

# Redefining Community in Intercultural Context

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First cover: Clay figures, from Cucuteni culture (about 3700-2500 BC), Eneolithic. This disposing of prehistoric figures represents a symbol for community and communion.

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Plenary Session





## THE CONFLICTUAL BASES OF ETHNICITY AND PLURALISM

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**Abstract:** *Simmel maintains that the categories without which no society could exist can be listed as follows: it is not possible to wholly “understand” the other, but only in relation to the social category in which the other is placed; every individual is not just an element of society but something more because life is not only social; a society exists as a set of different elements and every element occupies a specific position. The recognition of diversity between cultures, which entails the praise of tolerance, had actually drawn its strength from the struggle against despotism. Montesquieu’s original idea according to which “one knows well only the society of others”, does not lead to absolute relativism, which would contrast with its rationalism, but to criticism of the despotism that leads to a certain type of society and culture. Tolerance in its widest sense has become a guarantee for freedom of thought, of speech, of the press, which are the main forms of liberty conceived during the Enlightenment. Tolerance is associated with the concept of shared ideas, of dialogue and constructive confrontation, and also of the laity of the state, which has the duty to guarantee all forms of liberty. The ground on which responsibility for the other flourishes is “ethics for two”, the meeting up of an “I” and a “You”, of the “I” with the “Other Man”. Only in this way the huge problem of social justice, which also includes the question of interculturalism, can be resolved.*

**Keywords:** *ethnicity, pluralism, multiethnic society, intercultural communication, tolerance.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION. HOW SOCIETY IS POSSIBLE.

In its investigations also sociology moves according to a dichotomous thinking, whereas in fact no one lives in one of these two distinct positions, but rather participates in a continuum and accepts to live countless nuances of reality. As a science of modern society, sociology has developed as a form of thinking that helps society reflect on itself. Such reflection started as individual reflectivity and tends to reach a collective reflectivity that can be seen in constructing a ‘social memory’ understood as a container in which each one of us can find something to share. Reflectivity goes from individual to collective and from such sharing a more modern contemporary (also in the sense that it happens at the same time) human approach is born. When Simmel (1989) addresses the issue of what is the real object of sociology, he observes that man, in all his essence and in all

his manifestations, is driven by the fact that he lives in a reciprocal relationship with other individuals: nothing can be explained by starting only from man as a single being, from his intellect and from his interests. Man must be understood as a social being. Therefore, Simmel defines society by saying that it exists where several individuals enter into a reciprocal action, and maintains that sociology must study the ways and forms produced by such action. Society is born only when reciprocal relationships, excited by particular reasons and interests, become operative. Society is never static, but rather always on the go, it is a structure made up of uneven elements. Even when equality is pursued, it is always related to the value of individuals, of performances, of stances whereas equality of qualities, of vital contents, and of destinies among individuals cannot even begin to be considered. Thus, society is possible because:

- it satisfies the principle of typification of the Other: everyone knows the other, albeit

always in an incomplete way, because to recognize the other some sort of distance is needed that can allow to 'distinguish', even if it makes knowledge incomplete (extraneity allows an individual to be a member of society without obliterating themselves in it);

- we recognize ourselves as "beings" *per se*: paradoxically such an experience can be made only within a relationship (Cassirer: the I exists because there is a You);

- man recognizes society as an orderly system of contents and performances related to one another as regards time, space, concepts and values. However, speaking of the enlightened philosophers of his times, Rousseau observed that "they mistake the natural man with the man they have under their eyes. They know very well what a bourgeois is in London or in Paris, but they will never know what a man is" (quoted in Galimberti, 2009:361).

If at birth man really possessed the rights implicit in his nature, we would all live in a utopian society in which every individual would be born with the same opportunities as everybody else. If such a situation were possible, the personal and social life of an individual would be at the same level, and each and every man would enjoy the same rights. Paradoxically, every man could live without any contacts with the rest of mankind. In theory, everyone agrees on the *arche* (principles), but it is really utopian to think they can be realized. Their realization cannot be applied given that subjective wellbeing comes before that of sociality.

Man is born a man, but equality is not born with him. The public aspect rests on recognition (Taylor, 2003): being recognized is enough to define one's own identity, but does not make people equal. The law is based on recognition, not on the relationship that exists between men. Tocqueville maintains that "among the laws that rule human society there is one that appears clearer and more precise than all the others: so that men can remain or become civilized the art of associating must develop and refine in them in the same way as equality of conditions develops" (Tocqueville, 1992:662). The demand for recognition becomes pressing

because in the modern world there is a bond between recognition and identity. Each of us must be recognized in order to "be" what he/she is. It is not enough that a man's fundamental characteristics actually exist; in order to exist they have to be recognized. Thus, it can be said that when the bond between identity and recognition is very strong, the human condition "shows" its character, which is essentially dialogic and removed from a utopian "natural right". According to some philosophers (Hobbes and Spinoza) in the state of nature no laws exist (their existence would make no sense). In defining the "natural right of peoples", that is, the shift from state of nature to state of society, Vico talks of quarrelsome society and of reciprocity principle. Before becoming a member of society, man is born as an individual with rights that do not proceed from society but are indeed original, in other words natural attributes of the human species. Modern thinking believes, on the one hand, that the "natural right" is separate from divine right or from the positive right due to the State; on the other, the idea connected with the "social contract" is due to a pact established between free individuals who, by mutual consent, limit their own freedom to generate the State (Vigna & Zamagni, 2003:82).

From such premises it can be realized that it is difficult to completely account for how society is possible: the associative forms and the connections that link actions to individuals can be both intentional and non-intentional, and perhaps never taken as existing *a priori*. Nonetheless, the social pact that joins individuals to one another is essential for the existence of society.

## 2. ETHNICITY AND PLURALISM

**2.1 Belonging to a culture.** Durkheim (1971) observes that the consciousness that leads us to belonging to a common culture

very likely progresses less than the individual consciousness (...). The collective type loses definition and its forms are more abstract and more undecided (...).

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Common consciousness; albeit common because it is shared by the community, is nonetheless individual from the point of view of its object. Although it draws strength from society, it does not connect us with it, but rather with ourselves (Durkheim, 1971:182-183).

In agreement with Durkheim, Aime (2004) observes that it is not cultures that clash, but it is men who, insisting on local, national or supranational identity, create insurmountable enclosures which fuel new forms of racism. Culture can in fact be considered a mask under which to hide differences of identity.

In pursuing the minimum common denominator of the human that should be recognized and guaranteed (Human rights) by everyone, man is considered for what he has in common with other men (and not in order to remove differences). In drawing up the first draft of the European Constitution Giscard d'Estaing wrote:

The union has its roots in the values of respect of human dignity, of freedom and democracy, of the State of law and of respect of man's rights. Its objective is being a pacific society that practices tolerance, justice, solidarity (Aime, 2004:21).

It must be considered that the principles of freedom, equality and fraternity were established by the French Revolution and not thanks to the great Religions.

About multiethnic society, Touraine (1998) leads us to envisage a society based on the integration of shared values, integration seen as a ruling principle of behaviors. The scholar mentions demodernization, which will be reached after the collapse of the way in which the two universes of modernity and post-modernity have been run. Demodernization does not mean nostalgia for a now vanished social or community order, but rather acceptance of the breakdown in the ancient synthesis represented by homo politicus and a search for new modernity. Thus, the French sociologist intends to respond to the question on how "to live together" with our diversities.

Historically, the ways in which modernity is understood have greatly changed: the

reasons for biological differences, widespread in the 19th century, had become cultural differences by the end of the 20th century. Today, the rejection of the other is neither marginal acceptance of the foreigner nor hostility toward a stranger, but the exclusion of those who are perceived as the denial of the cultural model underlying society. Such denial is typical both of actual racism and also of cultural xenophobia (Touraine, 1998:130). The main difference between "modern" and "post-modern" foreigners lies in the fact that while the former were relegated at the margin of a continually advancing front, and thus condemned from the very beginning to being assimilated (Bauman uses the term annihilated), the latter have arrived at a time when assimilation is no longer considered "good" and therefore have to exist as a fixture of the landscape. These post-modern foreigners are no longer seen as a transitory problem that can be redressed. They are always "at the door" (ante portas) and the issue is how to live, day in day out, with extraneity (Bauman, 2002).

The question is how to combine recognition of diversity with the statement that every man is born equal. This impasse cannot be solved through tolerance, which is never wholly detached from segregation, since the search for it can be acceptable only when it is coupled with the rejection of intolerance. The latter guarantees neither communication nor likelihood of minority ever to become majority and be able to decide for itself what is tolerable and what is intolerable.

Tolerance of tolerance is only the degree and the limit of tolerance (Marcuse, 1969). In the acceptance of philosopher Hanna Arendt (1994) tolerance is the ability to think, even for a moment, that the interlocutor may be right. Communication can exist only through recognition of the others, and such recognition can be defined as solidarity or fraternity. In each individual life there is a tendency to join diversity and similarity. Man always feels driven toward individualization, but also toward conformism: to be like the others to be accepted, and be different to establish oneself. Every community has a separating function and a unifying function: the community

separates itself from those who are different and associates with its own group (Francescato, 1982). Both separation and association have a “redeeming” value oriented toward their group and their culture.

Intercultural communication is contorted because it passes through the subject’s idea (relationship with oneself) and then considers relationship with others. It can be possible only if the Subject has previously been able to free him/herself from the community. The other can be recognized as such only if he is understood, accepted and loved as a subject, that is, as an active element of mediation.

The recognition of the Other is possible only starting from the statement that everyone has the right to be a subject. At the same time, the subject cannot establish him/herself as such without recognizing the other as a subject and without shedding the fear of the other that leads to his/her exclusion. A democratic society is based on the effort to combine the universalistic principles linked to the arche, and so non-social, to the aspect ensuing from rational activity and cultural and personal identity, not on conformity to universalistic principles. Inequality exists between empirical (as regards abilities, quality, etc.) individuals, but it is up to science to answer such dilemmas, not up to ethics or sociology. Ethics is responsible for the construction and the safeguard of the individual: this is why diversity and inequality are not conflictual between one another, but, rather, inseparable (Touraine, 1998:185).

A society that does not recognize diversity would be a dictatorship, which would impose homogeneity on its members; a sort of Taylorism extended to social life as a whole, or an ethnic cleansing agency. On the other hand, a society without equality would establish the hierarchic order typical of the pre-modern (Touraine, 1998:186).

**2.2 Belonging and tolerance.** The man that lives on the boundary is an eccentric man who stands “in full view”, who belongs both within and without the boundary itself. The stranger is a man on the boundary, he appears in the shape of something extra-ordinary, that is of something that does not have an appropriate place in the current order and is

therefore excluded from it. We can ask ourselves how we can address the stranger so that the way itself of addressing him does not neutralize or recognize his effects, his challenges, his requests (Waldenfels, 2008:10; Levinas, 1984).

The way of relating with the boundaries reveals the spirit of which an age is the child. The other (alter) and the stranger (xenon) are two different things: extraneity cannot be traced to something which is different. There are several ways to defend cultural diversity: differences between cultures encourage very limited communications between them in order to ward off the hegemony of a culture that alone claims to be universalistic (Touraine, 1998:187).

Recognition of diversity between cultures leads to the protection of minority cultures. Their defense can occur in different ways. The first recognizes constitutional rules in favor of respect of the fundamental freedoms of organization of public power. It leaves to the social and cultural organization, and so to plurality of cultures, a space within the rules that should essentially formalize the Kantian principle that anybody’s freedom can only go so far as it does not threaten the liberty of others (Touraine, 1998:187). It can be said that philosophy produces a greater number of debates addressing proposals for social change (Lesenciuc, 2012:3). The second way contemplates the principle of laity, a concept that implies the weakest level of recognition of cultural differences, because its in-depth logic is the tolerance of different faiths and uses in the hope to achieve progressive assimilation of the whole population to the universalism of reason and of citizenship. It is different from the previous logic and from that of anybody who defends diversity of culture. Indeed, behind its apparent tolerance it has always led to the distinction of minority cultures, as well as to the preservation of a hierarchic relationship between men, rulers of public life, and women, segregated in private life.

The recognition of diversity between cultures, which entails the praise of tolerance, had actually drawn its strength from the struggle against despotism. Montesquieu’s original idea (expounded in *Persian Letters*)

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according to which "one knows well only the society of others", does not lead to absolute relativism, which would contrast with its rationalism, but to criticism of the despotism that leads to a certain type of society and culture. Tolerance gives rise to freedom and to criticism of absolute power.

However, the spirit of tolerance, which is so strong when it fights hegemonic attempts, does not give a real answer to the question we ask ourselves on the relationship between the particular and the universal. On the contrary, it tends to privilege the recognition of diversities rather than finding a place within such recognition, as the policymaker and the sociologist must do (practically speaking it is a dead letter).

The principle that makes consensus possible must ensure that only those norms that express universal will are accepted as valid: the norms must have all the qualities required to be universal laws (according to Kant); in other words, that "*the ways of acting, the theories, and the interests are universalizable*" (Habermas, 1985:71). Such a conception resorts to a non-sociological solution. Appealing to the universalism of reason leaves man without an answer to the question

How can individuals and groups from different cultures communicate and, consequently, belong to the same society? (Touraine, 1998:190).

Tolerance is an attitude or disposition by which one admits that others can have different religious, ethical, political principles. It is not a virtue, because its object is an ill which is accepted for various reasons that do not lead to the authentic realization of what is tolerated. Although this definition is negative, tolerance is granted a positive function: it allows the existence of a plurality of opinions in all the fields where it is exerted. In this original sense, "tolerating" means, essentially, "enduring". Throughout the European history, from the Sixteenth century onward, another idea started to take hold, that is, that "tolerating" means "understanding", and thus accepting differences and appreciating them.

In writings that advocate tolerance a divide can often be recognized between "tolerating" as "enduring" and "tolerating" as "accepting" in the strong sense of the latter term. Tolerance concerns the collective and individual ability to live peacefully with those whose beliefs and actions are different from our own.

In its wider sociological sense tolerance is based on the conviction that intolerance and the attempt to wipe out all differences (leading to a single thought and a single lifestyle) lead to violence and social instability. Thus, tolerance becomes the watershed between an intransigent way, blind to its own consequences, the remnant of a mentality from the time when meeting and confronting with "diversity" was very limited, which, however, in today's globalized society is no longer the exception but the rule.

The attitude of philosophy is "Look after everything" directed to things such as they are, and not as we would like them to be, encouraging man toward the endless possibilities of the being and not, on the contrary, enclosing the being within the limited possibilities of man. On the other hand, the aphorism "there is only one thing that I cannot tolerate: intolerance" shows that also tolerance has its limits. In particular, a tolerant society cannot include intolerance, on pain of its own destruction.

Tolerance in its widest sense has become a guarantee for freedom of thought, of speech, of the press, which are the main forms of liberty conceived during the Enlightenment. Famous in this connection is Voltaire's sentence: "I do not agree with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it". Tolerance is associated with the concept of shared ideas, of dialogue and constructive confrontation, and also of the laity of the state, which has the duty to guarantee all forms of liberty.

If the culture of tolerance is the unquestionable foundation of a national or supranational community (which has in any case shared cultural, religious, and historical roots, which means that men are different even within the same culture), it is actually called into question when the community becomes

multiethnic, multi-religious and so multicultural.

Historically Europe is now going through a time of deep, fast, unexpected and radical changes. However, it can be wondered if it is possible, in such a situation, to confine oneself to reiterating the goodness of tolerance without putting any limit to tolerance itself. The question becomes crucial as soon as difficulties in living together emerge between different cultural and ethnic realities, for the first time in history coexisting within a context not organized by hierarchies and imperialisms.

**2.3 Interculturalism.** If we want to understand the meaning of the word “interculturalism” we come across an intermediate sphere, the same as for intersubjectivity (Husserl) and incorporeity (Merlau-Ponty), whose character cannot be associated with what is owned, nor integrated within a whole, nor subjected to universal laws. What happens between and among us does not belong to any single individual or to all of us together. A sort of no man’s land is created, a boundary region that connects and separates at the same time. Interculturalism may exist only if it starts from a split between home culture and alien culture, as Husserl does when he contrasts home world and alien world. Alien culture, like one’s own, is more than one culture among others, more than a partial culture or than a field of action for universal laws. If such a

surplus value is canceled the result will be the leveling and the disappearance of the alien culture. Extraneity is within and without us. Thus, interpersonal or intercultural extraneity must not be separated by intracultural and intrapersonal extraneity. (Waldenfels, 2008:142).

Touraine indicates some ways to create interculturalism: interaction between cultures, affinity between cultural experiences, and recomposition of the world.

The first way consists in better knowing other cultures to the point of developing the principle of empathy toward them, applying the practice of eliminating prejudices. The second way, which is based on affinity

between experiences, clashes with how to coordinate order and change and, above all, socialization and individualization. To achieve the third way, the cultures of the world in which we live have to be seen not as separate closed entities, but rather ways of handling the change as well as the order systems. The recomposition of the world would be realized through integration between cultures, but it cannot occur if all cultures are considered particular manifestations of a universal culture represented by too general principles to inspire particular rules of behavior.

The stranger that wishes to live with us must be as similar to us as possible. In this way, we never doubt ourselves, we simply reaffirm our identity, which the stranger contributes to strengthen through their extraneity. Levinas reminds us that “responding to someone is already responding for someone”, it means taking charge of their destiny. The act of responding for those who spread the values and for those who suffer them leads to change. Civilization begins with two individuals “meeting up, entering into a bond, establishing a minimum, but shared, ground for agreement. About the Ancient Greeks Isocrates wrote: Athens has succeeded in making the term Hellenes mean no longer a progeny, but a way of thinking. Thus, the Hellenes will be those that share with us a *paideia*, that is, that the ability to learn what is learned together is the best instrument to live together” (quoted in Galimberti, 2009:365).

All societies create strangers, but each of them creates its particular type of strangers and creates them in its own way.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

Globalization of culture does not coincide with its homogeneity. If national cultures modify global cultures, national governments modify local cultures because they act as gatekeepers, mediating the cultural flows. In any society there can be both acceptance of and opposition to some elements of the global culture (Crane, 1998:208).

Ethnicity versus equality: both terms are extremely complex and have a great variety of values. Each value is such only if, in order to



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achieve it, one has to give up other values. History records terrible crimes carried out in the name of unshakable beliefs, not in the name of relativism and tolerance (Bauman, 2002:11).

Simmel observes that society is originated by all forms of relationships between individuals and not by isolated individuals. Recognition of ethnicity is first of all an act of separation from others and of perception of homogeneity within the group.

The problems associated with interculturalism nowadays emerge as the presence of foreigners, who as such stand out from the group they have joined and thus tarnish the "purity" of the "locals". The fear of the foreigner springs from seeing him as a "misfit", an "oddity" who, as Simmel says, "comes here to stay".

The alternative to the indiscriminate leveling of all differences (universal fraternity) "lies indeed in tolerance, that is, in willingly accepting and encouraging, a great diversity of primary groups. Pluralism represents the minimum condition for a modern democracy to work (Marcuse, 1969).

Those who seek equality and recognition of diversity at the same time are asking for the impossible (...) There is no diversity which is not tied to inequality (Touraine, 1998:300).

However, a multiethnic society must tend toward being a "just society".

A just society is recognized from its dissatisfaction with all the redresses applied to unjust situations as well as from the reprimands that it gives itself because such redresses were not just enough. Justice is simply the unquenchable wish for an even greater justice. (Bauman, 2002:74).

The Polish scholar observes also that there will never be a final improvement that can conclude the "march of history toward justice". One will never be able to be satisfied with the level of justice attained. The ground on which responsibility for the other flourishes is "ethics for two", the meeting up of an "I" and a "You", of the "I" with the "Other Man".

Only in this way the huge problem of social justice, which also includes the question of interculturalism, can be resolved..

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## MUSIC, SOCIAL COHESION AND CITIZENSHIP: *OMNIS CIVITAS CONTRA SE DIVISA NON STABIT*

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**Abstract:** *Social cohesion involves complex and capricious dynamics of citizenship. Music, an extraordinarily fluid social phenomenon, has served both quite efficiently from immemorial times; and the survival unifying drive old slogan OMNIS CIVITAS CONTRA SE DIVISA NON STABIT has costs hard to assess. This presentation, of intercultural education scope and aim, grounded on personal life and academic fieldwork experiences in America, Africa and Europe, relates the three concepts proposed, within that drive. Three cohesive details observed within relationships between music performance and constitutional thoughts are reported from three different national arenas: New York, Maputo and Lisbon. In the cases studied, the ethnomusicological analysis allows to unveil the human play of identities, between Harris' opposing images of wild and constitutional forces (2013), in which individual citizenships emerge as meaningful dynamic experiences in search for redefinition of civility. Nation's construction and deconstruction thoughts are under scrutiny. Migrant experiences, life performances, nationalist taming procedures revisited, anxious and pleasurable emotions considered highlight roles of music in the social life of moving and potentially people. A last quote brings the world capital of music, Vienna, into the discussion mentioning unexpected sounds in the Wiener Musikverein. The ultimate goal is to advocate listening awareness for civility change and accompanying intercultural education. In the globalizing and economic crisis era, multi-local and fluid cultural dynamics, portrayed through music, challenge individual and national social cohesion experiences, relentlessly reminding that no matter the costs 'all civility divided against itself will perish'.*

**Keywords:** *music, social cohesion, citizenship, civility, education, migration, identity, fado.*

### 1. INTRODUCING THE WILD SOVEREIGN

Music, social cohesion and citizenship notions relate meaningfully. Within the scope and aims of teachers' intercultural education, out of the increasing global migration flows of people and music, the related analysis of these concepts may unveil challenging news. Grateful to the organizers of the 3rd International Conference on Redefining Community in Intercultural Context, to Adrian Lesenciuc among its conceivers, and to the Henry Coanda Air Force Academy of Romania for inviting me, I talk about my own experiences as researcher and teacher, mother of three children, born, and for that citizens of the three countries in the continents bordered

by the Atlantic Ocean. I use the old slogan *Omnis civitas contra se divisa non stabit* to contextualize my ideas on identity and nation emerging from fieldwork experiences in New York, Maputo (Mozambique) and Lisbon (Portugal), from 1990 to the present. With John Blacking I define music as humanly organized sound (1973) with such intention. This term was invented in the ancient classic Greek context to mean culture of the spirit. It included then poetry, philosophy, painting, sculpture and all the other art forms. Its extreme fluidity has served societies in many and diversified ways. Social cohesion, whose protective features have also been especially assessed in the public health domain, defined as synonymous of social capital (Kawachi et al. 1997), the collective civic value of social

networks (Kushner and Sterk 2005:2), is a process developing mutual positive feelings towards one another between members of society. Finally, by citizenship I consider the quality of being a citizen, the inhabitant of a place in the enjoyment of the civil and political rights of a free state (Corte-Real 2010:89). The open flow of the language we use is free and with Adrian Lesenciuc and Michel Foucault respectively I stress that my words are concept holes fulfilled with my experiences (2012), part of on-going open flows (1966) in continuous re-signification. Curiously enough, *Omnis civitas contra se divisa non stabit* is also motto of Universidade Nova de Lisboa, where I work. Metaphorically it proposes *civitas* as the locus of social cohesion actions,

a community of learners, a square to which in and out knowledge venues flow, a collectivity whose function is to increase and spread the social capital represented by education<sup>1</sup>.

The inspiring gospel sentence mentions Jesus educational ideas and procedures in slightly different versions in Mathew (12:25,26) Marcus (3:24-26) and Lucas (11:17,18). It says, *all civility divided against itself will perish*, standing for social cohesion. Civility represents thus a driving force to constitutionalize wild people, the popular sovereign as put by the political scientist William Harris (1993:202). The popular sovereign, he says, a wild people, a potentially new constitution maker outside the bounds of the constitutional order (*ibid.*), re-defined as a minority to which constitutional laws and national efforts attribute rights, was the center of attention in the recent forum on Political Didactics International, entitled *Solving ethno-national conflicts in Europe* in Tutzing, Bavaria, Germany from 14 to 19 April, 2013. How to deal with the novelties brought by migrant people? The question reveals European, as well as world, deep shortcomings in search of urgent resolution. The popular sovereigns, moving from state to state, do challenge constitutional units. When their/our

wilderness threatens, Kevin Ryan recalls, stressing Harris' image, elicited emergency provisions allow governments to respond. The resultant constitutional amendments, thus preventing outbreaks, represent new order status (Ryan 2013:14). These processes are not usually easy or quick, however they tend to seem clean and democrat. It was at the Benedictine monastery in Herrenchiemsee, where the German Grundgesetz was drafted in August 1948, that the constitutional thoughts of Will and Kevin crossed mine to analyze relationships between music, social cohesion and citizenship. A suggestive image for new world order just glimpsed. Citizens, wild sovereigns, potentially new constitution makers, already able by international law to enjoy human and citizenship rights, finally planning free moving lives throughout the planet. Constitutional constructs do call for amendment ability. Far from reality yet, hope comes with globalization: free circulation at last in a civilized unitary planet.

## 2. THROUGH MUSIC AND SOCIAL COHESION

**2.1 Defending wild people abroad.** Getting free from self constrains little by little, and profiting from its intangible existence, music is managing to value its daringly fluid and renewable identity. Human beings their producers, consumers and only reasons of existence, though furnished with tangible selves, will hopefully do. Musicians' roles in the social cohesion processes throughout the world have been multiple and as much dignifying as shameful, facing soft or inhumanly violent reactions from dominators. For sure the path has been long and painful. Beautiful popular music illustrates uneven struggles in different spots. Latin American examples come to mind and the Chilean singer Victor Jara – murdered in Santiago on September 15, 1973 – remains in memory for all of us, wild sovereigns, waiting free circulation on earth just to live. Early this year, the western music industry already managed to announce a free city for persecuted musicians

<sup>1</sup> According to the founders, on <http://www.unl.pt/pt/universidade/Historia/pid=171/ppid=65/> (30.05.2013).

from all over the world: Harstad in Norway<sup>2</sup>. To get the long talk short, a song bursts: *No soy daqui ni soy de alla*, composed by the Argentinian Facundo Cabral in 1970. It was and still is sung by many among which the Mexican singer Chavela Vargas who in 2011 produced a powerful interpretation<sup>3</sup> (dying a year later at the age of 83). The refrain is a cry of anti-nationalism. A pioneering post-modern analysis of identity: *No soy de aqui ni soy de alla / no tengo edad ni porvenir / y ser feliz es mi color de identidad*. [Not being from here nor being from there/ I have no age nor future/ and being happy is my color of identity.] The identity theme, at both individual and national levels is thus introduced in my discussion. Usually defined by blood or soil birth right, regardless the maturity of the subject, identity links itself relentlessly with citizenship. The marriage right to gain citizenship status, once more related with birth thoughts perhaps, brings the known problems to the forefront, motivating unjust related procedures in the already complex and perhaps awkward constitutional process. Let aside these preparatory ideas, three different perspectives emerge here relating music, social cohesion and citizenship status, grounded in some of my academic fieldwork experiences.

## 2.2 New York challenging identities.

While in New York for my Master of Arts degree in Ethnomusicology at Columbia University, after the birth of my oldest son, I studied how Portuguese migrant musicians performed fado. By chance I found, in real time in 1990, how and why some of them and their dancing audiences questioned and challenged their own identities facing nationalist stereotypes. The uncritical acceptance of imposed symbols, enhanced by low levels of schooling and literacy in Portugal, was responsible for the production of citizens ready to develop stereotyped perceptions not only of music but also of other markers of collective identity then turn into individual. It was an apparently strange condition, a kind of third part player in my

ethnographic interview with a fado viola musician that promoted this interesting reflection of mine. The story goes that the fado musicians and singers I was working with for fieldwork research purposes sung in a restaurant alternating their performances with dancing sessions, mostly of Latin-American hits of the moment. In March 1990, the powerful *lambada* fever of sensual appeal was at its pick. The fado performers would play old and popular fados, very sad songs, of Arabic influence probably through remnant influences of the old Iberian Al-Andalus song tradition in Portugal. Curiously enough, very close in sound character to the introductory section of the great Sezen Aksu's Turkish song *Alâturka* meanwhile released in the CD *Işık Doğudan Yükselir* [Ex Orient Lux] in 1995<sup>4</sup>, mentioned by Martin Stokes (2010:107-45). Other fados' favorite themes in the migrant community stressed unrequited love, fates of life, the song itself, the characteristic Portuguese guitar, the old and once poor neighborhoods of Lisbon where fado tradition is said to have developed, and so on. The model for the performance entourage, including ornamental devices on the walls, such as iconic representations of the bullfight, fado and folklore music and dance traditions, as well as the meals in the restaurant, was inherited from Lisbon's dictatorial times. From the mid 1960's decade on, special services from the Secretary of State of Information and Tourism reinforced action censoring songs and even structuring fado performances' stages, modeling physical and verbal behaviors and environments, including welcome words, musicians, own repertoire and respective presentations (Corte-Real 2000). In the migrant context all these elements were presented and performed in rather formal and ritualized ways, revealing motivations for behavioral retention. The audiences' behavior obeyed the model. There was thus a mixture of respect and sufferance associated with Portuguese identity worship. In between the fado sessions of around half an hour each there were dancing intermissions usually to the music of a band with guitar, keyboard and

<sup>2</sup> On <http://artsfreedom.org/?p=4638> (30.05.2013).

<sup>3</sup> On <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YbR1jpwwdbc> (30.05.2013).

<sup>4</sup> On [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zS\\_NJURorhE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zS_NJURorhE) (30.05.2013).

drum set, or just a one orchestra man, as locally called, on a keyboard. During these moments, the mood would exchange drastically. People would get up from the dinning tables and dance in the area close to the musicians, revealing happiness, vigor and sensual relaxation. Doing my interviews with fado performers and listeners during these moments I could face relaxed and fun interlocutors, trying however to make their nationalist points to advocate their tastes for old, sad and jealous fado songs, in what they perceived as Portuguese identity tradition fulfillment. The situation worked for itself. The stereotyped perceptions were too formal, drastically contrasting with the relaxed feelings. I did not question or comment on that. Musicians, singers and members of the audiences alike would question their own discursive practices challenging themselves towards the established narratives presented. Arguments such as the only venue to celebrate Portuguese identity and others trying to convince me and probably themselves of their own taste and preference for that kind of repertoire, the only one that they said to accept as really Portuguese, would after all sound inappropriate to me and for them. The enthusiasm with the sensual and energizing Latin American dance was so strong that although verbal expressions were reluctant to phrase the inappropriate feelings, face signs and even vocal emissions would express the critical perspectives just emerging and probably for the first time being expressed as such. Individual identity, felt through own tastes and preferences, was manifesting itself over the stereotyped feelings of dictatorial imposition. The play of identities observed was working in this multicultural performance arena of Portuguese pre-migrant fado memory and performance and current Latin-American dance practice. Music promoted simultaneous feelings of social cohesion and intimate understanding. Nationalist remnant feelings nurtured by nostalgic homesickness thoughts obviously contributed to the emotional complexity of the situation in which migrant fado producers and listeners noticed own engagements with new identity challenging thoughts and reflections. In that instance,

music performance helped those citizens to think about, to advocate and to construct their own preferred civility. Eventually, as I noticed, their wild/sovereign decision to value their own migrant multicultural life experiences overcame the official or constitutionalized driving force to worship nationalist nostalgic memories.

### 2.3 Maputo building the new nation.

While in Maputo, Mozambique, in 1992, accompanying my husband's PhD fieldwork in Ethnomusicology for the same University, I worked in teachers' training actions under the edge of ARPAC<sup>5</sup> (Archive of Cultural Heritage) for refugee children education in Maputo. I could then observe how polyphonic music practice helped the urban establishment of populations escaping from war zones from all over the country. It was particularly illustrative to see how this multipart singing practice, a music genre, participated in the national education enterprise, engaging different companies that played very active roles representing paradigmatic educational sectors from transports and health to morals and politics. *Makwayela* multipart polyphonic singing is beautiful<sup>6</sup> but impossible to illustrate alone without the help of the technological devices, here absent for green convention purposes. Involving choral singing, line dancing and humoristic solo mimetic performance, it ports protestant missionary choral influence. This practice was particularly developed within the transnational migratory working context of the diamond and golden mines of the Transvaal region in South Africa (Carvalho 2004). It indeed played a rather meaningful educational function in Maputo and Mozambique, in live performances and through radio broadcasting in the early years of the construction of the new postcolonial nation-state. From industrial companies of all kinds to services such as public transports by bus, or train, even the airlines of Mozambique, hospitals, markets and churches of different creed, all had their own *culture*, the singing and dancing *makwayela* choir. These groups,

<sup>5</sup> Arquivo do Património Cultural.

<sup>6</sup> On. <https://itunes.apple.com/us/artist/makwayela/id277466635> (30.05.2013).

composed mostly and almost exclusively by men, sung and danced – mainly in double line – four part harmony songs *a capella*, i.e. without instrumental accompaniment. They were ambassadors of their own companies and the song texts, mentioning aspects of social interest for daily life, tended to concentrate in the subjects more closely related with their respective profile. There were didactical and detailed references to subjects such as hygienic rules, sung by the culture of the Hospital Central de Maputo, from washing hands before eating to how and why to use a condom, mentioning real results if the rules were not observed. Other teaching real worries had to do with developing timetable awareness to get to school, to catch the train, or to arrive at work in time. Gender relations, parenthood, respect for the deceased first president of the new nation among other national memories of recent post-colonial times and other new state building values were thus spread to low level education populations in which illiteracy was high and cohesive information was a real necessity. Because of the existence of multiple languages in the country, there were makwayela groups singing in local languages to be understood and in Portuguese to promote national linguistic unity. By coincidence, meanwhile, the British and North American world music market had promoted the South African multipart singing male group Lady Smith Black Mambazo. Their use of *isicathamiya* and *mbube* stylistic attributes associated respectively with Zulu dances and lions' growls, included in the Graceland album by Paul Simon in 1986, was present in makwayela singing. Sharing male professional influences from the mining industry in the neighboring South Africa, these choirs in Maputo represented also urban neighborhood venues for old village neighbors to get together in the new refugee and survival areas around the capital city. Usually many members of enlarged families belonged to the same neighborhood or even the same company's in city choirs, meaning that music promoted and even solved not only housing but also working necessities for refugee populations in the new urban environment. Festivals and contests, of more or less

centralized initiative, kept this culturally rich movement alive, even nurturing it, with financial revenues mostly for wardrobe of western professional looking, and travelling facilities, among others, in the early 1990s in Maputo. These male choral performance practices represented high social cohesive and effective organizational functions of music, determinant in this case for the urbanization strategies of the war refugee populations in the new state capital environment and tissue. Music performance worked in this situation as a mediator for the new nation state building. Citizens participated in this step of the new path, and there was apparently no need to question or challenge the welcome unity after so many centuries of cultural and colonial subjugation.

**2.4 Lisbon freeing national constraints.** Finally, regarding my own PhD fieldwork research in Portugal, from 1994 to 2000, studying relationships between cultural policy and musical expression in Lisbon in the transition from dictatorship to democracy, I unveiled a meaningful detail: the power of stereotyped perceptions of music as identity markers. The Portuguese dictatorship, auto-defined as the *National Dictatorship*, produced state-defined music and other expressive behavior categories to control the population and to shape the national identity of the Portuguese citizens. The idea was to nurture determined collective identity feelings, deeply rooting them in individual intimacy. The strategy to do so, conspicuously mentioned in the dictatorial speeches, promoted the idea of *National Conscience* to which the religious narratives and practices of Roman Catholic imprint, marking good and bad behaviors and thoughts, and promoting confession redemption for sins committed, also pointed. For that, and foreseeing potential powers in using massive emotion benefits, the government, through António Ferro, an influent journalist then Secretary of National Propaganda, created the so-called *Policy of the Spirit*. My research study concentrated on why and how was music used for the purposes of this particular cultural policy. After six years of systematic archival and fieldwork, in my home city, I proposed, that: the dictatorial

thinkers and servicers promoted and implemented the reconstruction of a music symbol – fado – in order to reinforced nostalgic, uncritical, uncomplaining and long-suffering submissive feelings in the spirits of the Portuguese citizens, also to be recognized as marks of their own identity. And they invested, mostly time and energy, on it. The purpose was to develop a strong social cohesion driving force of nostalgic profile in turn of the idea of the Portuguese nation. My research developed within state and private document collections (from the Secretariat of National Propaganda<sup>7</sup> turned into the Secretariat of National Information<sup>8</sup>, and then into the Secretariat of State of Information and Tourism<sup>9</sup>, the Musicians National Union<sup>10</sup>, the Shows Guild Union<sup>11</sup> and the Corporation of Shows<sup>12</sup> among others) and through extensive ethnographic fieldwork, interviewing key informants, observing and listening to senior workers and employees in the show business universe. These procedures made clear how fado emerged as a central symbol of Portuguese identity. This emotional song, noticed and promoted as a national symbol in the nineteenth century romantic literature, was shaped by the dictatorial governmental interests and services that used it as one of its main propaganda tools. The product envisaged was the saddest version of the solo song, accompanied by the two kinds of guitars, pear and eight shaped, meanwhile described as a music genre. Particular actions of fiscal, aesthetical and behavioral nature were systematically pursued (Corte-Real 2000). The political results could hardly have been better: Portuguese citizens and others recognized the *Portugality* of such expressive behavior. However, music fluidity, in continuous process by challenging musicians, singers and audiences coming not only from the old neighborhoods of Lisbon but also from other different parts of the world, in Portugal and elsewhere, is, already for long, renewing fado

references. Fado is managing to free itself from the romantic and national dictatorship's associated symbolisms that it in fact served very well, to perform new political needs now. In recent social environments in Lisbon, marked by influences of the world music industry, the increased migratory flows, and the connected existence that the digital era brought, fado – recognized as world intangible heritage by UNESCO in 2011 – is capturing to itself the image of openness and multicultural representation that it seems to have had in former times, since it came into existence in the mid-nineteenth century. Singers such as Mísia and Paulo Bragança emerged among others as representatives of main innovations in the post dictatorial life of fado. In both cases the music careers have been developed mainly abroad since the 1990s. They have worked different referential images mainly influenced by the cultures in which they operate, in the case of Mísia, in Spain, Japan, Korea and France and Paulo Bragança, in Ireland. Great singers as the diva Amália Rodrigues, who died in 1999, and the still surprising Carlos do Carmo, having contributed to the dictatorial use of fado, represented also main liberating music forces in what concerns vocal style details, song form and lyrics' contents, among other features, still before the fall of the dictatorship on April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1974. Within the world music industry, of Anglo-Saxon origin, the Arab influences on fado were finally openly explored. The European based Lebanese composer and oud player Rabih Abou-Khalil and the fado singer Ricardo Ribeiro produced the album *Em Português* [In Portuguese] in 2008, recognized in British top lists<sup>13</sup>. Another recent album *Lisgoa* in 2010<sup>14</sup>, by the fado guitar player Antonio Cháinho, represents a Portuguese experience in the filed, joining the fado guitar with the Indian sitar, played by Paulo Sousa, in a new musical production. The new experiences, openly exploring new cultural ties, not without trouble, challenge the music category of fado,

<sup>7</sup> *Secretariado Nacional de Propaganda*.

<sup>8</sup> *Secretariado Nacional de Informação*.

<sup>9</sup> *Secretaria de Estado da Informação Turismo*.

<sup>10</sup> *Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos*.

<sup>11</sup> *União de Grémios dos Espetáculos*.

<sup>12</sup> *Corporação dos Espetáculos*.

<sup>13</sup> *Se o meu amor me pedisse* [If my love asked me], on <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AICT0p0X6e4> (30.05.2013).

<sup>14</sup> *Lisgoa* on <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-wmwRZXfal> (30.05.2013).



questioning its own validity. Social cohesion forces linking distant influences thus use music performance and industry to rehearse citizens' relations in search for new citizenship representations.

### 3. TO FLUID CIVILITY CONCLUSIONS

Civility interests, served by music performances in the three cases, run with and against nationalist feelings. In Maputo, in the post-colonial era, within the spirit of construction of the new post-colonial nation-state, music performance enhanced national action, in the constitutionalizing or civilizational process of the government. In New York and in Lisbon, dealing with a very old nation, Portugal, coming out of a nationalist dictatorship, the contexts mentioned were very different. In both cases music served anti-nationalist purposes. The individual identities of the participants either in the migrant context of the liberal society around New York, or in the multicultural society of Lisbon, called for civilities that challenge national ideals. These civilities, acknowledging and valuing cultural diversity are markedly fluid, experimental and opened to novelty. Instead of proving something they try and experiment novelty, following tastes and pleasurable sensations. Both of them in different ways question preconceived stereotyped perceptions of national identity, valuing behavioral processes over end products. In this experimental age of increasing cultural contact, governments throughout the world notice the need to invest in intercultural education. Although music has been used in this context mainly to represent diverse cultural objects, defined as music categories or products, in this presentation I highlight the use of music to unveil capricious characteristics of relational processes among citizens and between them and the constitutional civilities under which they live. The old new gospel slogan, *all civility divided against itself will perish*, reinforcing social cohesion principles, maintains its validity provided, as music helped to understand in the

mentioned cases, that civility is open, fluid and ready to change.

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Communion and  
Diversity in a  
Global World





## FROM AGORA TO PANDORA: THE UNPRECEDENTED CASE OF THE SIMPLE SKOPJE SQUARE

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**Abstract:** *This paper maps the multitude of symbolic meanings and popular receptions and interpretations that are being discharged in the process of realization of an architectural and heavily ideological project in Skopje, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia. Skopje is currently in the process of an intense urban reshaping and remodeling created through a project called Skopje 2014. This project, in all its extravagance, glitter and kitsch, also known and criticized as Antiquisation, prompts one to see the collision of nationalistic frustration that produced it in the first place and that still resonate around it. It is to a great extent an expression of a multitude of frustrations of Macedonians that finally found their reification and palpability in the Skopje 2014 project. It is in this context of plethora of potential significations, both complementary and radically opposed; that the paper tries to map the multifarious nature of the semiotic processes emerged by and through the culturally redefining project of Skopje 2014 by looking at the full spectrum of the meaning production process, from the imposing intention of the maker, through the sociopolitical connotations by the act of its still on-going execution to the accepting or bitterly rejecting end of popular interpretations by the most affected of all, the citizens of both, the capital and the country in general.*

**Keywords:** *cultural symbolism, discourse, meaning, semiotics, national identity, antiquisation, de-ottomanization, Skopje 2014.*

### 1. CULTURAL RAMIFICATIONS

In the last two decades, the region of Southeast Europe has been marked by a politics based on the pronounced primacy of the issue of national identity over other socio-political questions. National identity entails a complex set of material, cultural, and academic processes aiming at the construction and fixing of an idea and a sense of a collective. This paper maps the multitude of symbolic meanings and popular receptions and interpretations that are being discharged in the process of realization of an architectural and heavily ideological project in Skopje, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia. Skopje is currently in the process of an intense urban reshaping and remodeling created through a project called *Skopje 2014*. So far, this project has radically changed the face of the city,

launching itself with the erection of a monumental statue of Alexander the Great, dubbed *The warrior on a horse*, at least 50 additional sculptures, bridges, Churches, and museums, including the *Museum of Macedonian Struggle and of the Victims of Communism*.

This project, in all its extravagance, glitter and kitsch, also known and criticized as *Antiquisation*<sup>1</sup>, prompts one to see the collision of nationalistic frustration that produced it in the first place and that still resonate around it. It is to a great extent an expression of a multitude of frustrations of Macedonians that finally found their

<sup>1</sup>As Vangeli points out “in the contemporary Macedonian discourse “antiquization” refers to the identitarian policies based on the assumption that there is a direct link between today’s ethnic Macedonians and Ancient Macedonians” (2001: 3).

reification and palpability in the *Skopje 2014* project. It is in this context of plethora of potential significations, both complementary and radically opposed; that the paper tries to map the multifarious nature of the semiotic processes emerged by and through the culturally redefining project of Skopje 2014 by looking at the full spectrum of the meaning production process, from the imposing intention of the maker, through the sociopolitical connotations by the act of its still on-going execution to the accepting or bitterly rejecting end of popular interpretations by the most affected of all, the citizens of both, the capital and the country in general.



Fig.1 View on the central monument on Skopje City Square dubbed "Warrior on Horse" (photo credit: www.everythingmacedonia.com)

In order to understand some of the motifs and likely agendas stemming from the project let us have a brief look at some of the theories tackling the issue of ethnicity and nation. The main debates on ethnicity in social anthropology are represented by the two opposed approaches known as primordialist and instrumentalist. The instrumentalist approach to ethnicity maintains that there is some rational agenda underlying ethnic or religious identity. Barth (1969) sees ethnicity as the socially constructed organisational strategy of individuals directed towards maximising their power and personal interests. Barth's framework could apply at some level

on *Skopje 2014*, in as much as there was some proof of enhanced power of individuals or a group.<sup>2</sup> One of the primary exponents of the instrumentalist approach, Abner Cohen, critiques Barth by attacking his view that ethnicity is seen as having an existence of its own, separate from any social 'content' (Cohen 1974:xii). This critique is mainly provoked by Barth's definition of ethnic categories as organisational vessels whose content will vary in varying socio-cultural systems. Such a position, according to Cohen, omits the manipulation of normative symbols in the individual's struggle for power.<sup>3</sup> This approach bares some importance for our interpretation of the nation-building process visible in *Skopje 2014*.

The primordialist approach offers stark contrast to instrumentalism. Far from situating ethnicity in any form of organised strategy, the primordialist places it rather into what Geertz calls "the primordial ties". Ethnicity, according to Geertz, refers to this primordial attachment that stems from what he calls, the 'givens' and derives from the fact that one is born into a particular religious community, speaks a particular language, and follows the characteristic social practices. Thus, in contrast to Barth's emphasis on inter-ethnic interaction, Geertz argues that some attachments come more as a result of a natural/spiritual affinity. It is here that one may pose the question, how much does *Skopje 2014* discharge the natural affinity of Macedonians towards that identity, or if it

<sup>2</sup> While clearly aimed at boosting the awareness of the national self, an ongoing research by the Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities Skopje (ISSHS), which engaged 4 focus groups in discussing the issue of identity of the Macedonian and the emotions discharged by *Skopje 2014*, diagnosed a recurring pattern in the results. The Macedonian identity was mainly described as a blurred category, imbued with a sense of inferiority, and identity confusion. Moreover, *Skopje 2014* wasn't a prominent marker of identity formation, or defining of a nation, since most interlocutors experienced culture through various non-material reifications (music, language, tradition, food, etc.) and the period of antiquity is not high on the list of national markers.

<sup>3</sup> By normative symbols, Cohen (1974:x) understands the symbolic formations and activities present in contexts such as kinship, friendship, marriage, ritual, and other ceremonials.

rather aims at creating an artificially produced affinity (and only so amongst those who feel Orthodox, Macedonian, as all other ethnicities and religion, i.e. Islam are brushed aside with this project). If so, how much will this affinity have the potency to evolve into something solid, thick and powerful if the project itself contains dispersed fragments of history, and clear discontinuity, especially when it comes to socialist and the Ottoman past, as well as ethnic and gender-blindness and/or bias?

Anderson is well known for his definition of nation as an imagined community. His modernist, that is, constructivist approach sees nation as a cultural artefact with print capitalism, the developments of vernacular languages, and the changed concept of time from simultaneous to modern empty time, as the loci of the rise of national consciousness. What preceded this was the fall of two large cult systems: the religious community and the dynastic realm. Hence, nationalism holds together an impersonal society made up of mentally substitutable, atomised individuals. Can a monumental architectural project, and can such undertaking be considered a powerful tool for nation-(re)building and homogenization of culture?

Applicable to the likely agenda of *Skopje 2014* is Connerton's (1989) observation on the importance of the element of 'performativity' in the process of remembering, which encourages participation from the members of a group and in the long run gives birth to habit and actualizes tradition. Herzfeld (2004) brings into focus the concept of *cultural intimacy*, that originated from his work on Greece, and Greek's obsession to hide anything that didn't look Ancient Greek due to the Western European insistence that they had to be like the Ancient Greeks (Byrne, 2011:151). Cultural intimacy for Herzfeld is precisely the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment, and yet provide the insiders with their assurance of common sociality. The concepts of collective memory remembrance, and especially cultural intimacy are of particular significance when discussing the *Skopje 2014* project. One can perceive the *Skopje 2014* as a historical reconstruction

project aimed at creating a new collective memory, but likewise, of organized forgetting aimed at erasing aspects that are considered embarrassing. Ironically, the project commemorates all sorts of historical characters, thus creating a confusion, rather than a real strengthened, solidified identity. It goes from *the Antique period*: moves on to figures of *early Christianity*, notable **historical figures** who were born or ruled in or around Skopje, as well as a league of freedom fighters that fought for the Macedonian independence.

The project has been criticised as being a Disneyland / Legoland / Las Vegas and has resulted in a number of organized actions that either stood against it or expressed their dissatisfaction with it. Millions of Euros have been spent on the project. It was only recently that the government presented an official financial report, which confirmed rumours of the hefty fees paid to the sculptors.<sup>4</sup>

In his archaeological-architectonic analysis of the project, Chausidis (2013:37) points out to the fact that Skopje has never been much of a utilitarian city, but rather a symbol city, which often served as the medium for the expression of someone's dominance, by means of architectural frenzy – and this includes anything from Romans, through Byzantines, Ottomans, Serbs, Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, socialists, communists. The current symbolism

<sup>4</sup>Darko Duridanski reports in the BalakanInsight article from 26 April 2013, that Valentina Stevanovska, author of some of the main statues that form part of the project, including the equestrian statue of Alexander the Great, one of his father, Philip, as well as a triumphal arch, earned 2.9 million euro in fees. Stevanovska was a complete unknown before being awarded commissions to design the grand statues. For the 24-metre-high Alexander statue on Skopje's central square, Stevanovska earned 649,000 euro while for another square dominated by the statue of Philip and his wife, Olympia, she earned 1.4 million euro. There is a long list of other authors, who have also earned thousands of euros for the project. Moreover, the political barometer of September 2012, part of a regular research of public opinion carried out by "TNS Brima Gallup Intl" posed the question regarding what people feel at the thought of Skopje 2014. The results showed that 57.8% had a negative opinion, and 26.4 % had a positive opinion with the rest being undecided.

is rather confused and creates an overall (an)aesthetical dissonance of styles and historical periods. The discussion on every single sculpture and statue represented in the project requires hundreds of additional pages. It is because of this, that I would like to focus the major question of the paper about the overall effect of the project itself. Koteska (2011) rightly observes that although Skopje 2014 in itself carries all sorts of assemblages of past times and styles, one style is however clearly absent: the soc-realistic style. Before Skopje 2014, two most distinctive characteristics of the city were: the Old Turkish Bazaar and the modern socialist buildings from the 1950s to 1970s. She is also right to observe that this project is intended to cut off both of these traditions, although she, and I believe wrongly, thinks that the latter, that is the detachment from the Ottoman past is lesser.

I would argue, that the Skopje 2014 is a clear break up with the socialist past, and ironically so, as the Republic of Macedonia was constituted for the first time in 1944 as part of the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Yet, equally so, if not more, it is a de-ottomanization process aimed at cutting off its Ottoman heritage and breaking away with Islam. Skopje has been turned into a museum made out of symbolic buildings, and yet, the question remains – how much will this dissonance of styles, figures, and symbols be able to discharge the national affinity in a country contested by its neighbours, but also in a country whose social tapestry is woven out of a number of different ethnicities? To stigmatise the Ottoman past by either not representing it in the monuments, radically changing the Stone bridge – the utmost marker of Skopje from Turkish into allegedly a Justinian legacy (though this was done even before Skopje 2014) - or by offering a rather negative narrative of it by the guides that will take you on a tour in the recently opened *Museum of Macedonian Struggle and Victims of Communism* in a country where around 4% of the population are Turks is disrespectful to say the least. Tearing people/generations from their organic tissue by detaching them from the socialist past, can also result in a

pathological state of mind, producing a schizophrenic society, rather than a nicely amalgamated, powerful nation and/or identity.

An important study with which we can make useful comparisons for Skopje 2014 is Herzfeld's *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town* (1991). Just as the town of Rethemnos in Crete has many pasts and is a mixture of Venetian and Turkish architecture, so it is with the whole of Macedonia where the most prominent architectural styles are the residues of Byzantium and the Turks. Interestingly enough, Herzfeld notes how "the modern Rethemniots' expressed preference for Venetian over Turkish culture" (Herzfeld, 1991:56-57), thus illustrating a Greek prejudice that is part of a long-standing hostility towards Turkey.

Hence, Herzfeld traces political contours in the changing architectural image of the town and places the archaeologists and the historians against the local populace. He poses intriguing questions asking what is history, whose is the heritage, and to what extent may the desire to preserve it impinge on the lives of the inhabitants? Herzfeld's maintains that there are two contesting histories opposing each other, one of them being the monumental or official, the other one being social, i.e., popular history (Herzfeld, 1991:10). Through his meticulous study of the Cretan town and its architecture, he comes to understand that the inhabitants' interest or disdain towards the built environment is closely related to the people's personal histories as opposed to the monumental or formal history, which is what attracts the preservation and conservation agencies that turn people's homes into collective monuments. Herzfeld draws our attention to the fact that the populace is devoid of agency in the act of monumentalising and formalising history by the conservators, who create

traditional neighbourhoods and archaeological monuments of what, for the residents are the streets where their friends and enemies live and die (Herzfeld, 1991:6).

However, it appears that there is more to this, and that if Herzfeld's formula is



radicalised one might argue that architecture and the historical monuments are also an area where people tend to split whatever it is that we call history. Herzfeld is right in arguing that the people of Rethemnos “*tried to reclaim their lives from a detemporalised past and a desocialised present*” (Herzfeld, 1991:9). Yet, their preference for Venetian over Turkish culture, or their resentment at being forbidden to dismantle the remaining Turkish wooden window boxes (Herzfeld 1991:xii), resembles a tendency or even insistence equal to splitting organically synthesised layers of the past and then choosing and monumentalising only certain parts of it thus identifying with what they believe is their “own” history. *Skopje 2014*, might end up being a “repository of ghosts” (Kotevska, 2011), an antiquisation governmental policy (Vangeli, 2011) aimed at creating a unified national identity, but the question remains vibrant – how much potency does this nation-building project has to create a solid, affectionate nation amidst the competing neighbouring agendas, the multicultural setting of the country, and the organic tissue that is continuously being torn apart, fragmented and discontinued.

Having theoretically discussed the cultural symbolic implications of the project, we would move to the question of popular perceptions, ending the data presenting with some additional theoretical discussion.

## 2. FORUM POPULI, VOX POPULI

Undeniably, the project has stirred many emotions, leaving no one neutral or unaffected, and each citizen nurturing his/her own account in line with or contradictory to the plethora of attitudes still being produced. In this respect, the object of this part is to untangle some of the multilayered competing interpretations (re)produced by citizens of Skopje, and to a significant extent shaped and influenced by the largest Macedonian parties (the ruling VMRO DPMNE and the oppositional SDSM) which; by the help of their apologists and likeminded public figures, produce the basic pragmatic skeleton of the discourses (ideas, attitudes, arguments, beliefs, meanings) instantiated by the people’s every day conversations.

Within this context of opposed discourses; combining macro topics of politics, national identity, cultural signification, economy, tourism, architectural design and symbolism, we will try to trace a rhetoric and discursive continuity, inter-relation and interdependence between the formative role of the parties’ discourses, their reiteration and amplification by the intellectuals, experts, social critics and alike, and people’s attitudes. In order to map this inter-discursive structure, three resources have been used: a) media formats (articles, interviews, reports, and debates), b) discussion forums and c) a survey.

Before doing the over view, it is worth mentioning that due to limited space, the notion discourse thorough out the research is taken in its narrower linguistic sense as ‘language in use’ (Jaworski & Coupland, 2006). offers a useful overview of different approaches to discourse) thus paying less attention to all social agents, practices and institutions formative of and enabling the occurrence of such language.



Fig. 2 A view from the “Goce Delcev” bridge, with the new Skopje 2014 buildings seen on the left bank and the “old” modernist building architecture on the right bank of the river (photo credit: Stojan Toshe Nikolovski)

**2.1 VMRO-DPMNE.** Less than a month ago (22.04.13) the Macedonian Minister of Culture, Mrs. Elizabeta Kanceska Milevska has held a two hour conference elaborating in details the project’s expenditure in the last three years. During the conference, as many times before, she emphasised the three cornerstone benefits of the project:

(1) economic (in terms of the importance of capital investment upon structural

engineering industry growth and opening new jobs),

(2) tourism growth (offering attractive contents to foreign visitors)<sup>5</sup>, and

(3) strengthening national identity, or as she has put it “*a debt to our national heroes*” (Kurir, 22.04.2013).

In regard to tourist attraction, what deserve special attention here is the Ministers repetitive<sup>6</sup> use of the phrase ‘opportunity to take a picture’, also echoed in the supporting voices of those in favour of the project, use which implies the understanding of the project as a site for tourist consumption. Another point worth noting is her response to the question of aesthetic value of the project, in which she rejects the possibility of any ground for comparison, underlying the complete absence of any constructing activity during the rule of their political opponents, a depreciating criticism rhetorically epitomised in the re-occurring phrases “something is happening”, and “something is being built”.

**2.2 SDSM.** For the opposition, as rearticulated recently (SDSM, 24.04.2013), the whole project is scandalous, criticising it on many grounds like:

a) financial embezzlement of the budget and of laws on local government,

b) urbanistic planning, building permits and alike,

c) non-transparent manner of planning and decision making,

d) unprofessional and devastating architectural conceptualisation that annihilates the modern tradition

e) an aesthetic kitsch,

f) being a cultural rape that does not show understanding and glorification of national and cultural values, but on contrary, it is an cultural engineering process that seeks to create disciplined citizens,

g) an expression of political totalitarianism, to name only a few.

<sup>5</sup> The claim on 54% annual growth of tourist visits has been scrutinized recently, as the following analysis show, that the increase has been a marginal one. In Anfas, 28.04.2013.

<sup>6</sup> Repetitive throughout her discourse on tourism not in the conference itself.

**2.3 Apologists.** A new fuel was added to these conflicting visions, by the decision of the newly appointed mayor of the municipality of center, Mr. Andrej Zernovski, to put a moratorium on the project as to financially and legally revise it, in hope to unveil embezzlement and law-breaking instances. Not much later than the public announcement of the intention, the mayor was heavily criticized and ridiculed by many Government-supporting organizations, among which, that of the Macedonian 2001 military conflict veterans ‘Bedem’, whose spokesman has stated that:

(1) The revision will face fierce reaction not only by the organization but the whole of Macedonian citizens, it will be a reaction of the Macedonian people who are proud, with dignity and aware of their history. This is not a political reaction, but a defense of the Macedonian national] dignity (eVesti 27.04.2013).

This comment, where the economic-legal intent of the revision is subverted, rather displaced by national(istic) discourse that reiterates the government’s plan of national identity building strategy is only one example of apologetic discourses that stand in defense and favour to the project. Other similar justifications can be heard from many quarters like: university professors, political allies, public figures, journalists, and alike. The following two deserve some attention:

(2) The project does not only actively write history, it opens the forbidden, hidden pages of Macedonian history (Kurir, 09.05.2013).

(3) After 56 years I am not ashamed to have a guest from abroad (...) I am not ashamed because I have somewhere to take him to take photographs (...) building Skopje in the past 7 years we have built a new Alexandria (Faktor, 28.04.2013).

According to the first, the project is a national history scripting strategy, in fact a multimodal; hence more rhetorically powerful, reification of the unknown, or in Foucault’s parlance ‘*a subjugated knowledge*’ (Foucault

1980:78-108) As for the second beside the farfetched analogy to Alexandria, what is worth pondering over is the repetitive 'photo to be taken' idea, that points to the consumptive nature of the project.

Yet, the most devoted apologist of the project is the architect Vangel Bozinovski, who seems to be dueling to each criticism. Some of his justifications include: a) 'leaving a lasting mark is costly endeavour', b) "the new look was necessary as the old look lacked completeness and vision" (24 Vesti, 8.05.2013). As for the choice of baroque as architectural expression he maintains that the Macedonian XIX century does not have to be identical in form and content to the XXI centuries elsewhere (Zebra Online, 9.05.2013). Similar to Petrov's opinion, Bozinovski believes that the project writes the true, genuine history of the Macedonian nation, something that was not done by the majority of the slavophilic historiographers. In the same context, opposed to the opinion that the project brings identity confusion on all levels (sociological, historic, aesthetic, political) he subverts the accusation claiming that confused are only those citizens-products of the former socialistic educational system.

**2.4 Some critics.** On the other hand, his loudest opponent, the architect Miroslav Grcev, has been criticizing the project on many bases like unlawfulness, unruly manner of execution (no political, cultural, aesthetic, architectural research was carried out, and no public debate preceded its acceptance). In his professional opinion, the project is distasteful, an 'architectural stuttering' (24 Vesti, 8.05.2013), it is a usurpation of public space, kitsch, a political perversion of a single man, who according to him, acts like a historiographer, architect, aesthetician, jurist and all in one.

Not very different in contents are the opinions of the likeminded critics who also point to the financial embezzlement involved, the unlawful and anti constitutional execution, veiled in secrecy and non-transparency. In terms of professional opinion, the architects strongly agree that the project which made the architectural profession obsolete, has also had a devastating effect in the spatial development

of the city which even without the project is monocentric and unequal (Grceva for Okno survey, in: Okno, 28.09.2012). Its unprofessionalism and lack of expertise has penetrated all levels of meaning articulation (ideological, historiographic, urbanist, cultural, artistic). From aesthetic point of view, all critics agree that it is the biggest kitsch, a counterfeit, epigone project in the history of the country (Pisarev in: Okno, 25.04.2013), a theme park that serves the purpose to be consumed, but park which has as noted by the architect Bakalcev, has an 'obsessive narrativity' (Bakalcev in: Okno, 25.04.2013). The symbolic burden, emptiness of this totalitarian project is poetically articulated by the artist Liljana Gjuzelova according to whom: 'we have overloaded the emptiness, one void space was filled by another (Gjuzelova for Okno survey, in: Okno, 17.09.2012).

**2.5 Critical media report.** Beside the favorable media reports ("*Citizens supporting Skopje 2014*", "*Survey: Majority of citizens support the government and the project 2014.*"), some media, like Radio of Free Europe has recently aired a series of investigative critical reports, all of them part of the larger project titled 'SK Retrovizor' produced by the social activist organization 'Plostad Sloboda'. One of these reports addresses the issue of re-facading the city center, and the choice of baroque as the aesthetic-architectural code. What is notable in it, except the objections that the project literally wipes the existing modern look and architectural tradition out of history, (a tradition that has been initiated by the world renown Japanese architect Kenzo Tange, who has been globally awarded for his modernist vision of the city), but also the bitterly quiet reaction of one of the most acclaimed Macedonian modern architects Mr. Petar Mulichkovski to the speculation of the initiative to re-façade (in baroque style) the building of the Macedonian government, an object over which he claims complete architectural authorship.

Before examining popular, non-professional opinion of the citizens, a point is worth making is the slightly different opinion

on the project by the Albanian citizens of the country expressed by many public figures, among which Ramadan Ramadani, a social activist and an Islamic theologian who reacts to the mono-ethnic character of the project which is insensitive to the multiethnic and multi cultural nature of the country at large.

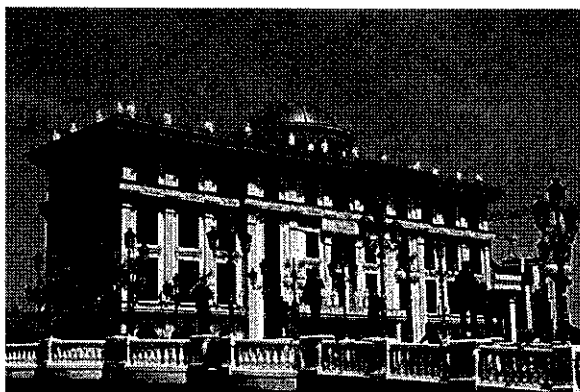


Fig. 3 The baroque look of the new building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**2.6 Discussions: Then (2010) and Now (2013).** Having examined the two dominant Skopje 2014 discourses by the two leading parties and their apologists, we would continue with the phenomenon of *'conversationalisation of the public discourse'* (Fairclough, 1995) performed by citizens within more or less natural conversations, occurring as part of ongoing internet discussions. It is interesting to start with a reflection upon the competing voices emerged only a day after the airing of project visualisation video on 4th February 2010. Even at that early time the opposed concerns revolved around similar issues.

Thus, the opponents of the project spoke of then potential high economic expenditure, a absurdly unnecessary one especially in regard to the generally devastating socio-economic situation witnessed by damaged infrastructure, poorly equipped health care institutions, underdeveloped urban and rural areas; to name a few. In line with these arguments are the remarks made upon the aesthetically and urbanistically appalling vision of Skopje presented in the video, cynically commented by one of the discussion participants as: *"looks like a multiplayer on-line game, all we need is*

*monument of fallen Orchs"* (Comment by Veronica665, in: Okno, 5.02.2010).

On the other hand the ardent supporters except recognizing the historic importance of the project as articulated by the government, also proliferated the very same argument of *'something is being done'*, articulated in many instantiations like: *'better to do something and err, than to do nothing'*, *'at least someone is making efforts in this country'*, and also *'I see new buildings, monuments, and objects, I see difference'*, all these ideas building up towards the binary metaphor of builder/destroyer applied to the VMRO-SDSM relation now more than ever with the Mr. Zernovski decision to put moratorium on the project.

Now some fifty monuments and millions of tensed dialogues later, in 2013, the arguments have not drastically altered. Those partially or fully critical of the project now even more so condemn the project as being an economic disaster; costing far more than the government's presents, and that it did not by far attracted so many tourist as presented by the government (Anfas, 28.04.2013).

On the other hand, the supporters, advocate the benefit of the architectural, urbanistic and spatial remodeling with the belief as expressed by a discussion forum participant: *"take a look at the postcards now and those 5 years ago, now there's something to see"* (Build.mk, 3.05.2013). This comment implies the fullness, visual richness, and hence consumptive desirability, a surplus of meaning that was not brought forth by the former government.

As far as tourist perception and readiness to consume are concerned, the following summary of a forum discussion on the topic of what foreigners think about the project, presented through narratives of interlocutors personal experience with tourists, show somewhat interesting, albeit incomplete insight. What the interlocutors make out of the tourist reactions witnessed by themselves is either an aesthetical disappointment, the project being referred to by the tourists as Disneyland, or ambivalence, uncertainly about the real motives of tourist visit, as one of the interlocutors puts:

## FROM AGORA TO PANDORA: THE UNPRECEDENTED CASE OF THE SIMPLE SKOPJE SQUARE

(4) for the tourist Skopje is good place because he has something to see and take a picture, (...) they want to see something interesting, beautiful and unusual...beauty is subjective, but that Skopje is unusual and different than other cities, that is a fact (Kajgana Forum, 13.02.2013).

The speaker shows certainly that there is something to see but not whether that something is the truly aesthetic amazement, or it is amazement at the folly beyond.

**2.7 Survey.** In addition to these popular opinions we have also conducted a survey on some forty examinees who were asked to give their opinion on the following six issues: 1) a general comment on the project, 2) what is the purpose of the project, 3) which are the positive aspects of the project, 4) which are the three most negative aspects, 5) What is their concept of a central square? 6) to what extent the current square fits into their concept. The purpose of the questionnaire was to test some of the previously mentioned popularly held opinions, and mostly to examine people's perception of a city square. The results show that:

Generally, supportive respondents think that there is growth in structural engineering, and critical think that too much money is spent under the disguise of nation building. As for the intention, although the governments' locution of strengthening national identity is recognized, what seems to be the dominant perlocution created by respondents is the money laundry behind the project and to a lesser degree the intention for international provocation. In general, positive evaluations are scarce, however they all revolve around the idea that the center is much cleaner now, that infrastructure has been improved in order to make the center more accessible, that the center looks more beautiful, but mostly that there are more tourists now, and '*there was no recognizable, representative object before, but now there are many*'.

As for the negative evaluations, which were abundant, some of them include: unreasonably expensive, aesthetic and urbanistic incompetence, architectural hodge-podge, kitsch, spatial suffocation, and over

crowdedness with monuments, historical incontinency, conceptual vagueness and incongruity, an expression of political egotism that has caused an even wider societal division between what one of the respondents called gay man and macho man.

An interesting pattern can be noticed in regard to the answers given by Albanians who all recognize, and object to the domineering mono-ethnic character of the project.

What dominates in the respondents' conceptualization of city square is the "agoric" conception of the location as open space, primarily serving the purpose of socializing and cultural living. Thus, many, if not all, of the respondents pointed to the qualities of spaciousness, 'some free space where air can circulate' as they articulated it, a space where there are benches and cafes to sit and talk in peace, a space where once in a while there are cultural manifestation to attend, space with a fountain or two as a decorative unit, but mostly space where there is greenery and a minimal number of preferably non-nationally marked monuments, a space that the Skopjaners have biologically termed as 'breathable', which according to some, if not many, was taken away from them by the project 2014. In their idealized conception of the city nothing of the fantacised square is present in the current 2014 square.

**2.8 A theoretical discussion.** The discussion so far has I believe have demonstrated even the scratch of the magnitude of the divisional impact that this 'economic-social-political-ideological-aesthetic-architectural-urbanistic-artistic' act has caused an impact that may be theoretically problematised from pool of potential perspectives, out of which w shall pay some attention only to few.

From discursive point of view, it may be said that the project has created an insurmountable gap between the two opposed, un-changing, even still radicalizing subject positions between those in favor and those against it. Every new; be it linguistic or a social/discursive event, is semanticised by the use of same, contextually adopted, argumentation depicted by the various agents. This status quo perpetuating dialogue, in

which once in a while the voice of the condescending Albanians reacting towards the denied access in the process of cultural representation occurs, is built against a discourse metaphorically structured on binary oppositions like *'builders/destroyers'*, *'patriots/betrayers'*, *'totalitarians/democrats'*, *'amateurs/experts'* (binaries that reduce human complexity and deny democratic diversity), a context within which, one linguistically intriguing act is the use of the *'something is happening'* phrase. Judging according to people's narrativisations the referent of phrase, are the visually perceivable objects like facades, monuments, museums. But in lack of more elaborated *interpretants*<sup>7</sup> present in people's accounts, which will give a more specific (economic, political, historic, cultural) interpretative content to the phrase, it may be maintained that the phrase as used by people, resonates the *interpretants* provided by the government like *'national identity'*, *'better and more attractive look'*, and mostly *'a change, a difference'*. A difference between rich, but ambiguously, signifying look of the city of the present time, and the poorly signifying former look, long sustained by the former government.

This semiotic agenda based on making difference; linguistic and ideological act par excellence, bears many problems. Some of which are: a) the inappropriateness of the aesthetic and the hermeneutic codes chosen, b) the unknown identity of the *'semiotic designer'* (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001), c) in line with this anonymity; and narratively speaking, is the unknown identity of the sender of the message being epitomised in the *'will of the people'*. This lack of identifiable entity causes both anxiety, and opens up an ideologically very powerful interrelative position (Althusser, 1971; Lecercle, 1999), d) it causes fear among some citizens that the contesting signifieds; linguistically articulated (as criticisms) will not affect the material form and existence of this complex signifier (the objects themselves) which may lead first to the dominance of single voiced discourse, and

even to the end of the possibility of any *'double voiced'* signification (Bakhtin, 1981).

In terms of societal and political impact of this spatial redefinition, it may be said that the *'sociospatial dialectic'* (Soja, 1980)<sup>8</sup>, has not only been jeopardized but severed, or reduced at best. This redefinition suits some citizen's needs and it expresses some; but not all citizens' values. And the question is whether many citizens will adopt to it. In terms of sociopolitical force(s) behind the process of space production, and following both people's concerns, and Lefebvre's ideas on the social bases of the production of space (social values and social production of meaning) but mostly, the ideological bases of the apparently social process of space production (Lefebvre, 1991), it may be said that the whole project is decidedly political in the sense that it is being commanded by the hegemonic class (in this case the ruling party) which has devised it as an instrument of its own control, power and dominance reproduction. The question being whether this hegemonic act does have or may have some benefits.

Speaking of the project as capital investment, as the ruling party does, and going back to Harvey's Marxist conceptualisation of the city being primarily built as to enable the circulation of the capital, in various forms like human (workplaces), commodities (goods, services, sites for consumption), finance (Harvey, 1973); it may be speculated that the project manifests some of these characteristics. Thus, the project has undeniably opened new working places, stimulated some growth in the engineering industry, has gained some profit from tourist visits being offered as a commodity to them, but has more importantly enabled the circulation of the symbolic, cultural and mostly national-building, capital. In this process the government has acted, as noted by Graan, as an entrepreneur, which have commodified the country, making it a brand, offer able to and consumable by foreign markets (Graan, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> The term is used in a Peircian sense as meaning of the sign along with its effect on the interpreter.

<sup>8</sup> The idea of sociospatial dialectic (Soja, 1980) maintains that people shape their environment to suit their needs and express their values, but they also adopt to the environment and the other people in it.

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Except the objection that the entrepreneurship has been modeled upon counterfeit image of European cities, the problem being, that in this entrepreneurship the government, has used, monopolized and abused the state capital in a powerplay that produced a radical redefinition of not only the space in the city, but the social relations in the country without the consent and participation of the democratic institutions. In addition, this self-interest serving project may be interpreted as an attempt to “*camouflage poverty behind facades of urban development*” (Zukin, 2006:103).

The last aspect we shall briefly discuss is tourism. Although claimed by the government that the project has increased the number of visitors, and profit as a result, the following line of reasoning questions the relation between tourist gained profit and the achievement of the project intention to be ‘a site for photographing’, a site for tourist consumption:

The actual purchases in tourism (the hotel bed, the meal, the ticket, etc.) are often incidental to the gaze, which may be no more than a momentary view. Central to tourist consumption then is to look individually or collectively upon aspects of landscape or townscape which are distinctive, which signify an experience which contrasts with everyday experience (Urry, 1995:130-31).

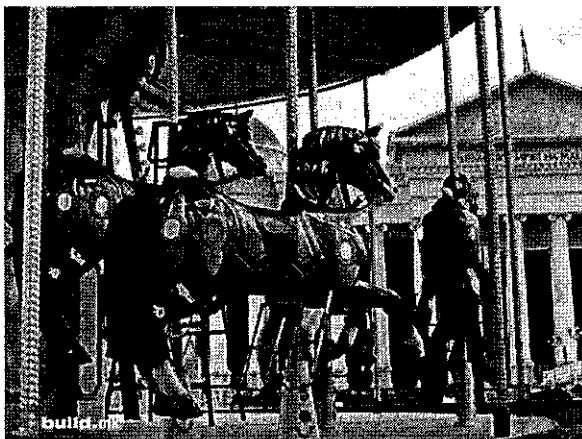


Fig. 4 Circus attraction or Historic attraction? The newly placed carousel just across the Archeological Museum seen in the background (Photo credit: Build.mk)

Conceiving tourist as semiotic agents (Culler 1981, Lash and Urry 1994: 15), turning referents into signifiers, is problematic in two aspects: the framing of the interpretations by the tourist professional discourse (tourist guides, maps, brochures) which deny any authentic experience, and the resultant narrative the tourist take home. The tourists thus, are not only semiotically assisted, but totally carried out through the process. In it, what they are offered is a commodified experience, a three minute history lecture, an opportunity to see and hear something interesting, fascinating even, something that will justify their commodifiable goods: time and money. The problem being, as pointed by many, whether they are fascinated (exalted by the magnitude, and architectural impressiveness of the whole project) or they are fascinated by the folly behind (the lack of understandable concept).

Be as it may, the project does not only cause practical unrest, anxiety and ambivalence, but also a theoretical challenge. If we follow the following reasoning: “Theoretically, city spaces cannot restore the lost certainties of identity, centre the decentred subject, precisely because they, themselves, are produced in the multiple discourses of urban spatiality. Resonant with politically contested meaning, they are sites of struggle which themselves are decentred, rendering the sort of identity formation that they engender always contingent” (Keith 1993:208).

The project itself asks the very impertinent question: “*Is it?*”

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## COMMUNION: A WAY TO RECONSIDER COMMUNICATION IN COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY

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**Abstract:** *Communication, as a way to investigate the social universe, has passed the boundaries established between sciences. Today, this perspective – ‘one cannot not communicate’ – has become a necessity to consider the epistemological world of human sciences. Therefore, communication has become a relevant perspective to investigate the social life. In order to perceive communication effectively we must interpret it in a deeper level than the conventional epistemological point of view of communication theory, and in close liaison with the social frame where it occurs, meaning the community and the society. In Romania, the distinction between communication and communion is representative and made from a philosophical point of view (Noica, 1987). The philosophical dimension opened by Noica, filled with a rich sociological signification, can be interpreted as being in correlation with Tönnies theory referring to community and society. By defining the concepts of communion (in Romanian, “communion”), community and society as correlative concepts, we develop the idea that defines the social reality as a whole in continuous change. By developing the differences and similarities between communication and communion we can reveal the interdeterminations between community and society comprehending the role of communion and communication as terms that represent the essence of social reality. Communication and communion have the functional role to create the social system, political system etc. Therefore is an imperative to analyze the culture and the society - the main frame of the social reality.*

*This paper aims to reveal the interdeterminations between community and society comprehending the role of communion and communication as terms that represent the community and the society revealing also the culture and the civilization as the main social frame.*

**Keywords:** *communication, communion, community, society, culture, civilization*

### 1. COMMUNICATION – THE NATURE OF UNDERSTANDING

In the framework of the social sciences, communication is no longer considered to be only interaction, influence, control or power. Communication has become the essence of social processes. This fact has been implied in today's social paradigm by considering communication as a relation or an information transfer, regardless the form or nature of information.

