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First cover: One of the Neolithic clay amulet, part of the Tărtăria tablets (about 5500-5300 BC), associated with Vinča-Turdaş Culture. The symbols on these tablets discovered in Romania were used approximately 2500 years before the Sumerian writing. This amulet is a metaphor for RCIC’15 Conference subtitle, *Wor(l)ds*.

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Plenary Session

CULTURE IN LANGUAGES – MULTIPLICITY OF INTERPRETATIONS

Lucija OK

Science and Research Center, University of Primorska, Slovenia

Abstract: *The values of civilisation, the spirit of humanism and general human norms in Europe and beyond are part of the efforts aimed at a harmonious coexistence of languages, cultures and nations. Various social institutions require a means of common communication, seen as a shared understanding of a common goal that is the manifestation of common interests. On the other hand, any language is culturally rich in the sense that it contains linguaculture (Agar, 1994; Risager, 2008) or 'culture in language'. Language communication is not only about mastering the language code and the respective culture, but it is also about applying the contents and its meaning, as well as the relationships between speakers which manifest the confrontation of their cultures and languages (Ok, 2008). By acquiring relevant linguistic and intercultural skills and competencies, individuals as well as social groups will be able to establish communication links needed for efficient cooperation. Cooperation and the exchange of knowledge and experiences, the mobility of people and ideas are the key factors in promoting knowledge, achievements and creative innovations. The new approaches in teaching and learning languages are designed to produce a plurilingual communicator, the intelligent listener and the intercultural mediator. A European strategy for cross-cultural and plurilingual education must be rethought and presented for debate. As relations between the state, society and culture change, the interface between social and political contexts requires new management procedures. Broader cultural capabilities are required for politicians, civil servants and army leaders. They have to be able to adapt successfully to any cultural setting. Meeting this capability, the development of culture-general knowledge and skills as a necessary complement to language skills and regional knowledge are required.*

Keywords: *language, culture, communication, cross-cultural awareness, cooperation*

1. CHALLENGES AND GAPS OF THE NEW EUROPE

After World War II the consequences of military issues provoked political changes in boundaries settings. New minorities arise and the old ones have been spread with some different settling or being consumed by a majority nation. The idea of an intimate relationship between language, people, nation, culture and land has been emphasised. National languages as objects were constructed around the centrality of the nation state, and this has had significant implications for the parallel use and promotion of other languages in the same political territory. It follows that language and culture have been at the heart of the constitution of the state and its relationship with its citizenship. Both language and culture have served as integrating symbols that have been so important in forging the population within the state's territory into a single community. It becomes difficult to separate both language and culture from the political dimension.

Current migration, tourism and other kinds of

mobility, especially following the postulate of the European Union (mobility of people, capital and goods) reinforce language use as a continuous flow in social and economic networks. These networks may be small and local, but may also stretch very far across continents. The Slovenian language, for example, in the recent past has been spoken by about three million people (within and beyond the Slovenian borders). Becoming an official European language encouraged it to spread in the social and political networks of the EU; speakers of Slovenian carry their Slovenian as communitarian language with them into new cultural contexts and put them to use in perhaps new ways under new circumstances. Learning Slovenian has become popular not just in neighbouring countries but here and there to new individuals worldwide in new social networks made possible by the new global communication technologies such as the World Wide Web.

The areas where cultures, languages, values and the historical memory meet are the laboratories of Europeism and hence a touchstone of the coexistence policy of the continent.

Civilisation contact areas (especially border areas) can transmit knowledge and new understandings of the importance and role of cultural and ethnic intertwining to other environments. Moreover, in cooperation with other similar environments, they can solve problems and processes of coexistence, compare their influence at national level, and also transmit experiences to the wider global territory. It is here that questions of the historical development of areas emerge, as well as problems regarding the formation of national and local authorities, provincial and state units; the effects of political transformations on the development of the socio-cultural structure of regional, ethnic and linguistic communities; intertwining and interaction between social and cultural units, art and science, civil society and economy; preservation and transmission of values in the process of passive and active integration of individuals and groups into the social corpus of the community. (ok, 2008.)

Transnational migration thus causes a large proportion of the languages of the world to be disembedded from their mother tongue (or local) contexts and to be re-embedded in a great variety of other cultural contexts. In the light of the challenges in the context of the wider world, apart from the existing contacts between related fields of expertise, work fields and economic and political interests, closer interdependent connections between distant fields also emerged. As Welsch asserts

Lifestyles are no longer limited or delineated by nationally based cultures. Categories, boundaries, and concrete distinctions such as "foreign" and "familiar" are becoming increasingly inaccurate, largely as the result of the globalization of economic and communication systems." (Welsch, 1999:205)

Social and political contexts require new management procedures. A European strategy for cross-cultural and plurilingual education must be rethought and presented for debate. (Williams, 2012:8).

On one hand the hegemony of one language (mostly English nowadays) separately of its cultural context, operates as features of the social practices of those involved, including the general public. The popularity and use of *linguae francae* since antiquity to recent times (before English other *linguae francae* were of historical importance: Greek and Latin in the Roman empire, Portuguese and Spanish in Latin America, French in overseas regions, Russian, Arabic, Chinese in

particular regions, etc.) are independent of the linguistic history or structure of the language. The 'global' status of English is a result of its role in the economic context and of its implications for social mobility, that is, for language prestige. The various institutions of society require a means of common communication, understood as a shared understanding of a common goal that does not require reflection and consideration in its application and is seen as a manifestation of common interests.

One of the great challenges of the present European reality is in the very attempt to carry out the economic and political integration under the provision of cultural diversity and thus to offer to the global public, after a century, a new civilisation model that would not equate the social-economic globalisation with the social-cultural variant of the American melting pot. This new European civilisation model will be confronted with the first test in the numerous European "contact" settings, where - apart from the issues of international contact and settling of the functional social, economic and administrative issues - conditions for coexistence and mechanisms to protect cultural specificities of different peoples, as well as ethnic and language groups and stimulate social cohesion are created. Abolition of different kinds of "frontiers" will demand a major revision of traditional and ethnocentric conceptions and social behaviours. (Bufon, 1997).

2. CULTURE IN LANGUAGE

European language policy stimulates pluri- and multilingualism, thus attempting to mitigate linguistic dilemmas about the significance of an individual language: mother/primary/foreign/secondary language and the *lingua franca*. In an individual, multilingualism is a cognitive and strategic ability to build awareness about languages and their usage as a multi-layered ability, which is used by the speaker to integrate in a multi-lingual and cross cultural environment, where they actively realise their intentions for communication. The individual's level of mastering this interaction can be through different levels of individual skills in various languages (understanding, communication, reading, writing, interaction). With a special, i.e. "strategic" competence, various speakers with the same level of knowledge and usage of language can very differently succeed in communication interaction. It depends on how an individual knows how to utilise their language knowledge and test it by

using own resourcefulness. Based on this success in the social environment the individual experiences how to communicate using their own knowledge. In this way, the tendency to imitate the authentic speaker of a foreign and new language is not being realised, but the tendency for developing linguistic repertoires that support each other and stimulate the promotion of linguistic skills in mutual correlation, is evolving. Language learning is a life-long process that evolves, deteriorates or progresses with regard to the active and motivated participation of the speaker communicating in a certain language on different levels (e.g. on the Common European Framework of Reference for languages, CEFR levels, 2001). By defining the level and with descriptors of these levels, each individual can set and plan the objectives they want to achieve in an individual language with regard to their needs, goals and ambitions.

Multilingualism is an ability inseparably connected with the recognition, acceptance and comprehension of the cultural context in which a language is realised. The cultural competence of a speaker (within a nation or the wider social community) that grows and evolves through contact with different existing actions of cultural versions, is enriching, deepening and sharpening in mutual comparisons, and multilingualism is its fundamental tool. Within the CEFR we can read the definition linked to language learning:

Plurilingualism and pluriculturalism is a personal feature which is put into action in a communicative situation. It is not a new competence, as we all use different “registers” of the same language in different situations just as we use different cultural repertoires in different situations. The new idea is the development of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism as the result of a process of language learning. (CEFR, 2001:13).

However, the level and quality of multilingual ability is measurable, which can hardly be said for the levels of multiculturalism and crossculturality. There are already problems with appropriate terminology. There are different terms, like multicultural, crosscultural and even transcultural. The latter term was developed by Welsch (1999:205), who believes that the categories foreign/domestic seem less and less relevant in this increasingly globalising world. Social community is multicultural, a process or the situation of intertwining at the contact of two cultures in a society or the individual’s awareness on this is interculturality. Transculturality is the state where cultures form an entity that is inseparable in

certain elements.

Transculturality accommodates globalizing trends as well as movements towards specificity and unity; both local and cosmopolitan affiliations are provided for. (Welsch, 1999:205)

Interculturality and transculturality are realised in communication relations, relations and communication with the help of communication strategies. Language awareness (*éveil au langage, educazione linguistica, éducation et ouverture aux langues*) cannot emerge separately from the awareness of culture. A multilingual speaker as a social stakeholder is aware of the diversity of social groups, their cultural management (cultural conventions), creativity and indirect realisation of cultures as such, which all merge in the matrix of the cultural contact. A multilingual speaker is aware how identity as the accompanying effect of the experience of living in different cultures is emerging. The content and form of the individual’s response is the result of a composed, dynamic and changeable process of awareness formation in a given moment.

Any language can be culturally rich in the sense that it contains linguaculture (Agar, 1994) or ‘culture in language’.

Language, in all its varieties, in all the ways it appears in everyday life, builds a world of meanings. When you run into different meanings, when you become aware of your own and work to build a bridge to the others, ‘culture’ is what you are up to. Language fills the spaces between us with sound; culture forges the human connection through them. Culture is in language, and language is loaded with culture. (Agar, 1994: 28)

But language use and types that a speaker chooses in a given communication position in their primary/original language, are mostly connected with the context of pragmatic norm, cultural and speaking habits and also on the level and speciality of their idiolect. The language that the individual is using is filled with verbal and non-verbal experiences in communication, their social and historic origin. Agar strongly emphasises the connection between language and culture that diverts the speaker to search for more general, usable patterns in the interaction with speakers of other languages and cultures. (Risager, 2008). When discussing cultural experience, one should pay attention to the multiplicity of accepted values and functions that an individual or social group has acquired through time. Yet an individual, who would like to retain his/her accepted values, is far

from being static when performing activities aimed at preserving his/her values. The dynamics of his/her memory use is complemented by his/her will with which s/he strives to transform the world. In the process, s/he makes use of mediational means of higher mental functions related to cultural behaviour and practices (perception and active use of intercultural language communication, formation of active and empathic relations and positions between participants in the communicative situation, use of safeguards and incentives during participation in communication, etc.) and develops the mediational means as a means of communication and behaviour related to the formation of cultural memory. (Cole, 1996:113). Cultural memory is developed through the elaboration of more complex »tools of remembering« that help create a new, deeper cultural experience, which serves as a basis for the further development of relations between individuals and groups. One of the mediational means of mental functions is language, which is linked to culture in several ways:

- Language is a manifestation of culture at a given moment and an expression of the manner through which an individual exhibits his/her cultural awareness;
- Certain cultural content is materialised through the use of language tools and verbalisation;
- Language forms abstract systems of values and identities, the implicit elements of which are cultural values and cultural identity.

3. INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION BETWEEN LIVE AND VIRTUAL

In this domain several frameworks have been developed that identify a set of dimensions on which cultures differ and determine what knowledge enables effective adaptation in a foreign culture, such as Hofstede (1980), Trompenaars- Hampden-Turner (1993), Byram (1997) and others. But there are few frameworks for culture-centred education to be considered as basic: Egan (1979) for general education development, Bennett (1993) for the development of intercultural sensitivity, Byram and Morgan (1994) and Kramsch (1993) for the inclusion of culture in the language classroom. The first two are based on the precepts of continuity, progression, and expansion of competence; they are dynamic and interact with the maturation levels of learners. Since narrative is important to

language development and because narrative automatically includes culture, the work of Egan (1997) cannot be ignored. Egan's four stages of development give meaning to expression in language through a link to educational growth that learners demonstrate at a particular stage (*Mythic* - approximate age 4/5 to 9/10 years, *Romantic* - approximate age 8/9 to 14/15 years, *Philosophic* - approximate age 14/15 to 19/20 years, *Iconic* (approximate age 19/20 and then throughout adulthood).

Bennett's research and application (2003) provide us with a conceptualisation of cultural sensitivity. That sensitivity for Bennett is outlined in a set of six stages that lead the learner from the ethnocentric to the ethnorelative perspective. The six stages of the model are classified under these two levels: under the ethnocentric denial, defence, minimisation of differences; and acceptance, adaptation, and integration under the ethnocentric level. The contribution of Bennett's model is twofold. It provides a challenge for the learners; the content to be learned arouses curiosity, identifies intercultural skills, promotes cooperative activities, and prepares learners to function autonomously using research strategies. Self-reflection upon and self-assessment of cultural experience can prove to be much more constructive from the educational point of view, owing to the fact that self-reflection and the acquisition of primary cultural experiences allows for the authenticity of the cognitions acquired and the possibility to exert an active influence on the process of the formation of one's personality.

The definition of national awareness, which can be considered as a mental representation, covers the emotional, cognitive and dynamic areas. The *cognitive area* refers to an individual's thoughts, concepts, judgement and assessment activities, the *emotional* to the emotions and values that the individual assigns to his/her nation and national attributes, and the *dynamic area* to his/her aspirations to actively participate in the dynamics of happenings related to nationality. (Musek in Gomezel Mikoli, 2000) It is difficult to determine easily understood and transparent criteria for considering the phenomenon. On the basis of results of a pilot introduction of the language portfolio in Slovenia (ok, 1999) and findings of eminent researchers (Byram, 1997), the paper proposes three areas of self-reflection and self-assessment. (ok, 2006) By using the following descriptors, the portfolio user will evaluate his/her linguistic experience at the following levels: (1)

attitude to intercultural diversity; (2) discovery of intercultural diversity and modulation of inputs; (3) transfer of intercultural awareness to life.

Level 1: *Attitude to cultural diversity.*

Cognitive attitude/abilities (Intra-cultural awareness, intercultural readiness/comprehension of intercultural context)

- *Intra-cultural/cognitive level:* Acquiring new knowledge of one's own culture. Acquiring new knowledge and awareness of the target culture and, consequently, encouraging reflection about one's own culture.

- *Intercultural understanding of the reality:* Knowledge of otherness, heuristic approaches to languages and cultures, awareness of the socio-cultural context.

Level 2: *Discovery of intercultural diversity and modulation of inputs.*

Emotional attitudes/awareness and behaviour

- *Cross-cultural/emotional (affective) level :* intercultural knowledge, reflection on one's identity, communication between two cultures (source and target) and, consequently, earning respect and learning tolerance for the new cultural context, ability to challenge and question one's own conceptual models, tolerance for ambiguity.

Level 3: *Transfer of intercultural awareness to life.*

Dynamic intercultural communication and acting

- *Intercultural/dynamic level:* Response to on one's own anthropological/cultural experiences, dynamics (action) in cross-cultural referencing, ability to modify one's own beliefs (intercultural flexibility), positive attitudes and standpoints related to target cultures.

Communication between young people spans different forms of creative communication, which is reflected more and more in virtual communication. Even though theories of language planning do highlight the social, economic and political effects of external factors on the individual's choice and use of a particular language code, they don't include language use in virtual environments/computer-mediated communication. The choice of language and the variety of a particular language used by the individual at a given moment is not only influenced by that individual's will and need but also by the social network of their peers and supporters, as well as their current interests and their general social sensitivity towards the community.

In language learning and language use the

computer has become more than just a technical aid. The user's actions, directed towards various connections and information, browsing and opening different windows while surfing the Internet, create a continuum between the real and the virtual world generated by the computer. In fact, the computer is both the product and the producer of a certain type of communication code, and similarly also of language and communication genres. This communication takes place in various languages and genres. Observation and monitoring of language use, especially in younger internet generations, in the fields of multilingualism and intercultural communication can thus reveal the strengths and weaknesses or even risks this new technology has presented to the participants of computer-mediated communication. Since in this network the individual is moving outside their national environment/space, the mutual influences of virtual communication put their national and cultural identity to a test. (ok, Beguš, 2011).

The mythical reality surrounding the user of the virtual world of communication is liberating, but at the same time it is an a- historical world. (Kramsch, 2009:184).. Just as Barthes (1973:125) argues that myth is "speech stolen and restored", similarly virtual mediation "steals" the real world and restores it in the form of hyper reality, perceived by the users of this form of mediation as reality. The computer has enabled creation of a communication space where creativity and play are boundless.

Nevertheless, boundaries between different languages do exist, regardless of the fact that they are connected, between cultures, although they are in contact, between memory and historical experience, between actual events and virtual scenarios. The capability of individuals to engage in the real world is not developed in a boundless space, but in the ability to decide which the limits that can be exceeded are. (Kramsch, 2009:185).

4. INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATORS

The importance of creating a trans- cultural and multicultural individual for the future (postmodern) society is more than obvious. The concurrent trends of globalisation, mass migration, intensified intercultural contacts at individual and informal levels as well as international formal contacts for economic, ecological, political and other interests represent prevailing phenomena in postmodern society. In such social circumstances,

the emergence of an individual who has experience and knowledge of multiculturalism, intercultural awareness and sensibility is necessary if we are to avoid the negative aspects of intercultural relations, such as misunderstandings, prejudice, stereotyping, xenophobia, and finally, in the most intense form, physical/actual (military) levels.

On the basis of mutual knowledge of one another, various ethnic communities can comprehend and accept cultural norms of other groups and establish unbiased interaction. The competence to identify oneself mentally with other cultures (empathic competence) is often considered as one of the most important intercultural competences. To provide an example: when various national experts represent their countries in the EU, their success and efficiency also depends on their cultural knowledge, competences and skills. In other words, the level of their cultural awareness determines the manner in which they establish relations in verbal and non-verbal communication, their competence to present various subjects and their manner of participation in partnerships. Various manners of dealing with intercultural communication imply various types of interaction: various approaches at the labour market, varying distribution of linguistic inequality, different use of language at work, various roles of a certain language in the socio-economic development of society. (ok, 2008).

Points where intercultural dialogue fails are most often also sites of cultural conflict. We are convinced that our own culture is imperfect, but nevertheless think it is less imperfect than others, so we accept it as the best and reject others. Although no culture offers perfection and the best way of life, dialogue and coexistence of cultures where every community can find what's best for it seems the wisest, if not only solution. Multiculturalism is therefore a concept that is universal and timeless, and needs to be understood, promoted and developed. And it is precisely scientific research that can set out suitable paths for cultural coexistence. Cross-cultural competence is recognised as a critical capability that helps personnel become mission ready and meet the challenges of this decade in several of the following domains: diplomacy, economy and industry, science, civil service operators, peacekeeping process personnel, NGO volunteers, military leaders and corps. The intention of this paper isn't to disclose all the dimensions of those domains. A new, much longer presentation would be needed.

The global economy, for instance, creates a new generation of studies that connect language and the economy. People and institutions emerge in the processes of global economy, who have to communicate very quickly and well to achieve success and the objectives set by the capital. Not only new information technologies are important in this communication, the language is also important, and it differs from goods, services, assets, because goods, service management does not exist without language. Language management means users' management (Cameron, 2005).

Research, higher education, developmental projects and strategies exceed the local borders, regions and continents. The emergence of new knowledge and the development of new information technologies and tools, where cross-cultural awareness and acting are necessary, are raising besides multilingualism. Joint policies of regulating world dimensions would be more successful if policy makers would know that the awareness about the fact that there is no single truth and uniform view of the problem is the only way to joint solutions. It is difficult to speak about the positive relation to another, possibly hostile culture in war circumstances; therefore, it is especially interesting to know whether the cross-cultural awareness in war is the element of victory.

In the presentation of the book that analyses the military culture *Cross-Cultural Competence for a 21st Century Military Culture, the Flipside of the COIN* (Sands and Sand, ed.2013) I have found the contemplation about how warfare in this century differs of the warfare throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Contemporary warfare is continuing to be an exercise in military strength, but beside the kinetic force is composed of missions that depend on skills to forge interpersonal relationships and build sustainable partnerships with a host of actors that once had no voice or role in the conflict's duration or conclusion. Today, final victory does not conclude directly from conflict, in fact victory may be subsumed into the larger and more consuming equation of international stability.

This is quite important for soldiers, because their relation to other culture is thoughtful and comprehended. During participation in war and even more during their work in peace, they will be set in numerous situations where they will have to decide based on the relation to own and other cultures that are set in advance. It seems necessary to introduce the elements of the cross-cultural ability or cross-cultural awareness in various

contents of military training, understanding and respecting diversity is the fundamental value of warfare.

5. 3C IN THE ARMY

Among many studies, implemented by American researchers for the need of missions of American soldiers abroad, I have chosen the topic on the 3C (Cross- Cultural Competence) by Gulick and Herman (2007) and Culhane, Reid, Crepeau, LJ. in McDonald (2012). The extensive processing of topics and the presentation of scientific publications of the 3C, including those who discussed the issue of cross-cultural ability in the army, is found in the collected bibliography of the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioural and Social Sciences: *Cross- Cultural Competence in the Department of Defense* (2014).

The introduction, followed by the distribution of works by target topics in the mentioned bibliography, shows the purpose of the collection and an attempt to determine topics in individual sections that consider the 3C. Prior to distributing individual works by content, the collection authors initially critically discuss the areas and in this way simplify the search for the appropriate source. As usual, they find themselves tackling the problem how to define the cross-cultural competence in the mass of accessible definitions. The distribution of contents is initially merged within the scope of general knowledge about culture (core concepts from social science for learning about and understanding culture, cross-cultural schemas, etc.). Among the descriptions of an individuals' level of proficiency or competency in performing a specific task, they focus on psycho-motor and behavioural competences. Among the abilities, authors present mostly the appertaining features of an individual which can significantly impact or limit cross-cultural awareness rising. Other characteristics include preliminary experience, work practices, individual's lifestyle including the belonging to a multicultural family, travel experience, deployment or time abroad, as well as exposure to individuals from different backgrounds or who have different opinions and beliefs. Works are included which in a synthetic manner present the models of cross-cultural awareness raising or structure processes that lead to this.

The authors of the bibliographical collection admit that despite the numerous forms of training on all levels more research is needed to empirically determine what knowledge, skills, abilities, and other attributes should be prioritized as part of

training. It is difficult to unify, whether knowledge and skills are more important to the army than cognition, emotions and characteristic features of an individual. They question who should be the educator of cross-cultural awareness, which features of foreign environments are fundamental, what does language knowledge and what the use of a translator mean, how do differences in military ranks and tasks impact the qualification of the 3C and what are the differences in training special forces (Air Force, Army and Marine Corps). "One size fits all" approach to 3C is unsatisfactory, coordination of research efforts and alignment (vs. standardisation) of core curricula is still likely to be highly beneficial.

Despite advances in the development of 3C assessments, however, one of the greatest concerns with existing ones is that most of them rely on self-report methodologies. As such, self-report assessments of 3C may actually reflect an individual's level of self-efficacy or beliefs about his/her success in cross-cultural contexts, rather than his/her true level of 3C or actual performance in cross-cultural settings. The assessment of 3C by models that apply to other areas in the cases of cross-cultural awareness evaluation in the army is only partially suitable if not even completely useless. The real world in which military personnel operate is not an experimental laboratory where scientists can control conditions and "test" the utility of cross-cultural competence. The solution could be found in two directions: verifying skills and abilities that support the raising of awareness of the 3C and crossing the interviews of the service personnel with data of lessons learned reports and after action reviews to uncover what skills or abilities identify as important and effective. The presented works also focus on questions when and how the assessed achievements of verification should be used and for what purposes.

The works in the bibliographical collection also bring novelties, especially open areas among various sciences that examine the 3C. The aspect of the entire spectrum of external factors that impact the awareness of the 3C is also important. This involves national and global policies, the traditions of an individual environment in accepting otherness, the adaptation to team work and adaptation, army management style and similar. We know little about the consequences of negative circumstances or experiences with cross-cultural interaction. In students, world travellers and job seekers the return to the local environment

can be healing and relaxing after a bad experience. Unfortunately, this is not the case for many military members, whose deployment experience and negative or traumatic events will impact their 3C on current and future deployments. Studying new possibilities to resolve these stressful situations should be further explored. The research in this direction should not remain within individual sciences and geographical borders.

On the basis of different cultural understanding and language proficiency studies (CULP) in the CULP report of the U.S. Army Research Institute (2007): *Cross-Cultural Competence in Army Leaders: A Conceptual and Empirical Foundation* the researchers have attempted to identify the cross-cultural knowledge, skills, and affect that Army leaders need to better understand the adversary, interact effectively with a local population, and work collaboratively with coalition partners. The mentioned CULP study had three objectives: 1) to identify the knowledge related to culture and identity needed by Army leaders, 2) to identify measures and predictors of effective performance in cross-cultural settings, and 3) to identify the extent to which proficiency in a foreign language provides transferable skills. This first report addresses the second objective. The first and third objectives are addressed in two companion reports.

The researchers consider that the role of culture-general competence of Army leaders that may experience multiple deployments to different countries over their career is very important. In their opinion, the general dimensions of 3C are at least as important as culture-specific variables like language and regional knowledge.

In the study are prominent special traits called the Big Five. They include openness/intellect, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and emotional stability (neuroticism). These traits were empirically derived using a variety of methods and represent a comprehensive approach to personality structure (Wiggins & Trapnell, 1997).

The second study *Beyond frontiers: The critical role of cross-cultural competence in the military* (Culhane, E., Reid, P., Crepeau, L.J., & McDonald, D., 2012) discusses the critical need for military personnel to be cognitively, socially, and culturally adapted to effectively meet the changing needs and growing spectrum of varied missions within the next decade that increasingly involve efforts focused on stabilisation, reconstruction, security operations, and

humanitarian endeavours. The authors describe the 3C as a “set of cultural behaviours and attitudes integrated into the practice methods of a system, agency, or its professionals that enables them to work effectively in cross-cultural situations” (National Centre for Cultural Competence, 2001:9). The multifactorial model that they propose is leadership centred. Leaders can use 3C to integrate, tolerate, and bridge differences that allow for congruent communication pathways and perspectives and helps them to fasten leadership capabilities, such as systems thinking, strategic agility, forecasting team strengths, building strategic networks, and ultimately planning, preparing, executing, and assessing operations.

The number and scope of works that have recently dealt with the incentives of military services for cross-cultural awareness raising, shows the current meaning of the 3C also among professions and missions where power and weapons were significant a century ago, i.e. by studying and the applicability of different models and strategies for successful cross-cultural mediation in exceeding conflicts and finally by simulating the most appropriate relations in direct combats that would minimise human and material losses. Is 3C the new weapon that will more successfully chase off terrorism and unjust wars? Let's end with a quote that tries to answer that question:

Cultural knowledge and linguistic ability are some of the best weapons in the struggle against terrorism. Mastering these weapons can mean the difference between victory and defeat on the battlefields of Iraq and Afghanistan. (Gabrielle Giffords, Address at the Defense Language Institute, August 2009)

6. CONCLUSIONS & ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The content of this paper is the result of author's research work carried out in the last two decades that has been partially implemented in the author's academic work with students and her research in the wider multilingual society. She takes full responsibility for the contents and scientific correctness of it.

It is her pleasure to have the opportunity to present it at the International conference *Redefining community in intercultural context* (Brasov, 21 – 23 May, 2015), organised by Henri Coanda Air Force Academy in Brasov.

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IOHANNIS AND PONTA: THE WINNER AND THE LOSER. A NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION APPROACH TO THE 2014 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN ROMANIA

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Abstract: *The presidential elections constitute a 'battle field' in which candidates try to pull their opponents to pieces both verbally and nonverbally. In this paper the focus will be on the nonverbal means employed by Victor Ponta and his opponent, Klaus Iohannis in their presidential campaign, the aim being that of highlighting the nonverbal behaviours that led to the electoral loss of the former and success of the latter. The reason behind the choice of this topic is Goffman's (1959) idea that the nonverbal dimension of a candidate's style has a pre-eminent role, as the nonverbal elements of people's behaviour cannot be controlled very easily, and can also influence the evaluation of someone's credibility. The data-base employed for the analysis comprises the live televised debates between the two mentioned candidates, as well as photos published in the press. The investigated nonverbal components are colour symbolism, body movements (such as posture and gestures), facial expressions, haptics, and vocalics. The analysis conducted reveals the extent to which nonverbal elements may tilt the balance of success in presidential elections.*

Keywords: *presidential elections, presidential candidates, nonverbal behaviour, credibility*

1. INTRODUCTION

Election campaigns, including the election news coverage, are quite difficult to investigate, as they presuppose attention paid to a number of factors such as the characteristics of the political system (whether the political system is party-centred or candidate-centred, the number of political parties, the type of government), the characteristics of the media system (public service media vs private media companies, media that aim at a highly educated and politically interested population vs media oriented toward less educated and politically less interested people), the context, the relationship between the political actors, news media actors, and people as voters or consumers of media (Str mb ck & Lee Kaid, 2009). What is worth noting is that unlike in the past, when people tended to vote for the same party in successive elections, nowadays the election news coverage may have a say in how the electors will vote, as this could be the only way in which the electors may obtain information about the candidates for presidency.

The study of television visuals in electoral campaigns is important for two reasons. First, research in this field indicates that moving pictures produce stronger affective responses in

viewers than still pictures (Detenber *et al.*, 1998); such affective opinions are critical to actual voting behaviours, which is often contingent on how positively or negatively people evaluate a candidate (Kiouisis *et al.*, 1999). Secondly, television is the primary source of campaign information for most voters. Graber (1987) showed that quite often, people who decide on whom to vote may be more influenced by visual displays. Consequently, in this paper my interest is in the extent to which the decision to vote for one political figure or another might have been influenced by the way in which the televised debates in the latest presidential campaigns in Romania reflected the candidates' nonverbal behaviour.

The paper is structured as follows: the next section introduces the reader to a brief presentation of the organisation of presidential campaigns in Romania. As my interest is in the nonverbal behaviour of the presidential candidates, in section 3 I will define nonverbal communication and describe briefly its dimensions. The next part of the paper (section 4) is dedicated to the research methodology and to the research questions that guided me in the analysis contained in section 5. Some conclusions will be drawn in the last part of the paper (section 6).

2. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN ROMANIA

Election campaigns are tough competitions based on ideas; they consist of a series of actions aimed at making certain groups of voters support these ideas. They are thoroughly organized long before the Election Day.

In our country, the presidential campaign is organized on the basis of the Law 370, passed in 2004 and revised in 2014, according to which the period of election campaign starts 30 days prior to the Election Day and ends at 7.00 a.m. on the Saturday morning before the election day, which is always a Sunday. All the activities during the campaign are supervised by the Central Electoral Bureau.

Unlike in other countries, where people have a range of voting options, such as an electronic voting system, poll-voting or mail-in voting, in Romania people can only cast their vote in person at a polling station.

During the campaign, candidates are free to promote themselves via public meetings, fliers, banners, and letters, through websites, through a series of brief appearances in several towns, by using endorsements of celebrated people to boost support (see the photo below), and also via debates that are broadcast live on television.



Fig.1. Ponta associating with the figure of Simona Halep

Unlike in America, where it has become customary that late in the election cycle, i.e. at the end of September and throughout October, candidates should confront each other in debates for which they prepare very thoroughly, in Romania, debates are quite a recent phenomenon in the political arena. The first Romanian televised debate took place in the 1992, the candidates being Ion Iliescu and Emil Constantinescu. Since then, debates have become part of the electoral

campaigns in our country. Nevertheless, in 2014, there was a problem in bringing the two candidates (Victor Ponta, member of the Social Democratic Party and Klaus Iohannis, member of the Christian Liberal Alliance (ACL) together in a televised debate. After long days of negotiations, disagreements, and a number of delays, the two candidates met in a first debate hosted by Realitatea TV on the 11th of November 2014 and moderated by Rare Bogdan. The second one followed on the 12th of November. The journalists of adevarul.ro stated that the first debate managed to show the different personalities of the candidates: while Victor Ponta was very aggressive and talkative, Klaus Iohannis kept calm (Agarici, 2014).

As Lange (1999:28-29) points out,

Debates have advantages and disadvantages (...). On the negative side, it has been argued that mandatory debates would circumscribe the candidates' freedom to run campaigns as they wish (...). On the positive side, debates allow the candidates to face the public directly, they have been shown to heighten citizens' interest in elections and their levels of information, they are a means of enabling the public to make a direct comparison of the candidates, and as such are a useful supplement to the normal news coverage.

Throughout the campaign, the political figures are 'a prey' for their opponents, who watch for mistakes in order to speculate them to their advantage. Moreover, the media, and especially the television channels, represent the main source by which information about the candidates are conveyed to the electorate, in this way the candidates becoming a pray for the voters, too. The actual behaviour of the candidates, their capacity to control themselves in various circumstances, to produce biting retorts and to return the blows received are of utmost importance for the electorate. Very often, people vote for the man rather than for the political figure. For this reason, the campaigns should also focus on highlighting the individual qualities of the candidates and their way of behaving nonverbally, not only on their political skills.

3. NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

People can communicate in various ways: by means of speech, by whistling, by sign language (if they are aurally disabled), and nonverbally. Though they tend to think that the major means of communication is the word (or speech), it has been

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shown that actually in any face-to-face interaction the nonverbal communication prevails. 'While the verbal channel of communication is used primarily to convey factual or semantic information about the world, the nonverbal channels have primarily social functions - 'to manage the immediate social relationships - like in animals' (Argyle, 1972, quoted in Beattie, 2004: 19). Nonverbal communication signals emotional states and attitudes that are crucial in the forming and development of interpersonal relationships. Beattie is of the opinion that 'we express relationships nonverbally because these types of communication are less subject to conscious control and, therefore, presumably more honest, and yet at the same time more nebulous' (2004: 22).

But what is nonverbal communication? Specialists in various fields ranging from anthropology to sociology and psychology have attempted to define the concept as clearly as possible. Thus, the famous anthropologist Eduard Sapir (1928:137) spoke of nonverbal communication as 'an elaborate and secret code that is written nowhere, known by none, and understood by all.' According to Fiske *et al.* (2010: 465), 'nonverbal communication refers to the sending and receiving of thoughts and feelings via nonverbal behaviour', while Lustig and Koester (1996) (*apud* McLaren, 1998:132) define nonverbal communication as a

'multi-channelled process that is usually performed spontaneously and involves a subtle set of non-linguistic behaviours that are often enacted outside a person's conscious awareness'.

This last definition points to the fact that there are many different levels of nonverbal communication which determined linguists to separate them into codes. These are organised message systems that consist of a set of symbols and rules for their use. In what follows, the various nonverbal codes will be presented in more details.

a. **Kinesics** includes messages sent by your body through gestures, posture, body movement, body lean, and so forth. It also includes messages sent by your face, such as smiles, frowns, grimaces, and pouts. The kinesic code also includes eye behaviour, which is sometimes referred to as *oculesics*. Eye behaviour includes eye movement, eye contact, gaze aversion, and pupil dilation and constriction.

b. **Appearance and adornment**. This code includes influential nonverbal cues which are non-movement bound, i.e. physical appearance (*size,*

shape, and colour of your body, your perceived level of attractiveness, how you dress, wear your hair and use cosmetics, the use of accessories) and olfactory cues (*body smells and perfume/cologne*). These can communicate a lot and create impressions on others.

c. **Vocalics**. This code includes the sounds of the voice as well as silences. In other words, vocalics (also referred to as 'paralanguage') refers to HOW you say words rather than WHAT you actually say. This includes how you communicate through changes in speaking rate, volume, voice quality and pitch, accents, pauses, and hesitations. Also included are silence and the meanings attributed to it. Sometimes silence communicates a message more loudly than words ever could.

d. **Contact Codes**. This includes both spatial and tactile communication. *Spatial communication* (proxemics) focuses on how you use space and territory. Personal space refers to how far apart people are while engaged in various activities. A number of issues are of importance here:

- i. How do people **use** and **respond** to spatial relationship in formal and informal group settings?
 - seating arrangements;
 - spatial arrangements as related to leadership;
 - communication flow.
- ii. Attention paid to the way people behave in crowds and densely populated areas.
- iii. Conversational distance varies according to sex, status, cultural orientation, and roles.

e. **Haptics** (*or tactile communication*) refers to touch and physical contact, such as grabbing, hitting, stroking, hugging, holding, greeting and farewells, kicking, and kissing. It represents an important factor in the child's early development and in the adult's behaviour.

f. **Time and Place Codes**. This code refers to the larger context in which communication occurs. Communication through time (chronemics) includes how people use and perceive time. Time preferences, punctuality, and personal perceptions of time are some of many chronemic factors. *Environmental cues* refer to elements that impinge on the human relationship, but which are not directly a part of it. They include factors such as architectural design, interior decorating, colour, noise, furniture arrangement, and so on.

Now that we have seen the codes by means of which people communicate nonverbally, it is important to point to the prevalence of this kind of communication in relation to the verbal message.

In one of his early studies, the American anthropologist Ray Birdwhistell (1970) was of the opinion that about 65 per cent of a message is conveyed nonverbally. Other specialists in the field, Mehrabian and Wiener (1967:109-114) suggested that 90 percent of communication occurs nonverbally or paralinguistically, while Beattie (2004:25) considers that only 7 per cent of communication is verbal, the rest being nonverbal.

Nonverbal communication is considered to be important as it provides 'a frame of reference for interpreting what is said verbally' (Burgoon *et al.*, 1989: 9). Our nonverbal behaviour very frequently complements, emphasizes repeats, contradicts, or substitutes the verbal messages we deliver. When there is incongruence between the verbal message and the nonverbal behaviour, the latter should be trusted as this cannot be controlled so easily. Moreover, there are situations in which nonverbal behaviours may express feelings and attitudes that cannot be described by words.

All of the nonverbal categories of communication are important, and in politics some are used intentionally to set the stage for what will be said (Lee Kaid & Johnston, 2001:28).

Certainly, presidential campaigns are a veritable treasure trove of nonverbal behaviours; in particular appearance, eye contact, posture and gestures can have a say in how the electorate is going to vote. The way in which candidates behave nonverbally might influence how their style is interpreted and how their style is manifested. Moreover, their nonverbal behaviour can increase or diminish their credibility and, in the long run, influence the outcome of the elections, as we shall see in section 5 of the paper.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to identify possible explanations for why the incumbent prime minister, Victor Ponta lost the presidential elections despite the fact that he was considered the front-runner, a consistent data base of nonverbal behaviours was needed. Thus, on the one hand I have searched for visual information in the still photographs taken during the campaigns, and on the other hand, I have examined the visual content of moving images in the two televised debates in which the Romanian candidates, Victor Ponta and Klaus Iohannis, confronted each other. As mentioned previously, my interest was in the use of a certain colour, in body movements (such as postures and gestures),

facial expressions, and vocalics. In order to capture all these nonverbal dimensions in the televised debates, I have employed the print-screen technique by means of which I was able to capture the images that seemed relevant for the analysis. At the same time, I took advantage of the split-screen format employed in television, which enables the viewers 'to compare the appearance and behaviour of two or more subjects (Millerson, 1990, *apud* Lee Kaid and Johnston, 2001:32). For the elements pertaining to vocalics, I relied on the sensitivity of my own ears.

Starting from the assumption that the candidates' nonverbal behaviour may have an impact on the voting behaviour, the research questions that guided the present study are the following: RQ1: What does the media's visual presentation of a candidate reveal about Victor Ponta's and Klaus Iohannis' images in the last presidential campaign? RQ2: Which of the nonverbal dimensions had a stronger impact on the viewers?

5. THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' NONVERBAL BEHAVIOUR CAN TILT THE BALANCE OF THE ELECTION RESULT

During the presidential campaign trail, the candidates' nonverbal behaviour is of extreme importance as many viewers focus their attention on this aspect, rather than on the verbal message, which very often, is beyond their level of understanding. Thus, as the electoral campaign touched upon issues such as tax, health, economic growth, and military enforcement, a large part of the population who was not familiar with the problems and with the solutions suggested by the candidates, focussed more on what they saw, rather than on what they heard.

Before embarking on the analysis of the nonverbal elements in the televised debates, a word about them would be in order here. In Romania, though initially four such meetings had been planned, due to the disagreements between the campaign teams of the Social Democratic Party and of the Christian Liberal Alliance (formed of the Democratic Liberal Party and of the National Liberal Party) only two televised debates brought together the two candidates, Victor Ponta, the incumbent prime-minister and member of SDP and Klaus Iohannis, former mayor of Sibiu and member of CLA. The first debate was hosted by Realitatea TV and moderated by Rare Bogdan on the 11th of November, while the second was

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broadcast by B1TV on the 12th of November, being moderated by M d lina Pu cal u. The first debate seemed completely chaotic: the moderator was poorly prepared for it; he spoke too much, and did not inform the candidates how the event was going to unfold until the 13th minute. At the same time, he did not manage to stick to the format of the event (i.e. 2 minutes for each candidate), at times Ponta leaving the impression that he was the moderator of the show. The second debate was better organised in that from the very beginning Ms Pu cal u told the candidates and the audience the rules of the game, at the same time being very strict when the invitees tried to break them. The purpose of these debates was to make the ones vying for Cotroceni, show their best.

Let us now have a closer look at the nonverbal behaviour of the two Romanian candidates for presidency in the electoral campaign. I shall start the analysis by looking at their touching behaviour or *haptics*.

5.1 Haptics. People will accept and also offer a certain amount of touching depending on the culture they belong to. Hecht *et al.* (1989) labelled the cultures in Latin America, the Mediterranean area, the Middle East and Eastern Europe ‘contact cultures’ as people living in these areas are prone to touching each other. On the other hand, cultures like those in northern Europe, North America, and Asia are considered “distance cultures” due to the fact that here people do not like to touch or be touched, in other words, they like to keep a certain distance between each other.

According to McLaren (1998), in contact cultures (as is the case of Romania), more touching is expected during the greetings, which presuppose handshaking. Strangely, the two Romanian presidential candidates did not touch at all: in none of the photos I had access to where they caught shaking hands or patting each other on the back.

In the Romanian culture, handshaking is common not only among men, but also among women and among men and women. If Klaus Iohannis did not shake hands with his opponent, he did shake hands and even kissed the hand of the moderator of the second debate, Ms. Pu cal u, who welcomed both candidates outside the TV plateau. The hand kiss is a gesture of courtesy and extreme politeness which is falling out of fashion in Romania, but which is still used in diplomacy. By making use of this way of greeting, Iohannis showed that he is well-mannered and most probably warmed the hearts of the female voters. The hand-kissing gesture, as shown in the photo

below, is accompanied by a direct eye-gaze which indicates sincerity and attention.



Fig. 2. Klaus Iohannis kissing the hand of M d lina Pu cal u, the moderator of the second televised debate.

5.2 Colour symbolism. A look at the publicity elements employed during the presidential campaigns shows that the two candidates for presidency identified with the colours of their parties. Thus, the banners, fliers, posters and presents offered by the staff of the CLA were blue or had a blue background, while those employed by the opposition were red. In Romania, red is the identified colour of the left, while blue that of the right.



Fig. 3. Socialists like it red, Liberals blue.



Fig.4. Red all over for Ponta's supporters and his ladies.



Fig. 5. Colours of ties in agreement with the colour of the candidates' parties

As picture 5 above shows, the two candidates tried as much as possible to identify with the colours of their parties in their dress code, too. Thus, Iohannis wore a blue tie, whereas Ponta a red one. But this happened only occasionally, as in the two televised debates they both knotted up ties of similar dark colours. One element that may have diminished Victor's Ponta chances of becoming president of Romania was exactly the colour of this party. As a man, apart from wearing a red tie, any other piece of clothing of this colour on him would have compromised him. So the three females in his life (his mother, wife, and daughter) carried the colour symbol of the Social Democratic party for him, as were the hundreds of people that gathered on the National Arena (see figure 4 above), when he launched his campaign like a rock star and where he informed people of the radical measures he was going to take for the well-being of Romania. In the mind of the people aged 50+, red was the colour of the communist regime that we so much loathed and wanted to get rid of. In November last, when we saw again the stadiums jammed with people carrying red flags and banners and adopting the same servile attitude like in Ceau escu's time, our fear was that those terrible days of the eighties were going to return. So, despite the fact that Victor Ponta was considered to be the forerunner for presidency, he may have lost because people 'saw red', and in their minds a strong association was created between him and Ceau escu, or even worse, between him and the current president of North Korea, Kim Jong Un.

5.3 Facial expressions. According to Banning & Coleman (2009), one of the earliest programs of research into political leaders' facial expressions undertaken by a group of social psychologists (Lanzetta *et al.*, 1985, *apud* Banning & Coleman, 2009:7) found 'that emotional expressions by political leaders had a direct emotional effect on television viewers and clearly established that facial gestures had an impact on viewers' feelings about the person being observed'.

Paul Ekman (2003), the pioneering psychologist in the field of emotions, is of the opinion that learning how to identify emotions in their early stages or when they are masked can improve our communication with people in various situations, as well as help us to manage our own emotional responses.

On the political arena, the two Romanian candidates did not excel in expressing their feelings towards their viewers. Their facial expressions were most of the time quite rigid. My impression is that they both tried to pass as serious men, with the noblest of intentions for the Romanian people. Iohannis' facial expression may lead one to think that he is very organized and calculated like the German people. Ponta's facial expression, on the other hand, might be an indicator of wisdom.



Fig.6. Rigid facial expressions.

There were, nevertheless, a number of instances in which the facial expressions of the two politicians revealed more than wisdom or consideration for the Romanian people. Thus, in the first debate, when Klaus Iohannis expressed his dissatisfaction to Rare Bogdan (the moderator) concerning the format of the debate, Victor Ponta's face betrayed surprise. The key elements of such a facial expression are the raised eyebrows, the wide-open eyes, as well as the lower jaw which drops open. One can see that in the photo below

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(minute 11:47, RD1¹), the lower part of Ponta's face adopts a different position than the one characteristic of surprise, namely the lips are pressed together. According to Ekman (2003), this could be an indicator of very slight anger or anger that is just beginning. We may speculate that surprise, which is the shortest of all emotions, is immediately followed by slight anger in Ponta, maybe due to the fact that his speech was interrupted by Iohannis' statement, which for him might not have had any relevance.



Fig.7. Ponta's facial expression of surprise (RD1, minute 11:47)

A little later in the same debate, the prime minister in office, V. Ponta, adopted a different facial expression, one of sarcasm or irony. This expression was triggered by Iohannis' remark that after the first round of voting on the 2nd of November, when most of the Romanians in the diaspora did not have the opportunity to cast their vote, it should have been Victor Ponta who had to step down from office and not Titus Corl ăean, the then Minister of the Justice and Foreign Affairs. The sarcasm on Ponta's face is betrayed first and foremost by the lips which are pressed together, the left corner being slightly pulled up (giving the impression of an asymmetrical smile). Contributing to this expression are also the eyelids, which tightened, give the viewers the impression that the prime minister was literally or figuratively trying to focus on something, namely on the suggestion that his opponent had just made. This, to me, looks like a sign of nonverbal aggression.

After the elections, in an interview given to Costi Rogozanu and Dan Duca from Realitatea TV on the 7th of December, Ponta admitted that in the electoral campaign he had been arrogant.



Fig. 8. Ponta's sarcastic expression (RD1, minute 16:56)

But Ponta is not the only one capable of showing irony or sarcasm. Half-way through the second debate, when approaching issues related to the legal system/ judiciary, Iohannis presented his opponent with a photo taken in January 2011 comprising SD Party figures such as Ponta, Adrian Nastase, Titus Corl ăean, Ecaterina Andronescu and others, all having been accused of political persecution. In exchange, Ponta presented Iohannis with another photo, taken on the same day (and probably on the same occasion) in which he (Ponta) is accompanied by Crin Antonescu and some members of the National Liberal Party and of the Democratic Liberal Party, one member of which had committed an abuse and changed parties, joining the party Iohannis now belonged to. The scene shows that none of the presidential candidates was willing to acknowledge himself inferior to the other. The verbal exchange that accompanied the screen-capture below went as follows:

Iohannis: 'V las cu placere fotografia' (I'll gladly leave you the photo).

Ponta: 'i eu v dau fotografia... s nu lua i numai fotografia care v place, lua i tot' (I also give you the photo ... you should not take only the photo you like, take everything!).



Fig.9. Mutual irony.

¹ RD1 stands for the first debate between the Romanian candidates.

Irony is reflected in the lower part of the candidates' faces, namely by the raising of the upper lip (like for a smile) and the baring of the teeth, which is an aggressive facial signal (like a canine snarl).

Victor Ponta proved to communicate very much by means of his face, unlike Klaus Iohannis, whose face was quite neutral throughout the first debate. In minute 40:00, when the party he belongs to (i.e. the Social Democratic Party) was accused of having been against the electronic voting system, the viewers were left in no doubt concerning his emotion. He was deeply hurt by this accusation and did not have the time to compose his facial expression, to hide his inner state.



Fig. 10. Ponta's facial expression of anger.

The key elements of an angry face are the tightened eyelids, the brows which are lowered and slightly drawn together (a sign of controlled anger), the lips pressed together and the jaw which is thrust forward.

5.4. The gaze. In this section I will focus on another dimension of nonverbal behaviour, namely on oculosics, as our gaze often gives away our thoughts and emotions. 'Oculosics is the name given to communicating with the eyes. The most common form is eye contact, which can show attention and, sometimes intimacy. If there is not enough, others may assume lack of interest or even lack of trust. If there is too much, people may assume rudeness' (McLaren, 1998: 141).

In both televised debates, Iohannis did a better job in connecting with the TV audience. In most of the cases in which he addressed the viewers, he talked straight into the camera. According to Richard Webster (2014:170), 'direct eye contact is a sign of honesty, sincerity, trust and open communication'.

When asked by the moderator what the Romania of Klaus Iohannis would look like, Iohannis turned his gaze from Ms Pu cal u and looked straight into the 'eyes of the Romanians',

giving them the feeling that he was one of them. Moreover, in the second debate, when Iohannis had the right to challenge Ponta's answer concerning the well-being of the Romanians, he told the SDP nominee that the Romanians were fed up with figures and statistics and that they wanted solutions to their problems. While saying this, his gaze was focused on his oponent. But when he said 'let us ask the Romanian people whether they have been better off since Victor Ponta became their prime minister', he turned round and looked right into the camera, lifting his index finger and thrusting it forwards, as if pointing to his audience.



Fig.11. Iohannis addressing the TV audience (RD1, minute 59:48, on the left and RD2, minute 16:09, on the right).

Normally, the finger-pointing gesture is considered to be quite rude, but in this particular circumstance I would say that it was employed to great effect, in that together with the gaze it emphasized the strong bond between the speaker and the audience. By pointing at the viewers, Iohannis treated them as if they were his friends.



Fig. 12. Iohannis' gaze combined with the finger-pointing gesture (RD2, minute 19:47)

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Victor Ponta, on the other hand, hardly ever looked straight into the camera, hence into the electorate's eyes. This made the viewers perceive him as distant and detached. When he was not busy rummaging through his notes, the bible, or the constitution, he looked at Iohannis, being on the watch out for mistakes on the part of the latter. This is obvious in the previous photo (fig.11). By contrast, when Ponta was talking, Iohannis kept looking away, as if he disconsidered or ignored his opponent, something that made the latter angry to the point that he asked Iohannis to look at him, assuming that by doing so, he would better grasp Ponta's information.



Fig. 13. Ponta begging Iohannis to look at him (RD2, minute 24:29).

When Iohannis asked Ponta questions or made statements that the latter perceived to be 'uncomfortable' for him, his gaze was cut off from Iohannis. One such instance occurred when the topic of the problems the Romanians outside the country faced during the first round was brought up. Knowing well that culpability was partly his, Ponta cut the visual contact with Iohannis by nodding and blinking fast, as if in an attempt to shy away from his interlocutor. Blinking rapidly is a more refined way of visually getting rid of a person or a touchy subject than completely covering your eyes with the palms, the way children do.



Fig. 14. Ponta's refined manner of avoiding eye contact in embarrassing circumstances (RD1, minute 14:32).

As rapid blinking usually means nerves and a person's desire of blocking out what is happening or what he is hearing, Ponta's gesture had a great impact on how people perceived him.

An even more obvious state of embarrassment or shame on behalf of Victor Ponta appears towards the end of the first debate, when his counter-candidate asks him why he lied by saying that he (Iohannis) would reduce the retirement pensions. Knowing that Iohannis was right and as he most probably did not expect such a question, Ponta looked down for a longer time than usual, trying to avoid his interlocutor's venomous stare by keeping his eyes closed and his head lowered.



Fig. 15. Ponta disconnecting with his interlocutor (RD1, 1:04:33).

5.5 Tone of the voice. In both debates between Ponta and Iohannis, the latter's tone of voice was softer, lower, and calmer than Ponta's, though, at times, his voice betrayed nervousness. Ponta's tone, on the other hand, was sharper, harsher and more serious. On the basis of the tone of voice employed, Iohannis managed to convey to the electorate the fact that he is not a hot-tempered or arrogant person. By contrast, his counter-candidate employed a sharper tone to emphasize that Romania was passing through a quite critical period; at the same time, he tried to show the confidence that leaders must have during such problematic times. From this point of view, I think that Iohannis had an advantage over Victor Ponta in that the tone of his voice helped in lessening the worries and the fears of those watching the debates. His booming deep and louder voice seemed to have won people over as it promoted credibility, confidence, and, to a certain extent, dominance, too.

Another aspect related to the voice is the rhythm of speech. Klaus Iohannis spoke very slowly, something that certain specialists (such as sociologist Alfred Bulai and psychologist Mihaela Vintila, see Ring, 2014) consider speech

impairment and that many journalists made fun of. But my impression was that the pauses in his speech were not at all an indicator of anxiety or of lack of self-confidence (and far from being a speech impairment), but rather of careful consideration. Most probably those who made fun of Iohannis' slow way of speaking were not familiar with the Confucian saying (quoted in McLaren, 1998:149): 'The superior man is diligent in duty but slow to speak'. Neither were they familiar with the opinion of scholars with a longer experience in the field of nonverbal communication, such as Peter Collett (2003:139) who stated that 'deep voices are associated with dominance, masculinity and concern; (...) they also sound warm'. Ponta's metallic sounding voice could have contributed to the impression of a cold person. This together with other nonverbal behaviours made voters perceive him as wanting the office too much.

5.6. Body language. This last sub-section of the analysis of the candidate's nonverbal behaviour looks at the messages sent by the body through gestures, posture, body movement, and body lean. I shall look at the body behaviour of the debaters both when they talk, as well as when the other is speaking.



Fig. 16. The candidates' hand chopping gesture (RD2, minute 17:15 and RD2. Minute 30:04)

As far as hand gestures are concerned, both candidates seemed to employ them sparingly. This is not at all surprising, as the frequent use of gestures may give the impression that the person is

impulsive and not entirely in control of his/her actions, what might not be the best image if discretion and a cool-headed attitude is required. Both candidates used, at times, the 'hand chopping gesture' or 'baton gesture' in which the hand moves up and down, as if chopping wood. This hand gesture accompanies speech, so that the hand may move to the rhythm of the speech. It is gesture often employed by politicians when addressing a crowd, as it adds emphasis to key words or ideas in their speech.

Victor Ponta makes use of this hand gesture when he enumerates the members of the former Government² (Boc, Blaga, Predoiu, Anastase, Videanu, and others) whom he accuses of having brought the country into a disastrous state. By using this gesture (performed with the open palm placed vertically), he not only places the blame on each of the mentioned persons, but also seems to 'punish' them by figuratively chopping their heads off. By contrast, Iohannis' gesture does not seem as aggressive as Ponta's in that it is performed differently: the thumb touches the index and the middle fingers. This could also be interpreted as a milder form of the finger-pointing gesture. Another difference relates to the fact that it is employed when Iohannis talks about the legal system in Romania, highlighting each idea he utters.

A second hand gesture employed by both candidates is placing the open palm on their chests.



Fig.17. Ponta's moment of sincerity (RD2, minute 20:17)

In placing both open palms on the chest, Victor Ponta said the following: 'I want that the Romania whose president I am should not vote AGAINST someone, but FOR someone'. The gesture employed was meant to indicate two things: a) that he already considered himself the president of Romania; b) that he was sincere in what he said, that he spoke from his heart. And the truth is that

² The former government comprised members of the Democratic Liberal Party (PDL - Boc) and the National Liberal Party (PNL – Blaga, Anastase, and Videanu).

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his whole body behaviour expressed sincerity. On the other hand, Klaus Iohannis' gesture was not so obvious, due to the yellow information strip at the bottom of the screen. His left open palm seemed not to rest on the chest but to move towards his heart when he uttered: 'I think that we should not interfere with the justice' and 'I would like to protect the legal system'. By employing the gesture twice within a couple of seconds, one may be inclined to really believe what he uttered.



Fig.18. Iohannis' moment of sincerity (RD2, minute 38:56)

Another aspect of body language that speaks volumes is *body posture*. My impression was that Klaus Iohannis adopted a more relaxed and, at the same time, dominant posture in that he used more space than his rival. In the photo below (fig. 18) his legs are open, taking up more space than his opponent and giving the impression that his needs are more important. This is in line with Collett's (2003:45) statement that 'people who sit with their knees apart send clear, although usually unintended, signal that they are feeling dominant'. Additionally, his left hand is placed on the table, which gives him an asymmetrical sitting posture, conveying a strong impression of relaxation. Collett (2003: 46) is of the opinion that 'relaxation is a key part of any dominance display because it suggests that the individual isn't concerned about being attacked and could easily respond if necessary. Relaxation is signalled by postural and movement cues – postural cues consist of low muscle tone, an absence of tension, and asymmetric arrangements of the arms and legs, while movement cues consist of less movement and slower movements of the body'. By contrast, Ponta's posture is indicative of a submissive person: his closed knees are an indicator of defensiveness, just like the palms placed one over the other on the table. He uses his hands and legs as a 'barrier' against the attacks launched by Iohannis. To quote Collett (2003:46) again,

submissive individuals display the opposite behaviour – they tend to adopt more symmetrical poses, to rearrange their arms and legs more often, to show more tension in their posture, and to move their body quickly and more often (2003:46).

And this is exactly what Ponta had done in both debates: when he did not adopt the 'obedient pupil' posture, he looked for his notes in his briefcase, arranged them on the table, shuffled them, and took more notes.



Fig.19. Body posture of the candidates (RD2: minute 14:14).

Though the general impression concerning Klaus Iohannis' posture was that he appeared quite relaxed, at a closer look this was not really so. His feeling under pressure (which was very normal in these circumstances) was reflected by the fact that he placed his open palm on the table, with the arm extended. This gesture contributes to his spatial extension, enhancing the feeling of dominance, as mentioned previously, but, at the same time, it could also be interpreted as his attempt to control his nervousness, by holding onto something stable. To alleviate stress and nervousness, in the first debate, Iohannis started playing with his cell phone, while in the second one, as both debaters were provided with bottles and glasses of water, Iohannis turned his round and round.



Fig.20. Iohannis' nervousness is leaking out. Left - RD 1, minute 37:57, Right - RD2, minute 9:02)

6. CONCLUSIONS

The general impression concerning the nonverbal behaviour of the two Romanian presidential candidates is that Victor Ponta was more animated than Klaus Iohannis, which is one of the reasons he seemed more energetic. Iohannis, by contrast, adopted a more controlled, and, at times, rigid nonverbal behaviour which one might have expected to work against his success. He gesticulated very little, leaving the impression that he was cold and distant. In reality it was exactly this behaviour that helped him gain the confidence of the voters: he made people believe that he would not leave them in dire straits, that he would not start shaking with fear when confronted with an important decision, and that he cannot be manipulated. By contrast, Victor Ponta's nonverbal behaviour conveyed too many messages, many of which did not inspire credibility.

In terms of eye contact, my feeling is that Ponta's fatal mistake was that during both televised debates he looked more at the moderators, instead of at the camera to those at home. He also spent a lot of time during the debates looking down at his notes or to take notes, and quite often, as he listened to the moderators or his rival, his head was down. This was an indicator of submission – in other words he bowed to his rival. This made Iohannis look a little more dominant.

On the other hand, when Klaus Iohannis addressed the debate viewers, he looked directly at the camera for most of the time which gave them the feeling he was speaking directly to them. When a political figure makes eye contact with the people, it is the ultimate gesture of rapport and trust. So, I assume the TV audience was more connected to Iohannis than to Ponta because of the former's eye contact.

In terms of vocalics, my belief is that Iohannis had the upper hand, as his low, resonant voice had the effect of conveying credibility. Despite Ponta's more melodic speech, that exploited intonation to a maximum, even revealing arrogant nuances in his tone, the balance was tilted in the favour of his rival. As far as the facial expressions are concerned, both candidates did a pretty good job of keeping neutral facial expressions. However, if we watch Ponta's face, his lips produced smiles quite frequently, but they were not of the friendly and happy kind. Moreover, some of his smiles were asymmetrical, an indicator of self-assuredness and arrogance. Then, his eye-brows proved quite

mobile – up, down, drawn together, emphasizing here and doubting there. On this dimension of nonverbal communication, we could say that both debaters were bad in that their facial expressions were not at all indicators of a positive outlook, which would have been very encouraging for the viewers in a country on the verge of a depression.

To answer the first research question (What does the media's visual presentation of a candidate reveal about Victor Ponta's and Klaus Iohannis' images in the last presidential campaign?), I think that the visual media tried to exploit to the maximum the weaknesses rather than the qualities of the two candidates. The ordinary people kept wandering about the financial sources behind the election campaign, especially of Victor Ponta's. In a country struggling with poverty and characterised by deeply rooted corruption and a high rate of unemployment, a megalomaniacal launch of the presidential campaign like Ponta's (see figure 21 below) stirred the outrage of the people. This might be one of the reasons why so very many Romanian citizens around the country demonstrated peacefully in the streets against the nominee of the SD Party.



Fig. 21. Red confetti flying in the air at Ponta's launching of the presidential campaign

As far as the other dimensions of nonverbal behaviour are concerned, the two televised debates showed that, on the whole, both candidates proved quite inexperienced in the employment of this kind of behaviour and that in order to become genuine politicians they need to train a lot in this respect. Since in Romania nonverbal behaviour is quite a recent subject of interest for both academics and politicians, it would be advisable that the future presidential candidates should have a specialist to offer them training and advice regarding this aspect.

With respect to the second research question, my feeling is that the format of the debates had a

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say in what concerns the prevalent nonverbal dimensions. Since the debaters were seated close to the table, they could not exploit the whole repertoire of body language. Thus, the two codes that turned Iohannis into the winner and Ponta into a loser, even if by narrow margin, were vocalics and facial expressions.

All in all, I hope that this analysis has proven that politics isn't just about principles. Crucially, it's about employing a nonverbal behaviour that is convincing and presidential. And in the 2014 presidential elections in Romania, Iohannis did a better job than Ponta in this respect.

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“I DIDN’T SAY IT. SOMEBODY ELSE DID.” THE ROMANIAN HEARSAY MARKER *CIC*

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Abstract: Romanian employs a particular evidential marker that has developed from the third person singular form of the verb ‘to say’ plus a subjunction (a complementiser = C), namely *cic* from (se) *zice c* ‘(one/)he/she says’ (cf. Ion *cic* *fumeaz* vs. Ion *zice c* *fumeaz*). This adverb encodes the fact that what is said by the speaker is not his/her own (“I didn’t say it.”) but second hand knowledge (“Somebody else did.”); it is typical of spoken conversation. Similar adverbs based on a verb of saying + complementiser (here called SAYSC) are found in other Romance varieties, e.g. Latin-American Spanish (*dizque*), Brazilian Portuguese, Galician (*disque*), Sardinian (*nachi*) and Southern Italian (Sicilian *dicica*). In general, adverbs derived from the pattern lexical predicate + incorporated complementiser (PREDICATEC-adverbs) are involved in various interpretational domains mostly within the left periphery of the sentence, in particular evidentiality (i.e. the source of the information) and epistemic modality (probability according to the knowledge of the speaker) (*cic* SAYSC, *parc* SEEMSC, *credc* BELIEVEC, *pisinic* BYSIGNC, *matinc* MEFEARC for – regional – Romanian). In this paper I discuss the syntax and the semantics of *cic* in Romanian and put forward a proposal with regard to the reconstruction of its diachronic development. This proposal is based on properties common to parentheticals and provides a valuable example model for the development of similar SAY-elements in other languages (for example, in addition to Italian *dice*, Greek *lei*, Macedonian *veli*, Croatian *kaže*) and for the development of PREDICATEC-elements in general.

Keywords: hearsay, evidentiality, reported speech, Romance

1. INTRODUCTION

Several Romance languages and varieties, and indeed other languages, make use of a linguistic element derived from the canonical verb ‘to say’ but now used mainly as an evidential marker. To introduce this type of marker I begin with a Pan-Romance perspective, but later discussions will focus specifically on Romanian.

In several Romance languages or varieties – and this list is not exhaustive – we find examples like those given in (1) to (5):

- (1) Latin American Spanish
*sí, sí, **dizque** estamos progresando, **dizque** ...*
yes yes SAYSC we-are progressing SAYSC
‘yes, yes, people say we are progressing, they say’
(Company Company, 2006:108)
- (2) Sardinian
*In custu castellu **nachi** bi istaiada su fizu ‘e su re ...*
in this castle SAYSC there stayed the son of the king
‘In this castle the son of the king was said to live...’
(Archivi del Sud, 1996)
- (3) Sicilian
***Dicica** ci avivanu finutu i grana.*
SAYSC there they-had finished the money
‘It is reported that they had finished their money.’
(Cruschina, Remberger, 2008:95)

- (4) Romanian
*Amu **cic** era odat într-o țară un crai, care avea
trei feciori.*
now SAYSC was once in-a country a king who had
three girls
‘Once upon in a time (they said) there was a king
who had three daughters.’
(Creang , *Povestea lui Harap-Alb*)
- (5) Galician
***Disque** a filla da Antonia marchou á Coruña vivir
co mozo.*
SAYSC the daughter of-the A. went to-La Coruña
to-live with-the friend
‘Antonia’s daughter reportedly went to La Coruña
to live with her boyfriend.’
(Cruschina, Remberger 2008:96)

The element in bold face can be rendered by several English translations such as ‘they say’, ‘it is reported’, ‘reportedly’, ‘allegedly’, etc. It is composed of a third person singular form of the lexical verb ‘to say’ and an incorporated subjunction or complementiser (= C), namely ‘that’, in all the languages at issue here. In this paper and in what follows I will gloss this element with SAYSC. SAYSC is a kind of adverb or discourse marker, and it is a lexicalised marker of

evidentiality, a linguistic category I will discuss in the next section.

