiquettes « *básico* », « *intermedio* » et « *avanzato* » et deux autres blogueurs français utilisent leurs correspondants français :

a. *Chez Bea* : 1°Básico, 2°Avanzado, 2°Básico.
b. *Yolanda eoi francés* : 1°Básico, 2°Avanzado.
c. *Apprentissage du français* : Français pour débutants et intermédiaires, Français pour les primo-arrivants.
d. *Tourisme à Paris* – sur ce blogue il n'a pas d'étiquette, mais des catégories comme : dans le métro, à l'hôtel ou au restaurant où on trouve des activités de différents niveaux pour apprendre et / ou approfondir le vocabulaire du thème « le tourisme » : dialogues et activités pour étudiants de niveau faux-débutant à intermédiaire.

4.1.2.1.4. Blogueurs qui n'utilisent pas des étiquettes pour indiquer le niveau.

Quatre blogueurs n'indiquent pas le niveau de l'activité proposée et les étiquettes permettent d'accéder aux activités par thèmes :

[4] Américan Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages - http://www.actfl.org, consulté le 23 novembre 2016.

a. *Paris Monterrey* : chanson FLE, conjugaison, exercices et corrections, expressions françaises, fiches pédagogiques, grammaire, la France, le Québec, lecture, liens, podcast, pour les enfants, radio, vidéos, vocabulaire.
b. *LE FLE D'ÉMILIE* : musique, reportage, Power Point vus en classe, vidéos insolites, cinéma, mes actualités personnelles, Harry Potter, fêtes et traditions, ma sélection de livre, publicités à regarder dans modération, témoignage.
c. *LA PROF DE FLE* : 103 catégories affichées en ordre alphabétique : adjectifs démonstratifs, adjectifs possessifs, alphabet, animaux, article partitif, articles contractés, articles définis et indéfinis, etc.
d. *Parlez-vous français? One year to improve your French conversation!* : grammaire, vocabulaire, prononciation, dictées, culture françaises, forum, french test. Une spécificité du blogue de Patricia est que tous ses messages sont en fait des vidéos où elle explique soit une règle de grammaire soit des difficultés de vocabulaire.

4.1.2.1.5. Blogue sans niveau ou catégorie

Le blogueur Pierre Babon n'utilise aucune étiquette, ni pour indiquer le niveau de l'activité proposée ni pour indiquer la thématique. Le seul indice pour le contenu de l'activité est son titre – parfois le niveau est indiqué dans le titre de l'activité. Mais sans utiliser des étiquettes, il n'y a pas d'autre modalité à accéder à toutes les activités pour un certain niveau que de visualiser chaque page du blogue et lire les titres. Ex : Dictée : lettre de réclamation (niv B1/B2 et plus). Une autre spécificité de ce blogue est que toutes les activités proposées sont accompagnées soit par une vidéo soit par une audio.

4.1.2.2. Thématiques des blogues

La grande majorité des blogueurs proposent des activités diverses, pour presque tous les niveaux et les compétences langagières et aussi une grande variété de contenus. De tous les 21 blogues choisis, seulement quatre se distinguent pour ce qui est de la thématique.

4.1.2.2.1. Blogue avec un seul thème

Le blogue Tourisme à Paris, comme son titre l'indique aussi, propose seulement d'activités qui travaillent le vocabulaire spécifique du tourisme. Nous retrouvons des dialogues, des audio, des exercices ou de liens supplémentaires pour approfondir certaines compétences.

4.1.2.2.2. Blogue avec un seul type d'exercice

Le blogue FLEvidéo.com propose seulement des quiz à partir des vidéos. Un quiz est :

> un jeu qui consiste en un questionnaire permettant de tester des connaissances générales ou spécifiques ou des compétences. [...] Il peut se présenter sous forme de questionnaire à choix multiples ou de questionnaire simple, mais la différence majeure avec un autre test de connaissances ou de personnalité est qu'on attend du participant une réponse non développée d'un ou deux mots. (Wikipedia)

4.1.2.2.3. Blogues qui utilisent certains supports

Il y a deux blogueurs qui mettent en évidence dès le premier contact avec leurs blogues les supports qu'ils privilégient :

a. *Chansons et Images de France. Canciones et Imágenes de Francia. FRANÇAIS LANGUE ÉTRANGÈRE POUR DES ÉLÈVES D'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE. FRANCÉS LENGUE EXTRANJERA PARA ALUMNOS DE ENSEÑANZA SECUNDARIA*. Dès le premier accès, nous savons déjà que le blogueur favorise les chansons et les images liées à la France. En parcourant la première page qui s'ouvre[5], nous retrouvons deux activités sur les chansons « Il faut savoir » de Charles Aznavour et « Aline » de Christophe.
b. *LE FLE AVEC DES MÉDIAS*. Comme le nom du blogue l'indique aussi, on y retrouve des activités centrées autour des médias, et, dans ce cas, des activités ayant toujours comme support des vidéos. Il ne s'agit pas de vidéos créées par le blogueur lui-même – comme c'était le cas du blogueur Pierre Babon ou Patricia –, mais des vidéos authentiques, toujours accompagnées d'une fiche de travail ainsi que des corrigés.

Conclusions

Le blogue des professeurs de FLE est d'abord un « texte » qui se trouve, dès sa conception, sous l'influence des pratiques professionnelles de ses concepteurs-acteurs. Une remarque peut déjà être faite : le concepteur du blogue peut être un des énonciateurs, ou plusieurs, ou il peut être conçu par un spécialiste qui n'est pas professeur. L'enseignement à distance (e-learning, télé-learning, apprentissage assisté par ordinateur, apprentissage à distance, online learning…) demande de l'interaction et de l'interactivité. L'apprentissage, selon les théories de la psychologie cognitive, est basé sur

[5] Consulté le 23 novembre 2016.

l'utilisation de la mémoire, de la motivation et de la pensée. D.R. Garrison (1999) affirme que c'est la façon d'enseigner qui inclut la nature d'interaction entre les enseignants, les apprenants et les contenus dans l'apprentissage à distance. C'est durant ce processus d'interaction que l'information se transforme et passe de la mémoire à court terme à long terme. Mais face à ce type d'interaction à distance, les utilisateurs doivent adapter leur comportement, comprendre les limitations de compréhension, interpréter les contenus etc.

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About the author

Elena-Georgiana VINTILĂ is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Craiova, Romania, and the University of Liege, Belgium.

Email: georgiana.vintila@hotmail.com, elena.georgiana.vintila@gmail.com

LE MANUEL – PREUVE D'UN TRAVAIL ÉDITORIAL SPÉCIFIQUE

(THE MANUAL - EVIDENCE OF A SPECIFIC EDITORIAL WORK)

Ortansa Nina FRANȚESCU CONSTANTINESCU

Abstract: The manual is a very encouraging study object. Our research starts from the idea that the content recorded in the book object can be addressed in the plan of "graphics signifying" (Anis, 1983) and the concept of "graphic space" of the text. We will also analyze other features such as the dimensions of the usable space, registration type, the kind of font used for characters, and typographic features. These elements have a very important role – they can highlight and identify distinct elements that make up the manual. As regards the relations established between these traits and significance, our focus is on two main systems of meaning, the icon and the graphic symbol, which articulate each other according to several kinds of reports. It is through these points of differentiation by game graphic art: variation in the characters, their body fat, etc., change justification, boxes and other methods that can visualize and identify the types of particular texts.

Keywords : *graphique space, text, typographique features, manual, graphic symbol*

Introduction

Le manuel a été et reste encore un objet d'étude. Notre recherche a eu comme point de départ l'idée que le contenu enregistré dans un livre peut être abordé sur le plan de son « signifiant graphique » (Anis, 1983) et tenant compte de la notion de « l'espace graphique » du texte, que J. Anis définit comme « l'ensemble des traits qui caractérisent sa matérialisation sur un support d'écriture, ainsi que les relations qui s'établissent entre ces traits et la signifiance » (Anis, 1983) Nous avons analysé aussi autres traits, comme : les caractères gras, l'italique, la dimension des caractères employés et les traits typographiques tels la dimension des lettres, l'italique le souligne. En ce qui concerne les relations qui s'établissent entre ces traits et la signifiance, notre attention porte sur deux principaux systèmes de signification : l'icône (les images) et le symbole graphique (les textes), qui s'articulent l'un à l'autre. Nous les nommons « système » parce qu'ils font ensemble une bonne équipe qui se complètent l'un à l'autre dans les manuels scolaires et pas seulement. Ils ont des points communs, mais aussi des éléments différenciateurs, comme on verra plus loin dans les chapitres 2 et 3. C'est grâce à ces points de différenciation par les jeux de l'art graphique : variation dans les caractères, leurs corps, la graisse des lettres ou tout simplement la graisse, etc., encadrés et autres procédés que l'on peut visualiser et identifier des types de textes particuliers.

Nous sommes intéressés, d'un côté, aux éléments textuels qui se trouvent à « la périphérie », et de l'autre, à ceux qui forment le corps central du manuel, le texte proprement dit. Les éléments textuels placés à la périphérie, appelés aussi « paratexte » (Lane : 1992) sont constitués de textes fournissant des informations relatives à l'édition et de textes plus longs, mais qui demeurent en marge du corps textuel central du manuel. Dans le discours des manuels l'énonciation éditoriale est un instrument de la construction du sens, de l'acquisition des connaissances, mais « la dimension graphique, visuelle de l'écriture […] de l'information écrite implique un autre regard. » (Lane, 1989 : 42) Le texte « présente une résistance physique, matérielle, une présence sociale et idéologique qui s'expriment à travers l'histoire et la culture. C'est toute cette épaisseur de l'écrit que convoque la notion d'énonciation éditoriale » (Lane, 1992 :32)

La difficulté tient d'une mise en forme typographique du langage pour la matérialisation d'une idée. Pour analyser cette forme typographique du langage dans les manuels roumains de FLE, nous avons utilisé deux méthodes : l'analyse du discours et la (ré)interprétation des graphies. Les éléments retenus sont : le caractère des lettres, la graisse, l'italique, le souligné, l'exposant, les éléments typographiques spéciaux.

Ainsi, nous avons été intéressés, d'un côté, par les éléments textuels qui se trouvent à « la périphérie » et d'autre côté, par ceux qui forment le corps central du manuel. Notre objectif a été d'identifier le rôle des particularités de l'énonciation éditoriale dans la structure et le message du manuel, si le manuel est le résultat ou non d'un travail éditorial spécifique. En plus nous avons aussi identifié l'importance du rôle et la place de l'éditeur dans l'organisation de l'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère.

Ayant en vue ces détails, nous soulignons la différence entre « énonciation éditoriale » et « énonciation typographique » qui représente un point central de notre recherche. En ce qui concerne l'énonciation éditoriale, il faut retenir la définition d'E. Souchier : elle ne transmet pas, mais « *trans-forme* : elle postule une inter détermination du sens et de la forme et qu'elle participe activement de l'élaboration des textes » (1998 : 138). L'étude de l'énonciation éditoriale et de l'instance éditoriale s'est développée en relation directe avec l'évolution de l'informatique et de l'ordinateur.

Ainsi, Divina Frau-Meigs affirme : « Une machine n'est pas un objet naturel, mais un mécanisme qui utilise des dispositions naturelles et des énergies organisées pour atteindre certains buts » (Frau-Meigs, 1996 : 16). Nous parlons donc d'une instance qui prend en charge la conception du manuel, instance difficile à déterminer ou à délimiter, représentée par une ou plusieurs personnes, en bref, les concepteurs.

1. Les éléments typographiques les plus utilisés

Pour cette analyse, nous avons choisi 4 manuels roumains de FLE édités après les années 1989 : Bădiţa A., Iliescu V. (2006), Slăvescu M., Soare A. (2005), Nasta D. I. (2005) et Groza D. et al (2008).

D'abord, nous analyserons quelques éléments typographiques, comme nous avons précisé dans l'introduction, parmi lesquels se trouve la dimension des lettres qui peut influencer la visibilité des titres des leçons, des mots, des notions théoriques et, à la fin, la transmission et la réception des messages. Les lettres peuvent être écrites avec caractère normal, des minuscules, ou avec des capitales ou des majuscules.

Dans ce corpus **les capitales de phrases** (capitale initiale) ont été utilisées dans tous les manuels pour les chiffres romains, pour les titres d'œuvres, pour mettre en évidence des mots, dans les titres des leçons, dans les titres de la première de la couverture. Ainsi nous avons trouvé sur la première couverture du manuel pour la IVème année des capitales totales dans le nom du ministère, du manuel, de la discipline, de la maison d'édition, et dans le nom de famille des auteurs. Les capitales initiales sont présentes dans l'année d'étude, dans le prénom des auteurs, tandis que les lettres normales sont dans le nom de la classe. Dans l'intérieur du manuel de français pour la IVème les capitales initiales ont été trouvées dans les noms des chapitres, dans les consignes des exercices et dans le logo « Texte » qui accompagne chaque texte littéraire. Nous avons aussi trouvé les capitales initiales dans les titres des quelques rubriques : *Vocabulaire, Phonétique, Observe, Exercices, Observe et retiens, Le français en chiffres, Civilisations, Grammaire*. En ce qui concerne les capitales totales elles sont présentes dans le Sommaire, dans les titres des leçons, des unités et les titres des quelques rubriques : RAPPELLE-TOI, AMUSONS-NOUS, tandis que les lettres normales sont présentes dans le contenu des exercices et des textes.

Donc, les concepteurs du manuel ont préféré les capitales initiales et moins celles totales pour mettre en évidence les informations considérées importantes pour les élèves du primaire. À cet âge-ci l'attention est attirée par les couleurs, les images, la forme des lettres, les dessins parce que les élèves sont encore de petits enfants, peu intéressés au contenu scientifique, et parce qu'ils aiment le contenu ludique, coloré et varié, moins l'écriture avec des lettres normales.

Dans le manuel pour la VIIIème, sur la première de la couverture nous avons identifié des capitales totales seulement dans le nom de famille des auteurs et des capitales initiales dans le nom du ministère, dans les prénoms des auteurs, dans les noms de la discipline, de l'année d'étude, dans le nom de la maison d'édition, alors que les lettres normales ont été trouvées dans le nom de la classe et de la langue moderne 1. À l'intérieur du manuel de français pour la VIIIème notre analyse a identifié les éléments suivants :

Capitale initiale	Capitale totale	Lettre normale
Les titres des quelques textes littéraires, les consignes des exercices	Les noms de toutes les unités	Enumérations dans les notions théoriques de grammaire
Le nom des quelques rubriques : Observe, Retiens, Rappelle-toi, Compare et retiens	Les titres de quelques leçons de littérature et de toutes les leçons de grammaire	Exemples de verbes
	Les titres des quelques rubriques : JE SAIS DIRE JE SAIS FAIRE, POUR EN SAVOIR PLUS, LES NOTES DE FREDO	Le contenu des exercices et de textes

Tableau 1

Donc on donne beaucoup d'importance aux lettres capitales totales pour mettre en évidence des éléments importants dans l'étude du français comme la grammaire et les notions de vocabulaire et qui à ce niveau d'étude sont primordiales.