Etymologically, in Romanian the term *communication* is a derivate of „*common/comun*” (meaning: which/what belongs to some or to everybody), “*comun*” being a

derivative of the Latin term „*communis*”. This term is originated in the Latin verb „*communicare*” and represents, in Romanian, a doublet (as an ulterior acquisition) of *communion* (translated in our text as communion). Most of the languages keep the meaning of communication as relation and transfer between people. Communication is a fluid concept, in continuous change between the epistemic core and the symbolical form:

Two poles, one – the epistemic core – describable and readable by definition (from which we can escape through a “Critique...”), the other pole – the symbolic form, shrouding in such manner our thoughts and acts, that,

theoretically, we cannot describe it (Sfez, 2002:10)

The symbolic form, at which Sfez refers to, is not conceptual but in intuitive, the communion; the epistemic core is, by definition, the information and its value determined by the communication actors and/or the historical-social context. The two poles (the epistemic core and the symbolic form) will be name within our paper *communication* and *communion* (*comunicare* and *cuminecare*).

First of all, the distinction *communication-communion* is philosophical. Initially, it was reported by Constantin Noica in *Cuvînt împreună despre rostirea românească*. The philosophical charge opened by Noica, loaded with a rich sociological signification, can be interpreted as being related to Tönnies theory referring to community and society. Community is *in eternity*; it represents the living and fertile spirit of man, born by *nature*:

Without moving, passing, born and dying, flickering and extinguishing, making, transformation, fulfillment, you cannot understand the term nature (in Romanian fire)". (Noica, 1987:35)

Naturally, the man is in communion (*cuminecă*). In community man is in communion, because "*the communion is in the bosom of something towards something*". Community is based on an agreement, on traditions and beliefs; it is spiritually evolving *within and throughout* (între) trust, habits and religion - the metaphysical inheritance of community. Community *is* communion, the place of (nuances of) meanings and gaining.

Society is, in fact, the *epistemic core*. The societal structure is

*a mechanical one, a conglomerate, a type of agglutination. People don't live together, they coexist independent one from each other* (Dobrescu, 2002:47).

Communication is the control and the operability function within society. Society *is* communication, the place of understandings and receiving, while us are in progress

through an increasing of communication, but we don't really progress if we don't gain an increasing of communion. (Noica, 1987:188)

Society builds networks and fluxes of formal communication, key-positions as gate-keepers in organizational communication, rules of efficiency, but it is not able to find the "seed" of informal communication (moreover, it is not able to find rules to subordinate and to rationally direct it for the purposes of the organization, even to abolish it) The communication increasing can be recorded and can be analyzed in terms of discursive production, adequate to the purposes, but this increasing does not lead to relational increasing.

People are in communion through shared passion of *sense* (rost, in Romanian) - in Noica's terms, the *sense* is seen as a way of preparing the life (Noica, 1980:24) - basically, the sense of that unites them. Communion could be only in *sense*, within Natural. Approaching each other, the men communicate the *need* (dorul, in Romanian) of communion. It is an unspoken sense of our will, whose substance is felt in the mystic universe *spoken* by *Eros*, *Philia* and *Agápe*. What is Natural, in the spirit of traditions, beliefs, customs and religion, is maimed by too much communication. Wanting to communicate, we deviate from communion *towards* spirit, and engage, hedonistically, in a space overflowed by communication, incapable to communicate. In such a space, corroded by technology, oriented to purposes, society communicates without communion. The dichotomy communication-communion is not fertile in every culture or language. In the absence of an adequate support of language, only observing the communicational fulfillment, Sfez (2002b:16) formulates, apparently as a paradox, the deviation from communion:

only in a society that not know how to communicate, whose values fall apart, which cannot be unified by worn-out symbols, people talks with so much pathos about communication. A centrifugal society, without any adjustment.

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Unfortunately, man forgets that the satiety is one of the forms of the misery. Just communicating, we don't have *rest*. Everything is already said. In love, culture and life, we are in communion because we have a *rest*<sup>1</sup>.

Especially in society, when everything flows as a whole, without rest, the circulation is superior regulated by laws of the social group. These laws ensures the transparency of fluxes (and in pictures, the transparency of containing), without to sustain the relations, as someone could commute anytime, anywhere, on every resonant fluctuation, on every reverberation with sense (apparently), on every explanation that it is searched in the visible, transparent network, of a society emptied of relations and saturated of fluxes. A real relation continued virtually, the man being a simple "*terminal of multiple networks*" (Baudrillard, 1997:12).

In such a space, over-saturated of communication without *sense*, the *being* loses its identity. Because, the communication is being and the being happens in communication. Norbert Wiener (in 1957) said that the law within the things can be seen as of communication, confirming the first axiom of the School Of Palo Alto: "*One cannot not communicate*" (Watzlavick *et al.*, 1967:48-49), and on the other hand, the being together is logos, we cannot let the happening of the being to be in the organized horizon of communication fluxes without *rest/sense* (*rest/rost*). This would represent a tautological loss of our being in the web of technology. The return to language is necessary but not possible to understand when the language, like the vessels of blood, does not ensures, first of all, the internal flux of its own being in the spirit of interior communication, but it requires transfusion through a set of transparent canals. "*The language is the house of Being*", tell us

<sup>1</sup> In Romanian, the term „rest” means both *rest* and *change*. „Rest” is a term with a special semantic load, suggested to Noica, unwilling, by his son. His boy thought that when you don't have enough money, the store would have given to you the change, in order to cover the bill. As so is in culture, but you have to come with your own *money*, tells us the Romanian philosopher.

Heidegger. The unity in communication is the mystical confession of Being. The people bound to each other through words, they are in communion and become One.

Each dialogue, each meeting is being:

Let me remind you the thought of the ancient philosopher who was asking: when you gather one with one,  
which one gather with the other,  
which one becomes two?

[...]But when friend meets friend

[...] who was gathering with who, which friend became two? (Noica, 2007:146)

## 2. THE DICHOTOMY *COMMUNITY* vs. *SOCIETY*. A PARDIGM FOR UNDERSTANDING SOCIEL UNIVERSE

German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies was the one who gave birth to two polar concepts of great value. Surnamed the "*philosopher of the community*" (Dobrescu *et al.*, 2007:43), Tönnies introduced the dichotomy Community - Society (*germ. Gemeinschaft - Gesellschaft*) in the disciplinary field of sociology, the latter term being an extension of the first: "*Tönnies' sociological work is centred around the concept of community*" (Dobrescu *et al.*, 2007:43). The two terms do not imply a purely sociological point of view, but rather an interdisciplinary aspect because the concepts of "community" and "society" are fundamental when referring to communication.

The two polar concepts *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) do not exhaust all social reality aspects, but provide a new starting point and unique framework for future assessments.

This pattern replaces any rigid interpretation of the social universe and tackles both the subtleties and the prospect of the development of modern society. Tönnies' conceptual pair calls into question both the formal differences between the concepts and content differences which they imply. Thus, the German sociologist refers to the community's formalism as being closely linked to social content which itself binds its

members, unlike society's formalism which arises arbitrarily from social interaction; also what binds the members, in the second case, is a specific reason to which the "social actors" do not consent, but which adheres mechanically, the content being a secondary element.

Ferdinand Tönnies is the one who gave birth to a new perspective on the subject, basing his studies on the idea of community. Its conceptual construction bears the seal of a multidisciplinary perspective; which is specific for the end of twentieth century sociology. His point of view led him to the discovery of a new research field where communication is essential.

Although his work "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft" (Community and Society) published in 1887 in an edition of 500 copies, of which only half were sold, remains a fundamental study in sociology, being later recalled as essential in understanding communication. His work was not appreciated at its entire potential, fellow intellectuals "being more concerned as to how to acknowledge their own ideas through his work rather than highlighting it for the masterpiece it actually was" (Dobrescu et al., 2007:44). His fundamental work flourished during the interwar period. Tönnies was rediscovered concurrently with the evolution of research in sociology and communication, where the notion of community has a reference value.

**2.1 The Community and Society (*Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*) – an ontological distinction.** Great ancient philosophers such as Confucius, Plato, Aristotle and Cicero made references to the different stages of society's evolution and the relationships between them, but their point of view was merely philosophical, strongly linked to the *Zeitgeist* – which was classified as theological by Comte. Tönnies instead developed his theory in accordance with the evolution of modern society. He explains the modernization process by passing from one stage of development to another, from community to society. It is a process of rationalization, which involves a shift from guild relationships toward those based on

rationality and calculation (Dobrescu et al., 2007:46).

The German author establishes a conceptual distinction which his entire work is based on. Tönnies states that the terms *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* actually refer to two forms of association. He aims to analyse the terms of the antagonistic pair highlighting the contrast between concepts. *Gemeinschaft* (community) is the stage dominated by an emotional relationship,

direct links [being] based on attachment to a particular place, on a well-defined status and on a homogeneous community" (Dobrescu et al., 2007:46).

*Gemeinschaft* is characterized by organic structure, the progress of ongoing relationships between people keeping a natural course. *Gemeinschaft* means

existence together << as one family >>, of the people who form a community, hence the dominant feeling that they are interconnected << for better or worse >> (Dobrescu et al., 2007:46).

In this case, individuals *are* people who actively participate in community life, sharing beliefs, moral and religious points of view and also values. The relationships are based on acquired statuses, as opposed to *Gesellschaft* where these statuses are assigned to individuals. Furthermore, society is the one which assigns statuses through a legislative framework, whereas in a community the individuals are constantly negotiating their social position. The Principles of Community are not expressions of utilitarian values. These are not rational elements, nor discursive, but feelings, uniting people within spirit and binding them in accordance to their nature.

*Gesellschaft*, however, "is a mechanical structure, a conglomerate, a type of agglutination. It has its own consistency but results from impersonal rules, such as contractual agreements ". In this case we can truly speak about association and not belonging. The *Gesellschaft* form outweighs the content, in contrast to the *Gemeinschaft*

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where sympathy is the main link between people. The difference between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* is ontological, reflecting the *in fact* state of the social universe:

The conclusion at which Tönnies arrived sets this irreducible dichotomy: *Gemeinschaft* is "more alive" and "the most sustainable and authentic way of living together", while *Gesellschaft* "is transient and trivial" (Tönnies, 2002: 35). Therefore, "*Gemeinschaft* must be seen as a living organism and *Gesellschaft* as a mechanical aggregate and a artificial product" (Dobrescu, 2002:47)

Communication is the framing in which all forms of association may develop. Although it is in the nature of both the society (*Gesellschaft*) and community (*Gemeinschaft*), we will analyze it from an analytical perspective for each of both forms of association. Aristotle's remark on Man - *zoon politikon* - is probably the first thought that presents an ontological link between communication and community. Moreover, for Aristotle Speech (Logos) constrains the hierarchical structures of the community (*koinonia*) - highlighting both the aspects of enforcement and the self-enforcement regarding the communicational environment. The Palo Alto School of Communication outlines the relational basis, Paul Watzlawick et al. (1967:132-133) considering that "Every communication has a content and relationship Aspects Such That the Latter classifies the former and is therefore a meta-communication", which means that each participant in the act of communication is supposed to define the relationship. Within a community, the communication rules are predefined; the community being built on the natural relationships between members of the social group.

**2.2 Means and goals within *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.** In *Gesellschaft*, the individual adheres to a group in order to fulfil its goals. Thus group's (organization's) goals prevail over individual goals. However, the association on a teleological level does not necessarily lead to a sense of belonging. Although personal goals

may be identical with those of the group, they cannot be used to measure the degree of adherence to the group. The goals become links to the group offering a sense of stability to the organisation in the case of *Gesellschaft*. Here, however, the individual is an elementary part of the mechanism as part of the whole, but not being able to recreate the whole by itself, as is the *Gemeinschaft*: "*People do not live together, but coexist <<independently of each other>>*" (Dobrescu, 2002:47).

The fundament of relationships in *Gesellschaft* is represented by family and extensions of the family type relations, where the links are characterized by participation in order to transmit an inheritance "*by sharing thoughts and values*" (Dobrescu, 2002:47). The legislative framework is a secondary organizational element, even insignificant. Landmarks that guide the Community are its values within its members are growing organically, sharing experience by participation of all. The tradition which is renewed by the succession of generations represents the lifeblood of the Community.

Habermas proposes to replace the individual ego with one built on the community's structure. He also realizes that a repositioning of the concept of reason is necessary, therefore he relocates rationality within the universal-individual mediation, through an inter-subjective expression of the social subject, "*in a communicational community operating under the constraint of cooperation*" (Habermas, 2000: 71). In this community there is no place for utilitarian structures, and communication is not oriented to reach goals. In the community, - the natural association where *communion* dominates -, the *rest* area is even wider as the man is closer to agreements, traditions and beliefs that arise within the community. Therefore, the individual *a cumineca*, being "*along with the others, within something*" (Noica, 1987:189). His opposite is the society, an artificial association, where the *rest* is seen as "superstition" as "primitive element", where communication (*communion* without *rest*) is well defined in order to transmit information. So, by eliminating the *rest*, the society

replaces agreements, traditions and beliefs  
with contracts, standards and doctrines.

### 3. A SHORT CONCLUSION

Although the two forms of organization are opposites, they coexist: the community ensures the spiritual survival of the society by *communion*, while the society ensures the physical, material survival of the community through communication.

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Community and  
Identity -  
A Glocal Approach





## INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND THE NEW IMAGES OF IDENTITY. STEPS TOWARD 'THE NEW CULTURAL HISTORY'

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**Abstract:** *In today's world, despite the fact that it is a globalized world, divergent trends and processes meet and coexist, which have different consequences in different societies, and these aspects explain the diversity of research topics, theoretical approaches and interpretations. The large-scale intercultural communication has led to the rebirth of local, ethnic and national identities, and also to an increased interest in the knowledge and explanation of cultural differences. The new global communication networks, the migration phenomenon and the new relations between and across cultures have favored the acculturation and hybridization processes of cultural patterns. The thesis of our study is that on the groundwork of these complex experiences there occurred a shift of paradigms with which the social and historical disciplines operate in the analysis of culture and cultural identities. Culture has acquired a strategic importance in the project of the knowledge-based society, while theoreticians from various domains frequently call forth cultural-type factors to explain and interpret the phenomena under study. In this context, in the last decades, a large-scale interdisciplinary research programme, called the new cultural history, has gained momentum, emphasizing the symbolic dimension of social reality, the representations and significances through which people codify their practical and cognitive experience. This new trend of the historical and cultural discourse can be correlated with the frequently debated issues in the studies on intercultural communication, such as the importance of symbolic practices, the role of identity images in the relations between „we and the others”, the analysis of the cultural differences and the social representations through which they are perceived.*

**Keywords:** *intercultural communication, cultural identity, images, cultural differences, new cultural history.*

### 1. SIGNIFICANCES OF CULTURE AND IDENTITIES IN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

In the first pages of his famous book on the „the clash of civilizations”, Samuel Huntington states that nowadays „culture matters" in order to understand the social transformations and the geopolitical relations. Culture, in its variegated meanings, is „a force both divides and unifies” societies and humanity (Huntington, 1998:36). In fact, as we know, culture „has always mattered” in the real history and life of societies, not only after the end of the cold war. There is also an understatement in Huntington's statement, namely that today culture „matters”, more than

yesterday, also in our (philosophical, scientific, sociologic, literary, public, media) discourses on history and society.

Indeed, in the last decades, culture has acquired a particular theoretical visibility. The concept of culture has gained a strategic importance for all disciplines dealing with the human and social universe, being invested these days with multiple explanatory valences. Theoreticians in various fields often invoke the role of cultural factors in their approaches, sometimes fairly, sometimes abusively, when explaining the particular phenomena they are studying. The meanings of the concept of culture have expanded to show the role of cultural processes in the current development strategies (Cuche, 2004), in times when

theoreticians talk about the non-economic factors of social development and a knowledge-based economy, where the processing of information and communication are decisive.

But with this approach, it is clear that the studies of intercultural communication (Gudykunst, 2003 Martin, Nakayama, 2008 Jandt, 2010) and Intercultural Dialogue (UNESCO, 2010) have contributed fundamentally to relaunch the concepts of culture and identity. It is a sign of the times we live in, under the avalanche of technological and political changes, and also of those belonging to the aesthetic and spiritual register. According to many thinkers, the central positioning of the concept of culture in the current social disciplines is linked to the unexpected effects generated by globalization, the new communication technologies and the recent geopolitical resettlements. Globalization has led to the revival of local, ethnic and national identity and the enhancing of intercultural communication has stimulated interest in knowing and explaining cultural differences.

In today's world, despite the fact that it is a globalized world, divergent trends and processes meet and coexist, which have different consequences in different societies, and these aspects explain the diversity of research topics, theoretical approaches and interpretations (Tomlinson, 2002). The new global communication networks, migration and the new relations between and across cultures favored acculturation processes and hybridization of cultural patterns. In recent years, the debates on these issues have increased and more and more analysts speak about a global crisis of cultural identities. Zygmunt Bauman, the famous sociologist, believes that, during this period of „liquid modernity”, under the pressure of planetary migration and culture media, collective identities have gone through a process of relativization and erosion like other structures „hard” of modernity (family, school, community, nation, nation-states). The current world resembles a „multicultural bazaar”, wherein individuals build up multiple, transient and inconsistent identities, so that the

author considers that: „*identity is revealed to us only as something to be invented rather than discovered*” (Bauman, 2004:15).

In this context, when cultural and media power has become an essential component of the global power of a society, the most critical and relevant problem concerns the relation between globalization and culture, particularly the relation between the process of European integration and cultural national identities. Dominique Wolton opines that finding a formula of the peaceful „cohabitation” of cultural differences is a key issue of the world today. A change of identity paradigms is needed in order to achieve this goal: „The whole issue is to know what conditions are needed to construe a *cultural relational identity* and to avoid the often aggressive *cultural-refuge identity*. Cultural relational identity implies the existence of a political project exceeding the cultural and identity problematic litigations” (Wolton, 2003, 69).

## 2. SEMIOTIC APPROACHES: THE CULTURE IS THE WORLD OF SIGNS

The fast-paced changes in the contemporary world, be them social, economic, technological or geopolitical, have gradually generated correlative changes in the symbolic structures of cultures as well. Under the pressure of facts, changes have also occurred in our way of thinking, our systems of values and representations through which we relate ourselves to the surrounding realities. Of course, there is no direct causality between these two registers of human life. Nonetheless, the relationships between the two registers of human life are obvious and relevant, although they are mediated by a complicated chain of intermediary factors. The analysis of these links between culture and social reality constitutes the main topic of numerous theories and currents of ideas.

In the semiotic approaches, which have spread over in the last half of the century, culture is seen as a *world of signs*, through which people relate to the *world of facts*. The interactions between the individual and the world are mediated by physical actions and also by symbolic practices and languages. The

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semiotic studies frequently use concepts like sign systems, languages, codes, messages, significances, symbols, representations, images, patterns, texts, discourses, interpretations, receptors, publics, contexts and others. This repertoire comprises so many notions from the sphere of communication because „semiotics studies the cultural processes as communication processes” (Eco, 1982:19-20), by a combination between a system of signification with a communication system.

Semiotics had a powerful influence in all the social disciplines. It can be proved by means of several references. The anthropologist Clifford Geertz has elaborated an „interpretative theory of culture”, starting from the belief that the concept of meaning is the dominant philosophical concept of our time. „Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning” (Geertz, 1973:5)

This vast empire of signs covers also notoriousness, reputation, images and brands, forming an important cultural asset and playing a decisive role on the market of symbolic goods. Identities are created through communication and they play a key role in intercultural communication (Martin, Nakayama, 2008:87). Cultural identities exist only through the filter of images on which they bestow visibility in the global communicational space. Being made up of "meanings embodied in symbols" (Geertz, 1973:89), identity is continuously rebuilding itself and is „translated” in its images. The idea of a substratum identity, independent of its expressions and images, is considered a pointless assertion, a fiction of speculative philosophies. In this case, intercultural communication looks like an endless „dialogue” between our images on our own cultural identity and the others’ identity, as well as between them and the others’ images about us. In the world of generalized communication of today „the other decides

*who I am” / „c'est l'autre qui décide ce que je suis”* (Maffesoli, 2008:213).

### 3. THE NEW CULTURAL HISTORY: CONTEXTS AND IDEAS

The second half of the 20th c. and the beginning of the 21st c. witnessed a shift of the dominant paradigm in the world historiography. The emphasis has moved from the economic and social field to the cultural one, a movement doubled by a rejuvenation of the political history, seen from a cultural type filter. This *cultural turn* led to a multiplication of cultural historical demarches. From a certain viewpoint, the „new cultural history” can be seen as an extension of the demarches of the „history of mentalities” or „historical anthropology”.

Of course, the label of „cultural history” does not correspond to a single disciplinary manner to think and interpret the past, instead it synthesizes a multitude of trans-disciplinary disciplines and interests. In the last three decades, from reasons animated by the desire to claim a tradition initiated by the studies of Burckhardt (1860), Huizinga (1919 and 1929) or Gombrich (1969), the partisans of this change add up the particle „new”, to name a (current) specific type of historiographic demarche. Equally, the stake is also that to overpass the explanatory dominant paradigms (such as Marxism and Structuralism), which had consumed their resources.

Social sciences are also the playground of a symbolic disciplinary power-game, the hegemony of history, fueled up by the Annales School, being undermined by anthropology and linguistics. And history, actually, abandons a type of arrogance of autonomy, borrowing concepts and methods from anthropologists. Roger Chartier notices the subterfuges the historian uses to preserve the domination, overlapping the „historical anthropology” and the history of mentalities (Chartier, 1999). A referee and also a player in the power-game, the anthropological school of Claude Lévi Strauss creates the premises to define in the Anglo-Saxon space a history structurally also close to anthropology, a

„history with an anthropologic seed”, as Robert Darnton (1987) called it, and which was to be named „*the new cultural history*”.

The orientation taken by the Anglo-Saxon historians toward anthropology was influenced by the perspective ushered by Clifford Geertz. As shown, for Geertz, culture is a „web of significations”, while a genuine study of culture implies the interpretation of significances carried by symbols, beliefs and the ethos of a society (Geertz, 1973:5). Under the influence of semiotic approaches, the studies of anthropology and cultural histories have redefined the research field and the conceptual apparatus. Culture has multiple meanings, but Geertz points out that, first and foremost, it refers to

an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life (Geertz, 1973:89).

The cock fights in Bali, a test to check the interpretation routes converging toward the idea of „*philosophical drama*”, are for Geertz arguments to outline the cultural perimeter of an area. Reading the cock fights, as a text illustrating the social statutes in a permanent redefinition in Bali, puts in an explicit relation the methods of anthropology with those of cultural history (Geertz, 1973:412-453).

In the same logic of converting the cultural production into a text are also at work the demarches made by the researchers from social sciences who assert their attachment to linguistics. For the linguistic turn, the language is a system of signs whose relation produces multiple and unstable meanings, beyond any intention or subjective control. In fact, for the partisans of this thinking paradigm, „reality” does not exist outside the discourse, being always built up on discursive practices. (Chartier, 2001:3078) Social sciences are subordinated thus to the postulate according to which the acts, the facts are accessible exclusively thanks to the discourse on them, while the interpreter’s instruments cannot be but that of the literary theoretician and critic,

since, his specialization is the only one able to decipher the „text” significances. For Hayden White, probably the most circulated name from this professional family, any history is in fact a „meta-history”, objectivity existing as intentionality but not as reality, because the historians’ works are always interpretations and not reconstitutions of the facts occurred – therefore they are, in a certain way, fictions. (White, 1978) White’s key-phrase: „*Lives are lived, histories are told*”, hence the resurrection of narration, favors the postmodern solution of rebuilding the past with the help of fiction. (Perry, 2002:139)

The human subject, acting and thinking, regains ground against the economic and social determinism, which valued the function of „objective” structures, and also against the history of mentalities, prone to emphasize the unconscious, the automatic, against rationality. In this context, the role of micro-history, which starts from theoretical assumptions linked to the importance of human subject confronted with the great structures, was nourished by the British historiography, as early as the 60s, through what was called history from below (Thompson, 1966, 279-280). For Edward Thompson, he who, in fact, established this expression in an article in 1966, the stake to bring to the forefront of the debate the secondary character of the social scene, the man in the street, often understood as a Marxist reflex to save a „social layer” (Barker, 2012: 44-45), was animated by the aspiration of the scientific demonstration of the active role in the great history of the subordinated individual. (Thompson, 1963)

The transformations occurred in the 7th and 8th decades of the last century subsumed to the so-called *cultural turn* are, undoubtedly, also nourished by the rapprochement between history and anthropology. Established in the very hub irradiating the currents of ideas and methods, the United States, and lending it a statute like to reform the recent history of America, with a past tributary to the political, social or economic perspective, the cultural history contributed substantially to mythicize the American cultural power (Boutcher, 2003:495).

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The *cultural turn* gained initially in visibility thanks to the texts written by the historians of Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Age, periods which answered to the interests in interpreting religion and popular culture. Carlo Ginzburg, Peter Burke, Natalie Zemon Davis, by transgressing the concern to switch the search for answers from positivistic-type questions („*How was it in reality?*”) toward „*How was it for him, for her or for them?*”, open up a new problematic, that of the theory and practices of communication, of social representations, of the interaction between narrations, discourses and the way groups and individuals make use of them. The belief was thus generalized that the writing of history is determined by the context the historian lives in, by his cultural and ideological luggage and also it is conditioned by his own subjectivity. In fact, Benedetto Croce, as early as the beginning of the 20th c., apodictically asserted that any history is contemporary (Croce, 1917).

On these grounds, a „*new cultural history*” was defined, profoundly influenced in its American variant by Geertz, which read as an interpretative science, whose goal was to look for the significance carried by the cultural processes, phenomena and objects for their contemporaries. The central task of the Anglo-Saxon cultural history was seen as deciphering significance. Illustrative thereon is Robert Darnton's work, *The Great Cat Massacre*, issued in mid-80s (Darnton, 1984), and which carried the mark of the author's collaboration with Clifford Geertz during a seminar on anthropology they held at Princeton. Darnton's goal is to grasp strangeness, the opacity of cultures from other times, based on an anthropologic-type analysis. The author explains the methodological project as an attempt to join the symbolic world of the Old Regime. Darnton's successful book rallied around many other historians, Anglo-Saxons and French, eager to apply this communicational model; at the same time, on the market of theoretical works featuring the paradigm of the new cultural history, the publication of reference volumes, like Lynn

Hunt's *The New Cultural History*<sup>1</sup> shows the historical theoreticians' interest in outlining a specialty per se. The word „cultural” aimed to make the distinction between this type of history and the intellectual history, emphasizing more mentalities and attitudes and less the systems of thinking and the history of ideas. Likewise, it drew a line between cultural history and social history.

### 4. OTHER THEORETICAL SOURCES AND INFLUENCES

However, the new cultural history cannot be explained only by the linguistic and cultural turn or by the influence of anthropology, but also by the contribution of other theoretical sources, most often implicitly taken from the works claiming the new paradigm. Among the theoreticians acknowledged by the practitioners of cultural history we mention Mikhail Bakhtin, whose book on Rabelais and his world<sup>2</sup> suggests concepts like „*carnavalisation*”, „*grotesque realism*” or „*market language*”. Today, many works use the ideas formulated for the first time by Bakhtin, the way the high culture is penetrated and undermined by elements of popular culture, such as derision, or his outlook on multiple „voices” to be deciphered in the same text (polyphony or heteroglossia) (Burke, 2004:51-52).

On the new cultural history, Pierre Bourdieu's sociological analyses had a major impact, due to his concerns on „symbolic” cultural goods; Bourdieu supported the idea that the expression mode typical for a cultural production depends of the market laws it provides. In fact, the symbolic goods have their specific logic, different from that of material objects and they give what may be called a „*cultural asset*” (Bourdieu and

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<sup>1</sup> Lynn Hunt's book gathered together articles from a conference in 1987 on *French History: Texts and Culture*

<sup>2</sup> The volume enjoyed a very important dissemination of ideas after its translation into French: *François Rabelais et la culture populaire au Moyen Age et sous la Renaissance*. Paris, Gallimard, 1970 (the first edition came out in the Soviet Union in 1965).

Passeron, 1970). Another contribution made by Bourdieu and extended by other historians as well was the theory of practice and mainly the concept of „habitus” (Bourdieu, 1972 and 1980). For the French sociologist, the everyday practices are devoid of rigidity, and they imply a certain amount of improvisation, within some culturally defined boundaries (corporal schemes and thinking schemes).

The Anglo-Saxon new cultural history was nourished by some theoretical influences from the French area, among whom, alongside Bourdieu, we also have to mention Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida. Foucault’s contribution is highly important in conceptualizing the field of cultural history, since he suggested the historians to look for anonymous rules governing collective practices, and at the same time he manifested an anti-positivistic attitude. The rejection of causal explanations, of reductive relations between discursive formations and socio-political contexts places Foucault into a anti-historical type of thinking; Foucault does not accept the historical becoming seen an ongoing progress, instead he puts the accent on „genealogy”. It aims first and foremost the accidents and less the linear developments. Moreover, the French philosopher classifies his demarche as „archeological”, with reference to the need to „dig in” to reach the intellectual structures of a culture, the „networks”, the „grids” (Foucault, 1969). „The truth regimes” represent another concept employed by Foucault to name classification systems underlying a given culture. The „discourses” represent the categories and principles organizing whatever may be thought, said or written in a given period, and have a collective character. (Foucault, 1966) Foucault links the concept of „practice” to the micro politics (Foucault, 1975). „Discursive practices” are manners to construe the object spoken about, including the society or culture as a whole.

Derrida suggested to historians practices specific to literary theory, concerned not so much with the text significance but mainly with the way it works. Deconstruction aimed therefore to unveil the way the text was produced (Guillemette and Cossette, 2006).

However, the Anglo-Saxon new cultural history defined itself, sometimes implicitly, other times openly, as a reaction to the French variant of social history. The main issues were the relation between the rural creations and the economic and social structures, and the relation reality – discursive practice.

The Annales School envisioned society as a three-layer system, an outlook very close, despite negations, to the Marxist one; the cultural aspects would represent the third layer (principles, values, beliefs, symbolic practices). For example, influenced by Marxism, in *De la cave au grenier*, Michel Vovelle places the mental (as part of the cultural domain) on the last layer of an edifice whose basement is occupied by ownership over the production means. (Ory, 2007) Faced with this outlook, implying the determination of the cultural supra-structure by the economic basis and the social structure, the partisans of the Anglo-Saxon new cultural history forcibly supported the autonomy of the cultural fact.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The new outlooks on culture as relatively autonomous toward economic and social structures, are nonetheless portent, in their turn, or dangers. Such a danger is the fall into relativism and irrelevance. Roger Chartier drew the attention on the fact the cultural history should not replace a reductionist theory of culture, seen as reflecting social reality, with another reductionist one, which considers that rituals and other forms of symbolic action express in a simple, unmediated way, a central, coherent, common significance. The documents describing symbolic actions from the past are not innocent, transparent texts, they were written by authors embracing varied intentions and strategies. They who practice cultural history must develop their own strategies to read these documents, what justifies the importance granted to demarches inspired by literary theory. (Hunt, 1999: 14)

As a method, the Anglo-Saxon new cultural history undertakes the study of the subject in the context of the usages and practices linked to it, so that to make it possible to join the world of significances



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characteristic for the societies the historian has never lived in. Therefore, deciphering the significance is instrumental to the new cultural history. It can be done through text interpretation (in the broadest sense, including as an artifact or a practice), and also through deconstruction (discovering how the text is produced).

However, by defining the new cultural history through its methodology deciphering significances, a sort of „imperialism” can be easily reached, according to which any history is cultural, since phenomena are the outcome of the meanings given by individuals to things, words, behaviors. Eventually, it can be noticed that like its direct forerunner, the history of mentalities, the cultural history alike is enough resistant to standardized definitions, also because, as Peter Jelavich wrote, it is caught in that „no man’s land” between interpretation and causal explanation, between human sciences and „science” defined in the Anglo-Saxon manner. (Cyaplicka et al., 1995:4)

At least, the existence of a methodology can be asserted, whose steps to be followed would be first the description, the narration in a manner close to historical ethnography, followed by the understanding of the way in which the significance is attached to events, processes and phenomena described. Why, how, where the significance gets articulated represent questions raised before all the domains of existence, the economic and political ones included.

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## INTERACTION AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION PATTERNS WITHIN THE ROMANIAN VILLAGE

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**Abstract:** *The present paper aims at analyzing patterns of interaction and intercultural communication within two Romanian multiethnic villages in order to identify the common features of the Romanian pattern of openness, dialogue and intercultural communication. The paper is based on a research accomplished between 2012 and 2013, covering the intercultural relationship within two villages: Cața, situated in Brasov County and Breaza, situated in Suceava County. Cața village was founded by Germans and is currently inhabited by Romanians, Hungarians and Roma people, whereas Breaza, located in Suceava County, is inhabited by Romanians, Hutsuls and Ruthenians who declared themselves Romanians in the 2011 census. The research was conducted through the participative observation method (completed by interviews), using a communicative behavior pre-coding scheme, implying an observation record and an interview guide constructed in compliance with Dell Hymes' S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G model. Despite their common historical background, these two cultural spaces are characterized by different patterns of intercultural communication. Nevertheless, the most relevant features are similar and create a common framework of intercultural communication: both cultural spaces are permissive in relation to intercultural communication and both communities are at least multiethnic speech communities governed by rules of coexistence, specific to each village. The analysis of the intercultural communication within Cața and Breaza and the comparative analysis reveal a constant of all previous ethno-psychological researches with regard to Romanian people, a communicative disposition of the Romanians and, implicitly, their openness, although under the apparent mark of closeness.*

**Keywords:** *intercultural communication, interaction patterns, communication patterns, Romanian village.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF RESEARCH

The analysis of the current stage of knowledge in the area of intercultural communication, the configuration of the main directions for study and of dominant theories in the field of intercultural communication, the research tools that may be used for studying the intercultural communication relationships have constituted the objective of numerous researches so far. Nevertheless, the current study focuses on local cultural patterns and on the openness of the Romanian culture.

The theoretical framework of our research includes, in an applicative manner, those relevant papers with regard to: 1. the study of cultural patterns specific to the Romanian village, perceived as a distinct cultural and

social entity (community); 2. the study of intercultural relationships within the Romanian village. Starting from the dominance of style in the human culture – a factor denominating the unity and the in-depth functionality of the collective unconsciousness, the very setting for culture development, the Romanian philosopher, Lucian Blaga (1994:184) set the basis of his study of the Romanian culture's "stylistic matrix", in "Horizon and Style", which he accomplished in his second volume of his "Trilogy of Culture", "The Mioritic Space" ('mioritic' standing for the Romanian cultural space) (1936/1985). As a representative of the symbolical approach/school to culture, direction initiated by Ernst Cassirer in 1923, through his first volume of the trilogy, "Philosophy of Forms", Blaga followed a different path from that

marked by psychoanalysis; he placed the unity of forms, dominant focuses and attitudes under the paternal governance, named “matrix” in his work, specifically, exactly those elements situated in the “immersion” zone of the culture, as it is represented by the iceberg model of French & Bell (1995).

Thus, placing the symbolical and revelative functions of culture in the foreground, Blaga define the Romanian matrix-space as “*mioritic, high and indefinitely curved*” (1936/1985:196), positioning the Romanian village, with its stylistic matrix, in the offensive line against cultural stereotypes (1936/1985:311). The current resonances of Blaga’s philosophy of culture are profound and the approach to the intercultural communication patterns within the Romanian village cannot be achieved outside Blaga’s ontological perspective over culture. Another fundamental rapport, with concern to the cultural modeling factor over the Romanian individual, is the philosophical work of Constantin Noica. Culture, an entity that “is distributed without being shared”, is analyzed in the works of the Romanian philosopher through the language perspective, in an original manner of appraising the cultural relativism. The knowledge horizon, within the language boundaries and through the language, owed to Mircea Vulcănescu (1937/2009)’s influence, as Noica himself admits it (1979/1990), has become a topic approached in works such as “Creation and beauty in Romanian utterance” (1973) or “Words together about the Romanian utterance” (1987), in the “spirit of the epoch”, simultaneously with the reorientation of the European culture toward semiotics, through the *linguistic turn*. extremely fertile is the approach of dichotomy of linguistic nature, a modeling factor within the Romanian cultural space, *communication-communion* (Noica, 1987:191), superposable on other dichotomic pairs coming from other social fields: *society-community* (Tönnies, 2002), *understanding-oriented actions – success-oriented actions* (Habermas, 1997) etc. This rapport, with the binding reference to the local multicultural community from Romania, was not long insisted on in the specialized Romanian

literature (Lesenciuc *et al.*, 2009), may constitute a manner of interpreting the intercultural communication patterns. Numerous other works with regard to Romanian cultural studies underline a rigorous mapping of the Romanian specificity, within the rigid framework of a modeling matrix, or within a prefigured ontological horizon<sup>1</sup>. The study of cultural patterns of the Romanian community (especially ethno-geographical patterns, involving even elements belonging to the anthropology of art) constituted the study object of many papers<sup>2</sup>. The Romanian village, considered as one of the stages of the “Romanian community” by Rădulescu-Motru – the original community stage, the very lance tip of the offensive against Blaga’s typologies, was studied from other numerous perspectives as well: demographic, geographical, historical, political, economic etc.<sup>3</sup>

From the perspective of our intentions, to scrutinize the climate of intercultural communication within the Romanian village,

<sup>1</sup> Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu (1900/1985), Constantin Rădulescu-Motru (1904-1942/1998), Dumitru Drăghicescu (1907/2007), A.D. Xenopol (1915/2004), Simion Mehedinți (1920/1999), Mihai Ralea (1927/1997), Mircea Eliade (1927-1953/1990), Dimitrie Gusti (1928-1938/1965), Eugen Lovinescu (1937/1970), Mircea Vulcănescu (1937/2009), Dumitru Stăniloae (1929/1998), Emil Cioran (1939/2007), George Călinescu (1941/1982), Tudor Vianu (1942-1945/1998), Oscar Walter Cisek (1974), Henri H. Stahl (1983), Ernest Bernea (1985, 1997), Aurel Ion Brumaru (1990, 2001), Septimiu Chelcea (1991, 2000), Paul Popescu-Neveanu (1994), Grigore Georgiu (1997), Aurora Liiceanu (1998), Luminița Mihaela Iacob (2003), Constantin Schifirneț (2007) or Mona Mamulea (2007)

<sup>2</sup> George Vâlsan (1911-1935), George Oprescu (1922), Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaș (1931), Artur Gorovei (1937), Barbu Slătineanu (1938), Alexandru Dima (1939), Gheorghe Reteganul (1942), Romulus Vuia (1945), Florea Bobu Florescu and Paul Petrescu (1969), Grigore Smeu (1973, 1984), Traian Herseni (1977), Romulus Vulcănescu (1979, 1987), Henri H. Stahl (1983), Tancred Bănățeanu (1985), Constantin Prut (1991), Georgeta Stoica and Paul Petrescu (1997), Mona Mamulea (2000, 2003), Ioana Popescu (2002) or Nora Sava (2006)

<sup>3</sup> Among the recent studies on the Romanian village, it is worth mentioning those of Dumitru Sandu (1992, 2000), Violeta Florian (1993), Ioan Mărginean (1995), Gheorghe Socol (1995), Ilie Bădescu *et al.* (2005), Ilie Bădescu, Gh. Șișeștean and Florin Popa (2005), Mălina and Bogdan Voicu (2006) or Ioana Petre (2007).

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the most appropriate approach is the one derived from the cultural relativism (implying a development of the study achieved by Vulcănescu – Noica – Brumaru, with intercultural coordinates), but without omitting the ethno-psychological perspective, mainly of the morphological school (Gusti - Bernea).

Although there have been some fundamental Romanian works, some applied researches with regard to the configuration of the theoretical framework for studying cultural patterns specific to the Romanian village, the study of intercultural communication relationships has not yet been a research priority. This direction, not approached in relation to classical disciplinary areas with regard to knowledge of the Romanian village, gives evidence of a lack of interdisciplinary dialogue. On the one side, the Romanian village has represented an attraction pole for the community analysis from the monodisciplinary perspective or a pluridisciplinary perspective focussed on anthropological/ethnographic, geographical etc. studies, implying participation of specialists in these knowledge areas and resulting in a series of referential researches, among which are the above mentioned ones. On the other side, communication sciences – a relatively new field in the Romanian disciplinary architecture – could not provide the necessary openness toward studying the intercultural communication within the Romanian village, with specific instruments.

### 2. METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

The main objective of the current paper is to identify patterns of interaction and intercultural communication within the Romanian village, through interdisciplinary analysis of the thinking patterns and communicative behavior patterns present within the local multiethnic communities of Cața (Brașov County) and Breaza (Suceava County). Focused on visible and implicit observation, our research is based on the participative observation method, which involves sharing instances of life with the subjects, either for a longer period of time or

only temporarily. The latter method, of observation through real participation in the subjects' life and activities only temporarily (method proposed by Boas and developed by Malinowski, Bateson and Lévi-Strauss) is feasible and recommended for culture study and for the study of specific communication patterns. Following the perspective of internal typologies of the participative observation organization, we selected the peripheral observation (in line with the proposals emitted by the Chicago and Palo Alto schools). Thus, the researcher's intention was not to obtain a certain status or any roles in the targeted community. The method is based on the principles of details observation and description (by seeing or by listening, by consulting archives, participating in everyday life) and objective interpretation. The participative observation implicitly relies on a type of "negotiation" between the researcher and his subjects (Mucchielli, 2002:272), and also a negotiation of meanings and truths. Therefore, dialogue is recommended (assimilated within the interview<sup>4</sup>, but preserving the understanding restrictions, as it is revealed later on).

The research was accomplished through transversal/quasi-experimental methods of collecting and analyzing data, through the peripheral participative observation techniques (doubled by interviews), through documents analysis and by means of instruments: S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G observation form, a model for interpreting the dynamics of communication-culture, referential documents. In order to avoid irrelevant data selection, the loss of certain data, incomplete or discontinuous

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<sup>4</sup> The difference between the *informative* ethnographic dialogue and interview is given by the absence of questions (especially in relation to structured or semi-structured interviews), by the possibility of approaching multiple and varied topics in the former case and of guiding the dialogue by using the passive listening and not the questions included in the interview guide; In order to avoid possible misunderstandings deriving from this difference, we limited the dialogue to the interview form, within the limits of the projected methodology, but we preserved the minute description of the type of interview: intensive, nondirective, in depth, unique, personal, face-to-face, documentary.

observation, we used pre-codified instruments: an observation form, and respectively, an interview guide set up in accordance with the American studies in the field of communication ethnography, more precisely, based on Dell H. Hymes' (1974). S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G scheme.

### 3. RESULTS

By analyzing comparatively the two organizational models of intercultural relationships within the Romanian village, identified based on the S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G mnemotechnical scheme, we can weigh similarities and differences in these two villages' intercultural communication between

Romanians and Germans, Hungarians and Roma people, on the one side, and Romanians and Hutsuls (perceived as Ukrainians), on the other side. The two cultural backgrounds, the two distinct, emerging localities, although both of them have witnessed the same historical reality for the last 242 years, contribute to a configuration of specific intercultural communicative patterns. Synthesizing the results following the survey and the interviews accomplished within the two localities, results systemized through the S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G scheme, we can display the following framework of similarities and differences that may facilitate a further deeper comparative analysis:

Table 1 Comparative analysis of the intercultural communicative patterns in Cața and Breaza

	Cața	Breaza
<b>General setting of communication (setting and scene)</b>	<p><b>The physical setting of communication:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>isolated locality</b> to the north of Brasov county, on Homorodul-Mare Valley, at the crossroads of minor communication lines;</li> <li>- <b>different administrative patterns</b>, the locality being composed of five villages that, in time, belonged to different tutelary territorial entities;</li> <li>- <b>multiethnic locality</b>, implying the predominance of the German ethnicity in two out of the five villages, the Hungarian ethnicity in one of them and of the Romanian ethnicity in the remaining two villages, to which were added the overlapping of the Hungarian superstratum in Drăușeni, and the Roma people superstratum in Cața;</li> <li>- <b>the absence of ethnic mix</b>, implying the existence of an area where the Hungarian population is predominant, of an area where the Romanians are predominant, respectively, of two "enclaves" resulting from self-isolation of the Roma people;</li> <li>- <b>disappearance (almost completely) of the German ethnic element</b>, as a result of three consecutive withdrawals;</li> <li>- <b>Sommersachsen phenomenon</b>, characterized by a periodical return of the Germans to Cața, to their home land, <i>Heimat</i>;</li> </ul> <p><b>The psychic setting of communication:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>major conflicting background:</b></li> </ul>	<p><b>The physical setting of communication:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>isolated locality</b> to the north-west of Suceava county, on Moldova Valley, along a minor communication line;</li> <li>- <b>unique administrative pattern</b>, the locality being composed of three village and a hamlet that belonged to the same tutelary entity all the time;</li> <li>- <b>locality</b> resulting from a multiethnic synthesis of the representatives of ten ethnic groups, and which has become <b>trans-ethnic</b> as an effect of the cultural mix;</li> <li>- despite the approximately equal percentages of Romanians and Hutzuls, the locality people declared themselves <b>Romanians (99.74%)</b> at the census of 2011;</li> <li>- <b>the ethnic mix</b> does not only constitute a declarative truth, but also a reality emerging from a mixture of inter-ethnic families, during the Second World War, most of the families being mixed;</li> <li>- followers of all those ten ethnic groups, which initially made up the Breaza community, are now part of existent population of the locality;</li> </ul> <p><b>The psychic setting of communication:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>absence of conflicting background</b></li> </ul>

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	<p>German-Hungarian, Romanian-German/Hungarian, Romanian-Hungarian, Roma people-Germans/Romanians/ Hungarians</p> <p>Conflicts, the last of which is still actual;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>major differences regarding the social status</b> between the representatives of cohabiting ethnic groups from Cața, implying a superior positioning of the Germans and Hungarians in the social hierarchy and an inferior position in case of Romanians and Roma people;</li> <li>- <b>non-conflicting inter-ethnic communication, preponderantly informal</b>, holding a tendency of imposed isolation toward the Roma people, transmitted based on still tense relationships between Germans and Roma people;</li> <li>- <b>existence of certain mixed families</b>, especially Romanian-Hungarian and Hungarian-German ones;</li> </ul>	<p>within Breaza community;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>absence of differences regarding the social status</b> in configuring the trans-ethnic community;</li> <li>- <b>trans-ethnic non-conflicting communication</b>, preponderantly informal;</li> <li>- <b>predominance of mixed families</b> in relation to mono-ethnic ones;</li> <li>- perception of the <b>community identity</b> as a predominant identity in relation to the ethnic identity represents the major communication pattern in Breaza;</li> </ul>
<p><b>Communication actors (participants)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>frequent communication between the members of three ethnic entities</b>, displaying a formal character, under the circumstances of the preponderant phatic function;</li> <li>- communication engagement between actors is more frequent when <b>family or neighboring relationships</b> are involved;</li> <li>- presence of the <b>informal communication net</b>, joining <b>formal communicative fluxes</b>;</li> <li>- <b>presence of a tertiary person</b>, a constant of the intercultural communication in Cața;</li> <li>- <b>communicative formula: EaRa</b>, mention should be made that the EpRp type of communication is also present, within the phatic boundaries;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>frequent communication between the members of two ethnic entities</b>, displaying an informal character, under the circumstances of maintaining the phatic function during the entire communicative action;</li> <li>- communication engagement between actors does not differ based on <b>ethnic origin</b>;</li> <li>- <b>informal communication net</b>, involving communication pathologies specific to rural communities (gossiping, slandering etc.) is predominant in everyday communication;</li> <li>- <b>presence of a tertiary person is a requirement</b> of the intercultural communication, its engagement in dialogue acting as a representative of the community consciousness;</li> <li>- <b>communicative formula: EaRa</b>, the tertiary person is not engaged, based on the EaRp model;</li> </ul>
<p><b>Communication finalities (ends)</b></p>	<p><b>Purposes-Outcomes:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>purposes-outcomes</b> are explicitly verbalized within the everyday intercultural communication;</li> </ul> <p><b>Purposes-Goals:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>purposes-goals</b> are generally unconscious at the interethnic level and they intervene so as to protect the cultural heritage, especially within the Hungarian</li> </ul>	<p><b>Purposes-Outcomes:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>purposes-outcomes</b> are explicitly verbalized within the everyday intercultural communication;</li> </ul> <p><b>Purposes-Goals:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>purposes-goals</b> are strictly personal, without the involvement of ethnicity;</li> <li>- a form of protection against purposes-goals is currently manifested by a high</li> </ul>



	<p>community,                      - at the level of generalized perception, of <b>preconceptions of ethnic nature</b>, the Roma people are regarded as opportunist, Romanians are perceived as unreliable – these traits being associated to purposes-goals;</p>	<p>degree of susceptibility in communicating with people strange from the village; this form of suspicion denotes anxiety and uncertainty, not in relation to the intercultural communication, but in relation to the inter-community communication;</p>
<p><b>Communication acts (acts)</b></p>	<p>- <b>high degree of intelligibility</b> within the intercultural communication, irrespective of the actors' ethnicity;                      - inter-ethnic <b>communicative contents</b> do not differ tremendously from the intra-ethnic ones;                      - <b>direct oral communication prevails</b>, it is a face-to-face type of communication, completed by communication over the telephone;</p>	<p>- <b>high degree of intelligibility</b> within the intercultural communication, irrespective of the actors' ethnicity;                      - inter-ethnic <b>communicative contents</b> do not differ tremendously from the intra-ethnic ones;                      - <b>direct oral, face-to-face communication prevails</b>;</p>
<p><b>Communication key (key)</b></p>	<p>- <b>non-verbal</b> behavior is the best indicator of ethnicity;                      - in everyday interaction, <b>intra-ethnic distances</b> are shorter than the <b>inter-ethnic</b> ones;                      - the <b>sociopetal living space</b> of the Roma people's residences differs from the <b>sociofugal living space</b> inherited from the Germans, which are now resided by the remaining German families, but also by Romanians and Roma people;                      - the <b>monochronic organization</b>, specific to the German population, is predominant within the village boundaries in relation to the polychronic organization;                      - <b>correctitude</b> and <b>seriousness</b> in the interethnic dialogue are predominant;</p>	<p>- <b>non-verbal</b> behavior is the best indicator of ethnicity;                      - in everyday interaction, <b>intra-ethnic distances</b> do not differ from the <b>inter-ethnic</b> ones; proxemic differences are of the peripheral relationships type, they can be perceived as resulting from certain ethnic relationship as well, so long as the center is populated by the Romanians;                      - there is a degree of <b>primitivism</b> in relationships with the other, including supplementary steps for securing identity;                      - the <b>living space is sociopetal</b>, although a dominant feature of organizing own proprieties is represented by fences;                      - the <b>polychronic organization</b>, specific both to Romanians and Hutsuls prevails in the locality;                      - <b>communication</b> is preponderantly <b>serious</b>, yet <b>humour</b> is still present and displays a slightly archaic influence;</p>
<p><b>Communication instruments (instrumentalities)</b></p>	<p>- the <b>Romanian</b> language is the main instrument of the interethnic communication in Cața;                      - communication between the Roma people and Hungarians is always initiated in <b>Hungarian</b>;                      - <b>intra-ethnic communication</b> is achieved in the mother tongue, except for the Roma people, who use Romanian most frequently; the Germans and Hungarians use dialectal variants of their mother tongues, characterized by elements denoting isolation from their original linguistic communities;                      - the <b>Hungarian regional authorities</b> promoted a naive leadership in relation to the need for culture preservation within</p>	<p>the <b>Romanian</b> language is the main instrument of the interethnic communication in Breaza;                      - the <b>Ukrainian</b> language was learned as a foreign language;                      - the Hutsuls have inherited an important <b>Romanian linguistic and cultural tradition</b> (or even pre-Romanian), which makes possible the interethnic cohabitation;                      - Austrian and Romanian authorities held a minor role in the cultural and linguistic mixing;                      - in Breaza there is a special linguistic heritage, made up of pre-Romanian, Romanian, Slavic (Ukrainian, Polish) words or words of other origins, which</p>



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	<p>their community, and especially in relation to the manner of promoting interethnic relationships;</p> <p>- the multiethnic community Cața has found its own manner of expressing its <b>culture</b>, which leads to the locality's perception as a <b>speech community</b>;</p>	<p>makes possible for the locality to be perceived as a <b>language community</b>;</p>
<p><b>Interaction and interpretation norms (norms)</b></p>	<p>- <b>the Romanian pattern of interaction</b> relies on the organic understanding of relationships with the other;</p> <p>- from a diachronic perspective, in consensus with the theorems of the cultural convergence theory, <b>cultural divergence</b> was manifest in Cața until 1918, after this moment it turned into a setting that engaged and promoted convergence;</p> <p>-the <b>communication net</b> within the locality's boundaries implies a structure of nodes inside the ethnic communities and a set of intra- and inter- links that confers its unity;</p> <p>- <b>norms</b> are of German origin, based on the old para-military structure of the neighborhood, although the number of Germans living now in the locality is pretty limited;</p> <p>- in relation to communication norms, to communication instances in intercultural communication, <b>symmetry</b> is predominant; complementary relationships regard the particular cases of communication between Roma people and the other ethnic groups;</p> <p>- Germans and Hungarians use the <b>linguistic code switch</b> in relation to their activities, whereas Romanians change it in accordance with the addressee, as well;</p> <p>- <b>communication availability and openness toward dialogue</b> are characteristic of the Romanian people;</p> <p>- Germans and Hungarians mostly use rigorous <b>scope-oriented communication</b>;</p>	<p>- <b>the Romanian pattern of interaction</b>, based on the organic understanding of the other, is predominant in communication;</p> <p>- from diachronic and synchronic perspective, <b>communicative convergence</b> has never implied interruptions;</p> <p>- the <b>communication net</b> implies both a structure of nodes and a structure of links between the representatives of both prevailing ethnic groups; there are no intra-ethnic nodes;</p> <p>- <b>norms</b> are of Romanian origin, implying an archaic structure of organization, based on the land laws, on a natural understanding of interaction, which has made difficult the study of intercultural relationships, but allowed for their perception as relationships of a distinct trans-ethnic, trans-cultural community that has already configured the coordinations of its own development separate from the Romanian or Hutsul ethnic groups' coordinations;</p> <p>- in relation to communication norms, to communication instances in intercultural communication, <b>symmetry</b> is predominant;</p> <p>- the <b>linguistic code switch</b> is achieved both in relation to activities performed and the addressee, irrespective of the speaker's ethnicity;</p> <p>- <b>communication availability and openness toward dialogue</b>, perceived as Romanian traits, are manifest; these traits characterize both the Romanian and Hutsul communication patterns.</p>
<p><b>Communication genre (genre)</b></p>	<p>- <b>there no genre differences</b> as far as the intra-ethnic or the interethnic communication in Cața is concerned;</p> <p>- the predominant communication genres are the <b>narrative</b> and the <b>instructive</b>.</p>	<p>- <b>there no genre differences</b> as far as the intra-ethnic or the interethnic communication in Breaza is concerned;</p> <p>-the <b>narrative</b> prevails within the intra-ethnic communication, the cultural narrator acting as a local institution, whose role is to value the cultural experience and to interpret it in compliance with the place's logic, customs, meaning and reason.</p>

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By placing together the most relevant characteristics of intercultural communication within these two localities, it is noticeable that there are one set of similarities and many more differences. At the time of formulating the hypotheses of the research we hoped to identify a larger number of similarities, due to their common Romanian administrative setting and due to the Romanian ethnic group's (self-declared) predominance as resulted in the 2011 census. Despite the presence of the Romanian dominant element in both villages, the intercultural communication patterns are based on cultural grounds, of different contexts, which sustain George Bateson's contextual perspective over communication. Speaking about the quantity of common features in configuring intercultural communication patterns, we omitted the qualitative perspective: the most important features, in relation to the cultural openness and the cultural change projection are common:

- communication is non-conflicting;
- communication is not exclusivistic, the tertiary person being present, it may constitute even a requirement of the everyday dialogue;
- the degree of intelligibility is high (or very high) in communication between the members of the rural community, irrespective of their ethnicity;
- the Romanian language is the mainly used instrument for interethnic communication;
- the two localities can be perceived at least as speech communities, following Hymes' theory.

Among the other important features, relevant for delimiting the intercultural communication patterns within the Romanian rural environment, two are distinct:

- existence vs. inexistence of conflicting relationships between ethnic groups of the locality, based on status differences;
- predominance of the German pattern vs. the Romanian one in interaction in

everyday communication and, implicitly, within interethnic relationships.

Even this presentation of major differences results in indicating common, important traits that define the general setting of the interethnic communication within the Romanian village: the alogenous element is not rejected, therefore, the conflict was not generated by the rejection of the alogenous element, but by the lack of concordance between the possible intercultural dialogue and the roles attributed to the superior status, granted by regional or national authorities (in other words, by a sort of social injustice that cannot be looked at without remorse), respectively, the normative organization patterns are not an impediment for dialogue, the Romanian culture manifesting its availability for openness, in spite of its adopting some interaction norms of foreign origin.

By summing-up the most relevant characteristics of intercultural communication within those two localities, there is a possibility to define specific patterns:

a. Interethnic communication within the Romanian village, nonconflicting, non-exclusivistic, achieved at a high degree of mutual intelligibility, is possible due to the Romanian cultural openness, which implies a specific form of remarkable adaptive intelligence<sup>5</sup> of the Romanian ethnic community, by borrowing within the limits of creating the necessary functional communication and by eroding, equally, formality, artificiality, distance within the interethnic dialogue, due to the strong connections with the background;

b. Despite the interaction norms of Romanian or alogenous origin, the interethnic communication within the Romanian village presupposes the configuration of perception and thinking patterns that imply a vision of existing beyond the "tyranny of imperatives",

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<sup>5</sup> Să privim, totuși, cu rezerva lui Ralea (1997:90), adaptabilitatea la români: „Căci adaptabilitatea e o sabie cu doua tășuri. Ea poate însemna evoluție, inteligență, finețe, sulețe, progres, după cum poate însemna lașitate, duplicitate, șiretenie, superficialitate.”

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regarded as inconsistent, lacking rigidity, unstable, which, yet, being natural (born by the interaction with nature, with the native place), imposes itself in time, in the acculturative process. Probably, these thinking patterns, in Vulcănescu's terms, perceived as a dimension of the very existence (judgment criterion and norm in relation to other existences), are those that allowed our preservation in time and space, inclusively, or especially, throughout the "silent millennium", when the interaction norm was defined by others, while the living norm was profoundly insinuated by Romanians. Vulcănescu names this feature "*spiritual strength*" and defines it in accordance with its effects on apparently great cultures, but subjected to acculturative erosion, in time:

The spiritual strength of a nation is measured by the degree to which it is able to impose its own existence perspective on others, to destroy others' perspectives, to dismantle them, to show their lacks and, whether desired or not, to be able to make the foreigner to obey his rule. This is the spiritual strength!

There is no contact between cultures not to end up with such consequences. And this the advantage, but equally, a disadvantage of the exchange between cultures. (Vulcănescu, 2009:16-17)

c. In intercultural communication, the major identity that is negotiated is not the ethnic one but the community one; in relation to this connection with the *Gemeinschaft*, the ethnic identity of the other passes from the primordial stage, to the contextual and toward the constructivist ones, the intraethnic solidarity fading its importance away in relation to the contextualist solidarity, within the limits of an already configured community based on the powerful Romanian background<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> A synthesis-ethnic profile, identity symbol for Romanians, set up based on ideas deriving from works of Ibrăileanu, Rădulescu-Motru, Blaga, Ralea, Ionescu, Vulcănescu, Crainic, Noica or Stăniloae, was accomplished by Constantin Schifirneț (2009:471-472): „There is a prevalent idea guiding all written works related to the Romanian specificity, on several levels that are very clearly delimited. At religious level –

The rural ethnic community, the original community, in Rădulescu-Motru's acceptance, is more conservative, more powerful in its identity relations imposed on disparate elements, with an identity shaped far from any possible national identity, living anachronically at the language and norm level and relating to a long forgotten hierarchy. Under these circumstances, the dominant form of acculturation in intercultural relationships within the Romanian village is that of assimilation.

### 5. CONCLUSIONS

A review of the intercultural communication patterns within the Romanian village highlights the open and nonconflicting character of the Romanian people, *the strength of their existence* and their patience in assimilating the other. Moreover, these patterns are inter-conditioned. Openness lacking existence strength would have led to our disappearance in time, run over by the legs of the prairie or pusta, and the lack of patience would have drawn us closer to great conflicts, resulting in disastrous consequences. Apparently being in a lethargic state, in the proximity of the "eternal sleep", in a hibernation state for about one thousand years,

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*orthodoxy is the preservation element of our culture and spirituality; at linguistic level – the language is the linking factor of our ethnic identity. Language may be considered the only Romanian dimension that cannot be subjected to doubt, if we ignore some allegations with regard to limitations of the international circulation of the Romanian works; culturally – Romanians possess a rich popular culture, proof of our nation's very becoming; from economic point of view – Romania is basically an agronomical and pastoral country that slowly adjusts to industrialism and to capitalist labor; psychologically – Romanians are tolerant, hospitable, sceptical, ironic, fatalist, holding a tendency toward inactivity, they emit relative opinions and are adjustable; geopolitically – the Romanian culture would be a synthesis between East and West, whereas the Romanian land used to be a gate to Christianity, but equally an oasis of Latinity within a space dominated by Slavic peoples.”* The strong Romanian traits that configure the local community are those deriving from this synthesis-profile, and which, to an equal extent, provide the Romanian identity.

in order to prepare the germinating bed, and, implicitly, the vegetation state, the Romanian culture closed in itself, actually, working tacitly, following the nature's rhythm and melting into it. The direct effects, after the wake up, consisted of the configuration of one of the European states with the highest ratio between the number of ethnic majority and minority (not because of the alogenous element, but due to its transformation into a Romanian element) and, especially, the European state with the highest percentage of linguistic unity (within the limits of a single dialect, the Daco-Romanian one) and religious one. After thousands of years of living under various administrative structures, and following the gradual alogenous infusion, the indo-european (Latin, German, Slavic, Roma etc.) or non indo-european (Cuman, Pecheneg, Tatar, Turkish, Hungarian etc.), the ethnic, linguistic and religious unity cannot be contested. The miracle of this survival and renaissance lies in the intercultural dialogue at micro-socio-linguistic level, at the level of the Romanian village. Here, due to these communication patterns subtly imposed, in time, with patience and due to an unuttered submission to nature and its laws (the Romanian establishing an alliance with the natural setting), due to a well balanced heritage, but which does not imply abandonment, retractility, or an unsociable character, survival (and cohabitation) was possible. *Strength of existence* constituted the key element. Being aware that visible does not stand for completeness, that laws, signs, the reason of deeds come from the subtle world of reasonable happenings, based on a permissive confessional ground, yet not a weak one, but a strong and sound one, related to his very being, the Romanian has imposed the vision of his own existence. Once the Other accepted it, this vision turned into identity. Irrespective of his ethnic origin, the Other has become Romanian. This constructivist or contextualist form of the identity of the Other, related to a setting involving this transformation into simple everyday deeds, deeds perceived within organic limits (and as they were cultivated by Orthodoxy) meant a translation of the Romanian matrix-space into the Other's

existence. This is the point where mystery appeared: the matrix-space and the unconscious horizon of knowledge, at the level of the original community, have become identity elements, much more important than the language, law of the land or tradition. On rare occasions, ethnic groups self-isolated in time and space, refusing dialogue through the voice of those ethnic authorities, form isolated spots of non-Romanians. The answer is always a permissive, benevolent one, at community level.

The proof lies in the two communities subjected to study. Despite the alogenous interaction norm in Cața, the Romanianism expansion is extremely visible. The first elements to prove the communication patterns of Romanian origin are the language and the confession. There are many Roma people willingly declared Romanians, according to their own statements. The interethnic dialogue is non-conflicting and intelligible. Intercultural communication is achieved through common sense, yet, in time, it produces slight erosion to the non-natural norm. In Breaza, the assimilation phenomenon was completed long ago. In one hundred years, 40% of the Romanian population completely assimilated an ethnic complex made up of Hutsuls – an ethnic enigma, with an important Romanian or pre-Romanian substratum – mostly Boykos, Ruthenians, Poles, Slovaks, Jewish, Germans, Hungarians and Roma people. The problem of interethnic communication turned to be a false one, as long as the dialogue is predominantly trans-ethnic, following a particular rule of the place with regard to the language use.

Then, how can the set of differences be explained, concerning the configuration of the general setting of the intercultural communication within the two communities? First of all, the two localities had a different historical evolution, under a common administration. There were hard pressures from the regional or central administrative structure regarding the interethnic relationships in Cața, but minor ones in Breaza. In Cața, similarly to the entire region of Ardeal, the Romanian population was tolerated for a while. In Cața, the social

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hierarchy favoring the German and Hungarian ethnic groups, the locality's belonging to various administrative structures and being under the pressure imposed by Budapest, especially between 1868 and 1918, later on, the Roma people replacing the Germans together with the collectivization resulted in multiple positioning and re-positioning. In Breaza, interethnic relationships with a population with an important Romanian/pre-Romanian substratum, situated at the same level of the social hierarchy, in the absence of any important normative pressures and in the absence of an assimilation-oriented policy imposed by Vienna of a similar intensity with the one imposed by Budapest in Ardeal, in an uncollectivized region, allowed for a single-direction, non-constraining social change. Nevertheless, not only factors of physical and psychical context regarding communication were decisive, but also the formal everyday communication, the lack of purposes-goals of ethnic origin, the very high degree of intelligibility, the predominance of the Romanian pattern of interaction and the configuration of a common linguistic stock, composed of pre-Romanian, Romanian, Slavic (Ukrainian, Polish) etc. words, fact that has led to the locality's perception as a language community, favored the transformation of a multiethnic community into an ethnically major community, through mixing (99,74%). Lack of interethnic conflicts in both community may be explained by the fact that the composing ethnic groups, having cultural identity, have not claimed the transfer of their cultural identity attributed to a presumptively political identity – the Szekely movement in Romania does not affect the Hungarian population from Cața in their actional plan – the ethnic group also rely on political support, still, it does not put any pressure with regard to its imposition. Although the ethnocentric tendency of the Hungarian authorities from Romania is manifest – understanding ethnocentrism in its weak perception, having anthropological background: „(...) *the positions of those who appreciate that their lifestyle is preferable to other lifestyles*” (Herskovits, 1967, *apud* Georgiu, 2010:141) –

its effects are not visible due to the community's special form of intelligence, involving interethnic engagement and mutual respect. Under the circumstances of maintaining an ethnocentric nuance within the Hungarian community from Cața, as well, still in weak terms, we perceive that the other lifestyles are valid and legitimate but not the preferred ones (Georgiu, 2010:142), probably the acculturation process would have been reduced to re-interpretation, but for the common code of engagement: the German norm, a modeling one, imposing a certain social behavior and implicitly, a communicative behavior, beyond the ethnic closures and reinterpretations from neighboring localities. The political identity is unanimously accepted in Breaza and quasi-unanimously accepted in Cața. Despite a special norm, on behalf of the German population, all ethnic groups subjected to our study are characterized by the existence of the German/South-Eastern European model of culture-civilization rapports, a model in which historical and cultural identity are predominant in relation to the political one, and where engagement presupposes the accomplishment of one citizen's duties. This belonging to a national pattern, historical and cultural, should constitute a factor able to alter intercultural relationships, still, reality infirmed our hypothesis. The organic structure of individual-culture relationships allowed for the dialogue, both in Cața, as well as in Breaza, as long as the pressure imposed by the organically built state was not visible.

In their common history, the ethnic communities of Cața and Breaza have cultivated, to a small or very small extent, their simplified social representation, perceived as a set of collectively designed opinions and beliefs round significance and in relation to nature. The ethnic stereotype, characterizing the interval of interethnic coldness (amplified in Cața, as a dialogue between different social classes), reached a very low percentage, although it is still situated round the har core of representativity. Nonetheless, due to a need to protect the cultural identity, and due to a need of the Hungarian political leaders to

maintain a *status quo*, the Hungarian community from Cața is more reserved, more distant, without manifesting a closure behavior. Moreover, the Romanian local authorities launched a special form of dialogue with their Hungarian peers, by governing together and thus making the Roma people feel excluded.

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## FROM HELLAS TO FRANCE: THE LINGUISTIC CONFIGURATION OF THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES IN THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

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**Abstract:** In 1821, after 110 years of Phanariot domination, some thousands of Greek words had entered the Romanian lexicon, which disappeared later in less than 30 years. The French influence had increased constantly till 1848 and afterwards, the neologisms in present-day Romanian being mainly of French origin. The symbiosis is deep, and the structural changes occur in most spheres of society. There is a change – sometimes dramatic – of accent and direction: from Hellas to France.

**Keywords:** linguistics, Phanariot era, Greek terms, French neologisms.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In 1711, the Romanian countries were not considered reliable any longer by the Turkish Empire, or more correctly, by its leaders. Peter, the czar of Russia, allied to Dimitrie Cantemir himself, had lost the battle of Stănilești. It was unimaginable that he, the favourite prince of Voivode Constantin, the luxury hostage of Seraglio, the unparalleled speaker of Turkish and the all-knowledgeable of the Ottoman culture should experience something like this! Not long after this event, Constantin Brâncoveanu of the Romanian State was beheaded (in 1714) together with his four sons and his son-in-law.

This marks the beginning of the Phanariot era<sup>1</sup>. For 110 years, the leaders in the two Principalities were appointed directly by the vizier (in agreement with the Sultan, of

course), sometimes only for several months, some other times for an even shorter period.

Most of them being descendants of imperial or aristocratic Byzantine families, these princes of Phanar behaved in the target countries like on a territory under military occupation (with some notable exceptions, such as Nicolae Mavrocordat, among others). It is not difficult to understand why: they had to get back an important investment (the bribe to obtain the caftan of a sire was, in most of the cases, terribly high and the time to get it back, very short).

Thus, the so-called *chimney tax*<sup>2</sup> and *tax on cattle* started being collected; the plague of Caragea was haunting the two countries; Pazvantoglu, the one-eyed Pasha of Vidin, started plundering Oltenia. There is no wonder that in the collective mind, the Phanariot era appears in the darkest shades, comparable only to those of the post-war Stalinisation of Romania. 150 years after the Romanian States gained their Independence, one can still hear in the country-side the expression *Ho, că nu dau turcii!* ('Calm down, the Turks are not coming!').

<sup>1</sup> „The term, Phanariot, designates the ethnically Greek and Orthodox elite in the European territories of the Ottoman Empire. The name is derived from that of the neighborhood in Constantinople, closet o the Oecumenical Patriarchate, traditionally inhabited by Greeks. (...). In Romanian history, the term designates a group of high officials of Greek origin who, between 1711 and 1716, on the one hand, and 1921, on the other, were appointed by the Ottoman Empire to rule the Romanian Principalities of Walachia and Moldavia. The effects of their period of rule are still being debated by Romanian historians.” (Zbucnea, 2001:234)

<sup>2</sup> The *chimney tax* (known as ‘fumărit’ or ‘coșerit’) was a tax paid by the people of Tara Romaneasca (The Romanian State) and of Moldavia in the 17<sup>th</sup> century for each chimney/house where there was a chimney.

## 2. THE ANCIENT FRENCH IN THE ROMANIAN SPACE

Was this really the truth? To a certain extent, it was, but not entirely. Some of the Phanariots could speak Neo-Greek. Of course, the influence of Greek upon Vulgar Latin was obvious even in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (the period of Proto-Corinthian pottery in central Italy, according to *Istoria limbii romane*, 1965: 42). Words such as *delphinus*, *lynx*, *magi*, *schema*, and *elephantus* are some possible examples, and the phenomenon seems recurrent in Proto-Romanian, Ancient French and in the Romanian space, in general, until the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the afore-mentioned period, a considerable cultural invasion occurs in the Romanian States, the lexical borrowings being able to influence, as linguists well know, even the phonological level of the language. Thus, before 1821 (the year of Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution), over 4.000 Greek terms from all public and private spheres had entered the Romanian language (and I am not talking strictly about the official language). Then, during the following three decades, the States are led by native rulers; this coincides on the cultural level with the beginnings of the cultivated Romanian literature (the Văcărescu brothers). What was the outcome? In 1848, the Romanian language contained about 300 Greek terms that were neological in character and aspect, thus necessary for communication, which have been preserved until the present. Examples in this respect would be *tipsie* ('tray'), *tichie* ('cap'), *aghiașă* ('the devil'), *cărămidă* ('brick'), etc. The phenomenon is obvious and large-scale, of course. Within a couple of decades, without the intervention of any scientific institution (at that time there was no Romanian Academy), the language produced its own anti-bodies and got rid of the useless lexical stuff that overloaded it. We could still encounter vague outbursts in Nicolae Filimon's works, and even vaguer ones in Caragiale's (e.g. *a cabulipsi* in *O noapte furtunoasă*: "*Dacă dumnealui cabulipsește să ne onoreze cu atîta cinste... de! Zestrea nu-i așa mare, și dumnealui e... știi, ceva mai sus... noi sîntem negustori.*").

But we could state that the process had definitely come to an end.

But, of course, the space does not remain empty: French terms start entering the lexicon unusually vigorously. It is the period of well-off persons who studied in Paris and of the 'German' suits. Until the period between the two World Wars, the novels of the French classics could be bought from Calea Victoriei within maximum one week after their publication in Paris. The influence is long-lasting and obvious even nowadays. The modern, neologic aspect of literary Romanian is definitely of French origin/nature.

But one has to stick to the historical truth, above all. I do not think that we could speak of a real French-Greek antagonism. The two great European cultures are not opposed to each other, but live in symbiosis. A word like *filozofia* ('philosophy'), for example, is taken over and reinforced by the corresponding French neologism. Let us not forget that the Phanariot noblemen had studied in Paris (especially at the end of the period). The absolute premiere of a theatrical performance took place at 'Cișmeaua Roșie'<sup>3</sup> in Bucharest, the play being part of the French repertoire and was meant for the audience familiar with French at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Princess Ralu Caragea, the daughter of the homonymous Phanariot leader (who also wrote the first Romanian Penal Code), proved thus to be an *avant la lettre* Francophone. We can not know what the course of history might have been if Napoleon had focused on us more than he had on the Poles...

## 3. CONCLUSIONS

In any case, if as far as French classical historiography is concerned Jules Michelet's recourse is inevitable (no matter how seductive the so-called 'mentalities' school might be, and is), with respect to cultural anthropology and historical philosophy Oswald Spengler seems to be right, after all. We cannot explain the huge historical tides; the Roman Empire,

<sup>3</sup> Cismeaua Rosie ('The Red Fountain) was the name of a fountain on the present-day Calea Victoriei in Bucharest, where the first Romanian Theater was set up.

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for example, started from a couple of huts from Latium and changed the Mediterranean into 'Mare Nostrum'. We could only take notice, with slight melancholy, of their existence. As far as we, the Romanian, are concerned, the initiatic path unfolds between Hellas and France, the two pillars of European culture, as it can still be configured – fortunately – nowadays.

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Cultures and  
Communities  
Preservation





## ON SOME MIGRATION-RELATED POLICIES

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**Abstract:** *The growing number of people in motion triggers various effects both on receiving and home countries, irrespective of the migration type. In order to regulate them a world political framework is required as well as the establishment of the clear-cut domains in need for intervention. Despite the call for migrants, Europe responds to their pressure through immigration security in key domains such as the social economic area, the security, identity and political sectors. Migration policies still feature a significant number of considerable drawbacks, among which those regarding their restrictive nature. Schengen itself stands for clear evidence, being subject to the community right. No European country can have a stand-alone policy regarding migration. But common as they can be, policies must be open to everybody's welfare, that is, to both the receiving and home countries and the migrants themselves*

**Keywords:** *migration, policies, regulation, security, opening*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays around 214 million people are migrants, that is 3,1 % in the world population, as opposed to 120 million in the mid 90's. Migration spread all over the continents and almost all countries in the world, by converting them into home, transit or receiving countries of either two or all sorts at the same time. The migrants' profiles vary but, perhaps, the most interesting fact is that migrant women tend to equal migrant men's ratio since travelling from one state to another was significantly facilitated. If leaving one's home country is extremely easy, with few exceptions, on the contrary, crossing the borders of the receiving countries is growing more and more difficult because of the controls, visas or their closing policies.

Within the current context, it was the first time when Europe, which had been a huge leaving area before the world wars, stood for a coveted place by migrants, even more craved than the USA, Canada and Australia altogether. However, it is racked by the existing cultural ethnic diversity which represent mental challenges to cope with

fairly. Human migration is an extremely complex phenomenon. It involves multiple relations between migrants, the home country and the receiving country having repercussions at economic, social, labour, health, cultural and security levels. The migration-regulating approach must take into account four main issues: migration and development, migration facilitation, its regulation and imposed migration. First and foremost, with the view to regulating migration, those designated to make decisions and apply the adopted policies must reach a consensus in order to work out a world political framework.