This paper is based on former work presented in several talks (Remberger, 2009a;b; 2011 a;b; 2012; 2014a;b;c) as well as in Cruschina, Remberger (2008), concerning related topics and phenomena. After this short introduction I will discuss the grammatical notion of evidentiality and what role hearsay plays in an evidential system. In section 3, I will provide an overview of the grammaticalisation of the evidential marker SAYSC in Romance. Then I will focus on the semantics and syntax of SAYSC, with examples of the use of the Romanian marker *cic*; furthermore, I will trace the possible development of this marker. At the end of this paper there is a short conclusion summing up the results and an outlook. The specific aim of this talk is thus to show that, first, there is an evidential marker that crosslinguistically follows a particular word formation pattern; second, that this evidential marker is more or less grammaticalised; and, third, that the current syntax and meaning of this evidential marker – or adverb – can be derived by an internal path of development.

2. HEARSAY AND EVIDENTIALITY

2.1 Hearsay. Let us first illustrate what is meant by hearsay and evidentiality. In the languages of the world, hearsay can be expressed by several grammatical and lexical means. The examples in (6)–(9) illustrate this:

- (6) English
*The suspect was **allegedly** involved in the robbery, but his alibi placed him in another state at the time.*
(Wiktionary, s.v.)
- (7) German
*Der Mann **soll** nichts von dem Brief gewusst haben.*
the man shall nothing of the letter known have
'The man is said to have known nothing of the letter.'
- (8) French
*John est très grand, **dit-on**.*
John is very tall says-one
'John is very tall, people say.'
(Dendale, Van Bogaert, 2007:84)
- (9) Romanian
*Zicea **lumea c** l'ar fi **ajutînd** i cu bani.*
said people-the that him 3SG.COND-OPT be.INF
help.GER also with money
'Les gens disaient qu'il avait (l'aurait) aidé aussi avec de l'argent.'
'People said that he could have helped with money too.'
(I. Teodoreanu, following Lombard, 1974:272, which is also the source of the French translation).

In (6) we find is a so-called reportative adverb, *allegedly*, by which the speaker marks the content of the proposition as external information. In (7), from German, there is a modal verb, *sollen*, which causes the content of the proposition to be marked as third hand knowledge by the speaker. In example (8), from French, at the end of the clause, like an afterthought, there is an explicit verb of saying, but in an impersonal and syntactically inverted form, *dit-on*, where the source of the information remains unknown. And finally, in (9), again there is an explicit verb of saying, where its subject, *lumea*, is overt, but semantically equivalent to an impersonal interpretation, since it has an arbitrary referent. What is said is in the so-called *mode présomptif* (Fr.) / *prezumtiv* (Ro.), the presumptive, a periphrastic form particular to Romanian (cf. Mihoc, 2014; Flu, 2014). Observe also that a typical grammatical means of expressing evidential meaning or hearsay in Romance is the past conditional, as is clear from the French translation in parentheses, *il l'aurait aidé* (for evidentiality in Romanian and Romance cf. also Squartini, 2001; 2004; 2005; Irimia, 2009).

2.2 Evidentiality. All the examples mentioned up to this point show evidential meaning, encoded by different grammatical or lexical means, depending on the language at issue. The term 'evidentiality' was introduced for languages in which interpretations like hearsay can be or must obligatorily be encoded by morphology, e.g. verbal inflection. When the linguistic notion 'evidentiality' was first introduced by Roman Jakobson in 1957, it was indeed meant to indicate a verbal category: For him, 'evidential' was "a tentative label for the verbal category which takes into account three events – a narrated event, a speech event, and a narrated speech event" (Jakobson, 1957:135). One of the most frequently quoted current definitions of evidentiality is Aikhenvald's (2004:3) definition, which states that evidentiality is "a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information". Other definitions focus on the "kind of evidence a person has for making factual claims" (Anderson, 1982:273) or the "information or sources of knowledge behind assertions" (Dendale *et al.*, 2001:340), be it from the speaker's own experience, from visual or auditory evidence, as is the case with hearsay (see also Aikhenvald, 2003; Giacalone Ramat, Topadze, 2007; Lazard 2001; Plungian 2001).

A language in which evidential marking is obligatorily expressed by an inflectional verbal suffix is Quechua (cf. Tayler, 1996; Faller, 2006).

In Quechua there are different inflectional suffixes, depending on where the information for the assertion stems from: *mi/n*, if it stems from the speaker’s own, direct, perhaps visual experience; *si/s*, if the information was reported to the speaker; and *chá*, if the information is derived by inference from other evidence:

(10) Quechua

- a. *Ines-qa qaynunchay ñaña-n-ta-n watuku-rqa-n.*
‘Ines visited her sister yesterday (and I have direct evidence for this).’
- b. *Ines-qa qaynunchay ñaña-n-ta-s watuku-rqa-n.*
‘Ines visited her sister yesterday (I was told).’
- c. *Ines-qa qaynunchay ñaña-n-ta-chá watuku-rqa-n.*
‘Ines visited her sister yesterday (I suppose).’
(Faller, 2006)

You can recognise the evidential marking in these three parallel examples in (10): The propositional content of these examples is the same – ‘Ines visited her sister yesterday’ – but the kind of evidence for that claim varies: So the suffix *s* in (10a) encodes that the speaker has direct (probably visual) evidence for his claim, in (10b) he reports the information and in (10c) she/he has evidence that allows him to infer the claim. These are the three main types of evidentiality that can be grammatically encoded in several languages of the world, namely: direct sensory evidence, e.g. as a direct witness, i.e. first-hand knowledge; indirect or reportative evidence, that is, knowledge reported by some specific individual (i.e. second-hand) or by an arbitrary source (i.e. third-hand); and inferential knowledge, which comes very close to what is usually called epistemic (i.e. knowledge based) modality.

2.3 Reportative evidentiality. Of course it is indirect or reportative evidence that is mainly involved with the evidential marker SAYSC. The category of reportative evidentiality has been further subdivided for those languages that do have this type of grammatical distinction (e.g. by Palmer 2001: 41) into second-hand, third-hand, and generic sources of information. Willet (1988) introduced another category ‘folklore’ for orally transmitted common knowledge (for indirect evidentiality in Romance, cf. also Ramat 1996; for Romanian Pop, 2000; 2002; Scripnic, G 2008). Essentially all these subtypes of reportative evidentiality, i.e. second-hand information where the source is known, third-hand knowledge where it is unknown, and common knowledge / folklore / oral history, can be encoded by the SAYSC marker that is the subject of this paper, as Cruschina, Remberger (2008) have already shown. Based on

observations made by Travis (2006) for Spanish (for Spanish *dizque* cf. also Kany, 1944; Lipski, 1986; Escobar, 2000; De Granda, 2001; Magaña, 2005; Olbertz, 2005; 2006; 2007; Babel, 2009; 2010; Miglio, 2010; Company Company, 2007), we have shown that in the Romance languages under discussion there is variation in the use of the SAYSC element (cf. table 1):

Table 1. SAYSC in Romance (Cruschina, Remberger, 2008)

language	indirect evidence / reportative evidence			other uses	
	second hand	third hand	folklore	labeling	
	direct speech	indirect speech	hear-say	common knowledge	scare-quotes ‘so-called’
Latinamer. Spanish	+	+	+	+	+
Sardinian	+	+	+	+	-
Romanian	-?	+	+	+	-
Galician	-	+	+	+	-
Sicilian	-	+	+	-	-

In what follows, I will mainly be interested in the semantics and syntax of SAYSC in Romanian, leaving aside the other languages and the use peculiar to Latin American Spanish that Travis calls “labelling”. However, the variation in use in Romance already suggests that the evidential marker SAYSC might be at different (advanced) stages along a path of grammaticalisation in the Romance varieties under discussion.

3. THE GRAMMATICALISATION OF THE HEARSAY MARKER IN ROMANCE

We will first look in more detail at the four linguistic levels relevant to grammaticalisation (cf. also Lehmann, 1986; Traugott, 1982; 1989; 1995; 1999; Heine, 1993; Heine, Kuteva, 2002), i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. In what follows you will see examples from Latin American Spanish, Sardinian, Sicilian, Romanian and Galician.

3.1 Phonological erosion. As (11) shows, the phonological form of the evidential marker stems from a third person singular present tense form of the verb ‘to say’ and the subordinator or complementiser ‘that’.

- (11) Phonology
 - a. Spanish
dizque < *dice que*
SAYSC ‘he/she says that’
 - b. Sardinian
naki < *narat ki*

SAYSC ‘he/she says that’

c. Romanian

cic < (*se*) *zice c*

SAYSC ‘(one) he/she says that’

d. Sicilian

dicica [ˈdi. ti.ka] < *dici ca* [ˈdi. ti ˌka]

SAYSC ‘he/she says that’

e. Galician

disque < *dise que*

SAYSC ‘one says that’

(Cruschina, Remberger, 2008)

These two elements, the former verbal form and the complementiser, are phonologically reduced and have become one single element in all the languages discussed here, like in Romanian *cic* instead of *zice c* or *se zice c* (cf. Moșei, n.y.; Tiktin, 1903–1925: s.v. *cic*; DEX: s.v. *cic*). Sardinian *nachi* also contains a reduced form of the full verbal form *narat* > *nat* (Wagner, 1951:357–398; Jones, 1993:126–127; however, *nat* is also still commonly used as a verbal form proper, cf. also Puddu, 2000: s.v. *narrere*). In Sicilian (11d) the phonological reduction is even more visible since the former verbal part of the evidential marker *dicica*, namely *dici*, is phonetically different from its origin due to the fact that it is now word-internal.

3.2 Morphological decategorisation. The examples in (12) show that it is also the case that the verbal part of the SAYSC-element can no longer be inflected: it has become an invariable, frozen form:

(12) Morphology

a. Spanish *dizque*

**diceque* PRES, **decíaque* IMPF, **dijoque* PRF

b. Sardinian *naki*

naratchi PRES, **naraiatchi* IMPF, **naduchi* PRT

c. Romanian *cic*

**zicec* PRES, **zic c* SUBJ, **ziceac* IMPF, **zisc* PRT

d. Sicilian *dicica*

**dicivaca* IMPF, **dissica* PRF, **dicissica* SUBJ

e. Galician *disque*

**diseque* PRES, **digaseque* SUBJ, **dicíaseque* IMPF

(Cruschina, Remberger, 2008)

The former verbal form has become incompatible with verbal inflection: e.g. Romanian *cic* cannot be inflected for time (**zicec* PRES, **ziceac* IMPF) or mood (**zic c* SUBJ), nor can it appear as a participle (**zisc* PRT). The same holds for the other languages and varieties under discussion here (for Sicilian, cf. also the observations in Menza 2006).

3.3 Syntactic reanalysis. With regard to the syntactic properties of the hearsay marker SAYSC,

examples (13)–(16) show that it is now also used in contexts other than its original form “inflected verb + complementiser”. Moreover, in some Romance varieties it can appear in complete isolation, like in Sardinian, Galician and Sicilian, e.g. as an answer to a question (cf. (13), (15), (16)); in others, like Romanian (cf. (14)), the marker always must appear together with a marker of affirmation or negation (cf. also Cruschina, Remberger, 2008):

(13) Sardinian

Nachi muzere tua s’est illierada?! – Nachi!

SAYSC wife your REFL is liberated SAYSC

‘People say your wife has given birth? – People say!’ (Puddu, 2000)

(14) Romanian

E adev rat c Ion pleac la New York? – Cic da/nu.

is true that Ion leaves to New York SAYSC yes no

‘Is it true that Ion is going to New York? – Apparently yes/no.’

(15) Galician

Entón Anxo vendeu o piso? – Disque (si).

thus Anxo sold the flat SAYSC yes

‘So Anxo sold his flat? – They say he did.’

(16) Sicilian

Chi jè veru ca Maria av’a partiri pi l’America? – Dicica!

INT is true that Maria has to leave for the America SAYSC

‘Is it true that Maria has to leave for America? – It is said so!’

Furthermore, there are many syntactic environments where in conjunction with the evidential marker SAYSC the complementiser ‘that’ appears again, as in (17)–(20), before and/or after the SAYSC marker itself; see the somewhat cacophonous Romanian example (18) (in Romanian a sequence of two or more combinations of /k/ plus central vowel is stigmatized as coarse and thus usually avoided). This indicates that the complementiser *c* within the marker itself is not transparent, i.e. it is not interpreted as a complementiser anymore:

(17) Sardinian

E nachi chi issa no b’andaiada nudda.

and SAYSC that she not there went nothing

‘and it was said that she didn’t go there at all.’

(Archivi del Sud, 1996)

(18) Romanian

i nu vine acas de la serviciu c cic c are edin e.

and not comes home from at service because SAYSC that has meetings

‘... and he doesn’t come home from work, because allegedly he has meetings.’

(19) Sicilian

Vippi troppu assà, (ca) dicica (ca) jera fattu stari na pezza.

I-drank too-much very that SAYSC that I-was made stay a rag

‘I drank so much that I was smashed, they say.’

(20) Spanish

Y los tres defensores enfurecidos [...] que dizque estaban dispuestos que dizque a hacerse matar, que dizque si fuera necesario, del que no tenía armas.

‘And the three furious defenders ... that *dizque* they were ready that *dizque* to have themselves killed, that *dizque* if it was necessary, by him who was unarmed.’ (F. Vallejo, 1994, following Travis, 2006:1282)

It should be mentioned here that Spanish (including European Spanish) has a special use of the complementiser *que* as a quotative marker, i.e. a marker encoding an implicit direct or indirect speech act, which is not introduced by a verb of saying (cf. Etxepare, 2008; 2010). This has the natural consequence that quotative *que* and evidential *dizque* appear together in the varieties that allow both.

3.4 Semantic bleaching. Turning now to the semantics of this marker: The meaning of the verbal part of the marker, i.e. of ‘to say’, no longer appears to have the lexical meaning of a verb, since there are many cases where the verb ‘to say’ reappears as a lexical unit without doubling its meaning, cf. the examples (21)–(25) (Cruschina, Remberger, 2008):

(21) Spanish

Y dicen que diz que [...] no más trabajan en el campo.

and they-say that SAYSC not anymore they-work on the field

‘And they say that they don’t work on the field anymore.’ (Kany, 1944:172)

(22) Sardinian

e an cominzadu a faeddare, e nachi ana nadu

and have started to talk and SAYSC have said

‘and they started to talk and it’s said they said’ (Archivi del Sud, 1996)

(23) Romanian

Ziua se cunoa te de diminea , cic a a se zice.

day.the one knows from morning SAYSC so one says

‘It is said that one recognises the day by its morning.’

(24) Galician

Disque dixo Xoel que tiña moito traballo e preferiu quedar na casa.

SAYSC said Xoel that had much work and preferred stay in-the house

‘Apparently Xoel said that he had a lot of work and he would prefer to stay at home.’

(25) Sicilian

Maria mi dissi ca dicica arrubbaru a machina au dutturi.

Maria to-me said that SAYSC they-stole the car of-the doctor

‘Maria told me that apparently they stole the doctor’s car.’

Note in particular the Romanian example (23) where after the SAYSC marker *cic* a periphrasis with exactly the same content is repeated (*a a se zice* ‘so one says’); in the other examples instead there is a personal form of a verb of saying, sometimes even with an explicit subject (like *Xoel* in (24) or *Maria* in (25)), which is thus the direct source of the the alleged content.

3.5 Grammaticalisation. As shown in this section, the hearsay marker is phonologically eroded, it is morphologically decategorised, since it doesn’t inflect, it is syntactically reanalysed as an adverb and it no longer has the semantics of a lexical verb. All these criteria are considered typical indicators of grammaticalisation processes by many researchers, such as Heine (1993) and others.

4. SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF THE HEARSAY MARKER

4.1 Semantics. Referring back to Table 1, from Cruschina, Remberger (2008), I now illustrate the use of the SAYSC marker *cic* in some Romanian examples, in order to show the context-dependent variation in its meaning, cf. (26)–(29):

(26) ... *s c utam ceva de lucru, c burta, auzi, cic n-am mâncat de ieri...*

SUBJ we-look-for something of work that belly-the you-hear SAYSC not-have eaten since yesterday

‘... let’s look for work because the belly, you hear it, SAYSC [=it says that] I haven’t eaten since yesterday...’ (Ispirescu, following Macrea, 1955–1957: s.v. *cic*)

(27) *Mo popa, când spune de evanghelie, cic s rabzi i iar s rabzi.*

old-man pope when he-talks of gospel SAYSC SUBJ you-be-patient and again SUBJ you-be-patient

‘The old priest when he preaches always SAYSC [=he says that] to be patient and to be patient again.’ (Delavrancea, following Macrea 1955–1957: s.v. *cic*)

(28) *Cic Ion e bolnav.*

SAYSC Ion is ill

‘Ion is said to be ill.’

(29) *Cic banul n-aduce fericirea.*

SAYSC money-the not brings happiness-the

‘Money doesn’t give you happiness, people say.’ (L. Ardelean)

In (26), interestingly, we have an explicit subject for the SAYSC element *cic*, as if it still were a full verb, namely *burta* ‘the belly’: ‘Let’s look for work since the belly, you can hear it, SAYSC I haven’t eaten since yesterday’ – in fact, this example is somehow ambiguous since it could be either indirect or direct speech (the latter without quotation marks). Is it the belly speaking who hasn’t eaten since yesterday, thus direct speech, or is it the narrator of the belly speaking, thus indirect speech? In any case, you can hear it and in (26) *cic* clearly marks second hand evidence, as it does in (27), another example of (direct or) indirect speech: ‘The old priest when he preaches always SAYSC [=he says that] you should be patient and be patient again.’ In (28) and (29) *cic* is a hearsay marker proper, with no indication of the source of knowledge, with the difference that in (29) as in the fairy tale example (4) at the beginning of this talk, it encodes folklore or generalised common knowledge (the saying *Cic banul n-adeuce fericirea*. ‘Money doesn’t give you happiness.’), whereas *Cic Ion e bolnav* ‘Ion is said to be ill’ refers to a specific situation marked by reportative evidentiality. Example (30) shows a very interesting effect of the position of *cic*:

- (30) a. *Cic el zice c a lucrat mult.*
 ‘SAYSC [=they say/one says] he says, that he has worked a lot.’
 b. *El zice c cic a lucrat mult.*
 ‘He says that he SAYSC [=he says] has worked a lot’

In (30a), *cic* can have scope over the whole biclausal sentence *el zice c a lucrat mult*, whereas in (30b), the evidential marker *cic* is embedded under the verb of saying which leads to a kind of evidential concord (not a second marking of evidentiality), with the source of the information being identified by the subject of the main verb, thus *el zice* ‘he says’. However, there are clear minimal pairs for the use of the proper verb of saying and the evidential marker, such as in (31a) and (31b):

- (31) a. *Ion cic fumeaz .*
 Ion SAYSC he-smokes
 ‘Ion smokes, allegedly.’
 b. *Ion zice c fumeaz .*
 Ion says that he-smokes
 ‘Ion says that he smokes.’

4.2 Syntax. If *cic* evidentially marks the whole sentence, it is sentence-initial or appears after a topicalised subject as in (31a). However, *cic* can also appear in several positions within the clause, as long as it does not intervene where

adjacency conditions are active (e.g. it cannot appear within the Romanian auxiliary clitic cluster cf. (32c) and Giurgea, 2011):

- (32) a. *Cic individul a fost prins.*
 b. *Individul cic a fost prins.*
 c. **Individul a cic fost prins.*
 d. *Individul a fost prins cic .*
 e. *Individul a fost prins cic .*
 (SAYSC) individual-the (SAYSC) has (SAYSC) been (SAYSC) arrested
 ‘Allegedly the individual was arrested.’

These intrasentential positions are indeed the same positions where not only adverbials but also parenthetical expressions can be found (for parentheticals in this context, cf. Dehé, 2009; Dehé, Wichmann, 2010; Venier 1991). I claim that it is indeed these parenthetical positions that opened the way for *cic* and similar elements in other Romance varieties to develop from a verb + complementiser construction into an evidential marker.

4.3 Analysis. I propose, therefore, that elements like *cic* start to develop into an evidential marker when they begin to appear in the syntactic – or parasyntactic – position of parentheticals. A starting point would be a biclausal sentence containing a verb of saying like (33):

- (33) *Ana zice c Ion fumeaz .*
 Ana says that Ion smokes
 ‘Ana says that Ion smokes.’
 ⇒ SAY + complement clause

Now in this sentence we can get rid of its syntactic subject and make the construction impersonal, like in (34), i.e. *se zice c* (impersonal) instead of *Ana zice c* (with an explicit subject):

- (34) *Se zice c Ion fumeaz .*
 one says that Ion smokes
 ‘One says that Ion smokes.’
 ⇒ SAY_{IMPERSONAL} + complement clause

If the subject of the embedded sentence then moves into a topicalised position in the left periphery of the structure, i.e. into a position which marks it as an aboutness topic (cf. Reinhart, 1981) as in (35), this could be the first step towards a parenthetical structure:

- (35) a. *Ion se zice c fumeaz .*
 one says that Ion smokes
 ‘One says that Ion smokes.’
 ⇒ topicalised subject + SAY_{IMPERSONAL} + complement clause
 b. *Ion – se zice c – fumeaz .*
 one says that Ion smokes
 ‘One says that Ion smokes.’

⇒ SAY_{IMPERSONAL} + C as a parenthetical inserted into a main clause

(35a) could also be interpreted as in (35b) – a parenthetical structure proper. In any case, the final result of the morphological fusion of *se zice c* or *zice c* into *cic* can then also appear in a sentence-final position, i.e. when the new evidential marker is born (cf. also figure 1 for an illustration):

- (36) (*cic*) *Ion (cic) fumeaz (cic)*.
 ‘Allegedly Ion smokes. / Ion smokes allegedly.’
 ⇒ SAYSC as an evidential marker

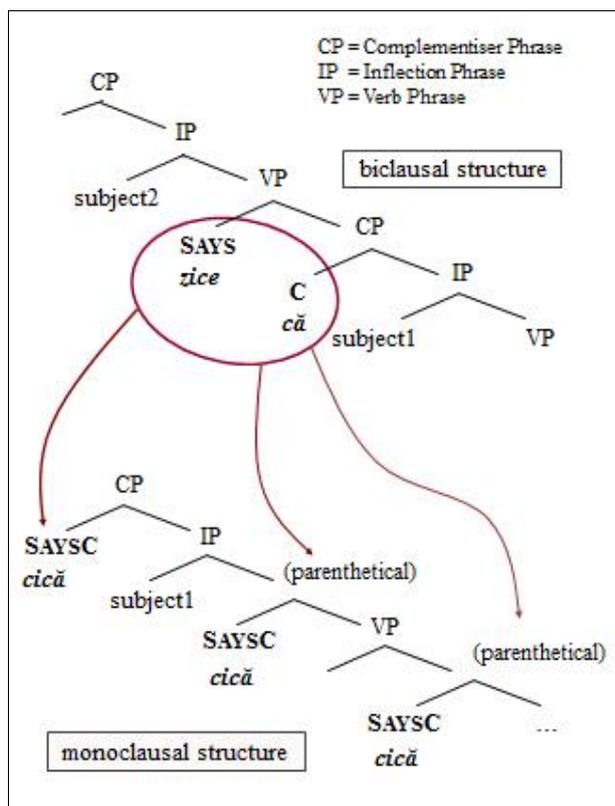


Fig.1 The development from a lexical verb of saying + C to SAYSC as an evidential marker or adverb

Originally, the verb of saying takes a complement clause to form a biclausal structure, with two subjects: one subject of the saying predicate and one subject of the embedded clause. Through topicalisation of the second subject to the left periphery, a stepwise loss of the specific or personal referentiality of the first subject and the possibility of interpreting the SAY + C (i.e. the complementiser) as a parenthetical, which goes hand in hand with the morphophonological fusion of the two elements, a new construction arises, namely a monoclausal structure with just one subject and the SAYSC element as an evidential marker or adverb.

At this point, a further excursion into the syntax of *cic* needs to be investigated: After Pollock’s (1989) split-IP approach and Rizzi’s (1997) studies on the left periphery, adverbial hierarchies have played a role in syntactic analysis, in particular in Cinque (1999). So if we examine the syntactic position of *cic* relative to other adverbs, it is clear, as the examples (37) and (38) show, that *cic* is above lower adverbs or quantifiers like *de obicei* ‘usually’ / *adesea* ‘often’ / *mereu* ‘always’ / *mult* ‘a lot’ / *pu in* ‘little’ (37a is fine, 37b is ungrammatical). It is also above negation ((38a) is ungrammatical, but (38b) is well-formed):

- (37) a. *El se ocup cic de obicei / adesea / mereu / mult / pu in cu sportul.*
 he REFL occupies SAYSC usually often always a lot little with sport-the
 ‘Allegedly he often / always / usually occupies himself / a lot / little with sports.’
 b. **El se ocup de obicei / adesea / mereu / mult / pu in cic cu sportul.*
 he REFL occupies often always usually a lot little SAYSC with sport-the
- (38) a. **nu tiu dac ai auzit nu cic e bine s întorci copilul la sân*
 not I-know if you-have heard not SAYSC it-is good SUBJ you-take-back child-the to breast
 b. *nu tiu dac ai auzit cic nu e bine s întorci copilul la sân*
 not I-know if you-have heard SAYSC it-is not good SUBJ you-take-back child-the to breast
 ‘I don’t know if you have heard, people say, it’s not good to go back breastfeeding your child.’

The situation is not quite as clear with respect to higher adverbs, as they sometimes appear incompatible with each other: see *cic* with *din p cate* in (39) and *cic* and *probabil* in (40). *Cic* seems to be better above *poate*, cf. (41):

- (39) a. **Din p cate cic e o eroare.*
 unfortunately SAYSC it-is an error
 b. **Cic din p cate e o eroare.*
 SAYSC unfortunately it-is an error
- (40) a. **Cic probabil e o eroare.*
 SAYSC probably it-is an error
 b. **Probabil cic e o eroare.*
 probably SAYSC it-is an error
- (41) a. *Cic poate s v fac podul.*
 SAYSC maybe SUBJ you make.SUBJ.3SG bridge-the
 b. ?*Poate cic s v fac podul.*
 maybe SAYSC subj you make.SUBJ.3SG bridge-the
 ‘They maybe make you the bridge, it is said.’

Further research is certainly required in this regard, but it seems to be justified to assume that

cic , as an evidential marker or adverb, occupies the position in the sentence which was assigned to an evidential Mood Phrase by Cinque (1999), i.e. above elements like *probably* and *perhaps*, but below evaluative or speech act adverbs like *unfortunately* and *frankly*; see his well-known structure in figure 2:

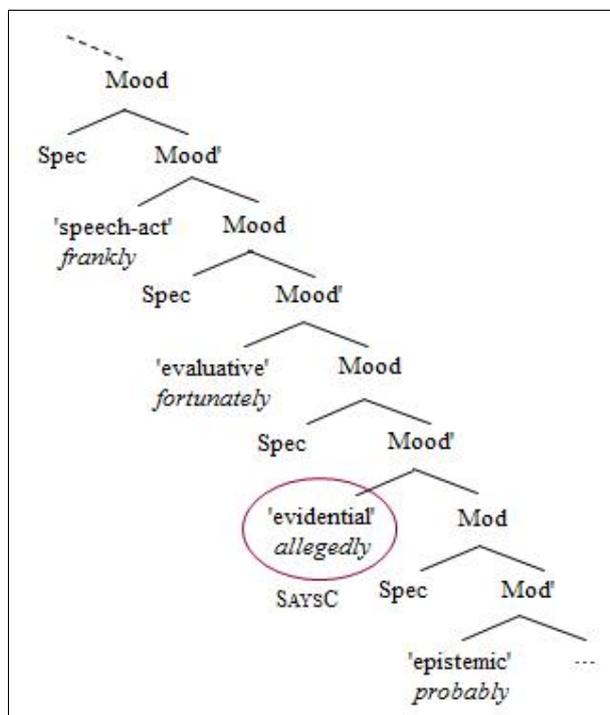


Fig.2 Adverbial hierarchy according to Cinque (1999)

The position labelled ‘evidential’ by Cinque (1999) would be the canonical position of *cic* in the left periphery, but, as for other adverbials, parenthetical positions (as in (36)) are also always an option.

5. CONCLUSIONS & OUTLOOK

5.1 Conclusions. In this paper I showed, based on Cruschina, Remberger (2008) but extended for Romanian, that the evidential (quotative) marker SAYSC is present in many Romance languages and varieties. Its origin is the third person singular form of a verb of saying + complementiser. It is more or less grammaticalised. The syntactic and semantic path of development of the hearsay marker was illustrated using the example of Romanian *cic* .

5.2 Outlook. Of course, more research is needed to trace the historical development of *cic* and to further explore its syntactic and semantic properties with respect to other higher adverbs. Similar elements, namely (semi-)grammaticalised

third person present tense forms of ‘to say’ (i.e. SAYS-elements) are also found, e.g. in Italian (*dice*, cf. Lorenzetti, 2002; Cruschina, 2011), Greek (*lei*, cf. Pietrandrea, Stathi, 2010), Macedonian *veli*, and Croatian *kaže*, cf. Wiemer, Plungian, 2008)

Furthermore, there are other evidential relatives of *cic* , at least in the spoken language, like *parc* , *credc* , *pisinic* , *matinc* (the last two being features of regional varieties of Romanian) given in (40), and many more, depending on the varieties at issue, which also would merit an investigation:

- (42) *parc credc pisinic matinc*
SEEMSC BELIEVEC BYSIGNC MEFEARC

Evidential and epistemic markers like in (42) are also found in Sicilian (*parica* SEEMSC, *pènzica* THINKC, *capacica* ABLEC etc., cf. Cruschina 2008, 2011, 2015). It is clear that these evidential and epistemic markers follow a word formation pattern, namely “inflected predicate / adjectival predicate / PP-predicate etc. + complementiser”, i.e. PREDICATEC, which is different from the use of other adverbs + *c* , illustrated in (43) and (44):

- (43) a. *Fire te c are dreptate.*
of-course that has right
‘Of course he is right.’
b. *Fire te, are dreptate. / Are, fire te, dreptate.*
of-course has right has of-course right
‘He is, of course, right.’
(Lombard, 1974:334–335)
- (44) a. *Probabil / desigur c are dreptate.*
probable sure that has right
‘Probably he is right / he is surely right.’
b. *Poate c are / s aib dreptate. / Poate are dreptate.*
maybe that has SUBJ have.3SG.SUBJ right maybe has right
‘Maybe he is right.’ (Lombard, 1974:335)

Adverbs like *fire te*, *probabil*, *poate* can appear together with *c* (= C), but only sentence-initially and not in the typical parenthetical positions and not morphophonologically fused like *cic* . These constructions are not fully grammaticalised (cf. also Kocher 2014). So there are several degrees of grammaticalisation, not only crosslinguistically for SAYSC (and SAYS) elements, but also for various PREDICATEC elements which represent a lexical unit following a particular word formation pattern for adverbs in comparison with other PREDICATE + C constructions: As is also shown in Cruschina, Remberger (to appear) there are at least three different constructions involving adverbs / verbs / adjectives + complementisers, which must be

distinguished with respect to their degree of grammaticalisation. The hearsay markers analysed in this paper, like Romanian *cic*, however, can be said to be quite grammaticalised.

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Intercultural Communication

XENOLOGY – ONE OF THE SOLUTIONS OF THE RECENT CULTURE

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Abstract: *Within the cultural and philosophical studies (not unified and homogeneous) about otherness there had been outlined a special way of studying the Other and the Foreigner – xenology (the term proposed by the researcher from Cameroon Douala M'bedy). Moving away from the Intercultural German Studies as the science of the Foreigner, the xenological approach is centered on the nomad, non-integrated, limited, unidentified human. We can refer to several disciplines that study the stranger, the other, the cultural otherness. These are allology, ethnology, cultural anthropology, imagology, barbarology, ethno-psychoanalysis, and xenology. The last one involves an investigation of the phenomenon of the (in)tolerance between a subject and the Difference, the Other who proves to be rather the Alien, as it represents by the limits of the intelligible, as the Difference is positioned beyond it. From here there is seen the state of suspicion, mistrust and non-acceptance of the host, which reaches to stigmatize the stranger, being excluded the social altruism. The stranger is not only the different one, the Other, a distant entity; it is rather a close matter of the supposed risk. But complementary there appears the Other as a human need of openness and interaction, as the alien from the perspective of his identity outlines the limits of self, serving as a catalyst for self-identification. Considered by some researchers a method, by the others a science xenology, unlike the study of otherness in all its forms, doesn't relate to a simple differentiation, but to the element that is contrary and contradictory positioned between the ipseity and otherness. From this we can conclude that not every difference requires a certain "xenology" of the studied object. This refers rather to a critical investigation of the intercultural phenomenon, to the estrangement, tolerance and aggression in terms of ethnology, philosophy and sociology (Albert Classen). Thus xenological steps from a simple cultural xenography may come to constitute a true xenosophy of the human being*

Keywords: *xenology, Intercultural German Studies, the Other, the Foreigner, Difference, risk of the otherness, self-identification, xenophobia, xenography, xenosophy*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the book "L'étranger, l'identité. Essai sur l'intégration culturelle" Toshiaki Kozakai (2007:12) states that the humanity goes through an "identity illness". The author considers that this comes from the fact that we are forced to coexist with the Foreigner, what makes to accept our own evolution Toshiaki (2007:14). This somehow explains why

there are increasingly used terms like «multicultural», «multi-ethnic» or «creolism» and there is insisted on the adoption of a concept that would open the nation (Toshiaki, 2007:17).