En ce qui concerne le manuel de français pour la IXème, il n'y a pas de capitales totales sur la première de la couverture, seulement des capitales initiales. Dans l'intérieur du manuel nous avons trouvé des capitales totales dans le nom des chapitres ou des rubriques :TABLE DE MATIÈRES, PORTES OUVERTES, À VOS MARQUES !, PLEINS FEUX SUR LA FANCE, LA PLACE HEXAGONALE, UNE SOCIÉTÉ DE LA CONNAISSANCE, DÉCOUVREZ LE MONDE EN FRANÇAIS, ALLONS PLUS LOIN, L'AVENIR À PORTÉE DE MAIN, LE MONDE COMME IL VA, À LA DÉCOUVERTE DU TEXTE, PETIT LEXIQUE, AU RENDEZ-VOUS DES MOTS, LES MOTS FENÊTRES SUR LE MONDE, DE LA GRAMMAIRE ENCORE, ENTRAÎNEZ-VOUS, RETENONS, OBSERVEZ, ACTIVITÉS, ANCRAGES, LES POUR DE LA COMMUNICATION, LA GRAMMAIRE PAS SI DIFFICILLE QUE ÇA, PASSERELLE, MÉMENTO GRAMMATICAL, TEST D'ÉVALUATION, BILAN, LE SONDAGE. Quant à la majuscule initiale, nous l'avons identifiée dans ce manuel dans les titres de leçons, les titres de quelques rubriques : « Repérages », « À vos plumes », « Applications », « Pistes pour les discussions », « En bref », « Aide-mémoire », « Ne confondez pas », « Faites la différence », « Familles de mots », « La vie des mots », « Variations », « Nota bene », « Il est bon de savoir », « Des graphies différentes », « Valeurs et emplois », « Attention à l'orthographe », « La petite phrase », « Pistes pour l'analyse », « Les homonymes », « Lexique d'appui », « Autour d'un mot », « Attention », « Équivalences », « Rappel », « À l'occasion de ce texte ».

Les capitales sont présentes aussi dans le manuel de français pour le XIème. Nous y avons trouvé les capitales totales dans la première de la couverture dans le nom du ministère et dans le nom de la maison d'éditeur. Dans le contenu de ce manuel, les capitales totales ont été identifiées dans les titres des chapitres : DE NOUVEAU À L'ÉCOLE, ÊTES VOUS PRÊTS À DEMARRER ? BILAN INITIAL, PRENDRE CONTACT, COMMUNIQUER, LIRE, DÉCOUVRIR, S'EXPRIMER, MIEUX CONNAÎTRE, RAPPELEZ-VOUS !, EN SAVOIR PLUS, ÉVALUER. Les capitales sont aussi présentes dans les titres des leçons de grammaire, des leçons de civilisation et de littérature : INTERROGATION INDIRECTE, LE ROCK VOLCANIQUE, TRADITIONS CULTURELLES FRANÇAISES.

La présence des majuscules initiales a été identifiée dans les consignes des exercices, dans le nom des quelques rubriques : « Attention », « Forme négative », « Activités », « Travail a deux », « Travail en équipe », « Lexique », « Antonymes », « Synonymes », « Famille de mots », « Sujet de rédaction », « Localiser dans l'espace », « Le saviez-vous ? », « Rappelez-vous ! », « Quelques titres de leçons », « Exprimer son opinion ». En ce qui concerne les lettres normales, nous les avons rencontrées à l'intérieur des textes et des exercices.

La graisse des lettres est un autre élément de notre analyse qui représente l'épaisseur d'un certain caractère et elle est utilisée dans beaucoup de manuels de FLE pour mettre en évidence un mot, une idée qui sont à retenir. Dans notre corpus la graisse est présente dans tous les manuels analysés dans des proportions différentes.

Dans le manuel pour la IVème la graisse est présente sur chaque page pour mettre en évidence les désinences, les consignes des exercices, les mots à retenir, les noms des personnages d'un dialogue, de nouveaux verbes, la prononciation, les articles, les mots nouveaux, etc.

(1) **C'es**t une poupée

(2) Trouve les mots désignant **des qualités**. Écris-les.

(3) Un **petit** appartement

(4) **Mon** cahier

(5) **Martine :** Allo, oui ?

(6) **Le blé, le maïs, l'orge, moissonner**

(7) **[ai], [ei]**

En ce qui concerne le manuel de français de notre corpus pour la VIIIème, la graisse est utilisée pour les titres des unités, les consignes des exercices, les titres de quelques leçons, les notions les plus importantes dans les leçons de grammaire, les années, les noms de quelques rubriques :

(8) **Retiens**, **Rappelle-toi**, **Bilan**, **Compare et retiens**, **Observe**

(9) **MON HÉROS PRÉFÉRÉ**, **ALERTE AU LOUVRE**, **EURÉKA !**

(10) **Complète avec des mots du texte**, **Réponds**

(11) **Proposition principale**, **Proposition subordonnée**

Dans le manuel de français pour le IXème de notre corpus nous avons identifié la présence de la graisse sur la première de la couverture : le nom du ministère, la discipline, le nom de la maison d'édition. Dans le contenu du manuel, la graisse des lettres est présente dans les titres écrits avec majuscules totales, les titres de leçons, quelques consignes des exercices, les titres de toutes les rubriques, les notions les plus importantes dans les leçons de grammaires, les mots et les idées à retenir :

(12) **La nature et les indices du texte injonctif**,

(13) **En bref**, **ACTIVITÉS**, **Texte d'application**,

(14) **20 ans, le bel âge**, **Haut les cœurs !**

Dans le manuel de français pour la XIème de notre corpus nous avons identifié l'utilisation fréquente de la graisse sur la première de la couverture : le nom de la discipline, le nom du ministère, les noms des auteurs, le nom de la maison d'édition et la langue 2. Nous avons aussi retrouvé la graisse dans le contenu de ce manuel dans les noms des chapitres, les noms des quelques rubriques, dans les titres des leçons, dans des phrases qui contiennent des informations importantes à retenir, des terminaisons, les verbes, les consignes des tests, la transcription en lettres des pages du manuel, des mots nouveaux.

(15) **LIRE**, **DÉCOUVRIR**

(16) **Les adolescents accros du téléphone portable**, **J'AI MARSEILLE AU CŒUR**

(17) **Baie n. f.**- **golfe délaissé, -e- abandonnée**

(18) **Sujet de rédaction**, **Activités**, **Exercices**

(19) **Lisez ce texte, puis répondez aux questions**

L'italique a été analysé aussi dans notre étude et il représente une graphie inclinée à droite, mais on ne doit pas confondre la police en italique avec la police oblique. L'italique n'est pas utilisé dans le manuel pour le IVème. Par contraire, dans le manuel pour la VIIIème il est présent dans chaque page, étant utilisé dans les consignes des exercices, les titres des fragments de textes, dans les exemples donnés pour expliquer les notions de grammaire :

(20) *Retiens*

(21) *Imagine et joue*,

(22) *Lis les panneaux ci-dessous*. *Précise les endroits où on peut les trouver*

(23) *D'après Jules Verne*, *Un capitaine de quinze ans*

En ce qui concerne les manuels pour le lycée nous avons constaté que l'italique est fréquemment utilisé. Dans le manuel de français pour le IXème, nous l'avons trouvé dans les fragments des œuvres littéraires, les titres de quelques rubriques, les citations présentées sur la première page de chaque unité, les fonctions syntaxiques des certains mots, dans quelques exercices, les titres des œuvres d'où sont extraits des fragments du manuel, des exemples dans les explications des notions de grammaire, dans des explications concernant la formation des quelques mots et leur orthographe, etc.

(24) Qui d'autre est venu ? *(Sujet)*

(25) Complétez les phrases par *qu'est-ce qui* et *qui est-ce qui*, selon le cas

(26) *Ce qui*, *ce que* ou *ce dont* ?

(27) *L'abbé Pierre – une vie auprès des pauvres*, *Forlag Malling Beck*

Dans le manuel pour la XIème l'italique est présent dans les informations fournies par quelques exercices de communication, dans l'introduction des quelques textes, dans les explications supplémentaires en ce qui concerne les notions de grammaire, le temps verbal exigé dans quelques exercices, des citations dans la première page de chaque unité

(28) Sans auxiliaire (*accord avec le mot déterminé*)

(29) Complétez les espaces libres avec les constructions suivantes : *tomber amoureux*, *avoir un coup de foudre*, *sortir*, *embrasser*, *faire une déclaration d'amour*

(30) Mettez les verbes aux temps indiqués entre parenthèses. Elles (*se montrer - passé composé*) …les cadeaux qu'elles (*recevoir – plus-que-parfait*) ….

(31) *Depuis toujours, au cours des drames ou, au cours des siècles, furent jetés, Roumains et Français, jamais quoi qu'il soit arrivé, ils ne sont considérés autrement qu'avec beaucoup d'estime et de sympathie*. Charles de Gaulle

L'exposant est un élément inédit auquel nous avons accordé attention dans notre analyse, malgré le fait qu'il n'est pas présent dans la plupart des études sur les manuels. Sa particularité est qu'il permet décaler au-dessus de la ligne de base un chiffre ou une lettre étant utilisé pour économiser l'espace quand on fait appel aux numéraux ordinaux, dans des notes, dans les abréviations. Dans notre corpus il manque dans le manuel pour le IVème. Dans le manuel pour la VIIIème il est présent dans le cas des numéraux ordinaux, dans des substances chimiques présentées dans des exercices :

(32) 4^{e},

(33) Il faut que l'actinium X^{2} soit pur.

(34) Ce grand peintre français du XVIII^{e} siècle

En ce qui concerne le manuel pour la IXe, au-delà des numéraux ordinaux, l'exposant est présent dans le cas des notes explicatives des quelques mots nouveaux :

(35) L'économique ^{5} parfois le dévorait tout entiers

(36) Le 11ème sommet de la francophonie

(37) Comme presque tous les romanciers du XX^{e} siècle…

(38) Aujourd'hui, au 21ème siècle, tout cela est fini.

Dans le manuel pour la XIème, ce signe est présent dans le cas des notes explicatives des quelques mots nouveaux, des notes explicatives des quelques abréviations, dans les numéraux ordinaux, dans les siècles :

(39) ^{1} se fringuer – s'habiller

(40) VTT^{1} – vélo tout terrain

(41) Dans le XV^{e} arrondissement de Paris, j'aperçus une ménagère ; 2^{e} personne

(42) Il est considéré comme le plus grand innovateur du XIX^{ème} siècle

Le souligné est un élément qui est bien présent dans les manuels scolaires en général pour mettre en évidence des mots, des idées qui facilitent la transmission plus rapide des informations importantes à retenir. Malgré la fréquence de l'utilisation de cet élément typographique, nous ne l'avons pas retrouvé dans tous les manuels de notre corpus. Dans le manuel pour la IVème il manque parce que le manuel est déjà trop chargé des dessins, des logos, des couleurs, des formes géométriques et le souligné aurait fait plus difficile à suivre les informations. Dans le manuel pour la VIIIème le souligné est utilisé dans le cas des quelques exercices, dans les explications des notions de grammaire :

(43) Précisez le temps des verbes soulignés : L'été vient de finir et l'automne nait.

(44) Fait l'accord des participes passes soulignés : Mes copains et moi, on est parti vite.

(45) Observe : Delphine et Marinette s'étaient couchées.

(46) Meilleur que, aussi bon que, moins bon que.

Le manuel pour la IXème utilise le souligné seulement pour mettre en évidence les mots qui doivent être remplacés ou mis à des temps verbaux différents dans quelques exercices :

(47) Lisez avec attention les phrases et dégagez le sens des mots soulignés : Il ne craint ni Dieu, ni diable.

(48) Analysez les fonctions des mots soulignés : Evidemment, elle est en retard.

Dans le manuel pour la XIème le souligné est utilisé une seule fois, à la page 95, dans le nom du site d'où est extrait le fragment :

(49) www.persowanadoo.fr

2. Les éléments typographiques spéciaux

Il y a une diversité d'éléments typographiques, mais ceux spéciaux comme **symboles, logo, dessins** autour des textes de base aident l'éditeur de mettre en évidence les éléments les plus importants de chaque page du manuel, des informations pour favoriser la transmission rapide et claire du message.

Dans le manuel de français de notre corpus pour le primaire les symboles, les logos, les dessins sont situés à la périphérie de la page et ils sont très colorés avec noir, rouge, vert, bleu, orange, jaune. Il s'agit des symboles comme des trèfles jaunes, bleus, roses pour les mots qui manquent ou pour les espaces libres dans les exercices du manuel. D'autres symboles que nous avons trouvés sont les symboles graphiques qui suggèrent les mots qui doivent être identifiés dans des exercices : des aliments, des objets, des vêtements, des montres, le sapin pour le Noël, la tour Eiffel pour la fête nationale, les œufs peints pour les Pâques, des paquets cadeaux pour la fête des mères, des bottes pour Saint Nicolas, des artifices pour 1er janvier des petits carrés verts avec le logo « Texte » pour annoncer les leçons. Le symbole du manuel est le petit hérisson Vuitton, vêtu en mousquetaire qui a un cahier et un crayon à la main pour annoncer les exercices. Quand il met la main à l'oreille, le hérisson annonce la rubrique Phonétique, quand il joue de la trompette il annonce la grammaire, le hérisson avec un signe d'interrogation jaune est utilisé pour marquer les exercices de compréhension en temps que le hérisson ayant un CD à la main a le rôle d'annoncer les textes. Les créateurs du manuel ont utilisé un groupe de trois hérissons pour annoncer les exercices en équipe et le buste d'un hérisson souriant, la tête tournée vers la gauche, pour les leçons de civilisation. Nous avons aussi identifié le buste d'un hérisson avec une boule bleue à l'extrémité et blanche à l'intérieur ayant écrit le texte « Création » pour les exercices de créativité. Les dessins sont aussi très présents et très colorés et ils représentent les saisons, les animaux, les objets de la maison, des constructions, des personnages de contes, des enfants, la famille.

Nous avons aussi identifié des éléments typographiques spéciales dans le manuel pour la VIIIème qui n'est si aggloméré comme celui du primaire. Même sur la première de la couverture nous avons retrouvé les célèbres symboles de la France le coq gaulois, la tour Eiffel, le Mont Saint Michel. Dans l'intérieur du manuel nous avons identifié comme symboles : un petit requin gris pour la rubrique « Observe », un petit livre rose qui rit pour la rubrique « LES NOTES DE FRÉDO », une singe qui montre avec le doit pour attirer attention à des exercices ou à des problèmes de vocabulaire, un petit homard rose pour la rubrique « Rappelle toi », une petite pieuvre rose pour la rubrique « Retiens », un petit phoque rose pour les exercices « Imagine et joue », deux petits drapeaux des courses de formule1 pour annoncer les tests, une grande boule grise avec des lettres rouges qui annonce des fragments littéraires ou des expressions « La ronde des mots ». Dans le manuel sont aussi utilisés des dessins qui représentent des enfants, des monuments, des moyens des transports, les drapeaux des états européens.