At national level, migration itself is a stand-alone domain of public policy pertaining to other fields sharing the same policy. Those who look into this phenomenon must envisage balance assurance between measures regarding various aspects and supervise the stages adopted to solve a particular problem so that they would not interfere with other issues. It is said that it is easier for a country which has clear-cut migration policies and well-defined entry categories to carry out successfully various arisen issues. By selecting the types of migrants it needs, integrating them rapidly and

completely where it wants, it will take great advantage of their skills and capabilities. Then native-born citizens themselves will welcome migrants faster and better, and the migrants' integration will be by far easier.

Those countries without well-defined migration policies go through a complete different experience. First they must elaborate down-to-earth migration policies and on the basis of a well-established legal framework which must say who is eligible, how migrants could be supported, and, especially, the programs run by these countries must comply with the programs carried out by the other countries to cope with all issues such as labour, cash remigration, health and homecoming.

More often than not the emergency situations that arise in the receiving countries are regulated under public opinion pressure, which is a significant drawback. Another inconvenience stems from the existing lag between the reality flows and the objectives of the European migration policies, mainly national ones. Thus, each and every receiving country adopted its own procedure to amend the migration-freezing decision started in the 70's and therefore, take loosening measures such as chosen migration, rates, residence permit, etc. In 1985, when the Schengen system was implemented, the migration was thought to be over, the autochthonous unemployed were thought to replace the immigrant employees who would leave, and border pressure was thought to be over, too. But, on the contrary, it was the other way round.

Although the social economic contexts and the immigration integration policies are different, starting the 80's, the immigrant's status along with the residence claimer's status, changes significantly both in the EU states and the USA. Even if immigrants were previously welcomed on the labour market, at present they start being perceived as evil doers who commit economic and social frauds, as terrorists, criminals and non assimilable individuals. In all politic debates they are thought of as a threat not only to the state, but also to the society, to its identity and security (Tsoukala & Ceyhan, 1997).

Why is immigration, rated as the "prime issue on the agenda" of the society, related to unemployment, poverty, exclusion, discrimination, racism which eventually identifies the cause thereby and become inherent issues of the existence? Edelman (1987:34) claims that migration, like any other social issue, is not a tangible entity, but a "make-up based on ideological interests". Immigration stands for a catalyst which encapsulates the topical issues. On the whole it is mainly perceived through its identity and security concerns.

Moreover, Philippe Dewitte (1999) states that the analysis of the legal system is a first step to set the stages of the migration policy. This approach can but reflect scarcely the migration reality as immigration involves unlawfulness to a certain extent as well as various extra-legal procedures. However, it unveils the aims and tacks of the public authorities. The parties in power will always amend the existing laws.

## 2. IMMIGRATION SECURITY

Immigration security is based upon symbolic policies which are aimed at customs check-up. The rhetorical arguments in favour of this operation cover four main domains (Tsoukala, Ceyhan, 1997): 1) the social economic domain centered on the relation between immigration, unemployment, crisis of the providence state; 2) the security domain where emphasis is laid upon sovereignty, border, domestic and foreign security; 3) the identity domain which points out the relation between immigration, invasion, demography, loss of national identity; 4) the political domain where the racist and xenophobe speeches enable electoral gains. Nevertheless, every domain in the ones mentioned above is marked by ambivalence.

At social economic level they invoke the negative impact of unlawful immigration both on the nationalists' jobs and salaries and the systems of social assistance and education; furthermore there is correlation between foreigners and the black market. Immigration is often associated with increasing unemployment and the exclusion development phenomenon



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but they neglect that it is the that cheap easily-exploitable workforce which enables to reach various economic goals, especially on short term, such as cost production decrease, the survivalship or impetus of various companies, and export trade increase. To the same extent they simply ignore the vital role that legal immigrants play to save the current social security regimes.

In some countries, governments prevent clandestines from rejoicing any social rights, and also restrict the legal residents' access to a range of services (for instance, their access to apply for a certain position). The law pertaining to nationality is amended to deny *jus soli*. Family regrouping is restricted, mixed marriages are supervised, records are worked out, the parents' lawful or unlawful stay is under scrutiny once they enroll their children for school, etc. These policies are not only symbolic and, therefore, have obvious effects on the integration/ assimilation process.

At security level, the fear regarding security loss brings about a correlation between unlawful immigration, crime rate, drug dealing and urban violence. In order to cope with all these, anticipated check-ups are implemented (before crossing the borders), customs check-ups become stricter and a series of check-ups are carried out inland, even society check-ups regarding one's life style. With the view to justifying this new system, throughout the EU states the European make-up and scarce security triggered by peoples' free flow and movement are called upon, whereas in the United States the vicinity with Mexico is highly debated and the jeopardy regarding the gradual Hispanicization of the society is brought to the foreground. However, in the USA the traditional borders are kept, whereas in the signatory countries of Schengen Agreement, borders are substituted with the "frontier zone" concept. By incriminating unlawful immigration, these policies label the illegal immigrant as "deflective", requiring tight supervision, and the legal immigrant as "suspect". They do not stop to reconsider the public liberties belonging to immigrants, citizens and to the society in general which requires their protection.

In its capacity of filtration place, the borderline stands for a symbol representing sovereignty, marking identity and protecting populations from outer dangers, by feeding security speeches at the same time. The effectiveness of border check-ups is still low as long as they guarantee impermeability of frontiers; nevertheless they are completely incompatible with the principles of democratic regimes and liberal economy. There is no politician to take his or her stand, more precisely he or she does not make reference to their effectiveness, because if they did this, they would address the state capacity to assure one of the main functions of its sovereignty: the population's check-up within the borders. The moment does not suit to the sovereignty of western states which appears more and more threatened by globalization and the EU make-up. In the collective psyche the settlement of migration flows is connected to tight supervision procedure at customs by the sovereign state. Every transnational movement is perceived as a threat to its identity and security. The Broadcast of the police operations findings to combat foreigners' migration, which become more and more noteworthy, unveil efficient police force that fight the unlawful immigrant surge. In reality, this image which substantiates "migrant invasion" is partially wrong, since in the great majority of cases when the police show the nationals of a bordering country to the borderline, they try to cross the border again at once.

The identity level recalls the civilization conflict, the non-assimilability of migrants coming from the "South", the incompatibility of their life styles, the threats to cultural ethnic identity, the population's unbalance. They underestimate that receiving societies themselves are the result of various mixtures and that, on a regular basis, their culture is thereby deeply influenced, sometimes even determined by the immigrants' contributions. Added to all these, we usually hesitate to consider the immigration impact on the receiving country population.

However, at political level, the racist and xenophobic speeches developed by the rightist

parties, provide valuable assistance to electoral plays, because it is around them that other parties policies are mainly articulated through identification or opposition.

### 3. IMMIGRANT CALL

Starting 2000 issues such as Europe ageing, head hunters world competition, the lack of skilled labour in various sectors, the consideration of the requirements imposed by internal affair security, the new exigencies of the opinions in countries such as the Netherlands and Denmark, which previously had accepted immigration, either come up or grow serious. Then comes the fear that the providence-state would be affected by the foreigners' assimilation. How can one regulate all these issues?

The only solution to population ageing and development pace keeping so far is immigration. A strong international demographic unbalance is envisaged, triggered either by the slight increase in the industrialised countries, or the significant ageing of their age pyramid. Facing this social relation, migrations are a solution, although not a very realistic one.

Europe acknowledges its need of migrants, which is why international competition for the most skilled recruits is ongoing. The old continent does not want to fall behind the United States or Canada. Nowadays the European migration policies are aimed at assimilating the top notch and highly-qualified subjects; it is the so-called "top notch migration" (de Wenden, 2007:23-28). Such a choice arises ethical problems, because instead of contributing to their underdeveloped countries, "heads" are recruited to work in order to make the rich countries prosper and thrive. The same goes with specialists who do not leave their home country out of welfare but because they are aware they can change their lives completely somewhere else.

The migrants force their access to the European space. The great majority want to migrate within the legal framework. Another possibility could be to defect as they would not want to cheat, they simply come from countries where the borderline between labour

immigration and defect immigration is difficult to determine, or drought-stricken countries, countries neglected by politicians, racked with unemployment or engaged in armed conflicts. The Geneva Convention (1951) does not provide this right for all the categories mentioned above. Others defect as a group as many groups are threatened given their ethnic, religious and sexual orientations. Europe responds them by restricting the defect right and conducting a stricter border check-up. Moreover, it sets rates through stringent selection policies and thereby affects the equity principle. Nevertheless, all these happen instead of taking measures to support and develop the legislation and policies of the receiving countries. For instance, the defect right was in force on large scale in the 90's (Great Lakes Africa, the Algerian crisis, the Balkans, the Kurdish issue, Afghanistan, Irak, Iran, Sri Lanka, Central America), and then narrowed down. Those who obtained the refugee status due to the Geneva Convention joined the dislocated people (7 million in 2004) such as those from The Horn of Africa, which were received by countries racked with crisis, as underdeveloped as those that people fled.

It is extremely difficult for Europe to receive them because it copes with people of different mentalities and cultures. For instance, it is hard to establish equity between men and women. European laws forbid excision and polygamy, do not provide marriage procedures typical of those areas, are against the lack of inheritance equity, forced or "set-up" marriages, and cannot tolerate "prostitution" even out of survival reasons.

At the same time, within the European space, there are all sorts of discriminations regarding labour, residence, education or the relations with the authority institutions. More often than it is not a matter of equality but chance rights, as pointed out by de Wenden.

The migration policy cannot trigger social justice. It is determined, however, by legal norms regarding human rights at both European and world levels or other norms such as "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" from 1948 according to which any individual has the right to flee a country, his

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hereby included, and this way the migration right is acknowledged without formulating the settle-in right somewhere else, and “The Charter of the United Nations” from 1999 regarding migrants’ rights (a treaty which was amended only by 34 countries).

The human mobility arises serious topical issues. First and foremost, they involve high financial, political, diplomatic, human costs for the border, repatriation and retention check-up. When policies are restrictive, they bring about a significant increase in those who cross the borders unlawfully due to the selection criteria which are too strict (asylum, family regrouping) and encourage the agencies’ activities who practice unlawful travelling. Then it is often wrong to maintain on the territory, years on end, outlanders with unregulated status who work, have their own families, children and are determined not to leave for their home countries until they build up their own positive profile, as long as their lives are determined by taking up residence. This policy keeps those without permits on the alert, being at the owners’ service or under identity scrutiny. The illegal status of the great majority of people hinders their right to make claims or at least better returning conditions and respite (Bigo, 1996). Associations and opposition parties in most receiving countries argue that the illegal framework was created by governments and legal inconstancy.

Besides these policies, other measures are also envisaged as a European response to migration pressure:

- a coordination between emigration and immigration countries aimed at identifying the number of immigrants who can be received every year, so that it would comply with Northern requirements;

- a generalization of the rate system, already existing in Austria, and to a smaller extent in Germany, in the form of labour bilateral agreements;

- the encouragement of seasonal revolving migration to combat unlawful immigration.

Migration policies feature various main drawbacks: they try to meet various world imperatives (the human rights) and work out solutions to a series of issues described above,

but their responses are quite controversial. More often than not they are triggered by the public opinion pressure, security issues or fear to trigger competition on the labour market, without taking into consideration other pressing issues such as ageing of the European countries, the lack of workforce, the need of elite citizens, etc. Since they are not elaborated from conviction, their result is reflected in the treatment applied to any migrant.

The economic and financial crisis which started in 2008 affected the world economy on the whole by influencing employment as well. Thus, international migration analysis came to the fore, being one of the political priorities in OECD countries. It is about migration flows analysis and the role immigration plays in relation to the autochthonous population and labour market in the receiving countries. It is mandatory to look into the immigrant workers’ jobs and their integration on the labour market in OECD countries, as well as into the migration flows regulation and the establishment of the migrants’ role in the economic development of their home countries.

The poorly-qualified workers undoubtedly satisfy this slot on the labour market in the receiving countries which must carefully regulate the migrants’ movements of this type, make sure that temporary workers return home practically and redirect unlawful acts towards lawful ones. As for highly-qualified migrants, their labour must be fully made use of during their migration stay. The research conducted by OECD in every country on the integration of immigrants and their children (the second generation) on the labour market looked deeply into the situation and factors to identify the best procedures, develop the immigrants’ human and social capital, take advantage of their skills and experience and combat discriminations.

### 4. SOVEREIGNTY AND FREE MOVEMENT

Free movement is any man’s dream; it is a serious ambition he never gave up, although being hindered by the state requirements,

especially by any political power which wants to be aware of those who come in or out. The double nature of sovereignty, territorial or personal, enables the supervision of people flows, even if it opposes itself to free movement: people are allowed to move freely and at the same time their acts are overseen. If, generally speaking, the home-born citizens' inland trajectories are not controlled, one cannot say the same about the foreigners' travels or any other person's travel from one state to another irrespective of their nationality.

Within the last decade, the number of national states became four times higher, reaching 200, which means that there are new borders to cross.

The Treaty of Rome from 25th March 1957 turned the free movement into one of the fundamental principles of the European make-up. But, since it was an economic make-up of Europe, free movement was restricted to assets, services and capitals, not to people. The necessity to go beyond the workers' free movement approval and extend free movement to all people gradually appeared.

On 14th June 1985, in Schengen, a small town in Luxemburg in the vicinity of France and Germany, the most determined among Union members (Germany, Belgium, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) signed up a "*Relative agreement on gradual suppression of border zone check-ups*", which, on 19th June 1990, was followed by an applicable convention entitled "Schengen Convention" to which Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Austria, Finland and Sweden adhered (the only EU members which did not adhere being the United Kingdom and Ireland), whereas Iceland and Norway joined later, in 1997.

Meanwhile, within the community framework, The Treaty of Maastricht regarding the European Union, signed on 7th February 1992, amended article 8 of the Treaty of Rome setting up thereby a "*European citizenship*" and added a new article 8A which provided the temporary stay and free movement principle for "*every Union citizen on the territory of its member states*". Furthermore, the article K1 of the Treaty of Maastricht provided that "*asylum policy*", "*the*

*rules concerned with crossing the outside borders of the member states*", "*the immigration policy and the policy dealing with the nationals of a third country*", along with "*the requirements of incoming, movement and stay*" stand for mutual interest issues.

The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), in its turn, provided "communitarization", after a 5 year probation period, of relative matters on "visas, asylum, immigration" and "other policies related to the people's free movement". A protocol attached to The Treaty of Amsterdam provided that the Schengen acquis should enter the treaty. Thus, the people's free movement issue changed its nature: initially conceived within intergovernmental relations, it seems to become from now on, in short time, an integrating part of the community right.

The Schengen Convention does not make reference to community nationals. The definition of the "foreigner" formulated in article 1 brings evidence in favour of this claim. He is „any person, other than the nationals within the member states of various European communities", that is the nationals from the third extracommunity countries. The member states must define in accordance with the principles elaborated within treaties and the community right, the movement, stay and settle-in right of their nationals on the territory belonging to any of them.

In reality, Schengen check-ups are not exclusively aimed at foreigners, but also its own citizens and community nationals. The fixed, regular border check-ups are replaced by mobile ones, conducted randomly on a wide surface of the territory (the 20 square kilometers zone around international train stations and airports). This is because the European Council decided "*to communitarize mutual interest issues*" so that Schengen must be in line with the community right priority principle on the interstate right. Given this principle, the latter was substituted by the first one (except for Iceland and Norway which by joining Schengen, are not European community members). It is noteworthy that what was regulated by the European authorities is significant for the transition from

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the intergovernmental method to the integrating one.

### 5. PERSPECTIVES ON FREE MOVEMENT

All European Union member states agree with the crucial principles: the opening of the inside borders, outside border check-up intensifications, closing the European space (Labayle, 1997:230-233). Divergences are concerned with political considerations, not with principle opposition.

Tomorrow's Europe will be the Community and Union Europe and not Schengen's Europe. The latter must set up a more structured system which offers better guarantees regarding common acting of the involved states.

World reports dealing with human development draw the attention to the necessity of narrowing down restrictions imposed by governments with respect to migrants' movement which enables them to make their own decisions to suit them, either within their home-country borders, or beyond the frontiers. Political orientations and practical measures are required to improve incoming perspectives, which will trigger great advantages both for the receiving communities and the home ones. Reforms must not be worked out only by the receiving governments but also home ones, as well as by other key actors (the private sector, the trade unions and the NGOs) and could be required by the migrants themselves.

Some European Union members are afraid, however, of the new European invasion from the East, and established a seven-year transitional period, after which they will benefit of free movement and labour. Nevertheless, there is no highly-selective immigration policy regarding reconcilability between European countries.

The challenges to human development are poverty, human rights, cultural freedom, globalization, water shortage and climate changes. The world report on human development from 30th September 2009 proves that its deep reason is determined by

placing people in the development centre. Human beings realize the great potential they have, extend their choices and take advantage of their freedom to live the life styles they want.

Irrespective of their reasons, the great majority deliberately choose to emigrate to places where life styles are better. More than three quarters of the international migrants leave for a country whose human development level is higher than the one in their home country. However, they must cope with various constraints related to the policies which restrict their incoming in the countries they crave for, or the available resources to be used in order to reach their goals. When policies are discriminating, they hinder the integration process (Dewitte, 2005:12): "indeed, discrimination and more than that, inefficiency of its treatment destroy the confidence that citizens may have in observing the laws of the Republic", and "the contract which unifies the state and citizens partially loses its power or is simply destroyed".

The inland and outland migrations grow more and more important in the national and international debates and the starting point in the discussions regarding them make reference to the fact that capability distribution is extremely unequal on wide scale, which represents a main factor which engages people's mobility. Migrations can enrich people's choices, for instance from the financial point of view, or access to services or participation, but the best people's opportunities differ from the ones those with limited skills and capabilities have. This implicit unbalance which may become more serious through public policy distortions, is an issue open to debate.

### 6. CONCLUSIONS

At European Union level, the migration-related policy complies with two principles: inland opening and outland closing. Schengen agreements, signed in 1985, were mainly aimed at facilitating inside free movement for the signatory states. As a matter of fact, if absolutely looked into, they represent a

combat tool against outside migrations, by “communitarizing” the outside borders check-up regulations by visas and asylum selections of those who defect.

In Europe there is no more national reply at all to the international migration phenomenon, even if the great majority of the European states face decreasing in regular incoming and defecting starting the 90's. The residence policies brought to the foreground the visa system implemented along with Schengen agreements starting 1986. Restriction comes first everywhere along with discouragement and suspicion to all incoming procedures (asylum, tourism, marriage, studies).

At national level there is no null immigration since states can act on a very limited number of people and those who immigrate are protected by constitution provisions (the right to settle down as family through family regrouping) or treaties (The Geneva Convention from 1951 for asylum right) or more than that, by the European dispositions set. Besides an exceptional policy determination, no Union state can carry out stand-alone policy, being engaged in a range of international agreements.

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## ENTREPRENEURIAL UNITS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE COMMUNITY WELFARE

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**Abstract:** *The importance associated with the welfare of community has constantly grown despite the fact that in the contemporary world the authorities are considered no more responsible for meeting the needs of regular people. While the connection between different fields of the social life is increasingly growing nowadays, businesses are also considered to be responsible for the welfare of the citizens. Lately, corporations act this way under the umbrella concept of corporate social responsibility. Using a semi structured interview the main objective of this paper is to identify the main concerns of managers regarding the needs of their community and also the way they perceive security and how they understand the involvement in the welfare of the citizens*

**Keywords:** *community, social responsibility, welfare, business environment, security culture*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Winston Churchill considered individual and collective responsibilities "*the price of greatness*". While there is a widespread perception that the most serious problems of humanity, like hunger, wars, population explosion, can not be solved by singular individuals, in the same way the individual's lack of response makes him partly responsible for the wrong result, the collective inaction of a group of people should make them responsible for the evil they should have prevented it.

Still, there are authors (Weber, 1914; Lewis, 1948) advocating for the irrelevance of a concept as the "collective responsibility" of the group. Weber insisted on the impossibility of one group to enunciate intentions prior to action therefore collective responsibility would not be a logical issue and his idea was continued by H.D. Lewis, who associated consider a moral contradiction to blame individuals for the actions of others.

The values belong to the individual and the individual is the only bearer of moral responsibility.", "No one is morally guilty except for those behaviors which he himself considers to be wrong", "Collective responsibility is ... barbaric. (Lewis, 1948:3-6).

Still, as a modern extension to the concept of "collective responsibility", the present-days introduced the concept of "corporate social responsibility" (CSR) and also the associated obligations. Corporate Social Responsibility has become a priority in today's world, primarily because of the way society has evolved. This is why its basic characteristics have been deeply modified. While globalization means interdependence of individuals, communities and ideas, the widespread connectivity of all societal segments around the world resulted in a reduction of the role of the state in economy, trade liberalization, international financial transactions, and appearance of the transnational corporations.

In a very generous sense, CSR is a strategy of action by which companies can interact with the community in working to solve the problems facing it. In accordance with the

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modern approaches, company is equated with a citizen and in the same way he enjoys rights and obligations, each company acquires corporate citizenship and therefore has, in turn, benefits and responsibilities. In this context, the involvement of the firms is considered to be an effective way of clearing the logistical inability of the state to solve some problems of society. The emergence of "corporate social responsibility" was favored by the social pact between the community and businesses which is primarily based on mutual trust, cooperation and mutual dependence (Wartick and Cochran, 1985). The fact that managers have lately assumed a progressive social role in the community is reflected in definitions such as

CSR is the process through which managers in an organization think and discuss their relations with stakeholders and their roles in relation to the common good" (Basu and Palazzo, 2008).

In accordance with the Nobel Prize winner, Gary Becker (1997) all those who advocate in favor or against CSR should consider both profits and expectations of the communities in which they operate making a comprehensive cost-benefit analysis that includes psychological, relational, and vocational or any other type of profits or costs. The difficulty to differentiate positive from negative effects of CSR explains largely why studies on the relationship between CSR and financial performance are contradictory and inconclusive. Recent studies have identified a strong correlation of these variables (Waddock and Graves, 1997), no correlation (McWilliams and Siegel, 2000) or a negative correlation (Wright and Ferris, 1997). For example, Margolis and Walsh (2003) have monitored more than 95 studies and found that 42% indicated no correlation. Still, CSR has proven positive effects on socio-economic field of the individual actor engaged in certain activities and also inside the community at large. For example, in countries that encourage cooperation and trust between the actors and that emphasize the human and social capital is the highest wealth (Waddock and Graves, 1997). Although I do not express a total

agreement with the idea that the economic environment has the ability to solve the major social problems of humanity, I align to the modern belief that companies have significant resources that is appropriate to be used inside the communities of belonging.

**Corporate social responsibility and Romanian experience:** The concern of the Romanian business environment for proliferation of CSR initiatives is notable. Government statistics show that the investments of companies in CSR activities were over 10 million euros every year. However, most of the money was spent for donations or sponsorships, on social assistance, support for associations of charitable funding, for scientific research projects, education or environmental protection. In the same time, Romania organized in 2006 the first CSR conference in Eastern Europe where participants stressed that CSR leads to improved reputation, increased customer and employee satisfaction, increase visibility and market differentiation, which ultimately will increase sales and profits. Unfortunately, social responsibility programs are not sufficiently reflected in the specialized media. Lack of effective public communication of CSR activities of companies may be a reason to justify inertia competition and the lack of enthusiasm to get involved in such activities. The Romanian economic environment is involved in CSR activities, but not as a response to the market pressure or to the public, but rather, as the consequences of implementing CSR strategies of the parent business. Like any loan, it initially took the form of a CSR fashion and not of an urgent need. IT industry, telecommunications, commerce, pharmaceutical industries have a name in the sphere of CSR activities in the field of education. Thus, Western Union, a banking company funded many grants of NGOs in the field of education. Also, MasterCard Europe supports a program to teach their employees specific courses for high school students. In 2005, Connex (Vodafone) has initiated "Connex scholarships for high school", in partnership with World Vision Romania to support the secondary education of the students coming from rural areas. Orange



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has funded FameLab competition, an initiative of British Council to encourage young scientist to develop their communication skills. In turn, *Microsoft Romania* has funded *Community and Diversity* program, Microsoft Conferences, initiated by the Foundation „Third Europe” in order to foster multicultural openness, citizenship and community solidarity through dialogue between the public and the protagonists of contemporary public life.

### 2. METHODS

In order to identify the perceptions of Romanian managers on corporate social responsibility and security expertise, I conducted a survey-based sociological interview during April-December 2011. The subjects are managers of major local companies, so that they should have been able to allocate money for corporate social responsibility activities and also they should be aware of such issue. The chosen sample is a "chain" type one, meaning that each subject was asked to recommend another entrepreneur willing to carry that discussion with the researcher. The founding idea of the research was that both concepts of “corporate social responsibility” and “security” are problematic for the surveyed population: a) corporate social responsibility because its pronounced novelty and b) security issues (of business and of the community) because of an inertial way of thinking and because of a mentality specific for the socialist era<sup>2</sup>. The sample consists of 35 managers (7 women and 28 men) aged 30-60 years, working in different areas and having different social statuses according their level of education, the specific of their company, their professional evolution etc.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The questions focused on several aspects who can be discussed in correlation and that allow us to identify the patterns of managerial

<sup>2</sup> In the socialist era, “Security” (as an institution) was superposed with political police, the citizen oppression, censorship and restrictions on individual rights and liberties in the collective mind.

actions in areas of interest. Thus, managers were questioned regarding the extent to which their company provides satisfaction in terms of the obtained profit. Responses were varied: some managers were satisfied with their income, while others faced the problems of the present economic crisis:

...we were the first area affected by the crisis. Later it was found that this area was the most affected by the crisis - I mean a depreciation of 80%, even more than the Great Depression of 30's. And even if I managed to keep the company profit, profit is not satisfactory. (SA)

Being asked about the way they manage to meet community needs, managers had different approaches to this problems. Although most of them understood that the question was referring to the way each company contributes on its own to the community welfare, other responses showed that managers are completely unaware of the issue of involving in community welfare:

When you have a certain number of employees it feels like you work for them... this number of employees is a help to the community, and also the collected taxes which are quite consistent. (DP)

From another perspective, most of the interviewed managers consider sponsorship and philanthropy as part of CSR activities. Often, CSR activities are confined to the two percent set by the law:

The sum is not defined, but it takes account of those 2% regulated by the Tax Code and we have to spend them as otherwise we have to pay a lot of taxes on such funds. But the law do not encourages sponsorship and put some limits – you can spend those money only if you have a profit, otherwise it is not possible. (MH)

Only a few managers (10%) revealed a sustained, constant, stable vision regarding CSR and also were referring it in a programmatic manner:

...Since 2007 we have been involved in environmental issues, we became the first company member of the largest market for environmental products in the world... With our

partners we have put into service the first wind park in Romania, the first solar park and now we mainly deal with renewable energy. Together with the City Hall we tried to make an integrated recycling waste project. So that we can ensure a better environment for people living in Bucharest, but also energy efficiency by providing a factory to process it and to transfer clean energy, without any nuisance at all. We are also involved in a forestation and reforestation projects with European support, working on several large projects... compared to what has been done so far, because from our point of view they are small. We are currently working on a reforestation project of 2500 ha and we want to plant trees on about 20,000 ha in the next 2 years. We also implemented several clean technologies for processing the biomass, energy crops, the wind energy, solar energy and hydropower, all them to increase the quality of life. (SA)

Regarding the CSR we had action and we will continue to the extent that time and resources allow us. Every year we have projects with orphanages, homes for the elderly where we donated a number of products to assist those children and old people to have a better life. We also had a number of corporate projects with local resonance - we are involved in a campaign to prevent drug use among young people, we helped the winner of chemistry contests giving them scholarships and trying desperately to prevent them to leave the country because they are very intelligent people. (AC)

Yes, there is charity like actions when company is donating money for social cases or donates time by reading stories to children with health problems... And there is also the now called social responsibility that is also being supported by environmental protection activities, or by donating time again, pro bono training programs and seminars for school, high school, students... in principle, to education... Now we develop programs, e.g. Internet addressing ethics or communication programs for representatives of public institutions in order to widespread recipes, working methods that are more advanced than what exists now in public institutions, but we consider this is a better chose than to support athletes or sports events or to reward performance in sports or music or art. (MN)

Now we have a project to provide scholarships for young students without opportunities. I also had a project for modernization of the toilets of the I. County Hospital on the floor 7 and 8, to provide some help for autistic children at F, organized different charity ball. (GI)

We send all the money to the children as school is my priority – we give them money to learn, send them to Bucharest... in order to raise the educational level a bit because that's the basis for any country (FA)

Except for the few examples above, the managers' answers to this question have a common dimension: the lack of a strategic and coherent vision for this type of community involvement, even when managers are sensitive to people's need and are aware that they have much more resources than regular citizens and should provide help according to specific issues. They use to help people randomly having no method to select cases or the dimension that deserve most those fundings.

I didn't have such projects, nor have I received any invitation to develop such projects. In the years when there was a better profit I provided some rewards and social grants for social cases. Generally, I heard of someone, get information if it was a social case; when it was a reward for meritorious activity I really enjoyed. On the other hand, I tried to give some support to low income elderly people, possibly those who have no income. (NS)

Still managers justify their efforts in a very convincing manner whatever the type or extent of activities designed to help the community:

... as long as I do something in this place and make profit here it is normal to give back even a bit of my profits. (SI)

Being asked about the priority domains to which they would give additional funding, managers mainly indicated the same fields: population health and healthcare system, education and welfare:

I wanted a few years ago to buy 2-3 apartments and there to accommodate those children who are expelled from orphanage at 18 years old... But my enthusiasm has passed. Now I know I would not do anything unless someone knocked on the door. I did it for myself not for them. I felt good and I had a big satisfaction. About two years ago a woman told me: "Do you know how much is my child walking now!" I did not! "Seven years ago you gave me money and I operated him in Basarabia." (DP)

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Healthcare system seems to do be the most important problem, starting from elderly houses to orphanages, hospitals, anything... (BR)

For education, culture... to raise a little the minimum level of training. I would buy computers ... And then I would buy tickets to the opera and theater. I did so also at my daughter's school. First they said they did not like them and now they are asking me to buy them again... (RR)

Half of them (money) to education because opportunities you will have in the future are directly proportional to the investment you make in education. And I think the other half will go to the children with disabilities. (VG)

Unfortunately, managers do not consider that security may be a priority of their community and of their own life and business. This is a paradoxical approach because it is so easy to understand that a major crisis, a conflict or even a war may be a very serious danger.

We work in a financial field where concrete, real money are few, but it is a pile of sensitive data and in most of the time we did not realize the effects that these data can occur. Because you can not feel, taste or smell them. Immateriality of information is a problem of how they are perceived. Security is very important. Money can not produce such an effect on business. The level of security of business in Romania is dependent on technology, but we refuse to use it. We know what should be done, but there is often a very high resistance to do that. (VG)

Still managers do not use any security expertise and some time they even do not consider such an expertise is important or necessary:

We have no security expert. Such tasks are covered by directors who also have other responsibilities. In my factories there are high risks of explosion and fire, pollution, so all these risks are systematically assessed. We have plans even more stringent than the army. (BI)

I don't think they have anything like this, I have never heard anyone to have such an employee and as long as they don't have them it means they do not need them. I didn't even read about anything like this! (CI)

For a better awareness of these issues it would be useful to set up and promote a national program to widespread such knowledge. To base such an initiative subjects were asked what authorities would have a greater impact in this direction:

I think it should have multiple sources - from the Ministry of Education, and then there should be some EU aid because they are highly interested in protecting its data. I think they have such initiatives, but these are not connected to the Romanian reality. I hardly think they have ignored this area before. Top countries in the security of information should be involved and also universities and research institutes, to be set up a kind of MBA on security with modules delivered in areas where such system is powerful.(VG)

I think the Ministry of Labor through the institution it has. But it should start from a qualification or some courses to train and qualify such experts; it should be introduced in Romanian Classification of Occupation. No way it should be started by Police or Romanian Intelligence Service – it shouldn't be something imposed... so my opinion is that people should became aware by themselves... and take them from other structures, people who have retired from there... (BR)

The EU is spending a lot of money for training, education, literacy of people. But money do not have the right direction and they consider we are educated. But it should be clearly told that it is no use to talk about individual security if we don't care about national security. For example in agriculture field, foreigners buy everything – the Caliph of Qatar wants to lease 1500 ha and it is a matter of national security for them as that will provide food security for the next 50 years – but we are glad because of the coming of investors... (BD)

While most of the subjects gave different solution to solve the mentioned security perception, there are also ideas like:

I do not think anyone should promote them. I am convinced that when a manager has to secure something he will do this. It is not necessary for someone to tell him! (DP)

Being a new concept implemented in Romanian entrepreneurial field, Romanian managers are primarily concerned with

avoiding exploitation of children, the health of their workers, environmental protection, safety at work, healthcare system. In managers' view, the main impediments to the implementation of CSR is the lack of an adequate legal framework, costs and lack of visible results of CSR and its main benefit lies in improving the image and reputation of companies, promoting community solidarity, extending corporate life and increasing employee loyalty.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

**A possible connection – security culture and corporate social responsibility.** The discussion regarding corporate social responsibility should not neglect any factor or variable that can help the improvement of community living conditions and people's quality of life. As proved in the literature, security is one of them. Therefore, the components of CSR should include those activities designed to strengthen the security culture, the implementation of preventive measures and the establishment of mental patterns of action for situations associated with individual, business, community or national.

Despite this syllogism, managers are oriented, as mentioned previously, towards those areas they consider to be of maximum priority (health, education, children with disabilities etc.). With no intention to dispute the importance of improving the conditions specific to these areas, security is an issue that should find its rightful place among the present-day priorities. Still it would be naive to believe that people will identify by themselves such correlations between the living standards and security culture, although some of the managers noted that:

But, of course, physical misery generates moral misery and moral misery generates physical misery. The presence of security culture generates a better life... (BR)

Instead of a conclusion of my own I will appeal to the words of one of the interviewed managers:

Looking back, it is clear that the destruction of the security culture was a terrible thing. In foreign countries the process of strengthening safety culture would be more likely. The main reason why I am not involving in something like this is the perception of the community – it is much better to say that you are fighting for the environment, for children. So the very lack of security culture blocks these actions. It's a vicious circle. (SA)

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Virtual Communities,  
Virtual Society?





## WILL THE INTERNET GIVE THE DEATH BLOW TO LITERATURE?

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**Abstract:** *The present communication is an approach to a socio-cultural epiphenomenon, which appeared with the unprecedented penetration of the Internet into the contemporary man's life – in all fields of activity and in all possible forms. Within the sphere of literature, an important number of people express their apprehensions concerning the excessive virtualisation of everyday's activity, which might keep the younger generation away from the normal reading habits. Within the intellectual milieus, there are predictions of an imminent disappearance of books, or even worse, of the death of literature, because of the addictive omnipresence of the Internet. According to these detractors of the informatic tools, the cyberspace – by offering an immediate, condensed and easy source of information – might replace the real, integral reading of books. We shall try to contradict these 'apocalyptic' predictions by showing that the Internet is not the enemy of literature, but, on the contrary, its best ally. Literature reading will not disappear, as long as the human race conserves its natural curiosity and its need for dreaming. Text digitalization is nothing but a natural consequence of the technical progress. The virtual libraries, the e-books, the audio books, the dramatized versions, the cinematographic transpositions, the on-line bookstores, the electronic dictionaries, the on-line encyclopaedias etc. – all these are just the next step after the epoch of the printed books. The "Gutenberg Galaxy" (according to Marshall McLuhan) is being replaced by the "Marconi Galaxy" (the electronic era); but this new stage of progress that we are witnessing now is the most revolutionary opening of human cultural patrimony towards the World; we shall call it "the Internet Galaxy". It allows the globalization of knowledge, the common use of information and the sharing of literature, science and arts, all around the World. Books are not disappearing, they are just transforming and taking new shapes, in order to survive and face the present challenges.*

**Keywords:** *digitalization, virtual space, cyberspace, Internet, informatic tools.*

### 1. CONTEMPORARY APPREHENSIONS CONCERNING THE DEATH OF LITERATURE

Every epoch has had its fears. Or so we are told by philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, historians of culture and writers. Michel Foucault for instance, in his *'History of Madness during the Classic Age'*, speaks about the fact that the middle Ages were dominated by a big fear of death (justified by all the wars, famines and plagues that terrorized the epoch). During Renaissance, this feeling was replaced by "a great experience of madness, of unreasonableness, which would risk threatening the world" (Foucault, 1976),

which is attested by the recurrent motif of the *Ship of Fools*, very present in literature, as in all the other arts.

But what are we afraid nowadays, in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Globalisation and corporatism could be the two spectres that haunt the collective mental state of our society. Besides all that, we can also speak about the apprehensions of some intellectual milieus (philosophers, writers, sociologists, artists etc.), who fear a *de-spiritualization* of the contemporary world, mainly due to the loneliness of Man in front of his computer. This self-confinement within the virtual world could make the contemporary man grow indifferent to his fellow man and to the rest of society – situation in which he would abdicate

from his fundamental status: that of a Human Being.

At a less 'philosophical' level, a similar apprehension is perceptible among parents, who remark that the young people spend far too much time isolated in their rooms, navigating on the Internet. And, as the youth has always been the category who gave the trend of an epoch, some people see in this phenomenon the signs of a long-lasting behaviour. Undoubtedly, contemporary man's addiction to this informatic tool is more than obvious and, sometimes, in some extreme cases, it can even evolve towards pathological forms.

This (more or less) 'apocalyptic' perspective is completed by the provisions concerning the relationship of nowadays people to literature reading. In this respect, we are apparently confronted to an epiphenomenon of the actual civilisation, which could be a paradoxical aspect of the (post)-postmodern epoch: the time allocated to the virtual activity is inversely proportional with the time destined to the real world activity. And, in the end, this phenomenon could be prejudicial to book reading, to the *true* reading as we know it, which means the traditional, *integral* reading of a book.

All these hypotheses – more or less alarmist – contain, however, a certain quantum of truth.

But every phenomenon always has its right side and wrong side: whenever something is lost in one respect, another thing is gained in return. It is just like in the theory of the universal energy: nothing is lost, nothing is gained, but everything is transformed. This principle is also applicable in the theory of culture – even if society generally manifests a certain 'resistance' to changes, especially when they are too sudden or too rapid.

The impact of digitalization and virtualisation upon our lives can be bewildering, even astounding; and, as the technical evolution is more and more accelerated, we dispose of less and less time to adapt ourselves to its velocity. This situation, however, is not unprecedented: our ancestors have had their own problems of adaptation at certain moments of history, when technology

'exploded' in astonishing inventions, but it was proven that human nature always finds a way to cope with the new circumstances. The Internet era is just another stage in the evolution of human culture and civilisation.

## 2. MARSHALL MCLUHAN AND THE STAGES OF HUMAN CULTURE

In his book entitled *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, Professor Marshall McLuhan (1962) divides the cultural history of Mankind in four major stages, not depending on the nature of the message (aesthetical, scientific, ethical or ideological) transmitted by human thought of the respective period, but depending on the *means* by which this message was transmitted, and on the relation between these *means* and the *five senses* of the human being.

According to McLuhan, the first stage in the cultural development of Mankind was the *oral transmission* of the message, which developed within primitive societies. The cognitive perception of the receptor is organised in a precise way, soliciting his hearing in the first place; consequently, the primitive man had overdeveloped his auditory function, to the detriment of his other perceptions.

The second stage in the evolution of Mankind was the appearance of the *phonetic alphabet*. Unlike the primitive forms of writing (hieroglyphic or ideographic writing), the use of the alphabet supposed the visualization of sounds, through graphic symbols. At the level of man's perceptions, the accent moved from the auditory function to the visual one, but the two coexisted, forming a dualist division of reality. This phenomenon was characteristic for Ancient Greece, where epic poems were written, but they continued to be orally transmitted (declaimed or theatricalized); the same situation persisted all along the middle Ages, during which the couple author-performer still remained the fundament of literature.

But the most important transformation, the capital event for the progress of culture is brought about by the *Renaissance*, when Mankind enters its third step of evolution, the one of the *visual culture*, accomplished



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through the invention of *printing*, around 1450; McLuhan (1962) calls this cultural stage '*the Gutenberg Galaxy*'. The main effects of this cultural turning point, remarked by McLuhan, are: the unification and the settlement of national languages (with its immediate consequence, the formation of national consciences in European countries); the appearance of the perspective in painting; the impulsion towards a unity of style in literature and the constitution of the social category of intellectuals, thanks to the increasing spreading and vulgarisation of knowledge. Moreover, the printed book, which was portable, practical and user friendly, allowed the solitary 'consumption' of literature, authorising the silent reading and the quiet, egocentric internalisation of its contents.

Thanks to its visual, linear, sequential and repetitive character, the printed text generated the occidental logocentrism, which lead to the 'de-tribalisation' of the individual" (Mašek, 1975:11);

the reader, isolated in his room, has a personal relationship with the text and a special, 'privileged' dialogue with the literary work.

### 3. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE 'MARCONI GALAXY'

Certainly, all these rapid and bedazzling transformations have provoked, especially during the initial period of printing, an important stress, a difficulty for society to adapt to the new socio-cultural conditions. A stress which is very much alike the one caused by the invention of *electronic technologies*, which brought about, in the twentieth century, the reign of the "*Marconi Galaxy*" (the fourth cultural stage, according to McLuhan, 1962); this was going to cause a dramatic collision between the printed book and the new 'wonders' of the technical progress: **cinema, radio and television**. Despite these marvelous inventions, twentieth century people and still continue to read, in parallel with the new activities and pleasures brought by the

electronic era, which are undoubtedly more comfortable. Moreover, they insist and persist in their 'stubborn' attempt to transmit the good habit of reading to the next generations.

But the **audio-visual means** gain ground against reading, because they simultaneously address man's two fundamental senses: sight and hearing; they are more attractive and less demanding than books reading. Plunged in multi-sensorial universe, Man seems to find the balance of his perceptions; he seems to recover the sensorial unity of the primitive age. He is carried away, flooded by a wave of pleasure which gives him comfort and tranquillity. He is not compelled to any effort, because the message comes to him unconditionally.

And – as if there weren't enough temptations so far – the dawn of the second millennium brings about a new invention: **the Internet**, which takes to perfection the conquests of the "*Marconi Galaxy*". In our opinion, this represents the fifth stage of Mankind's cultural evolution, that we shall call – by need of symmetry to McLuhan's terminology – "the *Internet Galaxy*". From this moment on, everything is possible, and (almost) everything is permitted. The most diverse information, TV broadcasts, music, films, cartoons, electronic games, magazines, tests, blogs, news etc. – everything is at hand on the Internet, at an affordable price; moreover, we can have immediate access to whatever we want, whenever we please, comfortably sitting in our armchairs.

### 4. THE PRESENT DAYS AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE 'INTERNET GALAXY'

The most diverse information, TV broadcasts, music, films, cartoons, electronic games, magazines, tests, blogs, news etc. – everything is at hand on the Internet, at an affordable price; moreover, we can have immediate access to whatever we want, whenever we please, comfortably sitting in our armchairs. Virtual libraries, as well as on-line bookshops, can provide the interested persons with literary texts, ranging from serious scientific literature up to holidays novels, as e-

books or audio-books. As the technical means progress, the offer on the cyberspace is diversified; encyclopaedias, on-line dictionaries, international databases, articles, documentary films, scientific news – everything is available on the Internet.

The great difference between the “Marconi Galaxy” and the “Internet Galaxy” is that the second stage allows **interaction**. And ‘Interaction’ is the key word, the magic word, the great conquest of our days. We reached the top of communicational exchanges, where we are *transmitters* and *receptors* of messages at the same time, connected with the whole World. Everyone can be “*the master of the Universe*” – as we are proudly acknowledged by one of *Yahoo*’s slogans. Contemporary man lives with the illusion that he is not alone, that he is part of a community – a large one, a living one – even though it is a virtual one. And this ‘certitude’ seems to comfort him. Everyone can communicate and share personal emotions on the socialization networks (such as *Facebook*); everyone can discuss about any subject on the forums and blogs; everyone can express personal opinions, comment, protest, be indignant, be ecstatic or critical about anything – without any risk.

The *hard* and *soft* manufacturers minimise their products as much as they can, so as to fit in a handbag or in a pocket; these minuscule devices become more and more transportable and more and more multifunctional, at the same time. Through the laptops, tablets or smartphones, the Internet is omnipresent and ultra-effective – to such an extent, that it becomes indispensable to our lives, even addictive. The computer is now an extension of our mind (and of our body), a tropism of our being, and, if somebody took it away from us, we would feel as a disabled person whose crutch has been stolen.

As a matter of fact, the Internet seems to have filled a void in contemporary man’s life, precisely, his impossibility of having a natural interrelationship with his world and with his fellow man. Often frustrated in this respect, because of the proteiform evolution of nowadays society, he uses this electronic tool as a magic wand: he can build his own World,

where he makes the rules of the game, and no one can obstruct him.

## 5. THE INTERNET IS NOT THE ENEMY OF LITERATURE, BUT ITS BEST ALLY

Coming back to the problem of reading, we can remark that man’s relation to book does not disappear, but it is simply transforming. The young generation, incriminated of having lost its reading habit, is searching and finding its own ways towards literature.

For instance: a teenager enters a socialization network, a forum, or a blog. And there, people talk about a recently published book; they give opinions, they criticise or appreciate the respective writing. Sometimes, passionate discussions take place; they express either professional or naive comments. Anyway, the subject stimulates the curiosity of our young man, who would like to take part in the debate... But, before that, he must know what the book is about; and he looks for the book – in an electronic format, as an audio-book, under a form or another – but the important thing is that **he reads the book**. This is just one possible example of how a ‘net surfer’ can become a true reader. Another example: a pupil or a student is looking for a summary of a book he needs for... let’s say... a literature class. The Internet offers him an immediate, condensed source of information about the respective author or about that book. In a way, this source risks to replace the real reading; but, in many cases, the one who reads the summarized book or the review, can find it interesting or inciting; his natural curiosity pushes him to read the book; the consequence is that **he reads** the literary text.

Besides, we can mention here the «*fan fiction*» sites, where the persons who like a particular book, a graphic novel, a Comics series, a cartoon or a film can discuss and comment about it; but they can also continue the story, change its end and add new episodes to it, using their own imagination. In this way, they not only read and share the favourite story, but they complete the act of *reading* by the act of *creation*. From simple consumers of literature, they may become producers of literature.

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There are writers nowadays who made their literary début on Internet sites, where they have been remarked by editors in search of new talents; there are writers who write only for 'net surfers', publishing their works exclusively on the Internet. And they have a constant, faithful audience. The Internet has transformed the *receptor* of a message into a *transmitter*; instead of remaining a *patient* (consumer), the net surfer becomes an *agent* (producer), progressing from a *passive* attitude to an *active* one, which re-establishes his relationship to the world and to himself. Far from being an **enemy** of book reading – of literature, generally speaking – the Internet has become nowadays **its best ally**. As for the book itself, it is not dead, it is not agonizing, but it is just going through a process of **metamorphosis**; it has changed its look, renewed its presentation, re-built its strategy, in order to survive and face the contemporary challenges.

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## WEB GENERATION 2.0. THE NET AND THE COSMOPOLITAN EDUCATION

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**Abstract:** *Youth and the Internet: a theme of consideration and debate difficult to avoid in a globalize and worldwide society. How do guys use these means? Are they real social devices in a virtual dimension than later become reality or personal estrangement and skilled meeting with the other? Is there the possibility of a positive interaction between these two kinds of experiences? Which are the differences between the construction of the reality learned online and that one in the real life? What is the relation between communication and identity? In teenagers that go through a year abroad with Intercultura program or foreign students that spend a year in our schools, how much negative is the adjustment to a new culture and new friends if they are still in contact with their native country? What do teenagers do of these possibilities of reorganize their social relationships in new and changeable space-temporal contests? Can the net be an educational device for cosmopolitanism? These are some of the questions this research has tried to give an answer.*

**Keywords:** *web, media education, identity, citizens, communication, cosmopolitanism, intercultural processes, e-democracy*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Youth and the Internet: a theme of consideration and debate difficult to avoid in a globalize and worldwide society. According to critique and scientific literature and a wide series of quantitative and qualitative researches lead in Europe, a big consideration seem to have those researched orientations that analyze digital *online* environments starting from daily practice that youth put to use for learning, communicating among peer group building their own identity or exercising their citizenship rights, "building" an intercultural attitude, for feeling world citizens. In fact, *new media* promote the development of a specific intelligence that Gardner indicated as "*relationship-wise intelligence*" that is the origin of intercultural thought. This kind of intelligence, in fact, opens to something more meaningful that endurance or treatment; it brings a flexible and agile thought, far from every kind of stiffening, able to operate inside a multidimensional, dynamics and progressive

culture; in other words to a culture that recognizes differences as its own birth place.

Today the *web* net is one of the most important places for innovation, fly-wheel of a fast social change that seems to be unsettling or difficult to adults' eyes. All this needs complementary researches and surveys: quantitative approach able to measure on a wide sample the actual range of the events and a qualitative one able to show subjective aspect of the experience of "*being online*". This social change has affected the ways teenagers use media to keep in contact and communicate among them and the whole world. While academics and politicians talk about the best strategies to "maximize conveniences and reduce risks", day after day, teenagers face with this changing scenery eagerly: they are always go into media, they have absorbed them physically (in their pockets or their ears), essential part of their spaces, public or private. Understanding the actual reality in the practice of the Internet is the new real challenge. But "*the new floating*

*world*”, said by Gergen, seems to allow the attempt to realize a self reflection own project appealing to the Internet as a new space in which they can explore easy relationships and ways of expressiveness. In the late modernity not only adolescent conditions are changing, but also communicative frameworks and the backgrounds in which identity develops and matures. This last one is always more often defined through changeable life style signals that youth acquire by media practice, rather than traditional indicators, as age, gender, race and place of birth. From this point of view the access to new communication technologies doesn’t produce necessarily wider social entourage or geographically vaster. There are only few empirical comparisons regard to rhetoric of “global village”. Anyway the net allows to increase the field of their own daily relationships and to stabilize those ones otherwise it would be difficult to keep, like friends that live abroad, distant relatives, acquaintances moved and friends that guys have left for a while. The difficulty of adults’ world is often to decode symbolically unreachabe communications and strategies that teenagers test to build their *online* identity always more complicated. Irrespective of the circumstance that they may be in Rio de Janeiro, Shanghai, Boston, Oslo or Cape Town, *digital natives* are essential part of a global youth movement joined by the way they relate to information, new technologies and among them.

## 2. MEANING, PURPOSES AND METHODOLOGY

How do guys use these means? Are they real social devices in a virtual dimension than later become reality or personal estrangement and skilled meeting with the other? Is there the possibility of a positive interaction between these two kinds of experiences? Which are the differences between the construction of the reality learned *online* and that one in the real life? What is the relation between communication and identity? In teenagers that go through a year abroad with Intercultura program or foreign students that spend a year in our schools, how much

negative is the adjustment to a new culture and new friends if they are still in contact with their native country? What do teenagers do of these possibilities of reorganize their social relationships in new and changeable space-temporal contests? Can the net be an educational device for cosmopolitanism? These are some of the questions this research has tried to give an answer. The pedagogical system was built by Experimental Pedagogy, Intercultural Education and Intercultural and *Media Literacy Education*. The choice of the sample (1149 people) happened on the base of stratified model in which the population was divided into layers as uniform as possible inside and from each of them a random sampling was extracted (through a probability sampling method). After, we proceed to change information we got from questionnaires in a rectangular number mold, called “data mold”, setting down systematically the answers in the questionnaires. The questionnaire built to collect data has questions on basic social characteristics (genre, age; etc...), questions on attitude (feeling) and behaviors. In the questionnaire a series of questions were developed with systematically free answers and with partial free semantic answers. For collecting attitude we have used *Likert range*. For the quantitative survey data we have used *SPSS software (Statistical Package for Social Sciences)*. We have used interviews or an additional survey level using *C-MAP TOOLS* software (developed by *Institute for Human and Machine Cognition* of Cornell University of West Florida, based on the studies of Joseph Novak) that has allowed a summary of concepts into conceptual maps.

## 3. STAGES AND INSTRUMENTS OF THE RESEARCH

This job was led individually, but it was coordinated by author through national regular meetings and was organized in the following stages:

1. Pinpointing two sample areas (North-South) on the base of the *web* penetration indicators (*Audiweb*, 2010) and (Istat, 2009).

Dossier *Citizens and New Technologies*.) For the South (where the use of Internet is around 38%) Apulia presents a low web penetration indicator, for the North (where the use of Internet is around 48%) Piedmont presents a high web penetration indicator. Noticing that 8.1 are the points that represent the distance between North and South of Italy regard to the Internet access;

2. Identifying five schools per area (five years vocational school and a high school) four for the two metropolitan cities selected per area and two insert in a not metropolitan city (with a population between 10.000 and 50.000 inhabitants);

3. Describing the project through a letter of presentation and meetings with headmasters and teachers of the third and fourth grade to illustrate the research method and sharing contest useful data to set up the job.

4. Identifying a contact teacher for each school, who has followed the different stages of the research;

5. Collecting teaching planning data (checking projects regard study and practice of multimedia and information technology, achieving an Internet school web site with spaces for *blog e community*) in the schools through acquisition of POF;

6. Identifying five sample classes for each school;

7. Administering an *online* questionnaire to sample students to supervise how they use information tools and the Internet net, if they represent a real social devices in a virtual dimension than later become reality or personal estrangement and skilled meeting with the others. Our aim was to observe if there is a positive interaction between these two experiences, the difference between the reality learnt *online* and that one practiced in the real life, the relation between communication and identity, and if the net can be a device for educating to cosmopolitanism.

8. Administering a questionnaire to a sample of 60 *returnees* (that have lived a year abroad with Intercultural program, not later than three years ago) to understand the difference between the reality learnt *online* and that one practiced in the real life, the relation between communication and identity, and it

will be useful to examine if how much negative is the adjustment to a new culture and new friends if they are still in contact with their native country and if the reality practiced in the foreign country in which they had lived is different from that one “developed” through the *web* before their leaving;

9. Identifying, thanks to literature teacher (openness vs. closure), six Italian students to involve into *focus groups (FG)* in each school during scholastic time; leading and analyzing *focus group* lasting about 1h 30 each by one or two members of the researching group;

10. Selecting some students who have taken part to *focus groups* for ethnographic interviews during scholastic time (three for each school); the draft of the semi – structured interview is elaborated by each group considering data emerged from questionnaires and *FG*; each interview – lasting 50/60 minutes – was recorded and later transcribed.

11. Ethnographic interviews to 60 *returnees*, the draft of the semi – structured interview is elaborated by each group considering data emerged from questionnaires and *FG*; each interview – lasting 50/60 minutes – was recorded and later transcribed.

12. Giving back the survey results to classes or groups or students that took part to the research in the second half of the school year 2011/2012;

The research was realized on a sample of students in Piedmont and Apulia attending the third and fourth grade in the current school year, in some high schools and vocational schools in Alexandria, Ivrea, Turin, Bari, Lecce and Martina Franca. The choice to identify for each sample town a high school and a vocational school answered to the need to intercept youth with different cognitive and learning interests, to evaluate the effect of digital *media* in their daily life.

#### 4. RESULTS

First of all *digital generation* children confirm an unmistakable data: at home is almost impossible not to have Internet access, Internet is mostly in each house, the access is nearly free without any restrictions and about half of the youth (41.2 %) surf more than three

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hours per day, 58.1 % less than two hours. Most of time surfing is pledged using *social networks*. Only 5.1 % of students involved in the research is not enrolled them. Facebook is the most used *social network*. The main use of it is *chatting* with friends, less often is sharing *links* or reading what the others do. Almost half of youth interviewed said to have more than 500 contacts, a few more than a quarter, on the other hand, have less than 200 contacts. In this way it is clear how *social networks* allow composing relationships more than it happens in the real life, but it doesn't say anything about the intensity of them. In fact, more than 50% of interviewed think that not more than a quarter of their contacts can be considered truly Friends, on the other hand not more than 10.1 % are those that consider nearly more than half of they contacts real friend. "Our" youth have highlighted constantly in their answers a decisive pre-eminence in their personal relationships to *face to face* contact regard that virtual one on the net, In particular, only 11% prefer contacting people on the Internet, rather than by phone or directly and, above all - otherwise fallacy - most of youth don't love hiding, misrepresenting their own identity chatting on the net. The net is not a shelter, and it is not perceived as a corresponding world where everything is easier. The use of the Internet induces only few of them to isolate or avoid friends and relatives or, even, preferring the net rather than spending a night with friends. Therefore, from this research we have some comforting data about present *digital generation*. Youth are certainly able to use new multimedia technologies and spend most of their time (free or not) on the net, but they are well linked to the world of the real life that they don't consider subordinate to the *online* one. Youth believe and look for social direct emotional relationships and later, and only for increasing or perfecting them they use the net. *Online* relationships are surely less attractive, satisfactory than the real ones, and youth disguise themselves or are worried about what the other may think about them when they are on the net or using *social networks*, are less than we think. The limit for all this is that their interest moves in the narrow setting of their

vital, local, territorial world, only little available (and formed) to wider openings, that we can say "extraterritorial", intercultural education can do a lot to increase it. *Social networks* are an useful resource to increase multicultural relationships that otherwise couldn't arise. It is not a good proof that 58.6 % (673 cases) keep contact with not Italian guys and 32.5 % of these met *offline*. Instead, 37% (249 cases) are *online* relationships born from direct introduction happened during a trip. For the aims of our research it is important to reiterated that *social networks* seem to be used by our guys especially to activate and/or increase their intra territorial contacts, less those extra territorial ones (linguistic skill indicator affects these relations, of course). This is proved by the low number of not Italian guys that don't live in Italy knowing on the net. Furthermore, among those who keep *online* contacts with not Italians, less than half chat with them sharing their experiences, while about half have short communications. A weak indicator that appears from this research is that *social networks* don't encourage "our" youth to know other cultures. In fact, from the one side, our students say in 45% of cases to use *social networks* rarely to know social and cultural aspects related to different countries, on the other side, over two-thirds of them never do it. Excusing partially these behaviours there is for a low percentage - less than 20% - the belief that those means are unsuitable to know different cultures, diverse from their own one. Examining in depth the link between cosmopolitanism and new information technologies, we can say that from proper answers obtained, *digital generation* youth are little interested in placing themselves in the world and that they are wrapped up in living their everyday local world. Therefore, the interest for the different other doesn't arise spontaneously, but only after keeping in contact, and later the *social networks* can be the means to facilitate introduction. So, we could see that almost 40% of students interviewed believe that the Internet helps to build a personal idea of surrounding world, while the uncertain ones are approximately one-third. But, above all, almost two-thirds of

our young people even if they acknowledge that thanks to the Internet geographic distances have been permanently demolished, they believe that this net "power" does not make feel them citizens of the world but citizens in the world. Instead, if we analyze the answers of those students that have spent a period of a year studying abroad with Interculture Program (called *returnés*), we can observe that 65% of *returnees* have never thought to use *networks* to learn about the country in which they would have had the experience of the study abroad with Intercultura program. Even for the same experience abroad lived by *returnees* with Intercultura program, less than a fifth has considered at least in some way helpful what they had learned from the Internet to adapt to the new cultural reality. Prior knowledge wasn't very fruitful for the 32%; in fact, for over 50 %, the prior idea they had about the culture of the host country has been rejected. As a proof of this fact, there is the belief, which is widely available, that the emotions felt during their staying abroad were unpredictable. Real experience abroad was, therefore, different from the one they had supposed. So, in the abroad experience the use of the net is not an essential tool to know the new cultural reality, nor to start and manage interpersonal relationships, where – on the other hand – the straightforward contact, face to face relations were unique. As for students from Apulia and Piedmont, even our *returnees* totally agree – almost unanimously – that with Internet geographical distances are demolished. However in these last guys there is a greater belief both in the relation between the net and their cosmopolitan dimension and that one between Internet (*social networks above all*) and education to the world. In fact, over 65% believe that the Internet make them feel citizens of the world, and above all, almost 60% think that the Internet and *social networks* are useful tools for intercultural education.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The first studies on the *web* focused on the relation between new media and the removal of spatial barriers, according to the famous

idea developed by McLuhan (1964) of modern „*global village*". The net has had in its short life different stages. We started eagerly and now we are considering a careful use of it, going through scepticism of many people. There is everything in the net. From the vastest knowledge to peer research (for Gergen this is the slip from a vertical relationship – between generations – to a horizontal one – the peer group – different from the process of democracy illustrated by Giddens; it results in a “*general devaluation of the deep dimension of the relations*”, in fact, teenagers are always more assimilated by the effort to keep a wide range of horizontal relationships with their referenced net and always less ready to develop those rich and strong relationships characterizing the relations with the team of meaningful adults, physically around them), the comment in real time about something that is happening, there is fear of losing identity, delegation, absence of the real life, but, on the other hand, there is the possibility of finding and meeting each other in the distance, there is the possibility to work when there is no possibility to move. There is the possibility to be informed in a plural, fast, real time. We live unquestionably in a “globalized” era, where our luck was first that we could benefit from the structures that have allowed us to travel a lot and to spend longer or shorter periods of staying abroad. We live in a society where the desirable paradigm seems to be represented, as supported by Bennet, by *self-determined citizenship*, a globalized society feature, structured on webbed connections, and on a consequent model of horizontal communication, without hierarchies, dynamic and enforced by the development of means that fosters collaboration, interaction and enduring participation between individuals, no longer considered as passive interlocutors, but equipped with a right of positive pro-active citizenship. So, the network is an amazing training of democracy, where practicing “*active forms of democracy, in which each one is called to his task of citizen of the world*”. The well known German sociologist Ulrich Beck in his book *The cosmopolitan society* (2003) uses the word “cosmopolitan” in a revised and correct acceptance regard its



ordinary meaning: in fact, we are not speaking anymore about a vague and ideal love for the whole humanity, quoting the author, of a gaze that is wondering about the meaning of the world, a sense of lack of borders. It is the network that allows us to be globalized and local in the same time, and being local is an empirical data that cannot be brought into question. This term was introduced by studies of sociologists as Roland Robertson and Zygmunt Bauman to indicate the phenomena originating from the impact of globalisation on local realities and vice versa. During the transition from an international world to a *global and local* one in the same time, it was the new conception of the mobility to modify deeply all a sequence of conceptual standards that we used to know, among these the idea of citizenship, belonging and nationality (and therefore of the same idea of international relations). We should develop deep considerations about this transformation and the resulting new conceptualizations linked to the idea of border and territory. For those who deal with education and communication, the study of the network and the *social networks* and how these tools are used by teenagers, is one of the most relevant emergencies in the last years; with this research we have tried to answer to this challenge providing some answers and opening new scenarios of reflection.

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## DOWNLOADING THE DOWNLOADERS. THE MORAL AND THE SOCIAL ISSUES OF INTERNET PIRACY ACCORDING TO GREEK UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

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***Abstract:** Many aspects of the use and content of the Web have been empirically investigated. However, the issue of downloading music and other types of files from the Internet has not been yet widely researched, and moreover with a sample of Greek students. The basic purpose of this study is to search whether Greek students download files from the Internet, what kind of files they prefer to download, why they started to download pirated software, if they know that it is an illegal action and whether they care accepting some ethical implications of the problem and as well as and how they consider that there is a social impact. In general, the purpose of the study is to study the pirate download as implemented by Greek students in practical, moral and social level, The study's sample was consisted of 200 undergraduate and postgraduate students from all Universities and Technological Greek Institutions.*

***Keywords:** Internet piracy, pleasure model, planned behavior theory, Greek students.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The term "piracy in the Internet" is reported when programs are usually copied and distributed via the Internet, without authorization, usually in very low prices. In most of these cases the Internet is the medium for advertising, offer, sale or illegal software distribution.

Business Software Alliance (BSA), computes that there are over 840,000 web sites, that sell illegal software which appears as genuine. Many consumers that supply software from the Internet never receive the programs that have paid for. When others, never manage to get their money back when they realize that the product that was sent is fake.

The easiness of creating a Web site - web page and thereafter the offer and transition of software via the Internet has worryingly increased the sales of piratical software from ostensibly lawful companies. Moreover, the sharp increase of e-commerce companies', in combination with the anonymity and the entire

lack of control most of the times for the perpetrators, makes the sale of online illegal software easier.

The file downloading from the Internet is not of course an illegal act, but depends on whether the file's content is copyrighted and also from the license of the file. For example, when a distribution LINUX is shared through torrent does not have any problem of legality, because the use authorization of this software (mainly the GNU General Public License) strictly allows the free copy and distribution by any possessor. The same applies to all cases where the material, even though protected from copyright, is distributed in the Internet with the consent of the possessor, as for example, happened with the songs of the band "Radiohead" (October 2007).

### 2. THE MUSIC PIRACY

One of the most serious obstacles that the music industry has to face in the growth of an electronic music distribution environment is the "electronic music piracy". Her common

form is the songs compression in MP3 files and their disposal via Internet, without the possessor's consent, that is without the payment of exploitation rights to those that invested in the creation of these songs.

Only a few years ago, the Internet piracy constituted a minimal commercial threat for the music industry. That was changed due to the discovery of new ways of data compression and also to the increase of the data's available transportation speed in the Network. Nowadays the electronic piracy threatens the viability of electronic music. The IFPI (International Federation of Phonographic Industry) coordinates the international discography actions for her rights protection by technological means and legal actions.

The "MP3" is now one of the most frequent words of search in the Internet. Most MP3 files are disposed from FTP (File Transfer Protocol) servers and from World Wide Web sites. At the same time, we can also find such files from enterprising intranets, academic nodes with high bandwidth, Internet Relay Chat (IRC) rooms, Mailing lists and Bulletin Boards. The high impact of MP3 led the electronic companies to manufacture portable MP3 players as the MPMAN, Diamond Multimedia's Rio and lots of others that followed. Now the consumers can listen to the saved music files wherever they want, while in the past it was essential the use of their computer. The use of MP3 files also in conventional form of piracy constitutes one more problem, with the use of CD and CD-R that can contain hundreds of recordings. These CD and CD-R are usually distributed with mail orders that carried out in the Internet.

The music piracy in the Internet is already widespread. The IFPI estimates that over than million illegal MP3 files are available in the Internet at any time and the problem rapidly increases. It is impossible to calculate the number of songs that are illegally saved every year. Forrester Research Company estimated that in the beginning of 1999 over than 3 million illegal MP3 files were saved daily. The influence of electronic piracy in the growth of a legal environment of electronic music disposal through the Internet is considered very important. Why the consumers need to

pay to "download" music from the Network, when they can find what they want free of charge from the pirated sites? The negative effect of this phenomenon to the enormous investments in new technologies is obvious for the music record companies, as much as the electronic trade companies. Internet users have worldwide access in music via Internet over a decade (Perse & Dunn, 1998).

From the end of 2006 there were 47 million "digital music households" or families with at least one member that downloaded, copied, played or uploaded digital music (Palencha, 2007).

Of course, the news of uncontrollable transportation activity and downloading were not faced off positively by the recording industry. From the February of 2004, the Recording Industry Association of America - RIAA had registered complaints against to more than 800 persons in personal level due to suspicions of illegal music downloading (Glanz, 2004). Even though the American Supreme Court was stranded alongside to the union of American Recording Companies in her fight for finding the companies of illegal files interchange via internet that violate the copyrights (USA Today, 2005), the recording companies do not believe that a legal condemnation will put an end to the illegal files interchange activities from the Internet (Graham, 2005). Meanwhile, the field of services in commercialism downloading continues to develop (Graham, 2005). Some sites with legal downloading such as the iTunes of Apple Computers have a big success (Markoff, 2004). From the beginning of 2006, the iTunes touched the number of one billion legal downloaded songs (CNNMoney, 2006) and from 2008, Apple went up to the pedestal of leader in the retail music sale through Internet in the USA (Bangeman, 2008). At the same time, the sales of CDs continued to topple over coming up to 2007, where the lowest number of sales for music album that was first in sales was observed (Smith, 2007). Despite the -- even few -- studies about the legal or illegal download, there is a lack of a deeper comprehension of the personal files downloading practices from the Internet.

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The studies about the music download from the Internet initially followed three paths: the cultural, the commercial and the legal. The cultural studies emphasize to the presence of the phenomenon as a music ingredient of cyber-culture and explore the representation and the importance of services such as the Napster (Taylor, 2002). The commercial study gave widely priority and, mostly, turned to specific questions and cases having to do with the economic impact of the music downloading (Edison Media Research, 2002; Jupiter Research 2002). The studies dealt with the download from its legal side, focus on cases referring to copyright protection of music downloaded from the Internet (Barker, 2004; Ginsburg, 2001; Graves, 2004).

### 3. THE APPLICATION AND THE PLEASURE MODEL

The application and pleasure model concerns the connection of the media use from a perspective that requires the public's participation and activity. This study approach was developed in the end of the 60's to complete the study about the effects integrating the knowledge about the use of media and the knowledge about public's motivations (Blumler, 1979). The researchers have used this model to examine how and why people uses a variety of technologies like radio, public and cable television, video cassette recorder (VCR) and other similar devices (Rosengren, 1985). When the public adopts new technologies related to media, the researchers usually study how the technology has inspired and created new ways of behavior and strategies to confront various things (Rubin, 1983; Rubin & Bantz, 1987). For example, the introduction of the VCR led the world in the so-called time-shifting, namely the recording of one program and its viewing at another time than the one that was normally designed to be viewed (Levy, 1980). These new technologies provided satisfaction to their users (Lin, 1990).

Recently, the Internet has attracted the attention of researchers to the section of applications and pleasure (Atkin, 1998) who

responded to the call for providing a clear explanation for the effect of this new age technological medium (Newhagen & Rafaeli, 1996).

The applications and pleasure theory has been a valuable tool and a very important framework to analyze how and why people use the Internet. The specific theory has been strongly supported as a valuable tool for such studies (Ruggerio, 2000). During the Internet's early stages of development, researchers approached this medium through multiple and different aspects. Eighmey & McCord (1998), examined the pleasure that was observed from the use of five special and specific websites and categorized the pleasure in: entertainment value, personal impact and information-updating complication. Therefore, these were, according to the study above, the most important factors for the explanation of motives and the pleasure that provides the Web browser. Kaye (1998), compared the motives of watching television with the pleasure that provides the Web browser and reported that she found five factors which explained the majority of motives for the Internet use. Similarly, the study of Eighmey and McCord also reported that entertainment was the main factor. However, having used the motives for watching television in her study, the Kaye pointed different factors such as social interaction, the simple "spent my time", the escape from reality, information, and the simple preference of Internet than the other media. These results and research findings proved to be very useful on the application of the applications and pleasure theory from the Internet means.

Rapidly, new perspectives in the study of the Internet were incorporated. Through their study Papacharisi & Rubin (2000) considered the Internet as a medium with multiple dimensions, that serves as a source of entertainment, social interaction and information. They were led in the report of five factors related to the use of the Internet. Interpersonal utility was the most important factor, but the simple report "to spend my time," as well as searching for update and information, the convenience of online

navigation and entertainment – recreation, were equally contributed to the explanation of the reason that people with different ages use the internet. Other researchers have examined whether and why this new communication technology could replace the traditional media (Ferguson & Perse, 2000; Flanagan & Metzger, 2001). In general, Ferguson and Perse recognized several overlapping motivations for the use of television and the Internet as the entertainment, spending of time and social information. Nevertheless, the rest motivation that had been very strongly connected to the television did not seem to exist also as a motive for the use of Internet.

Like studies concerning the general use of television focused on the examination of different types of programs as serials or news, the examination of the Internet use included specific online activities such as building and maintaining personal web pages (Papacharisi, 2002), online update (Garramone *et al.*, 1986), using the Internet for information about politics (Johnson & Kaye, 2000) and the use of commercial web pages for purchase (Stafford & Stafford, 2001). The tendency to examine specific but different ways of using the Internet, offered a higher level of understanding of the medium's existence. From the beginning, the music downloading and following other types of files (such as movies, programs, etc.), was a unique experience for those involved in these ways of using the Internet and, as a consequence, has affected and still affects the behavior and attitudes towards music and, generally, artistic and computer science industries.

Recently, music piracy has become a problem that is all over and more often and now directly threatens the development of music industry. As reported by the International Federation of Phonographic Industry - IFPI, CD sales in Taiwan fell off more than 10% annually since 1997 (IFPI, 2006). In 2004 the sales level reached almost one third of sales in 1997. Likewise, the rate of illegal copying is estimated to be over 40%. The problem becomes more serious if we consider that in this particular study the piracy through Internet was not taken into account. The improvement of information technologies

like the Internet has given bigger extend to the problem (Ki *et al.*, 2006). The fact that the CD copying fell off in 2003 and 2004, does not imply that music piracy is under control. In fact, music piracy may have worsened due to the behavioral changes that been caused by the increasing popularity of the Internet. Users can easily transfer and share music in MP3 format through the Internet without even buying pirated CDs. In 2005, the music piracy via copying was reduced by 26%. The Internet has become the main source for obtaining and sharing music (IFPI, 2005). People can download digital music from illegal FTP web sites, streaming sites, and through file sharing in the form of peer-to-peer (2 peers' node). Important studies shows that the 29% of adults have downloaded music from the Internet at least once (Fox & Wrenn, 2001) and more than 53% of teenagers use the Internet as the main source of music acquisition (Premkumar, 2003). Therefore, music piracy has become a major problem worthy of research and study.

Cronan & Al-Rafee define "digital piracy" as "*illegal copying, illegal downloading and sharing software and media files that were copyrighted*" (Cronan & Al-Rafee, 2008,). Recently, software piracy has started to be considered as a very important field of research by many researchers (Cheng *et al.*, 1997; Conner & Rummelt, 1991; Cronan & Al-Rafee, 2008; Gopal & Sanders, 1997, 2000; Limayem *et al.*, 2004; Moores & Dhillon, 2000). There are several similarities between software, in general, and music. Music and software (programs) are "goods" of information and have high production costs and low reproduction costs. Additionally, both digital types have the characteristics of public goods: the file sharing will not reduce the need for consumption of the product (Gopal & Sanders, 2000; Gopal *et al.*, 2006). It is difficult and also not fair to exclude the one who does not pay from the entire world that consume due to the popularity of the Internet. However, there are some differences between music piracy and software piracy. Music is not expensive (in fact it is cheaper than the most programs - software) and can be used without support (technical or other type) by its creator. Moreover, a music file has smaller size than

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the software (Gopal & Sanders, 2000). Hence, music downloading is easier and more easily doable for Internet users. People can easily download from the Internet high-quality music (Fetscherin & Zaugg, 2004). As a result, music downloading and buying behaviors would be reasonable and should be more related.

The IFPI (2006) divided the music piracy in physical piracy and Internet piracy. In Chiou study (2005b) two types of music piracy behavior are referred: unofficial reproductions and pirated music CDs for sale. While, recently, the buying of pirated CDs has sharply fallen, the program of online music piracy is getting worse due to the spread of the Internet. Nevertheless, there are few and non-extensive studies about the causes and consequences of free music downloading (and not only) from the Internet.

Many previous studies have investigated the intention that leads to music piracy from the perspective of psychological, ethical, and demographic structures (Chiou *et al.*, 2005a; d'Astous *et al.*, 2005; Gopal *et al.*, 2004; Kwong & Lee, 2002; LaRose & Kim, 2007; Shang *et al.*, 2008) and tried to eliminate it (Conner & Rummelt, 1991; Gopal & Sanders, 1997). The results showed that men (Bhattacharjee *et al.*, 2003; Kwong & Lee, 2002), young people (Bhattacharjee *et al.*, 2003; d'Astous *et al.*, 2005), and those who have high-speed Internet connections (Kwong & Lee, 2002) download more pirated hardware. In addition, people consider the music downloading as an acceptable and constructive action (Cronan & Al-Rafae, 2008). Some also believe that no one is influenced by the music downloading while the artists still remain rich and live in luxury unaffected by piracy (Chiou *et al.*, 2005b). This reveals that people first consider that by downloading illegal hardware from the Internet, whether it is music movies or software programs, hurts the artist or the company that produces the product, without taking into account the simple workers in companies were, usually, are more and directly affected by piracy. For the above reason, only related to the music, studies showed that young people prefer to download mostly pop

music, once the singers of this kind of music seems to earn more money and have smaller needs.

Despite the fact that compression techniques of digital files in some extent destroy (and even quite large) the sound quality of music, most of those who download such files from the Internet, cannot even understand the difference between the official version and the informal and illegal copy (Bhattacharjee *et al.*, 2003). At this point it should be noted that many people do not understand that their purchases are informal and pirated copies (Chiou *et al.*, 2005b). It seems that best quality is no longer an important reason for people to buy legally music CDs. In addition, some people that seemed able to distinguish the lower quality of a pirate file, believed that the nonvery low price will compensate them (Ang *et al.*, 2001).

On the other hand, some studies have examined the reasons that some people insist on buying authentic music CDs at a time where piracy has blossomed for good, and digital music files from the Internet are free and easy for everyone to obtain them. For example, the act of buying a genuine music CD from the recording store shows the faith and devotion of the listener in this particular artist as a true fan (Chiou *et al.*, 2005b). In addition, protection policies of copyrights affect the music degree, and not only, piracy (Ki, et al., 2006). However, the illegal effect of music downloading and other types of files from the Internet is still in doubt.