It is evident that there is an increasingly need to know the socio-cultural instruments that coordinate the relationship with the others in the society (internal foreigners – minorities) and with those outside of it. This means the return to secular human experience of cohabitation with the difference, the study of the image of the otherness within the human culture and of its evolution over

time in various human communities. In this sense, the xenology is one of those sciences that have this goal.

2. XENOLOGY – CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

There are so many investigations and researches in the field of xenology that it's quite impossible to summarize and synthesize all of them in a work of this kind. We are in some doubt about the fact that we can announce today a homogeneous science that would study the Other, the Difference, the Otherness and the Foreigner notwithstanding the acute interest of cultural studies to this subject. Strict terminologically we must specify that, while in the German-speaking space the terms of xenology and otherness coexist, in researches made in the francophone and English-speaking space there is used the notion of otherness. There is not only a lingual but also an investigational tradition, perhaps even the tradition

of the perception of the otherness. However European languages show a lexical usage in this sense. Thus, in English there are many terms in the field of biology, medicine, chemistry, physics etc. where we find terms that refer to the idea of heterogeneous, strange. We can enumerate a few from the socio-cultural field: xenial relations (“relations of friendship”), xenial customs (“laws of hospitality”), xenogenicity, xenomania (“the passion to everything what is foreign”) and xenophobia (“the fear of what is foreign”).

What refers to the German culture, the term xenology and its derivatives are applied in the field of cultural studies, in art, where there appeared a new direction of the *alien art* concentrated on the nomad, non-integrated, bounded, unidentified human, in the *science fiction* as hypothetical science whose object represent the extraterrestrial societies constituted from other forms of life, in phylogeny that studies the existing or disappeared animal and vegetal species from the perspective of their evolution, and, of course, in cultural studies. In the contemporary mass literature (SF novels and movies, computer games) xenology refers to the science of the extraterrestrial beings, communities and races that inhabit the spaces outside the Earth. In the field of modern biology and zoology xenology is related to the study of relations between the host and the ontogenetic stages of a specific parasite. In this study we will refer to the original meaning formulated by the Douala-M’bedy in the 1970-es referring to the concept of the “foreigner” in the cultural and civilization space of humanity.

From the perspective of the cultural studies, we can refer to many disciplines that have as a subject the Foreigner, the Other, the Otherness and the Difference. There is the ethnology, the cultural anthropology, barbarism studies, ethnical psychoanalysis, irenology, xenology etc. The last one supposes an investigation of the phenomenon of the (in)tolerance between the subject and the Difference, the Other that testifies rather to be the Foreigner as the limits of intelligible it present, as the Foreigner is positioned beyond it. What cannot be understood sends to the scientific theory of H.-G. Gadamer regarding the hermeneutics. Thus, tolerance involves the capability, the faculty or even the competence to relate with the Other without any aggression and suppression.

In the 1970-es the Cameroon researcher Munichois Munasu Douala M’bedy experienced the first xenological approach in this sense and founded a new “science about the foreigner” by

criticizing the methods of cultural anthropology which was synchronized with the practice and theory of Western colonialism that did not treat the otherness as something equitable. Douala M’bedy (1977:19) proposed the term “xenology” which “serves as a general term to designate the foreigner and his epistemological issues”. After the 1980-es xenology became an important niche of Intercultural German studies that was named by Alois Wierlacher and Corinna Albrecht (2003) the science of cultural otherness, a discipline that takes into account the diversity of German speaking cultures without to propose their hierarchy. Later xenology expanded from the German studies to the Indian, Oriental and African studies.

Etymologically the term comes from the ancient Greek in which (xenia) designated “hospitality”, but the lexeme (xenos, plural xenoi) ment “foreigner”. The ancient literature gives many examples of gestures and rituals of generosity shown to foreign guests by the xeinodokos, the host. Zeus was also called by the Greeks “Xenios” meaning “the protector of travelers”. Theoxenia was considered a virtue of those who were welcoming with foreigners as they could always be found to be gods. At the same time here comes the state of suspicion, of non-acceptance and mistrust of the host that stigmatizes the foreigner, being excluded the social altruism. But there appears the Other too as a human necessity of openness and interaction, because the Foreigner is not just a different one, an Other, a distant entity, he is rather a subject of a supposed risk.

Alberth Classen (2002), Professor of German studies at the University of Arizona, in his essay “Introduction: the Self, the Other, and Everything Between: xenological Phenomenology of the Middle Ages” proposes a set of images of otherness of the Middle Ages (Muslims, Hebrews, heretics, pagans, gays, lepers, monsters and witches). Also there he defines xenology as

the critical investigation of interculturalization, distance, tolerance, and aggression in ethnological, philosophical, sociological term (Classen, 2002:xxiv-xxv).

A. Classen considers that

the meeting with strangers works as a catalyst, requiring people to reconsider their culture and to examine their ideological premises. [...] All conflicts and encounters with foreigners are ambivalent and ambiguous, they can cause violent and harsh forms of hostility, rejection and fear and

also they can produce the need of the self-analysis, which can lead to tolerant attitudes (Classen, 2002: xxii).

Other researchers announced that the process of intercultural perception is also a part of the xenological studies or studies of the cultural otherness. Alois Wierlacher (2003:280) considers that this interdisciplinary approach requires understanding of the Other's discourse and reflects the need to deepen knowledge about the Other in the context of internationalization of politics, economics, media and everyday life.

The Russian scientist Alexei Panich (2000:218) in his study "Another – Foreigner – Other: an attempt of typology of cultural patterns" notes that the very name of the new scientific field of allology or xenology contains in itself a problem. While the concept of difference, in Hegelian terms, supposes a simple differentiation, then the "other" and the "foreigner" in the reference to the "own" requires the opposite and contradictory. From this we can conclude that, as Panich considers, not every difference supposes a certain "xenology" of the studied object.

In a cultural sense, the German sociologist Fridrik Hallsson in his study "Xenologie: Eine Begriffserläuterung" speaks about a "xenological analysis of culture", a "sociology of the Foreigner". F. Hallsson (1994:2) notes that "xenos", notwithstanding its ancient etymology, is a recently borrowed word to designate the concept of the Foreigner. The researcher proposes his own definition:

Xenology is not only science about the Foreigner, but, after Georg Simmels, most probably about the Foreigner accepted by a community; the subject of xenology, therefore, is not the Foreigner himself, not a different ethnic group, but the Xenos that came in order to integrate itself (so, it's not the foreigner as something "diabolical"); first of all it is an attempt of inclusion, especially within the local community, of this marginalized or assimilated, known Stranger. Therefore, the task of xenology to delimit the domain by means of the social structure of foreigners (relationship, discrimination and ignorance) explicitly can be interpreted as a social theory. (Hallsson, 1994:2-3)

The Russian researcher Victoria Lysenko returns to the original concept of xenology introduced by Douala M'Bedy regarding the foreign element in a cultural and civilization sense in the human dimension. She also notes the expansion of the term, as in the contemporary

science the term xenology is applied to the creatures, races and communities different from the human ones (in novels, movies and computer games in fantasy style). This fact explains why an approach restricted to cultural studies risks to weaken and even to "mystify" the concept of the Foreigner, as it comes from some deeper layers as the zoological and biological ones because the distrust in foreigners deals with the phylogenetic adaptation of the group, so the ethnocentrism and xenophobia have a biological support (Lysenko, 2009:61).

The same researcher formulates four xenological principles. We can understand our own I only by a "non-I", by the otherness as a foreign element. This is the first principle of xenology. The second xenological principle involves an "I-picture", a complex construction of identity constructions in the civilization, cultural and national sense. It deals with the self-determination of people when there is a danger from the part of the foreigner (occupant). The third xenological principle deals with the fact that the "non-I" remains a component of the construction of our own I because we will identify in it what is similar, with us. The image of I is contained by the foreign model. The fourth principle is that the foreigner's image in a culture is an index of its level of development too: tell me who is your foreigner and I'll tell you who you are! (Lysenko, 2009:62). Thus in the East also exists an opening for this branch of knowledge, xenology, science about the foreigner, in the limits of which there is stated that what is foreign should not be dissolved in what is our own, as the reaction of phagocytosis is not wanted (Dorozhkin, 2009:12).

3. CONCLUSIONS

We can conclude that in the humanities xenology announces as a popular or even a necessary theory. Considered by some a science, by the others an amount of knowledge about the foreigner and by the others a research method of foreigner's customs within the host society and culture, xenology studies historical, social and moral problems that arise from the presence of the foreigner in a community. It is a branch within cultural studies and human philosophy which focuses on the problem of relativity of individuals in relation to others, bringing in evidence his difference that is always in change and formation. Thus xenology is regarded as the science of the confrontation with the "foreign other".

After axiological directions of studying human culture xenology puts the question of its own identification in relation to foreigner's difference. Ipseity is thus an exercise in identity, identification and representation by contrast with the Other, which is not necessarily a Foreigner (Deleuze). But the otherness is sure what cannot be elucidated and interpreted till the end (Gadamer, Ricoeur).

The relevance of the topic and of the xenology in general (regardless of terminology and philosophical schools that study it) comes from the socio-political and cultural situation in the world. Armed conflicts, terrorism, propaganda battles etc., all suppose the interethnic and other forms of intolerance. Intercultural and multicultural openings seem to be a solution, but we don't see yet their definitive impact. "The philosophy of dialogue" and the idea of meeting of the Other (M. Bakhtin, M. Buber, V.N. Toporov etc.) imply a social-human empathy. These meetings may produce in sense of a cultural exchange (cross-culture), in the metaphysical (spiritual) and even physical (geographic) sense. Of course, the pure forms of intersection are not possible, as some of them are convergent to others. The identity in the sociological and cultural sense involves a process of denoting and qualification of the self by means of categories that were already formulated by the society. This allows the proximity with a group and the distancing from another one. But "the era of identity and identification" is full of rage. The search for the identity divides and puts some questions too: What is, however, the alterity? Is it the foreign other constructed or real? How is it related to our self and our identity?

Xenofilia seems to be a solution of these times split by the xenophobia. And xenological attempts from a simple xenography come to constitute a true xenosophy of the human, the cultivation of dialogue and reception, for culture is first of all interaction and understanding.

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GRADUALNESS OF ICONICITY IN SEMIOTIC DISCOURSE

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Abstract: *The contemporary world is pregnant under the sign of the image that dominates various social practices, like advertising, propaganda and the media. The exponential growth of information involves the use of iconic encoding; when it comes to knowledge transmission this codification is successful economic storage, synthetic and readability of the data. Some perceptual grids, social and cultural, which orients the production or reproduction of iconic signs (by schematization and eliminating of non-relevant traits or identification based on some pertinent traits) were established in what was called the degree of convention or coding of iconic signs. Therefore, any iconic sign, coding effect of a perceptual experience, requires a learning process because often we see the object what we have learned to see, or what we orientate see. In this respect, the aim of the paper that we propose is to carry out an analysis on the principles that determine the birth of symbolic occurrences.*

Keywords: *iconic coding, perceptual experience, symbolic occurrences, semiosphere*

1. INTRODUCTION

The origins of "iconicity" can be identified in ancient Greek philosophy in the writings of Plato (Peters, 1993:170-172) and Aristotle (Peters, 1993:79), which highlight the concept of *eidōs*, understood as appearance, shape, type, species, idea that exists in the matter. The semiotic concept of *icon* is found but in the semiotic system proposed and developed by Ch. S. Peirce. Referring to the iconic sign, the semiotician note: "An icon is a sign which refers to the object it denotes simply by virtue of their characteristics..." (Peirce, 1990:277) and "A sign may be iconic sign [...], it can be represent covered broadly by its similarity ..." (Peirce, 1990:286).

The second trichotomy proposed that Ch. S. Peirce, who is also the best known, is based on the relationship of the sign with the object and assume to distinguish between: icon, index and symbol. In this regard, Ch. Peirce considered that everything, quality or law may be icon for something to the extent that it resembles something that, whether the latter is real or imaginary. Thus, an icon "is determined by its dynamic object due to its own internal", an index means because the sign is in a real relationship with the object, "is indeed marked by this object" and "has the quality necessarily shared some object" (Peirce, 1990:277) and a symbol is a sign that signifies just because a convention, without any similarity or physical connection to the subject designated:

he depends so either a convention, a skill or a natural disposition of the *interpretant* or either his *interpretant* field (Peirce, 1990:239).

An icon, considers Ch. Peirce, retains its signified character even in the absence of the object represented, while an index loses this character if its object is missing. Regarding symbol signifying nature, it does not depend on the object, but the *interpretant* - he does not exist as such only by virtue of being perceived by someone as having a specific meaning.

2. CONSTITUTION OF ICONIC SIGNS AND ICONICITY

The analysis of the icon term reveals a strict intension of the sense of this concept, which aims actual content of the concept and an extensional sense, all things, phenomena and situations are designated, that have, to some extent, iconic features. Regarding the intension meaning, the icon is understood only as an abstract construction, characterized by a number of properties without the benefit of a concrete material reality. Its function is instrumental and is to describe a certain type of relationship, namely the relationship of iconicity. Thus, the icon does not designate a class of objects with actual existence or a class of phenomena; there is no particular icon, perceptible as such or reified in some way; there is no icon or pure iconicity, but certain things or phenomena

that have, to varying degrees this property, among other features.

Extension notion of icon include reporting to analogic relationship between the signifier and the object represented. The icon is not equivalent of the image, but reporting the icon supposed to consider concepts such as image, particularly visual images. In this regard, an important role is visual communication, which is achieved by using at least two categories of signs, iconic and plastic signs, also called visual signs. The iconic sign involves producing a semiotic rupture because although the relationship between image and what it represents is performed by analogy the contact with the object is broken. Thus, the iconic report of analogy preserves some of the original features but operates a very strict selection of relevant features to rebuild them in material and with a scale that have nothing in common with the object itself. In this regard, D. Bounoux said:

Although it has a less immediate status only indies our iconic layer of communications rather easily pass borders: therefore some actual pictures (CNN) or fiction (Hollywood, Mickey Mouse) are products worldwide directly today (Bounoux, 2000:47)

or:

We mean there are thousands of things that do not exist, we can talk about the future, we can represent Licorns, we can talk about Prince Hamlet or about Elsinor court. Only in the semiosphere we can play, we can build hypotheses, fictions imagine, we can multiply alternative or virtual worlds away from the contingencies of the sole real world (Bounoux, 2000:51).

Referring to the iconicity notion, N. Goodman divides two categories of relations, namely: relations of resemblance and relations of representation and criticizes attempt to explain the relation of representation by the resemblance. His argument is that an object in the largely "resembling" it, but rarely represent himself: "likeness in any degree is not enough requirement for representation" (Goodman, 1969:4). Regarding the icon, the resemblance problem involves two types of questioning: on the one hand, the question of resemblance signifier with the object (the referent), and on the other hand, the issue of resemblance of the signifier with the interpretant (the signified). As regards the resemblance relation of the signifier with the object, it involves two apparently distinct situations, such as if a real referent or if an imaginary, abstract or general referent. Viewed in terms of visual - conventional

report the resemblance problem takes the following form: where visual signs (conventional - arbitrary) there is no resemblance, whereas, in the case of conventional signs, partly motivated, resemblance is a matter of degree.

One of the authors who believe that iconicity is only a matter of degree is Ch. Morris. In this regard, he stated:

An iconic sign is a sign similar in some respects to what it denotes. Consequently, the iconicity it is a matter of degree (Morris, 1946:117).

This rule is explained by the fact that the object represented in the image is not formed of the same material from which it is made into reality and is no represented in several sizes. The idea will be taken over by J. A. Ramirez-Rodriguez, who stating that:

It can be seen as a iconic sign that sign which appear to have similarities with what he reveals, for the best visual perceptions (Helbo, 1979:16).

In the same vein, U. Eco will examine the issue of iconic signs from the perspective of a establishing typology of signs (Eco 1982: 117). Insisting on the conventional character of iconic sign, U. Eco will motivate that it does not have the same physical object properties and it functions as a perceptual structure similar to that of this one. In this regard, the semiotician claims the proposition that communication lies not in the relationship between code and message, but in the mechanisms of perception itself. Thus, under normal perceptual codes, through selecting certain stimulus - after other stimulus being eliminated - the receiver can build a structure similar to the perceptual object.

In defining the iconic sign, U. Eco will use terms such as: resemblance, analogy, motivation, focusing on reconfiguring similarities between sign and represented object. Thus he argues that dependency sign of the object is at the root sign and the semiotic report is built by putting into play the conventional elements (Eco, 1982:188).

Trying to explain the iconicity, U. Eco brings into focus the idea of codes of recognition and stresses that these

blocks structure in terms of perception of *seme*, designating what is called micro-image or minimal iconic sign (a man, a house, a tree, etc.), after which we recognize objects perception ... (Eco, 1982:37).

This refers to the fact that into an image can't recognize than what is known through a cultural experience, because, in his view: "signs called

iconic are culturally coded" (Eco, 1982:255). Regarding the iconic code, according to U. Eco, it is a system designed to ensure consistency between graphics (visual) and cultural perceptual units that have a coding previous of perceptual experience, the iconicity as expressed in the equation "iconic = analogic = motivated = natural" (Eco, 1982, p. 274). Thus, to represent iconic an object, says Umberto Eco, is to transcribe using graphics fireworks (or other) the cultural properties that are attributed (Eco, 1970:271).

The iconic signs appear as visual "texts" that can be "read" with the constituent units.

"That a so-called iconic sign is a text, and that proves its equivalent word is not a word, but [...] a description, a sentence, sometimes a whole speech, a reference act [...]. Outside the context the iconic units have not status and therefore do not belong to a code; out of the context «iconic signs» are not «signs»; neither coded nor resembles something that is hard to understand (Eco, 1982:281-282).

The iconic sign is a mediator sign, with dual function, to the reference to sign model and to its manufacturer. This has some specific features of the referent, but complementary, holds some special qualities of the model. The iconic signs can be of two types: figurative and non-figurative. The iconic figurative signs, called natural icon, meet to the first level of significance, is the spatial properties and send to their referent or their signifier through a direct relationship, with objective basis, the Index type, or through imitation, with varying degrees of accuracy, at this type of relationship. Getting iconic figurative signs learn from the experience of ordinary empirical or through an initiation that can reach up to study scientific disciplines. Instead, iconic non-figurative signs, called logical icon, represents non-space properties. They involve their referent or their signified in a relationship with objective basis. Getting to them also involves an initiation, namely an introduction to the process of abstraction.

The iconic signs can be *intra-cultural signs* and *extra-cultural signs*. The *intra-cultural iconic signs* refer to a precise concept, without their perception being conditioned by a special training of the receptor. For instance, picture or drawing of a certain tree send a real concept, local receiver have an experience of recognition. Regarding *extra-cultural iconic signs*, the experience of receiver in their recognition missing; therefore they require a special training of receiver to their perception. For example: an individual does not

recognize an object if not previously explained how to use this or a new iconic sign send us to an stereotypical object whose appearance concrete will have the same analog connection with the object of reality. Reporting to the iconic sign is made from different perspectives: of the report of analogy, of the mechanisms of visual perception, cultural experience, denotation and connotation. The iconic sign, like linguistic sign is full of meaning and represent the essence of a visual message that can be expressed verbally through an enunciation or a text.

2.1 Gradualness of iconicity. The semiotic theories developed on the icon sign reveals the gradual nature of iconicity. Thus, for C. Morris "iconicity is a matter of degree" (Morris 1964:191); U. Eco speaks of establishing typologies of iconic signs; Ch. Metz speaks about specific con-sensuality of a culture regarding the issue of iconicity and J. Aumont about gradualness of analogy. In addition, in 1972, A. Moles achieve an attempt to use a scale of 12 levels iconicity, which in informational theory of a schema try to unify the concept of image.

Gradualness of iconicity is constituted in a report with the referent. Thus it is easy to understand, we can say that it can be understand even intuitive, with accessible facts as a starting point of common experience. It involves some degree of similarity (resemblance) of concrete images with referent and on the other hand, the degree of similarity (resemblance) of concrete images with the signified. That means if two objects have a certain physical reality, its comparing the similarity between the image and its referent, which is performed without difficulty. Instead, two things of different nature, such as a physical object (image) and certain mental content (signified), the comparison in terms of likeness is more complex. Arguments supporting this possibility concern: compare existing information in the image to that resuscitated after evocation signified (hence that it is no longer compared different nature, but similar nature) and referent, which can be of a general, abstract or imagined character, it can be described as real characters, imaginary leaving only their combination. In that case, each of these properties can be investigated to determine whether and to what extent is represented or reproduced in image.

Referring to the issue of gradualness of iconicity, Christian Metz will distinguish between quantitative and qualitative gradualness of iconicity. Qualitative gradualness is explained by

him as closely related to cultural determinations specific of an area or community, so that it might be called a con-sensuality specific of one culture:

Visual analogy - and this time the currently accepted variations admit that we might call quantitative. This is, for example, the notion of different <degrees of iconicity> as an author like A. A. Moles; is the problem of a greater or less schematic, of a <styling> it various levels. Visual analogy admit / and/ qualitative variations. <Resemblance> is valued differently depending on culture. In the same culture, there are several lines of resemblance: always in a certain respect they resembled two objects. Thus, the resemblance (*la ressemblance*) is itself a system, more precisely, a set of systems (Metz, 1970:8).

The same idea of gradualness of iconicity is found at the J. Aumont, expressed by the distinction between realism and analogy, that distinction is based on the concept of information. Thus, for J. Aumont the realistic image is not necessarily which produces the illusion of reality, and not that produces an analogy, but one that offers maximum of information about reality. Consequently, the analogy aims appearance, visible reality and realism aims quantity and quality of information inserted by image and through image. In this regard, J. Aumont said:

realistic image is one that gives maximum of pertinent information, namely information easily accessible (Aumont, 1990:160-161).

Thus we speak of criteria for determining what is pertinent in relation to a topic about selecting the appropriate information. In addition, the crop of reality is conditioned by a number of cultural, consensual and conventional factors; image realism will therefore have to comply with a conditional spatial and temporal representation.

Another theory of gradualness of iconicity belongs to U. Volli. According to his opinion, the probability is the factor that intervening in the gradualness of iconicity. Thus, recognition is expressed as a probability determined statistically (a line has *almost* the same length as the term of comparison, an area that has *almost* the same color, etc.) and does not form a clear decision expressed as a categorical affirmation or negation, like "yes" or "no". The analysis of made by U. Volli, does not require that an ideal prototype of each working that to represent the "truth", but it is a "set" of criteria socially accepted as defining the structure of a particular thing may probabilistic factor real-time express the uncertainty of the recognition process.

2.2 Articulation of visual codes and the symbolic occurrences. In his work *Sign and interpretation. An introduction to the postmodern semiology and hermeneutics*, Aurel Codoban spoke about the existence of two axioms that make sign an object sui generis, namely: *pan-semiology* and *poly-semiology* (Codoban, 2001:14-15). Regarding *pan-semiology*, this axiom states that it is sign and that any sign has a meaning, or at least may have a meaning. *Poly-semiology* states that any sign (or object) can have several meanings, uniqueness of existence not giving uniqueness of the meaning. Both axioms constitute as the principles that determine the birth of symbolic occurrences. For in terms of Ferdinand de Saussure "semiotic consciousness" is the one that accompanies the birth of any culture, the signifying being a condition of possibility (output) of the communication, the default code (what we call potential significance) and updated and enriched by context (namely in terms of semiotic called the current significance). The deciphering of the meaning of events and actions that happen around us represents, in the view of Roland Barthes, important *reading* in our lives, they involve social, moral or ideological values and the reflection on them can be called semiology (Barthes, 1985:227). The action to decipher of the meaning of natural world is accompanied by a world of signs and, extrapolating, by a world of culture. It is constituted as a *semiosphere* and the man as "symbolic animal" presents to read it, decipher it, use it or process it. All these actions are actually likes that every human individual makes on what is constituted as significance and which then uses in the communication process.

The study of iconicity and visual codes imply the visual images and visual communication. Visual communication is performed using at least two categories of signs, *iconic* and *plastics*. In front of a visual phenomenon are two possible attitudes: either a perception of the plastic phenomenon or the corruption inform of the iconic sign (it can be said either that "it is blue" or that "it represent blue"). Even if the two signs can appear stacked in their physical manifestation, it is theoretically distinct structures.

In 1969, N. Goodman suggested instead binary relationship iconic - plastic, a triadic relationship, consisting of *verbal language*, *image* and *scoring*, each operating with a different type of reference. For the purpose of N. Goodman, *reference* was a very general term, more guidance, which designated any option *to stay in someone place*.

Denotation, considered a species of reference, made up its core and was based on representation and expression. The difference between the verbal language and symbolic notation was seen in how their particular operation. Thus the symbols of verbal system can be ambiguous, that, although they are syntactically different, not necessarily appear so in a semantic: what a signifier denotes what may include other signifiers denotes.

Denoting through image (namely representation), not reduced, in terms of N. Goodman at the idea of resemblance. N. Goodman rejected the resemblance as a basis for networking and has in this respect three reasons, namely: the resemblance depends largely on the traditions and culture; the resemblance is irrelevant because anything can look like anything; similar things are not represent each other. Differentiating element that was given signifiers (symbolic occurrences, in N. Goodman's terminology) has a continuous nature, which makes them partially overlap, both in syntactic and semantic.

The real cognitive process involves the existence of two situations: when there is a hypothetical denoted or when there is a confirmed denoted. Since etymologically *icon* sends to the visual field, although within its scope is much broader (there is and other iconic relationship, except those that are manifested in the dimensional visual images, namely we can talk about sound, touch, smell, or even in the plane of abstraction iconicity), reporting to understanding of the hypothetical or confirmed denotation we will achieve through the idea of *image*. Thus, as long as we do not know with certainty what appears in an image, it is the *hypothetical denotation*, situation in which we assume that it is one thing or another, seeking details that we unquestionably confirm the advanced hypothesis. In this case, the strategy will first try cognitive followed, to establish what information safe provide the image in question, then, on this basis, to achieve the necessary inferences to identify the references. In the second situation, when we know with certainty what appears in an image, we're a *confirmed denotation*. Thus by comparing the image of the thing with the thing itself, there is no question of the resemblance than metaphorically, but is seeking answers to questions about the contents of the image and its relevance. Understanding the denotation is actually the identification of signifier-type that to determine the defining parameters where must register the interpretations to be recognized as belonging to the class of the signified and therefore can send to it.

In this sense, the occurrences of a signifier-type must meet the relevant properties that stated by the signifier-type, even if in addition they involve individual characteristics, irrelevant to the constituent interpretations.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The deciphering of the reality also requires a reference to the iconic sign. The icon does not designate a class of objects with actual existence or a class of phenomena, but certain things or phenomena that have, to varying degrees this property, among other features. The reporting of the icon supposed to consider concepts such as image, particularly visual images, visual communication, but the icon is not equivalent of the image.

The semiotic theories developed on the icon sign reveals the gradual nature of iconicity. Gradualness of iconicity is constituted in a report with the referent. That can be understood even intuitive, with accessible facts as a starting point of common experience.

Every action to decipher the meaning of the natural world requires a reference to the world of the signs and hence to the culture. Thus, the world is constituted as a semiosphere where the individual as a "symbolic animal" presents to read it, decode it, use it or process it. All these actions are actually likes that every human individual makes on what is considered as the significance and which then uses the communication process.

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CLOTHES SHAPE A CHARACTER: A SOCIOSEMIOTIC STUDY OF ILLUSTRATION CODES IN A GREEK FAIRY TALE

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Abstract: *This research is a case study of 'I Kardia tis Vassilopoulos' [The Princess's Heart], a fairy tale in the collection Paramythia kai Alla [Fairy Tales and Other Stories] written by Greek author Penelope Delta. The aim of our research is to compare the different illustrations in the fairy tale's oldest version (published in 1915) with those included in the more recent edition (published in 1998). In particular, we study: (a) the role the characters play and their relationship with the dress code in the two different temporal versions of the same fairy tale, (b) the anchorage between text and image, and (c) the changes made to the illustration of the fairy tale, based on the year of issue and the socio-historical context. Researchers believe that: (a) the socio-historical context affects the presentation of a character's dress code, as (b) clothing is a semantic code for human societies, indicating social distinctions, professions, beliefs, people's ideals, age, sex, economic status, cultural level, traditions, nationality and many other characteristics. Our research is based on a mixed semiotic model (Barthes, 1985; Greimas, 1966; Lagopoulos and Lagopoulou, 1992) of socio-semiotic theory and text and image analysis. This is a qualitative research study, with emphasis on the characters' dress code and its correlation with the features of their role (e.g. king's dress, servant's dress, princess's dress). The novelty of this research lies in the fact that dress code has not been studied in Greek fairy tale illustrations.*

Keywords: *fairy tales, characters, semiotics, clothing, roles*

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

One of a society's most reliable sources of expression of its self-awareness is its literature. Literature is a significant sphere through which cultural codes and models can be identified, since writers convey and formulate the ideas, values and intentions characteristic of their social class in their work (Kapsomenos, 2001:46-47).

The emergence of children's literature coincides with the point in history when children ceased to be seen as miniature adults and childhood was recognised as a period with its own particular characteristics and needs (Chatzidimitriou, 1999:11). Children's literature has an ideological dimension and educational purpose since it teaches children to deal with problems that they encounter in their own life (Kanatsouli, 2000: 27-29). Fairy tales, myths and legends are deeply rooted in human nature, which is constantly in search of the reason for its existence (Cooper, 1998: 16). A fairy tale is a folk tale written in prose, set in no particular place or time, and lacking detailed descriptions of people or things; it is a narrative in which anything can

happen and nothing is impossible (Ioannou, 1973:7). Today, when we speak about a 'picture book', we refer to all the images and other decorative elements that form an integral part of the text (Benekos, 1981: 7). An image consists of signs that constitute a symbolic and representative language concealing ideology and the illustrator's ideas. The illustrator conveys these ideas and ideology using signs in a communicative manner. The reader must be able to decode the image's symbols and messages so that he or she may comprehend the ideology and deeper meanings (Kanatsouli, 2000:154).

In the picture book we have a marriage between two arts, with the illustrator supporting the writer so that the book, once illustrated, may have more meaning than when solely a written text. A picture book represents a unique kind of semiotic object, since text and image are structured in such a way as to convey meaning (Kantartzi, 2002:22, 121; Papastergiou, 1995:31; Mylonakou, 2006:58). Based on the new prospects and dimensions of illustration, it can be interpretive or narrative, either extending the text conceptually or simply rendering the words of the text. This

highlights the role of the illustrator, who chooses the manner of illustration and also calls attention to the role that the type of illustration plays as a means of creative expression or static presentation (Tsilimeni, 2007: 22). In the illustrations of a book, the reader discovers its characters, how they relate to each other, their actions, the spheres in which they are active – elements that essentially form the narrative characteristics and data of a book. According to Barthes, the text directs the reader between the signifieds of an image, towards one meaning. In such instances of anchorage, language is selective and serves to clarify. It is a metalanguage applied not to the entire image, but to certain parts of it only (Barthes, 1988:48).

Having in mind how civilisation and clothing had evolved, the historian Thomas Carlyle expressed the opinion that ‘society is founded upon cloth’ (Lagakou, 1998:14). The study of a people’s history of clothing focuses on folk culture, and encompasses the spiritual, artistic and intellectual expressions and actions of that people’s social and spiritual life (Kanatsouli, 2002:158-159). We wear an item of clothing for similar reasons to those for which we speak, in other words to make our life and work simpler and more comfortable, to assert our identity, to attract attention (Lurie, 2007:50). By decoding clothing, we learn about institutions and rules, models and ideologies, social and political situations, trends, values, morality, religiousness, prejudices, ways of life and thought (Lagakou, 1998: 14; Baldini, 2005b: 2; Galofono, 2006: 106; Kawamura, 2006). Just like language can be studied diachronically and synchronically, so too can clothing. There are semiotic systems built especially for communication (natural and written language), systems that make use of natural language to construct a more complex system (mythology, literature), systems that use language along with other codes (theatre, cinema) and other systems built for some practical purpose (dressing, decorating, urban planning, cooking) (Lagopoulou, 1980:15).

Semiotics borrows communication theory’s *basic communication model* (Segre, 1979: 46-47): (a) transmitter, (b) code, (c) receiver, (d) message, (e) channel. For communication to succeed, the transmitter and receiver must be set to the same code. Consequently, in the communication process, a code is a system whereby the message is converted from one form to another, which enables it to be transmitted and understood by the recipient (Kapsomenos, 1990: 10). Similarly, fashion trends

are the stylised and individualised forms of codes (Guiraud, 1975: 103).