D'autres éléments typographiques spéciaux utilisés dans ce manuel sont les petits rectangles rouges pour le nombre des pages, les grands signes rouges d'exclamation pour attirer l'attention sur la théorie à retenir, des grands rectangles gris, rouges, jaunes, roses pour mettre en évidence des textes, des informations importantes, des fragments à analyser.

Dans les manuels de lycée de notre corpus, les symboles et les dessins sont très similaires, peu nombreux et très simples. Par exemple, dans le manuel de français pour la IXème sont utilisés les signes d'exclamations rouges pour la rubrique « Attention », une clé verte pour la rubrique « Clés pour la communication », où sont présentées des expressions à utiliser dans de différentes situations de communication ou des informations supplémentaires concernant les temps verbaux et ce qu'ils peuvent exprimer. Nous avons aussi identifié d'autres éléments comme la clé jaune pour marquer la présence des locutions, le dessin représentant un professeur qui montre avec une baguette des notions de grammaire ou lexicales importantes. Notre analyse a aussi mis en évidence la présence dans ce manuel de notre corpus des petits carrés : verts pour les exercices des chapitres « DE LA GRAMMAIRE ENCORE, ENTRAÎNEZ-VOUS », violets pour le chapitre « BILAN », oranges pour les exercices des chapitres « AU RENDEZ-VOUS DES MOTS », « LES MOTS-FENÊTRES SUR LE MONDE ». Nous avons aussi identifié dans ce manuel des boules avec le message « Pour les classes de philologie » et une ronde rouge avec un triangle à l'intérieur ayant écrit le mot STOP pour la rubrique « RETENONS ». Les dessins sont très peu nombreux étant préférés par les auteurs du manuel les photos et les peintures. Les dessins représentent des gens, des animaux, le drapeau de l'Europe. Comme logos nous avons trouvé les logos des télévisions françaises : TF1, France 2, France 3.

Finalement, dans le manuel pour la XIème nous avons identifié les logos de l'OTAN, de l'ONU, de l'Agence internationale de la francophonie, le logo de l'UIT, Union internationale des télécommunications, quelques dessins qui représentent des cartes de la France ou de certaines régions françaises, un oiseau. Comme symbole nous avons trouvé dans ce manuel le signe de circulation Interdit avec marqué à l'intérieur le mot VIOLENCE pour exprimer l'élimination de la violence. Nous avons aussi observé l'utilisation d'un grand signe d'exclamation noir pour les informations à retenir, un petit triangle rouge ou vert pour les exercices « Sujet de rédaction », « Rédaction », « Travail à deux », « Travail en équipe », « Expression personnelle ». Nous avons aussi identifié des petites boules vertes et noires pour les énumérations des informations, des phrases, des exercices et la présence d'une boule orange de dimension moyenne avec le texte « classes de philologie » pour les exercices plus compliqués. En plus, il y a dans ce manuel des petits carrés rouges pour les exercices de lexique et pour les exercices des tests d'évaluation et des carrés verts pour les exercices de grammaire pendant qu'en haut de chaque page il y a un rectangle bleu pour le chapitre « BILAN » et l'un rouge pour UNITÉ.

Conclusions

Donc, par notre analyse, nous avons identifié la présence et la fréquence des quelques éléments typographiques qui contribuent à la création de l'unité du manuel et à son architecture. La dimension des lettres, la graisse, l'italique, le souligne, l'exposant, les éléments typographiques spéciaux sont des éléments qui, même si sont considérés à la première vue sans importance, ont le rôle d'essayer de créer le meilleur contexte d'apprentissage selon le niveau d'étude du manuel.

Notre analyse a mis en évidence le fait que pour le cas du manuel de primaire l'attention des créateurs du manuel et de l'éditeur a été concentrée sur l'attractivité du manuel et c'est pourquoi on a fait, selon notre opinion, un excès des symboles, des dessins et des couleurs qui peuvent fatiguer l'œil des enfants et, ainsi, n'étant pas si efficace dans l'accomplissement de son objectif. L'excès de stimules peut distraire l'attention, mais c'est le rôle du professeur de compenser cette multitude d'éléments typographiques et d'éclairer les notions qui peuvent sembler aux enfants trop nombreuses ou trop complexes.

C'est pourquoi nous considérons que le manuel pour le gymnase est plus équilibré parce que les éléments typographiques sont peu nombreux et plus simples et assurent une cohérence et une répétitivité salutaires qui favorisent l'apprentissage en étapes et logique qui est le plus efficace.

Les manuels de lycée sont très similaires et bien équilibrés du point de vue de l'utilisation des éléments typographiques qui sont clairs et simples en créant la cohérence et l'unité des informations transmises. Soit qu'il s'agit d'une information lexicale, soit qu'il s'agit d'une information grammaticale, nous considérons que la transmission du message se fait plus rapidement par l'aide de ces éléments.

Nous pouvons affirmer que ces éléments typographiques deviennent des moyens très efficaces de communication alternative parce qu'ils sont simples, attirants, amusants et très agréables à suivre. Ils sont faciles à retenir pour les élèves et les professeurs doivent trouver le temps et avoir de la patience pour expliquer la signification de ces signes à leurs élèves, car ils sont très utiles dans le processus d'apprendre. Ils ne sont seulement des éléments typographiques, mais des instruments très précieux dans le décodage du message du manuel et dans la communication pédagogique. Ainsi, nous pouvons affirmer que ces éléments ont un rôle très important, en permettant de mettre en lumière et de repérer les éléments distincts qui composent le manuel.

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About the author

Ortansa Nina FRANȚESCU CONSTANTINESCU is a French language teacher at the National Vocational College Nicolae Titulescu, Slatina, Olt, Romania. She is a PhD candidate at the University of Craiova, Romania.

Email: frantescu_ortansa@yahoo.fr

ASPECTE CARE INFLUENȚEAZĂ PREDAREA LIMBII ROMÂNE STUDENȚILOR STRĂINI

(ASPECTS WHICH INFLUENCE TEACHING ROMANIAN TO FOREIGN STUDENTS)

Mirel ANGHEL

Abstract: Romanian language teaching is influenced by a multitude of factors. These relate both to the culture and language of students and to the way they adapt to the Romanian academic environment and our society. The teacher has a defining role: he is the one who integrates everything and directs foreign students on the path to a thorough learning of Romanian.

Keywords: *Romanian language, foreign students, teaching Romanian*

Introducere

Integrarea României în comunitatea europeană duce la o deschidere tot mai mare a studenților străini către universitățile românești. Predarea limbii române studenților străini implică numeroase provocări care trebuie depășite pentru ca acumularea ei de către studenții străini să fie făcută la un nivel satisfăcător. În mediul universitar, învățarea limbii române are o dublă miză: socială și educativă. Studenții străini care studiază în mediul universitar românesc trebuie să cunoască limba română cât mai bine, incluzând aici vocabularul din aria lor de pregătire, pentru ca ei să poată asimila informația predată la celalte cursuri de specialitate.

După cum spunea Constantin Noica (1990: 7-8), predarea-învățarea sunt procese în care uneori nu sunt necesare linii clar trasabile:

> Visez o școală în care să nu se predea, la drept vorbind, nimic. Să trăiești liniștit și cuviincios, într-o margine de cetate, iar oamenii tineri, câțiva oameni tineri ai lumii, să vină acolo spre a se elibera de tirania profesoratului. Căci totul și toți le dau lecții. Totul trebuie învățat din afară și pe dinafară, iar singurul lucru care le e îngăduit din când în când e să pună întrebări. Dar nu vedeți că au și ei de spus ceva, de mărturisit ceva? Și nu vedeți că noi nu avem întotdeauna ce să le spunem? Suntem doar mijlocitori între ei și ei înșiși.

Profesorul are datoria de a fi un călăuzitor pe căile cunoașterii pentru studenți, neputând avea pretenția exhaustivității. Ideal este să găsim echilibrul între ai învăța pe studentți cum să învețe și de a le livra direct infromația necesară, fără ca ei să aibă nevoie de o documentare ulterioară. În trecut, sistemul educațional comunist încuraja din plin prima abordare, însă deschiderea României spre modernizare și spre adaptare la cerințele prezentului a adus în prim-plan necesitatea de la transmite studenților mai degrabă un model, un tipar pe care ai să învețe.

Cunoașterea unei limbi străine nu înseamnă exclusiv traducerea unor cuvinte/expresii/structuri din limba-sursă în limba-țintă. Învățarea unei limbi străine înseamnă și înțelegerea specificiului cultural al unei civilizații, studenții având nevoie să cunoască și să accepte particularitățile țării în care ei învață. Predarea unei limbi străine implică acceptarea diversității culturale și integrarea ei armonioasă în activitatea de predare. Devine tot mai clar că nu numai studenții învață de la profesori, ci și profesorii învață de la studenți.

Noi, cadrele didactice, trebuie să concepem programa și să elaborăm materialele didactice pentru a transmite, în primul rând, specificul cultural al limbii române. Studenții străini au nevoie de o imersiune graduală în cultura noastră, astfel ei putând să se adapteze mai ușor. Cultura, civilizația și limba unei țări formează o singură entitate pe care ei trebuie să o înțeleagă cât mai bine, în mod integrat.

Limba română este o limbă în care expresivitatea este o componentă importantă de care trebuie să ținem seama atunci când comunicăm ceva.

De relația stabilită de cadrul didactic cu studenții săi depinde rezultatul procesului educațional. Din acest motiv, textele alese ca suport pentur lecțiile de limba română ar trebui să ofere atât informații privitoare la cultura română, cât și la elemente ce pot fi folosite pentru a putea transmite studenților reguli gramaticale greu de însușit altfel. Din punct de vedere fonetic, limba română prezintă numeroase provocări de care se lovesc studenții străini. Semivocalele /e̯/, /i̯/, /o̯/, /u̯/ pot pune dificultăți suplimentare în privința pronunției și scrierii. Diftongii și triftongii caracteristici sistemului nostru fonetic aduc și ei probleme suplimentare și se dovedesc greu de înțeles. Este cazul unor cuvinte precum *br**oa**scă* (scris greșit *bruască*), ***soa**re* (**suare*), *sos**eau*** (**sosau/soseu*).

Semivocalele

- /e̯/: deal
- /i̯/: cai
- /o̯/: coasă
- /u̯/: leu

pun probleme suplimentare în scrierea lor deoarece străinii se obișnuiesc destul de greu cu sistemul fonetic al limbii române și nu pot detecta de la început diversele valori ale vocalelor.

O altă problemă întâmpinată de studenții străini în învățarea limbii române este dată de identificarea genului substantivelor. Din această dificultate derivă și cea a acordului adjectivului cu substantivul și schimbarea formei acestuia:

- sg. *oraș* ***frumos*** pl. *orașe* ***frumoase***
- sg. *student* ***deștept*** pl. ***studenți deștepți***
- sg. *facultate* ***importantă*** pl. *facultăți* ***importante***

Ideal ar fi ca, încă din primele etape ale predării limbii române, să se urmărească familiarizarea studenților cu fonetica, pronunțarea cuvintelor limbii române și cu alternanțele vocalice și consonantice apărute în urma flexiunii.

Aceste dificultăți sunt sporite la încadrarea într-un anume gen a substantivelor pentru care criteriile „naturale” sunt greu de reperat. Astfel, pentru cuvinte precum *studen**tă***, *le**oaică***, *polițis**tă***, *cur**că*** genul este ușor identificabil cu ajutorul sufixelor moționale subliniate.

Alte substantive sunt mai greu de încadrat în genul corect de către studenții străini: *tablou* (neutru), *ianuarie* (masculin), *paisprezece* (masculin), *Carpați* (masculin), *miercuri* (feminin), *duminică* (feminin), *teamă* (feminin), *frică* (feminin), *plăcere* (feminin). În acest caz, stabilirea unor categorii (în mod arbitrar) în care ele se încadrează se dovedește de mare ajutor. Printre cuvintele enumerate mai sus se găsesc substantive de genul masculin (lunile anului, majoritatea cifrelor, nume de munți și localități), neutru (substantive inanimate) și feminin (numele țărilor și continentelor, stările sufletești/atitudinile pe care le exprimăm).

În privința limbajului tehnic putem spune că asimilarea vocabularului de specialitate este oarecum ușurată de intrarea a numeroase elemente lexicale străine în limba română. Caracterul universal al limbii engleze și adoptarea ei într-o mare parte a disciplinelor tehnice face posibilă înțelegerea cuvintelor specializate. În plus, cei care au ca limbă maternă o limbă romanică sau în a căror țară de proveniență se vorbește o limbă romanică au un avantaj în plus. Studenții din Angola (limba portugheză), Camerun (limba franceză) sau Brazilia (limba portugheză) nu întâmpină dificultăți mari în învățarea vocabularului tehnic deoarece similitudinile lexicale cu limba română sunt marcante în aceste cazuri. Câteva exemple concludente ar fi:

rom. *inginer*	fr. *ingénieur*	port. *engenheiro*
rom. *topografie*	fr. *topographie*	port. *topografia*
rom. *construcție*	fr. *construction*	port. *construçao*
rom. *geodezie*	fr. *géodesie*	port. *geodésia*
rom. *ciment*	fr. *ciment*	port. *engenheiro*

1. Dificultăți de abordare

Dat fiind faptul ca gramatica limbii române este de o dificultate sporită, apropierea străinilor de limba și cultura noastră trebuie să se facă pe unele căi mai „plăcute”. Nu putem preda exclusiv gramatică, reguli seci și plictisitoare sau tabele greu de înțeles. Totul trebuie integrat într-un tot armonios, fără elemente disparate, între care nu există nicio legătură logică. În calea unei bune învățări a limbii române stă și „arderea” unei etape importante din adaptarea studențilot străini cu gramatica limbii române și cultura noastră în general. Adeseori, societatea noastră este radical diferită din care vine fiecare dintre ei. Din acest motiv, înțelegerea diversității culturale este o necesitate atît pentru studenți, cât și pentru cadrele didactice. Dintre regulile gramaticale cu o dificultate sporită amintim:

- diateza pasivă,
- modul conjunctiv, prezent şi perfect,
- modul supin,
- pronumele personale neaccentuate,
- viitorul anterior, viitorul popular,

- redundanța unor structuri gramaticale (mai multe cuvinte pentru același concept),
- sistemul fonetic al limbii române: sunetele și literele greu de pronunțat și însușit de către studenții străini – *ă, î, ș, ț*.
- dificultăți de însușire în special a sunetului redat de litera *î*,
- alternanțele fonetice: *om-oameni*, *ușor-ușoară*, *povestesc-povestește*,
- omofonia: *frig-frică, tablă-tablou* etc.