The behavior associated with the illegal music downloading from the Internet is difficult to be studied, but it is important to explore the relationship between illegal downloading and legal buying. Illegal music downloading reduces a person's desire to buy original music CDs? There are many different answers to this question. The Recording Industry Association of America – RIAA, estimates that the decline in music sales due to online piracy is approximately 4.2 billion annually (Siegfried & Ashley, 2006). Rob & Waldfogel (2006), showed that every downloading reduces sales by 0.1 to 0.2 units. Zentner (2006) also showed that the illegal

down loadings are counted as a reduction of 30% in possibilities of purchasing music.

On the other hand, Oberholzer-Gee & Strumpf (2007) in their study found that the exchange of music files over the Internet does not have a noticeable impact on sales of music from economic aspect. Music is a commodity that its exact cost is not known by a person until he «consumes» it (Bhattacharjee *et al.*, 2006). Mathew's study (2000), also showed that more than half of the people who listened to pirated music would buy original CDs. Therefore, the downloading can be considered as a mean of sampling before the purchase. It has been shown that the lower costs of such specimen might have a positive effect on a person's intention to pay to acquire music (Gopal *et al.*, 2006). Moreover, the externalizing syndrome that pervades the Internet can increase the possibilities of consumers to be aware of music and its value (Chiang & Assane, 2002).

Other studies have shown that the illegal music downloading and the legal buying are two behaviors that are not related. LaRose & Kim (2007) found empirically that the intention of people to illegally download music from the Internet will not affect their intention to buy CDs or music from the Internet. Additionally, many people are willing to buy original CDs, while they have already downloaded their illegal versions (Ouellet, 2007).

Nevertheless, both official reports of music industry (IFPI, 2005; RIAA, 2005) as well as various studies, have shown that the reducing in music sales is mostly caused by the illegal Internet downloading. Rob & Waldfogel (2006), Stevans & Sessions (2005), and Zentner (2006), agree that the multiplication of music downloading has significantly reduced the purchase of music CDs.

#### 4. THE PLANNED BEHAVIOR THEORY

The theory of planned behavior has been applied in many areas and has proved very useful to the explanation of a person's behavior. This theory was developed from the "reasoned action" theory proposed by Ajzen & Fishbein (1975). The theory of "reasoned

action" suggests that, excluding impulsive actions, a person's actions are the result of intention and the intention comes from logical thinking. A person's tendency to the action and the subjective rules are determinants factors of his/her intention. However, the "legitimate action" theory is not suitable for the explanation of behaviors that are not under the full control of volition. Ajzen in 1985, extends the "reasoned action" theory with the inclusion of a structure – detectable behavior control- to propound the planned behavior theory. It is believed that a person's behavior is uncertain, that is based on the constraints of resources and opportunities that the person might obtain. And the intrinsic (such as the potentiality and willingness of a person) and external (such as opportunities and resources) factors would affect the person's intention and action

The planned behavior theory has been also applied to explain the illegal or unethical behavior. Beck & Ajzen (1991), used the planned behavior theory to predict the dishonest behavior of a person about cheating on exams, common lies and shoplifting. Subsequent relevant studies also used the planned behavior study to explore the causes of music piracy (Cronan & Al-Rafee, 2008 ; d'Astous *et al.*, 2005 ; Kwong & Lee, 2002) and software piracy, in general (Peace, et al., 2003). The results showed that the planned behavior theory may help us to understand the negative behaviors. However, some studies have shown that the influence of subjective rules and the general attitude are unimportant or marginal factors (eg, Cronan & Al Rafee, 2008; LaRose & Kim, 2007). Hence, the explanatory power of planned behavior theory must be emphasized again.

According to the planned behavior theory, behavior is determined by motives and potentials (Kwong & Lee, 2002). The motivations or the intention are referred to the extent that a person would like to perform a specific action. The general attitude, the subjective rules and the perceived behavioral control preceded to a person's intent.

General attitude is defined as a person's sentiments about a specific behavior (Ajzen, 2002). Sentiments could be beneficial,



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harmful, interesting, boring, etc. Both the reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975) and planned behavior (Ajzen, 1985) theories showed that a person's attitude toward a particular behavior is a major cause and explanation of his/her intention to do so according to this behavior. The more positive a person's attitude is toward a behavior, the greater is his intention on the part of implementation and adoption of this behavior. Thus, according to Chia-chen Wang, Chin-ta Chen, Shu-chen Yang & Cheng-kiang Farn (2009), a person's general attitude towards music piracy affects positively his/her general intention for illegal music downloading.

The subjective rules are the expectations of the others, which are considered to be as social pressures (Ajzen, 2002). People will act according to others expectations, specifically of those that they consider important. Namely, the person will behave in such a way so the ones around him, that he considers important, agree with him and has their support. Although, LaRose & Kim study (2007) argued that the subjective rules do not have a direct effect on adolescents' intention to illegally download music, this may have happened because the important people to them in the specific study were their parents or the university (teachers or school rules). However, previous studies showed that the influence of peers is crucial for the teenagers' - young behavior, especially for decisions in the heat of the moment (Wilks, 1986) such as the use of drugs or alcohol consumption (Wilks, et al., 1989). The influence of the older is important for future decisions, such as life planning or career. Siegfried (2004), showed that the students' attitude towards Internet downloading or piracy is irrelevant to the position of school or their college. In other words, the subjective rules that are related to their peers may be more important for teenagers when it comes to illegal music transformation-downloading from the Internet. If people perceive a stronger support from those who consider important (subjective rules), will highlight an increasing intention to illegally download music from the Internet. So, according to Chia-chen Wang, Chin-ta

Chen, Shu-chen Yang & Cheng-kiang Farn (2009), the subjective rules that were adopted by a person have a positive relation with his general intention to illegally transform-download music.

The behavior control refers to a person's perception of how easily an action can be carried out. Ajzen & Fishbein (1975), showed that a persons' behavioral intention is influenced by his opportunities and resources. The behavior control shows the constraints beyond persons' control. The basic estimation is that although people would like to bring out and adopt a particular behavior, they cannot do it without the adequate capabilities and resources. The highest behavior control shows that a person has highest ability to transform/download music from the Internet. For example, if people want to download music from the Internet, they must have a computer that allows them to the Internet access. If they wish to write the compressed music files that have downloaded from the Internet to music CD, they need a computer with recording/copying driver CD. The higher the number of resources and opportunities of young people are (high behavioral control), the highest their intention is to participate in music piracy or software via Internet (Chia-chen Wang *et al.*, 2009).

### 5. PIRACY IN GREECE

The distribution of music via the Internet, depending on the way of dispensation, fall into 2 categories:

- Downloads - is about the songs availability in the form of computer files (e.g. mp3, wma, etc) that can be stored in appropriate media (hard drives, floppy disks, etc.) of the recipient's computer, who can choose to listen to them at any time by using the appropriate program.

- Streaming audio - is the Internet version of the radio, where the user can hear the songs only when he is connected to Internet. The ability to save the song is not feasible. The sound quality is deliberately reduced in order to make the transfer of appropriate information and the on-line listening to the song possible.

The Law 2121/93 is the one that determines for Greece the Intellectual Property, royalties, copyright and related, that derives from it, defines the ways of legitimate use of music and provides penalties for offenders. It is considered to be quite innovative compared with the corresponding European laws and stiff enough for the projected punishments. Specifically, the minimum penalty for piracy is 1 year imprisonment, followed by a fine of 1 million drachmas (3000 Euros). These penalties can be increased in case of repeated violation by the same person.

Discography now enters rapidly in the time of digital distribution. The music disposal technologies change fast, bringing huge benefits to producers, distributors and consumers.

## 6. STUDENTS AND INTERNET

In year of 2000, up to 104 million people used the Internet in the U.S. and one of the most connected demographic groups to the Internet were the students. Approximately 93% of students in the U.S. had access to the Internet in a given month and the number of student-users was expected to grow from 15.2 million in 2003 to 16.4 million in 2007 (Greenspan, 2003). Furthermore, American studies found that 88% of students had a computer, 56% had an Internet connection and 36% was using mobile devices (phones, PDA, etc.) to connect to the Internet (Harris Interactive, 2003). Approximately 20% of the students began to use computers from the age of five and eight, 47% first started to use the Internet at home before going to University and 85% had bought their own computer (Pew, 2003).

Students are in the frontline regarding downloading, for example music. This is not a surprise, if we consider that Napster (the first music site for electronic download) was launched by a student (Taylor, et al., 2002). Downloading is also more popular among young adolescents (Edison Media Research, 2002; Jupiter Research 2002). The music fans that study in a university or higher Institute (between the ages of 18 and 24), placed the

file sharing via Internet first among music, and not only, activities that enjoy most (Jupiter Media Research, 2002). In 2002, was estimated that a rate of 44% in the age 18-24 downloaded music for at least once (Edison Media Research, 2002). Moreover, 40% of the persons that download music claimed that they downloaded more than 100 songs, and in fact teenagers and students (18-24) enjoy downloading music more than others (Edison Media Research, 2002).

Nearly 78% of students use the Internet for fun and 57% for another use beyond simple e-mailing (Aiken u., 2003). 47% of people that work in the U.S. spend at least half an hour of the day surfing on Internet for personal reasons and students visit sites with music, movies, fashion, video games and shopping. In fact, a high percentage of students stay connected to the Internet until 4 a.m. (Aiken, et al., 2003). On the other hand, 28% of Americans who are over than 12 years old (approximately 60 million children), have downloaded at least one music file from the Internet (Menta, 2002). A large percentage of online files movement on comes from university computers, and in fact students are twice as likely to have downloaded music files more than any other user (60%) at any day (14 % vs 4%) (Jones, 2002). According to the abovementioned study, approximately 44% of students in the U.S. exchange and share files from their computer like music and movies. Additionally, undergraduate students seem to spend more time in front of their computer for downloading media files, music files and movies in relation to postgraduate students (Aiken, 2003).

However, the file downloading from the Internet is often illegal and has been observed incidents of penalties imposed on students in the U.S. For example, the U.S. Naval School punished 85 students on charge of illegal music transformation and the Association of American record companies initiated a lawsuit against four students at three American Universities, for using electronic tools on their personal computers that allowed other people to search music and other types of files to the Interuniversity Network (Business Week Online, 2003).

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The music industry has dealt with the issue of piracy for first time in 2000 when the sales of music CDs dropped 1.3% worldwide. Of course, the highest drop in sales was observed in Canada that has one of the highest rates of use of high-speed connection to the Internet, thus enabling the population to quickly and easily download files from the Internet (most of which were illegal).

### 7. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY/ RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The students and colleges are in the frontline regarding downloading via Internet. This is not a surprise, if we consider that, for example, Napster (the first music site of electronic download) was launched by a student (Taylor, et al., 2002). Downloading is also more popular among young adolescents (Edison Media Research, 2002; Jupiter Research 2002). The music fans between the age of 18 and 24 have placed the file sharing first among music-related online activities they enjoy most (Jupiter Media Research, 2002).

Many aspects of the use and content of the Web have been empirically investigated. However, the issue of downloading music and other types of files from the Internet has not been yet widely researched, and moreover with a sample of Greek students. The basic purpose of this study was to search whether Greek students download files from the Internet, what kind of files they prefer to download, why they started to download pirated software, if they know that it is an illegal action and whether they care accepting some ethical implications of the problem and as well as and how they consider that there is a social impact. In general, the purpose of the study was to study the pirate download as implemented by Greek students in practical, moral and social level, taking also into account some demographic data (gender, age, institutional study, educational level, field of scientific studies, if they work or not, degree of urbanization, education and parental occupation).

The research questions in this study were:

1) How well do Greek students know about computers, how much time they spend in front of the computer and in which sectors they use them more in relation with the demographic information's of gender, age, institutional studies, educational level, scientific field of study, whether they work or not, degree of urbanization, parents' education and occupation? (knowledge and use of computers).

2) Do Greek students download illegal files from the Internet and, if so, what kind of files they prefer to download and what are their characteristics? (Practical principles of pirated downloading)

3) Do Greek students believe that the pirated downloading has moral implications related to copyrighting and problems in companies affected by piracy, and if so, how much do they care, based on their demographic characteristics? (Moral principles of pirated downloading).

4) Do Greek students believe that the pirated downloading affects the society and themselves and to what extent, based on their demographic characteristics? (Social principles of pirated downloading).

Why Greeks students download pirated files from the Internet, depending on their demographic characteristics?

### 8. METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE OF THE RESEARCH

The study's sample was consisted of 200 undergraduate and postgraduate students from all Higher and Technological Greek Institutions.

The methodology that was used was that of a questionnaire with close and open questions. To the answers that students gave to the open questions, the methodology of discourse analysis for the elaboration of the results was occurred.

Specifically, the questionnaire that was distributed and answered in writing, included the following categories of questions. Firstly included questions were about their personal and demographic data that concerned the study which were: gender, institution study (Higher

or Technological Institute), educational level (undergraduate or postgraduate), age (18-22 or 23 years old and over), whether they are working or not, scientific field of study (social, humanitarian or exact science), degree of urbanization (Athens/Thessaloniki, capital of the prefecture, suburban or rural area), father and mother's occupation (Freelance-scientist, civil servant, private employee, freelancer-craftsman, tradesman, worker, farmer and household duties for mothers), and mother/father's education (illiterate, graduated Elementary School, graduated Secondary School, graduated Higher or Technical Institution or holder of a Master's degree.

Then there were 17 closed questions about the students' knowledge on computers and the frequency and manner of use. To these questions they answered with Yes or No. Then, there were 27 questions with yes or no answers that addressed to the practical issues of downloading, namely that do they prefer to download from the internet, from where they download, how they learned to download etc. Shortly after, there were 19 closed questions about the ethical implications of illegal downloading. The answers to these questions were in a five-point scale from 1 to 5 (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree). Then there were 19 closed questions (again with the same five-point answering scale as above), about the social ramifications of illegal downloading.

Finally, the questionnaire was ended with one open-ended question which encompassed 2 questions. First, if they believe that there is an ethical problem with the pirated download, and secondly, if they believe that it has a social impact on themselves or in general. In the first question, whether in their opinion there is an ethical problem, 153 of the 200 students answered and discourse analysis to the

answers was used with the following 18 categories of responses: 1) There is (without justification), 2) There is- copyright violation, 3) There is - affects companies, 4) There is – it is like stealing, 5) There is - affects employees, 6) There is – it is illegal, 7) There is but it does not of my concern, 8) There is not (without justification), 9) There is not – you do not steal anyone, 10) There is not – it is an alibi for companies, 11) There is not – the products are expensive, 12) I do not know, 13) There is but we are in an economic crisis, 14) There is not because you can download data that you cannot find in Greek market, 15) There is but the prices should fall, 16) There is but we cannot do anything about it, 17) There is not because the arts and entertainment should be free, 18) There is not because companies can find a way to make profit from downloading

On the second question, whether there is a social impact, 136 of 200 students answered, and discourse analysis to the answers was used with the following 8 categories of responses: 1) There is (without justification), 2) There is - reducing interpersonal relationships, 3) There is - affects us too, 4) There is- is more popular the one that downloads, 5) There is not (without justification), 6) Do not know, 7) There is but it does not affect me, 8) There is but it is not so intense.

## 9. RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

The internal validation instrument showed that the Cronbach's Alpha index for the whole questionnaire was equal to 0.799. For category C (Downloading and ethical issues) of the five-point scale questions Cronbach's Alpha index showed 0.488 while for category D(Downloading and social implications) showed 0.859.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the sample

Gender	n	%			
Male	95	47,5			
Female	105	52,5			
Fathers' profession	n	%	Mothers' profession	n	%
Freelancer/Scientist	35	17,5	Freelancer/Scientist	10	5,0
Civil Servant	60	30,0	Civil Servant	54	27,0
Private Employee	47	23,5	Private Employee	49	24,5

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Freelancer/ Craftsman	34	17,0	Freelancer/ Craftsman	21	10,5
Merchant	13	6,5	Merchant	19	9,5
Worker	6	3,0	Worker	4	2,0
Farmer	5	2,5	Farmer	7	3,5
			Household	36	18,0
<b>Fathers' education</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Mothers' education</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
Illiterate	0	0	Illiterate	6	3,0
Elementary education	24	12,0	Elementary education	26	13,0
Secondary education	88	44,0	Secondary education	86	43,0
Technological education	42	21,0	Technological education	33	16,5
Higher education	36	18,0	Higher education	41	20,5
Master's degree	10	5,0	Master's degree	8	4,0
<b>Type of undergraduate studies</b>	<b>n</b>		<b>%</b>		
University	149		74,5		
Technological Educational Institution	51		25,5		
<b>Graduate level</b>	<b>n</b>		<b>%</b>		
Undergraduate	144		72,0		
Postgraduate	56		28,0		
<b>Age</b>	<b>n</b>		<b>%</b>		
18-22 y.o.	18		18,6		
>23 y.o.	79		81,4		
<b>Work</b>	<b>n</b>		<b>%</b>		
Yes	89		44,5		
No	111		55,5		
<b>Residence</b>	<b>n</b>		<b>%</b>		
Great urban area	78		39,0		
Urban area	52		26,0		
Town	40		20,0		
Rural area	30		15,0		
<b>Field of studies</b>	<b>n</b>		<b>%</b>		
Humanities	44		22,0		
Social Studies	67		33,5		
Science and Maths	89		44,5		

Of the 200 students that were asked, 95 were men (47.5%) and 105 women (52.5%). Of the total students, 149 come from Higher Educational Institution (74.5%) and 51 of a Technological Educational Institution (25.5%). 144 of the respondents were students in an undergraduate program (72%), while the remaining 56 (28%) in a postgraduate. 102 of the 200 students (51%) were from 18 to 22 years old, while 98 (49%) were 23 years old and over. Of the 200 students, 111 (55,5%) does not work, while the rest 89 (44,5%) declared that they work and study at the same time. Of the respondents, 89 (44.5%) study Exact Sciences, 67 (33.5%) Social Sciences and 44 (22%) Humanities. Of the 200 students, 78 (39%) come from Athens or Thessaloniki,

26 (52%) from a prefecture Capital, 40 (20%) from a suburban area and 30 (15%) from some rural area. 30% of the students (60 persons) had a civil servant father, 23,5% (47 persons) private employee, 17,5% (35 persons) freelancer - scientist, 17% (34 persons) freelancer - craftsman, 6,5% (13 persons) merchant, 3% (6 persons) worker and only 2,5% (5 persons) farmer. 27% of the students (54 persons) had a civil servant mother, 24,5% (49 persons) a private employee, 18% (36 persons) of the students had a mother that was involved with household 10,5% (21 persons) freelancer - craftswoman, 9,5% (19 persons) merchant, 5% (10 persons) freelancer - scientist, 3,5% (7 persons) farmer and 2% (4 persons) worker. The father, by a percent of

44% (88 persons) was graduated from secondary education, 21% (42 persons), from technological institution, 18% (36 persons) was graduated from higher education institute, 12% (24 persons) from elementary education and 5% (10 persons) was a master's degree holder. 43% of the students (86 persons) had a mother graduated from elementary education, 20,5% (41 persons) from higher education institute 16,5% (33 persons) from a technological institution, 13% (26 persons) from elementary education, 4% (8 persons) master's degree holder and 3% (6 persons) a mother that was illiterate.

## 10. CORRELATION RESULTS

At this point we will spot the smallest and the biggest level of answer's agreement for each one of the four questionnaire's categories (Category A = Usage of computer, Category B = Downloading and practical issues, Category C = Downloading and ethical issues, Category D = Downloading and social implications).

Specifically, for category A, the smallest level of agreement was located for the questions "I know few about computers", "I do not know anything about computers", and "I do not spend my time in front of a computer". The biggest level of agreement was located for questions "I use computer at home" and "I use the computer to use the internet".

Table 2. Answers regarding the usage of computer

	Mean	Std. Deviation
I know very well about computers	1,53	,501
I know moderate about computers	1,54	,510
I know few about computers	1,92	,297
I do not know anything about computers	1,94	,258
I use a computer at my home	1,05	,208
I use a computer at my school	1,40	,490
I use a computer elsewhere	1,48	,501
I spend a lot of time in front of the computer	1,43	,496
I spend a little of time in front of the computer	1,60	,492
I do not spent any time in front of the computer	1,95	,229
I use the computer at my school	1,21	,408
I use the computer to write texts	1,25	,431
I use the computer for fun	1,12	,326

I use the computer to play games	1,47	,500
I use the computer to use the internet	1,06	,238
I use the computer to download files (music, movies, programs, etc)	1,19	,393
I use the computer for another reason	1,43	,496

For category B, the biggest level of agreement was located for question "I know what the term "download files" from the internet means. The smallest level of agreement was located to questions "I never download files from the internet" and "I only download files that is allowed and is legal the downloading".

Table 3. Answers regarding downloading

I know what the term "download from the internet" means	1,04	,196
I never download files from the Internet.	1,88	,332
I download files that are related to entertainment.	1,16	,368
I download files that are useful for my work and studies.	1,16	,368
I only download files that are legally allowed	1,77	,422
I download entire music CDs.	1,48	,501
I download singularly songs.	1,29	,455
I download music collections that are not for sale at the music stores.	1,45	,498
I download entire artists discographies.	1,48	,501
I download entire e-books	1,54	,500
I download computer games.	1,53	,501
I download internet games.	1,58	,496
I download old and collectible film movies (Greek or foreign)	1,50	,501
I download new and recent film movies (Greek or foreign)	1,26	,437
I download foreign series shown on Greek television or are on DVD for sale or rent.	1,35	,477
I download foreign series that are not shown on Greek television or are not on DVD for	1,42	,494
I download animation movies.	1,49	,501
I download programs and applications for the computer	1,25	,434
I download programs and applications for the my cell	1,67	,471
I download porn movies.	1,70	,459

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I download documentary films	1,62	,487
I download from sites or blogs with torrents	1,32	,468
I download from sites or blogs through other systems (rapidshare, hotfile, megaupload, mediafire etc.)	1,50	,501
I have learned to download files	1,54	,500
Someone else taught me how and from where to download	1,45	,498
I download pirated material every day	1,69	,464
I only download when something interests me	1,24	,425

For category C, the biggest level of agreement was located for questions “I feel good about myself when I download pirated files because otherwise I could not afford to buy most of them and so I could not be able to use them” and “I believe that now it is much better than in the past that we had to pay for music, movies, programs, etc, because we can download everything from the internet for free”. The smallest level of agreement is located for questions “I feel guilty when I download files illegal” and “I download everything, no matter if I like them or not”.

Table 4. Answers regarding ethical issues of downloading

download pirated files because I feel smarter from others who might pay to get them.		
I feel good about myself when I download pirated files because otherwise I couldn't afford buying most of them so I would never use them.	3,77	1,181
I believe that now is much better than in the past that we had to pay for music, movies, programs, etc, because we can download everything from the internet for free.	3,77	,997
I do not care about the economic losses caused by the piracy to the entertainment and computer industries.	3,21	1,154
I know that with piracy I harm the simple employee of the company that produces the product that I download illegally.	3,32	1,026
I believe the theory that piracy harms company's employees is an alibi for these companies.	3,31	1,170
When I download files I feel like I “strike” a piece of capitalism.	2,94	1,161
When I download from the internet I feel like I commit a steal.	2,19	1,262
I agree with the imprisonment of those who own and maintain sites that handle free material like movies, programs, music, etc..	2,12	1,176
When I like something too much I buy it, so to have it in a original form and I download the rest.	3,32	1,214
I download everything whether I like them or not.	2,09	1,071
I feel guilty when I download pirated files because I know that piracy is responsible for closing down of small companies like dvd clubs and music stores..	2,73	1,172

	Mean	Std. Deviation
I am aware that it is illegal to download files such as music, movies, etc from the internet, I do not download anything.	2,33	1,223
I feel guilty when I download illegal material.	2,05	1,192
I know that I outwit the laws about copyrights when I download illegal material.	3,43	1,332
I respect copyrights and the hard work of the creators of a project.	3,37	1,126
I do not care if it is illegal to download files from the internet.	3,46	1,251
I feel good about myself when I download pirated files because I feel happy that I didn't pay for obtaining them.	3,48	1,177
I feel good about myself when I download pirated files because I feel superior from others who might pay to get them.	2,18	1,155
I feel good about myself when I	2,29	1,281

For category D, the biggest degree of agreement was located for question “When I download from a site I feel that I belong in a team with those who download from the same site”. The smallest degree of agreement is located for questions “I download because the cost of buying is high” and “I download because it is free”.

Table 5. Answers regarding the social implications of downloading

I also download pirate files because all of my friends are doing it.	2,67	1,139
I also download pirate files because i know that the majority of the people does it.	2,68	1,133
I download from the internet to be “up to date”.	2,19	1,095
When I download from the Internet I feel like I belong in a group with those who download from the same site.	2,64	1,240

I become more social when downloading because I can give the downloaded files to friends and acquaintances.	2,45	1,040
I become more social when downloading because I share the downloaded files with other internet users.	2,40	1,125
When I download from the Internet I feel like I am a part of a wide internet community.	2,83	1,170
I believe that with the development of downloading interpersonal relations are lost.	2,75	1,185
I started downloading because I stay more hours at home.	2,79	1,164
I started downloading because it is a form of resistance against consumerism.	2,78	1,213
I started downloading because that way I resist to the trade over profit.	2,44	1,050
I started downloading because all of my friends done it.	3,20	1,152
I started downloading because internet speeds increased.	3,02	1,278
I started downloading because internet connection prices decreased.	3,85	1,219
I started downloading because the prices of products such as cds', video games, programs, movie tickets have increased.	4,10	,975
I download files because the prices of the products are very high.	4,13	,963
I download because it is for free.	3,52	1,186
I download because I have financial problems.	3,92	1,124
I download because in that way I spare money.		

## 10. CORRELATION RESULTS

Table 6. Answers on the question: "Do you consider that an ethical problem exists regarding pirated download?"

	n	%
There is (without justification)	24	12,0
There is –copyright impingement	19	9,5
There is because businesses are afflicted	3	1,5
There is because it is a form of stealing	1	,5
There is because employees are afflicted	7	3,5
There is because it is illegal	4	2,0
There is but it is not my concern	8	4,0
There is not (without justification)	37	18,5
There is not since you don't steal no one	2	1,0
There is not – it is an alibi for enterprises	13	6,5
There is not, since products are very expensive	9	4,5
I do not know	5	2,5
There is but we are in an economic crisis	6	3,0
There is not, since you download material that does not exist in Greek market	2	1,0
There is but prices must fall	3	1,5
There is but there is nothing we do about it	5	2,5
There is not because art and entertainment should be free	3	1,5
There is not because companies can profit from downloading	2	1,0
Total	153	76,5

Regarding to whether they consider that there is an ethical problem with pirated downloading from the Internet, 153 persons from the 200 participants answered. Specifically, 24,2% answered that there is not any ethical problem, without justification. 15,7% answered that there is ethical problem without justification, 12,4% that there is since copyrights are impingement, to 2% that there is because businesses are afflicted, 0,7% that there is because it is a form of "stealing", 4,6% that there is because business employees are afflicted, 2,6% that there is because it is illegal, 5,2% that there is but it is not their concern, 3,9% that there is but we are in an economic crisis, 2% that there is but prices of the products that they are forced to download must fall, and 3,3% that there is but there is nothing they can do about it. From the other side, 7,8% supports that there is not because it is an alibi for enterprises 5,9% that there is not because products are very expensive to buy them, 1,3% that there is not an ethical problem since they do not feel like they are stealing anyone, 1,3% that there is not since they download material that does not exist in Greek market, 2% that there is not because they believe that because art and entertainment should be free, and 1,3% that there is not because the companies if they want it they can and to make profit from downloading. Finally, 3,3% answered that they do not know.

Table 7. Answers on the question: "Do you believe that pirated download has a social impact to you or in general?"

	n	%
There is (without justification)	25	12,5
There is because interpersonal relationships are impaired	26	13,0
There is – it is affect us	17	8,5
There is because the downloader becomes more popular	2	1,0
There is not (without justification)	51	25,5
I do not know	7	3,5
There is but it does not affect me	5	2,5
There is but it is not so intense	3	1,5
Total	136	68,0

Regarding whether they believe that pirated download has a social impact to them or in general, 136 persons from 200 participants in the study answered. Specifically, 37,5% answered that a social



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impact does not exist, without justification, 19,1% that there is because interpersonal relationships are impaired 18,4% that there is without justification, 12,5% that there is because it affects them, apart from the community (without further analysis), the 3,7% that there is but it does not affect them 2,7% that there is but it is not so intense and 1,5% that there is because the person that downloads might become more popular to his group of friends. Finally 3,3% answered that they do not know.

### 11. CONCLUSIONS

Concerning the knowledge and use of computers, which was the first research question, the study results showed that most students had very good or moderate knowledge for their use (men very good and women moderate), they spend a lot of time in front of the computer and use it, basically, at home and in particular to enter the Internet or for fun, for their school needs and also to download files from the Internet.

In particular, men know computers very good and especially those whose father graduated from Higher Education and the mother is a technician and less those whose father graduated from a Primary school and their mother is a farmer. On the other hand, most of them do not have poor knowledge about computers. The one's that know less, are mainly those with a father that holds a postgraduate degree and graduated from a Secondary, Technological and Higher Institution. Women showed moderate knowledge about computers as well as those whose father graduated from Primary school and their mother is a farmer. Additionally, almost everyone answered negative on whether they do not know anything about computers. The latters, are mainly those whose father has a master's degree and their mother is a farmer. Most of them use a computer at home, but the smallest number of all that use it at home, those who have a mother with a master's degree or farmer and father with a master's degree. Less use the computer at school and these are basically men. Most of

those that use the computer in their school, where the one's that their father graduated from Secondary education or their mother is a craftswoman and less, those who their mother is a craftswoman or farmer. Mostly, in fact, mainly men spend more time in front of the computer and basically those who their father graduated from a Higher or Technical Institution and less those whose father graduated Primary or Secondary Education. Most of them use the computer for their school and mainly those who have a mother technician and those who are 18-22 years old, whereas in a smaller extent those who have mother farmer or merchant. Most of them use the computer for fun, but mostly those whose father is a civil servant or farmer and those who are 18-22 years old, in contrast to those whose mother has a post graduated degree. They use the computer mainly to play games, those whose mother is illiterate or graduated Primary school and those whose father has a master's degree, while less those whose mother has a master degree. Almost everyone prefer to surf the Internet, but most those who their father is a civil servant or farmer, or are 18-22 years old and less those who their mother or father has a master degree. Most of them use the computer to download files, and mainly men and those who their mother is illiterate, has graduated Higher education or Secondary education and those who have a farmer father.

As to the practical principles of pirate downloading (second research question), most of them admitted that they illegally download files related to their entertainment or work and, above all, singularly songs, new or recent films, foreign series shown on Greek television or placed for sale on dvd clubs, as well as programs or applications for the computer. The majority downloads only when something interests them and, particular, mainly through the torrents system, while most of them learned how and from where to download by someone else.

Specifically, most of them are negative on whether they only download files that their downloading is legally. Those who do it, are mostly those who have a worker father or

originate from a rural area. Entire music CDs download especially men and those with a father who holds a master's degree, or those originating from Athens/Thessaloniki, or suburban areas and less those with a father that graduated from a Primary school, or those that originate from capital district or agricultural district. The majority downloads individual songs, but most of them those who have a farmer father, or are 18-22 years old and less those with a worker father. E-books downloads mostly men and those with a father graduated from a Higher Institution, farmer or scientist father, those that originate from suburban areas and those who are over 23 years old, while less those with father graduate from elementary school, those who have a worker father and those that originate from Athens/Thessaloniki. Mostly men are downloading electronic and online games and those that their father has a Master's degree and less those whose their father graduated from Elementary school. Most of them download new or recent films and to a greater extent, men and especially those who originate from a suburban area and less that originate from suburban area and less that originate from a country capital. Mostly men download animation movies and those who have a worker mother or a farmer father. Most of them download programs and applications for the computer, but mostly men and everyone who has a craftswoman mother and those with a worker or farmer mother. On the other hand, mostly men download programs and applications for their mobile phone. About pornographic films, most of them reported that they do not download, but from those who are, most of them are men. Additionally, they do not download documentary films and indeed, download less those with a scientist mother or a worker father, while mostly downloads those with a farmer father. Most of them download from sites or blogs with torrents and those are, mostly, men and those with an illiterate mother or Higher education graduate, those whose father that graduated from a Secondary school or a Higher Education Institute, everyone with a worker mother and those with a farmer father. Less of all download from torrents those whose mother has a master's degree,

those whose father graduated from elementary school, those who have a farmer mother and those who have a worker father. Mostly women learn from someone else how and where to download and those that their father graduated from an elementary school or holds a master's degree, those who have a scientist or farmer mother and those that come from a prefecture Capital, while, least of all those with a father graduated from a Higher Institution, those who have civil servant mother and those that come from suburban areas. Most of them declared that they don't download pirated material every day and indeed, mostly men and those whose father has a master's degree and less those whose father has graduated from an elementary school. Finally, most of them download only when something interests them and especially those with an illiterate mother or worker father and less those who have a farmer father.

In regard to the ethical principles of pirated downloading (third study question), the majority of Greek students know how to download illegal material from the Internet, knowing that it is illegal and circumvents copyright (according to their answers most of them respects them), but they do not feel guilty, or that they are committing theft. Also, most of them feel alright with themselves when they download pirated material, because they are happy with the fact that they do not pay and they admit that they could not buy most of the things that they download. Finally, most of them know that with piracy they also harm the simple employee of the company that produces the products they download, but they believe that it is large corporation's alibi that piracy harms simple employees in these companies.

Specifically, to the question "I know it is illegal to download files such as music, movies, etc. from the internet, so I do not download anything," most people, especially men, and those who have a farmer father disagree, while mainly those that have a worker mother or worker father do not download, because they know that it is an illegal act. Most of them do not feel qualms, when they download from the Internet and those who mostly feel are women, those with a

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worker mother, worker father or come from a rural area and less those that have a scientist mother or dealer father, private employee, or farmer. Most of them know that they violate the copyright laws when they download illegal material and especially those with an illiterate mother or elementary graduate mother and those who have a worker father. Most of them respect the copyright and effort of the creators, but especially women and those that their mother has graduated from a Higher Institution, those who have a worker father or scientist and those that come from rural area, while less those that have an illiterate mother. Most of them, especially men and those that have an illiterate mother, father that holds a master's degree or graduated from a primary school, or comes from a suburban area, do not care whether it is illegal to download files from the Internet. Most of them feel good with themselves when they download pirated files, because they rejoice that they did not pay to acquire them and otherwise they could not be able to buy most of them and they would never use them (mostly those with a father that holds a master's degree or a private employee). Also, most of them believe it is much better now than before that they had to pay for music, movies, programs etc., since we can download everything for free from the internet. On the other hand, mostly are not interested to the economic losses that caused by piracy in the entertainment and IT industry, as well as and those that have an illiterate mother, scientist or worker mother (impression is caused by the fact that those who have a worker mother feel guilty when they download), those who have a merchant or farmer father and those that are over 23, while it is less interested to those who have a farmer mother. Most of them and to a greater extent, those with a father that holds a master's degree, those who have a worker or farmer mother and those that are 18-22 years old, know that with piracy they also harm the simple employee of the company that produces the product that they illegally download. Most of them, and especially men, believe that the theory that piracy harms the employees of the companies is an alibi for them. When they

download they feel that they "hit" a piece of capitalism, most of them those with a worker mother and less those that have a scientist mother. Women feel that they commit theft when they download to a greater extent and those with a worker mother and less with a mother that graduated from an elementary school and those that have a farmer father. Most of them do not agree with imprisoning of those that preserve websites that freely distribute material such as movies, programs, music etc. and especially those with a mother that holds a master's degree, with a merchant or civil servant mother, or with a private employee, or a farmer father, while they agree with the imprisoning those that have an illiterate or worker mother and a scientist father. Most of them, and especially those with a mother that graduated from a Higher Institution, or a scientist, or private employee father, when something likes them a lot, they buy it to have it in its original form and they download the rest, while to a smaller extent they do it those who have a farmer father.

As to the social principles of pirated downloading (fourth research question), most of them deny that they do pirated downloading because their friends are doing it or everyone or to be "up to date" and also deny that downloading makes them more social for any reason. Also, at their majority when they download do not feel that are members of a wider online community and do not believe that with downloading the interpersonal relationship between them has been lost.

In particular, they make pirated downloading because all their friends are doing it, mostly those with a father that holds a Master's degree and less those with a father that graduated from a Higher Institution. They are making pirated downloading because they know that most of the people are doing it, to a greater extent those that their father graduated from Secondary Education or holds a Master's degree and less those whose father graduated from a Higher Institution. They download from the Internet to be up to date, mostly those whose father hold a Master's degree and less those whose father graduated from a Higher Institution. Most of them argue that when they

download from a website, they feel that they belong to a group with those that download from the same site, and with this opinion agree more those that whose mother has a Master's degree and less those whose their mother graduated from a Higher Institution. Most of them disagree that they become more social with the downloading because the files they download could be given to their friends and acquaintances. Also, most of them argue that they become more social with the downloading because they can share the files that they download with other internet users. With this opinion they agree more, those that have a mother that does the household duties and those that have a scientist father, while less those that their father graduated from elementary or secondary education, leavers and those with a worker father. Most of them argue that when they download from the Internet feel like they are members of a wider online community. With this opinion they agree more those that have a worker or farmer mother and less those their mother graduated from a Higher Institution and those with a craftswoman mother. Most of them do not believe that with the development of downloading the interpersonal relationships have been impaired. Mostly women agree with this opinion, as well as those that their mother holds a master's degree, those who have a worker mother and those that are 18-22 years old, while least agree those with an illiterate mother or from a graduate primary school.

About the fifth research question, which is related to the reasons why Greek students download pirated material from the Internet, most of them responded that they began to download because it is free, and the buying cost of the products that they download (Cds, tickets for the cinema, programs, etc.) has become quite large.

In particular, most of them disagree that they began downloading because they stay more hours at home. To this opinion agree more those that have a worker or farmer mother and to a smaller extent those that have a craftswoman mother. Also, most of them argue that they began to download as a form of resistance to consumerism. With the latter agree more those with a merchant or farmer

father and those who is 18-22 years old. As a resistance to the commercial super profit began to download to a lesser extent those that whose mother and father graduated from an elementary school. Most of them disagree that they began to download because all their friends done it and also those who agree less have a mother and a father that graduated from a Higher Institution. On the other hand, most of the respondents began to download because the speed of the internet has increased. Also, the connection prices of the internet have declined. Due to the decrease of the prices, they download to a greater extent those whose father graduated from a Higher Institution and those that have a civil servant father and to a smaller extent those whose father graduated from Elementary school and those with a father farmer. However, the majority of students seemed to have started to download from the internet because the prices of products have increased, such as CDs, video games, computer programs, tickets for the cinema, etc., and because from the internet are free. Further, due to the increase of the prices in market, they download more those who have an illiterate mother, those who their father graduated from a Higher Institution and those with a private employee father and less the ones with a mother that holds a Master's degree and those with a scientist father. With the opinion that they download because the buying cost is high, most of them agree and mainly those who have a trader, worker or private employee father, and those who are 18-22 years old. Most of them download because it is free and mostly those who have an illiterate mother or graduated from a Primary school, whose father graduated from an Elementary or Secondary school and who have a farmer father. Due to financial problems most of them agree that they download and to a greater extent those with a worker mother (everyone), or farmer and a worker father and less the ones who have a scientist mother or a farmer father. Also, most of them agree that they download because they save money, and to a greater extent those whose father graduated from an Elementary school or their mother is a farmer, or worker or those who have a merchant, or worker father.

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Finally, in the two open questions that were posed, the answers showed that: Concerning the question if they believe that there is an ethical problem with the pirated downloading most of them supported (with ranking) 1) that there is not (without justification), 2) that there is (without justification), 3) that there is because the copyrights are violated and 4) that there is not because all of this is an alibi for big companies and 5) because the products that they download would be very expensive if they should bought them. Whether they believe that pirated downloading has a social impact to themselves or in general, with ranking most of them answered 1) that there is not (without justification), 2) that there is because the interpersonal relationships are impaired, 3) that there is (without justification) and 4) that there is because the one that downloads from the Internet becomes more popular to those that gives the files.

### 11. DISCUSSION

The study results showed, concerning the knowledge and use of computers, that most of the students have a very good or moderate capability of using them (men very good and women moderate), they spend a lot of time in front of the computer and they use it, basically, to surf in the internet for entertainment reasons and to download files. Therefore, the selection of the students sample seems justifiable for such a study that is employed with the different implications of the phenomenon of pirated downloading, as this is one of their favorite hobbies. Regarding to the practical principles of pirated downloading most of the participants in the study admitted that they illegally download files, and mainly, individually songs, new or recent movies, foreign shows also raised on Greek TV or can be rented in dvd clubs, as well as programs or applications for the computer.

Regarding to the ethic principles of pirated downloading (third research question), the majority of Greek students know how to download illegal material from the Internet, recognizing that it is illegal and that copyright

is circumvent (which most of them respect according to their answers), but they do not feel guilty or feel that they are committing theft. Most of them, also, feel all right with themselves when they download pirated material, because they are happy with the fact that they do not pay and otherwise they admit that they could not buy most of the things they download. Finally, most of them know that with piracy they also harm the simple employee of the company that produces the products they download, but they believe that it is an alibi of big corporations that piracy hurts simple employees in those companies. That last element is definitely oxymoron, but it is perhaps an indicative sign of a society that knows the problem, but attempts to pass on the responsibilities elsewhere. As shown by the research, parents occupation and education affects, mostly, the students opinion on ethical issues and intellectual property issues, it would be useful that studies should be conducted focused on parental opinions about the ethical implications of downloading and other phenomena that develop today and may be a sore for certain occupations or sectors of everyday life of Greek citizens.

As to the social principles of pirated downloading, most of the participants deny that they do pirated downloading because their friends are also doing it, or just to be "updated" and also deny that downloading makes them more social for any reason. Additionally, the majority does not feel that they are members of a large online community when they download and believe that with the downloading the interpersonal relationships between them have been impaired. Nevertheless, to the open question about whether they believe that the pirated downloading has a social impact to them or in general, a significant number of students answered that there is, because the interpersonal relationships are impaired, response that comes in contrast with the equivalent answers of closed questions.

About the reasons that Greek students download pirated material from the Internet, most of them responded that they began to download because it is free, and the cost of the

products they download (Cds, tickets for the cinema, programs, etc.) has become quite high, something to be expected as an answer even to the open questions the answers, were often focused on the economic crisis and the unacceptable increase in prices.

Finally, it should be noted that female participants, as well as and those who come from worker families, seemed to feel more responsible towards the impact of the phenomenon which is under study to the employees of entertainment and IT companies that plagued by piracy.

One limitation of this study can be considered the sample that answered the questions, which was consisted only from students. A similar study could be conducted in other age groups and occupations which can, also, consist an actively buying public. Also, it would be interesting to investigate the equivalent opinions of teachers, parents of students and High school students. Also, in another study could be the student's opinions on solutions related to the phenomenon of piracy could be investigated so this will no longer be a matter of ethics, copyright theft or financial problems in the international labor market.

The phenomenon of online piracy entertainment is increasingly spread and as a result the areas that are affected are desperately looking for solutions that will provide them the needed economic recovery. The students, of course, which is perhaps the largest community that downloads pirated files in Greece and in all over the world, do not seem to be startled by the dangers posed chained reactions to the job market in various aspects. It would be really helpful, copyright issues and royalties and not only acts to became objects of a more extensive study and education of young people. It remains, then, to see how the big companies will face the phenomenon of piracy and how young Internet users will accept any changes that will come.

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# Facets of Intercultural Communication





## STUDENTS' LINGUISTIC CLUB IN THE POLY CULTURAL EDUCATIONAL SPACE OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

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**Abstract:** *The following paper deals with the phenomenon of polycultural educational space of the contemporary society with the reference to the experience of Students linguistic club in the Udmurt State University, Izhevsk, Russian Federation. While introducing some theoretical background of the issue of polycultural educational space and intercultural education, the authors highlight possibilities to appeal to the University extracurricular activities in promoting the ideas of cultural diversity and pluralism. As an example, the paper introduces the experience of Students linguistic club. We have compared the development of intercultural competence both of club's participants and of those who were not involved in club activities. As a result, we have found out the development of intercultural sensitivity, tolerance and ethnic affiliation. The data collected was interpreted with the reference to the theory of polycultural educational space.*

**Keywords:** *educational effects, contemporary society, polycultural educational space, students' linguistic club, university.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Rethinking of modern society within the framework of multiculturalism implies emphasis on "places" and "events" which either increase or decrease effects of multicultural interaction. Universities are supposed to provide places mentioned above since they accumulate cultural achievements of humankind and encourage scientific creativity of students. However it is not all that clear to what extent such places of intercultural interaction could enable students to understand different world-view, to contribute to their cultural identity and their ability to adjust to developing ways of intercultural communication and teaching, help them respect other cultures and be able to observe and listen, be steady in cases of vagueness and as a result to show off key components of intercultural competence (Deardorff, 2006). It seems urgent enough to evaluate efficiency of such places of intercultural communication in the 'Liquid-modern society' (Bauman, 2013).

### 2. POLY CULTURAL EDUCATIONAL SPACE

*Polycultural educational space* is a new concept developed in pedagogical field. The idea of the concept under discussion relates to "special" definition of education which is supposed to be filled with values of different cultures as well as with elements of intercultural creativity. All people are regarded as bearers of cultural patterns and authors of new cultural processes. "Poly" could be defined as an integral plurality. *Polycultural educational space* is created by students, teachers and other persons on the assumption of contribution to the expansion of the given space, its' improvement due to various cultural values and its openness to representatives of alien cultural traditions.

Theoretical background: Theory of education through integration (Danilyuk, 2000); Polycultural educational space (Borisenkov *et al.*, 2004); Persona-centered Polycultural education (Khakimov, 2012).

Nowadays culture is related to basic results of human thinking and activity, as an integrated "civilized" space that covers and requires human involvement. Thus culture implies social experience, patterns and standards that are to shape and specify peculiar attitudes of a society to everything that is interpreted as something new / unknown and different. Taking this into account we may assume that axiological issues (apart from intercultural predominance) are becoming rather crucial and urgent. Intercultural component is a challenge that makes us expand educational process in order to provide opportunities for real and effective intercultural interaction and communication for students of modern universities. Traditional borders are being threatened, or, to put in a positive way, are opened up for fresh innovative perspectives. Thus the competence of effective interaction and communication within cultural variety is becoming one of the most required proficiency in contemporary education.

We share the position of the researchers who interpret the aim of intercultural education in teaching foreign language for specific purposes as the development of students' general competence, using any language as lingua franca (T. Vavilova, U. Lundgren, B. Van Driel). It is used in contact with another person, from any language and any culture, different from that of the learner. In a time, when we borrow culturally marked and relevant traits and features from each other and create new "transcultures", cultural competence must be reconsidered.

Range of pedagogical researches confirms the concept that a student's educational experience is made up of both curricular and extracurricular activities. One of the fields to realize intercultural dimension in language learning could be club activities as a part of extracurricular domain within the Udmurt State University. Taking this concept into consideration while organizing students' linguistic club, the starting point was the idea that beneficial combination of both formal and non-formal education is supposed to have a certain impact on a student's personal and professional development and their successful

adaptation to polycultural reality. The research was based on the following concept: to encourage students to take part in a linguistic club founded on principles of non-formal education (*such as voluntariness, subjectivity, freedom, choice, personal interest*) and theoretical background of polycultural education (*openness, dialogue of different cultural areas, value judgment and tolerance towards cultural pluralism, availability for interpersonal and intercultural contacts*).

The content of the given linguistic club was made up of applying to culturally relevant texts, watching and discussion of films; meetings with foreign guests from the USA, Australia, Finland. Further to Fulbright fellows took active part in club activities, interaction with students from other countries via Internet, implementation of some Information Technologies. Based on the concept of polycultural education a students' linguistic club being a part of non-formal education is supposed to carry out a number of certain functions within University educational area: *linguistic, cognitive and educational*.

*Linguistic function* within club activities means that participants are given opportunities to master a linguistic competence (i.e. to use lexical, grammatical and phonetic resources of the language adequately and accurately).

*Cognitive function* is reflected in certain activities to encourage personal cultural standards and level of polycultural competence. Linguistic club encourage students to get involved in a definite sociocultural space, in cultural and history backgrounds of certain peoples, and obviously, in our native culture and history.

*Educational function* assumes that students are involved in culturally relevant activities. That is supposed to encourage them not only to get rid of language barrier but to add to their cultural standards.

Thus polycultural education within student's linguistic club is to provide students with educational experiences that enable them to maintain commitments to their community cultures as well as acquire certain competences, skills, and cultural experience needed to function in the national civic culture

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and community, to function effectively within and across diverse groups and beliefs.

**Research issue:** How does intercultural competence of the participants of the linguistic club change?

**Research method:** Questionnaires and test of intercultural competence.

**Research procedure:** Comparison of data and results (validity, Mann-Whitney criteria). 32 students-participants of the linguistic club and 34 students (bachelors of pedagogy) of the Udmurt State University who were not involved in linguistic club activities). They were asked to deal with the test and questionnaires after one year of studying.

### 3. RESULTS

Questionnaire "Index of tolerance" (Soldatova *et al.*, 2001) reveals statistical significance within the students in experimental group and control groups. The index of tolerance has turned out to be higher in experimental group. The results of the test allow concluding that the students of control group demonstrate mean level of tolerance, while the students of experimental group are characterized by high level of tolerance and predominance of tolerant features. The results of the second questionnaire "Types of ethnic identity" (Soldatova & Ryshova, 1998) allow to observe the following positions:

- decline of the level of ethnic isolation which suggests assurance in superiority of a certain people; tendency to "cultural refinement"; negative attitude to interethnic marriages;

- decline of ethnic nihilism which is characterized by negative attitude to personal ethnic identity and endeavour to change and replace ethnic identity.

The scale of "Social distance" (E. Bogarus) registers certain shortening of social distance versus Gypsies. The results of the interview in the experimental group (12 students were involved). Content analysis was applied to interpret the interviews. Later on the matrix was presented to promote quantitative analysis of our data.

The students pointed out the following outcomes of their education: willingness to interact: 92%; demonstration of friendly attitude to other nationalities: 88%; interest to different ethnic cultures: 84%; positive attitude to various cultures: 76%; awareness of native culture's uniqueness: 76%; empathy to migrants: 72%.

Thus linguistic club could be considered as a rather efficient form on non-formal education and a component of polycultural educational space of the contemporary society.

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## PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATION IN A GLOBALIZED ENVIRONMENT

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**Abstract:** *The question of whether the world is becoming a “global village” is in the heart of discussions related to both the economic – and social crisis – and to the need to cope with the increased exigencies of international and intercultural communication. In this framework, it is necessary to provide professionals (including students) with the necessary tools and methods that will help them to cope with the difficulties of the international business environment in an effective way. As language plays an important role in both communication and management, it is worth highlighting some of the challenges and solutions regarding presentations and, more generally, intercultural communication and its different aspects. One of the essential elements of business communications in the international environment is giving presentations. The paper examines the role of presentations in intercultural communication and the importance of the right use of English, as it is the lingua franca of contemporary entrepreneurial activity. Finally, the importance of incorporating multimodal texts in education is also examined, in conjunction with the use of information technology.*

**Keywords:** *intercultural communication, professional communication, business communication, presentations, meetings, negotiations*

### 1. PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

When an international company decides to cross its national borders in order to expand its business operations, it must also cross its cultural boundaries. With the free market, business expansion is convenient but penetration in each society's manners and customs becomes more difficult. Unlike the impressive developments in transport, communications and information systems, cultural differences between states remain intact. The main objective of companies is to meet and satisfy human needs. People around the world share the same basic needs, but the way they try to meet them and the order in which they rank them varies considerably, even among people of the same society. As part of the development of global entrepreneurship, adopting approaches promoting the concepts of multilingualism and multiculturalism contributes to "building"

intercultural communication through open ways of thinking and action, and through interaction relationships. The term intercultural communication does not mean just chatting with foreign language speaking people, but a complex process governed by attitudes, behaviours and skills based on code set by the diversity in every multicultural environment (cf. Tagkas, 2011:242-249). Professional presentations should every time be adapted to the prevailing conditions. For large multinational companies operating in foreign countries, besides the common factors (purpose, method, performance) what should also be taken into consideration is the manners, customs, language, religion, spiritual and economic level of the people of the country. Language is the most important key to any society, as it provides the most important basis for the socialization of people. It is the primary means of communication, whether it be written, verbal or body language. The full understanding and correct use of language contributes to the effective success of



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international entrepreneurship. Also, the level and quality of education in any society often indicates the type of products and services that can be offered in a particular society. Even religion is often said to be the mirror of society. For example, in Iran the entire economic, political, legal and social system is based on the teachings of the Koran. Finally, social systems include a large and varied number of attitudes and acceptable types of relationships within the family, in friendships or family relationships, in class structure, or with regard to respect of the national flag and other symbols (Harrison *et al.*, 2004:101-03).

One of the most important ways to solve these problems is to inform the personnel about the local history, culture and civilization. Also, the recruitment of local human resources enables the company to appropriately adapt to new circumstances. Ignorance of all new data as different objects, words and symbols which reflect different beliefs and values can lead a presentation to destruction and failure. For example in the Middle East, people read from right to left. This may confuse people from other cultures very easily and therefore fail to have the desired effect when, for instance, comparing two products or reporting changes in sales, as the audience will receive exactly the opposite message if that difference is not taken into account. Also, Asians tend to be less enthusiastic. Even the greeting among men is a kiss on the cheek. Another habit of men in the Middle East is to walk hand in hand, behaviours that in some Western countries seem foreign. In Great Britain, "jumping the queue" is unacceptable behavior, which in some other countries and cultures is not so important.

In Muslim countries it is known that alcohol is prohibited. A presentation of an alcoholic beverage in such countries would not have the best results. In Japan, the use of humor is avoided in business meetings and seminars. In contrast, Australians love it. Other things that might seem a detail but habit makes us take them for granted are also very important. When talking in a foreign country we are the "outsiders", and therefore we will have to adapt and create presentations

according to their own standards (Kanakidou & Papagianni, 1997:69).

A survey in the business world showed how people of different nationalities translate common symbols used in international presentations. The questionnaires contained 15 black symbols selected from the graphic collection of Harvard. Participants from the USA, Sweden, Tanzania and Japan were asked to identify the symbols, which were divided into three categories: verbal, image, and theoretical. The alarming results were related to symbols consisting of images, with varied responses and degree of understanding between countries, while the highest rates of comprehension came from the USA, Tanzania and Japan. The first position of the USA is probably due to the fact that most of the symbols had been designed for a purely American audience. The theoretical symbols were the most difficult for all participants, thus showing how countries are dependent on culture. The results provide a guide to the visual designers. When symbols are used in presentations it is recommended to use verbal symbols and images, and their use should be strictly subject to the culture of the public (Griffin, 1995).

### 2. PROBLEMS IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

The main problems in intercultural communication emanate from either linguistic or cultural differences, which create difficulty in transferring meaning from one language to the other. As it can be seen, several "adjustments" often need to be made in such cases as the ones mentioned below:

#### a. Lack of appropriate words

How is the word/concept "privacy" translated into Greek?

How is the word "mangas" translated into English? ("dude", according to googletranslate, which however does not render the cultural dimension of the Greek word)

#### b. Lack of relevant expressions

"break a leg"

"had a cow"

Idioms, in particular are the best example of the difficulties in rendering expressions that have a strong cultural element and have arisen from the particular linguistic and social character of a country.

c. Lack of relevant grammar  
 “lift a thumb” / “thumb a lift”

This case involves cases in which there is no equivalent structure in the target language (e.g. a verb that can only be rendered as a noun in another language)

d. A word that means two or more different things – which is related to Saussure’s notion of the “signifier” and the “signified”, pinpointing that in some languages a signifier may express more than one signified. This can create misunderstandings and even lead to translatability deadends.

e. Differences in the communication “style” of the other person: it’s not what someone says but how they say it that often matters. Therefore, there are instances in which a word or expression is used metaphorically or ironically in the original language and if translated literally in the foreign language this can cause a lack of understanding or entail embarrassing and comic results.

f. Ignorance of the existence of differences; ignorance of these differences. In intercultural communication, inability to take into account the difficulties arising from the multiplicity of codes can be the reason for failure in intercultural communication.

g. Lack of acceptance and respect towards cultural and communication differences (Ball, 2000:231-233). The different is not necessarily wrong, just different. This dimension accounts for “acceptance of the other” and relates to the need to adjust the linguistic – and visual – codes in an appropriate way so as to facilitate communication by creating an appropriate channel of communication, which is essential for establishing relationships.

**Cultural differences in business communication.** The different cultural, historic, social and linguistic characteristics of the different peoples of the world require a different approach (cf. Hall, 1996; 1998; 2000). A depiction of these differences in a comparative table can therefore illustrate in a more effective way how cultural differences can influence business communication and why it is important to follow the adage “when in Rome, do as the Romans do”.

Table 1 Cultural differences in business communication

	FRANCE	GERMANY	JAPAN	UNITED KINGDOM
GREETING	Handshake at the beginning and end of the meeting	Handshake at the beginning and end of the meeting and greeting by name	Handshake only if requested. Greeting with a slight motion of the head	Handshake and business cards exchange
PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS	Arrive on time for an appointment. A few minutes’ delay is acceptable	Always arrive five minutes earlier than the appointed time	Arrive on time for an appointment. Confirm by telephone, fax or e-mail	Arrive on time for an appointment
WORKING HOURS	Starting after 8:30. Long break for lunch. Overtime	07:00 – 16:00. Middle and top managers usually work longer hours	Officially 09:00 – 17:00. In fact, more hours	Working the longest hours in Europe
NEGOTIATIONS	Extensive and formal	Precise and direct	Tough and difficult negotiations	Tough negotiations
TELEPHONING	Several phone calls. Interrupting their partner	Short and direct	Several phone calls.	Polite phone calls

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MEETINGS	Long hours with breaks	Short, precise and well prepared.	Civilized meetings in a climate of respect.	Informal
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### 3. USE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS A GLOBAL MEANS OF BUSINESS COMMUNICATION

The English language has the main role in modern enterprises. Companies have foreign customers or partners. Entrepreneurs travel abroad to attend conferences, participate in exhibitions or promote their company and present their products. This kind of communication requires specific skills in the use of English, beyond the general knowledge provided by standard language courses. As regards meetings and presentations, nowadays modern English tends to be less formal than a few decades ago. Most audiences prefer a more informal approach (McAlpine, 1997:10).

The terminology should be commercial and economic and interlocutors should be able to make promotions, close deals and negotiate or analyze rates and prices (Comfort, 1996; 1998), but also be able to persuade (cf. Munter & Russell, 2001:66) as convincingly as in their native language. At the same time, they should be able to talk in a comfortable manner, making easy use of the language, without errors and "verbal crutches". Finally, the pronunciation and enunciation of words also plays an important role (McAlpine, 1997:16), as it clearly demonstrates the level of knowledge and creates a positive impression.

#### **Indicative expressions within a presentation**

- a. Correcting ourselves
  - I am terribly sorry. What I meant to say was this.
  - Sorry. What I meant is this.
- b. Quick presentation - difficulty of the audience to attend.
  - Let me just recap on that.
  - I want to recap briefly on what I have been saying.
- c. Skipping a point.
  - Sorry, I should just mention one other thing.

- If I can go back to the previous point, there is something else that I forgot to mention.
- d. Simplifying a complex point.
  - So, basically, what I am saying is this.
  - So, basically, the point I am trying to get across is this.
- e. Wrong approach on a topic
  - Sorry, perhaps I did not make that quite clear
  - Let me rephrase that to make it quite clear.
- f. Unknown word
  - Sorry, what is the word I am looking for.
  - Sorry, my mind has gone blank. How do you say "escargot" in English?
- g. Running out of time
  - So just to give you the main points.
  - As we are short of time, this is just a quick summary of the main points.

The above-mentioned expressions (Powell, 1996:28-31) can act as "pointers", keeping the audience close to the speaker, while at the same time helping both sides to keep in contact with the topic and different parts of the presentation, thus contributing to increased understanding and comprehension, and leading to effectiveness of the purposes of the interaction in each particular case.

### 4. PRESENTATIONS IN EDUCATIONS

Presentations, outside of the business world, have also invaded the world of education. School has now begun to take a more interactive format, escaping from the formal learning process with the student simply listening to the teacher and taking an "abundance" of information without the corresponding analysis and assimilation. New words and methods have invaded the various pedagogic approaches, including print, visual, audio hardware and software training

Certainly, the elimination of courses that are based on written material is naturally impossible to carry out. It is considered an integral part of every educational process, and if technologically advanced instruments are to be used, it remains the most effective means of extracting and consolidating information, and the accumulation of reference material. The audio material is another essential part. Audio tools can be used either by the instructor or by the learner. The visual material is divided into static, dynamic and real-time visuals. Static include still images such as slides, photos, or PowerPoint presentation in a Microsoft Office environment. The dynamic includes films, videotapes, video streams, graphics, multimedia. This category includes real-time systems (video telephony or video conferencing depicting the remote collaborators). Finally, CBT (Computer-Based Training) and special education software is based on interaction with the learner (Solomonidou 2006:122-124).

The educational applications are usually multimedia applications and include the following components:

a. Computer-assisted instruction (CAI): the computer is used as a standalone teaching machine to present individual lessons.

b. Computer-managed instruction (CMI): the computer is used for the organization of didactic instruction and recording the progress of learners-students

c. Computer-mediated education (CME): it describes computer applications that assist the delivery of educational programmes, such as e-mail, audio/video conferencing and world-wide web applications.

**4.1 Student presentations.** The introduction of new technologies in education offers additional possibilities to create an interactive lesson. The combination of all these parameters helps to create presentations that result in the deepening of the subject-course, as teamwork, research, individual approach and information extraction contribute catalytically.

Particularly, focal points like the following are indicated (cf. Vellopoulou, 2000:280-81):

a. emphasis on process rather than the end result,

b. cultivating students' intuition and helping them to produce original, unique creations of personal interest and meaning.

c. visualization of the student's thoughts and ideas

d. development of problem-solving strategies

More specifically, the creation of presentations using PowerPoint gives students the tools to learn to communicate properly and strategically, as they learn to convince their listeners using both their arguments and images. Also, they learn to take into account all the parameters of persuasion. For example, they can create a presentation in PowerPoint but also print and distribute it as a brochure; or create a persuasive presentation again using PowerPoint, but accompanying it with appropriate analysis this time, and therefore maximizing the effects of multimodality, which has become an increasingly effective form of communication during the past decades, especially with the use of information technology.

**4.2 Teacher presentations.** On the other hand, creating presentations from the teacher's perspective gives an interactive image and a pleasant touch during the course.

According to various studies, we assimilate:

- 20% of what we hear
- 30% of what we see
- 50% of what we hear and see

Additionally, with the use of presentations during a course we are offered the opportunity to deviate from the formal and impersonal relationship between teacher and learner. Also, courses that are taught in a structured and coded manner, combined with images, contribute to the transmission and assimilation of information through an interactive process. In this case, the solution is given by the PowerPoint, as it provides various graphics and images that can be used for a representation. Finally, a PowerPoint presentation helps the teacher to "deliver" the messages of the course more quickly because through images, sound and explanations students make connections and associations more easily (Vellopoulou, 2000:281-282).

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Despite all that, the importance of interaction remains a crucial factor in teaching. It should therefore be stressed that supportive material such as slides, video, graphics, etc. cannot possibly substitute teaching *per se*. Technological applications remain a valuable tool that facilitates the teaching process, provided that they will be used in a reasonable manner.

### 5. CONCLUSIONS

In international and particularly in intercultural communication, knowledge of the differences and similarities in terms of linguistic and cultural codes can often determine the end result, especially when it comes to dealing with an unknown, foreign audience. A presentation can be a simple description of ourselves, a book or an object. Whatever is extolled or frowned upon can be the subject of a presentation. However, within the business world things are a little more complicated. The instruments used have to do with persuasion strategies, organization, communication, types of software, information culture, knowledge, etc. Also, companies, people, sales, career, pictures, personal and group goals are taken into account, in addition to all the above, to set up a presentation. The role of presentations in the workplace has become one of the most important issues; in fact, they have become an integral part of business communications.

The presenter needs to be sensitive to the professional needs of the audience. The success of a business presentation is based on understanding the topic, analyzing the message in depth and splitting it into three main aspects: problem, solution and results. An important part of the presentation is practice. Surveys have shown that the quality and strength of voice contributes to 38% of a presentation. Preparation, therefore, combined with the right appearance and consistency is the secret of effective presentations, as it gives additional confidence and helps elimination of anxiety in front of the audience. The preparation includes the following points:

- Update: Good introduction to the subject and its present developments. Renewal of the material presented on the same topic before.

- Testing presentation: confirming the smooth structure, estimated time and identifying the weaknesses of the presentation.

- Solving practical issues: Confirmation of the place and time of the presentation. Visit to the presentation venue to check the arrangement of furniture (seats, tables), the visibility of the screen by the public, the position of the speaker and the operation of the presentation equipment.

Finally, it should be realized that it is essential to combine the three basic components of communication: firstly, the verbal component (the structure of speech and the words used), the language, which should be simple and quick, convenient and accurate, alive and vivid, expressive and evocative; secondly, the phonetic component (features of voice), which includes tonality, intensity, speed, emphasis and pauses; thirdly, the visual component (body language), which includes facial expressions, communication with eyes, head movements, gestures, posture, distance and appearance. Last but not least, monitoring the response of listeners to the message through their reactions is also important and it reveals a communicator sensitive to the needs of the audience. Adapting to the diversity of audiences is a complex issue, which is intertwined with both cultural and linguistic sensitivity on the part of the speaker; it is, nevertheless, the cornerstone of effective communication and should be the primary target in the modern globalized environment.

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# Military Terminology and Discourse







## THE 'CIVILIZED WORLD' FACING AN 'IDEOLOGY OF TERROR': ROMANIAN OFFICIAL DISCOURSE ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES

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***Abstract:** International security issues represent a topic of foremost importance for a great number of states, especially after the terrorist acts in September 2001. Such issues strongly influence state politics regarding both internal and foreign affairs and, at a symbolic level, they influence the statal actors' attempts to position themselves on the international stage and to legitimize the chosen position. This is also the case for Romania which faced a major adjustment of its foreign affairs strategy after the fall of the communist regime and in connection with the beginning of the strategic partnership with the United States. This study concerns the Romanian 'official' approach to the international security topic. The corpus is formed by 21 speeches held or attributed to the last three Romanian presidents, between 1996 and 2011. Presidential speeches represent a highly formalized type of institutional communication or 'elite discourse' in Van Dijk's terms. The present study aims to examine (1) the representation of identity and otherness in connection to the international security topic and (2) whether there are any differences between the three presidents' speech styles in regard to this discursive representation. The analysis is primarily focused on the role of negation and personal deixis as means of evaluation and positioning of the speakers in the institutional discourse.*

***Keywords:** identity, Romanian official discourse, presidential discourse, security.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The last decades show a growing interest within the field of linguistic research for the study of language from a perspective which is not merely descriptive but takes into account the larger social context of language use. The constitution of disciplines such as discourse analysis or critical discourse analysis besides sociolinguistics derives from the interest in pursuing a 'socially relevant field of research' (Van Dijk 1985: 4). The idea of an existing bilateral – or dialectical (e.g. De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak 1999) – relationship between discourse and society is now widely accepted; each one influences the other and is, in turn, influenced by it.

International security and terrorism represent issues of major interest at present in the area of political, military and social

studies. The concept of national security is linked to the constitution of the modern nation-states during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when security was understood at a concrete level, in terms of preserving the integrity of the state borders. However, a significant shift has taken place recently, as the 'enemy' is no longer perceived as being another particular state or another folk. Rather, the discussion of security matters at an international level expresses a need for thinking on a larger scale, in terms of alliances and partnerships between states. Linguistic and discursive analysis may prove to be an useful tool for a broader, interdisciplinary approach to this topic, complementing the perspective of the political, historical and military studies. The investigation of current institutional and political discourse on security issues may reveal how new representations of identity and

otherness are linguistically constructed. As the texts analyzed below show, the present-day definition of the 'enemy' involves the reference to an ideology; people are not bad in themselves, but the evil is represented by the strong system of beliefs which enable some individuals to take actions that endanger other innocent people. Corresponding to the need to fight a dispersed enemy who cannot be punctually located in a specific geographical area, the 'adversarial otherness' is discursively defined either through reference to the abstract concept of terrorism, or, when it comes to the people involved in such activities, through their commitment to a wrong system of values and beliefs.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The merit of the studies in the field of critical discourse analysis is to have drawn attention to the social inequalities and their expression in discourse. Although the terms used are slightly different, there are similarities in the manner of conceptualizing this approach by the prominent scholars. For instance, Fairclough (2001) uses the expression 'critical language study' for the study of the linguistic expression of social interactions while Van Dijk (e.g.1993) prefers the term 'critical discourse analysis' for the study of the relation between discourse and social power. A constant preoccupation is the interest for the investigation of a dimension of social relationships which may not be overtly expressed, but implied in the language and the analysis of texts and discourses is therefore regarded as a means for unveiling the 'hidden' relations of power dominance. While distinguishing between legitimate and dominant forms of social power, the critical approach starts from the assumption that the social and power elites employ specific 'discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality' (Van Dijk 1993:250), hence the objective of this approach should not be confined to the description of discourse, to the identification of the linguistic devices employed or to their interpretation, but should aim to support social change through the

correction of social inequalities (Van Dijk 1993).

A necessary observation regards the scope of the critical discourse approach. Bearing the influence of the Marxist conceptions in mind, the researchers' view focuses on the characteristics of a given society, more precisely on the relations between social classes which are represented as essentially conflictual: 'power relations are always relations of *struggle*' (Fairclough 2001: 28, italics in original). Of course, this approach can be widely applied to various types of social relations, such as gender, race or economic relations (Seidel 1985: 55) with significant results. According to this perspective, the discourse of state presidents, of prime ministers and, generally speaking, of high political representatives may be labelled as the discourse of 'power elites'. However, questions arise regarding the application of this approach when the discourse addresses topics of large interest and targets an ample, heterogenous audience, extending beyond the limits of a specific society or a nation. The attempt to apply critical discourse analysis to political speeches on international affairs appears therefore problematic.

Besides the focus on the identities of specific social groups, recent research on political communication also brings into discussion the discursive construction of the concept of national identity. Recurring to Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus', De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999: 153) define national identity as 'a complex of common ideas, concepts or perception schemes' consisting in emotional attitudes and in similar behavioural dispositions which are all acquired by means of the socialization process. National identity contributes to the creation of a specific in-group and to its distinction from other groups. It allows a feeling of identification based on common history and 'collective memory' and shared cultural practices. In connection to the notion of 'national identity', Magistro (2011) proposes the notion of 'national face'. The notion of face was introduced by Erving Goffman (1967:5), who defined it as 'the positive social value a person claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken

during a particular contact'. Besides the idea of a connection resulting from the common historical background, Magistro also brings into discussion the possible emotional relationship connecting the citizens of a given country with the abstract notion of national identity.

One of the problems tackled by the last two studies is the relationship between the national and a supra-national identity. Both studies make references to a new notion of identity, deriving from the affiliation of the European states to the European Union. Not surprisingly, a conflict may arise between the national and the European identity, which needs to be mitigated throughout institutional discourse. The problem of defining a nation's identity is also visible in the texts examined below. Political discourse on foreign affairs pays less attention to the identities of specific social groups and more to the construction of a global and coherent sense of national identity or a national face. Besides the expression of this national identity, a superior sense of identity is also manifest. In the corpus analyzed, such an identity is expressed through Romania's affiliations to international organizations such as the European Union or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or through its geographical situation in the South East of Europe (which leads to Romania's depiction as a Southeastern European country or a country in a mediating position between the Western and the Eastern world). In special situations, the American identity becomes an identity which is symbolically taken up by the speakers as a token of solidarity, resistance and of the fight against terrorism.

### 3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This study aims to investigate the representation of identity and otherness in Romanian official discourse on international security issues. The corpus was formed by a selection of 21 speeches attributed to the last three Romanian presidents, Emil Constantinescu (1996-2000), Ion Iliescu (2000-2004) and Traian Băsescu (from 2004 till present). The speeches selected have been

delivered between 1996 and 2009. The Romanian transcriptions of the speeches were freely available on the Romanian presidency web page. A secondary research question is whether there are any differences between the three presidents' speech styles in regard to the discursive representation of identity and otherness. The analysis is primarily focused on the role of negation and personal deixis as means of evaluation and positioning of the speakers in the institutional discourse.

### 4. CHARACTERISTICS OF PRESIDENTIAL DISCOURSE AS A SPECIFIC GENRE OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

As mentioned previously, a common view in critical discourse analysis is concerned with the identification of the linguistic devices used in discourse in order to maintain the prevalent sets of norms or the social relations of power. From this perspective, institutional discourse can never be entirely neutral, considering that "By constructing and reiterating certain selected signs, it insists upon a set of concepts that make up a certain reality – one that is favourable to the groups for whom the ideology is constructed." (Fowler 1985:68). Presidential discourse may be considered to represent the highest form of institutional discourse within a certain state. It is thus tempting to judge presidential discourse as profoundly subjective or as a conveyor of the ideology of the social elites; however, such a view would be too restrictive. Contemporary reality appears to be more complex, resisting the temptation to define such a discourse genre only in terms of the social oppositions. Presidential discourse varies considerably according to a series of factors such as the topic or the context of its production and reception. An important factor which influences the form and, sometimes, possibly also the content of the message delivered, is represented by the targeted audience and addressing the citizens of one's state on internal affairs issues may imply a different approach than addressing a foreign audience,

in the context of international affairs. In the latter situation, the speaker tends to minimize or to background social inequalities and to present a more coherent, homogenous view of the society or the nation-state which the speaker represents due to his/her presidential status. In comparison to other types of political discourse – for instance, speeches delivered in parliamentary debates or addressed by politicians to their electors –, presidential discourse has a very low polemic trait. Instead of enforcing the conflictual dimension, presidential speeches concentrate on delivering a message of social and political balance, enhancing values such as peace and tolerance and respect for diversity. International security matters represent one of the very few cases when presidential discourse becomes more vehement and markedly aggressive and, even in this situation, specific rhetorical strategies are deployed with the function of legitimating the assertions and the measures undertaken.

The power differential is also clearly marked when a state president addresses the citizens of the same state. However, power relations become more problematic when the same president addresses his/her counterparts or the representatives of other states. In this case, the speaker's authority appears to be linked to the represented state's economical, political and/or military power and this may lead to an asymmetry of the power relations which will be reflected in the discourse.

In regard to the formal level of these speeches, it is necessary to mention that presidential speeches are highly standardized text types, such as allocutions, welcome or concluding messages in various occasions, and allegations of the stance taken by a state on a specific matter a.s.o. The formalized character is manifest in some discourse traits: the standardized organization (opening and concluding formulae which are rather similar for all the speakers, depending on the situation), the occurrences of lexical or rhetorical clichés, the frequent resort to common-sense arguments. It is unusual for a president – speaker to infringe such rhetorical devices and, in this case, the deviations are marked and explained. Only one such instance was found in the analyzed corpus. At the

meeting of the Romanian – American Board on 13 July 1999, President Constantinescu decided not to deliver the speech prepared by his counsellors and opted for a spontaneous speech, a decision which emphasized the particular closeness of the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

## **5. THE ROLE OF NEGATION IN THE DEPICTION OF IDENTITY AND OTHERNESS**

Romanian descriptive grammar studies highlight the 'marked' character of negation in opposition to affirmations. First, negations have a clear semantic function, that of expressing the nonexistence of a state of affairs. At the discursive level they perform a more complex role by entering into a relation with a real or possible previous positive utterance, which they contradict (Zafiu 2008: 680). It is this 'polemic' trait that draws attention to denial as a linguistic means of expressing evaluation. Thompson and Hunston (2001) identify three major types of evaluative signals, those of comparison, of subjectivity and of value, and the corresponding categories of linguistic features associated with each of them. According to this taxonomy, the morphological, the grammatical and the lexical expressions of negativity belong to the first category of comparators, because 'Evaluation consists of anything which is compared to or contrasts with the norm. One example of this is the use of a negative, which compares what is not with what might be.' (Thompson and Hunston 2001: 13). Negation also plays an important role within the Appraisal Theory developed by Martin and White (2005), where it is viewed as a resource of dialogic contraction. More exactly, the rejection of a viewpoint cannot be done without introducing the opposed viewpoint into the discourse (Martin and White 2005: 117-118), hence the dialogism of the negations.

**5.1 The depiction of Romania.** A common trait in presidential speeches is the speakers' attempt to project a coherent image of the country they represent. In order to achieve this goal, it is not surprising that all speakers tend to deny or to minimize negative

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aspects and to emphasize the positive traits. This tendency is visible especially in the speeches held by the presidents in front of a foreign audience in regard to issues of foreign affairs.

Two historical events influence Romanian presidents' discourse on the state's political strategy regarding international security issues. One of these events is Romania's admission to NATO, which happened in 2004. Romania prepared for a considerable period in order to become a NATO member and the presidents' speeches during this time repeatedly depict Romania as a trustworthy partner and emphasize the country's achievements. The other significant event is represented by the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in the United States, marking a tragical moment in the fight against terrorism.