According to Roland Barthes, clothing neither hides nor shows anything. It alludes to something. It does not exhibit anything, but semanticizes it. Just as a language is a meaning system, so too is clothing. It is history; it is an individual element, but also a collective institution, a complete structure consisting of a functional network of rules where the transformation of a simple element can bring about the modification of the whole. In clothing, a system, according to Barthes (1981: 102), is a set of clothes, items or details that we cannot wear at the same time on the same part of the body and whose variation corresponds to a change in meaning of the clothing (for example, knit cap, beret or wide-brimmed hat, etc.). Barthes believes that since a language can be studied in terms of general linguistics and, according to Saussure, in terms of *langue* (social perspective) and *parole* (individual perspective), this reasoning can also be applied to clothing. He therefore distinguishes between *dressing*, which corresponds to Saussure’s *parole*, and *dress*, which corresponds to his *langue*. Based on this distinction, *dressing* includes the individual dimension of the clothing, the act of getting dressed, in which the individual actualizes on their body the general institution of dress, whereas *dress* is an institutional and social reality independent of the individual. Dress and dressing together constitute a general whole to which the word *clothing* (which corresponds to Saussure’s *langage*) is ascribed. The syntactical nature of fashion is a form of grammar for clothing, whose rules we pretty much all consciously adopt in our daily choice of clothes.

Greimas defines language as the union of two levels, the semiotic and the semantic. Having determined the smallest units of meaning, the signs (semantics), he goes on to combine them (semiotics). The semantic level structures the syntactical level of language, and the semiotic level structures the paradigmatic axis (Christodoulou, 2003a : 58). If we were then to adapt these concepts to fashion, we would say that a paradigm is synonymous with choice, and in the case of clothing we choose what to wear based on what is in fashion, what the weather is like or our state of mind. Generally speaking, a paradigm is a category of elements in a system, a set of signs grouped together because they have some characteristic in common. In dressing, a skirt, a pair of trousers and a pair of shorts all belong to

the category *outer wear worn from the waist down* (Boklund-Lagopoulou, 1980: 13).

Thus, the semiology of clothing is not lexical, but rather syntactic. The unit of meaning must be sought in true functions, oppositions, distinctions and congruences that are analogous to the units of phonology. As regards meaning, a particular item of clothing may allude to psychological or socio-psychological concepts such as respect, youthfulness, mourning and spirituality. However, Barthes claims that besides all these nuances, clothing conveys only one fundamental and basic meaning, and that is the individual's inclusion and incorporation into the society in which they live. We can therefore say that clothing is a social model, a mirror of predictable and collective behaviours, and it is at this level precisely that clothing becomes a signified.

2. RESEARCH

This research is a case study of Greek writer Penelope Delta's fairy tale '*I Kardia tis Vassilopoulas*' [The Princess's Heart]. Penelope Delta is well-known in Greece for her children's novels, short stories and fairy tales. The particular writer was chosen because of the lasting nature of her works, as can be attested by the numerous times her books have been republished to this day.

The key purpose of this research is to conduct a comparative study of the characters' dress codes in the illustrations of the two different editions of this fairy tale published in 1915 and 1998. The earlier edition (1915) was illustrated by Maria Paparrigopoulou and the more recent edition (1998) by Daniela Stamatiadi. More specifically, the study focuses on: (a) the role that the characters play in the fairy tale and their relationship with the dress code, (b) a comparative study of the characters' dress code as determined by the illustrators in the fairy tale's two different temporal versions, (c) the adaptations made to the illustration of the fairy tale based on the year of issue (earlier and more recent editions).

We chose to explore the characters' dress code since clothing is a powerful *semiotic code* bountifully semantically charged with regard to human societies, for example relating to social distinctions and situations, occupations, perceptions, popular ideals, age, sex, epoch, financial status, cultural level, principles, traditions and nationality. The analysis of the fairy tale (text and image) is based on French semiotician Roland Barthes' semiotics theory, on text analysis

determined by Greimas' structural semantics theory, and Christodoulou's image analysis theory (2003, 2007, 2012). More specifically, Greimas' structural semantics theory has been implemented with great success in narratological analysis and in particular the actantial model that Greimas analysed in his *Structural Semantics*. The model in question has six facets that are key to narration: (1) a subject (who goes in search of the object), (2) an object (the aim of the subject's quest), (3) a sender (who sends the subject off in search of the object), (4) a receiver (of the object, in order to be safeguarded by the subject), (5) a helper (who assists the subject) and (6) an opponent (who hinders the subject) (Greimas, 2005; Selden, 2004).

This is a comparative, qualitative research study. The key parameter analysed is the dress code of the fairy tales' characters, and how it relates to their roles. More specifically, we have studied the make-up of the dress code on the syntagmatic axis (meaning structures that make sense in a particular environment, such as a tie worn with a suit) and in the paradigmatic choice of clothing items (items worn by the characters with regard to the prevailing fashion, weather conditions, their state of mind, or their actions).

3. ANALYSIS OF 'THE PRINCESS'S HEART'

3.1 Story Outline. In an island kingdom, a king and queen have a baby girl. When she is born, all the island's fairies arrive to give her a gift. The fairy called Fate steals the princess's heart so that the princess may never feel pain and sorrow. This distresses her parents and so the fairy called Life grants them a key, which the princess can use to find her heart when she is older and decides she wants it. In the meantime, as the princess grows up without a heart, she becomes meaner and meaner. She spreads misery throughout the kingdom, wounds her parents and even hurts the neighbouring kingdom's prince who she is intended to marry. At some point, the princess realises that she is missing something, something that makes her different from others. It is then that her mother tells her that she has no heart and that Fate stole it from her when she was born. The princess asks her mother how she can find her heart again, saying that she can no longer live this way, not knowing what joy or sorry are, and so her mother takes Life's golden key off the chain around her neck. The princess leaves the palace to search for her heart. On her way, she encounters people who need help, but pays them no attention

because without her heart she can feel pity for no one. When she finally finds her heart inside a box high up a hill and then begins her return journey, she comes across the same people on the way and this time helps them. In the meantime, in the neighbouring kingdom, the king, learning that his son nearly drowned because of the princess and that the engagement is off, wants revenge and decides to send an army to the island kingdom. An old woman in the forest tricks the princess and steals her clothes. The princess manages to escape and goes to the neighbouring kingdom's king, explaining to him that it was all her fault. She therefore saves her father's kingdom from certain attack and plunder. In the end, the prince and princess get married.

3.2 Key Actants. The princess, the fairies, the king and queen, the prince, the people the princess meets during the tests she undergoes, the old woman who robs the princess, and the doctor.

3.3 Analysis. According to Greimas, a narrative is a signifying whole because it can be grasped in terms of the structure of relations among actants. Greimas mentions that basic narrative developments represent the transformation from a negative beginning (disruption of order and alienation) to a positive end (establishment of order and integration). In Delta's fairy tale, the negative beginning has a positive end. In the beginning Fate steals the newborn princess's heart, thus upsetting the balance in her

life, since without a heart she has no emotions and so brings about the disruption of order inside the palace, in the entire kingdom and also in the neighbouring kingdom. In the end, the princess wins back her heart, balance is restored in the kingdom and she marries the neighbouring kingdom's prince. These transformations occur during a series of tests that the subject undergoes, having made a contract with the sender (Selden, 2004: 170-171). Thus, at the beginning of the story, the subject, namely the princess, is separated from the object (her heart). Without her heart, the princess cannot feel and so spreads a lot of pain and harm around. At some point, she decides to search for her heart (the object) and to act towards the benefit of a receiver. She is guided, in her search for this object, by a sender (the fairy Life), who at the princess's birth, right after her heart was seized by the fairy Fate, gifted the princess with a golden key that she hung on a gold chain around the newborn baby's neck, this key being what would help the princess find her heart when she decided to search for it.

The receiver for whose benefit the princess will seek to retrieve her heart is her environment. She will undergo all the tests for it, since when she obtains her heart, balance will be restored in the kingdom. The binary opposition pairings thus found in the fairy tale (Kapsomenos, 2003:219-235) are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Binary Oppositions and their Actualization in the Fairy Tale

Binary oppositions - Actualization of the Binary Structure in the Fairy Tale.
Wish VS Curse Gifts given by the good fairies VS Fate stealing the princess's heart, resulting in her unable to feel any emotions
Proposed contract VS Established contract Heart seized by Fate, so that the princess may know no pain or sorrow VS Golden key given by Life to the parents, so that the princess may at some point find her heart
Contract: Coming of age VS Engagement Princess's dialogue with her mother VS Engagement with the neighbouring kingdom's prince
Lack of knowledge VS Desire for knowledge The princess asks her mother what 'heart', 'sorrow' and 'pain' mean VS Her desire to learn how she can find her heart
Mother's reply VS Information The princess's mother explains to her how Fate stole her heart when she was born and then gives her Life's golden key.
Decision to act VS Action The princess leaves the palace to search for her heart.
Departure / Wandering Along her way, the princess encounters people that need her help. However, she does not offer them any help, remains indifferent and continues to wander in search of her heart.
Search effort VS Success – Recovery of object The princess finds her heart inside a box on a hill.
Misleading intervention VS Deception of heroine The poor old woman the princess encounters in the forest tricks her and steals her clothes.

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Recognition of feat VS Reward – Marriage

The princess saves her father's kingdom from an upcoming attack from the neighbouring kingdom, is recognised by the entire kingdom and marries the prince.

Thus, the princess goes through a qualifying test (she crosses crags and cliffs), a main test (through which she obtains the object) and a glorifying test (through which she gains recognition from the collectivity). Generally speaking, the fairy tale creates the impression of a bipolar social organisation: on the one hand we have the very rich (the king and his environment) and on the other hand we have the very poor (the dirt-poor widow with a baby, the poor blind child, a man who is unable to pay his debts) (Kaplanoglou, 2009:377). We note, with regard to the illustrations, that the 1915 edition has two black-and-white illustrations with captions quoting words said in the book. They show: (a) the princess's birth with her royal parents, Fate, Life and three other fairies present, and (b) the princess's transformation from bad to good. The more recent edition has thirty colour illustrations without captions, showing scenes from the

storyline. The characters portrayed in both editions' illustrations are shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Characters in the Illustrations Included in the Two Editions

Illustration/Characters	1915	1998
The princess	+	+
The king	+	+
The queen	+	+
The fairy Fate	+	+
The fairy Life	+	+
The prince	-	+
The doctor	-	+
The old woman with the thieves	-	+
The poor old woman	+	+

In Table 2 we see that the characters that do not appear in the older edition's illustrations are the prince, the doctor and the old woman with the thieves. Our analysis of the characters' dress codes in the two editions has resulted in Table 3.

Table 3. The Characters' Clothing as their Roles Change

'The Princess's Heart'		
Actants	Earlier Edition (1915)	Modern Edition (1989)
Princess	Newborn princess: The baby's clothing is indiscernible. Princess going through tests: A long, loose gown without a full skirt, a rich cloak with various designs on the shoulder, hairstyle of the period	Newborn princess: white romper suit and nightcap Childhood and adolescence: a pink and yellow dress respectively As a young woman: a yellow gown with a full skirt, jewellery worn around the neck and in her hair Princess going through tests: a yellow gown, jewellery worn around the neck and in her hair Princess attacked by thieves: rough-spun dress Princess's wedding: white gown and white veil
Prince		As a young man: Meets princess Engagement to princess: plain, green shirt, purple leggings, brown ankle boots Wedding to princess: formal princely attire; short red cloak fastened around the neck with a piece of jewellery, coronet on the head and pale blue tunic.
King	Long robe, not particularly discernible, and crown on head	Red robe, long white cloak with designs
Queen	Long, white gown, not particularly discernible, crown on head and hairstyle of the period	Long, red gown with a full skirt and a triangular opening showing the white part of the dress, red veil and crown on head

Fairies	Life: clothing adorned with various little animals; head covered. Fate: Long, loose dress without a full skirt, a floral belt, flower in hair	Life: white dress and veil Fate: black dress and conical hat of the period
Poor old woman	Long clothing and wimple or hood covering head; garment not clearly discernible.	Blue headscarf on head, apron, long salmon-coloured dress
Doctor		Trousers, fur coat
Guards		Boots, hood covering head

4. FINDINGS

We observe that Penelope Delta develops her characters' actions through opposing pairs, such as prosperity vs wretchedness (king / poor people) and good vs bad (Life / Fate), and that the fairy tale is built and the illustrations tell their story based on these pairs. The older edition's illustrator tried to portray almost sixty percent of the story's characters in two pictures. Having analysed the illustrations, we observe that the princess is the central figure in both editions, and that her garments change in line with her age and role. In the new edition, emphasis is placed not on the characters' faces, but on their dress code, which is indicative of: (a) the character's sex (pink dress for the girl), (b) morality (black dress: Fate, white dress: wedding, purity), (c) power (royal attire in red, sceptre), (d) hierarchy (difference between king's and prince's attire), and (e) socio-economic situation (poor, rich).

The 1998 edition's illustrator dresses the princess in pink as a child and sticks to yellow for her years as a young lady, also then giving her iconic elements, e.g. accessories in her hair, thus indicating that she is a key subject (Kanatsouli, 2000b: 161). The king, queen and other characters maintain the same clothing in the illustrations throughout the story. The clothing of characters whose role remains constant also remains unchanged; the type of clothing depends on the applicable social conventions. Only the princess's garments change, depending on her role, e.g. as a newborn, a young girl, as a bad person, a good person and as a bride. Each time her role changes, then so do her clothes. Similarly, the prince's garments change too, when he is a young prince and when a groom. Furthermore, the 1915 edition's illustrator seems to have adopted the model of western European sartorial tradition, which is however reminiscent of medieval times. Thus, the king and queen wear long garments and crowns on their heads and the queen and princess have late medieval hairstyles, as do the fairies.

In the 1998 edition we note that: (a) the heroine's style is west European, with ethereal garments adorned with jewellery, (b) the fairies wear pointy hats on their heads, which bring to mind the Burgundian fashion of 1450 and Gothic era fashion in general, (c) the queen's clothing reflects the fact that she belongs to the upper social class and also the Gothic era, during which noblewomen wore cote-hardies, a type of fitted gown with a belt around the waist, (d) the king's cloak resembles the houppelande that kings wore in the tenth century. We observe that the text plays the biggest role in both editions of Delta's stories, and that the illustrations simply accompany the tales and present certain scenes, enhancing and enriching the text.

As far as the colours used in the modern edition are concerned, unlike other illustrated children's books, no dominant hue is noted in any of her stories. We note that in some places the illustrator has made symbolic use of colour, which may influence the subconscious (Kanatsouli, 2000: 158), such as with the fairy Life's white dress, the princess's white wedding gown at the end of the tale, or the princess's pink dress when she was still a little girl. Fashion is always linked to views on social hierarchy. Thus, those belonging to the upper classes stand out through external visual elements, distinguishing marks and special types of clothing (Costanza Baldini, 2008: 130), such as the prince's formal attire when he gets married at the end of the tale: the short cloak fastened around the neck with a piece of jewellery and the coronet on his head (Bernstein, 1989: 22). Excepting the coronet, which is the symbol of a ruler, the upper classes usually wore long capes that showed off the wealth and luxury of the aristocratic class to which they belonged (Adikimenaki, 2004: 36).

Following Greek folk tradition, the three fairies are young and beautiful, with long wavy hair, and are dressed in snow-white robes and airy veils. In general, both illustrators seem to have adopted the west European sartorial traditional model in their illustrations. In both editions of Delta's stories, the

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text plays the biggest role and the illustrations simply accompany the tales and present certain scenes, enhancing and enriching the text. However, the period in time in which each edition was published has influenced the way in which the characters are presented in both editions. Thus, we have the same fairy tale, which has however been illustrated at two different periods in time, and this chronological difference has in a manner 'imposed' on the illustrations stylistic or other aspects particular to each period (clothing details, human relations, relationship between the two sexes, social standing, the influence of artistic trends on aesthetic choices).

Fashion is a way to communicate, a way in which the individual defines their place in relation to the collectivity and the collectivity in relation to society. It also indicates the role that each person undertakes to play in a society. Therefore, the clothing elements analysed, the distinguishing marks and all other details that complete a garment or costume, are also social codes. All the above naturally refers to the princess's dress code in the fairy tale. However, if we were to compare the fictional princess's dress code, and in particular her wedding gown, with the wedding gown of a modern-day, 'real-life' princess, we would note that it is not that different. Although modern-day princesses' wedding gowns have to follow royal protocol, we could say that they still reflect their era. Thus, in 1951, Princess Soraya wore a majestic wedding gown adorned with many pearls, diamonds and feathers, whereas in 2011, Kate Middleton wore a wedding gown with a long train, long, lace sleeves and an unrevealing V neckline, with a veil covering her face.

In conclusion, the period of illustration influences the manner in which the dress code is presented. A dress code conveys messages and promotes communication. But ultimately, is it what 'shapes a character' in fairy tales?

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GENERAL MILITARY REGULATIONS – NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION HANDBOOKS? THE PRESCRIPTIVE NONVERBAL PROFILE OF ROMANIAN SOLDIERS

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Abstract: Noting that general military regulations (GMR) contain numerous references to aspects of nonverbal behavior expressed as prescribed behavior, we considered necessary a new reading of GMR as nonverbal communication handbooks. This new reading is possible and it reveals important aspects with regard to opportunities of education or adequate training, in agreement with some good knowledge in the field of communication sciences. This paper aims at setting up a prescriptive nonverbal profile of the Romanian soldiers in relation to behavioral requirements resulting from the current GMR of the Romanian Armed Forces. The research method consists of documents analysis and comprises: 1. placement of four general normative documents into a different context (a communicative one); 2. identification of explicit and implicit nonverbal communication prescriptions included in the body of these normative texts; 3. analysis of the nonverbal prescription in relationship with the major classes of nonverbal behavior and 4. configuration of a nonverbal profile of Romanian soldiers based on the GMR behavioral prescriptions. In this respect, the paper is similar with some projective or normative documents (regulations, memoranda, etc.) developed by institutions such as the Army Research Institute for Behavioral and Social Sciences and the Committee on Opportunities in Basic Behavioral and Social Sciences Research of the U.S. Army (Katz et al., 2006; Blascovitch & Hartel, 2008; Yager et al., 2009 etc.), designed to identify the role of nonverbal communication in the military context, especially in the context of intercultural actions in different theaters of operations. Following this study, we intend to focus our future research in the field of nonverbal communication on the Romanian military context, in order to subsequently build a first necessary instrument for the development of nonverbal communicative competence within the Romanian Armed Forces.

Keywords: nonverbal communication (NVC), general military regulations (GMR), communicative profile, communication competence

1. INTRODUCTION

In the seventh decade of the last century, following the increased interest in communication research and in clotting the communicative theories into a distinct disciplinary area, one of the myths that (non scientifically) describes nonverbal communication was born: "the 55-38-7 myth". Due to the researcher Albert Mehrabian (1971), the myth foregrounds the role of nonverbal communication, within interpersonal *face-to-face* dialogue¹, which is achieved 55% through non-vocalic body language and 38% by means of paralanguage. Certainly, the disproportion between

the role of nonverbal communication and verbal communication (93% vs. 7%) is enormous and it is against reality. Therefore, Mehrabian's position should be reassessed, in the same manner as the moderate positions of A.G. Millner and Ray L. Birdwhistell should be reassessed, as Chelcea *et al.* (2008: 37) suggested, for example, but the crucial role of nonverbal communication within daily dialogues (seen in complementarity with the verbal communication) cannot be overlooked. Furthermore, the study of the role of nonverbal does not imply only merely focusing on the measurement of communication acts in presentational communication/conversation; it is necessary to identify the ways in which nonverbal is prescribed (or suggested) in representational contexts. This is the reason for the fact that we have designed a reading of the general military regulations within the Romanian Armed Forces by means of a communicational grid of reading (mostly nonverbal).

¹ Even if some of the myth objectors exaggerate, considering that nonverbal communication in transmission of information counts 90%, Albert Mehrabian (1971) notes that his measurements do not refer to communication in general, but only to transmission of emotions.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of nonverbal communication within the Romanian Armed Forces managed to find but a modest place among the topics of the Romanian scientific research. With the few exceptions of some sporadic articles published in scientific journals, or of papers defended within conferences and other scientific events that included the topic of verbal (and nonverbal) communication in their areas of debates, such as: Lesenciuc *et al.* (2011), Coman (2011), Levonian & Lesenciuc (2014) etc., respectively, of some unpublished undergraduate theses, the scientific literature in Romania addressed the topic of the military nonverbal behavior limited to general issues. This limitation occurred despite the fact that the nonverbal communication, especially when it manifested in the public space, was the centre of interest for numerous studies. The armed forces of other states paid attention to nonverbal communication and created special institutions for training soldiers in accordance with the requirements of the new operational environment, characterized by direct contact with foreign soldiers, with the civilian population, and with representatives of various governmental agencies from the host country of the conflict or of the military exercise. For example, the US Army created a Research Institute for Behavioral and Social Sciences that employed well known researchers in the field of communication and social sciences, some of them being specialists in nonverbal communication. Their studies were relevant to this segment of research and they were completed by technical reports for disseminating the information, by papers published in the most important American scientific magazines, or by a design of some US military training courses useful for international missions. Moreover, this institute has managed to polarize the scientific research in this social area of study, by creating cooperative relations with researchers belonging to different prestigious universities, such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Washington University, University of California, San Francisco State University etc., to corporations: eCrossCulture Corporation, for example, or to military universities, Naval Postgraduate School, for example. Referential works in the field of NVC include, among others, the ones signed by Segal (1989; 1994), Kline (1996), Peterson *et al.* (2001), George *et al.* (2003), Katz *et al.* (2006), Abbe *et al.* (2007), Blascovitch & Hartel (2008), Yager *et al.* (2009),

DeConstanza *et al.* (2015), etc., and military manuals, such as F.M.21-60 (1987).

However, the mentioned works analyze NVC in the military from the perspective of developing and training communicative skills for aircraft crew members, ATCs, military personnel that accomplish international missions, etc.; the perspective of developing the ability of decoding facial expressions; of understanding involuntary gestures and emblems; of detecting changes in attitude, misleading, aggressiveness etc. None of those works proposes a decoding of the NVC behavior as prescribed by GMR. A proper lecture of GMR in NV key may lead to an adequate control of the military NVC behavior.

3. METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

In order to identify the elements of the prescribed nonverbal communicative profile of Romanian soldiers, we designed a mixed research, based on data analysis, namely on document analysis, gathering data and linking findings with nonverbal concepts, more precisely, we introduced the significance of the analyzed documents in the frame of the practical use of this data (in daily military activity). Thus, functions, interpretations and context-specific practices lead to a particular understanding of the prescribed nonverbal behavior, which allows for a distinct interpretation as compared to a content analysis, focused on quantitative measurements of the frequency of certain elements. The best example, in this case, is the one of enforcements of drill regulations, in which nonverbal communication is fundamental. The main research technique is the content analysis, focusing both on the frequency of a term or an expression within the content of a particular regulation and on the frequency of contexts in which these terms/expressions appear and refer to explicit or implicit prescribed NVC cues in soldiers' behavior.

In order to do this, we identified NV elements included in the Romanian GMR, relevant for this area. The units of analysis/recording, in this case, are those regulations which refer to prescribed NVC – general regulations RG-1 (*Regulation of procedures*), RG-2 (*Internal service regulation*), RG-4 (*Regulation of honors and military ceremonies*), and RG-5 (*Military drill regulation*), and the units of content are those articles or paragraphs which enable the characterization of recording units. The four normative documents do not have equal importance in terms of prescribed

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NVC profile. The most important is RG-5 – *Military drill regulation*, focused on

„Însu irea de c tre militari a pozițiilor și mișc rilor specifice desf ur rii activit ților și acțiunilor militare, precum i formarea deprinderilor necesare execut rii lor” [“soldiers’ ownership of positions and movements specific to military activities and operations, and training skills necessary to perform them”] (RG-5, 2009:art.1, al.(1), p.7).

4. DATA ANALYSIS

RG-1 – *Regulation of procedures in military units sets*

„relațiile dintre militari, regulile de conduit a militarilor în diferite situații și cerințele ce stau la baza relațiilor dintre militari, precum și dispoziții privind desf urarea activit ților în unit țile militare” [“military relationships, military rules of conduct under different circumstances, and requirements underlying relationships between soldiers, as well as stipulations with regard to activities carried out in military facilities”] (RG-1, 2008: art.2 al.(1), p.7),

debating, accordingly to our topic, issues concerning military courtesy, with prescriptions regarding the NVC behavior (for example, Article 15, Article 19, Article 33, Article 34, Article 35, etc.), without a detailed description of it, reference being made to RG-5 – *Military drill regulation*. Descriptions also prevails in the case of rules for wearing the military uniform, that nonverbally complete clarifications regarding the NVC behavior standardized by the other GMR. For example, military uniforms – artifacts understood as elements of NVC – represent an important cue in highlighting the geographic, cultural, historical, and militarily involved determinations, while “*clothing and appearance are visible symbols that influence interactions with others, interpersonal communication*” (Kaiser, *apud* Chelcea *et al.*, 2008:59).

The military clothing is rather meant as a mark for social identity and, to a little extent, a mark for personal identity, expressed through other artifacts, such as rank insignia, branch insignia, badges, dog tags etc. The military clothing is part of the operationalization frame concept of “organizational clothing”, resulted from the analysis of Rafaeli and Pratt (*apud* Chelcea *et al.*, 2008:65), being characterized by uniformity of color: blue, khaki, (forest) mosaic etc., with high

homogeneity and low variability (RG-1, 2008:92, art.97-98).

RG-1 – *Regulation of procedures in military facilities* is connected to other GMR regarding standardized CNV, such as, for example, RG-4 – *Regulation of honors and military ceremonies*, that represents the basis for organizing military festive activities, such as the ones mentioned in Chapter IX. Elements of proxemics, regarding to perception of and use of space, are contained in Chapter X, *Military accommodation*, with an emphasis on accommodation, perceived as elements of the organizational culture and not as personal spaces, that are provided by RG-5 – *Military drill regulation*. According to the spatial typology proposed by Edward T. Hall in 1968 (*apud* Chelcea *et al.*, 2008:54), military spaces are fixed areas that involve a certain rigidity; they communicate about a series of cultural and psychological features describing the rigid and strongly hierarchical communicational context that characterizes the Armed Forces. Despite the tendency of treating the arrangement of furniture in most contemporary work spaces as semi-fixed spaces, RG-1 (2008:60, art.160) imposes a low flexibility and one’s mandatory decision with regard to these spaces. These fixed spaces are described thoroughly in terms of proxemics, determining distances and organizational particularities, as they are specified in Article 176 (RG-1, 2008:65). Elements of the proxemic arrangement of bases and training camps are detailed in the subsequent articles, but, despite a large textual space allocated to their description, those elements do not directly concern a particular NVC behavior, much rather, they contribute to a setting up of a communication framework, a psychological setting of communication, that could be understood in terms of formal communication in the military.

RG-2 – *Internal service regulation* mainly describes general rules, responsibilities, and the organization of the internal service (RG-2, 2008:art.1, p.9), and equally consists of a regulatory framework that describes NVC behavior of the soldiers that are in the particular context of accomplishing the internal service. Proxemic elements are dominant both with regard to the prescribed formations (for example, RG-2, 2008:art.30, al.(1), p.19; RG-2, 2008:83-84), and the layout of buildings (for example, when planning and equipping the guard posts, RG-2, 2008:art.30, al.(1), p.19; RG-2, 2008:83-84). Beside the proxemic perspective, the chronemic

aspects are very detailed, such as in: “Art.30. – (2) The duty officer verifies the attendance, posture and physical condition, no later than 20 minutes prior to their entry into service” (RG-2, 2008:19, 24-25). The discussed chronemic aspects unequivocally contribute to the setting of an organizational culture based on monochronic time (M-time) structure, interpreted as rational, linear, tangible, and divisible. The personal/subjective time does not count, it is not considered within GMR. The objective time, that is measurable (*clock time*), is the main characteristic of these regulations and it transfers the temporal rigor to the military activity and their NVC profile, at the level of public perception. The soldiers’ appearance, their uniforms, protective clothing items, but also constructive elements holding a protective role, are described within the 11th section, *Internal service personnel equipment and materials*, that is characterized, however, by the predominance of descriptions regarding NVC behavior.

RG-4 – *Regulation of honors and military ceremonies* is „*actul normativ care define te, descrie i reglementeaz organizarea i desf urarea*” [“the normative act that defines, describes and regulates the organization and conduct”] of military honors and ceremonies (RG-4, 2013:art.1, p.9). Additionally, the regulation contains a series of direct references to prescribed NVC behaviors, mostly described in a general framework of implementation, within large military groups in which the individual communicative behavior is considered to be less important. Descriptors of movements and posture specifically refer to commanders of guards of honor (e.g., art.15, al.(2), involving the carrying out of military honors), whereas chronemic and proxemic cues concern all participants in the ceremonies (e.g., art.26). RG-4 – *Regulation of honors and military ceremonies* was designed in close and continuous correlation with RG-5 – *Military drill regulation*, to whose provisions it makes multiple references, especially within Chapters IV to VII.

RG-5 – *Military drill regulation* contains provisions for military drills, a particular discipline within the general military training (RG-5, 2009:art.1, al.(1), p.7). This regulation contains normative prescriptions related to the manner in which a soldier’s body is determined to adequately respond, through unitary trained reactions, to commanders’ requests. More precisely, *Military*

drill regulation involves training NV response of the soldier’s body, to the extent that its relationship with the environment and the formation should be characterized by a unitary action, in an organized and systematic whole, leading, rather, to a response to the triggering stimulus (military command), despite the typical way of general expression of human behavior in relationship with internal and external demands, than to a particular result of individual behavioral structure. This regulation prescribes the apparent behavior, i.e. the assembly of body’s external reactions, which can be directly observed and recorded, respectively accounted, standing for both verbal and nonverbal reactions to cues studied as posture, gestures, walking, proxemics, prosody elements etc. The unapparent behavior is not (and cannot be) covered by the normative prescription through the agency of this regulation, although development and training drill skills primarily involve the emphasis of the unapparent behavior. According to our study design, focused on the NVC behavior profile of Romanian soldiers, prescribed by GMR, RG-5 is particularly useful in discussing the NVC elements within Chapter II, *Military drill*, the individual drill that capitalizes NV descriptors in terms of gestures, posture, walking, proxemics, etc., and within Annexes relating to signals for leading soldiers and subunits.

5. DISCUSSIONS. ASPECTS OF THE NV PROFILE OF SOLDIERS EXPRESSED AS PRESCRIBED BEHAVIOR

GMRs configure a NVC profile of the Romanian soldier, based on a set of traits under discussion. We started our endeavor from a complex classification of NVC components in relation with the sensory channel involved, the importance of transmitted NV signals, and the unintended messages of the human body, including the study areas of NVC elements that do not appeal to a specialized sensory organ, but to complex psychical processes, such as chronemics (Chelcea *et al.*, 2008:47). Subsequently, we reduced the field of study to the following 13 main areas: kinesics, walking, posture, proxemics, artifacts, facial expressions, oculosics, haptics, vocalics, olfactics, chronemics, somatotypology, and physiognomy. In relations to these areas, we can draw the following table, to configure the prescribed NVC profile of Romanian soldiers:

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Table 1. Summary of prescribed NVC profile by Romanian GMR

Domain/subdomain	Presence	Observations
1. Kinesics (K)		
1.1 Emblems (E)	Prevail in GMR, especially in RG-5, Annex 3 (art.7, pp.147-155), <i>Signals for leading soldiers and subunits on foot</i> and Annex 4 (art.7, pp.156-160), <i>Signals for leading soldiers and subunits aboard vehicles</i> . The signals are accompanied by a detailed description and, based on the notes to already mentioned articles, they can be set separately for each mission, “according to acoustic or optical means at the disposal of those who transmit/receive” signals (RG-5, 2009:155).	Emblems are present in GMR as a result of they are intentional gestures.
1.2 Illustrators (I)	Present to a little extent, sporadically. An example of the presence of kinetic elements in GMR accompanying verbal communication is that of describing the manner for establishing the base soldier for alignment: Art. 85. – (4) Stabilirea militarului baz se face prin comanda „... – gradul i numele militarului – baz ... – se indic locul -, front ...!”. Militarul numit baz se deplaseaz în fug la locul stabilit, se întoarce cu fața spre direcția indicat , ridic mâna stâng cu palma întins în prelungirea antebrațului, strig „BAZ !”, apoi las mâna, energic, pe lâng corp i r mâne în poziția drepti. [“Establishing a soldier as base is done by command ‘... - soldier’s rank and name – base... - indication of place -, front...’. The base soldier runs to the established place, turns to the established direction, raises his left hand, with his palm stretched out and shouts ‘BASE!’, then he places his hand vigorously alongside his body and remains in the position of stand-at-attention.”] (RG-5, 2009:90-91).	
1.3 Adapters (Ad)	-	Adapters are not present because they are stereotyped, unintentional gestures.
2. Walking (W)	Peculiarities of military walking are very precisely presented, being relatively easily analyzed in comparison with the general characteristics of walking, regarding regularity, speed, pressure, stride length, elasticity, direction precision, durability and pace cadence, particularly in Section I / Subchapter 4, <i>Drill without weapons</i> , within chapter II, <i>Military drill</i> , from RG-5 (2009:15-20).	
3. Posture (P)	GMR assign great importance to posture, starting with the description of the fundamental position of the military, position of ‘attention’ and relaxed positions (stand at ease), e.g. Art.8-10 from RG-5, discussed in detail above.	