Greșelile de ortografie ocupă o parte însemnată a greșelilor comise adesea de studenții străini. O foarte bună indicație în acest sens este oferită de Isabela Nedelcu (2013: 37): „Pentru scrierea corectă a cuvintelor cu unu, cu doi sau cu trei *i*, trebuie să fim atenți la structura lor (n.n. structura cuvintelor), în contextele în care apar, și să nu fim influențați de felul cum sunt pronunțate."

Lingvista face și o prețioasă observație cu privire la presiunea exercitată de pronunție asupra scrierii, influența ei având ca urmare producerea unor greșeli de tipul: *acești *membrii*, *tu *intrii*, *ai *noștrii*, *fata *aceia*, **acelaș gând* (Nedelcu, 2013: 37, 41, 42).

În sprijinul eficientizării activității didactice în activitatea desfășurată la grupele de studenți străini care învață limba română putem trasa câteva reguli generale care se pot dovedi de ajutor:

- Integrarea vocabularului de specialitate într-un context lingvistic mai larg.
- Comunicarea eficientă a studenților străini cu cadrele didactice și cu studenţii români.
- Stabilirea unor conexiuni între România şi ţara de origine a fiecărui student.
- Integrarea lor ca factori activi în desfășurarea fiecărei lecții.
- Evidențierea asemănărilor şi deosebirilor dintre culturi.
- Multiculturalitatea şi acceptarea diversităţii.
- Exerciţii cu dialoguri situaţionale exersate sub forma unor sarcini atribuite studenţilor, pe echipe.
- Implicarea unui vocabular de actualitate, de care studenții să fie interesați.
- Titluri interesante date lecțiilor. Evitarea unor titluri precum: *Cele 500 de talente ale ficatului*, *Pe șantier*, *Tipuri de poduri*. Posibile soluții de titluri înlocuitoare: *Ce minuni poate face ficatul nostru*, *Hasan și*

Gheorghe se întâlnesc pe șantier, *Cum arată Bucureștiul în 2020*, *Podul Basarab din București* (*Ingineria modernă*) etc.

- Folosirea unor exerciții care să stimuleze imaginația și creativitatea lingvistică a studenților străini.
- Folosirea limbii române ca joc, nu ca instrument coercitiv/punitiv pentru obținerea notei sau pentru depunctare.
- O abordare deschisă a lecțiilor, în care studenții să fie implicați ca factori modelatori.
- Folosirea metodei exercițiului: traducere-retroversiune, completarea cu forma corectă a unor termeni, ordinea corectă a cuvintelor în propoziție.
- Studenții străini pot fi implicați ca *actanți* în fiecare lecție.
- Folosirea unor exerciții cu un grad ridicat de interactivitate:
    - jocuri de cuvinte,
    - asocierea textului cu imagini,
    - rebusuri tematice,
    - exerciții de topică,
    - anagrame,
    - „spânzurătoarea”
    - rebus-”spânzurătoarea” (poate fi folosit atunci când rebusul se dovedește prea dificil).

Există și avantaje pe care le putem folosi în beneficul studenților străini în predarea limbii române. Adesea, ei aparțin unui grup cultural și lingvistic comun, ceea ce înseamnă o bună integrare în mediul academic datorită coeziunii de grup, aceasta acționând asemenea unui stimulent necesar pentru ca ei să poată recupera decalajul față de ceilalți membri ai grupului lor cultural. Uneori, insuficienta lor pregătire prealabilă este cauzată de „arderea” unei etape importante: anul pregătitor.

Concluzii

Asimilarea limbii române depinde atât de factori intrinseci, cât și de factori extrinseci. Cadrul didactic are un rol important în elaborarea unor materiale didactice interesante pentru studenți, iar pentru a putea realiza acest deziderat e nevoie ca strategia și conținutul trebuie să aibă un caracter dinamic și să fie ajustate continuu. Cadrele didactice care predau limba română trebuie să fie conștiente de faptul că noutatea și interactivitatea fiecărei lecții reprezintă calități care îi atrag pe studenți. În predarea limbii române ca limbă străină trebuie să se ia în calcul specificul cultural al studenților străini deoarece legătura cu țara lor de origine îi poate stimula în avansarea în asimilarea cât mai eficientă a limbii române.

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About the author

Mirel Anghel is a Lecturer, Ph.D., Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest, Department of Foreign Languages and Communication

E-mail: mirel.anghel@utcb.ro

DU TEXTE AU PARATEXTE ET DU PARATEXTE AU TEXTE: UN PARCOURS LITTÉRAIRE AUX EMPREINTES IDENTITAIRES

(FROM TEXT TO PARATEXT AND FROM PARATEXT TO TEXT: A DISCURSIVE ITINERARY WITH IDENTITARY STAMPS)

Abstract: This article enrols in the perspective of the discourse analysis and of the text analysis, by focusing on an area which goes from the text of the proper work to the exterior of this text, its surroundings, its paratext. The question of the research to which we intend to offer a perspective and an answer refers to a type of a specific communication, in the literary field: the literary communication, presenting a restriction that ensures, in our opinion, the suitable organization of the itinerary: the speech belonging to the foreign writers, who are using French as their language of expression. We will analyse the relation between the surroundings of the text and the identity stamps of Panait Istrati and Malika Mokeddem in two of their works. This identity, the allegiance to different French language zones is revealed in the paratext, more precisely in the footnotes, permanently connected to the text and to the personal experience of the two writers. This close relation is demonstrated under the angle of the discursive cohesion and coherence, but also under the perspective of a foreign voice, which is trying to make itself heard in the adoption territory.

Keywords*: literary communication, text, paratext, footnotes*

Introduction

En 1987, Gérard Genette imposait dans la littérature de spécialité le terme paratexte, pour désigner tout ce qui entoure le texte, donc ses extensions, ses alentours. Il est évident qu'un rapport très étroit s'établit entre le texte et le paratexte, rapport dont la compréhension nous permet d'accéder au niveau de la compréhension globale du discours littéraire. Le texte ne pourrait pas se présenter devant Raluca-Vasilica FARISEU (LUNGU)le public, déshabillé des vêtements paratextuels, puisque ceux-ci sont « un ensemble de productions qui accompagnent le texte lui-même, l'annoncent, cherchent à le promouvoir » (Lane, 1992 : 92). Le paratexte complète le texte, il le prolonge, pour qu'il le livre au lecteur. Dans une telle nomenclature, les deux voisins se transforment en point de référence l'un pour l'autre.

Nous suivons la direction de G. Genette et de Ph. Lane et notre communication va se focaliser sur une partie de ces alentours textuels, les notes de bas de page.

Si de la définition que Le Grand Robert de la langue française offre pour la note, on retient la proximité et la relation avec le texte source, la brièveté, la concision de la formulation et le statut d'un fragment rajouté a posteriori au texte, de Genette on retient la continuité et l'homogénéité entre les deux. Les éléments paratextuels n'auront pas de sens hors cette relation. Pour lui, la note est « un énoncé de longueur variable (un mot suffit) relatif à un segment plus ou moins déterminé du texte, et disposé soit en regard, soit en référence à ce segment » (1987 : 321).

Il n'y a pas de doute que la note fait partie de l'expérience courante de toute lecture, soit-elle littéraire ou scientifique, devenant indispensable au lecteur lacunaire. La note a la fonction de renseigner, d'informer d'une manière supplémentaire, par comparaison au texte. Pour Anthony Grafton, « the text persuades, the notes prove » (le texte persuade, les notes prouvent) (1997 : 15).

Donc, la note infrapaginale devient le cadre qui offre à l'auteur la liberté de faire manifester sans restrictions son trésor des expériences et connaissances. Si le texte est le fruit de l'élaboration littéraire, la note, c'est l'élaboration elle-même, c'est l'ensemble de preuves que l'auteur de l'œuvre se donne la peine de se faire comprendre par un lecteur qui n'est pas idéal, virtuel , un lecteur qui n'est pas capable de décoder en entier le message du texte, sans avoir un appui, une direction offerte in marginalia :

> Cette imagination d'un « lecteur total – c'est-à-dire totalement multiple, paragrammatique – a peut-être ceci d'utile, qu'elle permet d'entrevoir ce qu'on pourrait appeler le Paradoxe du lecteur : il est communément admis que lire, c'est décoder : des lettres, des mots, des sens, des structures, et cela est incontestable ; mais en accumulant les décodages, puisque la lecture est de droit infinie, en ôtant le cran d'arrêt du sens, en mettant la lecture en roue libre (ce qui est sa vocation structurelle), le lecteur est pris dans un renversement dialectique : finalement, il ne décode pas, il sur-code ; il ne déchiffre pas, il produit, il entasse des langages, il se laisse infiniment et inlassablement traverser par eux : il est cette traversée » (Barthes, 1984 : 15).

La relation qui naît entre ce lecteur réel, le texte, le paratexte et l'écrivain passe au-delà du paradigme simpliste émetteur-récepteur, puisqu'il s'y agit d'une identité humaine, littéraire et culturelle de l'auteur qui essaie de se rapprocher et de rapprocher son texte du lecteur par les leviers du paratexte, plus précisément des notes de bas de page. Il est vrai que, pour le segment de lecteurs qui sont déjà familiarisés au sujet, qui en ont des connaissances ou qui ne veulent pas en savoir plus, le parcours des explications in marginalia devient facultatif.

Mais ceux-ci courent le risque d'ignorer le noyau authentique du discours qui se dévoile au niveau des notes de bas de page, car celles-ci portent des marques identitaires du discours, non seulement des renseignements froids.

1. Notes de bas de page et empreintes identitaires en *Kyra Kyralina* de Panaït Istrati et *La Transe des insoumis* de Malika Mokeddem

Le corpus qui forme la substance de notre intervention comprend deux écrivains venus d'ailleurs dans l'espace français, dont les œuvres sont écrites en français, bien qu'il ne soit pas leur langue maternelle : Malika Mokeddem, représentant le Maghreb, et Panait Istrati, représentant la Roumanie. Les œuvres analysées abondent en notes infrapaginales et cela nous permet de mieux envisager le fonctionnement discursif et l'insertion des notes de bas de page dans le texte, en vue de se constituer dans un discours plus homogène.

La note n'est pas exclusivement extérieure au texte. Elle est à la fois extérieure, par sa place, par le procédé d'appel à la note (le chiffre chez les deux écrivains mentionnés), et intérieure, par le lien avec le texte, par un codage et un décodage pertinent. Son caractère local ne fait que souligner cette interdépendance qui est locale, aussi, du moment que la note se transforme en une sorte d'écho du discours du texte.

Jacques Derrida notait, dans son article Ceci n'est pas une note infrapaginale orale que « la subordination même de la note infrapaginale assure une sorte de cadre, une délimitation dans l'espace qui lui attribue une indépendance paradoxale, une certaine liberté, une autonomie » (2004 : 9). De plus, Genette considère que « le paratexte sous toutes ses formes est un discours fondamentalement hétéronome, auxiliaire, voué au service d'autre chose qui constitue sa raison d'être, et qui est le texte » (1987 : 17). Les notes se présentent, ainsi, comme des éléments sans autonomie, subordonnés, très attachés au texte et placés au seuil du paratexte, surtout dans le cas des notes qui apportent la traduction d'une structure du texte.

Nous nous sommes proposés d'analyser cette relation qui s'établit au niveau des notes de bas de page et du texte, dans l'œuvre *La Transe des insoumis* de Malika Mokkedem et dans l'œuvre *Kyra Kyralina* de Panaït Istrati. Tant Malika Mokeddem, que Panaït Istrati sont des écrivains venus d'ailleurs dans l'espace d'expression française et dont le but, c'est de s'intégrer dans ce beau monde de la littérature en français. L'un d'origine algérienne, l'autre d'origine roumaine, les deux écrivains ont des traits communs au niveau de leur discours, malgré les différences culturelles, sociales et idéologiques, puisqu'ils ont en commun l'adoption de la langue française et ce désir de se faire accepter parmi les écrivains français.

Suite à l'observation du corpus, nous tentons d'établir une petite schématisation des structures qui offrent des renseignements concernant cette appartenance de Malika Mokeddem et de Panaït Istrati à un espace de l'entre-deux culturel et linguistique. Ainsi, la littérature devient un lien avec leur pays d'origine, avec leur espace de la naissance et de l'enfance.

Les notes de bas de page de Panaït Istrati contiennent des structures qui offrent des informations sur l'identité culturelle de l'écrivain :

- prépositions + noms communs désignant la langue d'emploi : « en roumain » (p. 94), « en turc » (p. 44, 270), « en grec » (p. 270), « en arabe » (p. 204) ;
- adjectifs désignant l'origine, accompagnant de divers noms : « gâteaux turcs » (p. 88, 164), « brigands grecs » (p. 128), « monnaie turque » (p. 184), « sujet turc » (242), « sujet ottoman » (p. 40);
- noms propres désignant : des régions – « en Orient » (p. 180), des pays – « en Roumanie » (p. 52), des villes – « la vieille Braila » (p. 42) ;

Istrati emploie, aussi, des groupes nominaux, comme « traduction de l'expression roumaine » (p. 130), une seule occurrence, des groupes adjectivaux « connu uniquement en Orient » (p. 180), « commune en Orient » (p. 246), s'intensifiant, de cette manière, l'implication de l'écrivain dans le discours.

Dans le graphique ci-dessous, nous pouvons observer quelle est la distribution des structures renvoyant à l'origine des termes expliqués dans les notes de bas de page. Le plus fréquemment employés sont les explications qui n'apportent aucun renseignement sur l'origine du terme pris du texte de l'œuvre, mais cela n'est pas une négligence de la part d'Istrati, mais un choix motivé par le désir de fusionner avec l'universel et de susciter l'intérêt de son lecteur français. C'est celui-ci le lecteur auquel il s'adresse, pour qui il écrit, pour qui il fait cette mosaïque linguistique.

La deuxième place des occurrences est occupée par l'explication des termes turcs, puisque l'écrivain a des liens étroits avec cette culture. Le roumain est le troisième classé, étant la preuve irréfutable du noyau national que Panaït Istrati n'oublie pas. Par l'emploi des termes d'origine grecque, le discours de l'écrivain s'ouvre vers la liaison avec la culture grecque sur l'axe parentale. Les autres termes ont des occurrences inconstantes, passagères, comme les expériences réelles de l'écrivain.