The following example is an excerpt from the final part of the speech held by the president Emil Constantinescu in front of the reunited Chambers of the U.S. Congress, advocating Romania's admission to NATO. Summing up the major message of the discourse, the speaker introduces the topic of Romania's desire to become a member after a sequence representing an encomium addressed to the representatives of the American state. The praising sequence lessens the force of the next utterance which otherwise might have appeared as a marked directive speech act; actually, the verb *a îndemna* ('to encourage', 'to prompt') is used here instead of other Romanian verbs like *a cere* ('to ask') or *a ruga* ('to pray'). The negation has a dialogic character, in the sense that the speaker seeks to prevent possible a priori negative judgments from the part of the hearers. The assertion which is rejected here is that Romania's admission might prove problematic for the U.S., forced to give financial support to a poor country:

- (1) 'Țara dumneavoastră și-a asumat, cu o mare înțelepciune și viziune, responsabilitatea păstrării echilibrului mondial și a păcii mondiale. Vă îndemnăm să o mai faceți o dată. România nu caută să sporească această istorică povară, ci să o împartă, cu modestie, dar

temeinic, ca un aliat demn de încredere și ca un prieten.' (Constantinescu, 15/07/1998). ('Your country has taken, with great wisdom and vision, the responsibility of maintaining the world equilibrium and the world peace. We encourage you to do it once more. Romania does not seek to increase this historical burden, but to share it, modestly, but steadily, as a trustworthy ally and as a friend.')

Rarely do the speakers approach a more delicate topic, that of Romania's foreign affairs politics during the communist regime. In example (2), president Constantinescu invokes, as an argument for Romania's admission, the citizens' positive feelings towards NATO. The fragment contains first a partial negation, that of a syntactic component of the sentence (*nu este privită mai ales ca o protecție împotriva unei amenințări, ci ca o regăsire a unei identități*) following a concessive clause which might be interpreted as a mild criticism towards the political actors with the capacity of deciding the acceptance of new states as NATO members. The focus is quickly shifted from criticism to an indirect praise of the organization and, implicitly, of the audience, by highlighting adherence to the same values. By rejecting the definition of NATO membership as a protective measure for a small state and advancing another definition, that of the return to the previous true state identity, the speaker shifts the discussion topic from the pragmatic level regarding military protection to a more subtle, symbolic one. The final utterance represents another dialogic negative structure, consisting in two metaphorical definitions, one of which is rejected, while the other is taken up:

- (2) 'În societatea românească, în ciuda dezamăgirii produse de ritmul în care se desfășoară acest proces, aderarea la Organizația Tratatului Atlanticului de Nord nu este privită mai ales ca o protecție împotriva unei amenințări, ci ca o regăsire a unei identități de care s-a simțit, vreme de cinci decenii, pe nedrept lipsită. NATO nu reprezintă pentru noi un adăpost, ci o comunitate de valori.' (Constantinescu, 16/03/1999). ('In the Romanian society, albeit the deception caused by the rhythm in which

this process evolves, admission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is not viewed as a form of protection against a menace, but as the recovery of an identity which for five decades she had felt being unfairly deprived of. NATO does not represent a shelter for us, but a community of values.’)

After the terrorist attacks in September 2001, presidential discourses approach the international security topic in a rather different way, highlighting Romania’s readiness to support the fight of the United States against terrorism. Romania’s strong cooperation with the United States forces becomes an important argument in the speeches pleading for the admission to NATO. In the fragment (3) below, the speaker highlights repeatedly Romania’s cooperation with the United States in the battle against terrorism and uses negations in order to create a discursive contrast. The denied utterances represent what may be labelled as ‘incorrect’ conduct from the part of a state, while the affirmative ones represent the speaker’s depiction of Romania’s conduct, which is framed as being the right one. The speaker enhances Romania’s merit by underlining the idea that it could have acted in a different manner which would have been easier but unfair. What is implied here is the adherence to a set of values which is shared by the states which are already NATO members. In comparison to the speeches held by the predecessor, a change is noticeable at the level of the arguments called forth. The symbolic framing of the admission to NATO is backgrounded as the domain of concrete action is highlighted. President Iliescu expresses here a very marked stance through the use of indicative verbs in the past and the future tense and the use of four negations:

(3) ‘Aceasta a fost și va rămâne poziția României, care nu s-a limitat la declarații de principiu, ci s-a angajat în mod activ, fără rezerve și din prima clipă a actualei campanii internaționale împotriva terorismului. Această opinie nu este una conjuncturală. [...] Tragediile produse acum un an în Statele Unite nu au găsit România nepregătită și nu au produs o schimbare fundamentală în abordarea acestui fenomen [...]’ (Iliescu, 11/09/2002). (‘This

has been and will be the stance taken by Romania which has not only issued principal declarations, but which has actively engaged in, without hesitations and from the very first moment of the actual international campaign against terrorism. This is not a conjectural opinion. [...] The tragedies produced one year ago in the United States did not find Romania unprepared and did not cause a fundamental change in the approach to this phenomenon [...]’)

(4) ‘Așa cum am mai declarat și cu alte prilejuri, opțiunea noastră – ca și a celorlalte țări invitate – pentru NATO nu este îndreptată împotriva altor națiuni și nu constituie o amenințare pentru nimeni.’ (Iliescu, 27/06/2003). (‘As we have declared on other previous occasions, our option – like that of the other countries invited – for NATO is not directed against other nations and does not express a menace for anybody.’)

In examples (3) and (4), the foregrounded values are constancy and trustworthiness. The negative utterances are introduced through a sequence which highlights the constancy of Romania’s stance in regard to the topic of international security and to its admission to NATO.

In example (4), the statement regarding Romania’s position is placed in an extended context through the comparison with the position of other states, as the speaker seeks to enhance the alignment with his audience. Again, the dialogic feature of the negation is important: the president contradicts other possible views, declaring that Romania has a pacifist strategy for foreign affairs. Instead of an affirmative, he chooses a negative structure probably because of its strongly marked character; furthermore, he emphasizes this markedness by expressing denial not one, but three times, through the use of two negated predicates and a negative pronoun. The choice of such grammatical devices is not a mere matter of redundancy but reveals a strong concern for countering the opposite point of view. The stance expressed by President Iliescu is not unexpected taking into account that Romania’s diplomatic relations to Russia have somehow become more fragile after the

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fall of the communist regime and Romania's strategic partnership with the United States. His allegation might thus be interpreted as a pacifist stance directed especially towards Romania's neighbour countries.

The examples above show that negations are used in regard to Romania in order to deny negative aspects and thus create a positive image of the state as a political actor in the international sphere. The discursive representation of Romania has a marked 'heteroglossic' trait (Martin and White 2005) in that it includes other voices in the discourse in order to contradict them by means of negation. The rhetorical strategy of denial used as a means of disclaim also indicates the speakers' high degree of awareness regarding previous unfavourable opinions about Romania.

**5.2 The depiction of the 'enemies'.** The discursive construction of a negative 'other' as a representation of the 'enemy' is unavoidable in the discourse on international security. While Romania's positive image is constructed by the denial of negative aspects, in a symmetrical manner, the image of otherness is formed by the negation of the positive aspects. Depending on the political and military events, we notice a change in the definition of the negative 'otherness'. Before 2001, the enemies are (still) represented by remnants of the communist regime and/or ideology and the conflicts are regarded as intra-statal, between democracy and communism or interethnic, between the majority of the population and an ethnical minority:

- (5) 'Conflictele interetnice se nasc dintr-un deficit major de democrație, generat, invariabil, în partea noastră de lume, de reprezentanții acelor structuri comuniste care nu vor sau nu pot să se adapteze noului context – sau care vor să-și păstreze cu orice preț privilegiile.' (Constantinescu, 15/07/1998). ('Interethnic conflicts arise out of a major lack of democracy, invariably caused, in our part of the world, by the representants of those communist structures who do not want or are not able to adapt themselves to the new context

– or who want to preserve their privileges by all means.')'

After September 2001, the representation of otherness in international security matters invariably refers to the menace of terrorism. The values being opposed to this threat are democracy, freedom and, at a more general level, civilization:

- (6) 'Ne aflăm într-o confruntare dură și de lungă durată cu fanatismul, cu frustrările și cu orbirea unor indivizi care nu se recunosc și nu se revendică, practic, din nici o civilizație materială și spirituală.' (Iliescu, 11/09/2003). ('We are involved in a hard and long-termed fight against phanatism, against the frustrations and the blindness of some individuals who do not recognize and do not claim to belong to any material and spiritual civilization.')'
- (7) 'În acest caz, am da satisfacție atentatorilor, ale căror obiective nu se limitează la cauzarea de pierderi de vieți omenești și pagube majore, ci vizează, mai ales, valori și simboluri.' (Iliescu, 22/09/2004). ('In this case, we would satisfy the assailants, whose objectives are not limited to causing loss of human lives and major damage, but especially target values and symbols.')'

The enemy is represented as 'out-group', whose antagonism derives from the completely different set of beliefs held or the lack of common-sense values. A common trait is the negative depiction of the enemies in subordinate clauses; in examples (5) to (7), the negative traits are expressed in attributive clauses. It seldom happens for the noun "terrorists" to occur in the initial position of an utterance, as a topical theme. This is the case of a speech given by President Traian Băsescu in the memory of the victims of the attacks on September 11:

- (8) 'Teroriștii au reușit să creeze o ideologie a terorii pe care nu facem suficient pentru a o combate, pe care nu știm să o combatem. Cred că nu există nici o învățătură religioasă, de orice natură ar fi ea, și cu atât mai puțin Islamul, Coranul, care să justifice uciderea unor oameni nevinovați. Teroriștii nu omoară

soldații în fața cărora stau, teroriștii nu omoară oameni care se pot apăra. Teroriștii, la fel ca și pe 11 septembrie 2001 și în continuare, omoară oameni nevinovați, fără apărare și pentru asta nu există nici un răspuns, nici o literă, nici un cuvânt în vreo credință.’) (Băsescu, 11/09/2006). (‘The terrorists have succeeded in creating an ideology of terror that we do not do enough to fight against it, that we do not know how to combat. I believe that there is no religious teaching, whatever its source may be, and even less Islam, the Qoran, that could justify the killing of innocent people. Terrorists do not kill the soldiers in front of whom they stand, terrorists do not kill people who can defend themselves. Terrorists, just as on September 11, 2001 and continually kill innocent, defenceless people and, for that, there is no answer, no letter, no word in any belief.’)

In this excerpt, the focus is on the adversarial otherness which the addresser depicts employing a succession of negations. These negations function as a ‘corrective’ denial, addressed towards a ‘putative addressee’. The speaker aims to correct what he assumes to be specific beliefs of the hearers and, by doing so, he presents himself as having a deeper knowledge of the issue (Martin, White 2005: 119-120). The common assumption rejected by the speaker is that terrorism may arise out of particular religious belief and, through the denial, he enforces the values of religious and ethnical tolerance while, at the same time, situating the enemy outside all normally accepted value and belief systems. The depiction of the enemy is realized by the grammatical means of intensification, employing repetitions of the same lexical items (for example, of the noun *teroriștii* ‘terrorists’ and of the verb *a omori* / ‘to kill’) and of semantically close items (*soldații ... oameni care se pot apăra / soldiers... people who can defend themselves; oameni nevinovați, fără apărare / innocent defenceless people*). Another device of intensification in this fragment consists in the final enumeration which metaphorically denies the legitimacy of terrorist actions. The speaker thus depicts the enemy as lacking fundamental values such as the humanitarianism and

respect for life, but also as showing cowardice and deceit.

## 6. THE USE OF PRONOMINAL DEIXIS

Personal pronouns belong to the category of indexical expressions, which means that their reference is not stable, or similar in all contexts; instead, ‘they depend for reference on the persons who use them’ (Mey 2001: 54). The reference of first and second person pronouns regards the speaker and the hearer, the participants to a conversational event (Vasilescu 2008: 195). In the case of presidential speeches, a problem arises from the nature of the communicative event: the speech is delivered orally, but it represents a monologue, not a dialogue. The use of the second person pronouns is considerably less reduced than in naturally occurring conversations, though not inexistent. First person pronouns are more frequent, although their referent is not always identical. The following examples show how speakers employ both singular and plural pronouns in order to construct their identity discursively and how they shift from third person to first person reference so as to create the impression of solidarity and involve the hearers in a joint construction of the message.

**6.1 The ‘Eu’ (I) pronoun.** As the state president speaks on behalf of the state represented, the first person pronoun is less expected to occur in presidential speeches. Usually, it is employed in highly standardized sections placed at the beginning of the speech, when the speaker welcomes the public and expresses his feelings of joy or honour at being there or at the end, when he thanks the audience for the attention and eventually expresses positive wishes for the future. At the beginning, such units acquire an introductory function and appear as a ‘*captatio benevolentiae*’ from a mere rhetorical perspective. This is the moment when the speaker seeks to establish the first connection with the audience. Using the terminology developed by Goffman, we may say that throughout these sections of the discourse, the speaker projects a positive ‘personal face’ and pays attention to the politeness principles.



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Besides the standardized sections of the speeches, there are interesting variations in the use of the personal pronoun for the first person singular and of the corresponding Romanian verb forms. In President Constantinescu's speeches, his personal identity is more marked throughout the discourse:

(9) 'Lărgirea NATO este o întreprindere vizionară, o piatră de hotar în istoria Europei și a lumii. Sper că și Dumneavoastră o vedeți așa. Ca geolog am învățat că urcând cu trudă crestele unui munte fără a-l vedea din depărtare nu-i poți sesiza măreția. Ca Președinte, am observat că dezbaterile, polemicile, ne împiedică de multe ori să discernem din noianul de evenimente care sunt cele care vor înfrunta eternitatea. Ca simplu om care gândește la soarta sa, a poporului său și a popoarelor estului european am înțeles enorma forță a unei idei în mișcare.' (Constantinescu, 15/07/1998) ('The extension of NATO is a visionary enterprise, a borderline in the history of Europe and of the world. I hope that you view it in this manner, too. As a geologist, I learned that sorely climbing the peaks of a mountain, without looking at it from far away, one can not perceive its greatness. As a President, I noted that debates, polemic often hinder us to distinguish from the amount of events which are the ones that will face eternity. As a simple man concerned about his fate, about his people's fate and about the fate of the peoples in the south-east of Europe I understood the huge might of an idea in motion.')

(10) 'Aș vrea, de aceea, să vedeți în intervenția mea și poziția unui om de stat obligat să ia decizii în raport cu un reper fundamental – interesul național – ca și căutările unui intelectual pentru definirea cât mai corectă a acestui reper.' (Constantinescu, 16/03/1999). ('Hence, I would like you to see in my intervention the standpoint of a statesman forced to take decisions in relationship to a fundamental benchmark – the national interest – but also an intellectual's search for defining this benchmark as correctly as possible.')

Example (9) is an extract from a speech in which President Constantinescu discusses Romania's admission to NATO. He begins this section with a very positive evaluation of

the process, seeking to establish solidarity with the hearers, which is manifest in his second utterance. His multiple positioning is marked by being placed at the beginning of the following three utterances. He begins with his professional identity, which may be a characteristic distinguishing him from the hearers, then he mentions his political identity of a state president. Both types of positioning contribute to the construction of a more authoritative identity of the speaker in relationship to the audience. Finally, he shifts to the more general identity of a 'simple man' which is likely to attract agreement by placing him and the audience at the same level. Overall, at the argumentative level of the discourse, all the three references to the personal subjectivity of the speaker give him an advantage over the audience.

The second example represents an excerpt from a speech given by the President Constantinescu at the opening of a conference at the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. In this excerpt, he chooses a double positioning of himself. First, he asserts his social and political status, but avoiding to give the impression of a marked power position. Instead of it, he modalizes the assertion by using an expression of obligation (*obligat* 'forced'). Second, he immediately invokes his identity at another level, a socio-professional one, as he is an university professor of geology. In this manner, he establishes a common ground with his audience, presumably formed by intellectuals.

President Constantinescu makes references to his profession or his status as an intellectual, thus doubling his authority as a president with a different type of authority, given by knowledge. A marked expression of the speaker's identity is also visible in the speeches given by President Băsescu but, in contrast to his predecessor, he highlights mostly the authority given by the presidential function. This is achieved in example (11) with a main clause expressing his political and social identity (*sunt șef de stat / I am the head of a state*) and further reinforced by the possessive adjective *omologii mei / my*

*counterparts*, which enables the speaker to establish a special relationship of equality between him and other presidents:

- (11) 'Sunt șef de stat și îmi pun întrebarea cum să fac pentru ca instituțiile statului să atingă eficiența maximă în a proteja fiecare român pe teritoriul național. În același timp - știu că este o întrebare pe care și-o pun omologii mei aproape la toate întâlnirile - trebuie să recunoaștem însă că astăzi, la cinci ani de la tragicul eveniment de la New York, omenirea nu are încă un răspuns care să dea confort cetățenilor ei.' (Băsescu, 11/09/2006). ('I am the head of a state and I ask myself how I should act for the state institutions to reach maximal efficiency in protecting each Romanian on the national ground. At the same time - I know this is a question my ... ask themselves at almost all meetings - we have to admit that today, five years after the tragical event in New York, mankind still does not have an answer to comfort its citizens.')

The speeches given by President Iliescu show a less prominent positioning of the speaker. In the discourses analyzed, there were no references to his professional status, but mainly to his status as a president and to his personal stance from a humanitarian point of view, as in example (12) where the verb form and the possessive adjective in the first person singular are followed by a possessive adjective signifying the first person plural. The linguistic devices show that the personal point of view overlaps with that of the entire community represented:

- (12) 'În numele poporului român transmit întreaga mea compasiune pentru familiile victimelor terorismului, precum și încurajările noastre tuturor acelor care, în numele democrației și libertății, luptă împotriva terorismului [...]' (Iliescu, 11/09/2003). ('In the name of the Romanian people, I express all my compassion for the families of the victims of terrorism, and also our support to all those who, in the name of democracy and liberty, fight against terrorism [...].')

The use of the first person singular pronoun may be an ambivalent discursive device. On the one hand, it contributes to

making the speech appear as less formal and abstract, more sincere and spontaneous, reminding of a participant's intervention during a conversation. On the other hand, it raises the problem of the degree of authority assumed by the speaker and, in general, all speakers face the need of maintaining a balance between the expression of authority in their discourse and the discursive mitigation of this authority, in other words, between positioning themselves as 'heads of the state or as mere 'messengers' of their people'.

### 6.2 The use of the 'Noi' (*We*) pronoun.

The first person plural pronoun is used with an exclusive meaning when the audience is not included. This use is common for all the three presidents' speeches where it signifies the community formed by the president and all the state citizens and it functions as a rhetorical generalization aiming to enhance the speaker's authority. This happens in the extract cited below, where the Romanian president expresses twice his status as speaking on behalf of all the citizens.

- (13) 'Ca mesager al poporului român, mă aflu aici pentru a vă spune că țara mea poate fi - și vrea să fie - tocmai aceasta: o ancoră de stabilitate în marea uneori agitată a sud-estului european. Dar pentru ca această ancoră să reziste, avem nevoie de recunoașterea și sprijinul Statelor Unite. Noi, românii, credem că ne-am câștigat acest statut.' (Constantinescu, 15/07/1998). ('As a messenger of the Romanian people, I am here to tell you that my country can be - and wants to be - precisely this: an anchor of stability in the sometimes turbulent sea of the European south-east. But for this anchor to resist, we need the acknowledgment and the support of the United States. We, Romanians, believe that we have gained this status.')

A similar function of the *we* - pronoun is manifest in example (14), where it substitutes the proper noun *Romania*. The shift from the noun to the personal pronoun gives a more marked impression of personal involvement instead of talking about the represented state as a third party. The first utterance of the fragment appears as more formally expressed, while the next one enhances the speaker's involvement in the dialogue. In the second

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utterance, the topic of the strategic partnership with the United States is highlighted by being placed in the topical position. Furthermore, this idea is also reiterated in the third utterance but in a different manner; the main clause *Soldații și ofițerii români se află în Afganistan și în Irak* (*Romanian soldiers and officers are in Afghanistan and Iraq*) implies the idea of human sacrifice and it is presented as a fact, by means of the indicative verb, in order to sustain the previous assertion, *ne-am dovedit prin fapte angajamentul nostru în favoarea democrației și a libertății* (*we have proved through actions our engagement in the favour of democracy and freedom*). The speaker alternates the reference to his country as a third party (when talking about clear, tangible evidence) with the discourse in the first person plural when approaching the matter of shared values and ideas:

- (14) 'România este conștientă de răspunderile care îi revin în această luptă, deloc ușoară, și de lungă durată. Sprijinind acțiunile Statelor Unite ale Americii și ale aliaților săi, ne-am dovedit prin fapte angajamentul nostru în favoarea democrației și a libertății. Soldații și ofițerii români se află în Afganistan și în Irak în virtutea acelor valori în care credem și pe care le promovăm.' (Iliescu, 11/09/2003). ('Romania is aware of the responsibilities ... in this fight, not at all easy, and of a long-term. By sustaining the actions of the United States of America and of its allies, we have proved through actions our engagement in the favour of democracy and freedom. Romanian soldiers and officers are in Afghanistan and Iraq due to the values in which we believe and which we further.')

The inclusive use of the 'we' -- pronoun is also to be expected in official speeches, when the speaker attempts to establish a connection with the audience. The following text is an excerpt from a speech given by President Ion Iliescu one year after the World Trade Center attacks in 2001. The plural form of the pronoun is frequently repeated throughout the excerpt which also creates the impression of orality and of a speech style which is more expressive as usual. The topic of the terrorist

attacks requires the speaker to abandon the formalized style of political discourse and to take a marked stance against a menacing phenomenon. First, the reference is shifted from the third party expressed through a generalizing noun ( *cetățeanul simplu / the common citizen*) to the first person plural by means of a self-correction ( *că ne aflăm, de fapt / that, in fact, we are*). The entire section is based upon proclaiming alignment with the grief and the fight of the American people:

- (15) 'Dar niciodată până în urmă cu un an cetățeanul simplu, dar și responsabilii politici și militari nu au avut mai acut sentimentul că se află – că ne aflăm, de fapt – în fața unui fenomen global. [...] Unei astfel de amenințări nu-i puteam răspunde decât într-un singur fel: printr-un exemplar efort de solidaritate la nivel național și internațional. Nu putem uita - și rămâne pentru noi toți un model de conduită – dovezile de patriotism și actele de solidaritate ale națiunii americane în ansamblul său. Nu putem uita nici reacția comunității internaționale. „Acum suntem toți americani!” proclama cu îndreptățire prestigiosul cotidian francez Le Monde. Pentru că, trecând peste diferențe de opinie, peste particularitățile identităților noastre naționale, toți eram - și suntem – amenințați în egală măsură [...].' (Iliescu, 11/09/2002). [but never till the last year had the common citizen and also the political and military authorities the feeling that they are facing – that we, actually, are facing – a global phenomenon. To such a threat there was only one possible answer we could give: through an exemplary effort for solidarity at the national and international level. We cannot forget – and they remain as a model of behaviour for all of us – the proofs of patriotism and of solidarity of the entire American nation. Neither can we forget the reaction of the international community. 'Now all of us are Americans!' proclaimed correctly the famous French newspaper Le Monde. Because, surpassing differences of opinions and the specific traits of our national identities, we all were –and still are – equally threatened [...].']

This speech is heteroglossic as it allows external voices to be heard through the process

of attribution (Martin, White 2005: 111-115). The external voice is represented here by the quotation from the *Le Monde*, and the speaker clearly acknowledges and agrees with the idea expressed. Further, the acknowledgement is sustained by the insertion of the speaker's interpretation of this stance. This is one of the cases when the speakers sustain the existence or the construction of a supraordinate identity which extends beyond the national barriers and the symbolic act of claiming the American identity equals the acknowledgement of vulnerability and also the expression of resistance.

The semi-inclusive use of the first person plural pronoun is less common in the presidential speeches examined. It implies the speaker's alignment with only one part of the audience while distinguishing from others. Example (16) contains one occurrence of the we – pronoun with a semi-inclusive meaning, which is also expressed by means of an apposition (*noi, reprezentanții statului român / we, the representatives of the Romanian state*). The political and social status of the speaker is here foregrounded in relationship to a different group represented by Romanian military forces:

- (16) 'Doresc să exprim recunoștința noastră pentru soldații români care [...] fac cinste țării pe care o slujesc. Este important ca noi, reprezentanții statului român, să le dăm siguranța că le putem oferi resursele necesare ducerii la îndeplinire a misiunii.' (Băsescu, 04/04/2007). ('I wish to express my gratitude for the Romanian soldiers who [...] honour their country they serve. It is important that we, the representatives of the Romanian state, assure them that we can offer them the necessary resources to accomplish their mission.')

A more complex situation is visible in the speech delivered by President Traian Băsescu at the commemoration of five years since the World Trade Center attacks:

- (17) 'Omenirea se confruntă cu o ideologie a terorii, o ideologie care a apărut fără ca noi să fim pregătiți pentru a o combate și, mai ales, pentru a ne proteja cu certitudine cetățenii. [...] încă nu avem un răspuns prin soluții: cum să ne

protejăm cetățenii [...] avem obligația să fim mai hotărâți în a ne alege soluțiile, în a lua deciziile și mai clari în modul cum înțelegem să ne apărăm cetățenii, fiecare în țara lui și noi toți în lumea democratică. Dumnezeu să-i ierte pe cei care au murit pe 11 septembrie 2001, Dumnezeu să-i ierte pe toți cei care au murit în atentatele teroriste de după și Dumnezeu să ne ierte pe noi pentru că nu avem o soluție pentru ca acest lucru să nu se mai întâmple!' (Băsescu, 11/09/2006). ('Mankind is facing an ideology of terror, an ideology which appeared without us being prepared to fight it and, especially, to protect our citizens. [...] we do not yet have an answer through solutions: how to protect our citizens [...] we have the obligation to be more determined in choosing our solutions, in taking decisions and more clear in the manner how we understand to protect our citizens, each one in his own country and all of us in the democratic world. May God forgive those who died on 11 September 2001, may God forgive all those who died in the terrorist attacks afterwards and may God forgive us for not having a solution so that this thing happens no more!')

The fragments selected show a high number of occurrences of the first person plural pronoun and of the corresponding verb forms. The use of the pronoun appears to be semi-inclusive referring to those hearers holding a position of social and political authority and, according to the speaker's perspective, also a high responsibility in the fight against terrorism. An interesting feature of this discourse is the repetition of the personal pronoun with a possessive meaning (*a ne proteja cetățenii/ to protect our citizens*), possibly marking the social relation of dominance between the state authorities and the citizens of the state. Another unexpected trait is the placement of the we – pronoun at the end of the final utterance, thus breaking the repetitive structure of the parallelism *Dumnezeu să ierte/ May God forgive* and openly asserting the idea of guilt on behalf of the authorities.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Institutional discourse on international security matters is complex and requires

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detailed analysis at all textual levels. By examining two types of grammatical features, the use of negation and that of the first person pronouns, this study does not aim to provide an exhaustive analysis but to propose directions for further research. Even if the corpus was limited, differences in the discursive representation of identity and otherness were visible. First, there are differences in the topics discussed over time deriving from the ongoing historical and political events. Second, differences can be noted for each president's speech style especially in regard to the speaker's positioning in discourse. It may be more correct, perhaps, to attribute these differences to the counselling teams with the responsibility to prepare presidential speeches and declaration, however, no matter who the real writer is, the act of delivering the speeches transforms the presidents into the 'official' speakers. Differences are limited to the subjective positioning of the speaker as an individual and the speeches analyzed show more correspondences in the value system asserted and in the negative depiction of the 'otherness' represented by terrorism. The examined speeches show that identity is no longer represented in terms of a national concept but a new, superior type of statal identity is constructed. This identity is given by the political and military actions undertaken and by the alliances and partnerships formed by a state. As a consequence, it may not be an error talking about a current tendency for assuming an 'international identity' characterized by shared humanitarian values and inter-statal solidarity in front of a common threat.

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## THE NAMES OF ISRAELI MILITARY RANKS AND THEIR LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

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**Abstract:** *The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) has a unique rank structure. Because the IDF is an integrated force, ranks are the same in all services. There is no differentiation between army, navy, air force etc. The ranks are derived from those of the paramilitary Haganah developed in the Mandate period to protect the Yishuv. The origin is reflected in the slightly compacted rank structure, for instance, the Chief of Staff (Ramatkal) is seemingly only equivalent to a Lieutenant General in other militaries. They are five basic ranks and all the other ranks are derivatives of them. The basic ranks are the following: aluf – Major General, seren – Captain, segen – Lieutenant, samal – Staff Sergeant, turay – Private. Etymologically the first three are Biblical and the last two are from Modern Hebrew. The Biblical names are all loan words from Ancient Language, which disappeared in the Biblical period. Aluf – "chief, prince, head of family" is probably a Canaanite word, the closest language family to Hebrew. There are four derivative ranks today. Seren – "tyrant, lord" is a Philistine word, the unique word from this language in the Bible. It is one more derivation today. Segen – "prefect, ruler" is an Accadian- Babylonian word with one more rank derivation. Samal and turay are Modern Hebrew words from the beginnings of IDF in the 40' of the last century. Samal is an acronym of Segen Mihuz Leminyan – "NCO, Non-commissioned officer". They are five modern derivations. Turay is from the Latin loan word Tur – "a line" with the suffix –ay denoting "agent, has the profession". It is one more rank derivation. Those two ranks are no longer in use, but are continued in Reserves. In 1996 was created a new category Nagad – "Non-commissioned officer" with two ranks derivations. Nagad is from Rabbinical Hebrew origin used as verb meaning "to stretch, draw, pull". The form Nagda exists in Aramaic meaning "one who tracks a vessel". In this paper, we will analyze the derivational ranks from morphological, semantic and etymological aspects.*

**Keywords:** *Hebrew language, Semitic Languages, Israeli army, military ranks.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The Israel Defense Forces (IDF), founded in 1948, ranks among the most battle-trained armed forces in the world, having had to defend the country in six major wars. Currently, the IDF's security objectives are to defend the existence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the State of Israel, deter all enemies and curb all forms of terrorism, which threaten daily life. To ensure its success, the IDF's doctrine at the strategic level is defense, while its tactics are offensive. Given the country's lack of territorial depth, the IDF must take initiative when deemed necessary

and, if attacked, to quickly transfer the battleground to the enemy's land. The IDF deploys a small standing army with early warning capability, and a regular air force and navy. The majority of its forces are reservists, who are called up regularly for training and service and who, in time of war or crisis, are quickly mobilized into their units.

The IDF three service branches (ground forces, air force and navy) function under a unified command, headed by the chief-of-staff, with the rank of lieutenant-general, who is responsible to the Minister of Defense, and is appointed by the government.

The Israel Defence Forces has a unique rank structure. Because the IDF is an integrated force, ranks are the same in all services. There is no differentiation between army, navy, air force etc. The ranks are derived from those of the paramilitary *Haganah* developed in the Mandate period to protect the Yeshiva. The origin is reflected in the slightly compacted rank structure, for instance, the Chief of Staff (*Ramatkal*) is seemingly only equivalent to a Lieutenant General in other militaries. Ranks include multiple categories for enlisted personnel and officers. The list below does not include the Academic ranks. In brackets are the abbreviations used by the army in the compound ranks.

a. Officer Ranks

*Rav Aluf* = lieutenant general is the highest rank (chief of the general staff), and is often considered to equate to a Field Marshal or Five Star general [RAL]

*Aluf* = Major General is commanding with command of the Service of Arms, branches, and regional commands

*Tat Aluf* = Brigadier general is a commanding general with command of the divisional and corps-level [TAL]

*Aluf Mishne* = Colonel is also a commanding on brigade-level [ALM]

*Sgan Aluf* = Lieutenant colonel is commanding on battalion-level [SAL]

*Rav Seren* = Major [RSN]

*Seren* = Captain

*Segen* = Lieutenant

*Segen Mishneh* = 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant [SaGaM]

b. NCO Ranks

*Rav Nagad* = Chief Warrant Officer [RNG]

*Rav Nagad Mishneh* = Warrant Officer [RNM]

*Rav Samal Bachir* = Command Sergeant Major [RSB]

*Rav Samal Mitkadem* = Sergeant Major [RSM]

*Rav Samal Rishon* = Master Sergeant [RaSaR]

*Rav Samal* = Sergeant First Class [RaSaL]

c. Enlisted

*Samal Rishon* = Staff Sergeant [SaMaR]

*Samal* = Sergeant

*Rav Turay* = Corporal [RaBat]

*Turay* = Private

## 2. LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

They are five basic ranks and all the other ranks are derivatives of them. The basic ranks are *aluf*, *seren*, *segn*, *samal*, *turay*. The ranks names were fixed during the second break in the war of Independence in July 1948, three month after the establishment of the State of Israel in 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1948. They were presented for the first time in 31<sup>st</sup> of August (Akavia, 1992). The first were three ranks: *Rav Aluf*, *Aluf* and *Sgan Aluf*. *Aluf Mishneh* was fixed after the Independence war in 1950 and *Tat Aluf* after the Six-Day war in 1968.

**2.1 The basic ranks.** *Aluf* (lit. "Champion") is the term used in the IDF for officers who in other countries would have the rank of General, Air Marshal, or Admiral. In addition to the *Aluf* rank itself, there are four other ranks, which are derivatives of the word: *Rav Aluf*, *Tat Aluf*, *Aluf Mishneh*, and *Sgan Aluf*. Together, they constitute the five highest ranks in the IDF.

The root ALF is a common Semitic root meaning "learning, teaching". In addition to Hebrew we find it in Arabic *alif* "keep, become familiar with"; Aramaic *alef* "learn, teach" (Brown, 1907), in Ugaritic and Accadian. Clark (1999) in his dictionary defines the root ALF in Hebrew as "receive from others, lack independence". He sorts 7 meanings in the Old Testament: 1. Teaching, learning – Jb 33:33; 2. Leader whose followers lack independence – Gn 36:19; 3. Guide, mentor – Ps 55:14; 4. Husband – Mc7:5; 5. Select cattle – Dt 7:13; 6. One thousand – Nm 31:4; 7. Friend – Pr 2:17. In Rabbinical Hebrew, we find the meaning of *Alef*, the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The meanings of *Aluf* in Biblical Hebrew are (2), (3), (4), (7). In Rabbinical Hebrew was used meaning (3) and was added the meaning of "a great Torah scholar". In Modern Hebrew was added the meanings of "major general in the army" and "champion" (Even-Shoshan, 2003).

The rank *Aluf* was chosen based on Biblical verse in Genesis 36: 15-19 "*These are*



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*the chiefs of the sons of Esau ... the chief of Teman ... The chief of Korah ... etc*". In many translations, the term in English is *Duke*.

The derivational forms are the following: plural *Alufim*, plural construct state *Alufey*. The feminine was not needed until 2011. In June 2011, Major General Orna Barbivay became the first female major general in the IDF. The first question was whether the noun *Aluf* will be used for Masculine and Feminine too, or to build the feminine of *Alufa*. She decided with the assistance of the Academy of Hebrew Language to use the term *Alufa* for feminine (Gadish, 2013).

David "Mickey" Marcus was a United States Army colonel who assisted Israel during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, and who became the first modern general – *Aluf*. Marcus was appointed as Commander of the Jerusalem front on May 28, 1948 and given the rank of *Aluf*. He was killed on June 11, 1948, when an Israeli sentry mistook him for the enemy and accidentally killed him (Brody, 2006).

The foreign word "*general*" was also adopted into Hebrew, and is used to refer to the generals of foreign armies. It can also be used colloquially in reference to a senior Israeli officer, in a derogatory sense – implying that the officer in question is over-officious, incompetent, or involved in internecine power struggles with other officers, sometimes referred to as the "*war of the generals*".

*Seren* is used in IDF for the rank of Captain. In addition, he has one derivation: *Rav Seren*. It is a Biblical Philistine loan word, probably the unique Philistine word in the Old Testament. The meaning is "tyrant, lord" and very often *Sarnei Plishtim* "the lords of the Philistines". It is a tendency to explain the Greek word *tyrannos* "tyrant, despot" as originally from this word (Gadish & Katz, 2013). In the Old Testament is an additional meaning from a different Semitic root "axle". It exist in Aramaic as well and we find it once in the Bible "*axles of brass*" (Kings I, 7:30) (Brown, 1907). In 1948 was decided that the Philistine word would be used as "captain" in the Israeli army. In addition, the meaning of "crank, axle" is found in Modern Hebrew. The plural form is *Sranim*

and the plural construct form is *Sarney*. There is no feminine derivation.

*Segen* is used in IDF for the second officer rank of Lieutenant. He has one derivation: *Segen Mishneh*. *Segen* is a Biblical Accadian loan word: *shaknu* "prefect of conquered city or province". The word entered to Hebrew in two varieties: as a borrowed Hebrew word *sochen* "agent" and as a loan word *segen* "prefect, ruler". In Bible exist only in plural forms as "*prefects of Assyria and Babylon*" (Ezra 23:6 etc.) and another meaning of "*petty rulers, officials of Judah*" (Brown, 1907). In Rabbinical Hebrew occurred a semantic shift to the meaning of "*secondary to the high Priest in the Temple*". In Modern Hebrew, the main meanings are two: 1. Vice, deputy, secondary; 2. Lieutenant (Even Shoshan, 2003). The plural form is *Sganim*, and the plural construct form is *Sganey*. There are no feminine forms.

*Samal* is the next rank used by IDF in 1948. It is not an officer rank but an enlisted and NCO rank. They are five derivations from *Samal*: *Rav Samal Bachir*, *Rav Samal Mitkadem*, *Rav Samal Rishon*, *Rav Samal*, and *Samal Rishon*. Kutscher (1982) was the first to publish in 1956 in Hebrew the analysis of this new word:

Since 1948 the Israeli Defense Force, have been very active in creating technical terms in the military sphere. They, too, could not wait for the sometimes-longwinded deliberations of the Va'ad Halashon (and later the Academy). Thus, military terms were coined that sometimes look a bit strange. One such term is *Samal* 'non-commissioned officer', an acronym of *Segen Mithuz Leminyan* which is a replica (in bad Hebrew) of the English expression.

During the time a folk etymology claims *Samal* refers to the ancient word *Semel* "symbol" written identical and pronounced different (Even Shoshan, 2003). The plural form is *Samalim* and the plural construct state is *Samaley*. The feminine is *Samelet*. This feminine pattern with the suffix *-et* is very infrequent among the abbreviations.

*Turay* is the last and lowest rank introduced in 1948 and is the rank of Private. It is one derivation: *Rav Turay*. Is a

derivation from the Biblical word *Tur* with the Rabbinical Hebrew suffix *-ay*. The derivational suffix *-ay* appears in nouns denoting people and fall in the semantic category of "agent, has the profession or feature" (Schwarzwald, 1998). The word *Tur* is a Biblical word meaning "row". They are two kinds of rows in the Bible: 1. Course of building-stones in temple – 1 K 6:30; 1. Row of jewels on high priest's breast-piece – Ex 28: many, Ex 39: many and more meanings (Brown, 1907). The root exists in Arabic as well. In Modern Hebrew is an additional meaning of "column, rubric, and sequence" and in mathematics "progression" (Even Shoshan, 2003). David Ben Gurion, the first prime minister of the State of Israel, wrote in his war diary in 1948 that he is against the term *Turay* and appealed to the leaders of Va'ad Halashon for a new term to the rank of Private (Kor, 1983). We know that nothing changed until now. The plural is *Turaim* and the plural construct state is *Turaey*. The feminine is *Turait*.

*Nagad* is a new rank and a new category of ranks "Non-Commissioned Officers" established in 1993. It is no rank on this name, only a category of ranks. They are two derivate: *Rav Nagad* and *Rav Nagad Mishneh* (since 2011). The word *Nagad* is a new word based on a Rabbinical Hebrew word, a verb, from Aramaic origin meaning "to pull, to drag a vessel". Probably derives from the Aramaic word *Nagoda* "a leading animal" (Akavia, 1992). It is another Biblical word written identically and spelled *Neged* meaning "in front of" and in Modern Hebrew "against, opposite, anti-". Possibly, that the term was coined based on this meaning: "opposite to officers rank". The term exists already in 1976 for the category of ranks ( Schiff & Haber, 1976). The plural form is *Nagadim* and the plural construct state is *Nagadey*. It is no feminine form yet, but in future maybe will be '*Nagadit*' or '*Nagede't*'.

**2.2 The derivate ranks.** The derivate ranks can be classified in four grammatical categories.

**The first category** is compounds created by the addition of a prefix based on the type of "subway, submarine" in English by an

Aramaic or Hebrew prefix, not always used in Hebrew, and the basic rank. This category includes:

- *Rav Aluf*. *Rav* is a Biblical Hebrew adjective meaning "numerous, many, and much". In Modern Hebrew is used as a prefix modifier for "above, super" and based on Biblical compound *Rav Hesed* (Exodus 34:6) "merciful" literally "big gracious", *Rav* being an adjective in contrast state. The plural form is *Rabey Alufim*, which is not the normative form.

- *Tat Aluf*. *Tat* is an Aramaic preposition "under" and his Hebrew equivalent is *Tahat*. The word does not exist in Hebrew besides as a prefix in compound forms of this kind: *Tat Rama* "sub-culture", *Tat Karka'i* "underground". The plural normative form is *Tat Alufim*, while the common form is *Tatey Alufim*.

- *Rav Seren* (see *Rav Aluf*)
- *Rav Nagad* (see *Rav Aluf*)
- *Rav Samal* (see *Rav Aluf*)
- *Rav Turai* (see *Rav Aluf*)

**The second category** is compounds created by two nouns in construct state. This construction is the only one in Biblical Hebrew and very high level in Modern Hebrew denoting possession and other distinctions. This category includes:

- *Sgan Aluf*. This is the compound of *Segen* "vice" and *Aluf* "general", literally "the vice of the general". The form *Sgan* is the construct state of the noun *Segen* expressed by the stem modification of the vocalization. The plural form is *Sganey Alufim*, both nouns modified to plural in contrast to the normative grammatical rule: only the first component is switched to plural. The rank is used for masculine and feminine as well.

**The third category** is compounds created by two nouns, which format a non-verbal sentence. In Hebrew, the auxiliary verb *is* does not exist and therefore is possible to format a non-verbal sentence by the following combinations: noun + noun, noun + adjective, noun + adverb. This category includes only noun + noun, as following:

- *Aluf mishneh*. It is the compound of *Aluf* "general" and *Mishneh* "deputy",

literally "deputy general" meaning "the general is deputy". Both nouns are unchangeable and used in masculine and feminine. The plural is *Alufey Mishneh*, the first component switched to plural. In 2011 was created the feminine *Alufa* and in 2012 was created the feminine *Mishna* from *Mishneh*. Maybe in future this compound '*Alufa Mishna*' will be switched over feminine and adapted to the sex.

- *Segen Mishneh*. It is a compound of *Segen* "lieutenant" and *Mishneh* "deputy", literally "the lieutenant is deputy". *Segen*, due to his new meaning is unchangeable in contrast to *Sgan Aluf* is used also for masculine and feminine. The plural form is *Sganey Mishneh*.

The fourth category is a compound of noun and adjective. We find only one member in this category as following:

- *Samal Rishon*. *Samal* is "sergeant" and *Rishon* is "first", an ordinal number used as adjective, literally meaning "the first sergeant". The plural is *Samalim Rishonim*, and the feminine *Samelet Rishona*.

The following ranks are combined from two categories:

- *Rav Nagad Mishneh*: A + C
- *Rav Samal Bachir*: A + D
- *Rav Samal Mitkadem* : A + D
- *Rav Samal Rishon*: A + D

**2.3 The grammatical gender of the ranks.** The Academy of the Hebrew Language discussed for the first time the feminine gender question this year (2013). Gadish (2013), the scientific Secretary of the Academy, suggested the next model to create feminine forms from all the ranks, not only from *Aluf*, as following: *Alufa* from *Aluf*,

'*Sarna*' from *Seren*, and '*Signa*' from *Segen*. Gadish arguments that already are in use the following feminine derivate forms: *Tat Alufa*, *Rabat Seren*. To the best of my knowledge, those examples does not exist.

### 3. CONCLUSION

The British Commonwealth model initially influenced IDF ranks and their insignia. This was due to the average Israeli service members' experience in the Commonwealth

forces during World War Two. This was later reformed when the IDF started to adopt a rank system similar to the United States armed forces in the 1990s. This adaptation to the Hebrew Language was a veritable miracle by renewing Biblical unused words, as *Seren* or used a little, as *Aluf*, *Segen* and *Tur*. The acronym *Samal* was created by the Hebrew method of acronyms formation during centuries. The life and soul of this process was the first prime minister of Israel David Ben-Gurion and the first chief of staff of IDF, Yitzhak Dori. I believe that this fact can be evaluated as the last and final stage of the revival of the Hebrew Language, which started around the 1880s. Thus, one process was done – the revival of the Hebrew Language, and the second just started – the creation of the State of Israel and of the Israel Defense Forces.

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## PARTICULARITIES OF BRITISH MILITARY TERMS THAT HAVE BEEN ASSIMILATED BY THE COMMON LANGUAGE

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**Abstract:** *The military terminology, representing the totality of terminological unities included in military dictionaries and used by the specialized literature: doctrines, regulations, manuals etc. and the totality of lexemes used in informal communication within the military setting, is in a continuous interaction with both the common and specialized languages. Military terms, especially those emerging from historical events that have influenced the whole society or the entire language community, have been assimilated by the common use of languages, in their denotative meanings or bearing slightly nuanced meanings. Starting from the particular case of British English, through the current paper, we aimed at analyzing the influence of military lexemes on the common language. In this respect, we built the corpus of our research by collecting those terms of military origin included in one of the most relevant dictionary of British English (Schur, 1987), then analyzed them from the perspective of their assimilation by the common language, in relation with Algeo's (1980) reference study.*

**Keywords:** *British English, close code, military terminology, military Briticisms, parts of speech, slang, standardization.*

### 1. MILITARY TERMINOLOGY. LINGUISTIC AND COMMUNICATION APPROACHES

The English military language – that means all terms specific to the military field, but even more than that -, those having a great impact on language development, differently throughout history in both cultural reference spaces: British and American. Let us mention that, besides specialized terminology, and the proper, denotative meaning of "terminology" design and use, in line with the projection of our study design, the specific language of the two military cultural spaces, British and American, differ by a rich technical jargon, but also by a very colorful and meaningful slang, a way of expressing that involves the appeal to restricted communication codes, that implies the use of words and, especially, of different meanings of phrases or "hijacked" from those of standard language (usually not easy to be understood or at least guessed) against third parties participating in the act of

communication, whether superior or civilian. Generally speaking, it appears that the British military and American English differ, particularly in relation to the richness and creativity of slang, considering a certain life experience of a particular group and, especially, emphasizing the possibility to appeal to this form of plain but emotionally loaded language, whose main role is to create links to value function model of empathic communication in Jakobson's model, to create a sense of belonging to the group. Describing the close code specificity in relation to the developed one, Adrian Lesenciuc (2010:19-20) remarked the difference between the basis of cultural background and common experience specific to the close code that, given a longer period spent together with the linguistic community involves, at the verbal communication level, the appeal to slang, respectively, to the foundation of the developed code – learning. The fundamental function of the use of restricted code, hence the slang, and thus the military slang

implicitly, is related to the maintenance of social relationships and channels of communication open:

*Close code*, specific to close traditional community members, is characterized in that it involves a reduced vocabulary and a simpler syntax. The close code is also characterized by orality and through a high level of redundancy. It is used both to transmit information and to maintain open the communication channels. The close code is oriented toward social relationships and facilitates the expression of group membership and of cultural experience. Body language has a high share in language expression through these codes. The facts and the objects referred to by the code come mainly from the practical field. (Lesenciuc, 2010:19-20)

However, noting that there is an important difference between British and American military slang, we find, first of all, that differences are not related to terminology, but rather to communication in close, restricted code, by enabling a certain cultural experience, by making use of experience within the group, or by "distorting" real meanings of terms and expressions so that they meet certain requirements in relation to exteriority, by highlighting or facilitating membership in a particular group. This tendency, observed by linguists, can be summarized as follows:

As Thomas E. Murray remarks in his discussion of naval fighter pilot terminology, —The study of English in the twentieth century has shown that members of the armed services... are especially prone to linguistic creativity, whether soldiers, sailors, or flyers (Murray, *apud* Wilson, 2008).

In such circumstances, the subject of military language bears two manifestations: one of military terminology and the other of slang. We can understand, therefore, that the British and American military slang are not implicitly part of what the phrase "military terminology" means, but the points of view regarding terminology theory are varied and involve a number of perspectives, sometimes antinomian. If, out of general theory of terminology, in terms of Wüster, an apparent prioritization of written records in relation to

the oral ones results, many other perspectives aimed at considering and phraseology, often derived from the transfer of register slang expressions into the standardized language<sup>1</sup>. Terminology is understood as a development that lacks regularity (Castellví Cabral, 2003:169), due precisely to non-formal influence (sometimes even of slang) and to a natural tendency to ignore the "official" terminology. This tendency occurs naturally in the prevalence of cultural experience in relation to learning, from the prevalence of informality in relation to the formalities imposed by dominant terminology. Between the use of language (with all that it entails, including and especially appealing to close code, that is, to slang) and the scientific, yet rigid posture of a dominant terminology, these cracks appear that lead, most often, to the uneven development of language specific to a field of study or work, as in our case, military language. In this respect, Myking's conception from 2001 is to be considered (*apud* Castellví Cabral, 2003:173), which, taking the socio-terminology term from Wüster, speaks for the first time about the possibility of setting up a separate construct, the socio-cognitive terminology, that is not far different, within the general theory of terminology, from the colloquial. Should, then, the military slang be taken into consideration as part of military terminology? In relation to the general theory of terminology it should not, but in relation to socio-terminology, yes. Therefore, to avoid confusion, our study will focus on scoring differences in terminology in general, mentioning and taking into account the socio-terminological differences (*i.e.* an applied analysis to slang). A first distinction within our study will be between what is proper military terminology, traditional and slang. If terminology in its essence has the main objective of avoiding ambiguity in professional communication (including the international one), translation should not be done, however, through rigorous standar-

<sup>1</sup> Rather a terminology practice than a theory; the German linguist does not focus on the theoretical support but on the applied one, by appealing to the phrase *Terminologielehre* and not *Terminologietheorie*

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dization of concepts. Regarding the British and American military terminology things are very clear: despite of a louder standardization trend (meaning the existence and enforcement of NATO terminology), the two cultural areas continue to produce distinctly, particularly within the limits of what is known to be the socio-terminology field of application. Therefore, it is absolutely important for our study to be understood within applied linguistics, based on two reasons: socio-terminological proximity, necessary previously and justified, or the Kocourek's scientific assertion, according to which traditional terminology should be subject to applied linguistic analysis, as well:

Terminology, being a complex phenomenon, it can be approached from various angles and by means of different methods: logical, philosophical, sociological, psychological, statistical, and others, not to speak of specially established ways of treating terminology in individual subject fields. But since terminology is a component of language, an important place among these various approaches is, or could be, occupied by linguistics. In consequence terminological research has been included among the domains of applied linguistics (Kocourek 1981:217, *apud* Cabré Castellví, 2003:185).

Breaking through military terminology (British and American), through the gate of communication, the approach from applied linguistics perspective is justified by the fact that linguistic units are not understood as bearing proper denotative information, taken out of context, also but as bearing contextual meaning, communicating both about the information bearer (the connotative sense of the term) and about the cultural background ("mythical" loading of the term).

### 2. METHODOLOGY. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The military terminology is highly productive. Following numerous military confrontations that have marked human history, many terms occurred in common use,

terms of military origin, expressing a particular subculture or social group with certain habitus, with certain experiences, preferences and values, which, by their fundamental role played during the conflict period, influences the entire society. Language dynamics is directly influenced by the dynamics of the common use of terms coming from the military environment. Therefore, as grammar changes more slowly, while the syntactic rule remains almost motionless, the word changes in a much faster pace. The most significant changes in composition – dealt with in a study by the American linguist John Algeo (*apud* Wilson, 2008) regarding the identifying sources of new words into the language use between 1963 and 1973 showed that most of the words (63.9%) are *composites* or derived forms through affixation, the rest being derived by maintaining the form and changing the meaning or coverage (14.2%), by abbreviation (9.7%), borrowings (6.0%) and *blendings* (4.8%). In terms of modified parts of speech, according to Algeo's study 76.7% of emerging words are nouns, 15.2% are adjectives, verbs are 7.8% and 0.3% represent other parts of speech (adverbs, numerals, interjections, articles, conjunctions and prepositions).

Considering all these, what happens with the military terminology and which are the trends in this area in relation to the influence on language conducted by these specialized terms? To answer all these questions, we should bring into question a major research directions of military terminology, British and American, in the present context: the study of the role of military terminology within the current language dynamics and of differences in military terminology between the two cultural areas. Once identified the synchronous frame of language dynamics projection, the everyday military terminology should be taken into consideration, in quantitative terms, without any reference to language dynamics.

In this respect, we used as a reference document the dictionary British English A to Zed (Schur, 2001), commented and appreciated by John Algeo (1989, 1990) in order to refer to the results of the study of the

renowned American linguist as reference values. This dictionary containing 5,500 British terms - use English words and phrases commonly used in the UK, but without the same semantic coverage or effectively without any meaning in American English - it was conducted more than 100 years since the first "parallel lists" of British and American terms (Allen Walker Read also published a list in 1872, in the article "the English at Home" in *the Galaxy*). It contains those terms which occur in British and American English, non-existent terms in American English and those that have no referent into the American cultural space. The dictionary, compiled in order "to help Americans with BrE" (McArthur, 2005), is considered by linguists an incomparable work in this field of study, being recommended as a basis for highlighting the practical use of the language differences in the two cultural spaces (Hargraves, 2003:289). Thus, to answer the need of identifying the role of English military terminology in current dynamics we have chosen a reference tool appreciated by even the author of the study that will provide data to further compare our results.

### 3. MILITARY BRITICISMS

The normal question that arises here is: to what extent military or terms of military origin make the difference between the two languages? Identifying, throughout the study, military or terms of military origin, we cataloged 110 such words or phrases, which represent 2% of the entire arsenal of the current differences between British and American English. Seemingly minor, the percentage is important and requires putting under scrutiny the analysis of this issue because we are talking about expressions in common use, with a lesser or higher usage in the daily life of the citadel, not within the soldierly limits of military units. To study the differences between British and American English at socio-terminological level, a parallel analysis is required by making use of another tool. Thus, 2% of British common words different from American ones or bearing different semantic coverage are of

military origin. Given this number, of 110 differences, we conducted a first distinction between words, phrases (groups of words that express a fixed idea) or abbreviations (short or diminished in content forms of common words and phrases). The result was as follows: 61 words, 40 phrases and 9 military abbreviations present in *British English A to Zed*, i.e., in percents, i.e. 55.46% words, 36.36% expressions and 8.18% acronyms. In a graphical representation the distribution looks like this:

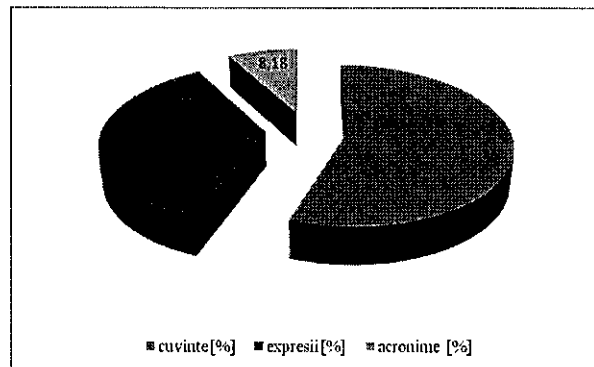


Fig.1 Distribution in percents of words, phrases and military acronyms present in the dictionary *British English A to Zed*

**3.1 Parts of speech.** Regarding the distribution in relation to the lexical meaning, the form and possibility of having certain syntactic functions, the 61 words correspond to the following parts of speech: - 42 nouns: *archies, Balaclava, barrage, batman, battle cruiser, bearskin, blanco, blighty, boffin, boots, brigadier, busby, call-up, chit, clobber, commissionaire, dambusters, doodle-bug, dubbin, dug-out, erk, (the) forces, glasshouse, gongs, gratuity, griff, Guards, intake, jankers, jaunty, ma'am, (a) nonsense, pressure, raid, recce, sapper, shuftly, sitrep, slinger, stonk, subaltern, trews*; 12 verbs: *bang on, brew up, carry on, cast, debus, demob, filibuster, flog it, foot-slog, scrimshank, second, skive*; 5 adjectives: *bandit-proof, bowler-hatted, chuffed, doolally, wizard*; 2 parts of speech (adverbs): *maffick, strong*.

All 9 acronyms have lexical meaning of the noun, more precisely: *Asdic* (Anti-Submarine Detection Investigation Committee), *DORA* (Defence of the Realm Acts), *GCHQ* (Government Communications Headquarters),



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*NAAFI* (Navy, Army, and Air Force Institutes), *R.A.F.* (Royal Air Force), *SOP* (Senior Officer Present), *V.C.* (Victoria Cross), *Waac* (Women's Army Auxiliary Corps), *WRAC* (Women's Royal Army Corps). In relation to the possibilities of carrying out certain syntactic functions or lexical meaning of equivalent words, expressions take the place of the following parts of speech: - 22 nouns: *Army and Navy Stores, barrage balloon, court of inquiry, dismissal with disgrace, Fred Karno's army, gippy tummy, Great War, Hitler's War, identity disc, Little Englander, ops room, redcap, Sally Army, salt beef, short back and sides, square-bashing, sweet Fanny Adams, Tommy Atkins, Trinity House, Wavy Navy, white feather, wing commander*; 12 verbs: *dodge the column, get one's skates on, get the chop, gone for a burton, go to ground, he bought the farm, keep obbo on, make one's number with, pass out, stand down, tear a strip off (someone), turn the Nelson eye on*; 1 adjectives: *mentioned in dispatches*; 5 other parts of speech (adverbs, interjections etc.): *all Sir Garnet, good party?, out of bounds, wait for it!, what's the drill?* All in all, words, phrases and military acronyms have the following distribution in relation to the parts of speech: 73 nouns (42 words, 22 phrases and 9 acronyms); 24 de verbs (12 words, 12 phrases); 6 adjectives (5 words, 1 phrase); 7 other parts of speech: adverbs, interjections etc. (2 words, 5 phrases).

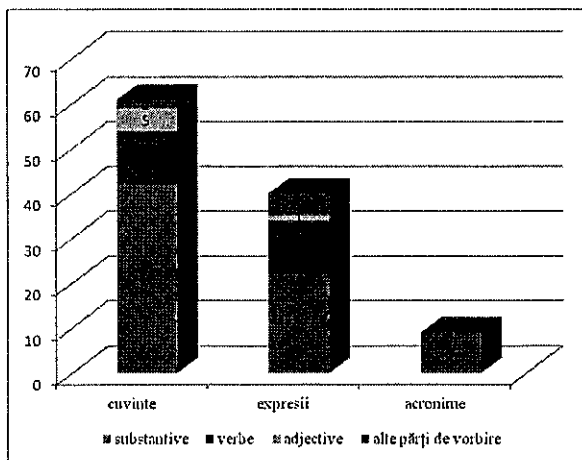


Fig. 2 Distribution of parts of speech covered by military words, expressions and acronyms present in the dictionary *British English A to Zed*

Graphically, military terms, in relation to the parts of speech they correspond to, can be represented as in fig 2. In a graphical percentage distribution, the spreading of parts of speech, words, phrases and military acronyms is the following:

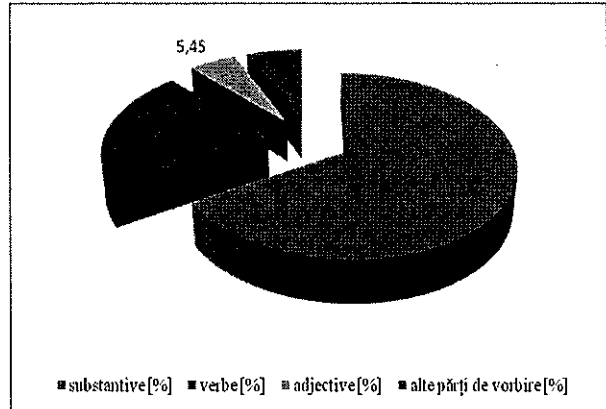


Fig.3 Percentage distribution of parts of speech covered by the military words, expressions and acronyms present in the dictionary

Regarding the comparison with the study of the American linguist John Algeo, we find a maximum percentage difference of 14.02% in case of verbs (more numerous when it comes to military terms). Nouns are 10.34% less in case of military terms, with 9.75% fewer adjectives and other parts of speech (mainly adverbs and interjections) are 6.06% more. In the graphical representation we can see that the variation of parts of speech regarding general changes in English language and in terms of changing British English through the "import" of military terms is quite small.

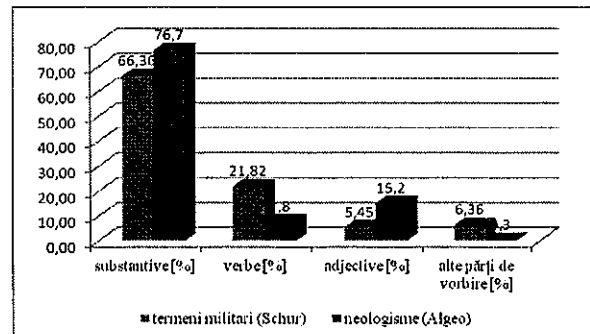


Fig. 4 Differences in the percentage distribution of parts of speech present in the dictionary *British English A to Zed* as compared to the standard study (Algeo)

The variation graphic offers the possibility to observe this aspect and provides some clues in interpreting military terminological variation, according to the specific of this professional environment. These variations can be interpreted according to the additional tests carried out in relation to the way they entered the language or, to the code type in relation to which communication is performed (limited or complete).

In order to understand the reasons why the number of verbs and interjections is higher in terms of entering the English military terminology, we should review some military terminology features. First of all, military terminology is influenced by specific communication, which in turn, depends on the prevailing organizational culture, on decision making process, on the transmission of orders and on the military commanding acts, etc. Within the military environment, using firm, clear-cut phrases, previously established (agreed in the military regulations and thus made mandatory in the orders), accompanied by nonverbal elements betraying firmness and concision: high tone, rigid position, etc. are indicators of some forms of customization, not only of communication but also of the development of a certain species of standard terminology / phraseology. Colloquial language prevails in interpersonal communication within the limits of the restricted code that is meant to allow the improvement of group membership (*esprit de corps* is one of the core values in the military system). Thus, discussing large number of particular forms of communication, where, in relation to the formal framework, the acts of giving and transmitting orders, processing rules, regulations, instructions, explaining the process of action, transmitting remedy measures of situations found to be deficient as a result of internal control, messaging landmarks bearing the military hierarchy of values and so on, moving downward, reporting on the execution of orders, preparation / submission of reports, reporting and transmission of critical military community activity etc. are most frequently met, and moving upward, i.e. talking about a setting where all communication act implies focusing

around a dense core - the action, it is therefore easy to understand why the main indicators of the action prevail in military terminology, i.e. the verb and interjection. On the other hand, given that in case of informal interpersonal communication the restricted code is dominant, assuming the enhancement of group membership, the absence or reduced frequency of parts of speech to indicate characteristics or attributes of the concept of action is a natural phenomenon, that is, the decrease percentage of adjectives and adverbs to enter the language is natural, as well. Interpreting differences between the percentage of entries into English from military terminology and the new words emergence into the language, in terms of parts of speech that those words take, phrases and abbreviations, we find a maximum percentage difference of 14.02% for ver. bs explained by the predominance of military life action due to the frequent use of verbs in everyday linguistic practices within the military environment. The same explanation has the variation on the number of interjections, while the 9.75% decrease in the number of adjectives is justified by the lack of attribute indicators of concepts in everyday linguistic practice, both in formal and informal register. These percentage adjustments have been made to the detriment of nouns that, however, remain at a very high rate and do not require a significant variation as compared to the percentage value of Algeu's standard study.

**3.2 Sources of military Briticisms.** Regarding the sources of British English military terms emergence, most of them are obtained by compounding, word compounding and affixation or suffixation, i.e. 55 (50%). The other terms derive as follows<sup>2</sup>: 19 by preserving the form and changing the meaning: *barrage, batman, boots, brew up, cast, chuffed, forces, gongs, gratuity, Guards,*

<sup>2</sup> Many terms have undergone successive changes; i.e., the terms *batman* or *ops room*, both formed through composition, undergone as the last changes in language, the maintenance of form and the change in meaning, in the first case, or abbreviation in the second. Not the same thing happens in case of the term SOP, an abbreviation which, although known as an abbreviation in American cultural space, means something else, more precisely *standard operating procedure*.

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*nonsense, pressure, sapper, second, slinger, stonk, strong, subaltern, wizard*; 18 through abbreviation: *archies, Asdic, demob, DORA, GCHQ, griff, ma'am, NAAFI, ops room, RAF(Royal Air Force), recce (reconnaissance), Sally Army, sitrep, SOP, trews, V.C., Waac, WRAC*; 12 out of foreign borrowings: *Balaclava (prob. turc.), blanco (sp.), blighty (hind.), busby (magh.), chit (hind.), commissioner (fr.), doollaly (hind.), filibuster (sp.), jaunty (fr.), maffick (prob. afrikaans), shufti (arab.), skive (scand.)*; 1 from *blending: dambusters*, a compound word formed from the combination (Edersee) *Dam(s) + busters*; 5 terms with uncertain or unknown origin: *boffin, clobber, erk, jankers, scrimshank*.

In a graphical presentation, sources of new (military) terms are the following:

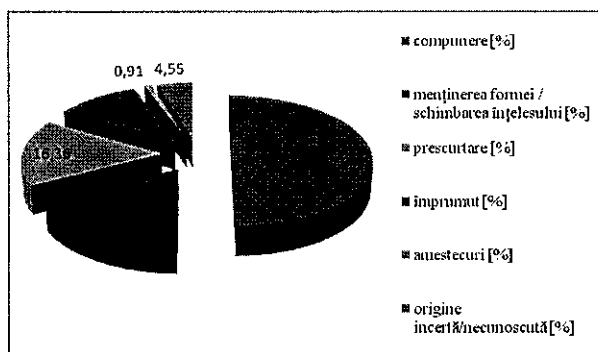


Fig. 5 Percentage distribution of ways of forming words, phrases and military acronyms present in the dictionary *British English A to Zed*

It should be noted that, in this case, the maximum variation as compared to Algeo's study (as cited in Wilson, 2008) is below the value of 15%, i.e. new words that entered the military zone resulting from compounding are 13.9% less than in the case of the standard study. In reality, many of the words that come from other sources are compounds but, as previously mentioned, their last change does not involve compounding. We may admit that the percentage is significantly close to that of the standard study, especially since the terms that resulted from maintaining the form and changing the meaning are more numerous, with only 3.07% in case of Schur's dictionary,

those from abbreviation are 6.66 % more numerous, those that resulted from borrowings are 4.91% more numerous and those resulting from blending, with 3.89% less. In a graphical representation, results can be recorded like this:

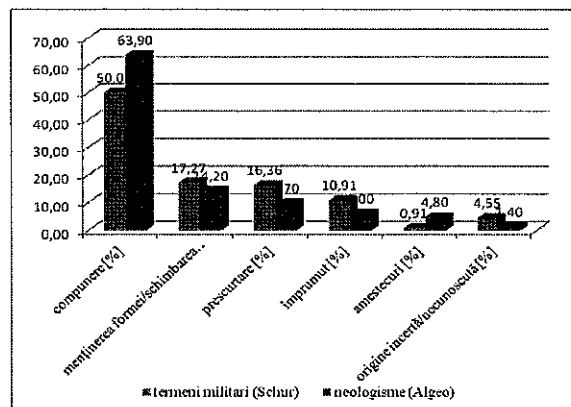


Fig. 6 Percentage distribution of ways of forming words, phrases and military acronyms present in the dictionary *British English A to Zed*

It is worth noting that this analysis highlights the trend towards abbreviating military terminology (which, in a specialized language, especially American one, abounds in abbreviations, these abbreviations usually relate to military institution/system and to a lesser extent to functions / operations) that is, to borrowings. On the other hand, the lower percentage of words formed by compounding is due to the lower semantic value of the "attribute" in military terminology, which determines a lower effective use of attributive pre-positioning in relation to a noun, to a compound word<sup>3</sup>, in English, being „more meaningful”, „more plastic”, therefore „more stressed” than the simple synonym” (Levițchi, 1975:117). However, English monolingual polysemy allowed the use of words / phrases that preserve their form but change their meaning in the military environment, especially due to their high use in colloquial

<sup>3</sup> usually a noun that receives an "attribute", the situation of composing according to the attributive-noun models, noun-noun, where the subordinate component - adjoin - has attributive function, as well, expressed by a noun in accusative case, or combined

language or slang, where the process of keeping the apparent facility of accessing meaning, but assuming to hide the real meaning is a fundamental characteristic. When it comes to slang, meanings are "hijacked" willingly as compared to those of standard language, out of the need to create some form of relation protection and of diminishing the meanings within the relationships with members of the same group. We will return to this issue later on. Regarding the abbreviation phenomenon, most commonly met in military terminology than in other cases, it derives from the need of a certain conciseness of expression, but while maintaining the high level of clarity, in the absence of doubt and ambiguity. Abbreviation does not involve only acronyms. In the military environment are used both initials (e.g. SOPs) simplified language units that hide a complex structure behind them, assuming a reduction to the initials of a longer phrase (possibly pronounced in one word, by separate reading of initials or combined one), acronyms (e.g. GCHQ), obtained by combining the more developed parts of words, abbreviations (e.g. ops) resulting from consensus on the form of abbreviating a complex phrase, and short forms (e.g. Sally Army) used in informal language and slang, representing forms of discourse economy. The presence of a large number of abbreviations in military terminology, but the relatively low penetration of the English (British) standard ones is because they have a certain amount of functionality, being used especially in written texts, they usually involve difficulties in pronunciation and require direct link to the full form of the abbreviated phrase. For this reason, NATO standardization agreements require explicit mention of the source phrase, as well:

The Standardization Agreement STANAG 2077 mentions that "abbreviations are commonly used in military correspondence, but if an abbreviation is used, abbreviated words should be explained clearly when firstly used, followed by the abbreviation in brackets" (Olteanu, 2007:174)

For these reasons, abbreviations, although abundant in military terminology, will not be subject to rigorous analysis and personalized in our case study.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

In this context, where generally speaking the largely English-language input values, in relation to the distribution of parts of speech, or in accordance with the law of term-formation, the military words, phrases and abbreviations that penetrated British English do not differ from the Algeo's standard study, what is really different is the amount of colloquialisms in this dictionary. If in the setting of the corpus of military terms that entered British English, present in *British English dictionary from A to Zed* we scored precisely the lexicographical paraphrase and the equivalence, British and American, of the entry word (the defined term), we have not intended to impose a straight putting into light the knowledge of lexical and military fields. Nevertheless, in direct connection with the previous comparative analysis, since we reminded a higher amount of terms derived from linguistic borrowings, it is necessary to emphasize that one of the main sources is military experience in various theaters of operations in the last century and a half, with direct effects on the English language. Thus, we've identified the presence of some terms coming from Crimeean War, Boer War, military experience in India, WWI and WWII. These terms spotted in our corpus represent approximately 19% of the entire set of military terms penetrating British English.

It can be seen that the majority of military expressions come from the informal register, being the result of informal communication, or, literally of military slang. But the issue of slang is far from being clarified. It is not explicitly part of the challenge of British and American military terminology comparative study, but it has a very important influence in shaping this terminology and in knowledge vulgarization in military terminology. Military slang is like a color stain, an eccentric area in terms of military terminology analysis, and

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especially in the analysis of military linguistic pragmatics.

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Translation







## ACADEMIC WRITING WIZARD: A NEW WEB-BASED APPLICATION FOR TEACHING ACADEMIC WRITING USING LEXICAL COHESIVE TRIO

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*Abstract: Academic Writing Wizard, AWW, is a new web-based application that helps teachers and students alike in achieving their academic goals easily and effectively. AWW helps students plan, organize, write, and edit their academic essays using a new idea in teaching academic writing, Lexical Cohesive Trio. AWW provides teachers with an exceptional environment to assign essays, receive students' essays, mark them, and provide a comprehensive feedback on every single paragraph. Teaching academic writing is a laborious and daunting experience, especially for non-native speakers of English. Making non-native students aware of phraseological routines in English can considerably improve their academic writing. Lexis has a very important position in English. Lexical clustering is reflective of behavioural and interactional routines applied by English native speakers. By the time non-native speakers of English master their grammatical and spelling skills, they find themselves trapped in a more intricate web of lexical relations, about which they are not aware. This lack of knowledge would result in spending a great deal of time in mastering these lexical relationships. Several modern studies of corpora have proved that native lexical combinations of phrases are limited, and they can be directly taught to students. My argument in this paper is that direct and conscious teaching of such lexical relations and phrases, using Lexical Cohesive Trio, can pave the way for more effective writing skills, and it will definitely reduce the amount of time educators spend later in teaching their students these indispensable skills.*

*Keywords: Academic writing framework, Lexical Cohesive Trio, lexical cohesion, lexical repetition, lexical patterns, lexical phrase*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In this study, I asked my students to use the following elements: referential elements, anaphora and cataphora, patterns of lexical repetition, simple lexical repetition, complex lexical repetition, phrasal repetition, and finally lexical phrases. Deeming which particular lexical phrases to choose in academic writing relies upon the previous two. One would even go as far as saying that investigating the three aspects together would pave the way for understanding the cognitive planning that any writer would be engaged in before writing an essay or a research paper. The important caveat of this study is that the suggested approach is relevant to academic discourse rather than literary discourse, for instance.

This important caveat hinders one from generalising the outcome of this study to other genres. Numerous studies have stressed the importance of understanding the behaviour of lexical units in texts. Such units contribute not only to the cohesion of texts, but also to their meaningful coalescence.

This leads us to the third reason why mastery of formulaic sequences is believed to be beneficial to learners: formulaic sequences (at least those that are 'correctly' committed to memory) may help speakers reach a degree of linguistic accuracy, because these prefabricated chunks constitute 'zones of safety' and appropriate use of them may thus confine the risk of 'erring' to the spaces in between the formulaic sequences in one's discourse. (Boers *et al.*, 2006).

Other studies explored the efficacy of investigating cohesive devices in written discourse and whether this particular activity can be taught directly to non-native students of English. However, such studies have shown that studying cohesive ties only would yield substantial results in understanding the coherent structuring of texts. In this paper, I will envisage a new model for textual cohesion, incorporating the three main lexical elements of textual coalescence. The framework is based on a textual trio: reference (Anaphora + Cataphora + Transitional signals), lexical repetition, and lexical phraseology (based on Manchester corpus of academic phrases). The idea behind this study is to show that if we combine these three textual elements, then our understanding of cohesive behaviour in texts would be more informative and insightful. The crux of the matter is that none of those textual elements proved to be a predominant factor independently in determining textual cohesion and lexical phraseology in text. There is more to the writing process than cohesion alone.

## 2. BACKGROUND

Just as exclusive focus on syntax and other formal surface features in writing instruction probably will not better the overall quality of college students' writing, neither will a narrow emphasis on cohesion probably produce significantly improved writing. (Witte & Faigley, 1981).

Several studies were conducted to examine the efficacy of teaching lexical bonds, lexical phraseology and lexical patterning over the last few years. Most of those studies emphasized the importance of teaching lexical blocks as important building blocks in texturing English texts. Boers, et al. (Boers, Frank, et al, 2006) have observed that certain formulaic sequences could substantially affect oral fluency. Their study consisted of 32 college students majoring in English, and their English proficiency was estimated as upper-intermediate to advanced level. The study investigated whether teaching lexical phrases can help learners become proficient L2

speakers and whether L2 formulaic sequences can help the learners add the phrases to their vocabulary. The same teacher taught a group of students over the same period of time. They were divided into an experimental group and a control group, both groups were exposed to the same language input, and their course materials were identical. The only controlled change from one group to the other was the emphasis on the importance of phrase noticing. Finally, two blind judges interviewed the students. The judges listened to their recorded interviews and counted correctly formed literature on phrases or lexical chunks that the students said. The results of the experimental study corroborated the hypothesis, which indicated that the experimental group performed better than the control group in both parameters. In another study, Hilary Nesi and Helen Basturkmen (Nesi & Basturkmen, 2006) studied the categorization of cohesive devices with reference to spoken academic discourse, which is shown in some approaches like multi-word units and lexical bundles. Their paper explored the role of lexical bundles as cohesive devices in 160 university lectures from the British Academic Spoken English (BASE) corpus<sup>1</sup> and the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE) and the lexical bundles were distinguished by using WordSmith Tools. Results showed that common bundles occurred in a similar manner in both the British and American lectures. Nesi and Basturkmen have found in their research that lexical phrases are generated by native speakers rather than being syntactically determined by native speakers.