<p>Example:</p> <p>Art. 8. - (1) Poziția "drepti" este poziția fundamentală a militarului. În această poziție militarul stă drept, cu greutatea corpului lăsat pe ambele picioare, cu genunchii întinși, fără a fi încordată, cu călcâiele lipite și vârfurile încălăminte pe linia frontului, depărtate la lăimea de o talpă; umerii sunt trasi în jos și înapoi, pentru a aduce pieptul într-o poziție normală, fără să fie încordat sau rigid; brațul este ridicat, iar privirea îndreptată înainte la nivelul înălțimii proprii; brațele sunt întinse, cu coatele lipite de corp, iar palmele sunt întinse, în prelungirea antebrațelor, cu degetele apropiate, având degetul mijlociu în dreptul cusăturii laterale a pantalonilor. ["Position of 'attention' is the fundamental position of the soldier. In this position, the soldier holds the weight of his body distributed equally on both feet, in a relaxed position, heels brought together and the toes on the front line, spread at the width of a foot; shoulders are square and even, without being tensed or rigid, so as to lift the chest; the chin is raised and the sight is front, at the level of the soldier's height; the arms are straight, elbows against the body, palms stretched with their back outward, fingers closed together, with the middle finger along the seam of trousers."] (RG-5, 2009:11).</p>		
4.	Proxemics (Pr)	
4.1	Personal space (Ps)	GMRs abound in descriptions of personal space, and so are described distances and positions within formations of all service calls (RG-2), distances for conducting military ceremonies (RG-4), and especially positions in formations, for giving the military salute, reporting to superiors and others. (RG-5)
		The whole <i>Military drill regulation</i> can be summed up in a manual of military proxemics, where distances are the result of drilling and fighting experience of thousand years (Lesenciuc <i>et al.</i> , 2011) ²
4.2	Space organization (So)	Space organization is very important within GMRs by defining, especially in RG-1, but also in RG-2, military spaces as being sociofugal, with fixed organization.
5.	Artifacts (A)	
5.1	Clothing (Cl)	Military uniforms are analyzed in detail especially
		Military clothing is

² Lesenciuc *et al.* (2011), in their work *The proxemic code beyond the cultural connotations: Elements of human topology in military drill regulations* defended within The 4th ENIEDA Conference on Linguistic and Intercultural Education *Negotiating and constructing European identities across languages and cultures*, Vrșac, Serbia, 29 September-1 October 2011, emphasized that proxemic cues present in GMRs are the result of fighting (and drilling/training) experience since, most probably, the use of the Macedonian phalanx : „Coming from the old structure of the Macedonian phalanx, afterwards being modified as a necessity of new principals of organization in the legion of the Roman Empire, the assembly formation preserves the compaction features imposed by the requirements of the battlefield, being representative for the singular formation that soldiers form, and provides more security than a single soldier could offer himself.”

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		in RG-1, Chapter V, <i>Military clothing</i> .	detailed within
5.2	Other artifacts (Oa)	Prohibition or restriction in use of other artifacts is subject to the same regulation and the same chapter.	specific regulations (military logistics), but also by orders issued by the minister of defense.
6.	Facial expressions (FE)		
6.1	Facial expressions themselves (FE)	-	
6.2	Smile/laugh (S/L)	-	Included in the category of prohibitions, laughter is subject to description under general instructions (RG-2)
7.	Oculesics (O)		
7.1	Eye contact (Ec)	<p>Eye contact is suggested by RG-4 and RG-5, for example when saluting:</p> <p>Art. 95. – (1) Onorul cu grupa de pe loc, f r arm , se prezint din poziția drepti, la comanda „Grup , pentru onor – ÎNAINTE!/ spre dreap-TA!/ spre stân-GA!”. Dup partea s vâr itoare a comenzii, militarii întorc capul în direcția indicat , privind spre persoana care prime te onorul. [“Group salute without moving, unarmed, is given form the stand-at-attention position, at the command ‘Group, to the front/left/right – SALUTE!’. After the final part of the command, the soldiers turn their heads toward the indicated direction, looking to the person that is saluted”] (RG-5, 2009:96).</p> <p>We mentioned that eye contact is suggested because it involves obligations only on behalf of subordinates, given the impossibility of the superior of establishing eye contact with each of the subordinates. This type of eye contact is also suggested during the salute in the absence of moving or in march, despite of the subunit/unit size.</p>	
7.2	Eye movement (Em)	<p>Eye movement is suggested in saluting in march, when soldiers in the groups that are not placed to the flank of the superior rank to be saluted, turn their heads (implicitly their eyes) toward the person that is saluted.</p> <p>Art. 95. – (9) Onorul din mi care cu grupa se prezint începând de la 15 – 20 de pa i de superior, la comanda „Grup , pentru onor sspre dreap – TA!/ spre stân – GA!”. Dup partea prevestitoare a comenzii, militarii continu deplasarea în pas de defilare, iar dup partea s vâr itoare, întorc capul spre superior. [“Group salute in march is presented from a distance of 15 to 20 paces from the superior, at the command ‘Group, to the right/left –</p>	

		SALUTE!'. After the preparatory part of the command, the military continue their march, and after the execution part of the command they turn their heads to the superior"] (RG-5, 2009:97).
8.	Haptics (H)	Handshake is suggested in GMRs, but not described. All the other haptic elements: kissing, hugging, self-touching, etc. are not mentioned in these regulations.
9.	Vocalics (V)	
	9.1 Prosody (Prs)	Prosodic elements are present in description of the different parts of the military command; the execution part of the command is especially marked with capital letters in all GMRs.
	9.2 Paralinguistics (Prl)	-
10.	Olfactics (Of)	-
11.	Chronemics (C)	By specifying elements of timing, pace, periods, duration, clearly defined time intervals, all GMRs contain many chronemic cues, configuring a monochromic (M-time) profile of time in the military
12.	Somatotypology (S)	-
13.	Physiognomy (Ph)	-

It follows that, from the set of 13 areas of NVC study in Chelcea *et al.* (2008) classification, GMRs exploit eight and suggest or vaguely mention (including the level of prohibitions) two more, without taking into account aspects regarding the unintended messages of the human body, expressed at somatotypologic or physiognomic/phrenonologic levels. Facial expressions, haptics and oculusic cues are not subject to GMRs, each of these areas being focused on unintended, uncontrollable, and difficult to evaluate and standardize elements. Regarding somatotypology and physiognomy, Com noia (2013) argues that within the Romanian Armed Forces the previously mentioned issues were not given much attention:

Somatotypology was not given special attention within the Romanian Armed Forces. Several particular studies have been sporadically published, especially in the branch of sports, linking physical constitution and exercise capacity or a certain particularity of training,

Com noia (2013) concluded that a focus on somatotypology and physiognomy in the Romanian Armed Forces, a correct registration of aspects regarding these two NVC areas of study on standard military records, would entail a better understanding of the subordinates and a better control of them. After analyzing the four GMRs that include elements of NVC profile of Romanian

soldiers, RG-1, RG-2, RG-4 and RG-5, the result was a profile expressed in qualitative terms, but possible to be summarized in quantitative terms, using the following formula: **K-W-P-Pr-A-O-V-C**, in which we K stands for kinesic elements, W for walking, P for posture, Pr for proxemic elements, A for artifacts, O for oculusics, V for vocalics and C for chronemics; we used bold characters for issues prevailing in the prescribed NVC profile of the Romanian soldier, and normal characters for issues with no predominance in GMRs, but that are detailed in other specific military regulations (SMR), such as A – artifacts, detailed within *Regulation on the description, composition and use of military uniforms by the personnel of the Ministry of National Defense at peace time* issued in July 9, 2012 and within other manuals of military logistics, or such as C- chronemics, imposed especially by internal regulations, specific to each military base/facility (*Schedule of Air Force Academy*, in our case, for example).

6. CONCLUSIONS

The first conclusion that can be drawn based on this structure of prescribed NVC profile is that GMRs highlight the intended NV behavior, possible to be trained, and not the unintended communicative aspects, describing in details another type of profile. We can imagine that

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GMRs generate a skeleton of the NVC profile, on dimensions **K-M-P-Pr-A-O-V-C**, providing necessary details in each case, namely as it can be seen in figure 1. In this figure we highlighted, depending on the intensity of the color, with blue boxes, the NVC elements prevalence in GMRs,

with pale blue boxes the existence of NVC elements in GMRs, and with white boxes their absence or mere suggestion. Broadly speaking, this is the skeleton of the prescriptive NVC profile of Romanian soldiers, according to the already mentioned GMRs.

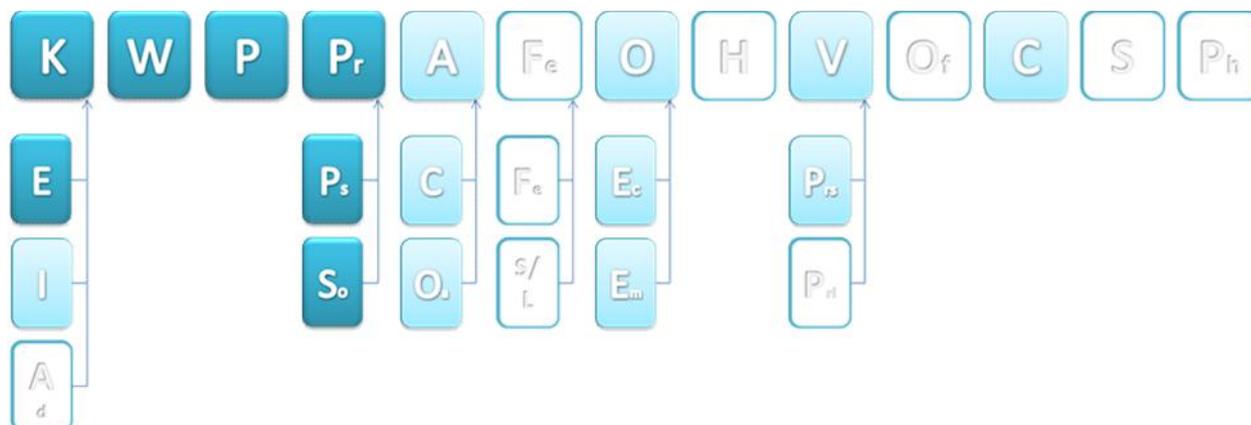


Fig. 1. The skeleton of NVC profile

This skeleton or framework provides only prescriptive data about a designed NVC to be developed and no data regarding the NVC openness of the Romanian soldiers and/or their natural behavior in informal communicative contexts, which needs to be studied, by means of different methods, within a future study.

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EUROPEAN SPACE AND SECURITY OF ROMANIAN MINORITIES

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Abstract: *Promoting multiculturalism and minority rights protection and security in the European face mentalities and attitudes that affect the development of the European Union, fueling skepticism and future of the Union. At the same time, we notice the emphasis of some national, at times nationalist, consolidation processes, the final target of such manifestations being often represented by the minority communities and the Romanians all over the world have to deal with various challenges in relation to the majorities of the host-countries. At present, the Romanian State must rethink its relationship with the Romanians abroad, being necessary to strengthen communication and partnerships both with the Romanian communities from the Romanian historical space and with the Romanian emigrants, the aim being to safeguard their security. The states member of the European Union was meant to create the legal framework and the necessary tools for the Union to face new threats to the security of European citizens, primarily in respect of their rights.*

Keywords: *minorities, European area, multiculturalism, ethnic communities, nationalism*

1. INTRODUCTION

It is almost impossible to state that the countries of the world are ethnically and religiously homogeneous, that the boundaries were drawn so as to cover the entire national population or only that part of the population which only represents the nation state. In reality the minority populations cohabit at a large extent with the majority of population and other ethnic groups, and factors of the present period - which is marked by the process of globalization - contribute largely to the immigration phenomenon and to an exchange of populations that leads to the creation of minorities in different geographical areas.

This situation which increases worldwide strongly marked the international politics as well as the regional, zonal and local ones in recent years, including Europe. The European Union was facing the whole complex of issues related to the rights of minorities, and the EU enlargement is somehow “counteracted” both from the inside and outside by the existence and activity of groups that accuse the loss of identity or ethnic assimilation during the integration process. Limiting our approach to the issue of the European minority problem and to the ethnic conflicts we may state that these were during the last two centuries the reason of escalating interstate tensions often leading to armed conflicts under the pretext or in trying to protect the rights of these ethnic groups.

After the World War II, Western Europe has been creating a supranational structure, the European Union, which brought economic prosperity, social stability, enhanced democracy and extended rights and freedoms. The explanation for the success of this construction was initially based on shared values and later on collective interests. The implementation of this model was an alternative to the countries of central, eastern and southeastern Europe, generating a joint effort with the purpose of achieving the unification of Europe and strengthening the awareness of a common European identity.

However, despite the efforts done in the recent years, with the European Union adopting common security policies, the main area of instability was and still is the Central and Eastern Europe where the new nation states appeared on ethnical basis. In the last twenty years at European level there have been many efforts to strengthen the rights of national minorities and strengthening mechanisms and instruments of identity protection and monitoring of minority groups, but the current regionally occurring changes require greater involvement of states in the region in defense of minority rights.

Also Romanians abroad and mainly in the immediate vicinity of Romania have managed to address various challenges in relation to their ethnic majorities and societies of the host countries.

2. THE MINORITIES' ISSUES AND THE EUROPEAN MULTICULTURALISM

Historical and social developments that have marked the evolution of Central and Eastern European countries have failed to create ethnically homogeneous states, so that after acquiring independence, sovereignty and borders delimitation it has registered an increase of the need of self-determination expressed by the ethnic minorities who remained on those territories, under the motivation of the need to respect the identity rights. To counter these slippages in trying to protect and respect the rights of all citizens and of emerging or newly created minorities, the European Union imported from the United States the concept of multiculturalism, a concept that aims to provide a framework for group identity affirmation, a step toward the cultural autonomy of minorities which is invoked as the primary element of identity preservation, but unfortunately, the cultural autonomy was sometimes confused with administrative autonomy based on ethnic criteria.

Multiculturalism means strengthening minorities in the form of virtual communities that can be found under a common identity, built on a common heritage and on cultural policies that promote modern governance and security. Thus, the multiculturalism concept can be created and promoted by every state and every citizen, the human kind having the ability to create societies that include several ethnic linguistic and religious communities. This is the only viable solution being given the fact that Europe consists of 28 states with 80 nations, which does not mean the creation of 80 mono-ethnic and mono-religious states, the states being forced to accept the political system and the values of the European federalism which is based on this idea: a supranational public authority and a multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic society in contrast with the claims of nationalists who state that democracy can function only in a cultural homogeneous space.

By creating the European Union and by its enlargement, no matter how one tries, neither politicians nor the states succeeded in recreating the much promised multiculturalism, not even the countries that are pretending to be democratic and which couldn't demonstrate than declarative level the respect for minority rights. Moreover, the economic crisis after 2007 and 2008 did nothing else than to emphasize nationalist feelings but also racism, xenophobia and protectionism. Some citizens, those who were most exposed to the

crisis, feel that the main causes are outside the country, responsible for this being the foreigners and they can protect themselves only by staying within national hermetic borders, a concept created at the declarative level by the politicians who support this myth of State protection, a concept fed and legitimized by the latter.

3. FROM THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND THE SECURITY OF ITS CITIZENS

The beginning of the 21st century was and still is characterised by an acceleration of the globalisation and regional integration processes, concomitantly with the persistence and escalate of certain ethnic and inter-confessional conflicts, ending up in state fragmentation. In Europe, the security environment has been strongly influenced by some country border changes, such as the fall of the Berlin Wall (which led to the peaceful reunification of Germany in 1990), the division of Czechoslovakia in 1992 in two countries, the Czech Republic and Slovakia (according to the two nations which formed the former republic established in 1918), the dissolution of USSR in 1991 (each of the 15 component republics splitting along ethnic criteria and, subsequently, proclaiming their independence), and afterwards the division of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a conglomeration of six regional republics and two autonomous provinces which chose to separate along ethnic principles.

Taking into account the new changes in the security environment in the context of globalization and multiculturalism, security means security of every individual both in the state in which he lives and in the state in which he or she develops himself/herself. Given that countries are seen more and more as instruments in the citizen's service and the individual rights of each person are mirrored in the emergence of the citizen's sovereignty, the protection of these rights represents the essence of modern security. Although minority rights are still enshrined in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union (C 326/13, 2012) in which it is stated that "the Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities" and that "these values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men are present", so far a consensus

was not reached in this direction in all European countries.

In terms of culture, identity and diversity in the European area, the emphasis is put on the diversity of national cultures in the Union, not on the diversity of national cultures. Efforts to protect national identity are visible in Article 6 of the Treaty on European Union (1992), in which the values underlying the Union (including human rights) are followed by an indication that the Union shall respect the national identities of the Member States without an explicit provision concerning the protection of minorities. The Treaty, as mentioned before, does not define identity or culture, and we can not help to ask ourselves whether these provisions protect culture / identity prevailing in the Member States, without extending this protection to minorities or immigrant cultures. In terms of immigrant integration, this approach leads again to the idea that integration is primarily a matter for the Member States and the idea of conformity with the social values must be protected. Thus, the official documents of the European Union stand out clearly that the value system of existence, such as democracy, freedom, equality and the rule of law; human dignity; rights and freedoms; national identity; civic freedom, political pluralism; property and the market economy; solidarity and international cooperation; dialogue and communication constitute the basic values supporting the European new concept aimed in Europe. In our view, these values give some authenticity to the new geopolitical perspective of all Member States which keep as a duty their protection through specific measures supported by the national security system, an integral part of European security.

4. ROMANIAN STATE RELATIONS WITH MINORITIES IN ROMANIA

Romania has always been a promoter of multicultural policies in the European space; multiculturalism being a characteristic of Romanian civilization in general. Romania was for Europe a balance point of nationalist policies that marked the center and eastern European space, a counterbalance to the attacks on minorities and on the communities created on the basis of identity. Even before EU integration, Romania was among the first countries to ratify the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by Law no. 33/1995.

Romania understood that identity values and promoting multiculturalism are factors of cohesion for local communities, a catalyst for progress and modernization efforts, trying to bring them in line with constitutional norms and European based values on respect for the specific identity of all citizens and minority communities. National minorities in Romania are not a unique experience; they are stories that are sometimes well-defined by regional identity. Romania promoted interethnic dialogue, multicultural educational initiatives, guaranteeing the rights of national minorities, these being only some of the preoccupations of the Department for Interethnic Relations operating within the General Secretariat of the Government. Currently in Romania there are 19 associations representing the ethnic minorities, their members actively participating in social and political life, being part of the Romanian society.

5. ROMANIAN STATE AND ROMANIAN MINORITIES' RELATIONS IN THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

After 1990, the relations with diasporas have become a constant concern of Romanian authorities, both in the context of deepening bilateral relations with the states in which there are communities of Romanian origin or culture and under the protection of the rights of national minorities and their protection was established as one of the permanent priorities of the post-revolutionary governments as well as for European institutions. However, Bucharest authorities support the Romanian ethnic minorities at a very limited extent and do not use fully the European and international legislation on the protection and promotion of the rights of these minorities in Europe.

Even more worrying is a clear series of tendencies to sponsor the appearance of concurrent speeches and other names for the communities of Romanians. This phenomenon of creation of new ethno-linguistic groups is extremely damaging and could concern the artificial reduction of the communities of Romanians, with multiple repercussions: the funds they should receive from the host-states, the erosion and loss of credibility of the Romanian associative environment, marginalising the Romanian identity, intimidating Romanians in order to declare themselves Romanians, affecting the potential for the development of the Romanian community. Thus, despite the prospects of integration and

Community policies in the Eastern and Southeastern Europe we identify some kind of identity issues facing the Romanian communities or the ethno-linguistic minority related. A brief analysis is not exhaustive, shows that:

In Ukraine, the process of "moldavianising" the communities of Romanians, especially in Odessa region still goes on, along with the introduction of the terminology of "Moldavian language" with the afferent didactic materials. Minority or Romanian community in Ukraine (see Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, www.mae.ro) would be the third ethnic group after Ukrainians and Russians if not be artificially divided into Romanian (151,000 people) and "Moldovan" (258,600 people). The community faces serious problems arising from access to education in their mother tongue, the official use of the Romanian language in administration and justice, funding for minority associations Romanian, Romanian-language media, keeping religious identity, representation in the government, lack of representation parliamentary restitution of property that belonged to the Romanian community etc.

We notice similar measures in Serbia. The largest part of the historical Romanian community on the Timoc Valley is placed under the name of "Vlach", accrediting the idea that the Romanians from Timoc use the so-called "Vlach" speech. The Romanian community in Serbia (mae.ro, 2015) is seen particularly in two regions, Vojvodina and the other part in northeastern Serbia, in the area known generically as the Timoc Valley. The community members are subjected to an aggression to their identity, including the artificial division into "Vlach" and Romanian. The results of the 2011 census recorded a total of 29,332 of Romanian or 0.41% of the population (compared to 34,576 in 2002 to 0.46%) and 35,330 of "Vlachs" or 0.49% of the population. According to the Romanian organizations in the territory, the 2011 census results do not reflect the real situation; unofficial estimates indicate a much higher number of Romanian ethnics¹. As stated before, the main

problem is the Romanian minority in Serbia and the artificial separation between the Romanian majority registered in Vojvodina and "Vlachs" in northeastern Serbia and Timoc Valley, the two "communities" being treated differently.

A different situation is in Macedonia (mae.ro, 2015) where "Aromanian" community is recognized in the Constitution of this state as a constituent people. However, in practice, there is trouble in its rights in terms of the allocation of funds from the state to finance Macedonian community organizations and the organization of cultural activities², the right to self-identification through the use of the term Aromanian.

The Romanian community in Bulgaria (mae.ro, 2015), according to the census of 2001, numbered 1088 Romanians, and under the name of "Vlachs" or "Macedo" there were 10,566 other people. The census forms mentioned in special boxes the ethnic group and the mother tongue, but "Vlachs" and Aromanians were not specified, although they are recognized as such and Romanians (unrecognized as ethnic group) and Romanian language not mentioned. According to the appreciation of the Romanian leaders of some associations from Bulgaria, the Romanians in the country are on the second place after the Turkish minority, counting for about 150,000 people, who can be found especially in localities situated along the Danube and in the northeast, in the former Quadrilater. Bulgarian Constitution does not recognize the existence of national minorities, but ethnic groups, "Vlachs" and "Aromanians" are recognized as ethnic groups to the Romanians in Bulgaria who have this status.

Romanian Community in Greece (mae.ro, 2015), according to estimations, because the Greek state does not recognize national minorities, consists of approximately 100,000 people, of which approx. 5,000 people who live in this country.

Romanian minority in Hungary (mae.ro, 2015), according to the Hungarian census of 2011, are a

¹ According to the 1921 Census, states Adina Berciu-Dr ghicescu in his book *Românii din Balcani*, 231,000 residents lived in Yugoslavia with Romanian language, thus distributed: the Yugoslav Banat - 67,896; Craina districts, Požarevac, Timoc and Morava - 145,000; and the rest of the country - 18,143. The Yugoslav Banat, Romanian living in about 80 villages, and 35 of them were in the majority. In 1919 there were 66 primary schools Romanian (18 were religious), with 43 teachers

and 48 schools with 62 communal Romanian Institute. In 1939, the Yugoslav Banat operated 33 state primary schools teaching in Romanian, the courses are enrolled 4,324 students, and teaching was supported by 79 teachers (40 were Romanian and Yugoslavian state pay 39 coming from Romania state expense Romanian).

² Direct or in collaboration with other institutions, the Minister of Foreign Affairs has helped support related community in the Republic of Macedonia including the publication of journals and the second volume of the Linguistic Atlas of dialects Meglenoromanians.

total of 26 345 people, of which 13 886 people have said Romanian language is their mother tongue, while 17 983 people have said they use Romanian language as a communication tool. In addition to local Romanian ethnics in neighboring settled over the years, with a particularly positive trend after 1990 Romanian citizens, especially in western country, which were integrated into the Romanian community in Hungary, data produced Hungarian institutions revealing that more than 100,000 were Romanian speaking Hungarian citizens.

Related to the foregoing, redefine a European historical space is difficult and influenced by the nationalist tendencies of some states contrary to their statements of promoting multiculturalism and supporting the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of all citizens of the Member States. Romania should continue its policies of protecting ethnic minorities' rights on its territory while reconsidering the position of ensuring Romanian minority' rights and security by strengthening communication and partnerships with both the historical communities of Romanian in Balkan neighbouring countries and with those countries with new Romanian communities

6. CONCLUSIONS

The security environment is continuously changing in the vicinity and within the European Union due to the existence of long-standing disputes, many of which are determined by the need to preserve minority identity in a space of majority. The idea of a united Europe built for Europeans means a review of national policies to ensure minority rights in terms of every European citizen rights. European unification and expansion can not, however, only preserve, promote and cultivate cultural identities. The ethnic, national and cultural identity can be "sacrificed" in exchange for economic prosperity imposed by globalization. Consequently, for the sake of its survival, the European Union must be a multi-identity one, a union marked by tolerance and understanding among all ethnicities. That Europe has become a viable one for all its citizens, it is necessary to remove all barriers that prevent access to freedom, the rights of all citizens, respecting community that must ensure the protection of fundamental rights of all citizens, wherever they are in the Member States.

The importance that the European institutions attach to human rights issues and, in particular, the

rights of persons belonging to minority / ethnic communities is part of the "basic pack" that any democratic state with European aspirations should take so all states in the region who want to integrate the European Union must assert and prove the options open to this. We consider that the Romanian state should reconsider its position against Romanian citizens abroad and to try the approach in bilateral relations with the States in which there are Romanian ethnic communities in order to support their rights and freedoms. Unfortunately until now the Romanian state could not create a viable strategy and concrete historical space adjacent to the Romanian minority or diasporas strategy to connect the security interests of Romanians in the Community with European multiculturalism policies.

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LANGUAGE AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE OUTLOOK ON THE WORLD. ROMANIAN CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE FIELD OF LINGVISTIC RELATIVISM

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Abstract: *The current study questions again the well known theses of linguistic and cultural relativism, starting from the conceptions and applied analyses of Romanian thinkers who initiated systematic researches in this field. Given to specific historical conditions, the reflection on language took a privileged place in the movement of ideas which led to the formation of national conscience and modern Romanian culture. Romanian thinkers saw language as a pivot of national identity and an expression of a particular outlook on the world. In the current study we have analyzed the ideas and approaches of Romanian thinkers who passionately researched the philosophical meanings coded in the words and expressive forms of our language*

Keywords: *language, linguistic relativism, cultural differences, cultural model, intercultural communication*

1. INTRODUCTION

A fundamental theme of philosophical thinking, formulated ever since the early reflections and attempts to rationally explain the world, the relation between unity and diversity, seen as two constitutive and complementary attributes of any forms of existence. This relation pervades all the registers of existence, either in nature or in society, from the atomic structure to the amazing variety of the living world and of human lifestyles. Human thinking has been always engaged in the search of a unitary principle, likely to put in order and make intelligible the kaleidoscopic diversity of the world. Deciphering the way in which the unitary and the diverse aspects intertwine within the configurations of nature and also within the fabric of human symbolic creations have always been a great challenge for the philosophical and scientific mind.

Modern theoretical subject matters have shown a special interest in the manifestations of the unity / diversity relationship in the sphere of thinking and cultural creation. An American anthropologist believed that man experienced cultural differences the moment when he noticed „the contrasts between the habits of his own society and the habits of the society he happened to come into contact” (Linton, 1968:72). Therefore, the awareness of the differences among cultures is the outcome of the interactions among societies that

have been multiplied in the modern era. At first, fueled by rationalistic and Enlightened assumptions, anthropological researches sought to determine the universal features of human condition, but, at the same time, they discovered the variety of languages, of lifestyles and cultural practices. In an attempt to explain the genesis and existence of cultural diversities, theorists have invoked historical, geographical, biological, social or psychological factors. On this ground clashed various schools of thought and explanatory models, from the evolutionary and neo-evolutionary to the functionalist, structuralist, culturalist and relativist ones. The equation of the factors likely to explain the differences among cultures should also include *language*, as the main means through which man encodes his knowledge of the world and through which the interpersonal communication takes place.

Linguistic relativism, which emerged in response to mono-linear evolutionism, confers to language the role of primary differentiating factor, and considers that language structures shape up in an unconscious way the sensitivity and spirituality of a people. Language is the indicator of human condition, the bond of social existence, but it is also the factor that confers identity to ethnic groups and nations. In this paper, I will briefly refer to several principles of linguistic relativism and the role played by language in the symbolic construction of national identity. In the second

part, I will try to explain why the language issue has taken such an important place on the agenda of modern Romanian thinking. Finally, I will also discuss about the outlook on language embraced by major Romanian thinkers, who tried to „extract” a specific vision of the world by analyzing certain elements characteristic to Romanian language. Their demarche is part of the relativist-type approaches, and, as we shall see, they shed light on certain features of the Romanian spirit, through a complex hermeneutical analysis, trying to decipher connotative meanings that were „buried” in the intimate fabric of the Romanian language.

2. THE PLURALITY OF LANGUAGES: AN ENIGMA?

George Steiner believes that these days „between four and five thousand languages are currently spoken” all over the world” (to which we should add a number almost as high of extinct languages), and this strange linguistic pluralism raises questions of an extreme socio-historical and philosophical difficulty. Therefore, paraphrasing the idea of Levi-Strauss, author of the work *After Babel*, we are facing an enigma and an „anomaly” because humankind’s linguistic and cultural diversity would be „the supreme mystery” that anthropology and philosophical thought should decipher. (Steiner, 1983:79-80).

Indeed, the questions about the amazing diversity of languages put us in an uncomfortable situation, because we have no reliable explanations and answers, only vague hypotheses and theoretical speculations. Is the plurality of languages mirrored (reflected) in the plurality of cultures? Can we say that there are as many cultures as many languages are spoken around the world? Has the impressive diversity of languages a corollary in the diversity of cultures? By resorting to the theory of the multitude, can we postulate a correlation between the multitude of languages and the multitude of cultures? Can we regard cultures as symbolic edifices built up on the support or around languages? Is language a kind of *axis mundi* that organizes the universe of meanings and values specific to a culture? The tendency to answer in the affirmative to these questions is natural, if we accept the thesis of relativism that a language contains a particular way of describing and understanding reality, a set of meanings shared by the community of those who speak it. Languages encode within their specific structures a latent vision on the world, thus being „a main

support of cultures and human groups’ identity.” (Malita, 1998: 220).

It is still hard to accept that any language, whatever its qualities, its degree of lexical and syntactic complexity and whatever its spread, would give birth to a specific cultures, with consistent, well individualized achievements. Of course, any language represents a particular expression of the human condition and has absolute existential legitimacy, being at least a promise of culture. For example, Maiorescu captures this dialectics between the specific and the universal, by referring to the power of literature to express, within the pattern of a particular language, situations, experiences and attitudes that can have relevant meanings also for people who speak other languages, who live in other times and in other cultures.

An individuality of a people has its absolute value and as soon as it is expressed in the powerful form of beauty, it encounters a resounding echo of love in the humankind, as an integral part of it. (Maiorescu 1984:19-20).

Nevertheless, the path from the real to the possible is interspersed with countless factors, from those pertaining to natural, geographical and demographic data, to historical, social contexts or of any other kind. Therefore, relative hierarchies, differences of power and opportunities are at work within the linguistic atlas. There are different cultures using the same language, with certain particularities. Linguistic kinship between two different cultures is a strong factor of closeness and convergence. Some languages are spoken by millions of people, have monumental achievements, lasting works of literature and science, already part of the world heritage, while other languages are spoken only by some hundred people, in small, local, isolated communities. Their cultural, cognitive and expressive potential is obviously different.

Trying to explain the impressive plurality of languages, without losing sight of the fundamental unity of human species, is today, as well, an extremely difficult exam for social and philosophical thinking. There are few references to this type of analyzing the opposites. Because they do not have any rational explanations, the questions on language diversity stimulate our imagination and metaphysical reflection. „Why should human beings speak thousands of different and mutually incomprehensible languages” (Steiner, 1983:220), given the fact that all

individuals belonging to the *homo sapiens* species have so many elements in common: genetic structure, anatomical conformation, neural - physiological features, plus a set of universal needs, similar to all people regardless of their social status. The quoted author argues that although, at first sight, it looks like some „oddity”, linguistic pluralism is an objective historical fact and, irrespective of mythological explanations or otherwise, it should be seen as an ontological, insurmountable datum. The myth of Babel Tower is a macro metaphor that helps us build narratives and meanings in order to decipher an enigma that defies human logic and experience. Not even Darwin's schemas cannot satisfactorily explain why some languages have survived while others have vanished. The adaptability criterion is not applicable to language.

We have no criteria to support that a language is intrinsically superior to another, that it survives because it is more effectively adapted to the requirements for sensitivity and to physical existence. (Steiner, 1983:84).

3. DIFFERENT LANGUAGES, DIFFERENT WORLDS

The relativistic concepts of culture were established as a response to the 19th c. mono-linear evolutionism, which interpreted cultural differences only as „stages” of a single development, as „historical gaps” in relation with the Western model, considered to be exemplary and canonical. The principles of cultural relativism were established as a result of ethnographic researches and comparative studies initiated in the first half of the 20th c. by the founders of American cultural anthropology, Franz Boas (1858-1942), Alfred Kroeber (1876-1960) and Edward Sapir (1884-1939). Cultural relativism starts from the hypothesis that there is not a cultural pattern that can be considered universal. Every culture must be understood in relation to its specific data and contexts, to the lifestyles it expresses and supports. For Sapir, the meanings of the concept of culture refer to a „set of attitudes, outlooks on the world and specific features of civilization that confer to a certain people its original place in the world” (1967: 329).