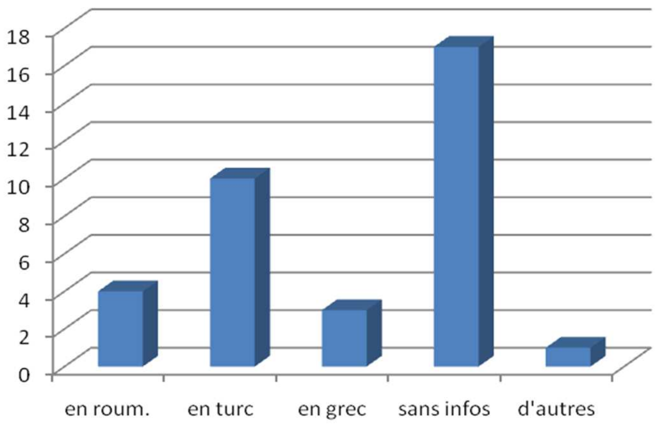

Fig. 1 Occurrences des termes d'origines diverses en *Kyra Kyralina*

Tous ces renseignements sont porteurs des empreintes identitaires de Panaït Istrati, de ses expériences en Roumanie, en Grèce, en Turquie, en Asie, qui ont constitué le préambule de ses écrits. Istrati se place, plutôt, dans un espace de l'entre-trois, même de l'entre-quatre culturel et linguistique.

Chez Malika Mokeddem, les notes de bas de page ne sont pas trop fréquemment employées ; elles totalisent 15 occurrences tout le long du roman La Transe des insoumis. Mais il y a, aussi, des structures à empreintes identitaires, renseignant sur l'origine et les expériences de vie de l'écrivaine :

- adjectifs : « oranais » (p. 100), « algérois » (p. 225);
- noms propres, précédés d'une préposition : « en Algérie » (p. 139), « en Tunisie » (p. 151). Par des noms propres, l'écrivaine renseigne, aussi, sur une fondation, reprise dans la note infrapaginale avec sa dénomination officielle et complète « Fondation Noureddine Aba » (p.

105), son modèle et appui dans la littérature. Dans une autre note de bas de page, Mokeddem mentionne le titre de son roman *Les hommes qui marchent*, « cf. Les hommes qui marchent » (p. 157), en s'assurant une continuité au niveau de l'ouvrage tout entier.

- noms communs : « mon père » (p. 100, 240). Ce groupe nominal comporte une marque très évidente de l'insertion personnelle de l'écrivaine dans le discours – l'adjectif pronominal possessif à la première personne du singulier mon.

La première note de bas de page 1. Voyage au bout de la nuit, donne des détails sur la phrase « L'amour, c'est l'infini mis à la portée des caniches. » Mais la note ne donne des informations que sur l'œuvre. Le nom de l'auteur apparaît dans la phrase qui suit, sous la forme d'un appellatif monsieur Céline : « Sans doute, monsieur Céline, car l'on se sent encore plus caniche quand on l'a perdu ! » (Mokeddem, 2003 : 52).

La sixième note s'inscrit, en grande partie, dans la même catégorie que la première note. Toutes les deux prouvent que l'écrivaine adopte des idées des autres auteurs qu'elle a lus. Ici, la note explique non le syntagme butin de guerre, mais son emploi par un autre écrivain, Kateb Yacine. « 1. Kateb Yacine à propos de la langue française. » (Mokeddem, 2003 : 108).

On s'est demandé pourquoi dans la première note, c'est le nom de l'œuvre citée qui apparaît, et dans la sixième, c'est le nom de l'auteur. Nous pensons trouver une réponse. Parce que le roman de Malika Mokeddem est, d'abord, pour le lecteur français, qui connaît déjà monsieur Céline, écrivain français, qui, grâce à son roman, a révolutionné la littérature française contemporaine. D'autre part, ce lecteur ne connaît pas Kateb Yacine, écrivain algérien. Nous pouvons conclure que, pour Mokeddem, il est plus important de faire le lecteur français connaître et comprendre un peu de sa culture maternelle.

Une hiérarchie s'installe au niveau des occurrences des structures renvoyant à l'origine de Malika Mokeddem et à la langue d'adoption.

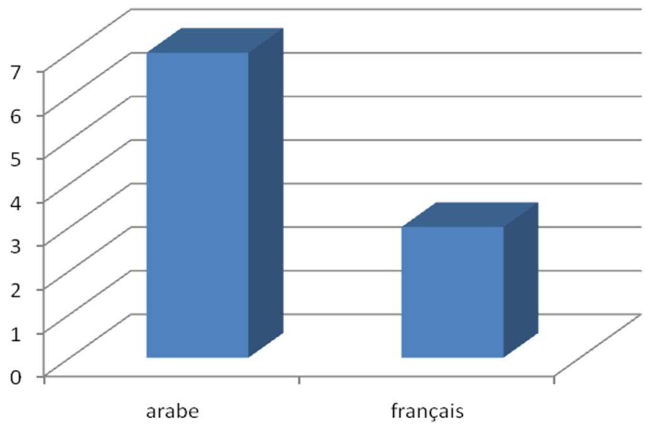

Fig. 2 Occurrences des termes d'origines diverses en *La Transe des insoumis*

Il est évident que l'écrivain est lié à sa langue maternelle, à sa culture maternelle, mais qu'il ne néglige pas le segment français, qu'elle a le courage même d'expliquer des expressions françaises : Faire la chaîne : faire la queue (p. 191).

2. Texte et notes infrapaginales particulières dans la littérature francophone de Panaït Istrati et Malika Mokeddem

Suite à la lecture attentive du texte des deux œuvres et à un inventaire des termes en italique, nous avons obtenu les graphiques ci-dessous, qui montrent la distribution de ces termes de la langue maternelle et de la langue d'adoption dans le texte. Cette différence typographique suscite évidemment l'intérêt du lecteur français, qui cherche des explications, des informations supplémentaires en bas de la page. Mais, il n'y a pas peu de cas où ce type de termes se résume à ce simple marquage en écrit. Certes, ceux-ci se différencient du reste du texte par le caractère des lettres. La lecture est interrompue, mais il paraît que le plaisir du lecteur de découvrir une autre culture est prioritaire.

En outre, une relation très étroite, malgré quelques aspérités (le manque des explications pour tous les termes du texte), s'établit entre le texte et les notes de bas de page. C'est un permanent échange qui assure la cohésion et la cohérence texte-paratexte.

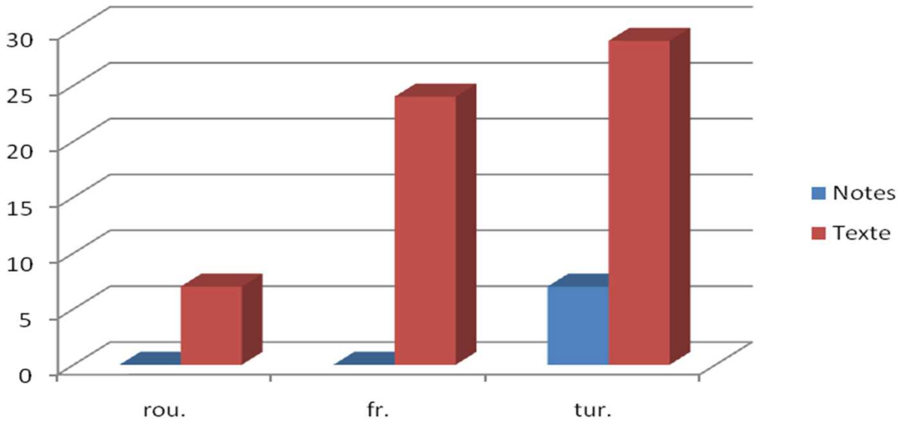

Fig. 3 Distribution des langues dans les textes et les notes de *Kyra Kyralina*

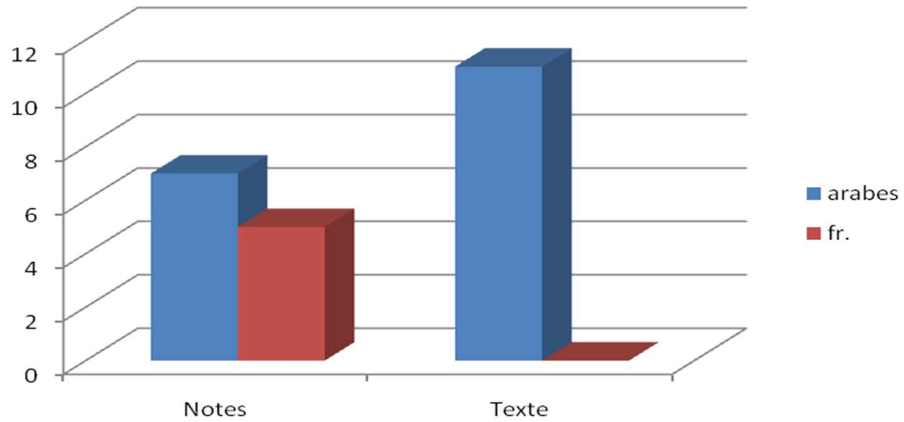

Fig. 4 Distribution des langues dans les notes et les textes de *La Transe des insoumis*

Les termes provenant de la langue maternelle des deux écrivains et les explications (parfois offertes au cadre du texte, parfois dans les notes de bas de page) ont le rôle d'ouvrir devant le lecteur français deux cultures tout à fait différentes de la sienne, de créer un pont énonciatif entre lui et les écrivains, entre la France et la culture roumaine, arabe ou turque. Mais le manque d'explications est peut-être aussi important que leur présence. Il est vrai que les explications sont insérées pour combler les lacunes du lecteur français et que les écrivains francophones (surtout Panaït Istrati) ont cette préoccupation majeure, presque obsédante de se faire comprendre.

Par le manque des éclairages, qui est un manque choisi, prémédité, les écrivains lancent un défi au lecteur et même essaient de créer une sorte d'automatisme non-conventionnel, puisque le lecteur, plongé dans le discours, ne pense plus à une explication livrée, il va essayer de décrypter lui-même le sens. Istrati et Mokeddem ne laissent pas le discours inabordable sémantiquement, mais ils invitent le lecteur de s'ouvrir vers l'ailleurs, de tenter le nouveau et le cosmopolitisme. La cohésion et la cohérence qui naissent au niveau du texte et du paratexte deviennent le terrain d'une expérience nouvelle pour le lecteur français, de la manifestation de la dualité des écrivains et la légitimation de leur culture dans l'ensemble de la culture européenne.

Conclusions

La littérature francophone représente un défi linguistique et culturel tant pour le lecteur que pour l'auteur. Elle devient le cadre idéal pour des auteurs comme Panaït Istrati et Malika Mokeddem de dévoiler au lecteur français moins ou plus de leur identité, de ce qui les a formés, de ce qui a été, en réalité, le préambule de leurs écrits.

Les empreintes identitaires peuvent être facilement trouvées et vérifiées au niveau du permanent échange, du ping-pong des termes de la langue maternelle et des explications données soit dans le texte, soit dans les notes de bas de page.

Les notes de bas de page, éléments paratextuels, sont la preuve de l'effort de Panaït Istrati et de Malika Mokeddem de se faire comprendre par le lecteur français, qui n'est pas familiarisé aux termes et aux expériences tellement exotiques pour lui. Les notes de bas de page sont l'intermédiaire des explications supplémentaires personnelles et pas savantes des deux écrivains dont le discours littéraire est constamment influencé par leurs expériences.

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About the author

Raluca-Vasilica FARISEU (LUNGU) is a PhD student at the Faculty of Letters, University of Craiova, Romania.

E-mail: raluca_fariseu@yahoo.com

LIMBA DE LEMN ÎN POLITICĂ ȘI SPORT

(WOODEN LANGUAGE IN POLITICS AND SPORTS)

Marinela Doina NISTEA

Mirel ANGHEL

Abstract: The collocation ”wooden language”, so used in recent years, has been associated by both speakers and specialists who have studied the phenomenon with a vague semantic content which evolved as a result of perception and gradual revelation of additional features. It is generally thought that the „wooden language” developed prodigiously especially during the communist regime, the necessity of its emergence resulting from the desire to disguise the fierce reality of that time in elaborated and sophisticated sentences. The ostentatious descriptions produced a more powerful effect, they were difficult to follow and achieved their goal – the dissolution of individuality and uniformity of the masses. We can say that today it is worse from this point of view, and although we live in a more prosperous and freer world, the wooden language continues to be part of everyday life. Although it uses many metaphors, has a ceremonious tone, and tries to implicate speakers unanimously in different actions, the wooden language is, in fact, poor and false.

Keywords: *wooden language, stereotype, pattern, lexical poverty, communication*

Introducere

În vremurile noastre ar fi comod să ințelegem *limba de lemn* ca pe un mecanism pus în aplicare, prin urmare posibil a fi intîlnit doar în regimurile totalitare, și în special în comunism. Cum noi nu ne mai aflăm într-un regim totalitar iar comunismul pare definitiv depășit, s-ar părea ca această sintagmă să nu ne mai vizeze decît indirect. Numai că situatiile critice cauzate de practicarea limbii de lemn nu încetează să apară. *Limba de lemn* nu este numai de domeniul trecutului, unul mort și ingropat, ci al unuia paradoxal prezent, care ne bântuie.

1. Limba de lemn în politica trecutului

Preț de o jumătate de secol, limba oficială a Romaniei a fost limba de lemn. „Nu vom precupeți niciun efort pentru îndeplinirea obiectivelor trasate"; „strâns uniți în jurul conducerii de partid și de stat"; „condamnăm energic lipsa de abnegație manifestată în lupta pentru propășirea țării". La drept vorbind, era mai sigur și mai simplu pentru toate categoriile sociale. Pentru un tractorist semi-analfabet devenit șef de cadre, limba de lemn reprezenta singura șansă de a-și camufla ignoranța: un discurs construit din două-trei banalități despre îndeplinirea obiectivelor, un slogan, o critică destul de constructivă... și gata, sedința se încheia onorabil și oratorul scăpa neprins... Intelectualul, pe de altă parte, se cobora în limba de lemn pentru a-i menaja pe ignoranți: nu știai niciodată când puteai da peste un activist care n-avea nici cele mai elementare noțiuni de retorică ori de stilistică și care considera orice invenție lexicală drept o ofensă. În plus, limbajul avea marea calitate de a recompune realitatea, dar era, de fapt, o modalitate clară de dezinformare a audienței.

Limba de lemn este încă prezentă îndeobşte în discursul politic şi cel social. Tratarea sa exhaustivă nu se întâmplă, probabil și pentru că n-ar fi pe placul celor care o folosesc, atenţia presei sau a lingviștilor e concentrată mai mult pe greşelile de limbă decât pe structura de ansamblu. Se poate astfel spune că expresia „A nu vedea pădurea din cauza copacilor" se potriveşte cu fraza de mai sus.

Apărută la noi în perioada comunistă, limba de lemn nu a ieșit, așadar, din uz, ci persistă și chiar ia amploare în ultima vreme. Radu Paraschivescu este unul dintre autorii care persiflează acest fenomen de câte ori are ocazia. În cartea sa *Dintre sute de clișee. Așchii dintr-o limbă tare*, scriitorul vorbește despre așa-numita „română cu fixativ" ca fiind „acea limbă a platitudinilor, banalităților și anchilozelor frazeologice de care nu ne putem desprinde." (Paraschivescu, 2009: 6). Acest limbaj nu oferă un discurs reflexiv, prin care vorbitorul să se transpună, ci oferă un tipar, repetarea unor clișee despre care nimeni nu mai știe de unde au plecat. Cu toate acestea, mesajele sunt emise pe un ton ceremonios, iar fluviile verbale curg nestingherite și îi iau pe necunoscători prin învăluire.