## 3. A PROPOSED FRAMEWORK FOR WRITING ACADEMIC ESSAYS

My proposed framework in this paper lays the corner stone of a lexical roadmap that can further help one nail down particular pragmatic functions. Thirty junior and senior students from the Gulf University for Science and Technology, GUST, in Kuwait were asked to write two essays for this experiment: one of which was not based on the suggested framework; and the other of which was based

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on the suggested framework. They were drilled on using the cohesive trio effectively, reference, lexical repetition, and lexical phrases. Each student was asked to draw six big boxes to write all the needed details in advance. Each box was numbered, P1, P2, etc. Within each box, the students were asked to specify in advance the type of *reference* they would use in the first paragraph, be it anaphoric or cataphoric, specifying each type, the pronoun used, and the referent. Then, they had to specify the type of lexical repetition they opted for, and, finally, the lexical phrases, as per appendix five, they found appropriate to link with the previous two. This was the culmination of the process for each paragraph. Having done this for each paragraph, they would then embark upon writing the essay, which should by then be straight forward to write. All students were asked afterwards to highlight every element of the trio, *reference, lexical repetition and lexical phrases*, with a different colour. In this way, they could determine the kind of textual web they had used in their final essays. According to Hoey, every non-fictional text has a certain web of repetitive patterns (Hoey, 1995). What I suggest here is that according to my suggested framework every text has in fact a specific web of lexical trio that could realistically reflect the level of lexical cohesion in texts. In other words, a lexical web is supposed to comprise of the three main elements of the lexical trio, without whose entire presence the textual structure of the essay would be shaken. This point of view is backed by several studies, see Hoey, 1983, Hoey and Winter 1986, which show that insisting on cohesive elements only to maintain cohesion is not a valid issue. However, if one considers the whole trio, as it is suggested in this paper, then a more realistic picture of the cohesive build-up of texts would be more evident. What I would like to stress in this paper also is that this particular experiment is not to claim that this mechanical outlook would affect creativity. This is not the aim of my framework. My main aim is to show that combining the previously mentioned lexical features would come up with a strong

framework that could strongly boost the writing process, never hindering grammar or rhetorical style in the process. Applying this detailed framework would make non-native students, or even native students, more confident about their writing abilities, because what they have to do afterwards would be to produce relevant ideas and encapsulate them in well-structured sentences using rules of syntax. Students should decide on what type of logical and textual relationships he/she wants to use in his or her essay. Initial decision for such a framework would draw a clear roadmap for students to write very effective essays and research papers. What practically remains would be brainstorming ideas and creating sentences that reflect the students' stance. Every student connects his or her ideas eventually by putting them in the missing blanks of the framework. This framework suggests that students should plan their essays before embarking on writing them. They should draw one box for each paragraph such that they should mention in detail and in advance the above-mentioned elements. The first element, which is reference, will show the possible referential connections that a student would like to make among his other words in text: he/she should explain every pronoun used in the paragraph and its referent, even if this is done at a preliminary level and then enlarged after writing the essay. Anaphoric and cataphoric connections should be maintained here. Students should show which nouns are referring to which referents. Having done this, he or she should then opt for the appropriate transitional word to connect his or her paragraph to the following paragraph. Until now, the first paragraph is prepared for its satellite mission, in a generic sense, to shed its light upon the rest of the paragraphs. Logical connections are maintained after having determined transitional words and referential relationships.

The next step now is to determine patterns of lexical elements. This approach investigates repetitive patterns of lexical elements that emphasize the main words, phrases, and sentences used in an essay or article. Such recurrent patterns play an important role in

determining central utterances in text. They also highlight the main textual signals by reemphasizing them in their repetitive patterns. Phrasal and sentential patterns can moreover be used to shed light upon encapsulated messages in text. One more use of such repetitive patterns would be the enforcement of certain messages that are logically bonded, starting from the very first paragraph. One would also argue that these repetitive patterns in all their types would further emphasize the writer's stance vis-a-vis the chosen topic. Hoey emphasizes the fact that Halliday and Hassan (Halliday and Hassan, 1976) did not pay the proper due of attention to lexical cohesion, which he deems very important in textual

cohesion. What Halliday and Hassan show in their classic, *Cohesion in English*, is that cohesion is a semantic unity, which relies primarily upon micro cohesive devices. Hoey takes the matter further to include patterns of lexical repetition that incorporate within them encapsulated ideas that reflect the main message of a text, namely central utterances (Hoey, 1995). These central utterances are mainly determined by investigating lexical repetitive patterns. Having combined those two important elements, namely reference and lexical patterning, one can now start choosing the most appropriate lexical phrase which specifically connects the respective paragraph to other paragraphs.

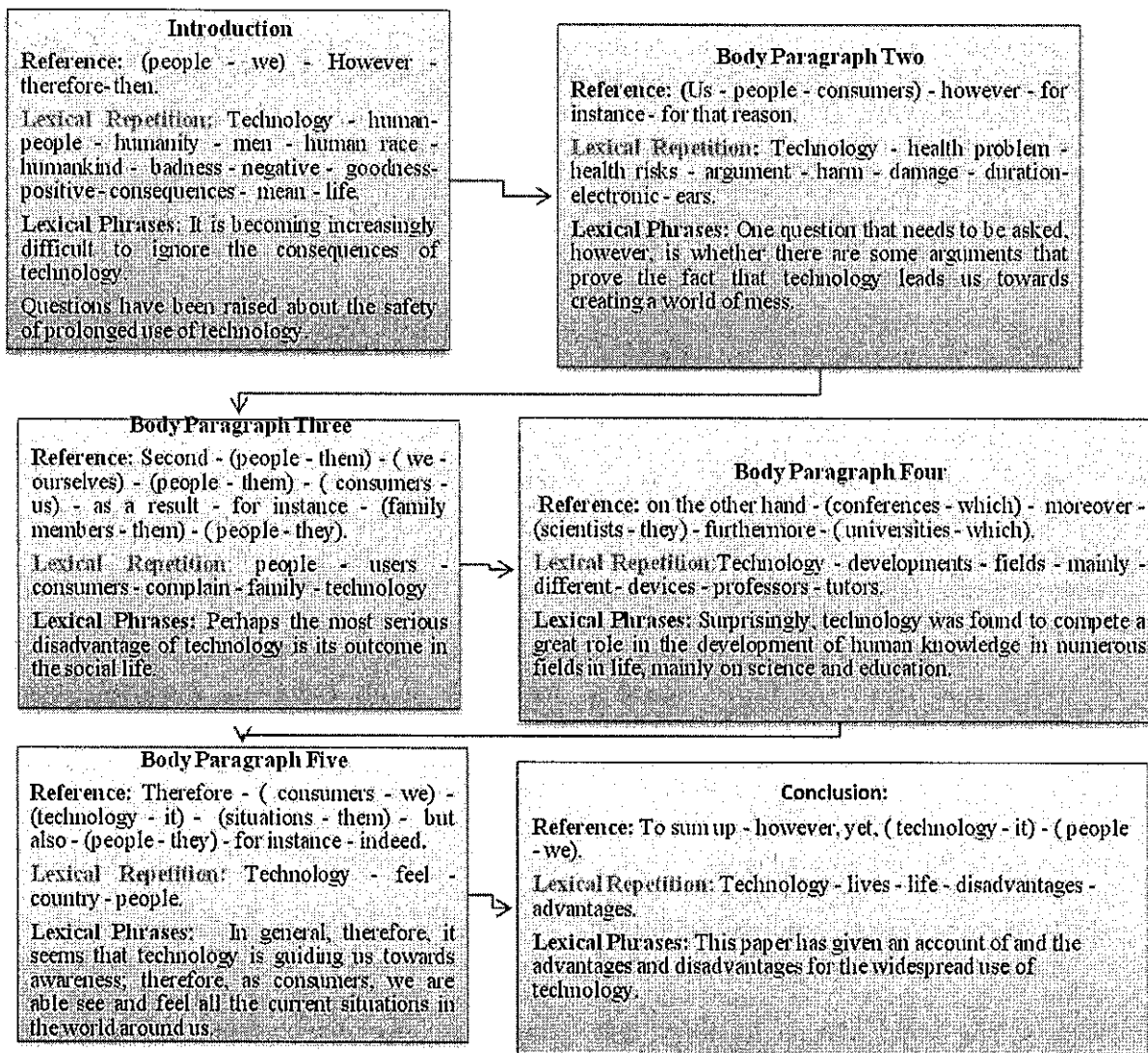


Fig.1 Patterns of lexical elements

#### 4. RESULTS

I asked 30 GUST students to write two essays and a framework based on lexical and textual cohesion, which was considered a new challenge to them; however, having applied the framework, they felt more confident of themselves, especially after using proper cohesive devices, more logical ideas connected by proper transitional signals, as per appendix four, and appropriate academic phrases, based upon an attested corporal data bank. One of my students used a very interesting framework for writing her essay. This student used a confluent framework that shows logical and cohesive connections in her essay. There is an extensive use of contrastive relations, which reflects the contrastive nature of the whole essay. Repetition is already set to reflect the comparative and contrastive stance of the paper. The student repeats words like technology, users, consumers, family, professors, and tutors to consolidate the contrastive ideas of her essay. One also observes that adopting such a stance in the paper leads the student to choose phrases that complement each other in the course of the essay. In what follows is the student's post-framework essay: **Does Technology Lead us to Happiness or Misery?**

1. Technology is the mean of development through which human civilization has risen from in the past few years. In life, people are more likely aware to the fact that each natural entity in life has its goodness and badness to all humanity; however, what would happen if the developments in human race were caused by a mean made by men themselves? It is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the consequences of technology. Therefore, people started questioning whether technology, is bringing about hindrance and harm to humankind. Then, we come about to ask, how technology controls our life and lead us to happiness or misery? Questions have been raised about the safety of prolonged use of technology. Therefore, this paper will mainly focus on the negative and positive consequences of technology.

2. One question that needs to be asked, however, is whether there are some arguments that prove the fact that technology leads us towards creating a world of mess. Health risks that are resulted from technology are the main concern in the first argument. What are the health problems caused by technology, and how serious they are? For instance, mobiles have bad effects on us as consumers of electronic devices; it has electronic signals that harm the ears. Studies have shown that long duration of mobile phones damage the internal function of ears. For that reason, doctors advice people to reduce the duration of long calls as kind of recommendation.

3. Second, the reality of people, consuming technology, drives them to lose the advantage of living in an exquisite social life and environment. Perhaps the most serious disadvantage of technology is its outcome in the social life. Living away from people and isolating ourselves along with these electronic devices is a problem that I am sure most of us suffer from in this new digital world. The users of technology complain of these problems, and even those who re surrounding these consumers are complaining as well. Some families are no longer powerful or strong to stand up against the bad results of technology. For instance, an adolescent tends to text messages to his mother, brother or any of his family members for the sake of asking them about his needs without paying the effort of interacting with them face to face. As a result, some people lost their ability in communicating with others, or in other words, they ended up lacking self-confidence and self-esteem in speaking to someone directly.

4. On the other hand, there are some arguments that confirm the reality that technology guides our world towards great success and development. Surprisingly, technology was found to compete a great role in the development of human knowledge in numerous fields in life, mainly on science and education. In the scientific field, scientists are no longer worried about attending international conferences, which are arranged in far distance countries such as USA. Moreover, they are able to read and search on different topics in the world around them, or they can essentially focus on enhancing their knowledge regarding their specialties. The new devices such as BlackBerry, iPhone, iPad, laptops, computers,

and other electronic devices allow students to email their professors, arrange appointments, answer the assignments, and check out their grades in all the classes. Furthermore, students can complete their studies through joining trusted Universities, which offer the program of online classes. Through online lectures, students are able to see and talk to their tutors through different devices mainly fond because of the development in technology.

5. In general, therefore, it seems that technology is guiding us towards awareness; therefore, as consumers, we are able see and feel all the current situations in the world around us. In fact, it shapes them to be so real that a person would feel being there experiencing personally all the events, as if he is a native in these countries. Not only does technology help in education and science, but it plays also a great role in sport and politics. People are getting benefit from the development in human race through technology. They can watch a football match, which is held in Spain between their favorite football teams, such as Real Madrid and Barcelona without paying the effort of booking a ticket to travel there. The new electronic devices have shortened the distances between one country and another. For instance, in our days, people know almost everything about the countries, which are near or far to them. Thanks to technology, we now know more about the various culture and tradition. Indeed, even the political problems are presented to us clearly through news, TV interviews, Twitter, Facebook, etc...

6. To sum up, technology has a major influence on our lives. However, it has its own advantages and disadvantages as everything in the world. We cannot deny the huge development that was caused by technology. It improved our lives in dealing with different fields that in the end made our life to be an easier one. Yet, it has few disadvantages that cause harm to the health of human being as well as his social life. This essay has given an account of and the advantages and disadvantages of the widespread use of technology.

## 5. ANALYSIS

The conscious usage of repetitive lexical elements increased the student's ability to

connect her paragraphs cogently. She used lexical elements to support her thesis, using comparison and contrast writing method. This example illustrates a case where awareness of lexical cohesion and using proper lexical phraseology can lead to using proper stylistic and rhetorical devices too. One observes that the student connects the first and second paragraphs by using a question at the beginning of the second paragraph to engage her readers in understanding the kind of advantages and disadvantages of technology that she talks about in her essay. In her third paragraph, which starts with the following sentence:

Second, the reality of people, consuming technology, drives them to lose the advantage of living in an exquisite social life and environment.

and ends her paragraph with

As a result, some people lost their ability in communicating with others, or ,in other words, they ended up lacking self-confidence and self-esteem in speaking to someone directly.

These two sentences clearly connect the present paragraph to the previous and following ones, which means that using the lexical trio helps the student achieve her goal easily and effectively. In the fourth paragraph, the student uses a contrastive device, *on the other hand*, to signal a contrastive idea, which harmoniously connects with the previous paragraphs. She follows that with an effective lexical phrase taken from the corpora to buttress this contrastive effect:

On the other hand, there are some arguments that confirm the reality that technology guides our world towards great success and development. Surprisingly, technology was found to compete a great role in the development of human knowledge in numerous fields in life, mainly on science and education.

The student chooses to show her readers an **unexpected outcome**, which according to corpora should start with a phrase that starts

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with **surprisingly** following the formula: *a. Surprisingly, X was found to ...* She has filled in the blank with: *a + compete a great role in the development of human knowledge in numerous fields in life, mainly on science and education.*

This example clearly shows why I said at the beginning of this paper that students can, in fact, choose the appropriate lexical phrases and fill in the blank to create sentences that go

in line with their stance. The student's final lexical phrase, which is again taken from the corpora, wraps the whole essay into a complete whole: *This essay has given an account of and the advantages and disadvantages of the widespread use of technology.*

Having analysed 30 pre-framework and 30 post-framework essays, I have come up with the following results:

Table 1 The use of three elements (based) on frequency

Sample Number	Transitional signals before framework	Transitional signals after framework	Lexical repetition before framework	Lexical repetition after framework	Lexical phrases before framework	Lexical phrases after framework
Sample 1	12	52	25	74	7	30
Sample 2	22	56	8	30	13	26
Sample 3	14	36	16	28	16	30
Sample 4	21	34	9	48	10	28
Sample 5	17	32	12	42	17	46
Sample 6	25	34	22	68	8	22
Sample 7	3	26	12	60	19	55
Sample 8	7	3	25	34	7	32
Sample 9	11	36	8	37	13	26
Sample 10	8	24	13	21	16	30
Sample 11	10	31	9	27	10	30
Sample 12	8	11	12	28	17	46
Sample 13	12	19	18	15	8	22
Sample 14	14	23	12	9	19	54
Sample 15	2	18	21	22	7	30
Sample 16	6	16	8	28	13	62
Sample 17	9	12	16	29	26	30
Sample 18	4	22	9	27	10	28
Sample 19	12	26	16	11	17	46
Sample 20	18	21	20	28	8	27
Sample 21	33	21	12	13	22	54
Sample 22	12	17	21	17	7	30
Sample 23	34	21	8	19	13	28
Sample 24	27	12	16	8	16	43
Sample 25	21	26	9	14	10	28
Sample 26	11	24	12	17	17	46
Sample 27	16	22	13	22	26	34
Sample 28	18	19	12	25	19	54
Sample 29	7	10	19	34	22	30
Sample 30	3	17	7	37	34	32
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>417</b>	<b>721</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>872</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>1079</b>

The above figures clearly show that using the suggested framework has substantially boosted textual and lexical cohesion at all

levels: transitionally, lexically, and rhetorically. After applying this framework, my students started to become more aware of

what proper academic writing means and how one can organize one's ideas in an academically acceptable way. This means that they should pay more attention to lexical patterning and the way they are repeated in academic discourse. Appendices one, two, and three all show the significant improvement and abundance of transitional signals, lexical repetition, and lexical phrases respectively. Transitional signals were used 417 times before using the framework and 721 times after using the framework. Lexical repetitions were used 420 times before using the framework and 872 after using the framework. Finally, lexical phrases were used 447 times before using the framework and 1079 times after using the framework. The final result, 1079, shows a boost in the number of lexical phrases occurrences in all the collected samples of students' essays. This increase in lexical phrases is an important guarantor of a better logical and rhetorical structure. It is this abundance of lexical phrases, which naturally exist in academic articles that should emphasize the conscious teaching of the Lexico-referential Trio. The results were further analysed using SPSS in light of t-test. My aim was to statistically ensure the validity of my hypothesis, that Lexical Cohesive Trio is a very efficient framework for teaching academic writing. Based on the above table, three pairwise t-tests on the data using EXCEL have been done to examine if there is a significant change across the two studies. A pairwise t-test confirmed that significantly more transitional signals are produced after the framework was used as  $t(1,29) = -4.938$  with p value is less than 0.001. Similarly, a pairwise t-test confirmed that significantly more lexical repetitions are produced after the framework was used as  $t(1,29) = -5.218$  with p value is less than 0.001. Finally, a pairwise t-test confirmed that significantly more lexical repetitions were produced after the framework was used  $t(1,29) = -10.672$  with p value less than 0.001. These tests above do give strong evidence and confirm that the findings are significant that an increase in the student's use of cohesive devices, lexical repetitions and lexical phrases enhance their ability to write coherent essays.

## 6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have envisaged a new framework for writing academic essays and research papers, by extension. In so doing, I have shown that by using cohesive elements, anaphora and cataphora, transitional signals, and lexical phrases, one can come up with a solid framework for writing academic essays. Modern corporal studies would immensely help in improving non-native students' academic writing skills. Previous studies have sporadically used the above-mentioned elements, but no study, to my knowledge, has come up with a framework that comprises the three elements together. This combination of textual and lexical elements would undoubtedly improve the academic writing skills of non-native speakers of English. What I would like to emphasize is the fact that modern English curricula of academic writing should pay a special attention to the indispensable importance of transitional devices, lexical repetitions, lexical patterning, and lexical phrases as the main building blocks of any academic essay. Neglecting the position of lexis in text, which is a linguistic fact, would result in impressionistic, rather than objective, approaches that would waste time and effort of academic writing teachers and students alike. At a tertiary level, students are expected to write according to specific academic standards, which necessitate time and effort. Non-native students of English do not need intuitive native approaches to writing academically, nor do they need impressionistic and individualistic approaches to teach them how to write academically well. They need a clear roadmap, which they can depend on always to create effective academic essays and research papers without being blamed every now and then that '*your writing does not sound English*'. Sounding English means that academic lexical blocks are created in a certain way that needs to be consciously taught to students. Waiting for students to figure out what these building blocks are and how they work would take years, and, sometimes even then, they will not be able to know or recognize them. Teaching lexical awareness at all its levels should be the right



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step in the long path of teaching academic writing at tertiary level.

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## ON THE ACQUISITION OF THE ASPIRATED STOPS BY ROMANIAN LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

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**Abstract:** *The corpus of the current study will be extensively discussed in connection to the following phonological models pertaining to L2 learning: Markedness Theory (Eckman 1987), the theory of interlanguage (Selinker 1972), Flege's Speech Learning Model (1986) and the categorisation of speech sounds (Gerrits 2001). The spectrographic analysis I employed to analyze the data clearly illustrates that aspiration stands for a marked phenomenon which poses great pronunciation difficulties to Romanian learners of English. The VOT values I measured in Praat are aimed at bringing essential phonetic evidence in favour of the phonological assumptions formulated within the theoretical frameworks mentioned above. In this vein of thought, the spectrographic analysis which provides the VOT values validates, or on the contrary, invalidates the soundness of the models under scrutiny.*

**Keywords:** *VOT, Praat, interlanguage, markedness, equivalence classification, pre-fortis clipping.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

As shown in the literature a number of theoretical frameworks have attempted to account for the nature of second language acquisition and to shed light on the processes through which it is accomplished. The present article looks at the acquisition of stops by Romanian learners of English, the findings being interpreted in light of Markedness Theory (Eckman, 1987), the theory of interlanguage (Selinker, 1972), the Speech Learning Model (Flege, 1986) and the categorisation of speech sounds (Gerrits, 2001).

**1.1 Markedness theory.** Markedness Theory is based on the notion of universals, which refers to properties shared by all languages. At this level of analysis a distinction should be made between unmarked and marked phenomena. A phenomenon A is more marked than B if the presence of A in a language entails the presence of B, but not necessarily vice versa (Eckman 1987). This suggests that the unmarked phenomena will be easier to acquire and will appear earlier in the

acquisition sequence than the marked phenomena.

**1.2 The Theory of Interlanguage.** Selinker (1972) introduces the term interlanguage. The language of the learner is seen as a gradual succession of stages that move away from L1 towards L2. Therefore the language of the learner is conceived as a continuum consisting of succeeding stages from L1 to the target language.

**1.3 The Speech Learning Model.** The process of acquisition of an L2 sound is triggered by the degree of phonetic similarity the particular L2 sound bears to an L1. Linguists employ the terms "new" versus "similar" sounds when making this assumption. New sounds designate the L2 sounds which are not found in the phonological inventory of L1, whereas the L2 sounds which bear some degree of phonetic similarity to L1 sounds are considered similar to them. Flege (1986, 1987) deals extensively with the new versus similar sounds in his SLM. "Equivalence classification" is the notion that stands for the key concept of his framework. Equivalence classification is

defined as a mechanism which may cause L2 learners to merge the acoustic characteristics of similar L1 and L2 sounds; therefore, this mechanism may hinder or even prevent the establishment of phonetic categories for “similar” sounds. This means that L2 learners can produce and perceive new sounds faster and more accurately than sounds similar to L1 sounds. In relation to the age of acquisition, the SLM (Flege, 1987) suggests that phonetic categories both for new and similar sounds can be added until the age of 5-6; after that age phonetic categories can be added only for new and not for similar sounds.

**1.4 The Categorisation of Speech Sounds.** Categorical perception results demonstrate a strong relationship between listeners’ discrimination and classification performance: speech stimuli classified as belonging to the same category are difficult to discriminate, whereas stimuli classified as belonging to different categories are easy to discriminate. This means that discrimination performance is predictable from classification performance (Gerrits, 2001). Since phoneme categories are language specific rather than universal, it seems obvious that the categorical perception data are best explained with reference to extensive experience with the native language (Fujisaki & Kawashima, 1971). When learning the phonological system of a particular language, we learners learn to attend to acoustic differences which affect the meanings of words, and to ignore acoustic differences which do not affect word meanings. Having mastered this, it may be difficult to perceive acoustic differences which do not affect word meanings. A strong relationship between discrimination and classification of speech sounds will arise as a natural consequence of this (Gerrits, 2001).

**1.5 The Hypotheses of the Current Research.** Following Eckman’s view, aspiration is assumed to be a marked phenomenon which does not exist word-initially in Romanian. As a matter of fact, in Romanian aspiration is an extremely sporadic phenomenon restricted to coda position [lup<sup>h</sup>] *lup* ‘wolf’. Non-aspiration languages tend to have firmer closures for voiceless stops; the articulators form a tight, efficient valve, with a

brisk release of the compressed air. Aspirated articulations have looser closures which act like an inefficient “leaky” valve from which the air is released somewhat more slowly (Collins & Mees, 2008:83). Hence Romanian learners of English will definitely have difficulties when attempting to produce accurate instances of aspiration with stops. Voicing and differences in vowel length with stops are also labeled as marked features; therefore they may pose problems with the selected Romanian subjects.

Since the phonological process of aspiration does not affect the meaning of words, Romanian learners may ignore acoustic differences between aspirated and unaspirated stops.

Learners follow a succession of steps in their interlanguage: the Romanian subjects of the earliest stages are expected to be closer to L1 when producing instances of stops and the Romanian subjects of greater proficiency levels closer to L2.

However, due to equivalence classification, the selected Romanian subjects are expected to exhibit values between L1 and L2 for “similar” sounds without reaching absolute L2 values.

## 2. METHODOLOGY AND TESTING

**2.1 Informants.** The production of an aggregate of 60 informants was tested as follows: 12 pupils were examined in the kindergarten category (source: Just4Kids kindergarten in Bucharest), 15 pupils were tested in the third graders’ category (source: School 149 in Bucharest), 11 subjects were queried in the seventh graders’ category (source: School 149 in Bucharest), and 22 subjects were examined in the FCE category (source: The Military Technical Academy in Bucharest).

**2.2 Testing Samples.** Table 1 encapsulates the target tokens elicited from the Romanian informants in the kindergarten category with detailed specifications regarding the phonological environment in which the phoneme under scrutiny surfaced. Adjacency with neighboring phonemes is an aspect worth mentioning.

Table 1. Target words in Guided interview with the specification of the phonological environments. The kindergarten category. Sample.

Phonological environment	No. of tokens/ Examined features
/_ æb/ – /_ æp/ minimal pair	/k <sup>h</sup> / = 2; vowel lengthening before the voiced stop /b/
/_ i:ʃ/ – /bi:ʃ/ minimal pair	/p <sup>h</sup> / = 1
/_ et/ – /bæt/ minimal pair	/p <sup>h</sup> / = 1
/mɒp/ – /mɒb/ minimal pair	vowel lengthening before the voiced stop /b/

**2.3 Recordings and Procedure.** For the present linguistic experiments I carried out, I used a laptop Dell Vostro1310 make, series: 5Q1864J. Besides, a Canyon outer microphone CNR-MIC2 was required as well as speakers Logitech make, series: 3L0288. All the target words were digitized onto the Praat speech analysis software at a sampling rate of 44100 Hz. I have used Praat – a program designed by Boersma and Weenink (2010) at the Department of Phonetics of the University of Amsterdam – to conduct the phonetic speech analysis since it is constantly being improved and a new build, featuring extra options, is published almost every week. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that Praat is restricted to processing mono signals in mono files. I have worked only with WAV format and measured the mean values of the required formants with the formant tracker function. After saving all speech samples as WAV files, I assigned a directory for each type of test. It is mandatory for the formants to be set to a value suitable for the speaker.

### 3. COLLECTED CORPORA

Consider now the utterances in Figures 1 and 2 which show the realization of the *peach-beach* minimal pair, with the first member of the series exhibiting no aspiration in onset position. Figure 1 is a spectrogram of an utterance of the word *peach* exhibiting no Voice onset time (henceforth VOT)<sup>1</sup> since there are no scattered marks after the release,

before vowel formants begin<sup>2</sup>. According to Yavaş (2006:105) bilabials are identified by bursts with a center frequency lower than the F2 of the vowel (below 2.000 Hz). The measurements I obtained indicate that F2 for [p] equals 1862 Hz which is definitely lower than the mean value of F2 for [i] which is 2919 Hz. Moreover, in CV situations, bilabials show upward movement of both F2 and F3, as indicated by the formant tracks of the spectrogram. Being followed by a high vowel (a vowel with a lower sonority), aspiration should have been long. However, this is clear phonetic evidence that there is no VOT in the current utterance.

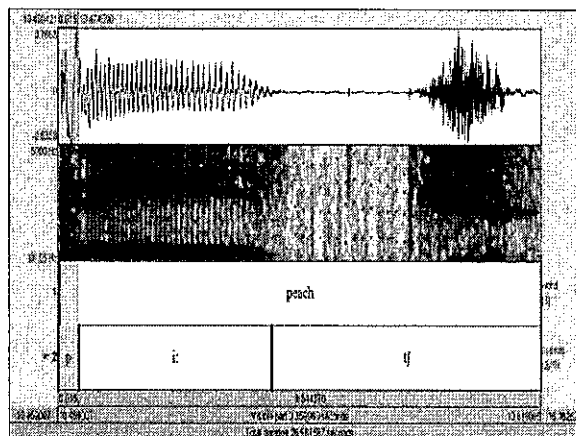


Fig. 1 *Peach* (Subject BB. The kindergarten category. Guided interview)

Turning to its voiced counterpart, in the following I will analyze the realization of the utterance *beach* which belongs to the same subject in the same category.

<sup>1</sup> The standard VOT values as well as the other acoustic parameters were adopted from the existing literature (Gimson, 1989; Kent & Read, 1992; Ladefoged, 1982; Lisker, 1957; O'Connor, 1973; Ogden, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> A similar acoustic analysis featuring another wide range of spectrograms was conducted by Constantin (2012). The same features were tested on Greek speakers of English as L2 by Tsiartsioni (2009).

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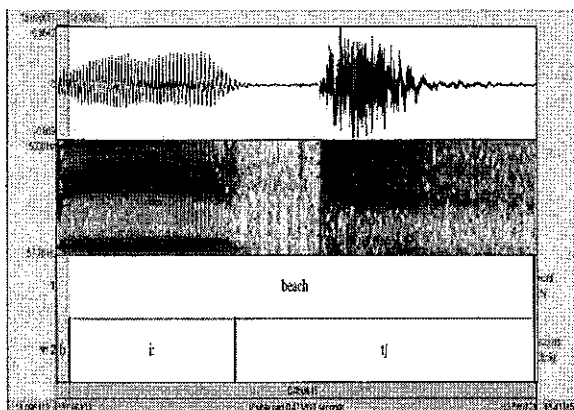


Fig. 2 *Beach* (Subject BB. The kindergarten category. Guided interview)

Figure 2 is a spectrogram of an utterance of the word *beach*. Compare the realization of [p] in Figure 1 above to the rendition of its voiced counterpart in Figure 2. Thus, in terms of release burst, which is marked by a vertical spike, one can notice that, as expected, the spike for [p] in Figure 1 is stronger than the spike for [b] in Figure 2. However, being a CV situation, the voiced bilabial also shows upward movement of both F2 and F3.

Compare now the realization of [p] in Figure 1 to the realization of the same voiceless bilabial in Figure 2 which obviously reinforces the fact that there is no aspiration and by extension no VOT in the kindergarten informants' production.

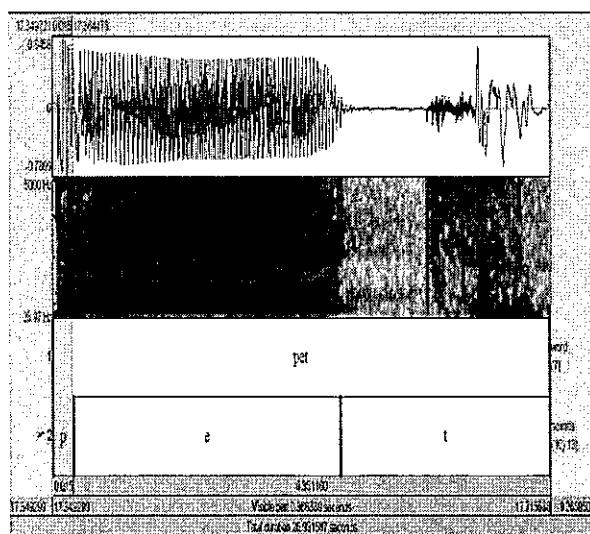


Fig. 3 *Pet* (Subject BB. The kindergarten category. Guided interview)

Figure 3 is a spectrogram of an utterance of the word *pet*. Similarly to [p] in *peach* discussed in Figure 1 above, there are no scattered marks on the spectrogram to indicate aspiration. The weak, diffuse pattern of [p] is also typical of the rendition of a voiceless type of stop. Moreover, the acoustic measurements that the formant structure of the [p] segment in this utterance is very similar to the one consistent with [p] in *peach*. In the realization of *pet*, [p] has the following mean values: F1 is 452 Hz, F2 measures 1822 Hz, F3 is 2699 Hz and F4 is 3914 Hz. Compare these values to the ones of [p] in *peach* where [p] exhibits the following acoustic features: F1 is 332 Hz, F2 equals 1862 Hz, F3 is 2620 and F4 is 3524 Hz. Furthermore, it is to note that the realization of [t] in coda position has a pattern which is diffuse and strong which is by far consistent with alveolar bursts.

### 4. CONCLUSION

The following conclusions are substantiated by the data obtained when analyzing the results of the production experiment. Our hypothesis that learners follow a succession of stages in their interlanguage is validated for the acquisition of some features, but not for the acquisition of others.

In particular, aspiration seems to be achieved gradually as proficiency level increases. Students follow several stages in their interlanguage, moving away from L1 towards L2. All the instances of aspiration were encountered in the seventh graders category (10%) and in the FCE category (15%). The data validate Selinker's theory according to which more experienced and trained learners tend to have a more nativelike pronunciation.

However, vowel lengthening and pre-fortis clipping proved to be acquired by the Romanian speakers even in their initial stages of exposure to L2. Hence, some marked features are acquired earlier than other marked features.

Both individual variation and the citation form test may be responsible for vowel-lengthening in certain situations. It may be

assumed that there were situations when the Romanian subjects tended to overarticulate the vowels they had to produce in citation form.

The appropriate production of aspiration may be related to the way Romanian learners perceive this phonological process. The data suggest that the perception of stops is categorical.

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## ASPECTS OF MODALITY IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN TEACHING ENGLISH MODALITY TO ROMANIAN COLLEGE PUPILS

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**Abstract:** *The present paper is destined to deal analytically with the grammatical category of the verbal mood, respectively with the means of expressing probability in languages like English and Romanian by means of a contrastive approach. As a first line of investigation we can focus on a specific area of analysis of the verbal mood which stands both as a pillar of the research thesis and a starting point of a further and more thorough study. On the way from the grammatical categories to the verbal mood one can encounter various phases due to the fact that grammatical categories either present major differences in connection to the uniquely distribution of each language or share common traits among very different structural languages. Once we have got to analyze the grammatical category of the verbal mood we can clearly see the point of interest of this research study and its aim in identifying by a contrastive approach both the specific and the common elements of expressing probability in English and Romanian. This study aims at proving that acquiring strategies in learning a foreign language and awareness of the utility of these strategies triggers activation of cognitive skills in any student rather than exercising memory and repetition drills that end up in habitual activities. As a result we consider that the student learns language by awareness – what linguists define “language awareness” as opposed to automatic ways. The focus of the practical study is to find means of understanding different aspects related to learning a foreign language so as to determine possible relevant connections to teaching a foreign language. In conclusion this study lies in the area of research of learning and teaching English grammar as a compulsory subject in the Romanian national college curriculum. What makes it difficult is the fundamental difference in the systems that each language – Romanian and English, disposes of when the speaker expresses his attitude toward the context and the value of his statement, meaning the modal systems of both languages which proved themselves to be more different than alike. This is the reason why I have chosen to investigate language and collect data from the eleventh graders of the Emil Racovita College – Brasov, which study English in a bilingual form, that is six hours of English language per week, contrary to another possible form of education – two hours per week in a non-bilingual class. From the teacher’s perspective my research has limits of analysis and registration as it is meant to be an exploratory study investigating strategies of learning for developing the best methods of teaching.*

**Keywords:** contrastive analysis, English teaching, epistemic modality, ESOL, generative grammar, modality

### 1. INTRODUCTION. EPISTEMOLOGICAL FUNDAMENTALS OVER THE STUDY OF MODALITY

In debating modality a standing interest prevailed over the centuries which can only demonstrate the consistency and the controversial nature of the subject. Depending on the promoted theories of the various

linguistic schools - functional grammar (Hengeveld, 1987; Siewierska, 1991; Dik, 1997; Bakker, 2001; Verstraete, 2004), generative grammar (Chomsky, 1965, 1972; Hoekstra, Jordens, 1991; Narrog, 2012), the theory of enunciation (Vion, 1992; Zienkowski *et al.*, 2011), the semiotics, the semantics, the pragmatics – the definition of the term modality is bound to vary, overcharging itself

with different meanings in various representations. In full accordance with our perspective of the researching approach, the contextualist theory stating the semantico-pragmatic interference over modality, postulated by Anna Papafragou (2000) is likely to provide a broad framework, inter- and transdisciplinary for the interpretation of modality in meaning as in usage form alike. According to the theory of relevance developed by Sperber and Wilson in 1986 under one of Grice's maxims which asserts that linguistic semantics corresponds, in broadly meaning, to a given knowledge of grammar (performing, for the first time, a very close connection between the syntagmatic and paradigmatic dimensions of Saussure's studies) and that linguistic semantics has cognitive foundations corresponding to the representational model of language and to the content of the *mentalese* perspective of organizing mental linguistic meanings as described by Fodor, Papafragou (2000:10-11) redefines the frame of meanings stating that language (especially its semantic aspect) is an entry, while grammar (the syntactic dimension of language)

is a mapping between natural-language forms and conceptual representations which constitute the logical form of an utterance.

Underneath these limits of reconfiguration of meanings, modality is tackled within the boundaries of the semantic *underdeterminacy thesis* which clearly states that the "outputs" of the system require a decoding system according to the configuration of the conceptual addresses. On the basis of this model the result of decoding grammatically an expressed linguistic string, that is the logical form of the statement, will become a conceptual configuration of addresses. A crucial argument for the relevance of this theory is that the logical form of the statement underdetermines almost entirely what the speaker intends to communicate (*semantic underdeterminacy thesis*). To get to the final understanding of the statement expressed by the speaker, the listener must perform a series of operations which place themselves further

than just the area of semantics and have higher value than just the area of his linguistic competence (Papafragou, 2000:12). Moreover, the development of the logical form underdetermined in language structures that the user is trying to explain is accomplished by pragmatic inference. From this perspective, a comprehensive and dynamic transdisciplinary approach as the one Papafragou has proposed is absolutely necessary for the contrastive analysis approach of modality, especially the epistemic one, in Romanian and English language.

Over the last century the epistemological reconfiguration process of scientific contents in terms of the ways of interpreting the world creates a new vision of humanity, reality and the relations which unite them. From this perspective modality must be considered a fundamental category in understanding the dynamic relationship between reality and the subject of interpreting reality. It is natural, therefore, leaning on the grammatical categories as long as it can be performed by means of a linguistic theory, literary and cultural studies, and communication theory, all of them focusing on the relations between speakers, the represented reality and the discursive potentials of the speaker regarding this reality. Taken as one of the universals of semantics, the modality is a widely accepted human concept, manifesting itself in all languages and expressing itself through each separate communicative act, being subject to analysis by fundamental cognitive sciences. Modality is therefore an old and complex subject of analysis. Since its inception, given that we could not talk about epistemic structure, and until present time when different scientific fields and philosophical inquiries study it, modality has maintained the same level of interest in relation to research. Indeed, the concept of different meanings of modality abounds in a variety of implications determined by the object, purpose and direction of research.

Current approaches, regardless of the reference area, with modality as their center object of study can lead to one firm conclusion: there is no unequivocal solution, widely recognized and accepted, promising to



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become final in its interpretation. However, in the absence of a modalizing theory and despite a growing interest in its research we find a number of difficulties due to: different understandings of its nature and functions, of its axiomatic and polymorphic definitions, of interpreting its complex nature, contours, levels and multiple meanings - in a shorter form, the whole circle of problems related to modality. In such a context, given the complexity of the problem analyzed and its location in the interference of various subject areas, the role of philosophical interpretation increases considerably. Moreover, as long as philosophy prefers a focus on the potentialities of language and not on those of modality, as long as there are no clear methodological directions leading to its study, modality remains within the boundaries of an insufficiently explored research area.

### 2. DIFFERENCES IN THE EXPRESSION OF MODALITY IN ROMANIAN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Since the current communication acts (performatives) have a pure informative locutionary component which is often accompanied by an illocutionary component (it sometimes triggers illocutionary force), meaning that the purely informative act, assuming prevalence of a referential function, is accompanied by the expressive/emotional function, the phatic and conative one, each employing a form of modality which leads to the theory that any communicational reality is a modal communicative reality and not only a pure informative one. This "attitude of the speaker towards the proposition" (Bally, in Levițchi, 1975:154), that is modality, is expressed differently in different languages. An indubitable fact is that we cannot speak of the presence of modality only in some languages and its absence in others, namely that the communicative act (the object of study of both communication sciences and applied linguistics) does not exist within the expression of a pure informative content.

Relating to Romanian and English languages, more exactly trying to deliver a

significant translation, we discuss different ways of engaging modality, regardless of the degree of generality, default of different tools but fortunately co-host of modalizing opportunities. The prospect of simultaneous engagement in modality obviously involves a plunge in all three levels of generality, even if we discuss of shallow lexical tools (and thus similar linguistic knowledge):

Establishing the exact amount of modality in a reply, a sentence, a paragraph or an entire work is a very important process, though often very delicate for a translator. Background of Level III (work in total) is crucial: it allows us to see the lines of force of attitudes, game, interdependence and conflicts between them. But the context of Level III is composed of subordinate embedded contexts out of Level II (phrase, sentence, and paragraph) and even out of Level I (determined grammatical word) and all of which can be deduced even on the grounds of usage delivered by a speaker with a poor linguistic knowledge. (Levițchi, 1975:155)

Although we can not entirely agree with Levițchi's perspective because there are many situations where Grade III context is determined by a Level II modalizer (when expressing irony, in waggish humor, in concealment of lies), or Grade II context is determined by a Level I modalizer - when it lacks the proper development of communication skills, not just linguistic/grammatical ones - we fully share the broad perspective of simultaneous engagement in analyzing modality in the two languages: there are similarities and varied opportunities to express modality, more specifically:

- phonological, prosodic instruments, each having specific cultural characteristics: accent, intonation, sound length and so on;

- lexical contexts in the first degree by interjections, but also with other parts of speech: mainly adjectives, adverbs, nouns, verbs and pronouns, respectively the Grade II contexts by submitting to phrases expressing disbelief, disapproval, irony and so on, and the entire paremiological instruments of the two languages, partly overlapping, partly

developed differently on different cultural coordinates;

- grammatical, in the line of morphology by the richness of the English language tools in comparison to those of the Romanian language, consisting of verbal moods, defective-modal verbs, untranslatable directly to Romanian language, finding possible ways of translation depending on the context or syntactic level, where subordinate clauses are related to speaker's attitude;

- stylistically, predominantly, with particular modal value, anacoluthon, antiphrasis, apostrophe, comparison, concetto site, diacopa, cleriheu, epithet, euphemism, reverse graduation, hyperbole, insinuation, irony, rhetorical question, malapropism, meiosis site, metaphor, metonymy, micticism, ominatio site, sarcasm, zoosemia, and newly added, zeugma.

Contrastive analysis of the grammatical approach regarding how the two languages deal with modality highlights the fact that grammatical cutout cannot be achieved for the whole modal construction - assuming to highlight the expressive/emotional function within the act of communication - but that only contributes to scoring differences clearly. Wealth of the grammatical English modality is complemented, in Romanian, by the phonological, lexical and stylistic varieties, which can provide the adequate understanding of various modal meanings. Meer analysis of the grammatical system of English and Romanian concerning the meanings in the speech modality are insufficient. It is necessary to mark these differences, to assign them significance but to tackle them just like a cutout from the whole image of the modal system, extremely expressive in both languages.

The richness and value of the two languages techniques of expressing modality involve representations of maps and grid perceptions of a cultural pattern which imply different ways of expressing the speaker's attitude towards his statement. However, in general, the contrastive analysis of methods of expressing possibility / probability in Romanian and English must take into account not only the distinct grammatical method of

expressing modality, but we can also put under scrutiny the analysis of other possibilities, including the nonverbal communication.

Concluding on the differences and similarities of modality in Romanian and English we can say that although the same categories of modalizers are found in almost all languages (certainly in all Indo-European languages) the form they take in different discursive daily practice differs. Regarding verbal moods, for example, labels used for the description of them are largely the same but the coverage of these tags differs between the two languages. However, unlike the Romanian language where the mere mention of the word "mood" is valid and current for a functional grammatical analysis, in English there is a tendency to circumvent this term over the choice to use modal forms/periphrastic modal verbs.

We shall, in what follows refer to a particular case: in English, where there is no marked variation in modal affixation, modal verbs have a higher degree of grammaticalization, while in Romanian, where the modal values are expressed regularly through flexion of the verb modal verbs shall remain secondary specialized means for particular modal meanings and the signs of grammaticalization differ from one verb to another and from one occurrence to the next one. Languages also differ in the distribution of common terms. Among the Roman languages, Romanian language displays a well known situation of the conjunctive which under Balkan pressure expanded at the expense of the infinitive, succeeding almost totally to replace it in structures like V(erb) plus V(erb) with the exception of the verb "a putea" that admits in free variation both forms "pot canta" / "pot să cant". Where there is a verbal mood, *mood-type* interference is common. Romanian grammar studies assign, for example, modal values to imperfect, future and present. But this form of expression has profound determination of the nature of existence, Vulcănescu talking about "subversion" of the Romanian indicative as if the human being would need as a frame of references the projection of thought:

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(...) The desirable and conditional mood (as fi, as fi fost) often dominates and replaces in the current language the present future (voi fi), or the future in the past (voi fi fost), and the present conjunctive (sa fie) used with conditional meaning (va fi fiind), is more intense than the present indicative (este) or the future one (va fi). The past indicative (fusei / am fost) dominates over present (sunt) or unfinished past (eram) and future (voi fi). And what a richness of futures in the past! Future simple (voi pleca) is, for example, completely unproblematic. What developments seem to be possible concerns are the ways of expressing the future in the past (voi fi plecat / voi fi fost plecat)! Like Romanians would keep referring to a plan in which things stand accomplished before thoughts just like temptations stand for acts! (Vulcănescu, 2009:85-86).

Under this eye light modality in Romanian should be put, as the projection of its own existence in expressing attitudes towards sentence. And possibility can be understood in terms of its own contemplative placement over the thought that becomes subject to such exposure that it fails to reflect the true order of truth values entirely subjective and interiorized, but instead it blends in norms, places, understandings and finally culture.

In this summative approach we do not intend a review of an inventory of modal meanings - which, incidentally, is subjective, connotative in association to the values related to the language user and the context of his discursive production - in Romanian and English, but an imposing analysis of the semantic opportunities to bring the two languages modality systems together. As long as modality renders itself not only at the semantic level, but also at a functional, logical, grammatical, morphological, lexical, one finding similarities within the modal meanings of the two languages under discussion is impossible only by producing an inventory or a formal thesaurus. Modalizers, whatever category they belong to, express the speaker's attitude towards the statement (and to the act of enunciation).

Based on this fact we understand why the correlation between Romanian and English modal meanings is different. There is,

therefore, a cultural mediation providing a value associated with each of the modal structures considered. Furthermore there are direct correlations between the meaning of the pragmatic modalizers in Romanian and its correspondent in English for the purpose. There are meanings of various modalizers particular use which leads to the prevailing theory that only a contrastive analysis could demonstrate that the interpretative difficulties in this narrow field of linguistics are frequent and acute.

Beyond the actual meaning of modalizers in both languages it also must be taken into account that modalizers have different values. For example, the apparent ambiguity and oscillation between the concepts of possibility, probability, certainty and necessity, expressed by the most rendered modal verbs in English: can, may, must and should, it is not yet matched by a similar oscillation in Romanian. In Romanian, however, we find a much wider range of values covered by grammatical modalizers. From a formal standpoint, the two languages untranslatable terms have different formal value or, in some cases, dispose of a specific value in a language but not in the other, being considered and categorized as non-modal parts of speech.

Modality is a complex field that requires more than mere exposure of informative packages. It requires, in terms of methodological teaching, an approach that involves understanding the fundamentals of being cultural otherness, overcoming the cultural frame projection of the language experience that is transcending the syntagmatic norms of organizing a proper linguistic code. From this multiple perspective: semantic, logical, formal, functional and pedagogical, we can admit that the dynamics of language, created on the basis of distinct cultural paths is leading to different shapes and modal values in Romanian and English. Their understanding depends strictly on the understanding of cultural paths of the linguistic field of otherness and on the ability to overcome the thresholds of some linguistic and cultural gap - which is a difficult task for both the student and the teacher.

### 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Part of the applied research of the paper is trying to promote the idea that the acquisition of language learning strategies and awareness of the usefulness of these strategies leads to activation of the students' cognitive faculties rather than capitalizing memory, repetition and automatism. Therefore, we start from the point where the student learns the language aware, on the basis of what linguists (Piaget, 1923; Skinner, 1957; Smith & Miller, 1966) call "language awareness" and not based on automatism. The aim of the study is to provide a practical way to understand the issues related to the area of language learning in order to identify possible implications for teaching methodology. As such, the study aims to place itself in the proximity of studies that approach the teaching and learning English grammar strategies as long as English is a compulsory foreign language in the national curriculum of Romanian upper-grade education.

Teaching English to Romanians, despite its current use as a *lingua franca*, is problematic in that it involves not only the transmission of knowledge about the lexical items, later selected according to future needs of the pupil/student and the related syntactic rules, but aims to develop abilities to produce the correct and adequate morpho-syntactic structures, or in terms of Widdowson (1978/2000:1), "*the teaching of a language involves developing the ability to produce correct sentences.*" English language first comes in for the primary curriculum in many countries, Romania being no exception. This projection is based on the principle that if students finish primary school with sufficient knowledge of the language and it continues to improve itself throughout secondary school and high school education, they are supposed to be proficient speakers of English even from the pre-stage of university studies (Harmer, 2007).

The original purpose of this study was to find answers about various difficulties when in contact with English as ESOL. In the particularities involved in the study, we sought to identify those difficulties that Romanian high school students may have in learning modality as integral part of the modal system

of English language. Over applied, the overall objective of the study can be formulated as:

**GO: identifying learning difficulties in the ways of expressing possibility in English by means of epistemic modals and ways to improve the educational process in the English language classes concerning the expression of modal values like probability/possibility.**

The difficulty of the approach is precisely the fundamental difference in the expression of the attitude of the speaker to the statement, the Romanian and English modal systems which are rather different than similar in the two languages, as shown in the previous theoretical foundation. To highlight the two modal systems that render a periphrastic parallelism, yet not a similarity and a possible theoretical frame to use when trying to understand how to use a language by means of the other, I used a contrastive analysis.

Contrastive analysis is a useful way in teaching English as ESOL, although not a method exploited enough by current textbooks which focus on understanding English as a foreign language introduced in the national curriculum and taught in the classroom without any connection to the student's native language. A possible and logical explanation for this could be that alternative books used in the classroom work are often produced by British publishers, who have not targeted Romanian students as their main users (*Prospects* by Macmillan, *Going for Gold* by Longman, *Upstream* by Express Publishing). In these circumstances I have chosen to dwell on the collection and interpretation of data on teaching English for the XI-th graders, focusing on the target group: XI-D, eleventh grade, bilingual class, English language for 6 hours per week at the National College "Emil Racoviță" of Brasov, during the 2011-2012 school year. Conceived at a small scale in terms of units of analysis and recording data, this research is not a case study, but an exploratory study investigating learning strategies to optimize teaching methods. The case study, a research method stereotypically repudiated by the scientific community, is not

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under investigation because this perspective is not our target due to the fact that my research has brought up a situation where the researcher has little control over events when a contemporary phenomenon is seen through the eye of a real life context. On the other hand, being taken into question the decision regarding curriculum content and textbooks (inadequate to learn English as ESOL) our analysis can be categorized as a case study fully responding to questions like *how?/why?*

### 4. RESULTS

The English language textbook for XI-th graders, *Upstream Advanced (2003)* makes an inventory of forms and functions of modal verbs, followed by fixing and strengthening exercises of the meanings under discussion. I think it is ineffective to introduce the chapter "Modal Verbs" only by a few superficial explanations required maybe when dealing with an English native student, but definitely not enough for a non-native one (that is, in my opinion, because of the difficulties that students face in trying to acquire correctness when using modal verbs). I might add that the explanatory model of the textbook can be substantially improved by complete and varied explanations and examples. From the statistical point of view, I have also noticed that the number of textbook exercises for this chapter is limited (three, maximum four) for all modal verbs and, moreover, all these exercises are built on the same model, which is the transformational pattern. It is important to note that for a bilingual English class (6 hours of English per week) only 5 hours, maximum 6 can be assigned to this subject, as the existing curriculum implies. I believe that it is not enough to get communicative competence on the appropriate use of modal verbs in English, given the importance that these semi-auxiliary verbs have in interpersonal communication.

I applied to this class a diagnose test after I have used the theoretical explanations and application exercises proposed by the textbook and at a later time, after performing personal suggestions for improvement on the topic

(using an explanatory chart, almost complete in all respects, supported by examples, see Appendix 1), I have reused the same test in the classroom, transforming it into a progress test in order to analyze the optimization of the educational process on teaching and learning modal verbs to the eleventh grade students in the target group. The initial test, called diagnostic, was designed specifically to highlight the shortcomings and mistakes students make on the topic. This provided the opportunity to identify the English modals shortage of knowledge, respectively the common mistakes made by students in the use of English modal verbs. On the first delivery of the diagnostic test 28 students were present in class.

Grades ranged between 9 (as the upper value) and 4 (as the lower value) with the following distribution: grade 9 was assigned to 3 students, grade 8 was assigned to 3 students, grade 7 was assigned to 6 students, grade 6 was assigned to a number of 4 students, grade 5 to 7 students and grade 4 to 5 students. The average grade of the class is 6, which makes the result totally dissatisfactory and definitely one to be considered eligible for improvements.

Mistakes most commonly identified are:

- students have used Can replacing Might or Could to express *possibility* in affirmative sentences, 21 students out of 28 have made this mistake in section 1 of the first exercise and 19 students out of 28 repeated the same mistake in section number 9 of the first exercise.

- students do not understand the difference in meaning between Must and Might, not knowing how to properly place them in the context of *probability versus possibility*; 20 students out of 28 have made this mistake in section number 3 of the first exercise and 22 students out of 28 have made this mistake in section number 8 of the third exercise.

- students do not understand the difference in meaning and distribution between Must and Will to express *certainty*; 24 students out of 28 have made this mistake in section 4 of the third exercise, misusing the two modal verbs

in the context of *certainty versus predictability*.

I believe that all the above mistakes and the overall result of the test, proving insufficient knowledge of English modal verbs is due to the textbook deficiencies (relating to teaching English as ESOL) to successfully explaining theoretical concepts and creating genuine communicative situations which deal with values of modality by means of modal verbs.

I focused on the topic that is subject of this research paper on an English bilingual class as I consider it to be an issue that raises difficulties of understanding, namely expressing logical deduction, value, gradation and distribution of probability versus possibility even for students who aim at the certification of proficiency in English language.

E.g.: You have been working all day, you **must** be tired!  
You should keep that ring, it **may** be valuable one day!

Students of this target group of have demonstrated a high level of understanding language and use English naturally in the classroom both to communicate with the teacher, as between them. With a choice of 6 hours per week, I hit an hour to acquire general characteristics of modal verbs, the model presented in my paper. In the next 2 hours I introduced students to what was proposed for study in the tenth grade, respectively deontic notions to explain the value of English modal verbs, the model also presented within this paper. Retaining and strengthening the newly proposed practice exercises presented in the same parts of the paper have been done in class for the next 2 hours. In exactly the same manner proposed above during the second week of study we introduced the study of English modal verbs with epistemic value, based on the explanation that the epistemic value, as opposed to the deontic one, deals with concepts that are related to the idea of truth of the statement made by the speaker, regarding the cognitive dimension, knowledge and reason, varying between values and inferences like certainty, possibility, uncertainty.

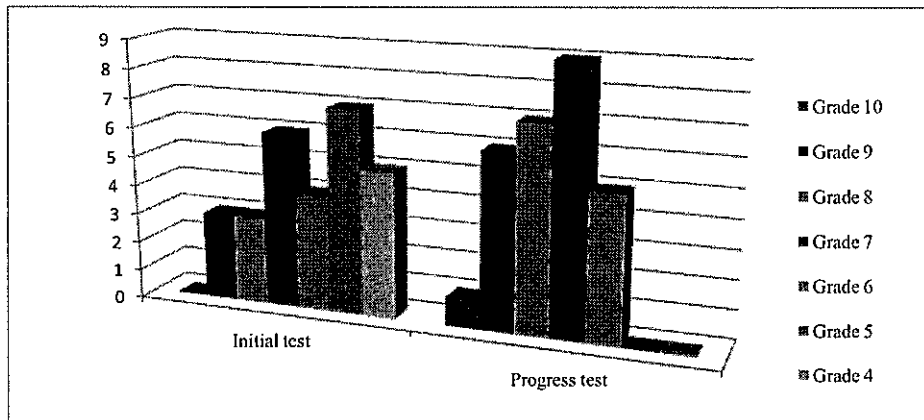


Fig.1 Differences between the initial test and the progress test

By implementing new methods and applications to class, provided by the same test (the diagnostic test was then being used as a test of progress) we obtained the following

results: The average grade of the class is 8.50, as compared to the diagnose average grade – 6.00. Out of 28 students attending the test, one student was graded 10, 6 students were

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assigned grade 9, 7 students were graded 8, 9 students were graded 7, 5 students were graded 6, grades 4 and 5 were suppressed, in total contrast to the initial test. Errors identified in the initial test have been corrected and grades increased significantly from the initial test, as you can see the progression charts presented in fig.1.

### 5. CONCLUSIONS

This study helps to identify learning difficulties when expressing modal probability/possibility in English by Romanian students, assuming an analytical research on the grammatical category of verbal mood and more specifically the means of expressing probability/possibility in Romanian and English by a contrastive approach. It naturally aligns the prospect of linguistic involvement in the understanding of different cultural spaces through different possibilities of formal language acts. So, trying to exploit the pragmatic experience makes sense throughout this paper in that it not only stresses commonalities and distinct ways of expressing probability in Romanian and English, but it also provides linguistic solutions involving in the spirit of the target language, improving teaching-learning techniques by proposing methods and practices to improve the educational process in English teaching classes. This study is the result of a complex approach, inter- and transdisciplinary, assuming confluence of various complementary disciplines that transcend the linguistic field. By answering the research questions and achieving goals this study reveals ways to improve the implementation of the educational process within English teaching classes where expressing modal probability / possibility is concerned. The most important personal contributions are the adaptation of studies that have entered the specific Romanian literature only in theory and configuration to pedagogical and methodological tools (implemented under the improvement program) which succeeded in terms of acquisition and applied correct English language for the expression of modality,

namely the epistemic modality seen as a way of expressing possibility / probability. The main limitation of the study is related to the size of the target group, however, the desire to serve a high quality level of research projected at these standards before the start of the study, forced us to sacrifice quantity for quality. For these reasons, I consider appropriate to implement a pilot project in the use of communicative teaching English modal verbs to Romanian pupils in upper secondary education and improving the supply of alternative textbooks responding to this issue - teaching English as ESOL.

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## THE EXTENDED STRUCTURE OF GRADABLE ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

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**Abstract:** Starting from the fact that gradability is an important category for the description of AP, we discuss the internal and external syntax of the extended AP (xAP). In this respect it is important to see if an adjective has among its arguments one of the type <d> (degree) as this influences its syntax and semantics. The syntax of attributive AP is influenced by their ability to combine with measure phrases or DegPs. We can analyze degree words as a split system of Degs and Qs for which we find independent evidence in the distribution of degree expressions and their semantics or we consider degree words as the constituents of degree modification. This assumption leads to a system where the extended adjectival structure has a DegP which is in fact a quantifier over degrees ( $Q_{Deg}$ ) with a complex internal structure. By assuming this flexible structure we can provide a unitary analysis of the degree expressions cross-linguistically.

**Keywords:** gradable adjectives, non-gradable adjectives, split degree system, degree adverbs, quantifiers.

### 1. GRADABLE ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH

The category of gradability is important for the description of the adjectival phrase (AP). Gradable adjectives can be identified in (at least) two ways: in terms of their basic semantic characteristics, or in terms of their syntactic distribution. Semantically, gradable adjectives can be informally defined as predicative expressions whose domains can be partially ordered according to some property that permits grading. For example, the domain of the adjective *tall*, can be ordered according to a measure of height, the domain of the adjective *dense* can be ordered according to a measure of density, and the domain of *bright* according to a measure of brightness. In contrast, adjectives like *dead*, *octagonal*, and *former* do not introduce the same kind of orderings on their domains. Although the domains of these adjectives are partially ordered – those objects for which it is true to say *x is dead* or *a former x* are distinguished from those objects for which these claims are

false – objects cannot be *dead*, *octagonal*, or *former* to varying degrees.

Distributionally, the class of gradable adjectives has two defining characteristics (Klein, 1980). First, gradable adjectives can be modified by degree adverbials such as *quite*, *very* and *fairly* as shown by the examples below:

- a. The Marth Pathfinder mission was quite inexpensive.
- b. The neutron star in the Crab Nebula is very dense.
- c. The city lights are fairly bright tonight.  
(examples from Kennedy, 1999)

Although non-gradable adjectives like *dead* do sometimes occur with degree modifiers, as in *Giordano Bruno is quite dead*, such uses are marked, and tend to convey a sense of irony or humor. Such uses indicate that some non-gradable adjectives can be coerced into having gradable interpretations in contexts that are otherwise incompatible with their canonical meanings.

The second distributional characteristic of gradable adjectives is that they can appear in a class of complex syntactic environments referred to as 'degree constructions' (Kennedy, 1999). Roughly speaking a degree construction is 'a construction formed out of an adjective and a degree morpheme – an element of [er/more, less, as, too, enough, so, how...] class. Degree constructions are structures in which the adjective occurs in the environments specified further, where Deg is a degree morpheme: [Deg (Adv)\* \_\_\_][ \_\_\_ Deg]

Typical examples of degree constructions are the following: comparatives, equatives, *too* and *enough* constructions, *so...those* constructions, *how* questions, and anaphoric *this/that* constructions. These examples are indicative of gradable adjectives:

- a. Mars Pathfinder was less expensive than previous missions to Mars
- b. Venus is higher than Mars
- c. Neptune is not as distant as Pluto
- d. The equipment is too old to be of much use to us
- e. Current spacecraft are not fast enough to approach the speed of light
- f. The black hole at the center of the galaxy is so dense that nothing can escape the pull of its gravity, not even light
- g. How bright is Alpha Centaur

The examples to follow show that non-gradable adjectives such as *dead / mort*, *octagonal / octagonal* and *former / fost* cannot appear in degree constructions

- a. ?? Giordano Bruno is too dead to fly on the space shuttle
- b. ?? The new spacecraft is more octagonal than the old one
- c. ??How former a president is Carter?

The most obvious semantic difference between the adjectives in first group and those in the second group is defined by Kennedy (1999) as follows: "the domains of the former can be partially ordered according to some gradient property; the domains of the latter cannot be." If degree morphemes are sensitive to the ordering on the domain of a gradable adjective (i.e. if their meaning is such that they

require the adjective with which they combine to be associated with partially ordered domains), then the distribution of gradable and non-gradable adjectives illustrated by the examples above can be explained.

## 2. ROMANIAN GRADABLE ADJECTIVES

In Romanian the class of gradable adjectives is also defined by two distributional facts. First, gradable adjectives can be modified by degree adverbials. Such adverbs can be split into two categories: those appearing directly in front of the adjective: *foarte / very*, *tare / utterly*, *prea / too*, *mult / much* and those requiring the preposition *de / of* to appear before the noun: *extraordinar... de / extraordinary of*, *admirabil... de / admirably of*, *teribil... de / terribly of*, *destul... de / enough of*, etc. According to this criterion, *ieftin / inexpensive*, *dens / dense* or *stralucitor / bright* are identified as gradable adjectives, but *mort / dead*, *octagonal / octagonal* and *fost / former* are not ( in the same group we also have: *inferior / inferior*, *superior / superior*, *suprem / supreme*, etc. – adjectives that in Latin are comparatives or superlatives, and absolute adjectives expressing characteristics that cannot be compared: *viu / alive*, *mort / dead*, *veșnic / eternal*, *perfect / perfect*, *complet / complete*, *întreg / entire*, *oral / oral*, *fructifer / fructiferous*, *scris / written*, *terminat / terminated*, *rotund / round* etc. (Hristea, 1981), as shown by the examples below:

- a. O carte foarte scumpă  
A book very expensive
- b. Un nor prea dens  
A cloud too dense
- c. ...Mult bogat ai fost o dată,... Mult ramas-ai tu sărac  
...Much rich you have been once,...Much have remained you poor  
As rich you may have once been...as poor you may have remained
- d. O femeie admirabil de lucidă  
A woman admirably of lucid
- e. \*Masa este prea patrată/octogonală,  
The table is too square/octogonal

## THE EXTENDED STRUCTURE OF GRADABLE ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

In Romanian also, there is a tendency to use comparative with non-gradable adjectives. Such cases are marked for emphasis, express emotions or have secondary meanings that are gradable:

- a. Om de cea mai inferioară speță!  
Man of cea (art) mai (comp) inferior type  
A man of the most inferior type!
- b. Cea mai strălucită confirmare  
Cea (art) mai (comp) brilliant confirmation  
The most brilliant confirmation
- c. Nu-i prea întreg la minte  
He isn't too sound in mind
- d. Cel mai desăvârșit prieten  
Cel (art) mai (comp) perfect friend

Some of the examples are not considered grammatical but they are much used by speakers marking a tendency to become the norm.

In Romanian gradable adjectives also appear in the following degree constructions (Manoliu, 1965): comparatives (*mai*), equatives (*la fel... de, egal... de, tot atât... de, tot așa... de*), *prea/cam/ foarte* constructions, degree constructions with superlative quantifiers (*destul... de, fantastic... de*), or with indefinite quantifiers (*atât... de, cât... de, oricât... de*), and exclamative/interrogative constructions with *cât... de, ce*.

The following examples are indicative of gradable adjectives:

- a. Mai înalt decât casa  
Mai (comp) tall than the house
- b. Priveam cerul tot atât de albastru ca marea sub arșița verii  
I was looking at the sky as so of blue as the sea under the heat of the summer  
I was looking at the sky as blue as the sea under the heat of....
- c. Am întâlnit un om prea fericit ca să-i mai pese de ceva  
I have met a man too happy to care about anything else
- d. Treceau printr-o situație destul de penibilă  
They were going through a situation rather of painful  
They were going through a rather painful situation
- e. Dar era ea chiar atât de acaparatoare și agresivă?

But was she really so of monopolizing and aggressive?

But was she really so monopolizing and aggressive?

f. Cât de criminali au fost în istoria muzicii cei care au deformat structurile acestor opere?  
How of criminals were in the history of music those who have distorted the structures of these works?

How criminal were those who have distorted the structure of these works?

The examples to follow show that non-gradable adjectives such as *dead/mort, octagonal/octagonal* and *former/fost* cannot appear in degree constructions

i. \*Giordano Bruno este prea mort ca să mai zboare pe naveta spațială

j. \*Noua navă cosmică este mai octogonală decât cea veche

k. \*Cât de fost președinte este Carter?

Our concern in this short introduction to the Romanian state of affairs is simply to note that Romanian has similar distribution of gradable adjectives to English and presents the same semantic difference between gradable and non-gradable adjectives.

The intuition that the core meaning of gradable and non-gradable adjectives determines their felicity in degree constructions, combined with the general hypothesis that the syntactic distribution of meaningful expressions should follow from the interaction of their meanings with the meanings of the expressions with which they combine, provides the foundation of Kennedy's (1999) approach. He is of the opinion that 'gradable adjectives denote measure functions – functions from objects to abstract representations of measurement, or degrees – and degree constructions denote properties of individuals that are characterized as relations between degrees.'

### 3. THE SPLIT DEGREE SYSTEM IN ENGLISH

Corver (1998) assumes that only gradable adjectives have the projection QP and DegP in their functional structure. Non-

gradable adjectives such as *dead*, *recursive*, etc. lack these functional categories in their extended projections. He argues that Deg<sup>o</sup> and Q<sup>o</sup> are operator-like heads and hence have to bind a variable. He claims that this variable is a degree argument which is part of the argument structure of gradable adjectives and has the same function as the Event-role contained in the argument structure of a verb (cf. Higginbotham 1985). Non-gradable adjectives lack this degree-argument. Presence of a DegP or QP-projection would violate the requirement that all operators must bind a variable. That is a string like *too recursive* is ill-formed because the operator *too* does not have a variable in its scope which it can bind.

Corver (1998) brings arguments in favor of a split degree system different from the uniform degree system (Jackendoff, 1977). The latter was based on the assumption that all items in i) belong to one and the same class of function words, the class of degree words (Deg<sup>o</sup>) while the former is based on the proposal that a distinction should be made between two types of functional degree words: Deg<sup>o</sup> and Q<sup>o</sup> as in ii). The former consists of such items as in ii) a. and the latter of such elements as in ii) b.:

- i) so, too, how, as, more, less, enough
- ii) a. so, too, how, as (Deg)
- b. more, less, enough (Q)

The adjectival structures in a. are introduced by Deg<sup>o</sup> (e.g. 'too tall') and those in b. are introduced by Q<sup>o</sup> (e.g. 'less tall'):

- a. [<sub>DegP</sub> too [<sub>QP</sub> e [<sub>AP</sub> [<sub>A'</sub> tall]]]]
- b. [<sub>QP</sub> less [<sub>AP</sub> [<sub>A'</sub> tall]]]

Lexical items of the categorial type Deg or Q specify the degree or extent of the property denoted by the adjectival predicate. This degree can be interpreted as a realization of a property along a scalar dimension of comparison. If the degree specification is realized by Q<sup>o</sup>, the property denoted by the adjective is determined quantificationally, i.e. in terms of the extent to which a property is present. In the case of degree specification by Deg<sup>o</sup>, the property denoted by the adjective is realized in a more identificational way.

Corver (1998) proposes that the quantifier *much* acts as a dummy adjectival element, which is only inserted in the Q-position of the extended adjectival projection as a last resort, i.e. "to save" an underlying adjectival structure yielding no output. He further assumes that *much-insertion* is a language-particular rule whose application is more costly (i.e. less economical) than that of a UG-operation (e.g. *head movement*). Hence if an adjectival structure can be saved by the application of some UG-operation Z or the language-particular rule of *much-insertion*, the former is to be preferred since it bears a smaller cost.

For English, the last resort nature of *much-insertion* is illustrated by Corver's (1998) examples below. In a. where the adjectival head *fond* appears, the dummy *much* must be absent. In b., however, where the projection AP has been substituted for by the pro-form *so*, the dummy *much* must be present but only accompanied by *too*. The ill-formed c., finally, shows that presence of the dummy *much* is dependent on the presence of a Deg-element like *too*.

- a. John is [too (\*much) fond of Mary]
- b. John is fond of Mary. Maybe he is [too much so]
- c. \*John is [much so]

Corver (1998) notices that the *much-support* is blocked in contexts as a. by an operation he calls A<sup>o</sup>-to-Q<sup>o</sup> raising, a substitution operation which raises the adjectival head into the empty functional Q-position: [<sub>DegP</sub> too [<sub>QP</sub> [e][<sub>AP</sub> fond of Mary]]]. In adjectival structures in which the AP-complement is substituted for by the pro-form *so*, there is no adjectival predicate available which can be input to the A-to-Q raising operation. In such a case, resort must be taken to the rule of *much-support*, yielding the following structure [<sub>Deg</sub> too [<sub>QP</sub> much [<sub>AP</sub> so]]]. Corver (1998) proposes that A-to-Q raising and the rule of *much-support* take place in order to overcome a violation of the principles of thematic discharge (Higginbotham, 1985), which ultimately fall under the overarching condition of Full Interpretation. This discussion has shown

that in English there is overt evidence for the co-occurrence of Deg and Q in the external adjectival projection.

#### 4. THE SPLIT DEGREE SYSTEM IN ROMANIAN

The distinction between the two types of functional degree words, DegP and QP, holds. Therefore we have:

Deg: mai, așa, prea, cât, atât, cam, ce

Q: mult, puțin, destul

for which we have the phrasal structures in a. and b. respectively:

a. [DegP *prea* [QP *e* [AP [A' *înalt* ]

b. [QP *puțin* [AP [A' *înalt*]]] [there are also recorded examples with 'mult' but they are not used by contemporary speakers of Romanian: ...mult bogat ai fost odata, mult ramasai tu sarac...]

Evidence for the existence of two types of functional degree words is not given by the position of adjectival phrases introduced by such degree words. Differently from English in Romanian we have both *un om prea înalt / a man too tall* and *un prea înalt om / a too tall man*. as gradable adjectives can appear in both positions.

In Romanian we have the following expressions that are restricted to adjectives and adverbs and will be analyzed as Deg-heads: *mai, cea mai, tot atât... de, tot așa... de, la fel ... de, foarte, tare, prea, cam, atât... de, pe cât... de*. Like true degree words all these elements are correlated with a degree clause or a phrasal "differential" complement introduced by: *ca, decât, dintre, pe cât, încât*. We also have two Qs that can appear with adjectives and other hosts: *mult* and *puțin*: *un copil puțin alintat / a child little spoiled* or *puțină mâncare / little food* etc. In Romanian a very productive class of degree words are the **degree adverbs** which also appear before the adjective whether the adjective is placed in postnominal or prenominal position: *o carte extrem de interesantă / a book extremely interesting* or *o extrem de interesantă carte / an extremely interesting book*. Pana (1992) distinguishes between indefinite modifiers *atât de* and degree adverbs *nemaipomenit de* but considers them quantifiers,

We can notice that *de* is part of the degree words which we consider a functional element that binds the degree variable of the adjective. This can be explained by supposing that the function of pre-adjectival *de* is one of emphasis (similar to the function of *et* in Northern Swedish, cf. Matushansky, 2002) and that this emphasis involves the degree variable of the adjective. If *de* is semantically combined with the adjective, the most natural assumption is that it is also syntactically combined with it, i.e. the degree operator and the extended AP it modifies form a constituent at merge. In Romanian, unlike in English there is evidence of the presence of a similar rule to *much-deletion*, that deletes Q *mult/puțin* in structures where there is a Deg immediately in front of the AP as shown by the following examples: a. *Puțin înalt / Little tall*; b. *Mult bogat... / Much rich*

Also expressions like *prea puțin înalt / too little tall* are a productive pattern in Romanian. These distribution facts also indicate that the presence of the QP-projection does not imply presence of the higher DegP-projection. However, if DegP is present on the extended projection line of the adjectival head (as in *prea puțin înalt / too little tall*) then there is always a QP projection, since Deg° selects QP. Therefore in Romanian like in English, whenever we have a phrase like *prea înalt / too tall* the Q *mult* is present underlyingly and undergoes *mult-deletion*. In Romanian *mult-insertion* does not apply what we find is A°-to-Q° raising, a substitution operation which raises the adjectival head into the empty functional Q-position: [DegP *prea* [QP [e][AP *înalt*]]]

A-to-Q raising and the rule of *much-support* take place in order to overcome a violation of the principles of thematic discharge (Higginbotham, 1985), which ultimately fall under the overarching condition of Full Interpretation.

#### 5. CONCLUSIONS

Degree words are interpreted as heading a functional DegP taking the lexical projection AP as its complement within the functional

head hypothesis, the whole adjectival construction being conceived of as coinciding with the maximal category DegP and of AP as the complement of the degree word [DegP Spec [Deg' Deg [AP A XP]]].

A distinction is made within the class of functional degree words between Deg and Q for which the language particular rule of *much-support* provided overt evidence.

In English, insertion of the *dummy much* enables the Deg operator to enter into a local (i.e. head to head) theta binding relation with the degree argument. If the local relation can be created in a more economical way, e.g. via raising of A to Q, then this is to be preferred.

In Romanian we have Degs and Qs as parts of a split degree system. Evidence for this division is given by distributional facts and by the presence of a similar rule to **much-support** in English. If a DegP is projected its Deg° selects a QP which is present overtly or covertly. Since the rule of much-insertion does not apply, we always have A-to-Q raising in order to overcome a violation of the principles of thematic discharge

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## LEGAL TRANSLATIONS BETWEEN LINGUISTIC PRINCIPLES AND PRAGMATIC CONTEXT

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**Abstract:** *Translation, in its broader sense, means finding equivalences through cross-cultural understanding. It is not about translating word by word, but it is cultural, semantic and pragmatic transfer from one language into another. Eloquent in this respect is the problem of legal translation, dealt with in this study. Starting from a historical overview of translation theories followed by a theoretical exposure of fundamental concepts, the paper tackles both the semantic and pragmatic approaches of specialized legal translation, pointing out the different types of legal texts and their specificity.*

**Keywords:** *translation, linguistics, pragmatics, translation theory, legal translations, linguistic principles.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The growth of Translation Studies as a separate domain is a success story of the 1980s. The subject has developed in many parts of the world and is clearly destined to continue developing into the twenty-first century. Beginning with the Babel moment, which could be symbolically linked with the “*birth of translation*” and finishing with the actual tendencies in this vast and interdisciplinary field, translation theories and practice have been constructed, reconstructed and deconstructed. The different concepts that prevailed at different times emphasized the way in which the function and the role of the translator altered. The explanation of such shifts reflects, on one hand, cultural and historical background and, on the other hand, mirrors the way in which translation was interpreted: as art, science or as a midway between them. Is translation art or science? Although this question has been asked over the years, there is still no definitive answer. In fact, it hardly matters, as translators have tackled the problem of translation in an artful and scientific manner. Involving both artistic and scientific effort translation can be seen as both: art and science. Irrespective of the

tendencies and theories, the problem of legal translation points out this multi-faceted phenomenon, which is to be discussed from an interdisciplinary perspective, exploring its linguistic and legal aspects, and analyzing the interpretive interaction between various languages and legal cultures.