Finally, relativism developed the idea that the historical process would embrace a plurality of evolution lines, refusing the evaluations that establish conjectural hierarchies among cultures. Relating the particular cultural models to the

history of communities that produced them, we come to understand them as „moments of a specific sequence”, of a particular history, thus canceling the assumption that we can discover a single lineage in human evolution (Sapir 1967: 210). The approaches on language bring face to face the universalistic and the relativistic conceptions, as two major paradigms in-between we find numerous intermediate positions. The universalistic paradigm is illustrated, for instance, by Noam Chomsky's conception, which involves a universal language *competence* of human beings, but which is updated in different variants and *performances*. George Steiner was a valuable guide through the labyrinth of theories on language. He argues that linguistic relativism has been gradually built up starting from the „lineage” of Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt, passing through the anthropology of Franz Boas and reaching an explicit formulation in the works of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Worf. However, there are many thinkers who foreshadowed the principles of linguistic relativity, such as Vico (with the idea that language peculiarities generate and reflect different visions on the world) and Leibniz, where we find the idea that

language is not the vehicle of thought, but its determining environment. Thinking is language internalized, and we think and feel as our distinct language urges and allows us to do. (Steiner, 1983:107).

Among the forerunners, Wilhelm von Humboldt is the most towering personality. He inspiredly formulated the idea that language peculiarities and cultural structures of a nation show similarities and conditioning relationships. In disagreement with certain Kantian theses, of great authority at that time, Humboldt launched, in Herder's footsteps, the hypothesis that language shapes up thinking and human sensitivity, that there is a „consonance between the *Weltanschauung* of a specific language and the history and culture of those who speak it” (Steiner, 1983:115). The idea that language is like a „filter” that organizes the ways we perceive and interpret reality will be developed and argued by Sapir in his studies. We unconsciously project the categories of a language, its default schemas in the field of experience and thus we put order into the world picture. Like languages, „human culture is endowed with an extraordinary suppleness” (Sapir 1967:145), and the diversity of cultures can be understood by analyzing the expressive

relationships between the peoples' linguistic patterns, their ways of thinking and their basic attitudes towards the world. Sapir's ideas, summarized by Steiner, tell us that "the real world" we live in is largely a symbolic construction, built unconsciously upon our linguistic habits, that „the world in which different societies live are distinct worlds" because they speak different languages, that we are „the prisoners" of the language we speak (1983:122). A more radical version of linguistic relativism, and more thoroughly substantiated, on the basis of concrete anthropological researches, was developed by B.L. Whorf who would deserve, according to Steiner, much more interest, and from which we grasp the idea that language maps out the territory of experience and „we dissect nature along the lines drawn by our mother tongue" (1983: 123).

Relativism has thus become a proper conceptual framework for the study of contemporary processes, given the fact that in the globalization context, cultures interact in an intensive way, and the differences among them have become ever more visible. More and more people with different linguistic and cultural equipments inevitably meet and interact, both in the field of practical experiences, and also in the virtual space, built on the support of new communication technologies. In the mosaic-like world of today, which unfolds as a „multicultural bazaar" (Bauman, 2004:115), when we witness the expansion of identity conflicts, having predominantly cultural motivations (be them religious, ethnic, linguistic), the theme of cultural diversity is back on the agenda of social and political thinking. The relativist perspective is necessary because it encourages the tolerance and understanding stands towards different lifestyles. Removing any intolerant attitudes, resizing the relationship between „we and the others" and non - conflictually managing cultural differences are seen to be priority goals. Indeed, this goal we have mentioned sums up the most difficult task of the world today. In a globalized world, it is important for individuals and for societies to learn „to manage diversity more effectively - for this ultimately is the major challenge: *managing cultural diversity*" (UNESCO, 2010:5).

4. THE LANGUAGE ISSUE IN MODERN ROMANIAN CULTURE

In all the approaches regarding the Romanians' national identity, developed either by Romanian

thinkers or by foreign researchers, language takes a prominent place. The reason for this comes from the individuality of the Romanian language and from its singular position in Eastern European geography. Being a language of Latin origin, the Romanian language is strikingly different from the languages around it, which are mainly of Slavic origin or of a non-European nature, such as Hungarian and Turkish. The reflection on language and the growing idea that Romanians speak a language of Western origin, and not of Eastern descent, took a privileged place in the movements of ideas that led to the formation of our national consciousness. Nicolae Olahus is the first Romanian scholar who explicitly stated with solid arguments the Latin origin of the Romanian language and people, in a work written in Latin in 1536. Let us also remember that Olahus was a scholar of European renown, a friend of Erasmus of Rotterdam, who was appointed to high dignities in the Roman Catholic Church, which enabled him to disseminate these ideas in the milieu of Western scholarly culture.

The idea of the Latin origin of the Romanian language grew stronger and stronger as a mark of our national identity, also through the encyclopedic work of Dimitrie Cantemir and the many-sided activity of the scholars who formed the Transylvanian School in the 18th c. A historian and linguist of genius, Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, developed the theory of the „circulation of words", according to which after the value of any linguistic forms is directly proportional to the frequency of its use in the living language of a national community. An encyclopedic personality, a polyglot, with an impressive cultural horizon, Hasdeu foreshadowed the relativistic outlook, on the grounds that language has the capacity to reflect in a holographic way the entirety of social life, all the manifestations that define the lifestyle of a people. „There is nothing more social than language, the strongest knot, if not the foundation of society" (Hasdeu, 1984:8). Hasdeu was animated by the conviction that „every comma in human history has a deep meaning" and that „two - three words in one language can restore a long and obscure phase in national history" (Hasdeu, 1984: 604).

It would be unfair not to mention also Eminescu's ideas on language, summed up in aphoristic formulas, but which have surprisingly current resonances. He believed that the language is „the measure of the civilization of a people", the most profound indicator of its spirituality and identity. Language is the expression of thought and

feeling alike, and therefore, „in his language alone, a man can fully understand his heart” (Eminescu, 1970:127). Another idea voiced by Eminescu, which is to be found in the current theories on language, is contained in the following statement: „We are not the masters of language, instead language is our master” (Mss. 2257). Situated on a „watershed land” between the East and the West, as Blaga would say, the Romanians were receptive to the idea of cultural differences and produced theories and explanatory models in line with the principle of relativism. We note in this context several significant ideas and approaches developed by the Romanian thinkers.

5. RELATIVISTIC APPROACHES DEVELOPED BY ROMANIAN THINKERS

„In every language there is an implicit metaphysics” (Blaga 1977: 180), this is a statement consistent with the theories of linguistic and mental relativism. Lucian Blaga developed a theory of culture in order to explain both the universal and the specific dimension of culture. The symbolic dimension is a universal one, but it is always made manifest in particular stylistic forms, within a „stylistic field” shaped by factors which belong to the collective unconscious of an epoch, society and national community. Linguistic pluralism has also a metaphysical significance, in the sense that all languages and cultures endeavor, with a relative success, to reveal the mystery of the world, a fact which entitles them to exist in their specific forms. A language theorist argues that „national languages should be seen as styles, if we want to rightfully judge their specific character” (Vossler 1972:7). Cultural creations have intrinsically a stylistic seal, they differ and are singled out by a set of stylistic features.

According to Blaga’s theory, the concept of style does not refer only to the formal aspects of the work, instead it aims at content elements, such as spatial and temporal representations, the preference for certain values and certain attitudes toward existence. These various factors form a unitary *stylistic matrix*, which is imprinted into the collective unconscious of all creations within the perimeter of a culture. Interpreting the metaphysical significance of the diversity of human creative forms (languages, styles, outlooks, religions, cultures), Blaga writes that it grants „a meaning, a significance to the very *relativity* of human products and creations. The style cannot be absolute.” (1969:374). Moreover, since all styles

are relative, we cannot conceive of any “superiority of one over another” and the author’s conclusion is that: „From a metaphysical angle, styles are equivalent” (377-378). Obviously, from a metaphysical angle, we can also talk of the „equivalence of cultures”, an idea that Blaga developed in a different theoretical context.

Another author who also directed his research along this line was Mircea Vulc nescu (1904-1952). In his work *The Romanian Dimension of Existence* (1943), Vulc nescu applied to Romanian language a phenomenological and hermeneutical, in an attempt to determine how we understand the world, the fundamental attitudes towards existence and the specific configuration of Romanian spirituality. The methodological value of Vulc nescu’s work and the novelty of his perspective reside in the fact that, in order to decipher and interpret the specific profile of the Romanian spirit, he analyzes the language structures that „preexist the thinkers’ activity” and steer, in a vague and unconscious way, their insight into the world and the lines of thought. Vulc nescu writes that „the material” he will investigate is given by

the configuration of the language and the structure of the expressive symbols with a general circulation in the Romanian people, in other words, the thinking moulds that the words are shaped up (1996:165).

Based on these analyzes of great finesse and depth, Vulc nescu underlined that in Romanian many philosophical categories acquired relatively different meanings from those specific to the Western thinking. It refers to the ideas of existence, essence, space and time, to the specific meanings of the expressions about disjunction and negation, to the relation between real and possible, between necessity and chance. Extremely interesting is the author’s thesis that „at the root of the Romanian conception about the being we find a supremacy of the virtual over the actual” (1996:188), a feature that may be related to the frequency of the verbal forms through which one can speculate on the possible (“what would have been if ...?”).

Constantin Noica (1909-1987) will continue the hermeneutic effort begun by Vulc nescu and will develop a relativistic conception with a solid philosophical foundation. He tried to „extract” from the acknowledged expressions of the Romanian language (some untranslatable) a specific vision of the world. In his conception,

language fulfills a holographic function, since it is „the part” that reflects „the whole”. Noica’s work devoted to this theme opens up with a paradoxical statement: „Only through the words of your tongue can you remember things you have never learned.” (1970: 5). How can we interpret this statement? There are representations, images and meanings that we, as individuals, may not have learned in an explicit way, but learning the language, we implicitly took over the dowry of meanings „stored” in the language. As native users of that language we unknowingly benefit from the thesaurus of meanings that were accumulated in the words and phrases by means of which we call things, facts, events.

By his demarche, Noica endeavors to „unearth” from the language a latent philosophical vision, embarking on an *archeology of meanings* that are “buried” and often „forgotten” in expressions that belong to the archaic and popular treasure-store of Romanian language. To this end, he analyzes the meanings of specific words in the Romanian language, such as: being, disposition, onto, the self, meaning, utterance, creation, embodiment, partying, longing. Some words are roughly equivalent in other languages, but no translations can convey the full semantic weight these words are conveying to a native speaker of Romanian.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In the vast field of the conceptions on language, two paradigms are colliding, the universalistic and the relativist ones. In-between, we find numerous intermediate positions. The paradigm of linguistic relativism, anticipated in the German thinking by Herder and Humboldt, postulates in-depth correlations between the characteristics of a language, the ways of thinking and the world of experience. The assumption of relativism is that thinking is predetermined and foreshadowed by the language we speak.

The relativistic outlook was formulated by the American anthropology in the interwar period and is known as the „Sapri-Worf hypothesis”, after two anthropologists who established the theses that each language is differently mapping out the territory of experience, depending on its specific grammatical patterns, that the speakers of different languages live in „different worlds”. Romanian

Culture, located at the crossroads of multiple influences, favored and produced theories and explanatory models fitting into the horizon of relativism. The Romanian thinkers were receptive to the idea of cultural differences and, as the Romanian language is structurally different from the languages of the neighboring peoples, our national identity was organically linked to language. Lucian Blaga found a synthetic formulation for the principle of relativism: „In any language, there is an implicit metaphysics”

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IDENTITY, POLITICS AND LANGUAGE

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Abstract: *Languages have various phrases, frozen or not, to express identity, whether we speak about national, social, ethnic or professional identity. Those phrases reflect the general opinion and view on events, facts, communities or behaviour which are currently attributed to a certain group of people. Of all marks of national identity, language is the one that can be easily transferred, borrowed or willingly transmitted around for the purpose of reaching several communities and unifying them. Human intelligence and inventiveness have just created the tool to achieve this purpose: mass media. We intend to analyze how two television channels, TV 5 Monde and BBC International, reflect French and British values among French and English speakers around the world throughout their programmes. The two channels have similar contents and they both reflect the way national identity is confronted with international identity. Two programmes are particularly interesting from this point of view, Kiosque, on TV5 Monde and Dateline, on BBC International, because they gather journalists of various nationalities who discuss international issues. The journalists invited as guests on a television programme have a very good knowledge of French and English but they do not give up, forget or deny their national origin. Some of their words or phrases betray their ethnic origin or their national belonging, as well as their political convictions. They are, at the same time, representatives of a nation, but they are also citizens of the world and they are determined to make their voice heard. Their voice and their words are the expression of their identity.*

Keywords: *language, national identity, frozen sequences, mass-media, political environment*

1. INTRODUCTION

Identity represents an invaluable asset for individuals, and, at the same time, for the collectivities they belong to. Many battles have been fought to protect this asset. Military battles but also linguistic confrontations implying words, phrases and discourse have been fought. Identity is sometimes reflected in the exterior aspect of individuals, in some character traits which they either show or hide, according to the situational context. More often than not it is language that reflects or betrays the individual's identity or that of a community. A regional word, a certain pronunciation of a word can direct us to the user's origin, whereas the use of certain idiomatic expressions, frozen sequences or proverbs can say a lot about the user's level of knowledge of a language. Languages have different ways to segment the extra-linguistic world and establish correspondence. The French linguist Jean Dubois (2007) thinks that "la structuration en langue ne recoupe pas la structuration conceptuelle" (language structure does not overlap concepts' structure), an opinion that reinforces the role of language in enhancing someone's identity. Discourse, in its various manifestations (political

discourse, media discourse and parliamentary discourse) is also important in unfolding national, social, ethnic or professional identity. We intend to prove what we have just stated through an analysis of the use of idiomatic expressions, frozen sequences (including proverbs) in media discourse. Our analysis concerns two languages of international circulation, French and English, which are, so to speak, vehicles for the values of Francophone and Anglophone communities.

2. IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE

2.1 National identity. Individuals can claim affiliation to a nationality or a certain nationality is attributed to them according to their mother tongue and to the language register they use: literary language, spoken language, colloquial English or slang. Native speakers frequently use idiomatic expressions or frozen sequences, as other linguists prefer to call them (Anscombe, Mejri, 2011). Whatever name is given to those linguistic sequences, they express the respective individuals' way of seeing and naming reality. Foreign language speakers also use them proving a good level of knowledge of the respective language. By using these idiomatic expressions and frozen

sequences, they identify themselves with the way of thinking and expressing reality of the native speakers. The origin of the frozen sequences is more or less known, they are more or less motivated and more or less transparent in meaning. Thus, no one can guarantee that all Turks are strong, as it appears in the French frozen sequence “fort comme un Turc” (strong as a Turk), neither can we believe that all Polish people are heavy drinkers as we learn from the French frozen sequence “saoul comme un Polonais” (drunk as a Pole, but English people usually say that someone is “an Irish drunk”). We cannot honestly say that English people are ill-bred and yet, French people use the phras “Après vous, Messieurs les Anglais!” (Help yourselves, Englishmen!). There is another phrase in French according to which German people argue about small and unimportant things : ”faire des querelles d’Allemand” (to have a German quarrel). They say about a person who does not speak well French that “il parle le Français comme un Basque espagnol” (he speaks French like a Spanish Basque). On the other hand, English people have their sayings and frozen sequences about other nationalities. Feeling somewhat bitter for being under French kings for many centuries and unable to speak their language correctly they invented the phrase “Pardon my French!” Sometime later, this phrase began to mean also “Pardon my rude language”. Other nations were also perceived with a critical eye, for instance the Turks were considered as being uncontrollable, undisciplined, indomitable, so they say about a person who is unmanageable in a company that “he is a young Turk”. On the other hand, they considered Dutch people straightforward and unequivocal in affairs, but also avaricious, so they have the phrase “to pay Dutch” or “Dutch treat” which indicates that each person participating in eating together in a restaurant will pay for himself. As for the Irish people, if someone is very lucky, he has “the luck of the Irish”. They considered the French ill-bred and unable to take a proper leave, so they say about someone who simply disappears without saying Good bye that he took a “French leave”.

2.2. Ethnic identity. If by ethnicity we mean a group of people’s claim to common ancestry, to common values and cultural heritage, we will be able to understand why groups of persons of the same nationality despise or admire some other group of individuals of a different ethnicity. Perhaps some inhabitants of the French historic province of Brittany falsely claimed to have family

relationship with other people, so in French they say “être cousin à la mode de Bretagne” (to be cousins as people in Brittany are). The inhabitants of another historic province, Gascogne, are reputed to be liars, so they say in French about somebody who does not keep his promise that “il fait une promesse de Gascon” (he makes a Gascon’s promise). As for the inhabitants of Normandy, the general impression was that they are not straightforward in their answers, so their answer is “une réponse de Normand” (a Normand’s answer).

The British have also their way of speaking about human qualities or flaws they see in some inhabitants of their country. As they are reserved and not very talkative when they have not been properly introduced to someone, they use to say that “An Englishman’s home is his castle”. If in a company there are too many white collars and less black collars, they say that there are “too many chiefs and not enough Indians”. They also say about someone who has given something and tries to have it back that he is “an Indian giver”.

2.3. Professional identity. Exercising a trade makes some people develop certain characteristic features, either good or bad, or some habits or quirks which are not usually seen with other categories of people. This is often reflected in language, almost in all natural languages. French people think that chemists are very exact in measuring and quantifying substances for various medicines, so they say about someone who quantifies everything (especially money) with great precision that “il fait des comptes d’apothicaire” (he is making penny-pinching calculations). Chemists are also reputed for their good memory, so someone who remembers everything with great precision has “une mémoire d’apothicaire” (a chemist’s memory). Before the dentists, people had their teeth pulled out by somebody skilled enough to do this and skilled enough to tell lies, so they say in French that someone “ment comme un arracheur de dents” (lies very convincingly and very often). Monks were reputed for their ascetic living, which was not true for all monks, so French people say “l’habit ne fait pas le moine” (the habit does not make the monk). It also seems that monks had strict hours for everything, prayers or meals, and they never failed to follow their daily routine even if the abbot were late. Hence the expression “attendre quelqu’un comme les moines l’abbé” (to start doing something without waiting for the others). Shoe-makers are very good craftsmen but they are not cultivated, so in French they say “il ne faut pas

parler latin devant les Cordeliers” (yo do not speak Latin in front of a shoe-maker) when what you say is completely unintelligible and puzzling to someone. French people had great admiration for writers especially the talented ones and they say about such a person that “il a une plume d’ange” (he writes like an angel). As angels seemed to have all the qualities in the world, being perfect and pure, their qualities were also perfect and pure. Someone may have “une patience d’ange” (be very patient); he may work as an angel (“travailler comme un ange”); someone may sleep quietly, undisturbed by any thoughts (il dort comme un ange).

English people have their own opinion on some occupations and on the required qualities to be good at them. Someone who performs great and loyal service does “a yeoman’s service”. Some other trades are not so praised as they develop bad habits, as it is the case for sailors or soldiers, who often use coarse language. It is said that someone swears like a sailor/trooper. For the French people, the prototype of curses and rude language user is the coachman, so they say “jurer comme un charretier”. The persons who were hatters by trade turned mad because of the use of mercury, so they say in English that someone is “as mad as a hatter”. Someone who is in the habit of talking too much and giving unwanted advice is “a backseat driver”. Someone who is clumsy and causes damage, loss or injury is “like a bull in a China shop”.

3. IDENTITY, MEDIA AND POLITICS

3.1 Identity and media. As a consequence of historic and politic evolution, the world is divided in some cultural areas, usually based on sharing a common language and common values. Two such areas are the Francophone and the Anglophone ones, although as far as the Anglophone zone is concerned, we usually speak of Commonwealth or of the Commonwealth of Nations. The countries belonging to the Commonwealth are, obviously, territories belonging to the former British Empire. As for the Francophone area, it is considered to be rather a concept than a space (Baneth-Nouailhetas, 2010, 73-94) and this concept covers several realities: all the French speaking people, scattered on several continents, all the State-nations sharing linguistic and civilization ties.

At a closer look, we could find another difference between Francophonie and Commonwealth: the head of the Commonwealth of

Nations is her majesty, the queen of England, whereas the Francophone community (or area) elect periodically a Secretary-general of La Francophonie. However, a great many countries members of La Francophonie are former territories that used to be part of the French colonial empire. However, it would be a mistake to consider that the two organizations are a continuation of the colonial past of either France or Great Britain. Both countries found various ways to maintain the linguistic and cultural unity between the respective communities and to spread the commonly shared values. They organize conferences, cultural or sports events, summits and they try to enhance their common values.

Taking into account these two communities and other communities based on other values or criteria, we can consider that each and every citizen is a world citizen, since any event happening in a part of the world has some influence on every member of the world population.

We must state that the most usual language used in international organizations and in various fields of human activity is English. We must also state that the variety of English spoken around the world is not the most correct one, which lead to the creation of the blended term “globish” for that variety of English spoken by non-native people who are not so respectful of the English language rules. French, whether spoken by natives or non-natives, is also invaded by a lot of foreign words, most of them of Anglo-American origin. The French linguist R. Etiemble (1991) started to circulate the term of “franglais”, which, as well as “globish” is not flattering at all.

Nevertheless, French and English, as languages, as well as the values attached to the two communities, la Francophonie and the Commonwealth, are largely circulated around the world trough two television channels, TV5 Monde and BBC International. These two channels try to keep and circulate the most correct form of French or English, respectively and they also try to integrate the two communities or areas into the political and economic life. Globalization affects any of us, so we must keep up with all the events.

This activity is best represented by two programmes having a similar content, Kiosque (on TV5 Monde) and Dateline London (on BBC International). The two programmes focus on international politics, on events having taken place recently in the world but also in France or Great Britain. The events are debated by foreign

journalists based either in Paris or London, having as a moderator a French, respectively an English journalist specialized in international politics. The journalists invited as guests are not necessarily from the Francophone or Commonwealth area. As for the topics discussed, we could notice a special interest in the events taking place in the specified areas.

3.2 Identity, politics and media. Usually, there are four journalists invited as guests. They have a good level of knowledge of the respective foreign language, French or English, they are well informed about international politics, as this is their trade, and they behave in a very professional way, as this is part of their training. The talks are quite animated, since each journalist is invited to express his/her point of view in connection with some recent political major events. According to the part of the world they come from, they express more or less freely their personal opinions or judgments. Sometimes, for various reasons, they express the official opinion of the politicians in their own country. We must also notice that, more often than not, they cannot prevent themselves from taking sides, from being critical or sympathetic towards a political personality or towards his/her actions. Most of the time, their attitude and their words are a reflection of their national identity. Let us consider the programme of *Kiosque* from the 15th of February, 2015 (see <http://www.tv5monde.com/cms/chaine-francophone/>). The invited journalists came from countries which were directly concerned by, if not involved, in recent political events. The date of the programme is quite important, because it came after the signing of the second Minsk Agreement. The French moderator was somewhat worried, expressing in her words the general opinion of the Western states. The Russian journalist invited for the occasion, Vadim Glusker, proved himself to be a successful diplomat by the use of an argumentative strategy. He uses rhetoric interrogation as well as argumentative scale (Anscombe, Ducrot, 1997:51-78, 115-136) to convince his fellow journalists and the general public that the country he represents has nothing to do with that conflict and that Russia has no interest at all in Crimea. He is a good Russian on one hand, and a good journalist, on the other hand, because he represents a private Russian channel and he wants to appear at his best, promoting an image of a pacific Vladimir Putin and an image of himself as a passionate and professional journalist. He was neither confrontational nor defensive. In protecting his

own professional identity and his nationality, he showed a lot of diplomacy. He was less kind, understanding or protective towards his fellow citizens, the Russians, when the topic was HSBC and the hidden funds of many Russian citizens. In this case, no one was giving names, so it was quite safe for him to express criticism and to be ironic. The other journalists invited to the programme are of French, respectively of Belgian origin, so they represent the Francophone zone. Since in the case of this specific matter, of the Ukraine conflict, Francophones and Anglophones shared the same opinion, we may say that the French journalist and the Belgian one acted and spoke as citizens of the Western world, concerned about the conflict. The French journalist, Bernard Guetta, was not at all condescending, using words such “Putin a empoché ou, enfin, réempoche la Crimée” (Putin grabbed or grabbed again Crimea). The Belgian journalist chose another strategy to express his personal opinion and that of the other side, so to speak, by using a very professional and civilized language and presenting facts he himself witnessed, as he had covered some of the events for his Belgian newspaper. The two Western journalists proved to be very professional and they both behaved, each of them in his personal manner, like citizens of the world, concerned about political events happening around them. From the point of view of the exercise of their profession, people could see professional journalists at work. From the point of view of the cultural areas the difference between the two sides was more than obvious: East opposed to the West, as in a good old fashion cold war.

In *Dateline London*, on the 4th of April 2015, the topic was of general interest and with important consequences for all the countries in the world. The date is also important because it marked the nuclear agreement between some of the Western countries and the United States with Iran. It seemed but natural to invite an Iranian guest. The other topics covered the situation in Yemen and, as usual, a problem concerning home affairs in Great Britain, the General Elections for the future Prime-Minister. The other guests were a French-Algerian journalist, Nabila Ramdani and an American journalist, Jeffrey Kozman. All the guests were introduced as being “a writer and publisher” or “a writer and broadcaster”, so that we understand that they have a great experience in their profession and they are entitled to a point of view, either personal or professional, or the one of a national community. The first to state his national identity

was the Persian writer, Amir Taheri. When the moderator introduced the first topic, the Persian writer immediately took the floor. His language was not at all the most representative sample of literary language: "Agreement? What agreement? There is no agreement at all. There are several texts which are different from one another. No one says who did what". Except for the intonation, there is nothing wrong with this statement. The intonation expresses some irritation of an individual of Persian nationality who can, in his own name, express an opinion which could not have been expressed by a politician, especially those taking part in the talks in Geneva. The Persian writer's irritation is perhaps the same as the one of any Iranian politicians' as a consequence of being required to do something they are reluctant to in their home affairs. The requests of the participants at the talks in Geneva could have been perceived as an interference in home affairs, which could explain the Persian writer's irritation. In order to show that his means of expression are wider, he also uses irony: "In Persian we have seven words for agreement, so who knows?" Later he continues using irony, combined with some colloquial words: "I can't even call it a deal. It's a hotch-potch!". We could call it national identity at its highest peak. The other guests try to be moderate in their statements and to express in a politically correct language the opinion of the Western countries and of the United States. The American Jeffrey Kozman speaks about "old fashion diplomacy", while the French-Algerian Nabila Ramdani tries to put things into international perspective and even quotes the American president Obama who considered the talks "a historic moment". She appears as an objective journalist and a political analyst, capable of being impartial, as any professional journalist should be. The Persian writer and publisher Amir Taheri goes on being ironic and even rude in his words: "Somebody is lying to somebody. There is no doubt about it." Through their discourse, the other journalists represent the other side, the Western countries and the United States, behaving in a professional and diplomatic way, but keeping to a much more condescending attitude. When the moderator changes the topic and speaks about the General Elections in Great Britain, the Iranian writer does not seem to be very interested, even if he belongs to one of the territories that once were under British influence. Or perhaps just because of that. He becomes again interested when the talk is about the situation in Yemen. Again he proves the

same directness, saying what a Christian or a Western politician would not have said. Speaking about the crimes perpetrated by the Islamic State and other terrorist groups, he summarizes the situation in very rough terms: "Nobody is safe anywhere unless he or she lives under Islamic rules. The good Muslims are us (The Islamic State) the others are bad Muslims." By saying this, he also reveals his religious identity. The western journalists used a discourse closer to the politically correct one. First of all because they represented the Western community and then because they were aware of the fact that their words were perceived as "the response of the western countries" and they did not intend to be provocative.

As we can easily see, the talks in the programmes we are interested in turn around recent political events and it is natural to see and to hear the opinions of journalists representing the concerned countries. Nevertheless, there are some events of general interest, such as the International Women's Day. It was on the 8th of March 2015 that Kiosque (TV5 Monde) had only women as guests, marking the importance of this day which is highly appreciated by some and harshly criticized by others. Given the occasion, the journalists had the opportunity to express their opinion on the respective day and on women's value recognition. The African journalist Fatou Biramah, working for Afrique no 1, had the courage to say what the other journalists invited would not have said: "J'ai honte de ce jour-là" (I am ashamed of that day.) She expressed her irritation because she thinks that this day is not meant to celebrate women but to humiliate them. This was her opinion and this is how she meant to express her identity as a woman. The other journalists, one from Denmark, the other from Chili and another from France, were rather inclined to be satisfied for being celebrated, but they were not very enthusiastic either. They tried to be more reserved in expressing their point of view and they turn to a strategy: they spoke about women's role in society and about the rate of women's appreciation in statistics. The next topic of the programme was the murderous attack that took place in Bamako, Mali, that cost the life of several western citizens. The French journalist spoke with national pride about the exploits of the French army on Mali's soil and she underlined the importance of the French military intervention in reinstating order in Mali. Taking into account that Mali is an African state, that for many decades it

was part of the French colonial empire, we can easily understand the reaction of the African journalist. Her abrupt reaction did not surprise the other invited women journalists since she had already been introduced as a voice of radio Africa, well-known for her massive arguments. She was not a Mali national, still she was a national of one of the former colonies and her harsh words were the expression of some feelings that cannot be repressed. She used colloquial language (although she could have chosen another language register), so we suppose that she intended her words to be offensive. She did not take the trouble to think to some kind of explaining, she just said: “Je pense que la France doit arrêter de penser qu’elle est le reine, qu’on est le roi du monde et qu’on peut faire n’importe quoi n’importe où sur le globe!” (I think that France should stop thinking that it is the queen, that it is the king of the world and it can do whatever it wants wherever on the globe!) These are very strong words and they are usually heard from nationals belonging to former colonies of one of the colonial empires. They are meant to define the personality and, at the same time, the identity of a woman with a strong character who is not afraid to speak her own mind, even if what she says is not politically correct.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Identity is a complex concept and it is, generally speaking, revealed by individuals through language, behaviour or even clothes. Identity is strongly influenced by social, historic and economic reality. It would be interesting to establish with every individual if he or she has only one identity or whether his/her identity is made up of several sub – categories of identity. In our opinion, someone’s identity is constantly

influenced by external factors, but it cannot change very much. If we consider identity as a whole entity, we think that some proportions might vary, some other proportions might diminish and other may increase.

Identity is best expressed through language and that is why, most of the times, individuals’ identity is analyzed according to the language he uses.

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EXPO 2015.

FOOD AND DIALOGUE BETWEEN CULTURES: TOWARDS A NEW VISION OF NUTRITION, PLANET EARTH AND THE HUMAN BEING

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Abstract: *The relationship with food has always structured the relationship of man with the world. Food is the mediator of relationships, intertwining traditions, culture of dialogue; it is a factor that calls for occasions of brotherhood and solidarity, powers of human sustainability and of the planet. To promote paths and moments of dialogue among peoples in view of a shared food culture and to be attentive to the values of nature and sustainability may allow you to successfully address the food crises of our century. The Universal Exposition of Milan represents a unique opportunity to reflect and build intercultural and interdisciplinary training programs which can generate a human community where sustainable lifestyles, economy, infrastructure and technologies do not interfere with the inherent ability of nature to sustain life.*

Keywords: *nutritional education, universal exposition, intercultural, sustainability*

1. INTRODUCTION

The capacity of the future of all living beings is deeply linked to the culture of existing life, built and transmitted through the educational processes. Educational commitment requires, more than ever, particular widespread attention for food, intended both as education and how to eat properly to avoid waste. In a world in which the plight of hunger is increasingly present, reflecting on food becomes important for pedagogy and educational sciences, calling for the challenges of sustainability and complexity, as well as an unwavering commitment to building a collective consciousness based on the principles of justice and equity. The event of EXPO, from the title *Nourish the Planet, Energy for Life*, invites us to think precisely about these big issues. The possibility that these problems are faced depends on the interest of global society to ensure that every man can fully fulfill himself, only in this case, by rediscovering the central role of the person, can we make sure that sustainable development, and its food issues, become part of integral human development.

2. FOOD AND CULTURE: BETWEEN DIALOGUE AND POWER

Food is the only daily thing which man cannot possibly do without: without food man cannot survive. It is also an instrument of social and

cultural identity and, therefore, an opportunity for dialogue and peace in festivities, when different civilizations and cultures have occasion of being together. Power is seen as one of the most important elements to define ideological barriers, policies or to create connections, to build intercultural dynamics: food is, not surprisingly, a mechanism that reveals ethnic, cultural, and social identities (Scholliers, 2001). It is a vehicle for self-representation (Neresini, Rettore, 2008:114) and cultural exchange: the food system feeds on tradition and represents the most immediate way to get in touch with other cultures. One example is the

contamination between different cultures which took place during the European Middle Ages. At that time, in fact, contamination between Roman culture and the barbaric combines the consumption of bread, wine and oil with meat and animal fats (Barilla Center Food and Nutrition, 2012 :18).

The discovery of fire and with it the ability to transform nature resulted in enormous progressive cultural developments, especially in the field of nutrition, so much so that Levi Strauss states that cooking food with fire was the invention that made humans more human (Levi Strauss, 2008). The shift from food eaten raw to cooked food was a starting point for the development of human society and, within it, of the many cultures that characterize it.