Analizând din punct de vedere gramatical si stilistic limba de lemn, se poate lesne observa că deși folosește multe metafore, are un ton ceremonios și încearcă implicarea unanimă a oamenilor în diferite acțiuni, limba de lemn este, de fapt, săracă, folosește aceleași expresii fixe, și este falsă, mimând doar bunele intenții, mascate de mesajele înfloritoare. Astfel, se remarcă:

a. fraze lungi;
b. prezenţa enumeraţiei;
c. folosirea adjectivelor (atât din fondul de bază: „întreg", „nou", „larg"; cât şi împrumuturi dintre care unele neologisme: „concret", „multilateral", „uriaş" ; derivare: „deplin");
d. folosirea propoziţiilor relative şi a explicaţiilor suplimentare: „...care situează în centrul operei de făurire a noii societăţi omul, satisfacerea tot mai deplină a nevoilor sale materiale şi

spirituale...", respectiv „nu s-a vorbit atât de mult – şi în termeni de o largă accepţie morală, politică şi socială – despre cultură";

e. utilizarea de citate din ideologia regimului;
f. exprimare uneori vagă şi prea generală.

Françoise Thom identifică în lucrarea sa intitulată chiar astfel, *Limba de lemn*, apărută în anul 1993 la Editura Humanitas și reeditată în 2005, câteva trăsături gramaticale specifice precum:

• Folosirea excesivă a substantivelor în cazul genitiv:

> Hotărârile adoptate în deplină unanimitate de Congresul partidului asigură dezvoltarea continuă ***a industriei, agriculturii, a tuturor sectoarelor*** de activitate, înflorirea ***ştiinţei, învăţământului, culturii*** şi - pe această bază ridicarea generală a nivelului de viaţă, de bunăstare şi fericire al întregului nostru popor! (Ceaușescu, 1989)

•Subiectul multiplu care indică participarea unanimă la o anumită acțiune.

• Nominalizarea:

> Repet ceea ce am spus în cuvântul de încheiere: asigurăm întregul partid, întregul popor că vom face totul pentru ***realizarea*** în cele mai bune condiţii a programului de dezvoltare economico-socială, că întreaga activitate a partidului, a poporului nostru va avea ca ţel suprem ***dezvoltarea*** continuă a patriei, ***ridicarea*** bunăstării generale a poporului, ***întărirea*** continuă a independenţei şi suveranităţii României. (Ceaușescu, 1989)

• Abundența adjectivelor (predilecția pentru comparative – mai vaste, mai profunde):

> Aţi ascultat şi cuvântul de încheiere - de aceea nu doresc să vorbesc mult. Doresc numai să mulţumesc tuturor oamenilor muncii din Capitală, întregului nostru popor, pentru activitatea depusă în dezvoltarea ***socialistă*** şi afirmarea hotărârii de a acţiona cu şi mai multă fermitate în vederea înfăptuirii Programului de făurire a societăţii socialiste ***multilateral dezvoltate***, de înaintare a României spre visul ***de aur***, spre comunism. (Ceaușescu, 1989)

• Absența deicticelor, adică a adverbelor de timp si de loc, dar și a pronumelor personale la persoana întâi și a doua singular și plural; limba de lemn utilizează la modul absolut „acum”, ce are senmnificația „în epoca noastră”, iar „mâine” înseamnă un viitor imprecis ca durată.

• Numeralele folosite pentru a evidenția rezultate obținute în diferite domenii de activitate.

• Folosirea construcțiilor impersonale pentru a elimina individualizarea. Pronumele „eu” a dispărut, iar pronumele la persoana a doua nu apare niciodată. Nimic mai evident într-un regim totalitar în care individualitatea era suprimată, iar spiritul de turmă supusă era cultivat peste tot. În schimb, se abuzează de pronumele de plural „noi”, dar acesta trimite la același referent, unitatea poporului, partidului sau guvernului.

• Construcții pasive și impersonale („s-a făcut”, „a fost exprimat”):

> După cum bine ***se ştie***, în această piaţă au avut loc multe adunări ale poporului nostru, care au afirmat voinţa României pentru victoria socialismului, dar şi voinţa pentru a fi liberă, independentă şi a construi socialismul aşa cum îl doreşte, fără amestec din afară. (Ceaușescu, 1989)

Din punct de vedere sintactic, limbajul de lemn nu cunoaște metode noi de amplificare a frazelor, însă este uimitor cum combină coordonarea, subordonarea, apoziția, astfel încât se ajunge la un mesaj fără mesaj.

La nivelul **lexicului** observăm :

• Maniheismul: lumea este împărțită în „lagărul imperialist” (loc comun al tuturor relelor universale) și „lagărul socialist” (locul guvernat de binele și adevărul absolut), este o sursă inepuizabilă de metafore pentru construcția discursului politic. Fiecare cuvânt se definește prin contrariul său.

• Sărăcia lexicală: o mare parte din termenii limbii de lemn întrebuințati în discursurile politice sunt preluaţi din registrul militar. Întâlnim termeni militari în „campaniile agricole”, în legătură cu mulsul vacilor sau culesul cartofilor („fronturi”, „bătălii”, „atacuri”, „rezistență”, „luat cu asalt”, „strategii și tactici” „putredă”). Dacă partea (individul) se rupe de întreg (colectivitatea socialistă), el moare.

• Organicism și voluntarism: viitorul omenirii se rezumă la „necesitatea istorică”, impune o continuă dezvoltare care culminează cu construcția comunismului. Discursul politic este saturat de verbe de tipul: „a ajuta”, „a juca un rol", „a orienta", „a facilita", „a accelera", „a stimula", „a se sprijini pe", „a dezvolta", „a întări", „a apara". Toate sunt verbe de acțiune, care trebuie să arate avântarea activiștilor în lupta de clasă.

• Reflectarea și forma: anumite cuvinte dobândesc o valoare opusă celei pe care o au în limbaj natural. De exemplu „ura îndreptată împotriva dușmanului" devine ură sacră, sfântă, eroică, iar fanatismul devine o virtute.

• Metafora organismului: societatea este privită ca un imens organism în care partea se subordonează întregului (vezi „socialism pur", „burghezie").

La nivelul ***stilului*** observăm încercarea de a aplica la limba de lemn cerințele enunțate de Aristotel, despre calitățile unui bun discurs oratoric. Astfel, ajungem la următoarele concluzii:

- *Claritatea* solicită *precizia* de a comunica concis și limpede ideile dorite. Stilul limbii de lemn este însă vag, plin de abstracțiuni și redundanță, ocolește precizia.
- *Adecvarea* – în limba de lemn există o singură cerință de adecvare: cuvântul se plasează în conformitate cu un ritual prestabilit, cunoscut de toți. Unele „înfierează", altele laudă, altele îndeamnă.
- *Invenția* – limba de lemn nu comunică însă nimic nou și nu descrie ceva deosebit.

Considerăm că scriitorul care reușește să surprindă destul de bine și să ironizeze întocmai șabloanele după care se desfășoară comunicarea în zilele noastre este Radu Paraschivescu, deja amintit de noi, care are și o emisiune numită *Pastila de limbă*, în care își propune să vindece multe dintre rănile limbii române.

Multă lume nu înțelege că educarea nu înseamnă cunoașterea ori repetiția unor expresii serbede rostite de câte ori se ivește ocazia. Oamenii nu se dezvoltă de pe același calapod, altfel în ce ar mai consta unicitatea individului? Limbajul denotă și *grija față de cei din jur*. Anglicizarea și clișeizarea sunt două fațete ale aceleiași limbi de lemn – aceea cu care unii vorbitori plătesc pentru lipsa de înțelegere față de ascultători. Și atunci când folosesc două limbi simultan, și când vorbesc fără a spune nimic, ei supun interlocutorii chinului de a înțelege ce vor de fapt să le comunice, îi obligă la acest efort, incapabili fiind sa facă efortul de a se exprima corect și coerent.

2. Limba de lemn în fotbal

Deși titlul acestui articol este *Limba de lemn în politică și în sport*, fotbalul ocupă cea mai mare parte a preocupărilor presei sportive din țara noastră. Fotbalul a acaparat mass-media, este prezent peste tot, în ciuda performanțelor scăzute ale echipelor românești la nivel internațional. Folosirea limbii de lemn în sport urmează cam același traseu precum cel din politică.

Motivarea folosirii ei ține, însă, de alți factori. „Oamenii de sport”, așa cu sunt ei numiți în general (ne referim aici la fotbaliști, conducători de cluburi, antrenori și chiar jurnaliști) apelează la expresii deja consacrate în domeniu, copiază unii de la alții expresii devenite adevărate tipare, folosesc aceleși cuvinte și au cam aceleși idei. Lexicul unui fotbalist român este de multe ori la fel de bogat precum golurile marcate într-un sezon întreg. Nu ne mai surprinde cînd auzim la conferințele de presă că „ne dorim victoria/cele trei puncte” (Gazeta de Sud, 2007), „adversarii noștri au tot două picioare” (Podină, 2014), „mingea e rotundă” (telekomsport.ro, 2014) (înainte de meci) sau „adversarii și-au dorit mai mult victoria” (Leczfalvi, 2014), „nu am fost destul de motivați” (Drix, 2017), „nu ne-a ieșit nimic în seara asta” (Ciodaru Burada, 2013) (după meci). Alegerea depinde de fiecare dată de rezultatul fiecărei partide, însă, cum un meci de fotbal poate avea doar trei tipuri de deznodământ, nici bogăția lexicală nu va fi prea mare.

Atunci cînd oamenii din acest fenomen încearcă să devină puțin mai creativi, ei se lovesc de impedimentul logicii deficitare și reușesc să capete un umor involuntar, după cum vom vedea în cele ce urmează. Limba folosită de „oamenii de fotbal” se bazează pe un lexic limitat prin care situațiile inevitabil asemănătoare presupuse de partidele de fotbal sunt descrise la nesfârșit prin aceleași mijloace. Sunt adoptate câteva tipare de tipul „Viața merge înainte”, „Fotbalul se joacă pe goluri, și niciun meci nu seamănă cu altul.” (Paraschivescu, 2009: 25). Discursul este adesea modelat de finalitatea partidei, moment în care specia „omului de fotbal” scoate din sertăraș aceleași tipare în care toarnă materialul brut. Rezultatul acestei adevărate „forjări” în stil comunist este cel puțin naiv. Sunt demne de menționat câteva astfel de tipare:

Eternul război – Totul pare a se limita în teren, în tribune și pe banca de rezerve la un adevărat război pe viață și pe moarte. Comentariile, discursurile și replicile gravitează cam de fiecare dată în jurul acestei dihotomii uneori cu finalitate eshatologică: „luptăm pe viață și pe moarte” (Toderașcu, 2016), „ne-am dat viața pe teren” (Coșulețu, 2016), jucătorul X e „inamicul public numărul 1” (Costeiu, 2015), „în tribune s-a dezlănțuit iadul” (Botezatu, 2012) „echipa X sufocă echipa Y în terenul ei” etc.

Înțelepciunea universală în fotbal – Uneori, cei din interriorul acestui fenomen încearcă să devină brusc mai creativi, conștienți fiind probabil de penuria lexicală a discursurilor din fotbal. Astfel de încercări se datorează faptului că adevărați foști jucători legendari ai României (așa cum a fost Gheorghe Hagi) încearcă să devină lideri și în această privința, însă efectul este tocmai invers. Trebuie să remarcăm aici faptul ca exprimările eliptice sunt specifice mai ales limbii vorbite, atât de folosită în lumea fotbalului. Iată și câteva exemple:

> Dacă ți-e frică de lup nu mai intri în pădure. (Telekom Sport)
>
> Să fie bine ca să nu fie rău (Stan, 2015)
>
> Era un eșec, a fost, s-a dus, oamenii când se culcă, se culcă să doarmă (Anghelache, 2014)
>
> Omul este o persoană umană. (Stan, 2015)
>
> Nu mi-am propus nici un gol. Niciodată nu mi-am propus să înscriu. Care e în fața porții, s-o înscrie. (sport.ro, 2011)

Eternele clișee:

> Balonul e rotund.
>
> Niciun meci nu seamănă cu altul.
>
> Fotbalul e doar un joc, iar viața merge înainte.
>
> Fotbalul se joacă pe goluri.
>
> Avem șanse matematice de calificare.
>
> Publicul a fost al doisprezecelea jucător.
>
> Stadionul este un adevărat OZN.
>
> Vrem să câștigăm toate punctele. (Paraschivescu, 2015)

Perifraze:

> UTA Arad = Bătrâna Doamnă (UTA Arad)
>
> Steaua București = Roș-albaștrii (stirileprotv.ro, 2013)/Formația din Ghencea (Arsene, 2012)/Echipa lui Gigi Becali (Bolat, 2014)

Rapid București = Formația de sub podul Grant (Morar, 2017)

CFR Cluj = Formația din Gruia (Suciu, 2016)

Universitatea Cluj = Șepcile roșii (Costinaș, 2017)

Universitatea Craiova = Campioana unei mari iubiri (Tudorache, 2010)

FC Brașov = Formația de sub Tâmpa (Neacșa, 2011)

Dintre toate discursurile conducătorilor, remarcăm un exemplu ce ilustrează din plin trăsăturile limbii de lemn în sport. Constantin Anghelache, fost conducător al clubului Dinamo București, semnează o serie de editoriale sportive în ziarul *Ring*. Nimic mai lăudabil pentru un fost conducător de club, intelectual și autor de cărți. Ceva nu se potrivește în această ecuație, căci avem senzația că citim un document sau un raport semnat de șeful unui partid sau de directorul unui serviciu de informații. Inadecvarea lexicului folosit la domeniul în cauză și folosirea unui vocabular perimat, plin de formule-tip reprezintă alte particularități ale stilului acestor editoriale.

Articolele semnate de Anghelache au, invariabil, „patina timpului", ținând neapărat să se revendice de la un trecut altădată glorios pentru cel care își semnează articolele cu „Prof. univ. dr."