### 2. OBJECTIVES

The overall aim of this paper is to expose the basics of legal translation, from a theoretical point of view. Irrespective of the historical period, translation is a very creative process. The translator has to have a specialised knowledge, foundations, for being able to approach a text. When translating non-fiction the translator has to be aware not only of the source and target languages but also of the subject field of the text. Then it follows the process of translation itself, which is, choosing the appropriate method, looking for meanings and equivalences and decoding and recoding difficult sentence structures.

According to Peter Newmark, there are two methods of approach while translating and four levels of translation the translator has to focus on: textual level, cohesive level, the level of naturalness and the referential one.

(a) translating a piece of a text sentence by sentence to feel the tone of the text, reading the rest of the source text and then start translating,  
(b) reading the whole text several times, finding the intention, register and tone of the text and start translating.

I am to focus on essential aspects and types of legal texts, also highlighting those rules which are fairly strict and general, as well as those of a more particular nature which make legal translation differ from specialized translations, in general.

### 3. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF TRANSLATION THEORY

What may summarily be called *translation* has been practiced in many parts of the world for centuries and even millennia. The rendering of Buddhist texts into literary Chinese and the Latinization of the Bible in the first millennium are two instances of celebrated achievements in the long history of translation.

Translation has played a key role in the progress of world culture. Translating means bringing cultures together, by bridging the gaps among languages through equivalent meanings. To construct a theory of translation is to bring to light how cultural and linguistic interactions between people and civilizations took place. Regarding this, the French theorist Antoine Berman wrote: "*The construction of a history of translation is the first task of a modern theory of translation.*"

A history of translation reveals a constant change of forms and techniques, a movement of cultures absorbing new influences and interactions. What and how we translate are questions often argued about. No matter what kind of answers one may give, priority in translation should be granted to meaning, and, consequently, the problem of finding equivalences seems to be core issue of translation theories.

Discussions of the theory and practice of translation date back from Antiquity. The views of both Cicero and Horace on translation were a starting point for the successive generations of translators, having a

great influence on them. Making an important distinction between "*word for word*" and "*meaning for meaning*" translation, both Cicero and Horace, as Susan Bassnet puts it,

discuss translation within the wider context of the two main functions of the poet: the universal human duty of acquiring and disseminating wisdom and the special art of making and shaping a poem.

Their translations are based on the principle "*non verbum de verbo sed sensum exprimere de sensu*", expressing not word for word but meaning for meaning. Horace's opinions expressed in his *Art of Poetry* are eloquent in this respect:

A theme that is familiar can be made your own property so long as you do not waste your time on a hackneyed treatment nor should you try to render your original word for word like a slavish translator, or in imitating another writer plunge yourself into difficulties from which shame, or the rules you have laid down for yourself, prevent you from extricating yourself.

Also against "*slavish translation*", Cicero in his *De optimo genere oratorum* states:

If I render word for word, the result will sound uncouth, and if I compelled by necessity I alter anything in the order of wording, I shall seem to have departed from the function of the translator.

The chief principle of this early period of translation theories (first century BBE) was *word for word vs sense for sense translation*. In word for word translations (interpreter/literal), each individual word of the source language text (the Greek) was replaced with its closest grammatical equivalent in the target language (the Latin). Unlike word for word translations, sense for sense translations (orator) were based on the principle of producing an aesthetically pleasing and creative target language text that would move the listeners.

Being influenced by Cicero's and Horace's theories, St. Jerome (fourth century AD) in *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi* (395 AD)



## LEGAL TRANSLATIONS BETWEEN LINGUISTIC PRINCIPLES AND PRAGMATIC CONTEXT

expressed his orientation towards sense for sense translation:

For I myself not only admit but freely proclaim that in translating from the Greek I render sense for sense and not word for word, except in the case of the Holy Scriptures, where even the order of the words is a mystery.

Universally recognized as the founder of translation theory, Eusebius Hieronymus, known as St. Jerome, was one of the first Bible translators. In his translation of The Old Testament into Latin from Hebrew rather than Greek, he materialized his sense for sense translation theory, not a popular concept accepted by translators at the time, especially biblical ones.

Literal vs. free translation debate continued with Bible translations. Biblical translators had a mission that encompassed both aesthetic and evangelistic criteria, their works acquiring a new role, that of disseminating the word of God. Thus, sense for sense translations were to be interpreted, to some extent, as alienation from God, heretical interpretations that even led to the translator's execution. This was the case of Etienne Dolet (1509-1546), a French humanist who met his death because he translated one of Plato's "Dialogues" in such a way as to imply disbelief in immortality. In fact, what he did was to add three extra words to a text he was translating from Greek, even though many scholars of the time defended their use as adding to the clarity. As Susan Bassnet considers, he was one of the first writers to formulate a theory of translation. In his book: "*La manière de bien traduire d'une langue en autre*"-*How to Translate Well From One Language Into Another*" he established five principles for the translator:

1. "The translator should use forms of speech in common use."
2. "The translator must fully understand the sense and meaning of the original author, although he is at liberty to clarify obscurities."
3. "The translator should have a perfect knowledge of both source and target language."
4. "The translator should avoid word for word renderings."

5. "The translator should choose and order words appropriately to produce the correct tone."

In the period of the Renaissance the theory and practice of translation acquired new dimensions. It became a primary activity, an important component of the intellectual life of the age. The rediscovery of Greek and Latin manuscripts was a preliminary stage in the *translatio studiorum* and translation soon occupied an important place in the process of transmission of famous texts, with scholars first rendering from Greek into Latin and later, from Latin into the vernacular. The figure of the translator appeared as a revolutionary mind, rather than the servant of an original author or text.

The transition from an epoch dominated by freedom of expression, individual affirmation and explosive flowering to canons, rigour and harmony, has repercussions upon translation techniques. The 17<sup>th</sup> century translators turned to ancient masters, in their attempts to find models and create an adequate climate for forming a new poetic style based on those models. Translation of the classics increased in France between 1625 and 1600, the great age of French classicism in which imitation was seen as a means of instruction. Still, translation was not mere imitation in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. France's Pléiade, England's Tudor poets, and the Elizabethan translators adapted themes by Horace, Ovid, Petrarch and modern Latin writers, creating a modern approach to ancient sources.

The question of fidelity vs. transparency in translation was also discussed upon in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Therefore, two conflicting tendencies were to be seen in the climate of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The former points out that translation is a process of creative thought, consequently, it is subjective and cannot be systematized by laws, the translator being seen as a creative genius, in touch with the style and manner of the original; the latter sees translation in terms of a more mechanical enterprise, based on methods, language theories and scientific principles.

The dominant lines of debate in the theory and practice of translation in the first half of

the 20<sup>th</sup> century note the continuation of the Romantic concepts regarding this issue: freedom of thought, creativity and interpretation of the original, on one hand, and literalness, faithfulness, slavish rendering and imitation of the original, on the other hand. The modern theories of translation discuss this dichotomy in terms of equivalence. Finding the right equivalent is the central core of the issue and great priority is granted to meaning. Heated controversies over the last decades have implied the connection between translation and semantics and the comparison of texts in different languages inevitably involves a theory of semantics, of the adequate meaning that finds its equivalent in the situational, cultural and historical context of the target language.

Some of the most innovative theorists in the field of translation Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, Roman Jakobson, Nida and Taber, Catford, House and Baker-interpreted the concept of equivalence in connection with the translation process, and adopting different approaches, emphasized the complexity and the evolution of this multi-faceted concept/notion.

The brief presentation of the theories that point out the concept of equivalence in translation reveals their constant interpretations and reinterpretations over the last decades when translation field has seen major progress. Arbitrary notion, this concept has stirred much controversy among researchers simply by its definition.

#### 4. LEGAL TRANSLATION

As law is a culture-dependent subject field, legal translation is a complex task. The legal system of the source text (ST) is structured in a way to reflect the culture and the jurisdiction of the language in case, similarly, the source text (TT) is to be intended for someone whose culture frames other legal norms or concepts. Translating law goes beyond linguistic and communicative skills, is a multi-faceted phenomenon that brings together different systems within different cultures.

When approaching translation of a legal piece of writing, the translator has to follow

some steps. First of all it is the text-type that has to be analysed, its peculiarities and characteristics. After making the distinction between literary and non-literary texts, the translator must define the subject field which the text comes from. The aim of the text is also important, whether it is a pure specialised text or a theoretical one. Bearing in mind all these aspects, the translator is to choose the proper method of approach to the translation of the text, applying the general rules of the translation process to the peculiarities of legal language and text (a pure specialised text or a theoretical one).

The translation of legal texts is an old practice in history. Since both religious and legal translations are normative, it is not surprising that the early theories of legal translations are closely related to the history of Bible translation, until the Middle Ages when the first literal translation of the Bible was made into vernacular languages. Despite the authoritative status of legal documents, few written methodological guidelines or directives prescribing translation techniques were handed down, most of the translators of legal texts from past history remaining anonymous.

The best most known pieces of writing in this field include the peace treaty between Egypt and the Hittite Empire in 1271 BC as well as the translation of the Corpus Juris Civilis into various languages, after its initial translation into Greek. Emperor Iustinian's directive, set forth in the the Corpus Juris Civilis, known as the first codified rule on the translation of legislative texts, preserved the letter of the law, reproducing the Latin text word-for-word. At such an epoch, in early Christianity, translating the letter of the law required strict word-for-word translations, where even the grammatical forms and word order of the source text were retained. The early theorists of legal documents called word-for-word translations "*primitive interlingual translations*", as opposed to "*refined interlingual translations*", the dichotomy literal vs. free translation dominating not only translation theories in general, but also legal translation theories, in particular.

Translation of a legal text implies both, technical and specialised terminology, though

the technical one predominates. Consequently, in the process of specialised legal translation, the translator, besides having a philological education which enables him or her to discover various translation problems, he or she should be acquainted with the subject both within the source language as well as within the target language. This means that if one translates a legal text, he or she has to possess knowledge of legal English as well as know something about the law in the target language.

Latin's supremacy that survived the Middle Ages was challenged by the new prestigious Western states, especially France, in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The success of the armies of Louis 14<sup>th</sup> and the spectacular flourishing of French literature and arts, the French language gained such reputation that it was adopted by the Courts of Europe and diplomats relied on it at international conferences and treaties.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century brought new dimensions for legal translations, as national languages struggled for their identity. With the help of comparative law, legal linguistics and legal data processing, the field of legal translation identified and systematised some of its significant problems and practical applications. Thus, systematic study in this domain began only recently when the level of difficulty of a legal translation did not primarily depend on linguistically determined differences, but rather on structural differences between legal systems.

Legal texts consist of several kinds of writing, depending on their communicative function. As suggested in Risto Hiltunen's book (1990:81), there are three different types of legal writing to be distinguished: (a) academic texts which consist of academic research journals and legal textbooks, (b) juridical texts covering court judgements or law reports and (c) legislative or statutory writings consisting of Acts of Parliament, contracts, treaties, etc. In the last part of my research paper I will discuss some of the peculiarities and difficulties of legal translations from Romanian into English, and vice versa, by offering eloquent text-applied examples, providing a personal approach in shaping this multi-faceted phenomenon.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

If translation cannot function outside cultural background, it is the translator's task to look inside the cultures of the languages involved in the process of translation. In making his decisions, the translator cannot be guided by the source text alone, but must research, in addition, the target culture's conception of the subject matter of the classes and of genres. The translator is the expert whose task is to produce message transmitters for use in transcultural message transfer. Consequently, the translator's task is to be viewed by bridging the gap between theory and practice, by denying the dichotomy between competence and performance, by bringing cultures together. In other terms, besides linguistic competence and normative principles, the translator should also possess communicative competence, 'creative' abilities adopted to specific situational contexts and cultural background. That is why, when asking different translators to give their variant of the same source language text, none would coincide. The relativity of different translations is able to respond to the source language text message. The 'responses' can, of course, never be identical, for interlingual communication always implies some differences in cultural setting, diversities in systems, historical antecedents, translators' specific way of decoding and re-encoding the source language text message, their ability to work with presuppositions. As Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt puts it:

I do not always stick to the author's words, nor even to his thoughts. I keep the effect he wanted to produce in mind, and then I arrange the material after the fashion of our time. Different times do not just require different words, but also different thoughts and ambassadors usually dress in the fashion of the country they are sent to, for fear of appearing ridiculous in the eyes of the people they try to please.

With legal translations, textual aspects are to be seen in connection with pragmatic aspects of legal texts and differences among legal systems.

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Literature, a Bridge  
over Cultures





## THE IMAGE OF WOMEN IN JAMES MORIER'S NOVELS: A NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION APPROACH

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**Abstract:** *The present paper is an attempt to gain insight into Oriental alterity from two of James Morier's novels ('The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England' and 'Ayesha, the Maid of Kars'), focusing on the image of women in Persia, Turkey and England in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. My intention is to investigate the stereotypes related to non-verbal communication, in terms of non-verbal codes such as the use of artefacts (clothing and jewels) and of space. The reason behind choosing these two codes is that the former contributes to the delimitation of human identity, while the latter serves to crystallize it and to identify external otherness. In the first part of the paper two key concepts, namely culture and non-verbal communication will be defined. Then, a selection of fragments related to women in two cultures will be subjected to a deeper analysis from the perspective of the non-verbal codes selected. Finally, the conclusions will hopefully make people aware that cultural differences should be respected, not mocked or criticised.*

**Keywords:** *Oriental alterity, image of women, non-verbal codes, human identity, culture.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of mankind, women have played an important role in society, being responsible first and foremost for the well-being of the family. In time, they came to be appreciated not only within, but also outside their own families, becoming religious and political leaders, struggling for their rights at formal education and equal employment opportunities, and contributing as citizens in various voluntary associations and peace movements. Though united by gender and the commonalities of experience, women around the world have been differentiated in point of class, race, ethnicity, and cultural context.

The paper is an attempt at offering a picture of women in two cultures (the Eastern culture of Iran and Turkey, and the Western one represented by Britain) at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as it emerges from two novels written by James Morier: *The Adventures of Hajji Baba Of Ispahan in England* and *Ayesha, the Maid of Kars*. The framework adopted is that of non-verbal communication, the codes I

will focus on being the use of artefacts (jewels, clothes, make-up) and the use of space (proxemics). The aim of this examination is the identification of differences as well as of similarities among women of two cultures, and possibly of the ways in which they perceive each other, because in intercultural encounters we have to accept the differences and appreciate the similarities.

Before embarking on the analysis of some fragments excerpted from the above-mentioned novels authored by James Morier, it would be appropriate to define two important concepts, namely *culture* and *non-verbal communication*, as they are strongly connected.

### 2. CULTURE

The term 'culture' is quite difficult to define as it contains both concrete (rituals, customs, adornment) and abstract components (beliefs, values, worship). Moreover, it is a phenomenon that has multiple facets, each of them making the object of study of a specific academic discipline. As such, the concept has

fascinated theorists, each of them trying to define it as accurately as possible, so that in the early 1950s, Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952) identified about 160 definitions of the term 'culture'. Ting-Toomey defines culture as:

(...) a complex frame of reference that consists of pattern of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, symbols, and meanings that are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community (Ting-Toomey, 1999: 10).

In speaking of culture, she employs the 'iceberg' metaphor, saying that we are able to sense only the uppermost layers, while the deeper ones, the subjective elements – values, attitudes, and beliefs - are hidden from our views. But by examining the 'surface structure' of culture, people might also be able to get a glimpse at the deeper layers. The symbols mentioned in her definition of culture are symbols only because a group of people agree to consider them as such. As Gudykunst and Kim (1997:6) point out, 'there is not a natural connection between symbols and their referents: the relationships are arbitrary and vary from culture to culture'. As it will emerge from the analysis, the symbolism of the veils covering women's faces is interpreted differently in the cultures investigated.

In speaking of culture, it is important to point out that people belonging to a particular group are defined by two types of identities: a cultural identity, shared with all the other members of the group, and a personal identity, determined by one's personal characteristics. Both identities have a strong impact on the ways people think and behave in their everyday cultural environment. The problem is that when such a group encounters a dissimilar other, its members' ways of perceiving, thinking, and behaving will be questioned.

One important element of cultural identity (apart from history, language, social organizations, and values), as described by Samovar et al (2009) is religion. According to Parkes, Laungani, and Young (1997) (quoted in Samovar *et al.*, 2009:25) 'all cultures possess a dominant, organized religion within which certain salient beliefs and activities (rites, rituals, taboos, and ceremonies) can be given meaning'. Thus, the Western culture is

bound up with Catholicism and Protestantism, while the Middle Eastern one with Islam. As compared to Christianity, it seems that Islam has a more powerful influence on human conduct, 'serving as a mechanism of social control, by establishing notions of right and wrong' (Samovar *et al.*, 2009:103-104). It is so powerful that it is equal to a total way of life, controlling every aspect of its believers' behaviour, including eating, praying, preparing for bed, and treatment of women. The influence of Islam on culture is so extensive, that one could easily speak of the Islamic or Muslim culture, rather than of a Persian or Turkish culture. This is the reason why I will treat Persia and Turkey as belonging to one culture, i.e. the eastern one.

In order to communicate successfully across cultures, we need to consider all the elements that shape our group culture and our personal identity and to learn to understand and respect the culture of others. As we have seen, the surface layer of culture covers symbols, among which non-verbal ones, too, which will be tackled in the next section of the paper.

### 3. PARODY AND MELANCHOLIA

Non-verbal communication is a powerful form of human expression which is closely linked to culture. This is why in this section the focus will be on defining the concept and on presenting the codes that will be analysed further on. Just like *culture*, non-verbal communication is a complex and multifaceted concept which has been defined in various ways by different theorists (Siegman and Feldstein 1978, Knapp & Hall 2006, Chelcea 2008, O'Sullivan *et al.*, 2009), but the definition I find to be very encompassing was provided by Ting-Toomey (1999:115-116):

Nonverbal communication is defined as the nonlinguistic behaviors (or attributes) that are consciously or unconsciously encoded and decoded via multiple communication channels. Multiple channels refer to how the meaning of nonverbal messages can be simultaneously signaled and interpreted through various nonverbal mediums such as facial expressions, bodily gestures, spatial relationships, and the



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environment (physical and psychological) in which people are communicating.

Ting-Toomey specifies that non-linguistic behaviours may be conscious (i.e. we are able to control them, in an attempt to mislead our interlocutors) or unconscious (we cannot control them, thus our true feelings and attitudes are disclosed) and that we make use of them in order to display ourselves or to interpret the messages conveyed through various codes ('non-verbal mediums'). These codes are: body language (kinesics), non-symbolic vocal sounds (paralanguage), our use of space (proxemics and territory), and self-presentation cues (artifacts and physical appearance). One should not disregard the fact that the socio-cultural situations in which these behaviours occur may influence their interpretations. As Kotkin & Tseng (2003) (*quoted in Samovar et al., 2009: 24*) put it, 'in humans, it is culture that sets the limits on behaviour and guides it along predictable paths'. Moreover, non-verbal communication plays an important and necessary role in communicative interactions between people belonging to different cultures. But in order to understand cross-cultural verbal variations, respect, patience and interpersonal sensitivity in dealing with such differences will be 'a good first step in gaining non-verbal entrance to a culture' (Ting-Toomey, 1999:140).

The non-verbal codes are encountered in real-life communication, but they also constitute important means of creating artistic effects, as is the case of the two novels under scrutiny. The following part of the paper focuses on the cultural differences in the use of the non-verbal codes by women belonging to two different cultures: the Eastern culture strongly influenced by Islam, and the Western one.

### 4. THE IMAGE OF THE WOMAN IN THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN CULTURES OF THE EARLY 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

In the present analysis of the differences in non-verbal communication between the

Eastern and Western cultures I have adopted an attitude of *cultural relativism* according to which 'all cultures are of equal value and need to be studied from a neutral point of view' (Glazer 1994: 1). Consequently, no judgments will be passed with respect to the use of non-verbal behaviours of the women in the above-mentioned cultures; I will rather bring the differences and similarities to the fore and comment on them as objectively as possible.

#### 4.1. Self-presentation as a non-verbal code

4.1.1. The first code which I would like to investigate is related to *self-presentation* which covers such elements as physical appearance (hair style, clothes, make-up), use of jewellery, and olfactive cues. Within each culture, different clothing styles signify masculinity and femininity and are sometimes illustrative of certain social classes or professions. Likewise, when we meet someone, we are likely to form our impression of them from how they are dressed and groomed. Because we can alter our clothing and grooming to suit the occasion, other persons rely heavily on these non-verbal cues to help them understand who we are and how to treat us. As a result, we can change how people perceive us by altering our clothing, make-up, hair-style or jewels.

a) Let us see now how Eastern women differ from the Western ones along the dimension of clothing. The first example comes from *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England* (henceforth abbreviated as HB). The most striking difference is related to the **garments** worn by women of almost equal rank in both cultures, i.e. the English queen and the Banou (the chief wife in the harem in Persia). The fragment below, describing the garments that were meant as a present for the queen of England from the Persians, is an illustration of the point:

(1) The contemplation of the dress intended for the queen seemed to afford some amusement. When it was spread out, the jacket opened to display the embroidery, the shirt with its ingrafted precious stones, and the trousers so well padded and overlaid with cloth of gold as

to stand by themselves in the middle of the room, he laughed out-right (...) (HB, 35).

Two important aspects emerge from this excerpt: on the one hand, Eastern women's clothing was quite richly adorned with precious stones and cloth of gold, while on the other hand women shared one clothing item with men, namely the trousers. In comparison, the clothing style of the English women was much simpler both in the number of items that covered their bodies (no trousers were worn by women) and in adornment. One similarity that holds for both cultures relates to the social hierarchy revealed by clothes. Thus, the garments described above might be appropriate for the Banou, but ordinary women or slaves did not enjoy such splendours.

b) The **veil** covering women's face seems to have different functions in the two cultures under investigation. As Hajji Baba notices,

occasionally, we remarked women wearing a sort of apology for veil, green, black, or white, but it was merely a screen from wind, dust or sun (HB, 205).

For the Muslim women, the veil is a must, and it is meant to cover as much of their faces as possible, for as Dilferib (the Circassian slave that accompanies the Persian suite on the voyage to Britain) points out,

the face is a sacred spot, sacred to modesty, sacred to the gaze of none but a husband; and it should be covered with the most scrupulous delicacy (HB, 275).

The same idea occurs in *Ayesha, The Maid of Kars* (henceforth abbreviated as A) where Caterina, an Armenian woman who was asked to treat the injuries of an English lord (Osmond) 'religiously retained her veil, particularly that part of it peculiar to Armenian women, the nose-band, which goes tightly over the middle of the face, and keeps their noses flat' (A, 34). Muslim women (be they Persian or Turkish) will uncover their faces

when there is no one by to witness their so doing; but, otherwise, they will rave and rant when any one ventures to look at them (A, 41).

In the Turkish society of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was only the Sultan who could force a woman to show her face to him. While for the Eastern women covering their faces with a veil had a religious reason (women are perceived as the embodiment of Satan who lure men, and to prevent this they are forced to hide their faces behind veils), for the Western women the veil is simply an accessory.

There are two fragments in which the opinion of the Muslim women with respect to the uncovering of the face by their western counterparts is expressed. The first example comes from *Ayesha*, where the main character's mother, Zabetta, calls the English women 'red-faced women, who show their faces to every comer' (A, 224). The second example stems from the other novel, in which the Circassian slave, Dilferib, who had been securely confined into her room of the English inn, until due to the English laws of the time, which prohibited slavery, she was set free by the ambassador. Only that the poor creature did not know how to take advantage of her liberty, considering it a sin:

(2) 'O, Prophet! O, Mahomet!' exclaimed she, "you would not have me so degraded as to go about the streets, with my face uncovered, like one of these unblushing women! No, no! I stay where I am!" (A, 269)

To her mind, a woman without a veil should feel ashamed and blush; 'unblushing', the term used by her in describing the English women, might be considered a synonym for 'sinful'.

c) Another clothing item that is perceived differently in the two cultures is represented by the **stockings**. The English custom of wearing stockings produces astonishment among the Persian women whose feet are inserted bare in the shoes/slippers. Dilferib, the slave, is perplexed by the fact that English women would not conceive of covering their faces, as Muslim women do, but bother about having their feet covered:

(3) 'How!', exclaimed Dilferib, 'you make such a point in covering your legs, and still, in defiance of all modesty, you expose your faces! Strange ideas of modesty you must have

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indeed! All women's legs are alike. There can be no immodesty in leaving them naked; for nobody, by seeing them, could make one woman from another. Strange ideas of decency you must have, indeed! All women's legs are alike. There can be no immodesty in leaving them naked; for nobody, by seeing them, could know one woman from another; but the face, that sacred spot, sacred to modesty, sacred to the gaze of none but a husband; that which ought to be covered with the most scrupulous delicacy; that you leave uncovered, to be stared at, criticized, laughed at, by any impudent varlet that chooses. (...) Strange ill-luck has ours been that has brought us to a country where women cover their legs, and uncover their faces!' (HB 274-275).

For the English women, on the other hand, nothing could be more indecent than to appear with naked feet. For Muslims in general, and for the Muslim women in particular, clothing is much more than apparel to cover the body. As is the case with so many aspects of culture, there is often a "below the surface" reason for cultural behaviors. This deep structure and its tie to attire in the Muslim world are explained by Torrawa (1994) (*quoted in Samovar et al.*, 2009:254) as follows:

In all its guises, clothing inscribes ideologies of truth and deception, echoing the words of scripture, and revealing—and unraveling—that honor can only be attained when every robe donned is a robe of honor and every garment a garment of piety.

The reason for modesty and piety is found in the Koran, which advises women to '*cover their adornments*' and '*to draw their veils upon their bosoms*'. This attitude is very nicely captured by the proverb: '*A woman is like a jewel: you don't expose it to the thieves*'.

**4.1.2. Hair style.** Since Muslim women have to cover not only their faces but also their heads, most probably they did not pay great attention to the way their hair looked. On the other hand, the Western women of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century fancied long hair curled into locks by means of bits of paper. Hajji Baba describes the looks of English women in the evening, before they go to bed:

(4) The women certainly did not look as attractive as during the day, for their faces were encircled with small bits of paper, which we took for talismans placed there either to guard their beauty, to keep off the evil eye, or to charm away wrinkles or whiskers (HB 170-171).

As the habit of the English women of curling their hair was not familiar to the Muslim visitors, their assumptions concerning the 'small bits of paper' are a source of humour.

**4.1.3. Jewels and make-up.** Other elements that pertain to self-presentation are the use of make-up and of jewellery. The following fragment taken from *Hajji Baba* shows that Eastern women were fond of emphasizing the only part of their faces that remained visible for the eyes of their interlocutors: the eye area. Thus, they used collyrium to tinge their eyebrows and eyelashes, a habit that was taken over by their Western counterparts very much later, as was the habit of applying tattoos by means of henna on the back of their hands. Before embarking on the voyage to the court of the Frank (English) king, Hajji Baba is asked by his shah to make:

(5) (...) two full suits of dress for the queen of the Franks, similar to those worn by the Banou of the royal harem, duly adorned with precious stones, before and behind, above and below, and to add thereto a store of collyrium for the eyes, khennah for staining the hands and feet, jewels for the nose and jewels for the ear, pins for the shirt, a zone for the waist, and rings for fingers as well as toes (HB, 9).

Besides using make-up, the Islamic women also differentiated themselves from the Western ones in the use of jewels: thus they used jewels for the nose and rings for the toes. Though English women were also fond of wearing jewels (as is revealed by the present sent by the queen of England to the wife of the Persian shah, namely a necklace containing her portrait, set round with diamonds), they were not familiar with the nose studs or the toe rings. Besides, they wouldn't have been able to carry rings on their toes, as they were

expected to wear stockings. One other difference in the use of jewels relates to the reasons why Eastern and Western women carry them. While for an English woman the necklace would be an object of adornment, of enhancing her beauty with the purpose of drawing the other persons' attention, for a Muslim maiden, Ayesha, the same kind of jewel is worn in order 'to protect her from the evil eye' (A, 80). But while she is allowed the luxury of a necklace, as a maiden she is not allowed to wear rings. Ayesha, the Muslim maiden of Kars, received a ring from her English lover. On seeing the ring on her finger while she was trying to secure the veil on her face, Cara Bey (a Yezidy, a believer in Satan who kept Ayesha and her mother prisoners) became furious:

(6) "What ring is that which your daughter wears?" said he to Zabetta, his jealousy catching fire at the sight. "No maiden ever wears a ring" (A, 238).

A fragment taken from *Hajji Baba* which sums up the differences identified so far will conclude this part of the analysis:

(7) Such is the difference of manners in different countries; who can doubt for a moment which is best, when in the blessed Koran we read these words "Speak unto the believing women, that they restrain their eyes, and preserve their modesty, and discover not their ornaments, except what necessarily appear thereof; and let them throw their bosoms, and not show their ornaments, unless to their husbands or their fathers".

Now, every ornament that an English woman possesses, she shows to whoever chooses to look at them. Every father, son, husband, brother, in the country can look at her. She wears nothing to restrain her eyes; and, consequently, nothing to restrain those of anyone else. And as for modesty, and as for throwing veils over their bosoms, Allah! Allah! Our blessed Prophet himself would have had severe work of it here!' (HB, 277)

Again, we realize that the rules of appropriate conduct for women are imposed by religion, as they are stipulated in the Koran, whereas Western women act and behave according to a social code of manners. While

Muslim females are supposed to unveil and adorn themselves only in the presence of their husbands, English women enjoy much more liberty in the way they dress and look both inside and outside their homes. Irrespective of these cultural characteristics, we have to learn to be tolerant of others' external differences and not let them hinder communication.

**4.2. Proxemics.** The second non-verbal code subjected to analysis is proxemics or the use of someone's personal space, of the physical spaces that people control and occupy, of the artifacts that people choose to decorate their space with, and the architecture of buildings. One's use of space and territory is associated with culture (Samovar *et al.*, 2009). Seating and furniture placement may also vary by cultural expectations. The two novels employed for the analysis illustrate these points, but mainly in connection with the way men make use of them. As far as women are concerned, a crucial difference between the two cultures relates to the organization of the houses (the 'primary territory', according to Ting-Toomey, 1999). Thus, in the Persian and Turkish harem, women are separated by men by means of the so-called *anileroon* (apartments meant only for them). Below is the description of Cara Bey's harem:

(8) From this room into his harem, which consisted of a low set of apartments, the small windows of which looked immediately upon the walls of the prison, there was an immediate access by means of a narrow and intricate passage. Here lived, in a state of miserable bondage, several unfortunate women, who were kept, like puppets, in a box for the sole purpose of administering to his pleasures. One among them was dignified with the title of 'Kadun', and bore a certain pre-eminence over the rest, who were called her slaves: but hers was but a poor superiority, deprived as she was, in common with the others, of the advantages of air, liberty, and converse with her fellow-creatures. (A, 201)

In England, on the other hand "men and women all live together; a man's room may be next to a woman's, and not difficulty made about it" (HB, 205). Hajji Baba and the rest of the Persian suite who were accommodated in an English inn

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discovered that there could be no distinction between men's and women's apartments in an English house, as there is in a Persian (HB, 171).

The excerpt under (8) shows that Muslim women are secluded from the eyes of any new-comer or those of other men, except for the master's/ruler's. One might imagine that as there are strict rules concerning the behaviour of Muslim women in general, there are equally strict rules related to the way in which women in different positions in the hierarchy of the harem need to act, as in such a place there are the wives, sisters and slaves of the head of the household. Thus, one may think that the harem is a rule-governed and very quiet place. But the fragment below, taken from *Ayesha* proves the contrary. A little background information will help the reader better understand the idea: Zabetta (who was not a genuine Muslim, but pretended to be one when the occasion required it) and her daughter, Ayesha are kept hostages by Cara Bey. On entering his harem, Zabetta took upon herself the airs of its mistress. In the beginning, the old inhabitants of the harem, who were happy to see new faces, paid divine respects to her.

(9) But as Zabetta's pretensions to superiority became more open, so those of the former chief of the harem began to awaken, and it was evident that, ere long, there would arise two factions: and as a harem is ever a hot-bed of passion, it was also evident that such factions would soon come to open hostilities (A, 234).

So it seems that the women in the harem are not at all passive when it comes to 'intruders' like Zabetta. But the situation changes when the new-comer is a male, lord Osmond who has conquered Cara Bey's harem, so the rules imposed by Islam have to be strictly followed:

(10) The other women of the harem (...) saw in the conqueror only a new master, and at once prepared themselves to obey him, as before they had obeyed Cara Bey. They immediately busied themselves in endeavouring to make their services acceptable to Osmond. (A 254)

The harem appears to offer women a certain safety and the liberty to confront their husbands/masters. But once they are out of it, they will not be able to enjoy these 'commodities'. This shows the extent to which the home territory or the immediate environment influences people's everyday life. An illustration of the idea appears in the conversation excerpted from *Ayesha*, in which Suleiman Aga and Zabetta (Ayesha's parents) have an argument caused by the latter's refusal to return to Kars from Constantinople, despite the trouble her husband had taken of coming all the way to bring them back home:

(11) In her own harem at Kars she felt that she could throw her five fingers into her husband's face and say "*Nak!*" with impunity; but to live out of his house, an alien from his protection, and to reject him as a husband, she knew was more than she could venture to do, if she valued her life. (A:366)

As the harem was a secluded place, one cannot possibly be entirely sure that the accounts of life in such a place provided by James Morier are exact. What we could do is only speculate....

### 4. CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the present paper, the differences between two cultures were approached by means of studying some of the non-verbal codes as they were depicted in J. Morier's novels, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* and *Ayesha, the Maid of Kars*. Thus, I have commented on the results of the most traditional of the research techniques - the observation. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Morier employed, as he confessed in the introductory epistle to *The Adventures of Hajji Baba in Turkey, Persia, and Russia* (1855), observation to build the very essence of his novel, namely the differences between the Muslim culture and the English one, among which there appeared some differences concerning women.

The analysis has shown that there are more differences between the Muslim and British women than there are similarities and that in certain situations these caused a feeling of

anxiety, as was the case of Zabetta and Dilferib who were against the Western women's habit of exposing their faces. The differences extended beyond the use of the veil, to other elements that pertain to self-presentation, such as the use of make-up or of jewels, as well as to the seclusion of the Eastern women in the harem, while their Western counterparts enjoyed the liberty to roam their places and the streets. Though many of the differences identified in the novels might appear ridiculous to most Europeans, we need to respect the customs and habits of the Orientals.

I share Morier's opinion that

a picturesqueness pervades the whole being of Asiatics, which we do not find in our own countries, and in my eyes makes everything related to them so attractive as to create a desire to impart to others the impressions made upon myself (Morier, 1855:15).

He was an observer of the Oriental culture at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It would be interesting to compare his observations to those of later travellers over the familiar ground, and see whether the differences between the East and the West have decreased or even disappeared.

Irrespective of which cultures we encounter in our lives, the key to getting insight into them is, as Ting-Toomey (1999: vii) puts it,

to prepare ourselves with competent knowledge and skills so that we can enjoy this eye-opening intercultural communication journey.

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## THE GOLDEN LIGHT IN LUCIAN BLAGA'S POETRY

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**Abstract:** *As an Expressionist, Lucian Blaga's poetry has been influenced by the folkloric myth, that proved to be a continuous inspirational source. The archaic symbol of "the golden light" marks the connection between the solar light, the rebirth of dawns and the glory of life. The myth is placed in the horizon of Romanian village, where "the golden light" is transformed into a spreading of primordial light that is to be found in his entire literary work. There is always a contrast between the lunar light which enriches mystery and the solar light which blinds and banishes it. This conflict is the key to Blaga's work, because this struggle could never be solved, the contrast is never reconciled.*

**Keywords:** *cultural identity, folklore, 'golden light', Lucian Blaga's poetry, metaphor.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In his symbolistic approach of light, Lucian Blaga - under the influence of Expressionism - aspirates after solar light, after the vitality and Dionysian frenzy presented in his first two volumes, but he doesn't declare himself the advocate of sun, but he identifies with the almightiness of lunar light.

According to the symbolistic of light, the lunar light and the solar light are opposing as *identity* versus *adulteration*. (Indrieș, 1981:23)

There is always a contrast between the lunar light which enriches mystery and the solar light which blinds and banishes it. This conflict is the key to Blaga's work, because this struggle could never be solved, the contrast is never reconciled. Considering himself a disciple of twilight, which tames the vital desire and the day-time awareness, the poet turns back to his inner side, to the dark places of dreams and consciousness, waiting for the essential revelations. "*The cognition eye*" deeply awakens "*near endless fountains*", where the magical light is overflowing over the consciousness and reality zones, leading to a complete cosmical communication.

### 2. INSTANCES OF LIGHT IN BLAGA'S POETRY

The primordial light, "*created in the first day*" ("*The Light*") represents the dominant imaginary substance, the impulse of existence and a metaphysical game of freedom seen in an ecstatic expansion: "*and being fired in the waves of light/ to dance*". ("*I Want to Dance!*")

In the preface poem of his debut volume, the term "light" is semantically divided into: "*aggressiveness, poorness, destruction*": "*the others/ light/ strangles the spell of the unknown hidden/ in the depth of darkness*" ("*I Do Not Trample the Aura of this Earth*"), and "*complicity, enrichment, creation*" (Indrieș, 1975:36): "*but I, with my light, enhance the mystery of the world -/ and like the moon's white rays do not decrease, but it shuddering increases the mystery of night*". ("*I Do Not Trample the Aura of this Earth*"). The metamorphosis is to be found in the entire Blaga's work where there are also:

the stopover in the light, the thirst for light, as categorical couples structured on the light alchemy: sky-destiny (the sky nostalgia and the taming of the destiny); seed-grain (the golden of the fertile light); the Thanatic initiation

through the sun ray (that makes Blagian landscape to seem like a dying swan). (Petcu, 1995:264)

The poetic work is surrounded by a flood of primordial, sacred light, like a longing for the revelatory incandescence: "The buds/ too greedy for light" ("March"), "there is light above me" ("A Dead Man's Thoughts"), "There is a revival everywhere, on the road/ and in the awaken light" ("Everyday's Revival"), "Why did you send me into the light, Mother?" ("Letter"), "in the light's service" ("Runes"), "Why am I so frightened – Mother-/ to leave the light again?" ("From the Depth"), "Up there in the light/ how fragile the mountain" ("Magic Sunrise").

Expressing itself as an element through individual metaphors: "a gale of light" ("The Light"), "I have come to the light" ("Biography"), or as a hyperbole: "a sea of light" ("Pax Magna"), "the sacred Mothers/ the alive lights" ("Epitaph"), the light is liquefied in "light drops" ("The Stalactite"), in "waves of light" ("I Want to Dance!") that impregnates the whole poetic universe.

The sidereal light "flows", like a river, over the humanity, the water as the original element of the world, and the poetical gesture is to merge with it, to lose himself in the incandescent liquid ("I Want to Dance!"), singing about the stars, the day, the earth surrounded by light ("Denyings").

On the other hand, the light represents a reminiscence of the original moment, integrated in the spiritual heritage: „From the sky there comes a swan song" ("In the Mountains"), "The switched light" ("Yesterday Light"), "the game of light" ("Marine Sunset"), "I am light, heart..." ("Enchanting"), "The poet died.../ in pure light" ("The Poet"), "I am touching the lights with my forehead" ("News"), "The light – how straight it is!" ("September Day"), "How difficult for us the punishment of bearing the light!" ("Voice in Paradise").

The light could reflect a "passion", expressing the "hidden lust of sin" ("The Heaven Light") or a bogumilic dualism: „The parsons of light/ the parsons of depth/ are dying of vision" ("The Earth's Daughter

*Dances*"). The ominous aspect of light seen as a death subscriber becomes a ferocious fabulous bird which: "with light claws/ a morning will kill your dream one day" ("Will You Cry a lot or Will You Smile?") or intensifies itself in "Autumn Sunset": „Oh, my soul/ let me hide it inside my chest,/ even deeper/ not to be found by any ray of light:/ because it may collapse!".

The author's belief is that the light has an underlined aspect of mystery, because it intimately mingles itself with darkness, as the understanding mingles with misunderstanding, good with evil, and justice with sin. (Petcu, 1965:264-265)

Being associated with Eros and mystery, the light will never reveal its secrets: „The light I am feeling/ bursting inside my chest when I see you/ could it be a drop from the primordial light?" ("The Light"). It symbolizes both life and love, the whole universe having erotic aspects. Moreover, the light has demonic attributes: it hides, but also blinds the eye. The poet's characteristic gesture of protecting his eyes against the reality invasion is biographically confessed in "The Chronicle and Song of the Ages". He behaves as his mythical ancestor banished from heaven, who cannot stand seeing the things he lost: „My Lord, take my sight away,/ or, if you could, cover up my eyes with a shroud,/ so I cannot see the flowers, or the sky or Eva's smiles or the clouds/ you see- their light hurts me!" ("The Tears").

Blaga's love poetry brings the identity between woman and light, the woman is seen as an embodiment of the absolute substance of universe. Thus, she is: "the woman of light" ("Thalatta!"), "the punch of light" ("Burning"), "body of light" ("Oracles"), she belongs to the original element ("The Light"), she is the place of divine forces ("Don't You Have a Misgiving?"), being "the creature". A real "flame" that burns even the dew from the grass she is walking through ("The Ladies"), a musical and delicate creature ("Women, the Burning Violins"), the lady is the embodiment of "light", she does not belong to any time or place, she enters into the poet's life as a



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miracle (*"Meetings"*). This metaphor is extending over poetical language and the poem itself becomes a metaphor with a profound spiritual value.

Mihaela Mancaş identified the metaphors of "light" as being characterized by a series of semantical features essentially similar in their meaning: *"luminosity, brightness, the white color – of the non-color"*, but sometimes their contextual realization is transformed into oxymoron, by associating them with the contrasting semantical area of "darkness". (Mancaş, 1991:226): *"the night flows (...) covering the earth with a sea of darkness"* (*"The Night Spring"*), *"the night's silver"* (*"Night"*). Another literary critic, Mircea Borcilă has made a statistics of the most used terms in Blaga's literary work and he has come to the conclusion that the first rank and the maximum frequency (82) is attributed to the noun "light" and its derived words: rank 8- "star" (57), rank 17- "sun" (41), rank 19- "day" (39), rank 28- "fire" (29)" (Borcila, 1972: 95-124).

### 3. THE GOLDEN LIGHT

Lucian Blaga considered that inside of his soul, and of any Romanian fellow in general, there is an inherent *"mioritical substance"* and through this, the human being could communicate with the universe, as it had been possible while speaking the mythical language. Thus, in the *"sheep carols"* there can be noticed *"the golden light"* or *"the golden fairy"* of the "dawn light", a solar one which shows the victory of the day against darkness, the spring rebirth of nature in the ancient agrarian rituals and even the youth initiation to another level of existence. The folklorist Ovidiu Buhociu noticed that this golden light is a leitmotif of Transsilvanian carols:

The golden color is a constant value of the entire oral shepard poetry, of carols, of epical or lyrical poetry... The general news brought by the carols is about the sun rise, announced by the dawns, which symbolize the New Year, meaning the entire year to come. (Buhociu, 1979: 275)

According to these beliefs from folkloric culture, from the prosperity given by flocks, there has been spreading a real flame, this "golden light" as a terrestrial prolongation of solar power, whose sun rise is announced in the New Year's Eve by the groups of lads, who were singing carols in the traditional village.

This mioritical substance, in the external horizon of Romanian village, can be reconstituted by the archaic symbol of <golden light> as an archetypal plan in Blaga's poetical myth. (Todoran, 1997:273)

The poet will imagistically put down this connection between the earth and the sky realized by the *"golden light"* emanated by the flocks of sheep whose wool "silvers" and whose horns *"pour gold"*, this fact being metaphorically presented through the expression *"sacred auras"*: *"Give me your hand, passer-by, and you the walker and you that are coming./ All the earth's flocks have sacred auras/ over their heads."* (*"I Understood the Sin that Covers my Home"*).

Also, the songs of dawns belong to an ancient myth of "Aurora", but are, in fact, moanings, passing songs. "The carols of dawns" came from the moanings and they are depicting the belief in sunrise and in the future. (Ovidiu Buhociu, 1964:36) As the sun rises, according to the carols for youth, this means symbolically the coming of the New Year, and the initiated person is transformed into a spreading of primordial light: *"Our vigils: flour sifters./ Time passes through - / white dust in our hair./ Rainbows catch the fire still: / we wait. We await/ the solitary hour/ to share in the green/ kingdom, the sunlit heaven."* (*"At the Court of Yearning"*).

In Blaga's carol, the singers are affected by the time passings that integrates the human life into a new cycle, placing some *"white dust"* to their temples and preparing *"the sunlit heaven"* for them. The metaphor *"green kingdom"* refers to the fir-tree as an axis mundi, a column between heaven and earth, that can be found in both nuptial and funeral rituals. The mythical tree is present in the oldest Romanian rituals regarding the dawns, in which the

dominant element is the sun, as a symbol for fire and light.

In a mioritical vision of the light "spreading", like a philosophical "*sophianic perspective*" of placing the ephemeral on the same level as the transcendence, the carol singers are waiting "*at the court of yearning*" the coming of the dawns: „*We are the guests on the parch/ of the new light/ at the court of yearning,/ neighbors of the sky*". ("At the Court of Yearning"). The revelatory symbols of the Centre of World, bearing the same significance of the fir-tree as a mythical tree, are "*the golden columns*" that used to accompany the ritualic opening of the sky at the beginning of each new year and to mark the investment of young girls with a new quality and their growing to maturity: „*We wait to catch a glimpse/ through gold columns/ of the age of fire - / our daughters come out/ to crown the doorways with laurel*". ("At the Court of Yearning")

In a metaphor of passing ritual <the golden columns> are <an axial center of the world>, through the <golden light>, inside of them, there could be identified the <good news> of the carol singers, by means of ontological fulfillment, by raising the ephemeral at the same level as the transcendence in "*At the Court of Yearning*", meaning for the poet a cosmical dimension of the yearning, in the style of our popular poetry. (Todoran, 1997:276)

Whether these "*courts of yearning*" represent the upper part of the sky that the carol singers become neighbors with, by their metamorphosis through the solar light, the inferior pole is the terrestrial area. But in a sophianic perspective, there has been an inversion of these: the earth becomes a "sky"

that bears the terrestrial signs: „*Now and then a tear springs up/ to bury itself painlessly in the cheek -/ who knows what pallid star it feeds?*"

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The poet constantly refigures his handful of central themes (mystery, light, the unconscious, cultural identity) in new metaphorical terms – be it in the Nietzschean struggle between a Dionysian purity and the stifling Apollonian force – or in the contrast between the lunar light and the solar light, in an unstilled dialectic movement.

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## INVESTIGATING STEREOTYPES IN THE PORTRAYAL OF COMMUNITY DIVIDES IN EUGENE O'NEILL'S DRAMA

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**Abstract:** *My paper will investigate the use of stereotypes in Eugene O'Neill's drama, focusing on the representation of African American and Irish characters. I will discuss various critical views that form a debate around the realistic representation of such characters and the purposes for which such marginal figures appear as they do. Additionally I will address the issue of community divides and the struggle for integration of the minority groups promoted through dramatic discourse as well as by performance artists.*

**Keywords:** *prejudice, African-American, Irishness, liminality, realism, melodrama.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In his study on *Modern American Drama*, C.E.W. Bigsby analyzes O'Neill's contribution to the world of American theater, situating him among the initiators of "a cult of autobiography" by his "incorporation of himself into his work" and the critic also suggests that Tennessee Williams might have taken over from O'Neill the idea of characters as "self-conscious performers seeking protection in the artifice of the theater" (Bigsby, 2000: 20). Since the performing self is a central issue in any analysis of modern drama, I am going to look next at various views on O'Neill's character constructs, which are regarded either as stereotypical representations or as faithfully realistic reflections of their environment.

In her article on O'Neill's realism, Brenda Murphy explains that the playwright developed a form of realism that, by focusing on the atmosphere, managed to elude the stress on character present in melodrama, comedy or tragedy. His interest in the dramatization of character was therefore secondary to the portrayal of the larger rhythms of life and thus his method would best be described by the

term "dynamic realism"<sup>1</sup>. Murphy chooses to focus on *The Iceman Cometh* and explains how the dynamic realism of character in this play was achieved while maintaining the illusion of reality in all elements of representation. The simple device used by O'Neill to externalize the inner state of characters without resorting to formal experiment was the use of alcohol, since drinking leads the heroes to a series of self-revealing confrontations and monologues. Thus, Murphy insists, O'Neill's main focus is on the realistic portrayal of character "revealed through conflict, with each other and within themselves" (Murphy, 1983). Her opinion is supported by Robert Brustein who, in discussing Hickey's symbolic role as a false Messiah, notes that the character has a family background and a psychological history that make him "a much more convincing salesman figure than Miller's Willy Loman" (Brustein, 1965:345). In the opinion of both John Henry Raleigh and Kurt Eisen, however, it is melodrama that has the final word on the

<sup>1</sup> This term was coined by Timo Tiusanen and refers to the dynamics of the psyche that were first dealt with experimentally by O'Neill and then externalized in his late realistic plays.

characters' conception. Thus O'Neill's novelistic impulse is part of a larger "*drive for discovering new ways to use melodrama as a means to express multivalent psychological conflicts*" (Eisen, 1994:26). Yet, in his discussion of O'Neill's African and Irish American stereotypes, Edward Shaughnessy considers that while such stereotypes do exist, O'Neill's genius was "*to breathe into this clay souls whose terrifying psycho-spiritual histories have become forever fixed in our memories*" (Manheim, 1998:149). In other words, O'Neill found the secret of transcending the limitations of his stereotypes. At the same time, one must keep in mind Alan S. Downer's assertion that O'Neill's characters are not necessarily stereotypes but that the playwright always strived to make it apparent that "*each is but an instrument in the revelation of his theme*" (qtd. in Cargill 1961:470).

## 2. RACISM AND LIMINALITY

In discussing O'Neill's treatment of his characters, I will first focus on the portrayal of the African-American figures in his drama. Shaughnessy explains that it is partly normal for O'Neill to present his black living in conditions of subjugation, since the playwright didn't live to witness the civil rights movement. The state of resentment and fear in which his black characters live is due both to society and to O'Neill's own conception of a doomed existence. Meanwhile, Joel Pfister is not convinced that this presentation of abuse aroused any sympathy for the blacks and insists that O'Neill merely extended the "*stereotypes that inhabited the cultural swamp of his literary imagination*" (1995: 132). On the other hand, Michael Manheim considers that O'Neill purposefully incarnated the effects of prejudice in his black characters so as to indicate "*the inescapable vulnerability America has forced upon its racial minorities*" (qtd. in Shaughnessy, 1995:150). Shaughnessy believes that, while representing the effects of prejudice "*with fidelity to nuance*", O'Neill also focused on revealing his characters' inner nature and that he "*thereby accorded his black absolute equality in tragic stature*"

(Shaughnessy, 1995:150). While Pfister's complaint against O'Neill's psychological determinism is uncontested, Shaughnessy considers that the characters' complexity balances their representation. A similar point of view is expressed by Wikander, who stresses O'Neill's "*embroilment in a romantic racist ideology which saw blacks as (admirably as well as deplorably) primitive*" (qtd. in Manheim, 1998:226). The positive fact was that O'Neill was determined to universalize the experience of race into a regression to the primitive. One instance of this process was "*the universalization of the familial, with O'Neill's unhappy marriage becoming itself a kind of race war*" in *All God's Chillun Got Wings* (Wikander in Manheim, 1998:226).

A recent contribution to the above discussion is brought by Aoife Monks' article on the staging of *The Emperor Jones* by the Wooster Group in the nineties. Although a study pertaining more to performance criticism than to the analysis of racial stereotypes, Monks' article confirms the above-mentioned racist romanticism that dominated the twenties, discussing the "revisionist" approach to the representation of blackness in The Wooster Group's performance, seen paradoxically as "*a means to investigate white identity*" (Monks, 2005:541). Monks also makes reference to Steen's reading of the same play as a melancholy embodiment of the artist's self-division and frustration over his own liminal position as an Irishman in American culture. In his article, Steen debates why the contemporary use of blackface in a representation of *Jones* is "*not only acceptable but preferable*" and also how could a play so appreciated for its audacious representation of blackness in the twenties could now be regarded as "*unacceptably racist*" (Monks, 2005:541). In the context of an awareness of how racial representation on stage frequently lead to a historical prejudicing of the other, Monks focuses on "*the intricacies of racial and cross-gender casting*", as he investigates the "*the problematic and reductive deployment of blackness as a metaphorical trope in the work of white artists*" (Monks, 2005: 543). Through their production of *The Emperor*

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*Jones*, Monks believes that the Wooster Group became “both the rewriters and the inheritors of Eugene O’Neill’s primitivist legacy” (Monks, 2005:543). The writing of *Jones* is therefore seen as pertaining to the modernist project of releasing the self from the domination of capitalism and industrialization, which meant that white western artists would identify with black stereotypes of the authentic self represented by a black body set against a primitive background context. In consonance with Steen, Monks interestingly links O’Neill’s appropriation of stage blackness to his Irishness and to the tradition of minstrelsy (blackface performance). Thus, Monks argues, O’Neill was not unlike his black protagonist – “*liminally and precariously colored*” (Monks, 2005: 545).

### 3. PARODY AND MELANCHOLIA

The connection between the Black and Irish stereotyping in O’Neill’s drama is a subject that was further probed into by Shannon Steen (2000), in her article entitled “Melancholy Bodies: Racial Subjectivity and Whiteness in O’Neill’s *The Emperor Jones*”. Hers is equally a study of whiteness and of “*a poetic psychic landscape that is persistently mapped onto black bodies*” (Steen, 2000:340) as it investigates

the sensuous, liberatory qualities attributed to black corporeality, the public display of remorse for that desire, and the convergence of these two phenomena in the experience of melancholia (Steen, 2000:340).

According to Steen, O’Neill mapped onto the body of Brutus Jones his own psychic and social alienation as marginalized Irishman, and so did other white spectators. Steen’s complex argumentation is indebted to the Freudian definition of melancholia and it is equally informed by insights from studies of cross-dressing. In her opinion, O’Neill’s construction of blackness is similar to that of gender in drag performances, another argument in support of the unknowability of O’Neill’s ultimate mask, that of his inner self:

The actor imitates O’Neill’s fantasy of blackness, which in turn is based on O’Neill’s own feelings of exclusion and alienation produced by his ambiguously positioned Irishness. Brutus Jones, then, is an imitation of blackness that is itself really an imitation of whiteness. (Steen, 2000: 356)

Monks further discusses the liminality of the racial positionings in the play as equally revealing O’Neill’s prejudices. Thus, Smithers’ “*presumption of power through his whiteness*” is undermined by his “*clown-like appearance*” justified by his belonging to an un-American (Cockney) ethnic category, while Jones’ “*destabilization of colour*” is indicated by his mimicry of whiteness. This is shown both in his outfit, which is a parodic version of a western military outfit, and in his physical description where O’Neill’s prejudice can easily be read: by mentioning that “*his features are typically negroid, yet there is something decidedly distinctive about his face*”, O’Neill distinguishes Jones by his physiognomy while taking for granted the homogeneity of the African –American race. Moreover, Jones learns “to mask himself as white through the economic exploitation of the other” but, as the play progresses, his “*white mask is stripped away, to reveal the ‘authentic’ identity beneath: embodied, superstitious, irrational, and black*” (Monks, 2005:547). As further evidence of O’Neill’s stereotypical representation of blackness, Monks mentions the feminization of Jones’ body that becomes an object of desire for the white audience, to the extent that O’Neill also “reconfigures Jones’ gendered status” by “stripping away his masquerade of color” and revealing that “*Jones parodic whiteness also contains a parodic masculinity*” (Monks, 2005:548).

### 4. CONCLUSION

According to Shaughnessy, O’Neill’s stereotyping of the Irish characters gradually gave way to portraits so unflattering in their realism that some Irish-Americans resented him. Yet, as William A. Shannon observed,

"those who thought him anti-Irish did not comprehend that for an artist, telling the truth is the highest act of love" (qtd in Shaughnessy 1995:154), and that a rejection of stereotype does not imply a denial of ethnic background. Shaughnessy notes the existence of two types of Irish characters: those who accept the logic of the American Dream at the price of eventual self-loathing and the existential misfits or "fog people". The latter are O'Neill's prototype for the tragic hero, as embodied in Larry Slade: "Such men, often lost in the modern world, are foredoomed to see life itself as tragic" (Shaughnessy, 1995:155).

Critics generally agree that the late plays provide the truly complex studies of Irish-Americans, while Mat Burke from the early *Anna Christie* comes closest to the Irish stereotype. The tragic theme connected to Irish identity is betrayal or self-betrayal which leads to an isolation that acquires universal force. Still, as Shaughnessy points out, O'Neill retained his partiality to the Irish Americans when he made them "deliver his darkest lines" (Shaughnessy, 1995:159).

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Cross-cultural  
Approach of  
Linguistics







## IDENTITY IN THE NAME: A SEMIOTIC PERSPECTIVE

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**Abstract:** *In this paper I discuss some designations to be found in road signs, business signs, restaurant signs and any other similar signs, which are used to signal location. Falling into the larger category of sign systems, they are highly visual and engage the public sphere and as such have a great potential for communicating cultural identity. I will draw on the semiotics of sign systems in order to identify the codes that govern these designations and also argue that they represent a new reality—cultural, mental, semantic, linguistic—largely affected by globalization. For the purposes of this analysis I will focus on the linguistic content of these signs and conduct some ethnographic research (interviews and observations) to see how favouring certain linguistic choices reflects the present-day tendency to negotiate identity in a cultural context marked by internationalism and globalization.*

**Keywords:** *identity, semiotics, sign systems, internationalism, globalization*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Road signs, shop signs and other related signs are part of the larger system of signs. We as individuals strive to “*make meanings through our creation and interpretation of 'signs'*” (Chandler, 2007: 13). Having no intrinsic meaning, these writings or images we come across become signs once we invest them with meaning. Linguists, more particularly semioticians, from Saussure and Pierce to Barthes, Hjelmslev, Eco and others, have proposed several models for the study of signs. Regardless the model proposed, I will depart from Saussure’s remark<sup>1</sup> as quoted by Chandler that

The relation between a signifier and its signified is not a matter of individual choice; if it were then communication would become impossible. ‘The individual has no power to alter a sign in any respect once it has become established in the linguistic community’ [...] (Chandler, 2007:27).

It is what the signs manage to communicate to a language community that is of my interest here. By focusing on signs which engage the public sphere, I intend to look into what they communicate to their receivers and how they reflect the identity of their senders. By identity I will mainly refer to cultural identity. To analyse the ways in which cultural signs like road signs, shop signs and similar signs reflect cultural identity, I will draw on three approaches – semiotic, ethnographic and cultural. I will try to prove how a semiotic model of signs lends itself to ethnographic evidence to account for identity as a cultural construct.

### 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In developing a semiotic perspective I will rely mainly on the concept of codes as very helpful in determining meaning because of their reliance on cultural and social knowledge. Instead of dividing signs into iconic, symbolic or indexical as someone adopting the Piercian division would do, I will instead make use of the notion of code, “that to which the sign refers” and “the culture within which these codes and signs operate” (Fiske,

<sup>1</sup> Saussure proposed a dyadic model of the sign, composed of the signifier (form) and the signified (concept).

1990:40). Thus in semiotics, road signs or shop signs fall under the category of social codes (Nöth, 1990:213).

Signs are “polysemic” in that like words they have denotations and connotations. Because connotation “*is used to refer to the socio-cultural and ‘personal’ associations (ideological, emotional etc.) of the sign*” (Chandler, 2007:138), it is in their connotations that they are more “polysemic”. In accounting for the social nature of signs, Branston and Stafford (2010:24) emphasize among other things the polysemic nature of signs:

signs are not fixed, or stable, but always polysemic, or capable of having several if not many meanings and associations. Control is attempted over the ambiguity of visual images, especially for news and advertising purposes, through the use of captions or voice-over commentary.

I will depart from this last quote to clarify here that for the purposes of this study, I will rely mainly on the linguistic content of these signs in order to investigate the linguistic choices made for names of shops, bars, restaurants, business activities, public institutions, streets and other locations. It is through the linguistic choices individuals and societies make that they communicate their cultural identity.

In developing the semiotic perspective, “*the concept of code is central*” (Dyer, 1986:131) here because codes enable meaning-making or what Eco calls semiosis. By code, Dyer (1986:131) means “*a set of rules or an interpretative device known to both transmitter and receiver, which assigns a certain meaning or content to a certain sign*”. According to Eco (1979: 61),

the codes [...] set up a ‘cultural’ world which is neither actual nor possible in the ontological sense; its existence is linked to a cultural order, which is the way in which a society thinks and speaks.

Codes fall under several classifications, but broadly speaking they can be classified into social, textual and interpretative (Chandler, 1990:149-150). The signs under discussion

follow social and textual codes for understanding. On the other hand,

Understanding such codes, their relationships and the contexts in which they are appropriate is part of what it means to be a member of a particular culture. Marcel Danesi has suggested that “a culture can be defined as a kind of ‘macro-code’, consisting of the numerous codes which a group of individuals habitually use to interpret reality. (qtd. in Chandler, 1990:148).

The understanding of the social codes which these signs involve is important because

Within a culture, social differentiation is ‘over-determined’ by a multitude of social codes. We communicate our social identities through the work we do, the way we talk, the clothes we wear, our hairstyles, our eating habits, our domestic environments and possessions, our use of leisure time, our modes of travelling and so on (Fussell, 1984). Language use acts as one marker of social identity. (Chandler, 1990:154)

It is exactly this point that I want to emphasize in this study. For this analysis I focused on several public signs such as names of institutions, state and private, names of streets, bars, restaurants and shops. To further evaluate my research findings in the light of identity expression, I also collected some ethnographic evidence mainly in the form of observations and interviews with owners of shops or bars in order to get some clues about their linguistic choices. Although I focused mainly on the linguistic representation of these signs, they also have a graphic representation, which adds value to the meaning conveyed by its linguistic content. But for the purposes of this study I was limited to their linguistic representation.

### 3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

For this study I selected public signs to be found in the city of Vlora, Albania. The reasons for this choice have in the first place to do with aspects of feasibility of research. Vlora is the city where I was born, live and work and therefore access to data was easy. But most important is the fact that Vlora has a

rich cultural and historical heritage and being situated by the seaside offers a great deal of tourist attractions. Therefore, I thought it interesting to look into what these public signs convey to the inhabitants of this city but also to the visitors who come to Vlora, usually in summer. It is necessary at this point to distinguish between what I will call *institutional* signs and *private* signs. I use the first term to designate signs signalling roads, schools, institutions or organizations. These can be state-owned or private-owned (schools for instance). In any case, the choice of names for this category of signs follows certain conventions or codes. The codes used to name them are often dictated by state policy and follow the norms of standard language. Thus streets are usually named after well-known people who have left a footprint in the history of Vlora and Albania. For example: Rruga<sup>2</sup> “Jeronim de Rada”, Rruga “Onufri”, Rruga “Anita Bitri”, Rruga “Meno Gjoleka” and so on. These signs clearly follow national or historical codes by paying homage to those who have contributed to the Albanian history, culture and society in centuries. In some other cases, the names given to streets are either abstract names or names of countries/cities. For instance: Rruga “Liria”<sup>3</sup>, Rruga “Kosova”.

It is interesting to note that the main street of the city is named Ismail Qemali, after the man who declared the independence. Many important institutions in the city are named after him, such as my university or a secondary school. In some other cases to remember the Independence Day, other designations are used such as “independence”, for instance. So, a private university here in Vlora is called “Pavarësia”, Albanian for “independence”, a hotel located in the square with this same name is also called “Pavarësia.” Thus it is no coincidence that the historical fact, which clearly identifies the city of Vlora with the act of the declaration of independence, an act of supreme importance in the history of any country, is present in these designations so as to commemorate this fact. So, the main squares in the city are “Sheshi i

Flamurit” (“The Flag Square”) and “Sheshi Pavarësia” (“Independence Square”).

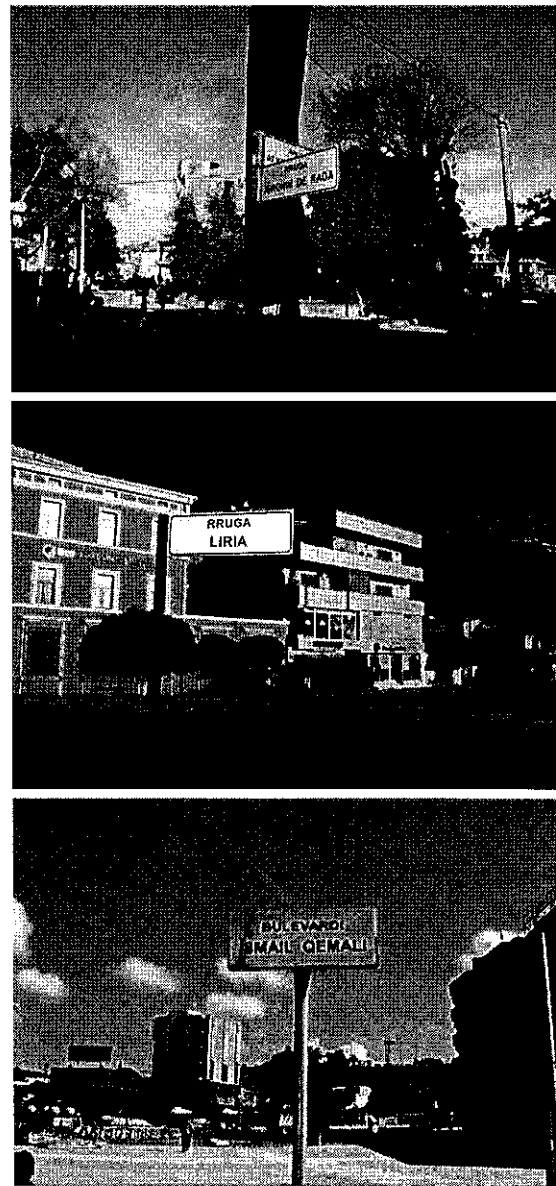


Fig.1 Pictures of streets and squares

It is clear that names of streets and institutions represent signs which follow social codes governed by national or cultural codes intended to represent a clear national, local and cultural identity to the inhabitants of the city but also to its foreign and native visitors.

A more interesting perspective is brought here by choices of names for bars, restaurants, shops, which are dependent on individual choices. It is for this reason that I decided to call these *private* signs. Although they engage the public sphere, they clearly contain a great

<sup>2</sup> Albanian for “street”.

<sup>3</sup> Albanian for “freedom”.

deal of the private and the individual. These are not very often dictated by national codes as in the case of the first category of signs. It is worth looking into the codes which use these signs to express a certain status, relation and, what is most important, personal identity. After analysing these signs I came to this classification of codes governing these signs:

1. *Personal codes*, that is, codes which reflect family status, name or identity. In most cases, people would choose family names for their shops. This was most often the case of small businesses. For instance, neighborhood bars, hairdressers' or other small businesses. Some examples include: Bar "Mustafa", Mobilieri<sup>4</sup> "Aliko", Parukeri<sup>5</sup>, "Lida", Piceri<sup>6</sup> "Rungaja" etc.

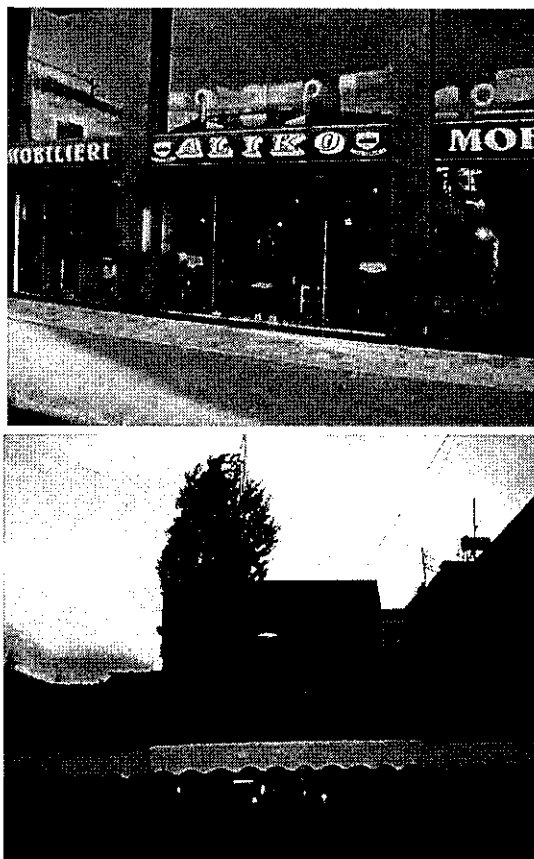


Fig. 2 Examples of shops using signs of personal codes.

2. *National/cultural codes*, that is, codes which reflect the national and cultural heritage

<sup>4</sup> Albanian for "furniture shop."

<sup>5</sup> Albanian for "hairdresser's."

<sup>6</sup> Albanian for "pizzeria."

and the consciousness of the city and the community as a whole. Some examples include: Hotel "Vlora", Hotel "Pavarësia", Restorant "Oriku", Piceri "Gostivari" etc.

3. *Location codes*, that is, codes which help visitors locate shops. This is most often the case of small shops, such as bookshops, but not only. For example: Librari-Kanceleri "Universiteti", Hotel "Vlora" etc.

4. *International codes*, by which I mean codes that employ foreign languages, names or any other signs other than native. These are of course of a more international appeal and what is more, you can find a whole range of such signs across the city, especially in the tourist or coastal area. Some examples are: Bar-Restorant "Holliday", Bar-Piceri "Millenium", Bar "Dolce Vita", Papillon Café etc.

5. *Franchising codes*, that is, codes that use signs which designate another firm's successful business model. This is most often the case with supermarkets. For example: Supermarket "Conad", Supermarket "Big Market", Supermarket "Euromax", Parukeri Mod's Hair etc.

Another interesting aspect to consider is the distribution of these signs with respect to their location and to each other. Here, I will consider two examples, that of "Sheshi i Flamurit" and "Sheshi Pavarësia". In the first location there are two hotels, one named Vlora and the other Lux, both facing the Monument of Independence in this square. Behind the first hotel, there is a bar named Halloween. In the second location, you find a hotel named Pavarësia and next to it a bar named Britannia.



Fig. 3. Hotel Vlora



Fig. 4. Hotel Lux.

The examples brought here suggest that the coexistence of these signs within the same location could be taken to testify to the effects of globalization.

#### 4. THE ETHNOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

I also conducted some ethnographic research in the form of observations and interviews to support the arguments brought above. As far as the institutional signs are concerned it can be said that they display certain uniformity in their semiotics. They follow national and cultural codes typical of the local communities and of the country. These are regulated by acts of law and decisions taken by the respective authorities. A document I came across on the website of the Municipality of Vlora, published 24 December 2008, cited a decision taken by the City Council regarding the naming of streets. The document strongly supported the argument that history should not be forgotten and anyone who had done something good for his/her country should be remembered and honoured. This is just one piece of evidence which reinforces the idea of maintaining and preserving cultural and national heritage and identity through acts of law or decisions of this kind.

For the second type of signs I relied mainly on observations and some interviews I conducted with some of the owners. In most cases the decision to name the bar or the restaurant after some famous celebration,

movie or any other thing of international character was a matter of personal choice and liking as confirmed by the interviews. An analysis of other signs besides the linguistic ones would confirm this. For instance, the picture below contains not only linguistic signs but also visual ones, which depend on the font, the size and the colour of the letters. What is more, letter “o” is shaped after an orange pumpkin, the symbol of Halloween. All of these signs communicate the idea that whoever enters this bar must be prepared to enter the atmosphere of this celebration.

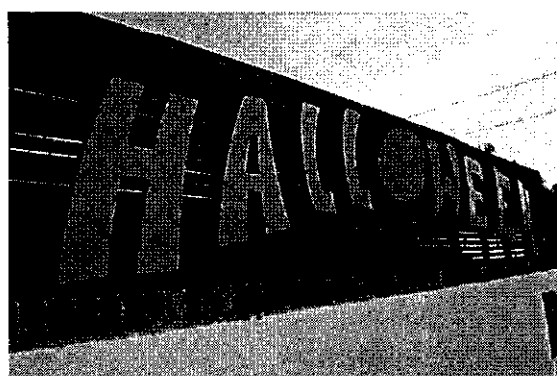


Fig.4 Halloween bar



Fig. 4. Bookshop “University”

In other cases owners reported that their choice was influenced by location. For example, the bookshop in the picture below is opposite the main university’s building. That is why, the owner of this shop thought of giving the name “university” to his shop so that students would easily identify it.

#### 5. COMMUNICATING IDENTITY

In “Identity and place: a critical comparison of three identity theories” Hauge

(2007) argues how place, that is architecture and environment, could play an important role on identity. Because identity works at various levels, place being among them, then it follows that naming places is an integral part of identity, either in manifesting it or recreating it.

The analysis here provided two trends in communicating identity, one that tends to preserve a distinct cultural and historical identity, notable mainly in institutional signs and another, which has already embraced the effects of globalization and displays a more comprehensive manifestation of identities. That globalization has affected our lifestyle is now a reality and for good or for bad we often tend to blame it. In "Globalization and Cultural Identity", Tomlinson (2003: 269; emphasis in original) argues that "cultural identity, properly understood, is much more the *product* of globalization than its victim." Despite the institutional resistance to keep the effects of globalization at bay, the situation proves a Foucauldian condition (Michel Foucault conceived of identity as unstable, fluid, dynamic and even multiple) with identity being fluid and unstable. It is then obvious that in a technological age of rapid developments, of shifting perceptions and representations, the need to feel globalized and to recreate and reproject identity in line with what is happening around us is stronger than the need to maintain a fixed and stable identity.

## 6. CONCLUSION

What can finally be said is that identity relies mostly on language in order to be communicated. Language, as proven by many post-structuralist thinkers (Derrida, for instance), is a shifting category. The analysis conducted here pointed to this same direction. Although the signs discussed here belonged to the public sphere, they differed in their orientation. The so-called institutional signs displayed a tendency for consistency of meaning and expression of a particular national and cultural identity. The second group of signs, the private, relying mainly on

the individual but making part of the same cultural system displayed a tendency for heterogeneity. Among them, some displayed a tendency for preserving national identity and the others a tendency to recreate it along international lines.

The coexistence of both types of signs in the same environment demonstrates a tendency towards fluidity and instability, of language, meaning and as a result of identity. Thus favouring certain linguistic choices reflects the present-day tendency to negotiate identity in a cultural context marked by internationalism and globalization.

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## SOME REMARKS ON CROSS-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN ILLOCUTIONS

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***Abstract:** This short article makes some general remarks on cross-cultural differences in the use of illocutions in English and Albanian. The first part discusses theoretical issues concerning language and culture as well as their interrelation and interdependence. They are both seen as sorts of normative behavior in the realm of performing speech acts. The second part focuses on the contrastive analysis of illocutions and intends to highlight some important cultural aspects in them. Searle's (1975) taxonomy of illocutions (representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations) has been adopted for this analysis. The discussion is concentrated on issues related to collectivity and individuality in representatives, direct and indirect strategies in directives, indirect refusals in commissives, psychological states in expressives and institutional nature of illocutions in declarations.*

***Keywords:** cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences, speech acts, illocutions.*

### 1. LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND SPEECH ACTS

The process of globalization in this age has undoubtedly had widespread effects on many aspects of our international integration and general interchanges. In this sense, it appears that we are all interrelated and interdependent economically, socially, culturally or even linguistically to different extents. Obviously, my main concern in this paper is to briefly discuss issues on language and culture and their interrelatedness in the process of a seemingly growing globalized world. Although the interrelation and interdependence between language and culture seem matters which most people would agree on, still

“the human tendency to see the world as divided into distinct peoples according to apparent, gross differences in language and custom seems to be nearly universal and to reflect something that is objectively real” (Goodenough, 1981:1).

Yet, similarities or differences among languages and cultures of different communities are relative and certainly not

absolute. There are linguistic aspects and cultural forms which are specific, some others which are universal and some others which fall in between (or overlap). Thus, perhaps we need to redefine the concept of language use and its interconnection with specific cultures in different speech communities. One way which could assist us is the reconception of cultural transmission and its perception in or through language use and vice-versa, granted that we ignore clear-cut boundaries in language/culture universals and differences (Toska, 2012:131). In this short contrastive study I attempt to show some cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences as well as overlapping and similar aspects which exist between Albanian and English, and which would give us some insights into what is to be understood with “globalized language/culture” and “distinctive language/culture”, particularly in speech acts.

But how and why language and culture are interrelated? This is obviously a complex and difficult issue to be discussed in this short article. Nevertheless, a few points can well be touched upon here before I discuss speech acts and continue with the contrastive analysis of

illocutions. Language in the general and simple sense is seen as a vital means of communication which enables our daily verbal and written interactions within a society or community and which enables the evolution of human beings. Culture is construed as a set of customs, norms and standards, and part of people's evolution, which enables human beings to perceive, (re)construct and interpret the world around them.

Moreover, Goodenough (1981:5) observes that "*by a language we mean a body of standards for speech behavior, a body of organizing principles for giving order to such behavior*". He provides the example of learning French. "*To learn French, for example, is to learn standards for communicative oral behavior and to develop skill in applying them both to shaping our own behavior and to apprehending the behavior of others [French]*". Similarly, Goodenough (1981:62) looks at "culture as a product of human learning". For instance, people learn how to organize "their experience of the real world so as to give it structure as a phenomenal world of forms, that is, their percepts and concepts". Thus, both language and culture are thought to be specific sorts of behavior which can be learned. And, more importantly, human experience (culture included) is expressed in great part by language and is stored and retrieved through it; only a small part of it could do without language (Goodenough, 1981:49-50).