Editorialele lui Constantin Anghelache din ziarul *Ring* abundă în exprimări impersonale:

> S-ar mai fi putut spune câte ceva și despre prestația Rapidului. [...] (Anghelache, 2011a: 13)
>
> Se poate avea în vedere ca, prin jocul și rezultatele directe, oricare dintre Dinamo, CFR Cluj sau Rapid să se încoroneze în poziția de lider. [...] (Anghelache, 2011b: 11)

Un astfel de stil sec, fără un orizont lingvistic creativ, se caractrerizează și prin repetiția supărătoare, o seacă trecere în revistă a unor aspecte generale, general cunoscute:

> Apoi, Pandurii, după ce au capitulat prea ușor la Brașov, îi așteaptă pe cei din Ștefan cel Mare, care, la rândul lor, se gândesc să bifeze o a doua viztorie [...] FC Vaslui va juca acasă și va primi vizita Concordiei. (Anghelache, 2012: 11)

Analizând preponderența clișeelor și a formulelor-tip, putem găsi ca explicație încercarea de uniformizare și transpunerea spiritului de echipă din teren la nivelul discursului și limbajului folosit. Astfel, disciplina tactică de pe terenul de fotbal este transpusă în „disciplină” lingvistică, însă fără rezultate productive. Încercând uneori să aducă ceva nou, „oamenii de fotbal” pasează telespectatorilor și cititorilor responsabilitatea de a umple golurile din mesaj și se dedică doar golurilor din teren.

Concluzie

Limba de lemn nu încetează să acapareze unele domenii ale vieții noastre și ajunge să domine discursul din politică și sport. Ea reflectă anumite alegeri preponderente ale vorbitorilor pentru exprimări eliptice și formule standard. Creativitatea este un inamic de moarte al limbii de lemn. Deși prin folosirea ei se încearcă mimarea creativității și a bogăției lexicale, totul nu este decât simulacru lingvistic cu efect sigur în obnubilarea rațiunii interlocutorului.

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About the authors

Marinela Doina NISTEA is an Associate Professor, Ph.D., Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest, Romania.

E-mail: mari.nistea@gmail.com

Mirel ANGHEL is a Lecturer, Ph.D., Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest, Romania.

E-mail: mirel.anghel@utcb.ro

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE NATIONAL FLAG IN POST-COMMUNIST ROMANIA

Marina-Cristiana ROTARU

Abstract: Upholding of symbols and the perpetuation of their meanings contribute to the preservation of the identity of a nation. The national flag and anthem are central national symbols and their continuity mirrors, in a way, the political continuity of a country. When this continuity, the fabric of which the identity of a people is made of, is broken, a sort of alienation sets in, that affects both the individuals and the nation as a whole. Alienation, then, makes way to manipulation, the aim of which often is the alteration of one's identity and subjection to a way of life and a set of values which are unfamiliar to those who fall victims to such practices. The aim of this paper is to investigate the manner in which communist ideology is still present in Romanians' mentality in relation to the symbolism of the national flag.

Keywords: *wooden language, symbols, ideological manipulation, re-contextualization, patriotism*

Men love their country, not because it is great,
but because it is their own. (Seneca)

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate the manner in which communist ideology is still present in Romanians' mentality in relation to the symbolism of the national flag. The flag, the seal of State and the official anthem are core national symbols that give expression to the identity of a people and help them develop a sense of belonging to a group or community. Since the establishment of the Romanian State, the colours of the national flag have remained unchanged (red, yellow, blue) but the seal of State has had various representations each time the form of State has changed. The national anthem, too, has been replaced six times (three times during the communist regime), which reflects the discontinuity in the development of the country's political structures and in building awareness of our national symbols. Since the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989, the Romanian Society has been trying to reconnect with values and symbols that had been part of its identity before the Soviet-supported communist regime took over in 1947. This struggle against the amnesia induced by decades of communist brainwashing is reflected by the meanings which Romanians attach to the three colours of their national flag.

My investigation focuses on the connotations attached to the three national colours by the Romanian composer Ciprian Porumbescu in his patriotic hymn, *Cântecul Tricolorului* (The Song of the Tricolour), published in 1880, and explores how the communist regime appropriated Porumbescu's hymn and transformed it into the national anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1977 by keeping Porumbescu's instrumental arrangements while replacing the original lyrics with new ones, corresponding to the communist ideology. My approach is based on a short questionnaire with two questions: "What are the meanings that you attach to the three colours of the national flag?" and "Who told you about them?" The questionnaire was distributed to and completed by 180 high-school and first-year university students, aged between 16 to 19 years old. The analytical framework is mainly circumscribed to Françoise Thom's study of the wooden language employed by communists (Thom, 1993).

1. The history of the national colours and their heraldic symbolism

The three colours of the Romanian national flag appeared on various flags of the Romanian principalities since the Middle Ages. Blue, yellow and red were the colours of the Romanian revolution of 1848 and were also preserved by the monarchic constitutions of 1866 and 1923, respectively, and by the communist constitutions of 1948, 1952 and 1965, as well as by the constitution of 1991, modified in 2003.

These fundamental laws established the alignment of the colours on the flag. Neither has aimed at officially attaching meanings to the three colours of the national standard, nor do I claim that such connotations should be established by law. Who, then, can establish meanings to the national colours? One possible answer is that tradition can contribute to the crystallization of these values. If so, need tradition establish fixed meanings that should exclude others? Do wider connotations to these national symbols have negative or positive consequences on the sense of belongingness to the community? Defining the nation as "an imagined political community" (Anderson, 2006: 6), Benedict Anderson underlines that what holds together the members of a community and what gives coherence to the community is that "in the minds of each lives the image of their community" (Anderson, 2006: 6). Therefore, belongingness rests on the sharing of values, on being aware of them and on encoding and decoding them using a language which they all can decipher. The multiplicity of connotations attached to the colours of the national flag may not be inherently destructive to the cohesion of the community if the members of the community decipher these connotations using a shared code. But the cohesion of a community can be destroyed when a new political regime (after illegally taking over) uses the same symbols and preserves the same connotations previously attached to these symbols, in order not to protect the cohesion of the community, but to legitimize their position in the eyes of the people and prove that they are not usurpers.

The symbolism of colours, when these are used on flags, banners, standards, is traditionally established by the science of heraldry. According to Dan Cernovodeanu, red, blue and yellow are colours often present in Romanian heraldry, yellow appearing as gold in various divisions of shields (Cernovodeanu, 1977: 14). As far as the connotations of colours are concerned, the heraldic science maintains that red generally symbolizes values such as bravery, audacity as well as the blood shed on battlefields. Blue represents the sky and symbolizes the values of loyalty and nobility while yellow is the chromatic expression of wealth and abundance (Sturdza-Săuceşti, 1974: 40). Without oversimplifying things, heraldic colours reflect the significance that people attached to various events, measures of value and ideals that mattered to them.

1.1. The meaning of the three national colours in Ciprian Porumbescu's *Cântecul Tricolorului*

The first to dedicate a song to the national flag was Ciprian Porumbescu, a nineteenth century Romanian composer who wrote the lyrics and composed the music of the patriotic hymn *Cântecul Tricolorului* (*The Song of the Tricolour*), released in 1880 (Golembiovschi-Porumbescu, 1880: 8-9). Born in Bukovina, a Romanian province part of the Habsburg Empire at the time, Porumbescu was a staunch supporter of the union of all Romanian provinces in one state. Released two years after the Romanian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia gained their independence on the battlefield (in 1877), and had it recognized by the European powers that took part in the 1878 Congress of Berlin, Porumbescu's hymn is a clear expression of the ideals of freedom and unity of the Romanians living outside the borders of the young Romanian State.

Of the six stanzas of the hymn, three include the connotations that Porumbescu attaches to the colours of the Romanian flag, the Tricolour. Red (the second stanza) stands for the feeling of longing for liberty and expresses the love of the country[1]. Yellow (the third stanza) is the colour of the country's future, a future shining like the rays of the sun[2]. Blue (the fourth stanza) is the colour of the faith people have in their country[3]. After the hymn was first performed, it became one of the most popular and loved Romanian patriotic songs.

2. The appropriation of national values by the communist regime

In 1977, the Socialist Republic of Romania adopted a new national anthem, the third since the communists took power. The choice of a new national anthem was not accidental, triggered by political changes that were reflected in the communist discourse. According to Lucian Boia, the communist discourse was generally characterized by three phases, and Romania was no exception: "the antinational phase", "the recovery of the past" phase and the "nationalist exacerbation" phase. Boia calls the first phase "the antinational phase", characterized by a violent imposition of the soviet model on the Romanian society, the values of which were turned upside down. The elite of the country was annihilated, the peasantry which "until 1944 was considered the fundamental class of Romanian society and the depositary of the national spirit and traditions" (Boia, 2001: 70) was destroyed by collectivization while the working class became "the so-called leading class" (Boia, 2001: 71). During the second phase, "recovering the past" phase, the communist discourse "displayed the tendency to slip from «internationalism» to «nationalism» (Boia, 2001: 73), a move imposed by the need to "legitimize power" (Boia, 2001: 74). National values initially banned "began to be rehabilitated and reintegrated in Romanian culture" (Boia, 2001: 74), but the price to pay was high: Romanian culture, fundamentally anti-communist, was compelled to assume an unfamiliar framework within which to develop. The reintegration, in the national cultural circuit, of the works of famous Romanian writers and scholars (who were either unfamiliar to the communist ethos or opposed it vigorously during their lifetime) proved to be a cunning and successful scheme since these representatives of the Romanian elite "were posthumously obliged to uphold the communist project" (Boia, 2001: 75). By

[1] My adaptation (In original: "Roșu-i focul ce-mi străbate/ Inima-mi plină de dor/ Pentru sânta libertate/ Și al patriei amor".)

[2] My adaptation (In original: "Auriu ca mândru soare/ Fi-va-l nostru viitor/ Pururea-n eternal floare/ Și cu luci netrecător".)

[3] My adaptation (In original: "Iar albastru e credința/ Pentru țară ce-o nutrim/ Credincioși fără schimbare/ Pân-la moarte o să fim".)

clever and systematic manipulation, the communists used the voices that shaped the Romanian spirit to legitimize themselves. The adoption of a new national anthem a few years later was just one of the consequences of the apparent recovery of the past.

In 1971, the communist discourse enters, according to Boia, its last phase, "the exacerbation of nationalism". The political relaxation that characterized the previous phase came to an end and a peculiar type of nationalism (illustrated by the forged image of a people standing united behind the Communist Party and its leader) developed into "the decisive historical and political argument" (Boia, 2001: 77). The lyrics of the new national anthem clearly exemplify this ideological exacerbation.

As already stated, the new communist anthem is an adaptation of Porumbescu's original piece. Loyal to the formula applied during the second phase of the communist discourse, the political power decided to preserve Porumbescu's musical arrangements but change his lyrics with new ones characterized by wooden language, the aim of which was to serve the regime. A parallel between the two texts will reveal the manner and the extent of the communists' manipulation of the original.

2.1. The recontextualization of Porumbescu's *Cântecul Tricolorului* as *Trei Culori* in the communist discourse

The transformation of Porumbescu's *Cântecul Tricolorului* into the new communist anthem *Trei Culori* (Three Colours) is an example of the recontextualization of meaning. Recontextualization implies the "transformation of meanings, through de-contextualization (taking meanings out of their context) and recontextualization (putting meanings in new contexts)" (Fairclough, 2006: 26). The aim of recontextualization is to make the original meaning fit the new context. This can only happen by means of selection and filtering, which sometimes make recontextualization manifest an ideological dimension. By turning *Cântecul Tricolorului* into *Trei Culori*, the communist discourse de-contextualised the original meaning and inserted it into a new context. The manner in which the processes of selection and filtering operate on the text of the original illustrates the ideological manipulation hidden behind the communists' claim to regain the past and preserve the cultural heritage.

Selection is part of the meaning-extraction process whereby communists claimed to recover the past. The fact that Porumbescu's musical arrangement and first line of the song[4] were preserved in the communist anthem indicates how the original text was subjected to selection. Filtering is the process by means of which the original text and its meaning are adapted to fit the new frame. In the communist discourse, filtering seems to work on the principle of abstraction, according to which original constructions may suffer transformations through generalization (Fairclough, 2003: 139). Porumbescu's *Cântecul Tricolorului* is a title that makes clear reference to a song dedicated to a tricolor, a flag. Therefore, one naturally expects to read a text and listen to a song about a tricolour (anticipating, perhaps, information on the meanings of the colours, on the origins of the flag and its use, etc.). The title of the socialist anthem, *Trei Culori*, seems more general and vague than the original title. The change in the title of the original and its reformulation in more simplified words reflect a premeditated generalization by means of which the communists intended to alienate people from cultural symbols that were part of the make-up of their identity, an obvious contradiction of the communists' claim of "taking possession of the 'cultural heritage'" (Boia, 2001: 75).

2.2. "Patriotism" – the theme through which communists recontextualised *Cântecul Tricolorului*

What predisposes Porumbescu's *Cântecul Tricolorului* to a communist recontextualization is the patriotic discourse to which the song is circumscribed, as patriotism is one of the themes which totalitarian regimes appropriate as a device for self-legitimation. How, then, could one distinguish between Porumbescu's patriotism and communist patriotism since both texts claim affiliation to a patriotic discourse and are rhetorical in nature? Given the historical context in which Ciprian Porumbescu lived, his patriotism is circumscribed to a temporal framework marked by the political ideals of the Revolution of 1848 in the Romanian Principalities, the union of the two Romanian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859 under Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza (anticipating the Great Union of all Romanian provinces in 1918) and the independence of 1877 under Prince Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. During the revolution of 1848-1849, the concept of "patriotism" comes to be associated with the concept of "nation", framing a national discourse in which "patriotism" and "national feeling" (a concept with a positive connotation at the time) are core elements (Bochmann, 2010: 111-

[4] My translation: "There are three colours that I know in the world" – is the first line in both Porumbescu's *Cântecul Tricolorului* and in *Trei Culori*, the national anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania. (In original: "Trei culori cunosc pe lume").

112). For the forty-eighters (the revolutionaries of 1848) patriotism meant "amorul de patrie", "iubirea de patrie" or "dragostea de patrie" (Bochmann, 2010: 111-112), all expressions being translatable into English as "love of homeland". During the unionist campaign of 1859-1861 for the union of Wallachia and Moldavia under Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the term "patriotism" is more and more often associated with the concepts of "nation" and "union" (Bochmann, 2010: 115), underlining the political aims of the unionist forces: the establishment of a unitary national and independent State.

The type of patriotism illustrated by the communist anthem *Trei Culori* reflects a reaction against the *socialist patriotism* promoted in Romanian society during the sovietization period, a patriotism that presupposed "the subordination of patriotic thinking and feelings to the evolution of the international communist movement led by the Soviet Union" (Bochmann, 2010: 125). *Trei Culori* gives expression to Nicolae Ceauşescu's nationalist patriotism, opposed to the international patriotism, a patriotism "socially determined, allegedly integrative, without a pronounced ethnic character (because minorities were included at least declaratively)"[5] (Bochmann, 2010: 126) and based "on the newly-constructed myth of a glorious millenary history and on the illusion of a modern, independent and internationally respected Romania"[6] (Bochmann, 2010: 126). This patriotism is manifest in the first stanza of the communist anthem in which the Romanian people is depicted as "a brave people/ that is courageous, with an ancient renown/ triumphant in battle"[7] and in the fourth stanza: "We are a people in the world/ closely united and hardworking/ free, with a new renown/ and a bold goal"[8]. These lines of the communist anthem are expressions of the theory of Romanian Protochronism, a political instrument with a strong nationalist dimension, used by Ceauşescu's regime to claim that the Romanian people' history started a thousand years before, during the age of the Dacians, and to present the

[5] My translation (In original: "determinat social, pretins integrativ, fără un caracter etnic pronunţat [deoarece minorităţile erau incluse cel puţin la nivel declarativ.]")

[6] My translation (In original: "pe mitul nou-construit al unei istorii milenare glorioase şi pe iluzia unei Românii moderne, independente şi respectate internaţional.")

[7] My translation (In original: "[...] un brav popor/ Ce-i viteaz, cu vechi renume/ În luptă triumfător.")

[8] My translation (In original: "Suntem un popor în lume/ Strâns unit și muncitor/ Liber, cu un nou renume/ Și un țel cutezător.")

history of the Romanian people "in grandiose forms for personal glorification and the 'patriotic' manipulation of masses"[9] (Bochmann, 2010: 126).

The distinction between Porumbescu's patriotism and the communist patriotism advocated by Nicolae Ceauşescu is made sharper if Simone Weil's differentiation between *patriotism of compassion* and *patriotism of greatness* (Weil, 1952) is taken into account. Drawing on Simone Weil's taxonomy, Maurizio Viroli underlines that while patriotism of greatness rests on the glorification of the past and on "the nationalist's love of country that preaches the necessity of defending the country's culture and history as values to be retrieved and defended in their entirety [...] because of their distinctiveness and particularity" (Viroli, 1995: 165), the patriotism of compassion works with other values, namely "the need for cultural and spiritual rootedness without turning love of country into blind identification or pride for the uniqueness of our nation" (Viroli, 1995: 163). Patriotism of compassion encompasses both "our country's greatness and miseries" and does not fade when less glorious moments in the history of a country are contemplated (Viroli, 1995: 165). Thus, by analogy, it can be argued that Porumbescu's characterization of the Romanian people as "a brave people" (the first quatrain of *Cântecul Tricolorului*) rather belongs to a patriotic discourse based not on greatness, but on compassion, since the adjective "brave" does not necessarily imply "glorious" and always "victorious". The adjective "brave" illustrates a courageous people that have fought for their liberty and, in spite of the fact that battles were also lost and mistakes were made, kept their ideals alive. At the other end of the spectrum, communist patriotism, with its excessive glorification of the past and emphasis on Dacian protochronism, manifests similarities with patriotism of greatness.

In spite of the difference between the two types of patriotism, what renders more difficult the identification of a division line between the type of patriotism manifest in *Cântecul Tricolorului* and the one manifest in *Trei Culori*, a demarcation not easily deciphered by the inexperienced reader, is the fact that "while admirers of the greatness and uniqueness of their own country have a wide range of rhetorical tools to use, patriots of compassion have no language of their own" (Viroli, 1995: 164). Therefore, it can be maintained

[9] My translation (In original: "în forme grandioase pentru glorificarea proprie şi manipularea «patriotică» a maselor.")

that the lack of a distinct expression of patriotism of compassion predisposes Porumbescu's *Cântecul Tricolorului* to a communist recontextualization.

3. Wooden language – another mark of communist recontextualization

The type of language used in the communist version of *Cântecul Tricolorului* and the message it sends are further clues of the ideological recontextualization of Porumbescu's hymn. The communist discourse in general is characterized by wooden language, the purpose of which is not to express and clarify the surrounding reality, but "to serve as the vehicle of ideology"[10] (Thom, 1993: 35). The generalization aimed at by entitling the new communist anthem *Trei Culori* is reinforced by very few references to the colours of the flag. In the communist version, there are only two references: the first appears at the very beginning of the anthem ("There are three colours that I know in the world")[11] and is used only as a pretext to introduce the main character in the communist discourse: the people, mentioned three times in the text ("There are three colours that I know in the world/ Recalling a brave people")[12]. The second reference appears in the third stanza and is a simple enumeration of the three colours: "Red, yellow and blue make our tricolour"[13]. There is no connotation attached to them. The laconic reference is illustrative of the vagueness promoted by the communist discourse. In Porumbescu's text, there are five references to the tricolour, and the second, the third and the fourth stanzas explain what each of the three colours means to the author of the text.

An analysis of the first stanza of each of the two texts shows how the communist ideological filtering recontextualizes the original meaning. In Porumbescu's first quatrain, the colours of the flag are colours which he holds as "a holly jewel"[14]. They are colours with an ancient renown, which remind of a brave people. Notice the clear relationship that the author establishes with the colours. In the communist version, there is an inversion: it is not the colours that have an ancient renown, but the people: "[…] a brave people/ That is courageous, with an ancient renown/ Triumphant in battle"[15]. The

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[10] My translation (In original: "să servească de vehicol ideologiei.")
[11] My translation (In original: "Trei culori cunosc pe lume.")
[12] My translation (In original: "Trei culori cunosc pe lume/ Amintind de-un brav popor.")
[13] My translation (In original: "Roșu, galben și albastru/ Este-al nostrum tricolor.")
[14] My translation (In original: "[…] un sânt odor.")
[15] My translation (In original: "[…] un brav popor/ Ce-i viteaz, cu vechi renume/ În luptă triumfător.")

agglomeration of adjectives (brave, courageous, triumphant) illustrate the nationalist exacerbation which Boia points at as a feature of the third and last phase of the communist discourse. Within this framework, being only "a brave people" was not enough for the communist interpretation of history. The people also had to be "triumphant in battle", a position irrespective of Romanians' past: although brave, the Romanians also had their share of defeats.

A particular feature of the wooden language is the absence of deictic elements (Thom, 1993: 43). When language flows naturally, deictic elements may appear. The adverbs of time and place or the pronouns may function deictically and are important in the construction of discourse since they help construct and delimit the speaker's position or location in discourse. Although the original text (Porumbescu's text) lacks deictic structures, their absence does not transform its language into a wooden one. There is one deictic used in the last quadrain, when the author makes reference to the moment of his death: "And when I leave you and die, brothers/ Then, on my grave/ Lay our proud tricolour"[16]. The deictic "then" pinpoints a precise moment in time: the time of death. In the communist text, there is a temporal deictic used in the fifth stanza where the role of the communist party is defined: "Today the party unites us"[17]. Characteristically to the wooden language, "Today" does not refer to an exact day in the calendar. The time adverbial is used "in an absolute way", meaning "in our era" (Thom, 1993: 43).

Another characteristic of the wooden language is the presence of impersonal or passive constructions (Thom, 1993: 44). Such constructions avoid agency and focus "on processes" (Thom, 1993: 44), which serves the need of the communist discourse for vagueness and generalizations. The fifth stanza of the communist anthem provides a clear example: apart from mentioning the unifying role of the communist party in the life of the nation, the text refers to the construction of socialism, a process that is always mentioned in the communist discourse: "Socialism is being built/ By the workers' enthusiasm"[18].

Pronouns play an important role in framing discourse. They can be used inclusively or exclusively and aim to establish relationships among various participants in the discourse. In both Porumbescu's text and the communist

[16] My translation (In original: "Iar când, fraților, m-oi duce/ De la voi și-o fi să mor/ Pe mormânt, atunci să-mi puneți/ Mândrul nostrum tricolor.")
[17] My translation (In original: "Azi partidul ne unește.")
[18] My translation (In original: "Socialismul se clădește/ Prin elan muncitoresc.")

anthem, the personal pronoun "we" appears very often and with an inclusive value, but it is used differently. In Porumbescu's *Cântecul Tricolorului*, "we" underlines the sense of belonging shared by the speaker (the author of the text) and his readers, united by their tricolour, a symbol of their common ideals. In the text of the communist anthem, the pronoun "we" expresses the unity of a people held together not by common aspirations, but by the party, namely the communist party: "Today, the party unites us/ And in the Romanian territory/ Socialism is being built/ By the workers' enthusiasm"[19]. According to Thom, the pronoun "we" used inclusively "designates the unity of the people, the party, and the government" (Thom, 1993: 43).

Another feature of the wooden language of the communist discourse is the use of warlike terminology. In fact, in the communist logic, the double discourse was as natural as breathing. Peace, for instance, was a recurrent theme, and so was the theme of the nation's fight against enemies. These two themes were often interwoven and introduced as unopposed in the same text. A similar situation is illustrated by the sixth stanza of the communist anthem: "In honour of our homeland/ The enemies in battle we crush/ With other people under the sun/ Dignified, in peace, we shall live"[20]. On the one hand, there is the urge to extinct enemies. Interestingly, these enemies are not clearly defined. Whose enemies: the communist party's enemies, the government's enemies or the State's enemies? In the communist logic, the party's or the government's enemies were automatically regarded as the State's enemies. On the other hand, there is the claim to live in peace with other nations. The juxtaposition of war and peace does not seem disharmonious to the communist discourse.

4. The results of the questionnaire and their interpretation

4.1. Results

The fact that *Cântecul Tricolorului* was initially banned by the communist regime, later recontextualized as *Trei Culori*, explains why so many Romanians today, if asked what meanings Porumbescu attached to the three national colours, fail in providing a correct answer. A questionnaire distributed to 180 students aged between 16 to 19 years old reflects this unawareness of Porumbescu's interpretation of the national colours. As far as the symbolism

[19] My translation (In original: "Azi partidul ne unește/ Și pe plaiul românesc/ Socialismul se clădește/ Prin elan muncitoresc.")

[20] My translation (In original: "Pentru-a patriei onoare/ Vrăjmașii-n luptă-i zdrobim/ Cu alte neamuri sub soare/ Demn, în pace, să trăim.")

of the red colour is concerned, for 130 students red symbolizes the final sacrifice, standing for those who sacrificed their life on the battlefield. 40 students attached other connotations to the colour, 8 students answered that they did not know the answer and only 2 students answered that red stood for the love of the country.

In reference to the yellow colour, 70 students answered that it stood for the ears of wheat, the colour of the country fields. 32 students considered that yellow represented the riches of the country, 19 students answered that yellow was the colour of the sun, 12 students answered that they did not know what yellow stood for and 48 students attached various other meanings to the colour.

Regarding the blue colour, 48 students answered that it represented the sky, for 43 students blue represented liberty, for 41 students the colour represented Romanian waters, including the Danube Delta and the Black Sea. 15 students did not answer, 3 answered that blue stood for people's faith and 30 students attached other meanings to the symbolism of the blue colour.

As far as the second question of the questionnaire is concerned, most of the students interviewed answered that they had learned these connotations either from their parents, at home, or from their teachers, at school.

The unfamiliarity with Porumbescu's meanings attached to the three colours may be explained by the fact that for a long time during the communist regime his writings were censored. Then, what exactly made the respondents to this questionnaire claim that red was the colour of the ultimate sacrifice (130 students out of 180), yellow stood for the ears of wheat (70 students out of 180) and blue represented the colour of the sky (48 students out of 180)? While this empirical research does not claim to provide a complete answer, it can, however, explain, in part, the results of the questionnaire.

4.2. The manipulation of young generations through music and image

At first sight, these three main meanings revealed by the questionnaire seem quite natural. However, analyzed against a background which takes into account the political changes that Romania has suffered since 1947, when a communist republic was established without popular consent, it can be justifiably claimed that these meanings attached to the national colours may have been contaminated, in time, with communist ideology, from two sources.

The first source of contamination is represented by a shorter version of the communist anthem *Trei Culori*, which circulated in the 1970s and the 1980s. Its origins are unclear and for some obscure reason it did not become part of the final version of the national anthem accepted by the leaders of the regime. In this shorter form of *Trei Culori*, the third quatrain attributes meanings to the national colours which are identical to the meanings revealed by the questionnaire: "Red is the fire of bravery/ Sacrifices that never perish/ Yellow, the gold of the plains/ And blue is our sky"[21]. In schools, pupils received a kind of patriotic education closely monitored by the State. The national anthem was often performed at the beginning of the daily school programme and other patriotic songs, many of which were ideologically invested to serve the communist ethos, were regularly learned and performed during Music classes. This other version of *Trei Culori* must have been sung often enough so that generations of pupils learn it by heart. In turn, those generations that were educated in the 1970s and the 1980s passed the meanings attached to the three national colours to younger generations, either as parents or teachers, without being aware of the manipulation that had been taken place. The ideologically-invested interpretation of the national colours was thus perpetuated unsuspectingly.

The second source of contamination is provided by the national emblem of the Socialist Republic of Romania – a landscape with the following elements: mountains and forests behind which the sun rises, an oil drill and, at the bottom of the emblem, a blue strip which clearly denotes water (that is Romanian rivers and lakes). The image is surrounded by bunches of wheat ears tied together with a ribbon in the colours of the national flag. At the top of the emblem there is the red star of the communist party.

[21] My translation (In original: "Roşu-i focul vitejiei/ Jertfele ce-n veci nu pier/ Galben, aurul câmpiei/ Şi-albastru al nostru cer.")

Fig. 1 The Emblem of the Socialist Republic of Romania

During the communist age, this emblem was present in all classrooms, hung above the blackboard, accompanied by the emblem of the communist party, the hammer and the sickle, and the portrait of the communist leader. Numerous generations of young Romanians were daily exposed to the emblem of State and it is not far-fetched to draw the conclusion that manipulation and ideological indoctrination took place in a subliminal way. Symbols, like language, can be invested ideologically, often with a manipulative purpose. Ideologies turn into highly persuasive tools when they acquire "the status of common sense" (Fairclough, 1992: 87), which makes them undetectable. The relationship between the colours of the national flag and their symbolism (red – the final sacrifice; yellow – the gold of the wheat, symbols of the rich Romanian plains; blue – the sky or the Romanian rivers and lakes) rests on this common sense which allows ideology to remain unexposed. Being exposed to the emblem of the socialist republic on a daily basis and without the possibility to ignore it (since it was placed right above the blackboard, which pupils were looking at), the symbolism of each element of the emblem must have been internalized spontaneously by Romanian pupils. Coincidentally or not, this symbolism respects the heraldic meanings of the three colours which Dan Cernovodeanu underlined above. However, Cernovodeanu was not educated during the communist regime. Although the communists may have consulted specialists in heraldry, it was not something meant to become public knowledge because it may have undermined the image of new founders which the communists aimed to project of themselves.

Conclusion

Any image, be it a painting, an emblem or coat-of-arms, can be invested with ideology. At the same time, it is not harmful to the preservation of national identity and the crystallization of a sense of community to attach various meanings to national symbols, such as the colours of the national flag, if these meanings respect the history of the Romanian people. But when such symbolism is established through omission of the original meanings attached to the national colours by Ciprian Porumbescu and through manipulation, the purpose of such omission being self-legitimation, then, alteration of one's identity is almost unavoidable and the recovery of truth is often a painstaking and lifelong endeavor.

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About the author

Marina-Cristiana ROTARU is Assistant Professor, Ph.D., Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest.

E-mail: marina.rotaru77@gmail.com

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