However, the notions of both language and culture (and their interrelation) are complex and even more specific. Austin maintains that the use of language goes beyond the assumption that its purpose is "always and simply to *state* something". Language use is a case (an act) "in which to *say* something is to *do* something; or in which *by* saying or *in* saying something we are doing something" (1975:12). This means that such use is a contextualized linguistic act, or speech act, as he names it, which serves a specific function in communication, such as apologizing, promising, congratulating, appointing, requesting, refusing etc. After all, all our speech acts represent particular intentions (intentional acts). Therefore, "an intentional

act is characterized by the agent's intention *for* the act; this is what the agent intends for her act to be - what she intends to be doing" (Kearns, 1994:50). For instance, if someone makes an utterance such as *I apologize for my tardy reply.*, (s)he is performing an act of apology in a certain sociocultural context and not simply stating that (s)he replied lately (say, to a letter). This act obviously requires not only sufficient knowledge of linguistic structures or semantic meanings in a certain language (in our case in English), but also extralinguistic factors such as background knowledge, and more importantly social and cultural factors, which are central to the study and analyses of speech acts.

Central as intentionality is to the study of speech acts, it is not my main concern in this paper. I mainly focus on a few contrastive aspects of speech acts in Albanian and English within the cultural dimensions. There are, however, a few remarks to be made before I go to the next section of the paper. Some scholars (Clark and Schunk, 1980; Gibbs 1985; Fraser, Rintell and Walters, 1980 cited in Wierzbicka, 2003:25-26) claim that speech acts and their interrelated sociocultural aspects are based on conventional and universal principles in a way that what is true for English is also relevant to other languages. Furthermore, these scholars neglect some cross-linguistic differences and cross-cultural aspects in performing speech acts by regarding them as not significant in their studies. Wierzbicka (2003, 25-26) maintains that "*they take it for granted that what seems to hold for the speakers of English must hold for 'people generally'*", but "cultural norms reflected in speech acts differ not only from one language to another, but also from one regional and social variety to another." Therefore, in analyzing speech acts one should also consider their cultural features, for in performing them we behave linguistically and culturally at the same time.

## 2. A PILOT STUDY OF (INTER)CULTURAL ILLOCUTIONS

In this second part of the paper I intend to briefly discuss some aspects of the cultural dimensions in speech acts, especially



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illocutionary acts, as being the more common and important from the other two, the locutionary and perlocutionary acts. For the pragmatic contrastive analysis between English and Albanian illocutions I will rely on the alternative taxonomy of illocutionary acts which Searle (1975) presents in his work. These basic categories are: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations. It should be highlighted from the very beginning that only a limited number of examples (illocutions) will be discussed in this short work and that concise explanations on similar, overlapping or different cultural values will be provided (particularly in the first three). This is mainly because this work is intended to be a short pilot study, although I admit that the topic deserves a more thorough study both in the theoretical and empirical levels than it has been possible to conduct up to now.

*Representatives* include mainly assertions of expressed propositions in the declarative form, which count as statements of facts and which represent the world as interlocutors perceive it. There appear to be no very significant distinctions between Albanian and English here. For instance, the following utterances carry no cultural implications in the illocutionary force they transmit, for they both assert a statement of fact which is empirically valid (or true) for native speakers of the respective languages and do not imply extralinguistic factors and effects (under normal circumstances) that determine their use and interpretation as well.

Torinua është një nga qytetet më të mëdha në Itali por, kryeqyteti është Roma.

Turin is one of the biggest cities in Italy, but the capital is Rome.

However, there are some other illocutionary acts which fall within this category and which tend to be rather culturally different from one language to the other, and which tend to be based on speaker's belief. In this case the test of validity for these utterances does not count, since they can transmit various illocutionary forces, which depend not so much on the worldview

(perception) as on speaker's belief. One instance of these representative acts is when interlocutors express opinions, stances or viewpoints, as in the examples below.

Mendoj / Besoj se kjo çështje mund të trajtohet në takimin e ardhshëm.

I think / I believe that this issue can be discussed in the next meeting.

In both examples performative verbs have been used (*mendoj* and *besoj* in Albanian and *think* and *believe* in English) to perform illocutionary acts. In English such cases are very frequent, and it should be said that they are not uncommon in Albanian either. However, the general tendency in Albanian (especially in speech) is to use constative utterances more frequently rather than performative ones in order to perform representative acts, in which case performative verbs that state illocutions are excluded, as illustrated in the following examples.

Nuk do të thonë gjë.

They won't say anything.

Është mënyra më e mirë për t'a festuar ditelindjen.

It's the best way to celebrate this birthday.

I believe there are two reasons for this. First, in the Albanian culture it is more common to approach things as collective issues rather than as individual ones. This is partially inherited from the communist regime, in which individuals were not able to express their own opinions freely. An opinion or stance was often to be regarded as one which was shared by most people and other alternatives were often not possible. And second, these acts are expressed more forcefully and directly as constative utterances rather than as performative ones, in which case most statements are to be transmitted as facts rather than as individual beliefs. In the Anglo-Saxon culture, as far as I can perceive, individuals respect much more their privacy, and consequently they tend not to impose their opinions on others. What is stated is often regarded as one's own individual belief (and which is not sharply stated), which motivates

the frequent use of some performative verbs in the class of representatives.

Obviously, it is common in both languages to use either performatives or constatives in relation to specific contexts and interlocutors' conversational purposes, as it is also commoner to use more constatives in Albanian when opinions are expressed. The claims that I have made, of course, need to be supported by a large-scale study, but some preliminary results that I have obtained from a small project on the use of performative verbs in both languages encouraged me to come to the above-mentioned tentative conclusion, that of collectivity versus individuality as cultural influence in representatives. There are also other cases in which Albanian and English differ when representative illocutionary acts are performed. For instance, in English one frequent way to consent to something is by using the performative expression *I agree with*, for which the most common Albanian equivalents are *pajtohem me* or *bashkohem me*. But they are almost always used in written language and would sound inappropriate in spoken language, in which case we very frequently use *Jam dakord*.

Jam dakord me këtë zgjedhje.  
I agree with this choice.

I doubt that this use is culturally motivated, because in all likelihood it is a borrowing from the Italian expression *sonno d'accordo*. However, this use could be seen as a sign of "language and culture globalization", an issue which I mentioned at the beginning of this article. Similar examples include the use of performative expressions such as *konkludoj* (from English *conclude*) instead of *arrij në përfundimin*, *aprovoj* (from *approve*) instead of *miratoj* or *garanttoj* (from *guarantee*) instead of *siguroj*.

*Directives* include requests, invitations, suggestions, orders, advice etc., which are performed by the speaker in order to get someone to do something. I will focus only on requests in this short discussion.

Some differences can be noticed when making requests through imperative utterances. Generally speaking, both in

Albanian and English these sound rather inappropriate in most normal circumstances and are often taken as orders to show authority by the speaker, as illustrated below.

Mos fol më!  
Don't speak anymore!

It is frequent in Albanian to make requests by using direct imperatives combined with two particular particles *pak* and *një çik*, which both mean *a bit* and which apparently have no direct English equivalents with the same pragmatic meaning. In the first example below the speaker is asking the hearer to close the door of the car, a request which is softened by the use of these particles. In requests like this we can also use *please*, as it is the case in English (second examples below). And it is even possible to make a request in the form of a question (last examples below).

Mbylle pak / një çik derën e makinës.  
Të lutem mbylle derën e makinës.  
Please close the door of the car.  
A e mbyll dot derën e makinës?  
Can you close the door of the car?

The frequency degree of these imperatives in Albanian is in the order given above, from the most to the least common. But unlike English, Albanian lacks other ways or directing requests, such as the use of question tags or that of conditional structures, as illustrations below show.

Close the door of the car, can't you?  
I wonder if you could tell me the way to the airport.

It seems to me that even in directives there are some significant cultural differences in performing illocutionary acts. In Albanian the speaker usually asks the hearer "to make *a bit* of an effort" in order to perform an action, while in English the speaker opts for question-like requests when asking the hearer to do something. Culturally speaking, a more direct pragmatic strategy to make requests is preferred when performing directive

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illocutionary acts in Albanian, while a more indirect approach is chosen in English.

*Commissives* include speech acts through which the speaker commits himself to some future action and through which (s)he transmits illocutionary acts of intention for a commitment that is undertaken, such as a promise, a bet, an offer, a pledge, a refusal, a vow etc. Presumably, one of the most frequent acts in this category is the act of promising, which could be expressed explicitly (though the performative expression *I promise*) or implicitly (though a constative utterance), as shown in the two examples below.

Të premtoj se do të vij në takim.  
I promise I'll come to the meeting.

Do të vij në takim.  
I'll come to the meeting.

Generally speaking, in performing illocutionary acts of promising, the syntactic structure of the utterances remains almost identical both in Albanian and in English. For instance, in the first couple of examples above the structure is *I promise (that) + verb + noun phrase*, and in the second couple *I will + verb + noun phrase*.

It is supposed, however, that in performing these types of acts the speaker increases the degree of strength regarding his future commitment. As a result of this, the sincerity condition is extremely important in performing such acts. For example, performing an act of promising is not the same as performing an act of offering, in which case the speaker is performing a conditional illocutionary act which depends on the acceptability of the hearer rather than on the speaker's full commitment, such as in the cases when you say *I can come to the meeting, if you want* or *I can help you*.

One of the main differences which are culturally related in performing an act of promising between Albanian and English is the fulfillment of the sincerity condition. I believe that it is not rare in Albanian to perform illocutionary acts of promising even if the speaker does not intend to commit himself to one particular action. Of course, at this point, I am not suggesting that Albanians tend

to lie as part of their culture in some of their commissive speech acts. What I am suggesting is that there is a tendency in Albanian to show tokens of indirectness rather than tokens of directness when committing oneself to an act, like the one below.

A: Do vish në takim sot?

B: Do vij.

A: Will you come to the meeting today?

B: I will.

In this case the hearer seems to be reluctant to reject explicitly the possibility of attending the meeting. Rather, (s)he promises to be present at the meeting because (s)he dares not to directly refuse the invitation to the meeting. The contradictory phenomenon here is the fulfillment of the sincerity condition and the reluctance to follow it in the future. I am far from generalizing my claim here, since these acts should be analyzed more thoroughly and on a larger scale. But, I assume that indirect refusals of this kind might have cultural implications.

*Expressives* express a psychological state of the speaker which could be transmitted linguistically through a statement of pleasure, joy, sorrow, pain, regret, hope etc. Both in Albanian and English, more often than not, expressive acts are performed through performative expressions rather than through constatives.

Të falenderoj për ndihmën.

I thank you for your help.

This is motivated by the fact that such illocutionary acts state explicitly the psychological state of the speaker (and not generally an action), so the hearer does not have to deduce himself the act performed in such cases. Furthermore, Searle (1975:357) maintains that the internal syntactical organization of these category of speech acts requires a performative verb followed by a gerund (or noun) which would state the act and specify the propositional content of an expressive, rather than name a specific performed act, like for instance, in directives. Perhaps it is for the fact that these

illocutionary acts express psychological states that cultural aspects and cultural differences are not easily noted. However, an important question should be resolved before coming to this conclusion. Are basic psychological processes universal (like feeling sorry or grateful to someone) or might they be influenced by some cultural factors?

*Declarations* include illocutionary acts, which, when uttered by the appropriate speaker and in particular situations are capable of changing the world. In addition, they involve extralinguistic institutions, in which interlocutors occupy certain positions. For instance, the employer of a television company might dismiss one of his employees by saying *Je i pushuar!* - *You are sacked!* or the head of a commission might resign by performing the illocutionary act of resignation: *Për arsyet e sipërpërmendura, jap doreheqjen nga kjo detyrë.* - *For the above-mentioned reasons, I resign from this position.* Other instances of declarations include declarations, renouncements, confirmations, nominations, appointments etc.

I have been unable in the present study to note any cultural differences in declarations between Albanian and English. This could be owing to the fact that declarations are somehow institutionalized and more specific to certain situations and certain interlocutors. As in the other classes of illocutionary acts discussed, declarations require a carefully built corpus of real examples to highlight possible differences, but I do expect that their specific nature and their small number could make the contrastive study even more difficult.

### 3. FINAL REMARKS

In this pilot study I attempted to demonstrate that the interrelation between language and culture could well be reflected in speech acts as well. The cultural dimensions in these acts was approached here from a contrastive perspective, which, hopefully, has given some insights into some cultural differences between Albanian and English speech acts and how to pursue future work in a more thorough and systematic way.

Despite the limited number of examples of speech acts considered in this paper, some general remarks can be made. For instance, in English representatives transmit individuality cultural aspects (mainly through performatives), while in Albanian they seem to convey signs of collectivity representation (mainly through constatives). In Albanian directness appears to be a more preferable strategy when directives are performed, while in English indirectness is the chosen alternative. In commissives the opposite seems to be the case. Unlike in English, in Albanian interlocutors opt for indirect refusals in the form of a promise. Expressives, which convey various psychological states, and declarations, which are institutionalized acts, were not given enough attention owing to my research limitations in this paper, but they do seem promising illocutionary acts which might provide interesting material for future studies.

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## THE GAME AND THE PLAY OF TRANSLATION

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**Abstract:** *The article discusses the concepts of game and play in different languages. Applications of game theory to linguistic issues are shown. A game-theoretic model is proposed as a way to represent translation, defined as both written and oral discourse intended to render a message expressed in one language into another language*

**Keywords:** *translation, game theory, game, play, author, reader, translator.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The application of game theory to linguistic issues traces back to David Lewis' dissertation (Lewis, 1969), where he showed that the game theoretic notion of a Nash equilibrium is apt to explain how a linguistic convention can be self-sustaining in a community. While the game theoretic investigation of communication was mostly pursued by economists and biologists in the quarter century after Lewis' work (see for instance Crawford & Sobel 1982; Maynard Smith 1991), since the mid-nineties formal linguists and philosophers of language have paid increasing attention to the potential of game theory to the analysis of language use and language evolution (see for instance Dekker and van Rooij, 2000; Parikh, 2001; van Rooij, 2004; Skyrms, 2010 or the papers in Benz *et al.*, 2005; Pietarinen, 2007).

At least since Lewis (1969), the strategic aspects of communication have intrigued game theorists, and there is a considerable body of literature on this topic by now. Most game theoretic studies of communication are not concerned with the specific properties of natural languages though. On the other hand, linguists have taken little notice of this line of research (with some notable exceptions like Arthur Merin and Prashant Parikh; cf. Merin 1999 or Parikh 2001) until the turn of the century, despite its obvious relevance. Within

the last few years, this situation has changed somewhat. Various linguists and philosophers of language interested in pragmatics or language evolution started to study and employ game theoretic techniques. Research projects to this effect are under way in Amsterdam, Berlin, Bielefeld, at Northwestern University, the University of Pennsylvania, and perhaps at other places as well. A number of workshops about game theory and language/linguistics have taken place in recent years, organized both by linguists (like the special session on game theory at the Mathematics of Language meeting at Bloomington in 2003, the bi-annual conference 'Games and Decisions in Pragmatics', which takes place since 2003 in Berlin, or the colloquium 'New Perspectives on Games and Interaction' at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Science in 2007) and by economists (like a recent workshop on Communication, Game Theory, and Language at the Kellogg School of Business of Northwestern University). Last but not least, several biologists use the evolutionary interpretation of game theory to study the evolution of communication in biological systems, including natural language (see, for instance, the chapter on language evolution in Nowak 2006 and the references cited therein). In sum, a lively interdisciplinary community has emerged in recent years, which uses game theoretic techniques to study

genuinely linguistic problems. The collection 'Game Theory and Pragmatics' (Benz *et al.*, 2005), which contains contributions from linguists, economists, and philosophers of language, provides a representative sample of papers from this novel interdisciplinary field.

When trying to analyse or define the concept of *game* and *play* one must always bear in mind that the idea as we know it is defined and perhaps limited by the words we use for it. Words and ideas, as J. Huizinga puts it, are not born of scientific or logical thinking, but of creative language (Huizinga 1949/1980:28). Nobody will expect that every language, in forming its idea of *play* and *game* and expression for it, could have come across the same idea or would have found a single word for it, just as there is one definite word for *mother* or *father*. However, the matter is certainly not as simple as that.

Huizinga defines the concept of *play* as follows:

play is a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place, according to rules freely accepted but absolutely binding, having its aim in itself and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy and the consciousness that it is "different" from "ordinary life" (Huizinga 1949/1980:28).

Huizinga believes that thus defined, the concept is capable to embrace everything that is called *play* in animals, children and adults and various kinds of games. He ventures to call the category *play* one of the most fundamental categories of life.

It is quite remarkable that the word *ludus* (from Latin - game, play, sport) has not only not passed into the Romance languages, but has left hardly any traces there. *Ludus* has been supplanted by a derivative of *jocus*, which extended its specific sense of joking and jesting to game and play in general. Thus, Romanian has *joc*, *joaca*, *a juca*, French has *jeu*, *jouer*, Italian *gioco*, *giocare*, Spanish *juego*, *jugar*. It is only in adjectives (*ludic*, *ludique*, *ludico*) that we see traces of *ludus*. The issue of whether the disappearance of *ludus* and *ludere* is due to phonetic or semantic

reasons is beyond the scope of the present article.

The Germanic languages seem to have no common word for *play* or *game*. J. Huizinga believes that this may be explained by the fact that in the hypothetical archaic Germanic period play had not yet been conceived as a general idea. As soon as each individual branch of the Germanic languages came up with a word for play, these words all developed semantically in exactly the same way, or rather this extensive and seemingly heterogeneous group of ideas was understood under the heading of *play* (Huizinga 1949/1980:36).

The English words *play*, *to play* are very remarkable from the semantic point of view. Etymologically the word seems to come from the Anglo-Saxon *plega*, *plegan*, meaning primarily *play* or *to play*, but also rapid movement, a gesture, a grasp of the hand, playing a musical instrument and other activities (<http://www.bosworthtoller.com/025269>). Modern English still preserves much of this wider significance (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/play>).

The word *game*, even though often used synonymously with *play*, also has the meaning of procedure or strategy used to gain an end, a competition (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/game>).

## 2. LINGUISTIC APPROACH. THE GAME OF TRANSLATION

Game theory proposes to study the behaviour of two or more people with conflicting interests, as in a competition. The theory was initially formulated by John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern in the work *Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour*. The simplest model of game is the two-person, zero-sum game with perfect information and optimal strategy. In this kind of games there are two players, the game ends after a certain number of moves have been made, there is always a winner and a loser and there is a strategy that allows the player who makes the first move to win irrespective of the moves made by the other player. Formal game theory

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also operates on the assumption that players act rationally.

What economists call game theory psychologists call the theory of social situations, which is an accurate description of what game theory is about. Although game theory is relevant to parlour games such as poker or bridge, most research in game theory focuses on how groups of people interact. There are two main branches of game theory: cooperative and non-cooperative game theory. Non-cooperative game theory deals largely with how intelligent individuals interact with one another in an effort to achieve their own goals.

Very few games and real-life situations, however, are zero-sum with perfect information. Most players and social actors aim for optimal strategies on the basis of imperfect information. Players arrive at this optimal strategy by way of a pay-off matrix, a formal device that lists the alternatives and strategies available to players and allows them to evaluate outcomes so that they can choose the optimal strategy.

Far from being limited to games in a limited sense of the word, Game Theory is the mathematical study of rational social interaction and, as such, it is reasonable to expect it to be able to shed light on language use as well. Perhaps more than anything, it promises to have the potential to explain why communication works the way it does. For if we could show that people's linguistic behaviour conforms with what it would be rational for them to do, then this would have substantial explanatory value.

The question of optimization appears to be central to the theory and practice of translation<sup>1</sup> however few translation theoreticians have applied the insights of formal game theory to translation. A notable exception from this is Jiří Levý, who

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<sup>1</sup> We shall define translation similarly to K. Reiss and H. Vermeer. Translation to us is both written and oral discourse intended to render a message expressed in one language into another language. So far we haven't managed to coin a better term for this activity. The game of translation does not fully reflect the content of this activity.

attempted to construct a formal model for the decision process in translation (Levý, 1967). Levý of course did not think that translation would allow to develop strategies that would work if not in all, than in almost all cases, but he suggested that translators solve their tasks according to the minimax principle. He argued that

translation theory tends to be normative, to instruct translators on the optimal solution; actual translation work, however, is pragmatic: the translator resolves for one of the possible solutions which promises a maximum of effect with a minimum of effort. That is to say, he intuitively resolves to the MINIMAX STRATEGY" (Levý 1967:1179).

We agree with Michael Cronin, who believes that the shortcomings of Levý's theory are partly those of a formal game theory itself (Cronin 2001:92). The assumption that players, in our case translators, act rationally is constantly contradicted by various factors that determine translation choices: stress, speed, fatigue etc. Quantification of those factors, in our view, is a major difficulty for any formal game theoretic representation of translation process. Plus, the issue of imperfect information is not properly dealt with. Game theory deals with the issue of imperfect information by assigning probabilities to alternatives and establishing pay-off matrices. However, in translation such matrices quickly become extremely complex. It is only in the presence of a restricted vocabulary and syntax and in a sharply restricted text type that optimal strategies may be developed. They may allow a machine to produce a translation that would be comparable in quality with the translation produced by humans.

The notion of strategy, as used in games, needs to be somewhat refined in translation theory. If reading a text is a dialogical activity and texts are partly generated by reader's interpretive strategies, then where does this leave the translator? Are translators model readers (in Eco's terminology) or are they a particular kind of readers?

Our further ideas are based on observations of the work of fellow translators, as well as the work of students in the online club *The Craft of Language*, which is conducted under the same name of the social network Facebook (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/505868506098643/>). 19 students of the first year Master of Moldova State University, major in English philology, were observed. Students were asked to translated small texts of different genres from English into Russian and Romanian.

Translation to us is an infinite game, which means that rules of it may change at any time (for details about finite and infinite games of translation see Carse, 1987). The dramatic paradox of the infinite game is in the fact that you can only have something if you pass that something to others. The game of translation for any kind of text, following the idea expressed by E. Kunitsyna in the context of the study of translations Shakespeare as game, can be divided into two components: author – translator/interpreter, translator/interpreter – audience (Kunitsyna E., 2009:75). One must

clearly distinguish between these two stages because there are cases when, after reading or hearing a phrase in any language it is not always possible to immediately convey its meaning, even by means of the native language. Those stages were clearly visible in the activities of students. They first needed to understand the message and only after that could they proceed to formulating it in Russian or Romanian, as they were asked. If there is experience of working with a particular type of text, the game author-translator may not be visible at all, as many procedures are habitual and automatized.

It is also necessary to distinguish between translation as equivalent substitution and translation-interpretation as a search for the appropriate equivalent using special knowledge (about the topic of messages, about the culture of native speakers, means to express a particular idea about the context of communication, etc.).

The game of translation may conventionally be represented as follows:

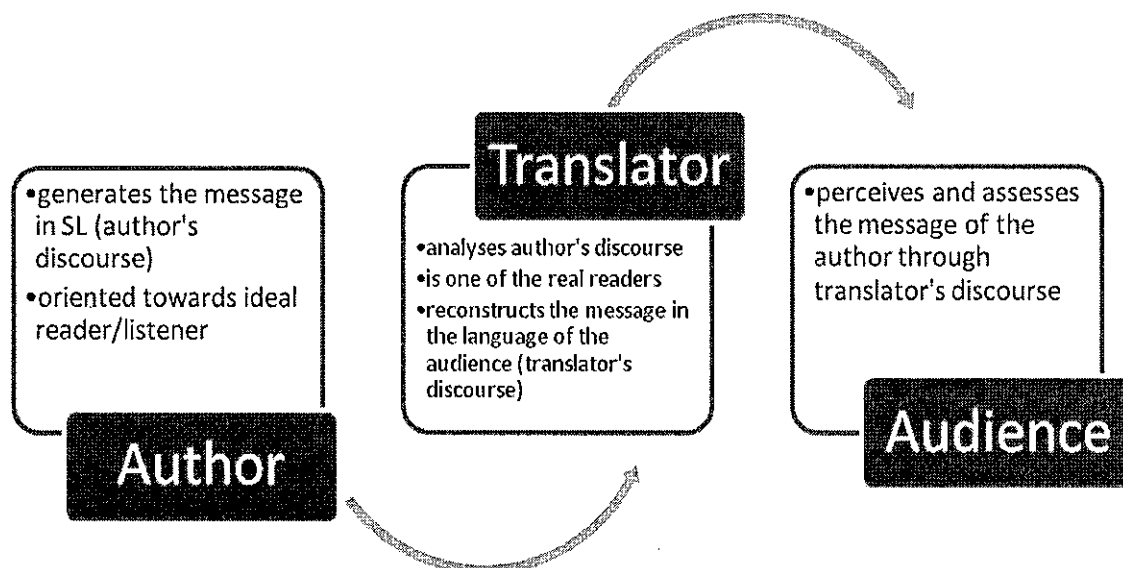


Fig. 1 The game of translation

### 3. A NEW PERSPECTIVE

During the *Translation Braintwister*, a weekly online translation club where master degree students from the State University of

Moldova participate (<http://www.facebook.com/groups/505868506098643/>), we have clearly noticed the existence of the two stages. The students were unable to produce a good translation until they would clearly understand



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the meaning of the author's discourse. If understanding was achieved in all cases the students were able to correct the statement in the target language on their own, without any assistance.

Equivalence was a key word in the linguistics-based translation theories of the 1960s and 1970s, although its basic mode of thought may be traced back to Cicero and later to the Renaissance theories that began to presuppose languages of equal status. Close inspection reveals that some theories assume pre-existing equivalents and are thus concerned with a search for "natural" equivalence. Other theories allow that translators actively create equivalents, and are thus concerned with "directional" equivalence. These two approaches are often intertwined, giving rise to many misunderstandings and unfair criticisms of the underlying concept. The historical undoing of the equivalence paradigm came when the directional use of the term allowed that equivalence need be no more a belief or expectation at the moment of reception, which need not be substantiated on the level of linguistic forms. At the same time, source texts became less stable and languages have been returning to more visibly hierarchical relations, further undermining the concept (for more details see for example A. Pym, 2007).

It is cognitive linguistics that advocates the more holistic perception of the text, hence in this light we propose to study translation via conceptual integration theory, proposed by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner. The theory is based on the idea of mental spaces, defined as follows:

partial structures that proliferate when we think and talk, allowing a fine-grained partitioning of our discourse and knowledge structures" (Fauconnier & Turner 1997:11).

Correspondences between mental spaces are of a complex nature and can be elaborated by means of information that does not originate from spaces in question, but can also stem from conceptual domains related to such mental spaces. Therefore, the internal structure of mental spaces is said to be motivated in both a conceptual and experiential manner (Fauconnier & Turner 2006:333).

The associations between various mental spaces are called mappings. They are activated when an individual conceptualizes the surrounding world. They are culturally and lexically rooted, hence they lie at the heart of semantic comprehension, language interpretation and mental constructions (Fauconnier & Sweetser 1996:5-6).

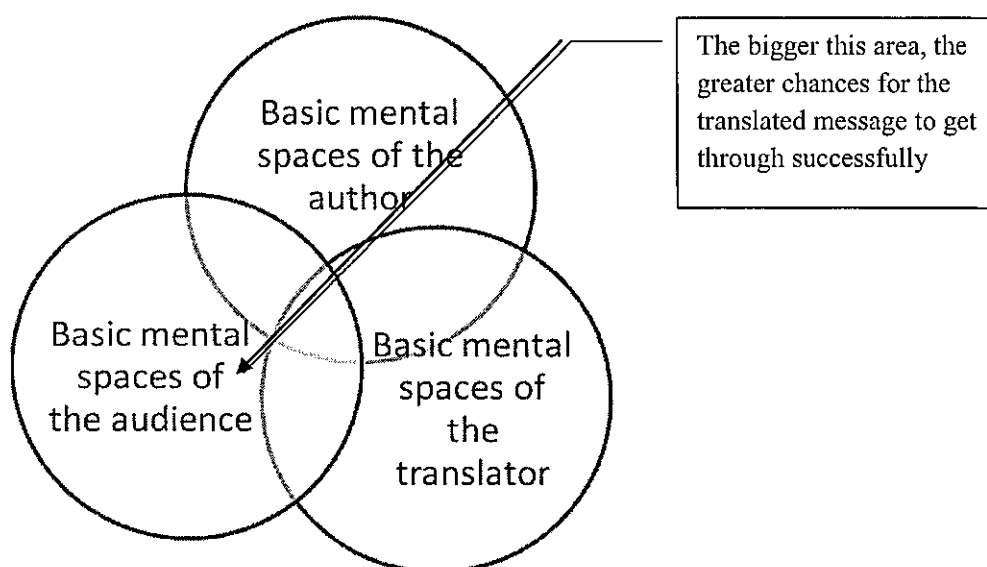


Fig. 2 The conceptual integration theory

Fauconnier and Turner postulate that conceptual integration theory ought to be treated as a universally acknowledged basic process which underlies human thought and language (Fauconnier & Turner, 2003:31-38). Despite the fact that blending mental spaces has become a prevailing theory in many areas of study, which certainly qualifies as an asset, the proponents of the theory have also suggested that it should be rendered as a simple cognitive procedure, applicable not only to complex scientific issues, but first and foremost to everyday processes of human understanding. Clearly, the human ability to produce texts in different languages is one such fundamental cognitive process as well.

The author of a text, being able to work with a specific set of mental spaces (for more details see for example (Fauconnier & Turner, 2006) begins to construct a mixed space. The number of mental spaces depends on the individual characteristics of the discourse personality. Mental spaces materialize in the mind when we think or say something. They, being universal to all languages and cultures, identify discourse and language structures. As a result of the creative process appears the text (a product of author's discourse). Now, the goal of translator as player is to identify basic spaces and reconstruct them (the term reverse engineering reflects the essence of the process quite accurately).

The shape and size of the area where the three sets of spaces overlap will differ, but if all the three areas do not overlap – successful translation is not possible.

The task of the translator in the game of strategy that she plays is rather tricky as the translation must fit into the family of similar texts, initially written in the target language.

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Language Learning





## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TURKISH LANGUAGE: HOW TO USE IT, HOW TO TEACH IT

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*Abstract: This paper gives an outlook on the field of teaching the Turkish language in Romania, state policies regarding the protection of the national minorities and their right to learn and be taught. The body of the paper is dedicated to detailed information about the text-books issued in Romania for students with the International Business and Economics, the Academy of Economic Studies, Bucharest. The concluding section underlines the importance of the language and cultural in building intercultural bridges based on mutual respect of differences and dialogue practice.*

*Keywords: ethnical community, the Turk-Tatar community, the right to learn and be taught, the Turkish language text-books.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a Turkish language course, which is an elective course for students at the International Business and Economics, the Academy of Economic Studies, Bucharest. First the study explores the opportunities and limits of the internal and external conditions, other courses. I emphasized Romanian state policies regarding the protection of the national minorities and their right to learn and be thought as I coordinated some students belonging to the Turk-Tatar community living in Romania. I underlined the objectives and the methods that were established. Finally my study presents the teaching material and emphasizes the books compiled and edited by the author.

### 2. INSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND

The Faculty of International Business and Economics has always attached a great importance to foreign languages: students have to take an entrance examination in a chosen language, they learn two other foreign language, but one of the two languages should be an elective course and sit an examination

in order to get a degree. The curriculum had been altered on several occasions until the necessity of a total review that was realized in 2012. The first step contained one element which reappeared in many subsequent versions: the shift from courses of *Turkish language* to *Communicating in Turkish language*. As the curriculum is changed and Turkey showed its intentions to be a part of the European family I considered that cross-cultural communication lessons were quite logical. The course was unprecedented in our faculty and I had to change the syllabus, the teaching material. I worked more on intercultural and cross-cultural communication in the new context (Butnaru, 2000: 83-99). The new course was launched in the fall term of the 2012 / 2013 academic year as an elective course with 2 (two) groups.

### 3. EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL LIMITING CIRCUMSTANCES

The decision about the new curriculum left a short time to prepare the syllabus and the teaching material. The first barrier was the shortage of relevant literature; a second one was how little research had been done in this

field in Romania. At the beginning of the course students were asked to write down what they thought about the course of *Communicating in Turkish*, and unexpected but many students had a very clear idea on what they expected from the course (Enăchescu *et al.*, 2012:93-96).

A very important constraint is the time available for the course but for a time the possibility of having 1 (one) seminar per week was agreed. I consider it is essential that some printed matter should be given in the students hands, and on the other hand our students insist on having books. So, I recommended the text-book *Türk Uygarlığı 1. Pratik Türkçe*. The book was prepared for students studying Turkish four hours per week, and it was issued with the Printing house Prouniversitaria, in 2012 by the author of the study. My main permanent ideas were formulated as to what the course material should be like. Though I analyzed some books issued, printed and edited in Turkey for the Turkish language as a second language. I observed that activities designed for social environment, home, family almost invariably required a substantial amount of experience, something that my students missed. However, the assumption was that people behave and act in approximately the same way in their private lives as in their professional environment. So, I considered that by analyzing patterns of culture in everyday behaviour, students should get an insight into professional and private life, and be able to relate the information they learn today to practices they experience in the future.

Second, the material should not be very difficult to teach and study and the reasons included that most students would have difficulties in learning dialogs, grammar and text in Turkish. I also take into consideration the fact that the majority of my students are pragmatic and they expect something tangible and useful as an outcome of such a course.

Third, the books should not be very academic but useful for students with a background of Turkish language as it happens with my students belonging to Turk-Tatar community. It is well known the fact that Romania state policies encourage the right to learn and be taught. Romanian's state policies

highlight the multi-ethnic character of the population as reflected in its institutions, policies and practices. Today, in Romania the state policies face the protection of the linguistic rights of the national minorities, in accordance with the international legislation. Every person belonging to a national minority shall have the right to express, preserve and develop in complete freedom his/her religious, ethnic, linguistic and/or cultural identity, without being subjected to any attempt at assimilation against his/her will (*Recommendation 1201*, 1993). As a consequence the law of Education changed a lot and it was a result of many years of recommendations from the Council of Europe.

#### 4. OBJECTIVES

While working at these books I established some objectives, so that at the end of the course my students shall: Be more aware about grammar and language differences; Be more aware about cultural differences; Be more tolerant with the others. Gain more information and knowledge about Turkish culture and civilization. From my objectives it is clear that I attempted the course to be designed primarily to train students to acquire language skills but also to gain the necessary information about Turkish culture and civilization in an intercultural environment.

#### 5. METHODS

The increasing opportunity to travel, the spread of internet and television channels (*Kanal D Romania*), the availability of foreign newspapers (*Kara Deniz, Hayat, Zaman* etc. newspapers issued in Turkish language in Romania), the access to scholarships abroad (*The Turkish Cultural Center YUNUS EMRE*) have let my to undersand that the new generation is significantly beter connected to international matters. All these led me to establish the teaching techniques: elicitation and deduction, and I decided that the books should be shaped in a way to encourage the students to come up with their experiences and information about Turkey, Turkish language, culture and civilization.



## 6. TEACHING MATERIAL

The books were designed for beginners and intermediate students, studying economics, aged around 20, for about 90-minute sessions, not very academic but also practical language and to provide the best possible level of interactivity during classes. The text-books consist of 2 volumes: *Türk Uygurlığı 1. Pratik Türkçe* and *Türk Uygurlığı 2. Pratik Türkçe*. The first volume includes more dialogs and grammar activities. The second volume includes grammar and a selection of texts regarding Turkish culture and civilization borrowed from the internet sources. The second volume was prepared together with Vesile YILMAZ, who holds a master degree in teaching Turkish language as a second language with *YILDIZ Teknik Univresitesi, Istanbul, Turkey*; now she is teaching Turkish language as a second language in Australia

**6.1 The books.** The majority of the activities were designed to help students understanding the differences in culture, civilization and the cross-cultural communication in general. The books try to cover all the course requiremnets: the flow of texts and dialogs are constantly interrupted by various types of questions, vocabulary exercises, and students are encouraged to challenge their ideas and views.

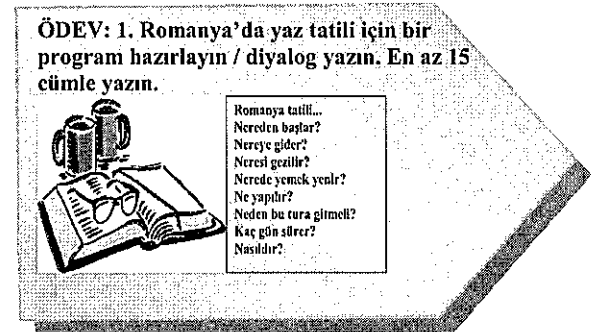
The first book *Türk Uygurlığı 1. Pratik Türkçe* is devided into 28 lessons of texts, dialogs, grammar and a Turkish-Romanian Vocabulary. The first book is oriented to grammar, it explores the everyday vocabulary, deals with the various features of oral communication, verbal and written communication which are important from cultural point of view.

The second book *Türk Uygurlığı 2. Pratik Türkçe*, includes texts regarding Turkey's history, geography, politics (*Masal gibi Türkiye, Türkiye'nin tarihi, Türkiye'yi tanıyalım, İnternette Türkiye*), Turkish family's traditons and activities (*Türk aile yapısı, Bir Türk ailesi*), Turkish people (*Türk insanı, Türk halkı, Halk hekimliği*), Turkish culture and traditions (*Türk kültürü, Türk misaferperverlik, Türk dizileri, Karagöz ve*

*Hacivat*), holidays in Turkey (*Türkiye'de Tatil, Bodrum'un tarihi ve coğrafyası*), everyday's Turkish language and everyday's activities (*Türkiye'de günlük yaşam sözleri, Türkçe'de günlük yaşamda kalıplaşmış söyleyişler, Gündelik Türkçe*), Muslim religious feasts (*Dini Bayram*). Lessons such as *Türkiye'de günlük yaşam sözleri, Türkçe'de günlük yaşamda kalıplaşmış söyleyişler, Gündelik Türkçe* examine how culture is reflected in language, and deal with borrowing problems from English, sexist language and socio-cultural competence. Lessons about culture and civilization *Türk kültürü, Türk misaferperverlik, Türk dizileri, (Masal gibi Türkiye, Türkiye'nin tarihi, Türkiye'yi tanıyalım, İnternette Türkiye* explore the elements of culture and civilization.

**6.2 Types of activities.** The books vary by scattering activities, many of them may serve as lead-in activity to speficic passages or elicit entire knowledge. The most frequent types and examples follow in this research study.

**6.3 Points for class discussion.** Each lesson has at the end a section named *ÖDEV* which in Turkish means homework and it includes both oral and written communication.



**6.4 Language exercises.** The books include a wide range of problem: Correct sentences with a register problem; re-write ineffective, „un-Turkish dialog“; transform a written passage into spoken language.

### Examples:

1) Correct sentences with a register problem

Felsefi bir köprü ne demektir?

a) uzun köprü

b) kültür bağlantı yapan bir köprü?

c) fiziksel bir köprü?

## 2) un-Turkish dialog

Amerika'daki arkadaşım anlattı: Türkiye'ye gelen Amerikalı bir doktor, hapsirdikten sonra birbirimize, "Çok yaşa" ve "Sen de gör" söyleme alışkanlığımıza takılmış. Bir gün arkadaşıma, "Hapşırana çok yaşa diyorsunuz, tamam da, neden o hapşırana 'send a girl!' diyor, onu anlamıyorum demiş!"

**6.5 Grids - Grammar exercises.** They are uncompleted tables which the students are required to fill in based on grammar they study or what they have read in previous text.

### Example:

Aşağıdaki kelimeleri sıfat ve isim olarak sınıflandırın.

önemli, konuk, olağanüstü, zor, günler, bumerang, baba, yaşlı, küçük, aile, ekmek,

SIFAT

küçük

İSİM

aile

**6.6 Tables.** Many statistics have been turned into tables and graphs, from which students are expected to draw conclusions to confirm or contest statements in the book.

**6.7 Matching exercises.** These include pairing two sets of information

### Example:

Aşağıdaki sözcüklerin karşıt anlamlılarını yazınız:

Yakından	X .....
Sorumlu	X .....
Gelmedikçe	X .....
Ufak	X .....
Sonra	X .....
İçeri	X .....
Kaliteli	X .....
Çıkararak	X .....

## 7. TEACHING STRATEGIES RECOMMENDATION

In order to deal with the very heavy vocabulary and grammar at the beginning of the lesson it seems to us to divide the lessons

into much smaller segments and by repeated exposure to each segment; students should be able to assimilate the new vocabulary and use it. Another advantage gained by repeating the segments, as a beginner requires time to adjust to a new phonological and grammar patterns, this procedure would provide with the necessary exposure. The teacher should examine later segments to determine if there are critical vocabularies that should be pre-taught.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

Although the Turkish language courses started in 2000 / 2001 academic year, but the 20012 / 2013 academic year with its new syllabus met the general enthusiasm of my students. On a more general level, it is my conviction that many students should attend other elective courses connected to language, culture and civilization for their education benefit coming from intercultural and cross-cultural training.

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## THE CHALLENGES IN TEACHING THE TURKISH LANGUAGE IN AN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

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*Abstract: This paper is an outlook in teaching the Turkish language as a second foreign language in the international environment of the higher education in Romania. The body of the paper is dedicated to detailed information about challenges in teaching the Turkish language as a foreign language to students with the Faculty of International Relations and European Studies, the University of South-East Europe Lumina. The concluding section underlines the important aspects of studying the Turkish language as a foreign language in the context of a global market.*

*Keywords: Turkish language, second foreign language, challenges, higher education, international environment.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper describes a Turkish language seminar in an international environment which has been compulsory for all students with the Faculty of International Relations and European Studies, the University of South-East Europe Lumina. The study explores the challenges and limitations that external conditions, other foreign languages, mother tongue and the students themselves presented, then it goes on to the methodology was used during classes. Finally, their papers were classified by errors and misuses of Turkish under three groups: misspelling and punctuation, grammar and incoherence.

### 2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The main objective of this research is highlighted by the research done with 20 students learning the Turkish Language as a second language (TSL) as an elective course, with the Faculty of International Relations and Business Administration, the University of South-East Europe Lumina. They had as homework, to write a composition about their

families. We analyzed their works and classified it under three groups: misspellings and punctuation, grammar and incoherence, and for a better understanding of their results, we drew a table and some charts to highlight the findings.

### 3. WRITING VERSUS SPEAKING, READING VERSUS LISTENING

It is often taken for granted that speaking a foreign language is more important than writing it. The natural and seemingly logical consequence of this is that, on the standard language-course, the top priority is given to speaking activities. Writing is given a small place in the general plan. What we would like to underline was the importance of writing and paradoxically, our students could improve their *spoken* language by *writing*.

The importance of studying a foreign language is connected to the fundamental skills: reading, writing, speaking and listening. In teaching foreign languages, we should be focused on using the all abilities. Whereas we need a listener in order to speak, a reader can be found anywhere. In addition, books and

magazines are even handier than records, television and radio broadcasts. However, writing has a further advantage: it help us to speak. In their professional environment people, need one or two foreign languages. Knowing a foreign language is not a privilege anymore and it became a necessity. The social and cultural environment of the European Union is the best example, as it encourages multilingualism and the study of the second foreign language (Can, 2011:183).

Skills such as speaking and listening are required for verbal communication, writing and reading for written communication. We need abilities and knowledge of foreign languages both on oral and written communication besides the international relations, in many other domains such as scientific, technical, political, social, cultural and economic. (Aktaş, 2004:50).

In the last years, the environment of the global market underlined the fact that students easily learn to speak a foreign language, instead of writing it. It is well known that speaking comes first to writing skill, as a consequence of the behaviorism and of the communicative approach.

#### 4. ANALYSIS OF MISTAKES IN THE TEXT

The findings of the research showed 168 misspelling, grammar and punctuation errors and the analyses of them underlined the followings: 114 (67, 85%) punctuation errors and misspellings; 32 (19, 04%) grammar errors and 22 (13, 09%) incoherence.

**4.1. Misspelling, punctuation and initial letter errors.** We find out that 114 (67,85%) of errors are misspelling, punctuation and the misuse of the initial letter; 96 out of 114 misspelling, 11 out of 114 punctuation errors and 7 out of 114 are connected to the wrong use of the initial letter.

The most common error is the misspelling of the letter ‘i’. We noticed that the students use the letter ‘i’ instead of the letter *ı*. We find out that 24 out of 114 errors were connected to the misspelling of the letter ‘i’. The reason of this misspelling is the influence of the mother tongue. In the Romanian language the sound

for the letter *ı* is spelt by the letter ‘î/â’. The use of a different letter for the same sound brings up to the Romanian students a negative transfer from the mother tongue. The best examples are words and expressions such as “onalti, yaşında, adim”. They should write *on altı, yaşında, adım*, instead of “onalti, yaşında, adim”. There is another frequent misspelling - the use of the letter ‘y’. Students use the letter “y” instead of the letter *i*, as in the example *aiem*, which they spell it as “aylem”.

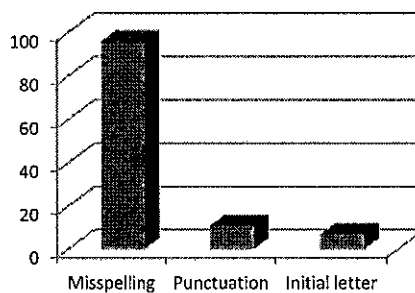


Fig. 1 Misspelling, punctuation and initial letter errors

Other errors are the confusion of the letter and sound *c* with *ç* from the Turkish language and the letter *k* with the letter and sound of the *c* from the Romanian language. In Romanian, the sound ‘ce’ is the same as the sound of the letter *c* in Turkish. One of the main misspellings of our students is the wrong use of the words *avukat, çok, yok*. They spell in general as “avocat, cok, yoc”.

The misspelling of the letter ‘ş’ from the Romanian language with the letter *s* from the Turkish language is another common misspelling. The Romanian language alphabet has the letter “ş” and so does the Turkish language alphabet, but there are some examples connected to the negative transfer from mother tongue to the foreign language. For example, in Turkish words such as *şoför, avukat, Bükreş* have an equivalent into the Romanian language as *şofer, avocat, Bükreşi*. The common misspelling for these words are *şöfor / şoför, avokat / avukat, Bükreş / Bükreş*.

One of the most common punctuation error is the wrong use of the apostrophe (') and the comma (,). The rule for the use of the apostrophe, in Turkish is: the apostrophe is used to link the proper noun with the suffix of the possessive or the accusative case (TDK, *Noktalama İşaretleri*, 2013). In general our students ignore the use of the apostrophe or they use it in excess. As for example the following words should be spelt as *Bükreş'te*, *Köstence'de*, *Muğla'da* and *üçe*, *şofördür*, *bankada*, but they changed the rules and they got the followings: "Bükreşte, Köstencede, Muğlada, üç'e, şofer'dir, banka'ta".

In Turkish, for the adjectives referring to people and their language we use capital letters at the beginning and in the middle of the sentence (TDK, *Büyük Harflerin Kullanıldığı Yerler*, 2013). The students used lowercase letters in general and capital letters only at the beginning of the sentence.

**4.2. Grammatical structure.** Under this head we propose to examine the syntactic structures of the text, since these appear to be the most relevant to its meaning-content, organisation, and vocabulary. We propose to consider not only the internal structure of individual sentences but also, and mainly, the total structural pattern of the text.

The study showed that misspelling are followed by the grammar errors such as possessive suffix, case suffix, clause suffixes, and auxiliary verb. The main error is the improper use of the possessive suffixes 37% followed by the genitive suffixes 25%, the auxiliary verb 75% and of the noun cases 62%.

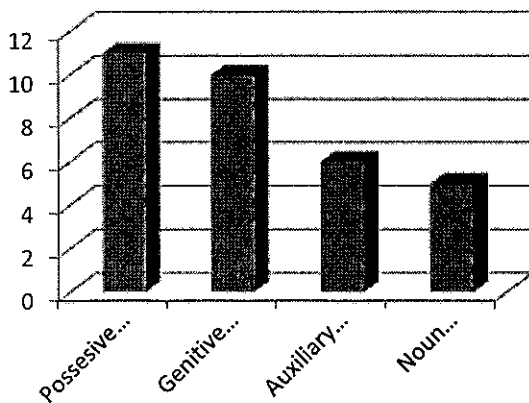


Fig. 2 Grammar errors

For example in the following words "benim adı, anne Angela, benim anne, baba, benim arkadaş, anne ve baba avokat" the possessive suffixes should not be used. These sentences should be spelt as *benim adım*, *annem Angela*, *benim annem*, *babam*, *benim arkadaşım*, *annem ve babam avukat*. The wrong use of the suffixes of genitive is similar with the wrong use of the possessive suffixes. For example *Benim kardeşimin adı Nicolas* is the proper sentence, and the students spelt it as "Benim kardeşim adım Nicolas". In this sentence 'kardeşimin adı' is a possessive construction and they misused the genitive's suffix *-in* with the possessive's suffix.

The auxiliary verbs errors are the misunderstanding and misuse of them. For example, the homework texts included some sentences such as "Ben on dokuz yaşında" and "Ben öğrenci". In the above mentioned texts the students misspelt the suffix of the auxiliary verb, the first person singular. The sentences should be spelt as *Ben on dokuz yaşındayım* and *Ben öğrenciyim*.

As regarding the incoherence, the errors are 13,09% out of the total errors. This kind of errors are in connection with the suffix errors, syntax, conjunction, and lexical errors. The main causes of the incoherence are: the misuse of the plural of the nouns, the case suffixes, the possessive and the genitive suffixes; the percentage was about 36% out of the total errors. For example our students use to say and write: "Onlar evde yaşamaları seviyor, bahçeli evde", but the correct sentence should be: *Onlar bahçeli evde yaşamayı seviyor*. The sentence *onlar evde yaşamaları* was spelt as a verb, at the third person plural with the suffix *-lar* for the third person plural. In this sentence *yaşama* is a nominal predicate, and it requires the vowel harmony, the suffix of the dative *-ı* and buffer letter *y*. The correct sentence should be as *yaşamayı seviyor*.

Another common error is the wrong use of the suffix as in "Baba gitar çalmak"; *çalmak* is a verb and it requires the suffix for the present tense, instead of the infinitive form of the verb. Also, the noun *baba* requires the suffix of the possessive *-m*, as to form *babam* instead of "baba". The sentence should be spelt as: *Babam gitar çalar*.

Although Turkish grammar has no gender for nouns, there are some exceptions to the rule. Some adjectives require male or female nouns. For example, the sentence *Çok güzel bir erkek kardeşim de var* is a common example. The adjective *güzel*, is a common error and it should be used only with a female common noun such as *girl, lady*. Our students wrote the following sentence *Çok güzel bir erkek kardeşim* which is totally wrong as they should use the adjective *yakışıklı* instead of *güzel*, and the sentence should be written as: *Çok yakışıklı bir erkek kardeşim de var*.

One of the last grammar error in our students homework was the wrong use of the conjunctions. One of our student would like to write that she had two brothers, but she wrote *İki abim daha var*, instead of *İki de ağabeyim var*. At the beginning of her homework she mentioned that she had two brothers and she should use the conjunction *daha* to underline the fact that she had two more brothers.

## 5. TEACHING STRATEGIES RECOMMENDATION

From the extent of the language gap in each year in each language, it is clear that Romanian speakers invest greater time in learning Turkish. There are several possible reasons for this:

a) The teaching of Turkish in the past has been less efficient

b) The incentives for Romanians to learn Turkish are greater

c) There are not external Turkish L2 examinations for Romanian-speakers, and there is no suitable Turkish-language test

paper for those learning Turkish as a foreign language.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

What emerge most clearly from the above analysis are the connection between what they said and the way they said. The text we analyzed in this paper is a relatively simple one, but the method my equally be applied to more complex texts. Moreover, the comprehensiveness of the method takes in every aspect the textual meaning and makes a variety of purposes. It may also be profitably use for comparison and evaluation.

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## FROM PERSON TO PROCESS AND PRODUCT, AND BACK. CREATIVITY AS A CHALLENGE TO TRANSLATION COMPETENCE

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***Abstract:** The paper puts forward an examination of translation based on the notion of creativity. Initially, the term translation competence will be juxtaposed to the notion of creativity and an investigation into translation as a creative problem-solving process is employed to provide a sharper focus on the translator and on translating. Relying on findings from research on creativity, the paper claims that an enhanced control on the interplay between the translator, the translated text and the cognition behind the decisions is possible. In other words, the paper aims at providing a tool that increases monitoring, awareness and control of the translator's cognition both by the individual translator and a potential assessor. Lastly, the paper negotiates the analysis of the applied aspects of translating by assessing them on the basis of the flow of creativity into a particular translation project.*

***Keywords:** translation, creativity, translation competence, problem-solving, control of cognition*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Any model used to describe translating should have the potential to provide a perspective of what translation is and of how it is done: The scope of any descriptive model should encompass all facets of a translation project beginning with the translator, the application of the competencies needed and of course the product (s)he comes up with. Apart from the perspective on the sequential progress, one would expect any model to provide a picture of the degree or manner every sequence has been employed by the translator; it is more than obvious to everyone who has been involved in translation that, it is not only about doing one (larger or smaller) step after another, but, one has also to do it properly and to secure his every step on the path leading to the product that meets the requirements set out (mostly implicitly) by the initiator and expected by the recipient.

It is the foremost purpose of this paper to propose an investigation into translating by applying an approach based on the translator's creativity. Such an approach is expected to

add to our understanding more about the individual behind the job by shedding light both onto his cognitive potential to produce a (good or better) translation and onto how this potential has been or should be used. Creativity researchers converge on the notion that creative thinking<sup>1</sup> is

- a) a complex process that may include problem definition and redefinition, divergent thinking, synthesis, reorganization, analysis, and evaluation;
- b) is inherent to human nature;
- c) visible through the individual's interaction with the environment.

Both, the above characteristics of creativity and the definition of creativity in the next chapter, reveal an integrated set of processes fuelled by data received or collected. Such descriptions of a structured process could provide the investigator with insight into the instances of the overall process and allow conclusions about what has impaired or promoted performance.

<sup>1</sup> See Sternberg and Lubart (1996), Lubart (2000), Sternberg (2006);

For translation research this could mean, that any examination of the translation process through the lens of creativity, would direct the attention on the individual translator as a generator of creativity, on the translated text as a product of creative thinking and on the interplay between the translator, the translated text and her/his decisions. Thus, if we would apply the research from the area of creativity to translation, we could expect the structured description of creative thinking to yield a structured definition and description of translating. Moreover, we will investigate if creativity could become a tool, primarily, for the translator and, secondly, for the observer (trainer, assessor, etc.) that could facilitate judgement about if and what could have been done to produce a more appropriate translation. It is our aspiration to provide the translator with a tool that allows him to increase monitoring, awareness and control over her/his cognition. Last but - not at all - least - it is our ambition to put forward an investigation of the applied aspects of translating in Holmes' terms<sup>2</sup>; considering them either an integral part of or as directly connected to a given translation project, they will be assessed as to the creativity that flowed into the particular translation project.

## 2. RESEARCH INTO TRANSLATION: FROM THE WORD TO THE MIND

It is far from simple to identify and to interpret the entirety of factors influencing any act of human communication. What holds true not merely for special cases of communication like translation, is, that human reaction to input from the social environment and its processing is multifaceted and it can only be described by approaches that are integrative. Such models cannot afford not to provide a

picture of translating that goes beyond lexical, textual, communicative aspects and the mere description of cognition; these models should address the other forces that are (not) exercised on the translator, as motivation, fatigue, stress due to lacking experience, etc. and that - clearly - could have a severe impact on the process and thus on the product<sup>3</sup>. This means, that we do not simply need a process description, but we also need a model that increases awareness and sensitivity on the factors affecting each sequence of the process.

In the past, numerous approaches have been applied to describe translating; these developed out of the way language and/or translation had been viewed at a given time. Initially, these approaches focused on the linguistic systems involved in translation - but grew wider in the course of time. Roughly, one can identify the following major steps in translation research: In the beginning, translation was considered to be not feasible. At that time, research into translation was driven by a view onto the involved linguistic systems and the principle behind such approaches was the question, if language had the potential to express the individual thoughts; conveying thoughts with a given mother tongue was considered difficult, transferring over linguistic borders was regarded impossible.<sup>4</sup>

But, this view of languages as a cultural footprint, implies intranslatability, an argument that has been challenged successfully by the volume of translated texts having facilitated effective communication ever since and even before that time. This

<sup>2</sup>Holmes (1972) presented the first comprehensive overview over translation studies regarding translator training, the use of translation aids and translation criticism as applied translation studies. Since times have changed, we believe that the branch of applied translation studies should encompass also aspects like translation ethics, the translator as intercultural (business) consultant, the translator in the role of an interpreter and many more.

<sup>3</sup> TransComp is so far the only model that considers motivational factors. See further Göpferich & Jääskeläinen (2009).

<sup>4</sup> The major representative was Humboldt who wrote: *„Alles Übersetzen scheint mir schlechterdings ein Versuch zur Auflösung einer unmöglichen Aufgabe. Denn jeder Übersetzer muß immer an einer der beiden Klippen scheitern, sich entweder auf Kosten des Geschmacks und der Sprache seiner Nation zu genau an sein Original oder auf Kosten seines Originals zu sehr an die Eigentümlichkeiten seiner Nation zu halten. Das Mittel hierzwischen ist nicht bloß schwer, sondern geradezu unmöglich“*. The wording is from a letter to August Wilhelm von Schlegel dated 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1796. Quoted by Koller (1979, 134).



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extreme position was followed by other linguistic approaches to translation focusing on the comparability of languages and on contrastive grammar. Pioneers in the field of translation studies such as Vinay & Darbelnet (1957), Catford (1965), Wilss (1977) and Newmark (1988) worked on such models. They classified the choices the translator has made and make use of them as a prescriptive inventory for translation didactics. What followed in translation research was a text-oriented approach: Nida (1964), who was the first scholar to introduce a pragmatic analysis of source text structures, urged for pragmatic invariance in translation. A few years later Reiss (1971/1976) went one step further by working on the contrastive analysis of various text types across languages; she described features like text structure, coherence and text layout that could be interlingually compared assuming that the meaning of a text is interrelated with the expectancy of the readership. The next step in translation studies were cognitive approaches; scholars engaged in the translator's cognition trying to explain the entirety of the processes which lead to the production of a given translation under certain communicative conditions. At that stage translation competence became the catchword<sup>5</sup>. Note that every step in translation research had a wider span. Reading through the history of translation research, one observes a constant expansion of the object under scrutiny by translation scholars towards the human factor: From words, over texts, research has expanded to the minds of readers, initiators and – of course – the translators; initially, research looked at pragmatics and then it grew towards the translator's cognitive capacities. Still, the span seems not to have become wide enough. Factors inherent to human nature such as a lack of motivation, fatigue, stress, which could cause poor documentation, reduced attention etc., can have a severe impact on the individual's performance and have been disregarded. What

would be needed, is a framework that draws a picture of all this and which – on top – puts the translator in control of a tool, allowing him to observe his performance, to reflect upon it and to consciously (re-)adjust in the course of the project. The questions that arise are what kind of model could

- a) offer both an overview of the processes and the intensity of their application and
- b) function as a tool that allows constant awareness, monitoring, self-reflection and adjustment in training and professional life?

So as to cater for increased awareness through constant self-observation of the translator and reflection upon his/her decisions during translating, any framework should provide a comprehensive and integrated picture of translating by showing how the ideal situation should look like and by considering all aspects of translating from physical (e.g. lack of motivation) over knowledge-based aspects (e.g. how to render a culture-specific term) to practical facets of translating (internet searches, use of databanks, etc.). Furthermore, the model should be dynamic in terms of adjusting to any communicational setting and any potential change in the pragmatics of the translated text. Logically, it should display a high flexibility in terms of individualization: The latter is of utmost importance since the framework has to address the needs for support of translators regardless of their competence and experience; it has to function as a tool guiding the novice towards the successful completion of a translation task and – on the other hand – it has to provide a lifeline for an experienced translator who faces a difficulty<sup>6</sup>.

### 3. CREATIVITY: A TORCH IN THE BLACK BOX?

Applying the notion of creativity to the examination of translating is not new: In 2000

<sup>5</sup> See Krings (1986; 1988), Kussmaul (1991; 1993), Löscher (1995), Risku (1998), Shreve (1997), Tirkkonen-Condit (1989; 1991; 1992), Wilss (1988).

<sup>6</sup> Even experienced translators reach dead ends and try to find ways out: Stolze (2003:221) and Wilss (1988: 108) consider creativity a means of translational problem-solving.

Kusssmaul employed the notion of creativity so as to explain the translation process. By claiming that the translation process is a creative one per se, he attempted for the first time to shed light on the much discussed and promising but poorly researched relationship between translation and creativity. He writes that “*the main aim of my book is to make us all aware of the fact that translation is a highly creative activity*” (Kusssmaul 2000: 4). Kusssmaul’s work on the relationship between creativity and translation identified the common characteristics of creative problem-solving and translating. Six years later, Loffredo and Perteghella (2006: 1) are speaking in their introduction as editors to a volume on creativity in translation of a creative turn in translation studies, which - according to their opinion - has led to an increased awareness on the translator’s mental space and its creative processes as translational problem-solving<sup>7</sup>. So, at least since the publication of Kusssmaul’s monograph on creativity and translation in 2000 creativity has been put explicitly on the map of translation research. However, we believe that creative thinking has been implicitly present for some time in translation studies, but unidentified! In this chapter we will try to establish where to look for it, how it has been denoted and what to expect from it as far as the examination of the translation process is concerned.

But, before we will hunt down the notion of creativity we believe to be latently present in translation research, we will need to define creativity. In psychology creativity has been defined (Urban 1990:104-105) as

- a) the ability to create a new, unusual and surprising product as a solution to an insightfully perceived problem or a given problem whose implications have been insightfully perceived,

- b) and by means of an insightful and broad perception of existing and open data and information purposively looked for

- c) and by analysis, by solution-oriented but highly flexible processing, by unusual associations and new combinations of data and information and with the help of data from experience or with imaginative elements,

- d) these data, elements and structures into a new solution-gestalt (whereby the processes 3 and 4 may partially run simultaneously on different processing and consciousness levels),
- e) to arrive at a solution-gestalt, which as a product or in a product, in whichever form, becomes elaborated,

- f) and, finally, through communication can be grasped via the senses and experienced by others as meaningful and significant.

The above definition of creativity depicts a process of managing existing data after an intelligent prompt in order to come to a needed product. It reminds us of what a translator actually does: The translator is constantly managing and - since he manages - he runs of course the risk of ill-managing what he manages, i.e., the linguistic material, information and of course her/his knowledge, skills and experiences. Consolidating on that, we realize that there must be something that prevents ill-management and promotes proper management of linguistic material, acquired skills, knowledge and experience. There must be a particular competence that keeps the translator on track by allowing him to pull together the necessary information, experiences, skills and knowledge and to employ his potential effectively with a view to the project’s success. What decides the “why” and the “how” of translator performance, this cannot be anything else than the application of what has been called *translation competence*. Indeed, translation competence has been defined as the interplay of the skills and knowledge needed to translate professionally (PACTE, 2000)<sup>8</sup>. According to the findings of

<sup>7</sup> Surely, creativity sounded even in 2000 when Kusssmaul published his book very promising for the understanding of the translation process. Despite the we believe that creativity can yield invaluable insight into translator performance, we disagree with Loffredo and Perteghella (2006) that six years are enough to speak of a creative turn in translation studies. We definitely have not reached such a crunch point in translation studies - not even today.

<sup>8</sup> For our purposes we chose the model by the PACTE research consortium, since it has been the most influential so far and it is based on experimental findings.

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the PACTE project translation competence is composed by the following integral parts<sup>9, 10</sup>:

- a) Linguistic / communicative sub-competence, which is the system of underlying knowledge and skills necessary for linguistic communication. It is made up of pragmatic, socio-linguistic, textual and lexical-grammatical knowledge in each language.
- b) World and subject knowledge, i.e. the knowledge that can be activated according to the needs of each translation situation. This sub-competence is made up of encyclopaedic, thematic and bicultural knowledge.
- c) Instrumental/professional sub-competence, which is the knowledge and skills related both to the tools of the trade and the profession. This includes the knowledge and use of all kinds of documentation sources and new technologies, knowledge of the labor market and of how to behave in professional settings.
- d) Psycho-physiological sub-competence, i.e. the ability to use all kinds of psychomotor (e.g. reading and writing), cognitive (e.g. memory, creativity and logical reasoning) and attitudinal resources (e.g. intellectual curiosity, critical spirit, rigour).
- e) Transfer sub-competence, the central competence that integrates all the others. This is the sub-competence that completes the transfer process from the ST to the TT, i.e. to understand the ST and re-express it in the TL, taking into account the translation's function and the expectations of the receptor.
- f) Strategic competence, the problem-solving process, including all individual procedures, conscious and unconscious, verbal and non-verbal and resulting in strategies, used to solve the problems encountered during the translation process.

Translation competence is comprised of four components based on the individual's knowledge, skills and experience (linguistic/communicative sub-competence, world and subject knowledge, instrumental/professional sub-competence and psycho-

physiological sub-competence). Furthermore, the PACTE project identified also another sub-competence, the transfer sub-competence, which is described as the central competence that integrates all the others, as the sub-competence that completes the transfer process from the source text to the target text taking into account the translation's function and the expectations of the receptor. Last but - obviously - not least, the PACTE research identified the so-called strategic competence (not sub-competence). This competence refers to the problem-solving process, including all individual procedures, conscious and unconscious, verbal and non-verbal and resulting in strategies, used to solve the problems encountered during the translation process.

The transfer sub-competence denotes the back and forth between the cultures (languages) involved, while the strategic competence refers to all that is happening in the black box and cannot be described. This seems to be the competence - and/or - when deployed - the stage that makes the translator look at the translation project as a problem-solving process and motivates him to utilize the pool of available knowledge, skills and experiences to identify both a course of action and the implications of his actions in a purpose-driven process. With a pragmatically balanced translation in view, the strategic competence seems to guide the translator towards the consolidation of existing knowledge, skills and experiences as well as researched information - building upon the support of the other sub-competences.

As implied at the outset of this chapter, the above definition of creativity reads very similar to what could be a definition of translation<sup>11</sup>. The questions that arise are, does the term translation competence as used by the PACTE researchers and the term creativity have the same meaning and do they denote identical processes? (How) can know-how on creativity illuminate the black-box processing during translation?

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<sup>9</sup> For an overview of the models describing translation competence see Lesznyak (2007). In this paper the models of translation competence are classified and critically assessed.

<sup>10</sup> See further PACTE project (2000 and 2005).

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<sup>11</sup> See next chapter for a creativity-based definition of translation.

**4. A CREATIVITY-BASED DEFINITION OF TRANSLATION**

When looking at translation through the lens of creativity we can distinguish common aspects. Building on the definition of creativity given in the previous chapter, we can produce the following coherent creativity-based definition of translation. In this case translation could be defined as a translator's response to a prompt to translate a given source text (transfer sub-competence) which deploys on data from source text and initiator (linguistic/communicative sub-competence, world and subject knowledge, instrumental/professional sub-competence)

involving elaboration of the data (linguistic/communicative sub-competence, world and subject knowledge, instrumental/professional sub-competence, transfer sub-competence) in order to produce a target text (transfer sub-competence) which is perceived as useful and appropriate by the receiver (transfer sub-competence).

Now, if one attributes to every stage of translating the respective sub-competence (-s), one identifies which sub-competences the PACTE research described are involved<sup>12</sup>. The following table (table 1) allows a juxtaposition of translation and creativity as well as of the respective sub-competence(-s) involved:

Table 1 Translation process vs. creativity

Translation process	Creativity	Involved PACTE sub-competences
It is a translator's response to a prompt to translate a given source text.	Creativity is a response to a pre-existing situation.	Transfer sub-competence
It deploys on data from source text and initiator.	Creativity deploys on existing data.	linguistic/communicative sub-competence, world and subject knowledge, instrumental /professional sub-competence) competence
It involves elaboration of the data in order to produce a target text.	Creativity means reorganizing existing knowledge in order to produce a solution.	Transfer sub-competence
The target text is perceived as useful and appropriate by the recipient.	The solution is perceived as useful and appropriate.	Transfer sub-competence

When comparing the column on the translation process and the column on the definition of creativity, one cannot but conclude that translation shares the same properties as any other creative process: The similarity between translating and creative thinking becomes very obvious and the creativity-based definition, actually, provides us with the picture of what translation is<sup>13</sup>.

**5. A CREATIVITY-BASED DESCRIPTION OF TRANSLATION**

According to the above creativity-based definition of translation, translation can be defined as a translator's response to a prompt to translate a given source text; the translator deploys on data from source text and initiator, elaborates the data in order to produce a target text, which the recipient perceives as useful and appropriate.

But, is it possible to establish how translation functions? By the functioning of translation we are referring to the cognitive processes taking place during translating. In order to sketch the translation process, we are in need of establishing what it is, that makes

<sup>12</sup> Needless to say that the psycho-physiological sub-competence, which is not mentioned in the above list, has of course to be considered vital; without this general competence no human performance whatsoever would be feasible. Of course, a poor psycho-psychological sub-competence could result in poor translator performance.

<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, glancing over to the third column reveals which sub-competences are activated for the respective (creative/translational) processes and one

cannot but notice that all of the sub-competences are employed to make creative thinking possible.

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translation possible. According to the PACTE model, in order translation to happen, the interplay of all the sub-competences and the strategic competence is a prerequisite. If we think away one sub-competence or the strategic competence, we can imagine that this would mean a collapse of the translation process. However, the strategic competence which has been described as the competence referring to the problem-solving process, including all individual procedures, conscious and unconscious, verbal and non-verbal and resulting in strategies, used to solve the problems encountered during the translation process seems to have a central management function. This competence seems to be what pulls all the loose strings together in a particular course of actions leading to the solution of a (translation) problem. It seems to be that competence, that facilitates the continuous feedback, i.e. the forth and back in the translation process which is fuelled by constantly changing and evolving insight in the course of the whole procedure.

As already mentioned above, any shortcomings in the sub-competences or the strategic competence would result in poor translator performance. In other words, should any (sub-)competence be absent or not fully deployed (for various reasons), the problem-solving processes of the strategic competence would not yield the best possible solution. On the other hand, a maximum employment of all the sub-competences and the strategic competence means maximum input of translation competence – promising maximum qualitative translator performance<sup>14</sup>.

But the way creativity has been defined, seems to be referring to the same process. Both creativity and translation competence are about the provision of solutions after sequences of individual procedures, which may be conscious and/or unconscious, deploying on researched or available data. Could it be that translation competence is another term for creativity? What happens, if we replace the term creativity with the term

translation competence and treat them both as synonyms?

In psychology creativity has been described as a four stage process<sup>15</sup>. The four stages are the following:

- a) *Preparation* (preparatory work on a problem that focuses the individual's mind on the problem and explores the problem's dimensions), this is the research phase: Collect information or data.
- b) *Incubation* and *intimation* (where the problem is internalized into the unconscious mind and nothing appears externally to be happening and the creative person gets a 'feeling' that a solution is on its way).
- c) *Illumination* or *insight* (where the creative idea bursts forth from its preconscious processing into conscious awareness).
- d) *Verification* (where the idea is consciously verified, elaborated, and then applied).

The scheme used in creativity research to describe the actual sequential nature of the creative thinking process could very well describe the cognitive processes of translation competence.

Table 2 Translation as a creative process

Stage of creativity	Stages of translation competence
Preparation	Initiator provides information, translator looks for more.
Incubation / Intimation	Translator starts constructing a unique cognitive decision making process...
Illumination	... which leads gradually to the solution.
Verification	The solution is verified in the context of the target text.

The above table shows that every phase of the creativity process corresponds to a phase in translating. In the first phase (preparation), the initiator provides the relevant information, while the translator looks for as much information as possible. In the incubation

<sup>14</sup> Given the fact that the rest of the sub-competences are applied to a maximum level.

<sup>15</sup> In 1926 Graham Wallas presented in his work *Art of Thought* one of the first but still widely cited process descriptions of creativity. For further details see Armbruster (1986).

phase the translator starts constructing a unique cognitive decision-making process, which leads gradually to the product. In the last stage, the verification phase, the solution is tested as to its appropriateness and effectiveness.

The creativity-based description of translation competence opens up a window on the translator's cognition. However, one could argue, that not all of the sub-competences of the PACTE project are necessary for a creativity process and that the translation competence as described by the PACTE research is more complex than the creativity-based definition and description of translation put forward in this paper. On the contrary, since creativity has been defined as a process of managing existing data after an intelligent prompt in order to come to a needed product, any creative process requires a supply chain comprised of instances like the sub-competences of the PACTE model.

## 6. WHAT DO WE HAVE AND WHAT CAN WE GET?

In the previous chapters we established that translation is a creative process. Through juxtaposing what creative thinking and what translation is, we reached to a creativity-based definition and description of translation. Using this definition and description we established a model based on creativity that

- a) shows what translation accounts for in terms of cognition;
- b) suggests how it could function;
- c) delivers a reasonably and understandably segmented cognitive perspective of translation;
- d) can be turned into a tool for flexible control of the translator's cognition;
- e) could deliver a picture of the control on cognition the translator had exercised.

According to the definition of translation, a translator should be able to respond to the prompt from an initiator by understanding what kind of product meets the standards of the recipient, be able to deploy accordingly on the information from the source text and the initiator and to elaborate on the data available

to produce the target text. On the other hand, the application of creativity to translation provided us with a creativity-based description of translation, i.e. a description of an integrating process of four stages, which are obviously interacting with one another. This four stage process permits a plausible segmentation of the translation process and seems to denote that, what other researcher call translation competence.

The definition and the description of translation based on the notion of creativity tell us what a translator should do. In other words, anyone interested in becoming a translator knows which should be the minimum cognitive potential to translate professionally and which are the stages/steps that make up the translation process. Accordingly, any instructor building upon creative thinking as a model for translator training, could offer the student the perspective of translating that provides a more focused and detailed picture of what the student should consider and how s(he) should proceed.

One further advantage is that the model allows control on the translator's cognition: Dwelling on a creativity-based description of translation facilitates enhanced monitoring of every step of the process. The student - and the professional translator in difficult cases - could resort to the process description as a lifeline; creativity could evolve into a tool for the (student) translator to increase awareness of the overall translation process, monitor himself during the stages he feels bound to do so, and reflect constantly on his actions and his decisions during each stage.

Last but - definitely - not least, an approach based on the translator's creativity could be used in applied translation studies. Examining if and how creativity flowed into a project, the observer opens up a window onto the translator's mind: Thus, the stage of the preparation is highly controllable by an observer through the research on background data and of the translation aids the translator had at his disposal. Similarly, the stage of the verification, is highly controllable through the scrutiny of the qualitative appropriateness of the solution the translator came up with. As to

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the interim stages, the phases of intimation and illumination, they are indirectly controllable; the translator's sound control of the translation process leads to the final solution. These interim stages are subject to assessment through the outcome of the verification stage – which reveals if the translator controlled her/his cognition effectively.

In the second chapter of this paper we mentioned the need for motivational factors to be considered in any model. The TransComp model has been the only one considering motivational factors: It is obvious that factors like stress, fatigue, etc. have an impact on translator performance and should therefore be recorded in any model describing translation. On the other hand, solely the use of the term creativity – which is compellingly interrelated with motivation – in the context of translation studies adds to translating a higher degree of challenge and summons to perseverance and to abiding by qualitative standards. In other words, we believe, that the use of a creativity-based definition and description of the translation process fuels the motivation of the individual translator counterbalancing poor performance due to motivational factors

In the above lines of this final chapter we recapitulated what the creativity-based definition and the creativity-based description of translation have to offer to the examination of the translation process. If we can accept that translation is a creativity process and that creativity actually defines translation competence, research in translation studies could build upon the extensive publications in the field of creativity over the last decades and gain insights into various aspects. For example, the research on the incubation phase and its role on problem-solving<sup>16</sup> as well as

further categorizations of creativity like the mini-c creativity, could offer translation research new ground for further analysis of the translation process<sup>17</sup>. Moreover, the research on the interrelation of bilingualism, cross-cultural experiences and creativity could trigger translation-oriented inquiries. Potential findings could shed light onto the impact of (cross-)cultural experiences on translator's performance<sup>18</sup>.

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authors delegate the labor of thinking to the unconscious mind.

<sup>17</sup> See Beghetto/Kaufmann (2007). The authors argue that a new category of creativity, called "mini-c" creativity, is needed to advance creativity theory and research. Mini-c creativity differs from little-c (everyday) or Big-C (eminent) creativity as it refers to the creative processes involved in the construction of personal knowledge and understanding.

<sup>18</sup> For an overview on the research on creativity, cross-cultural experiences and bilingualism consult the volume edited by Kecskes and Albertazzi (2007) and the in particular the chapter by Kharkurin.

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<sup>16</sup> E.g., see the paper by Dijksterhuis and Meurs (2006) for the correlation of the incubation phase and problem solving. The findings reported in the paper speak to the relevance of unconscious thought in general and to the relation between unconscious thought and creativity. According to the authors, one could say that unconscious thought is more "liberal" than conscious thought and leads to the generation of items or ideas that are less obvious, less accessible and more creative. The

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