Over time and with the prevalence of the processes and needs related to the markets, the relationship that man has established with food has changed considerably, from good food (Levi Strauss, 2008) to eat (rich in nutritive principles), to thinking (attractive for a date culture) and to cultivate (able to take into account the limits of the earth and its ability to reproduce) to good food to sell (Birbes, 2012:19-20), which is merchandise, undermining the local equilibrium since it is no longer fresh, seasonal, linked to the territory, to its culture or linked to economic interests: the

good food to sell eventually affects the good thoughts, that is [...] about our value system. Since such ambiguity must move towards an education in food (Birbes, 2012:20).

Today we are aware of a need for more and more widespread authenticity which binds to the discovery of sustainability in all its forms (environmental, social, economic, institutional) and that calls into question the food industry to assume new responsibilities. Precisely for this reason it is necessary to redirect the future of food (Barilla Center Food and Nutrition, 2012:31):

- Valuing conviviality. Ours is a time of poor relations, where food can become an opportunity to meet. It is therefore appropriate to enhance the social dimension that characterizes the moments in which it is consumed.

- Protecting the variety of local regions. Since expression of the identity of a community, food is the possibility of both continuous rediscovery of traditions and of relationships with other cultures. For this to happen it is necessary to preserve the richness of identity, without the sacrifice of taste contamination.

- By transferring knowledge and know-how in the fields of cultural wealth. This wealth is given both at the moment in which food is prepared and at the time when it is consumed and requires good skills which they are passed on and transferred in time.

- Focusing on the ingredients. The relationship between food quality and quality of the cultural experience is very strong. We can really promote the excellence of the ingredients, especially in their relationship with the region.

- Recuperating the value of food as a means of fruitful relationships between the generations. Across the table and by sharing food it is possible to educate the sharing of goods and affections. This is one of the aspects that must be recovered as part of the reconstruction of a social fabric that modernity has weakened.

- Recovering ancient flavours that can be reinvented with contemporary taste. This is one of the main ways of communicating the phenomena of a cultural nature.

- Spreading the culture of taste and the art of living through authentic food. Food does not only refer to protein, carbohydrates and other nutrients, but to all those values, those symbols, those situations that allow, through it, to know the world and to experience other cultures.

Eating habits reveal characters and cultural values: the man is what he eats, but it is also conceivable that which we eat is, that is, we are nourished by foods filled with culture. It is the food itself that speaks: of beliefs, history, geography, traditions and exchanges between the peoples of the world, of social rank. The food "speaks" which communicates customs and people (Birbes, 2012:33).

3. FOOD AND CULTURE: REFLECTIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR EDUCATIONAL INTERVENTION

Nutrition education, with its attention to biodiversity, to the rhythms of nature and seasonality, involves and implicates different educational agencies (from the family to school, from health care to all those institutions that deal with environmental education) and looks at social issues such as citizenship and citizen solidarity. It takes a multidisciplinary perspective, it cuts across the school curriculum and promotes, through direct experience, with the assumption of conscious behaviour and responsibility towards the environment, the community and of each person:

sustaining a culture of hope, consistency and commitment, care and creativity will be the educational challenge for a renewed moderation of the use and consumption of goods, for true sustainability as a responsibility within and between generations (Birbes, 2012:33).

The recorded spread of eating disorders invites schools to build pathways to nutrition education which can promote a healthy relationship with food. The 'Guidelines for nutrition education in the Italian schools' (Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca, 2011) represents a clear framework for the practice of nutrition education in the classroom, to be structured in partnership with families and local agencies, it calls to "establish an educational system that has the promotion of the common welfare as its objective." (Donegani, 2013:33-34).

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Issued by the Ministry of Education in 2011, these guidelines indicate methodological aspects for the organization of curriculum and teaching activities and recognize five areas of key content:

1. The senses are essential for the assessment of food both in taste, in quality and safety;
2. Nutrition, understood as attention to nutritional values and needs and lifestyles;
3. The food product sector, or knowledge of food, which raw materials they contain, how they are processed and how the food is prepared and distributed for a greater awareness.
4. Hygiene and safety, giving importance to proper food handling and correct storage.
5. The culture of food, which coincides with the gastronomic traditions, the ways in which foods are consumed, eating habits, rituals, regional management, catering, intercultural.

The Guidelines give four focuses, a hypothetical path of nutrition education to be implemented in schools, in line with the psychological and experiential development pace of the individual:

- Me, the food on my plate and my body, that is the food that I am eating;
- Me, the food in my day, school and family, or the time, the rules and moments of eating, socializing;
- Me, the food, the season the friends and the area I live in, or the moments and times of consumption, places of food and eating habits, behavior and ethics;
- Me, the food and the company, in the world and in time, i.e. the intercultural dimension linked to food.

The achievement of the desired educational goals is dependent on the support of school leaders sensitive to the issue of trained and motivated teachers, with joint efforts from the educational institution, the healthcare sector and households in view of an integrated training system (Frabboni, 1991).

On 28 April 2015, on the eve of the inauguration of the Universal Exhibition in Milan, members of the research community, civil society, food production approved the 'Charter of Milan' (Carta di Milano, 2015) considered the most important intangible legacy of EXPO 2015. That document emphasizes the importance of proper nutrition education from childhood, as essential for the acquisition of a healthy lifestyle and to help improve the quality of life. The paper proposes a number of commitments which as citizens, civil society, the business world and politics it is necessary to make.

As regards the field of education, in particular, it stresses the need to:

- Promote food and environmental education in the family environment for the growth of awareness of new generations;
- Support and promote a culture of healthy eating as an instrument of global health;
- Increase resources for research, the transfer of its results, training and communication;
- Introduce or reinforce, nutrition education, physical and environmental health in schools and school lunch programs and as instruments of prevention, emphasizing in particular the knowledge and exchange of different food cultures.

Nutrition education is an educational crisis today especially when you consider that more than eight hundred million people worldwide suffer from hunger: this is an emergency that calls into question not the amount of food produced (definitely enough to feed the population of the planet) but consumer choices, the buying behaviour and daily food consumption.

Amongst ecological expertise today it appears ever more urgent to develop the food industry not only as a choice of food, but also as the ability to grasp the meaning of social ethics. It assumes a more pronounced value to the extent that they offer an educational path designed, shared and communicated to network with organizations in the area, including through the use of new technologies and multimedia, with the view of a correct and successful integration of formal, non-formal and informal education.

4. EXPO 2015, THE PROTOCOL AND THE CHARTER OF MILAN FOR A RENEWED IDEA OF EATING, FOOD AND EDUCATION

The EXPO is a global event, the largest meeting place in the world to meet and invites us to reflect on the country, the private sector, civil society and public opinion worldwide. According to the provisions of Art. 1 of the Paris Convention of 1928 of the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), an exhibition is an event that has any capacity, which has as its main purpose to educate the public. The theme that accompanies the Universal Exhibition of Milan is human nutrition through an interdisciplinary course that involves the economy, education, history, environmental science, cultural heritage and food and wine, anthropology, agricultural science, medicine, technology, and focuses on: science and technology for food security; science and

technology for agriculture and biodiversity; innovation in the food industry; nutrition education; nutrition and lifestyles; food and culture; co-operation and development in nutrition.

The programmatic theme of Expo, Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life, invites the education to activate thought processes surrounding areas of specific interest, which arise, now more than ever, as essential issues: in addition to food and human nutrition, looking at energy and sustainability, the common good and solidarity, lifestyles, quality and food safety. These are

perspectives of discussion where guidance and training are of great importance, which represent the real wealth of nations. (Malavasi, 2013:86)

The Universal Exposition of Milan can represent, then, an opportunity to offer the pedagogical world to question and build educational programs around sustainability, in view of the construction of the fertile city,

which is a brand new way of understanding cooperation at local and international, development policies and sustainability, the sign of a virtuous relationship between the people and the resources of creation (Malavasi, 2013:105),

where the joint effort aims to create goods and services have the capacity to focus on the person and the environment, respect for legality and the characteristics of the region.

This event can also be the source of educational courses in politics, in lifelong and lifewide perspectives, through the considerable opportunities of participatory planning that will accompany the World Expo since its opening to its closing (May 1, 2015 - October 31, 2015): Expo is an opportunity, finally, to educate the exercise of the right of world citizenship, inviting each person to rediscover the sense and meaning of their personal and collective responsibility, to understand what contribution each can give to the integrated management of natural resources, to pay attention to the living conditions and nutrition of other living beings (humans but not exclusively), to recognize virtues and vices of development, technology, innovation.

The possibility that EXPO can really achieve the goals, especially educationally, pursued is expressed to the extent that participating countries are widely involved through projects, paths, initiatives, events related to the themes of the exhibition in Milan. In particular role of the school is crucial, through which the participation and

involvement of students, teachers and families is possible and who are invited to reflect and face the challenge in order to positively build and improve the Society and the field of reference:

The central position adopted by EXPO 2015 and the nutritional themes urges, even in schools, the promotion of specific professional skills to govern change and manage innovative processes. The decisive factor is the aim of sharing good practice of sustainability by rediscovering the link with food and the proposed initiatives involving the region in adopting lifestyles respectful to the people and the environment. (Bornatici, 2013:86).

EXPO invites promotion of food culture through a systemic approach, attention to products and people, but also to established relationships between one another: the school is

the social institution that can perform the task to drive the process of recovery before anything else and an emotional and cultural exploration of food heritage of our country. (Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Universita' e della Ricerca, 2015).

As part of EXPO 2015, the objectives of nutrition education in the school are (Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Universita' e della Ricerca, 2015):

- To encourage awareness of the importance of food-health relationship in order to allow the development of a personal and collective consciousness;
- To promote the knowledge of the food system by understanding the relationships between production systems and distribution systems;
- To promote a concept of overall quality of food to complement the ethical issues of food safety, sustainability and seasonality of food, intercultural and regionalism;
- Promote the transversality of nutritional education;
- To promote the adoption of healthy eating habits, through the use of innovative teaching methods and assuring respect for the environment, the law, ethical principles, tradition and culture of the area.

The revolutionary impact of EXPO 2015 is not so much interested becoming memorable for the legacy of new vertical monuments, but for the potential intangible heritage that can result from the Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life theme. This intangible heritage, embodied in the widespread awareness on the subject as a result of implemented educational processes, is guaranteed by the contributions that the participants bring to Milan,

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because it is from this kind of participation - in content and visions of the world - that a message will descend and a meaning that will remain in time. (Comitato per EXPO, 2012).

Clear expression of the commitment to ensure that this legacy is translated into something concrete is the Protocol of Milan which was created with the intention of making it clear and known objective that the world cannot have no respect towards food.

The Exhibition of Milan is one of the most delicious occasions to put at the centre of the politicians and decision makers' agendas the great food challenge of this historical period and that which the Protocol of Milan intends to deal with through the pursuit of three objectives: the fight against hunger and obesity, promoting healthy lifestyles from childhood; promotion of sustainable agriculture and the fight against financial speculation on food commodities; combating food waste, in the North and South of the planet, from the field to the table.

The achievement of the objectives of the Protocol of Milan is possible through the implementation of projects that propose new forms of nutritional education and training and sustainable production of food resources. A major role can be played by digital technologies and the internet

Apps designed to raise awareness of what people eat or to learn how to cook healthily and sustainably. Technologies to interact and make household appliances more efficient, or to collect important data about the land on which it is cultivated. Digital platforms are also assigned the task of gathering knowledge and practices, transforming them into stories and experiences that are capable of changing the patterns of consumption and communication between people. (Barilla Center Food and Nutrition, 2015:12-14)

In the Protocol of Milan education it is considered a fundamental weapon to win the battle against food waste: the chance to fight incorrect lifestyles by structuring training which can promote new forms of management of food and environmental resources, so as to promote the development of sustainable behaviour, desirable and accessible to all.

5. CONCLUSION

To implement measures to limit food waste would mean to commit to the implementation of

political reforms, but also to promote training courses for the development of a social and environmental conscience.

Teaching, responsible for promoting processes of education to change lifelong and lifewide perspectives, we cannot escape from the identification of the tools necessary to understand the here and now and plan for the future.

We must turn to the future without projecting our illusions, create hypotheses to test their validity, learn to gradually and cautiously shift the frontiers of the unknown: this is what science teaches us, that is what every educational program should promote and which should inspire political reflection. (Augè, 2012:106)

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THE CENTRALITY OF LANGUAGE IN THE INTERCULTURAL INTEGRATION PROCESS

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Abstract: *Language can undoubtedly be considered a "cultural universal" in the sense that it is an element of the culture of each company known: its universality, and its nature is radically different from that of any other type of communication that exists between animals, to suggest anthropologists that the very use of language is one of the key features that differentiate humans from other living beings. The linguist and American anthropologist Edward Sapir gave this definition of the nature of language: "language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires through a system of voluntarily produced symbols." The derivation of individual dignity from the dignity of a community, of a group and its culture, it would seem inevitably reflect, at least conceptually, the contribution to the individual, to be part of that community, identity and individuality itself. Although in correlation with its broad interpretation to the regions and with the statements of the art.2 Const., The "Republic" art. 9 was sometimes considered expressive of a pluralism of cultural identities "Elevating a fundamental principle of" the protection of linguistic minorities, provided by art. 6 Const., Does not seem to have administered the constitutionalization of a pluralistic nation, a nation of nations. Not only because, often accentuated, in the theories of linguistic and cultural pluralism, the rule of connecting the protection of linguistic minorities with freedom of expression, could recur mentioned the issue of reducing the protection to exclusive freedom of linguistic expression, but because, in the course of the preparatory work of the Constituent Assembly, was expunged the word "ethnic" that, in the original proposal submitted to the Commission of 75, had accompanied the "linguistic minorities", with a choice that, although it is not specifically motivated seemed to have been determined by the need to "limit the protection to minority linguistic and cultural aspect", excluding any reference to nationality, considered more closely reconnected adjective "ethnic".*

Keywords: *community, intercultural context, communication*

1. INTRODUCTION

Instead of analysing the values of each culture in their specific context and accepting a pluralism of civilizations, each characterized by an organic unity completely integrated through the different forms of institution-building processes, directly linked to the ideological and emotional substrate, something that makes every culture a concrete embodiment of the ideal towards which every society strives, albeit achieved in accordance with concrete historical circumstances, for a very long time societies have been fraught with prejudices and stereotypes spawned from their own inner cultures which have paved the way to the affirmation of the superiority of only one particular system of thought, of a lifestyle or a religion over all the others.

The behavioural patterns conveyed by our culture from one generation to the next, makes us build referential schemes that encompass social norms, trends, beliefs, conceptions, values and

customs which form the basis of our decision-making that leads to action. Sometimes, all this prevents the individual, bearer of a microculture, from reaching out more widely and interacting with others because of the alleged superiority or inferiority of his/her own culture or only because of the lack of common points of reference, as often happens with immigrants who adopt self-marginalization strategies in order to staunchly defend their culture of origin or even strip themselves of every trait of their autochthonous culture, thus giving up their historical identity.

Applying the tenets of a hardcore ethnocentrism, those societies that are more directly affected by the phenomenon of immigration, have implemented in the past the strategy of compensatory pedagogy in order to eradicate the cultural models proper of the home societies of the families of youths and children, without even trying to understand the values those individuals bear, which allow them, as it is with anyone, to express their individuality to the fullest.

Other countries characterized by a more complex culture have, on the other hand, come to accept the possibility of a cultural pluralism without demanding full integration, allowing within the common boundaries of tolerance a different way to live values, as they acknowledge that even within the same population a trend towards cultural homogenisation, as strong as it can be, still leaves individuals enough margin for their own choices.

2. THE CENTRALITY OF LANGUAGE WITHIN HUMAN ACTIVITIES

The obligation to respect the fundamental rights of human beings, which today is taking hold within the national legal and political system, as well as in the framework of international relations, has become the linchpin of the humanocentric revolution also because it affects school and extracurricular education and human rights (see Spinelli, 1991; Bosna, 1993; Ifsol, 1994; Orefice, 1997; Sirna Terranova, 1997; Belpiede, 2002; Castiglioni, 2002; Demetrio & Favaro, 2002; Fadda, 2002; Andolfi, 2003; Moro, 2003 etc.). In this system, whose very core is represented by the individual and his inalienable rights, the mother language takes on a fundamental significance, alongside religion, artistic heritage and traditions.

Therefore we're going to talk about the cultural identity as the driving force behind that social interaction whose vehicle cannot but be the language, a "cultural universal" that represents an element of the culture of every known society. Its universality, and its nature profoundly different from whatever form of communication that exists among animals, has brought anthropologists to the conclusion that one of the fundamental characteristics that set humans apart from other living beings is precisely the use of language. The American linguist and anthropologist Edward Sapir (1921) has given the following definition on the nature of language:

Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols.

First of all, this definition highlights the symbolic nature of language: it can be defined as a system of symbols through which experiential data is categorized and communicated within a certain society or social group. The bond between vocal symbols (and their graphic representation, i.e. the writing) and the "objects" they refer to is obviously arbitrary, in the way that there is no "necessary" or

"natural" relationship that binds the meanings with the verbal meanings that represent them. Ultimately, the verbal language is a "code", meaning it is a system made up of symbols, of the rules that combine and organize them and the rules of correspondence between these and the meanings. Another key element of the anthropological approach to language problems consists of the fact that the ability to communicate by means of a language is not instinctive, but is the result of a learning process. From a biological point of view human beings are born equipped with a series of organs, as mentioned by Sapir, which represent the "predisposition" factor of individuals to speak, although they become able to generate meaningful symbols only after a long cultural learning process. The centrality of language in the cultural transmission process, and its double significance of both "instrument" and "object" essential for the enculturation process, are clearly expressed by Linton (1945:32):

Language is an acquired and transferred form of behaviour and the individual has to learn it just like it does with all the other elements of the culture he is part of; however, it is one of the first elements to be learned and, once acquired, becomes in itself a key to unlock the entire cultural world.

The Italian anthropologist Carlo Tullio-Altan has brought into focus the important role that language plays in the anthropological studies, highlighting in particular some of the language functions in the context of cultural processes. According to Tullio-Altan (1983), language constitutes the fundamental system of symbols of human groups through which the system of values of a given society can be transmitted and organized in a coherent and uniform way. These basic characteristics of language entail other important functions:

a) It allows the communication of messages among individuals, language forms the nexus through which a human group is bound together, and is also the instrument that enables the organization of common activities as well as the transmission of culture from one generation to the next;

b) language plays a fundamental role in the formation of the personality of individuals.

A more specific sociolinguistic perspective offers, on the other hand, the broad empiric research of Basil Bernstein (1971) on the relation between symbolic systems and social structure. Although Bernstein envisages a dialectical relationship between social structure and language,

asserting that the linguistic forms can become relatively independent and modify the social structure by which they have been generated, even if they are originally linked to a given social order, he nonetheless focuses his attention on the societies and the social relations as generators of sociolinguistic codes. Bernstein's theory is based on the concept of "sociolinguistic code" viewed as a set of rules that govern the linguistic options of speakers when making a choice about lexical and syntactic alternatives with regard to the organization of the units of speech. In modern industrial societies, of which Bernstein speaks, exist two fundamental types of sociolinguistic codes: a "restricted code" characterized by a high degree of predictability of the linguistic options as its use is based on a set of knowledge and values which are deeply rooted in the social group, something that greatly reduces the need of the speaker to verbally explicate his intentions; the "elaborated code", which allows a much broader range of linguistic options, is characterized by a highly elaborated and complex verbal production able to express individuality and difference, leaving little to no room for what is implied or taken for granted. The use of one code or the other is not related to the ability of the individual speaker, but is the consequence of a different structure of social relations within which the child's primary socialization and the social distribution of knowledge linked to the concept of class society occurred.

3. LANGUAGE REFLECTED IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS

The right to a cultural identity reflected in the choice of the language is guaranteed by many international legal codes on human rights (see Gruppo di lavoro, 1991; Chiarelli, 2010; Vera Feloro, 2014). The almost six thousand existent languages form a coherent system of values which accurately reflect the cultural diversity of humanity preserved and promoted on a national and international level. The *Charter of the United Nations* (1945) affirms the faith in the fundamental human rights, the dignity and value of the human being, the equal rights for men and women and, consequently, the right to a cultural identity. The protection of the mother language is thus implicitly recognized. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), Article 2 (1) clearly sets out that human rights are guaranteed by the law, and so is the right to a cultural identity, indispensable if we

want to avoid revolt as people's last resort against tyranny and oppression. Article 2 (2) provides that human rights apply to every person, regardless, among others, of the language. There are objective moral norms according to which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is applicable regardless of the individual's origins, language, colour of skin, religion or any other element that defines his/her culture. If we come to recognize and accept the ideal possibility of a cultural pluralism, however independent from historical realizations, which makes us realize the changeability of man in time and space, then the acculturation process, acknowledging differences, must adopt appropriate strategies for overcoming them without deeming them as inferior, but viewing them as an objective value, a sort of amniotic fluid in which the life of the mind can easily thrive.

The International *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989), Art. 29 (1) (b) (c), sets out that the child's education process must instil the respect for the parents, and in this new dimension of a common European culture and civilization, all this can and should take place in and through the school, a flexible and stimulating institution whose role is the transmission and the elaboration of culture through pragmatic strategies that lead to the conscious acquisition of that European culture in which we have been immersed for a very long time (e.g. music, painting, literature, technology etc.), often without being aware of it.

Education must also instil in the child the respect for the human rights and the fundamental freedoms, as well as for the principles laid down in the *Charter of the United Nations* (1945). School education is a subject of capital importance for UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. It is essential for the use of the mother tongue to be encouraged by the school education systems from an early age.

Recent studies clearly show how the teaching of the mother language alongside the official national language help children to perform better at school and stimulates their cognitive development and their study skills. The protection of the mother language is expressively enshrined in the Constitution of the Italian Republic (2003) and its fundamental rights, namely those principles and guidelines by which the Italian legal, political and social order must abide. In fact art. 3 (1) states that "all citizens have equal social dignity and are equal before the law without distinction, among others, of language". Therefore language cannot be used

as a pretext for discriminations of any kind (see also Pizzorusso, 1975; Cerri, 1993; Zincone, 2000). Art. 6 of the same Constitution sets out that “The Republic protects linguistic minorities by means of appropriate measures”.

Although in view of the overbroad interpretation in line with Italy’s different regional realities and the wording of article 2 of the Constitution, the “Republic”, defined in article 9 as an expression of pluralism of cultural identities “elevated to fundamental principle of the Community law” (Lorusso, 2002), which entails the protection of linguistic minorities, provided for by art. 6 of the Constitution, seems to have failed to lay down the constitutionalisation process for a pluralistic nation, i.e. of a nation of nations. Not just because, as it is often the case, theorizations about cultural and linguistic pluralism, which have the tendency to put in the foreground the link between the protection of linguistic minorities and the freedom of speech and expression (Mastronardi, 2002), might raise the debated issue of a reduced protection in favour of the freedom of expression and choice of language, but also because, during the preparatory work of the Constituent assembly, the adjective “ethnic”, which in the original Commission proposal had always accompanied the “linguistic minorities”, was expunged. A choice that, although not expressively motivated, seems to have been determined by the need to “restrict the protection of minorities to its linguistic and cultural aspect”, thus excluding any reference to the national origin, which is more strictly connected to the adjective “ethnic” (Mossouliè *et al.*, 1997).

For UNESCO, language takes on a global importance, becoming an *Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Alongside a visible heritage exists, in fact, an invisible one, bound to the former and in a certain way, a prerequisite of it: it is the Intangible Cultural Heritage, made of uses, traditional cultural customs and, of course, a people’s language. The Convention for the protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage makes explicit reference to the languages as vehicles of this heritage. It contributes to the preservation of the linguistic diversity, a pressing issue considering how rapid the process of language death is, an average of two per month. This affects particularly the indigenous populations, to whom the defence of the mother language is crucial for the preservation of their cultural identity and heritage. The inclusion of language in those areas associated with the “intangible cultural heritage” is guaranteed by

article 2 of the Convention for the protection of the intangible cultural heritage.

Language difficulties represent the main obstacle for the immigrants’ integration process in the host country, as they are the major cause for incomprehension and misunderstandings between the autochthonous and the newly arrived. As a matter of fact, interpreting a new language, as we have come to understand, is not merely translating and transferring meanings from one language code to another; but rather consist of “interpreting a culture, i.e. understanding the values, rules, mindsets, different lifestyles peculiar to a people”.

The issues of linguistic diversity and bilingualism are not new to the Italian social and educational context, although they have taken centre stage in the last years due to the increase of the immigration phenomenon which tends more and more towards stabilization, as demonstrated by the increase in applications for family reunification. Bilingualism is the most common situation for immigrants and also the most desirable, as the acquisition of the language of the host country, also called “second language”, meets the basic need to communicate in order to ensure survival and avoid social self-exclusion and marginalization. However, the acquisition of an excellent command of the new language is contingent on social “contexts” and the work of “mediators” who should help the immigrants understand and introject the set of values and the basic rules of the society and culture of which the language is an expression.

The school is defined as “*the place of multiple mediations*” since education and the pedagogical action itself are a mediation, i.e. a translation, and interpretation and exchange between subjects placed in asymmetric position (educator and educatee); it is that physical “space” where to realize the language project that will favour the integration of foreign students and their families. The inclusion of immigrant children in childcare services and primary schools represents without a doubt one of the first “forced” contacts of immigrant families with the language and culture of the host country; in fact, parents are invited on several occasions to participate in the educational project of their children, contrary to what they were used to in their country of origin.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion of this brief analysis, we can state that the derivation of the individual dignity

from the dignity associated with a community, a group and its culture, seems to inevitably reflect the fact that, at least from a conceptual point of view, the identity and the individuality are conferred upon the individual by that same community.

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LUCIAN BLAGA AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE ROMANIAN SOUL

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Abstract: *The general ideas of Blaga’s cultural theory are rigorously presented in his book “Horizon and Style” (1936) and then developed in a comprehensive research, extended to the entire Romanian culture, in his masterpiece “The Mioritic Space” that made him famous as a philosopher. The focus is on identifying the variables of force representing the structure of the local stylistic matrix. He approaches issues such as the Romanian’s emotional attachment to his homeland (“horizon nostalgia”), the sense of destiny, made up of everlasting climbs and descents, the category of “sophianic”, the religious vision of the descending transcendent, ornaments, love for jewels and for the picturesque and other aspects considered secondary.*

Keywords: *metaphysical system, cultural method, formative aspiration, polemic, modeling influence*

1. INTRODUCTION

A rigorous analysis of the concept of “stylistic matrix” should not neglect the evolution of *style* in Blaga’s writings, a study strictly dedicated to this issue being published by young Blaga in 1924 – *The Philosophy of Style* in which several issues are highlighted, concerning certain defining features of cultural and artistic styles (*the aesthetic condition, empathy, formative aspiration*). During historical time, as a result of boosting social relations and increasing interest in abstraction, they acquired growing importance so that more and more types of human events became engaged in their scope, thus moving towards a complex of stylistic possibilities, which signifies the large vision of a dome under which a cultural style or another asserts itself, a phenomenon to be noticed not only in art, but also in metaphysics, religion, science and even social organization.

First of all we shall notice the way in which the intuitions of young Blaga as a journalist, become more and more clear, gradually turning into a carefully elaborate philosophy: the *stylistic matrix*, well structured and developed in his *Horizon and Style*. He argues that his theory differs from Nietzsche’s cultural styles marked by antinomy attributes (*the Apollonian and the Dionysian*) and from other conceptual manifestations of the stylistic area, such as those specific to *phenomenology* (involving conscious intentionality and a dull descriptivism) or *morphology* (where he notes the presence of certain unconscious factors). However, he declines preference for the *morphological method*, in order to lay the

foundations of a new philosophical discipline, drawn from the psychology of the unconscious: the *abysmal noology*! In this respect, the Romanian thinker also denies Freud’s theory concerning human unconscious, which he considers as being a mere vacant ground of consciousness and a means to discharge chaotic contents through a so-called process of sublimation. The philosopher considers that the issue of the unconscious is one that deeply marks human consciousness, its manifestation being as significant as the energy factor of physical phenomena and that, therefore, the elements, vectors and psychological processes will acquire increasing importance in modern research in psychology, psychoanalysis and parapsychology. Setting the origins of the concern for the unconscious in German Romanticism and mentioning Shelling and Goethe, Blaga notes a particular enrichment of the image of unconscious in Jung’s philosophy, though the “archetypes” of the Swiss psychologist and psychoanalyst do not convince him because even if they are present in the human unconscious as primitive, ancestral remains, their source is *animality*, while the origin of human stylistic factors is *historicity* and, in this capacity, these factors often intervene and, through cultural creations, they are able to structurally modify a certain stylistic field. The philosopher assigns unconscious a peculiar characteristic, which he calls *personance*, a factor that continuously endows consciousness with penumbra, anxieties and obscurities, having the significant role of transmitting reflexes from the unconscious to consciousness, which is, after all, the philosophical definition of the process of

awareness. The phrase has already made history in aesthetics and literary criticism.

2. THE STYLISTIC MATRIX

As for the structure of the stylistic matrix categories, Blaga rebukes certain representatives of the morphology of culture – Riegl, Frobenius and Spengler; in spite of his criticism however, he is interested and inspires himself from Riegl's and Frobenius' theories of cultural differences within the African historical and ethnographical area, in terms of *spatial sense*. He then seeks to crystallize the idea in the philosophy of Spengler, who is trying to unravel the different spatial symbols of various cultures; thus, he attributes to *ancient culture* – the infinite space, the symbols of the body and the Apollonian element, to western culture – Nietzsche's Dionysian characteristic on which the "Faustian" one is superposed, the spatial specificity being that of a three-dimensional infinite, other cultures having their characterizing symbols (the *Arabic culture* – the narrow space of the vaulted cave, the *Egyptian culture* – the labyrinthine path, the *Chinese culture* – life in the open, the *Russian culture* – the boundless steppes etc.). Each one of these cultures has a soul of its own and, according to Spengler's theory, they evolve in "morphologist" stages, similar to biological beings.

Showing that the morphology of culture no longer considers space in terms of Kantian reason, though it still places it in consciousness, Blaga draws attention to the role of space as a variable enhancer of sensitivity in various cultures. At this point, he comes with his own contribution, noting the existence, in *categorical doublets*, of a spatial horizon of conscious sensitivity and a spatial horizon of the unconscious, distinct from each other. However, he maintains, if there is a spatial horizon of the unconscious, there necessarily has to be a time horizon of the unconscious. In his particular, metaphorical manner, Blaga gives these manifestations of the unconscious suggestive names; thus, the present is *time-river*, the past – *time-cascade*, the future – *time-fountain*, all of them to be found, in different nuances, in each human individual and community. But – a very important fact, actually – it is the variability of these categorical doublets of conscious sensitivity and of the unconscious that constitutes the key determinants of different cultures. These factors do not act alone. A passionate of theoretical constructions, Blaga cannot ignore the reaction of

human spirit, through which space and time are invested with values; it's what he calls *axiological accent*, which can be *affirmative* (recognition of values) and *negative* (rejection of non-values). It is also at this point that the philosopher describes a most meaningful category of the unconscious – *attitude towards destiny* - by the way of which the cultural soul can opt for one of the three fundamental possibilities: *anabasic* (expansion, forwardness, specifically European), *catabasic* (tamelessness and self-reclusion, specifically Indian and Egyptian) and *neutral* (standing in place, specifically Ethiopian). Finally, the last category of force of the stylistic matrix, directly related to man's need to embody forms, is the *formative aspiration* or the tendency to structure the image of things into a formal variation, according to a cultural horizon or another, an epoch or another, an individual or another, the philosopher noting the preference for certain dichotomous manifestations that are "working" deep in the unconscious, such as: *the standardized category* (ancient Greek culture, Plato's philosophy, the architecture with Euclidian geometric shapes etc.), *the individualizing category* (to be found in the mythology of Germanic peoples, the Protestant religion, Leibniz's monadological metaphysics etc.) and *the phenomenal category* (present in the Egyptian art, the Byzantine metaphysics etc.) All these categories plus a number of secondary factors, whose influence should not be neglected though, together make up a stylistic matrix. Its composition is heterogeneous and its elements are relatively autonomous, acting in a quite distinct and highly variable manner, in space and time.

All this was but a theoretical foundation for Blaga's efforts in defining the Romanian soul. That is why his *mioritic space* amazes us, firstly by the philosopher's audacious attempt to offer – from a not too comfortable angle - *an original stylistic description of the Romanian culture*, and his ingenious way to highlight the operational concepts of the stylistic matrix through a "practical" demonstration. It is clear that Blaga's epistemology of the stylistic matrix does not overlap the mioritic categories, which makes us ask ourselves: *are they really that untypical?*

3. THE ROMANIAN SOUL AND THE MIORITIC SPACE

Although the mioritic space takes us in a rather enchanting realm, shedding a heavenly light, we have to admit that some ideas coagulate and often

prove their functional validity. *The wavy mioritic plain*, the infinite succession of hill and valley, also present in our ballads and melancholy songs, in the individual and collective unconsciousness, would be the first of the abysmal categories of the Romanian soul. To this is added the sense of destiny which, in Blaga's terminology would be represented by an advance, in an anabasic direction, but having certain specificity: the eternal climb and descent, obstinately keeping in the depths of the unconscious, the wavy scenery of the plain and the valley. Influenced by the place of its origin, the individual and the collective unconscious of the Romanian comes to turn the landscape into an obsessive *horizon nostalgia*, which then manifests its entire load of tenderness wherever Romanians may be in the world. This mysterious communion of the Romanian with his homeland and his ancestors that are sleeping their eternal sleep underneath that land has totemic significance, especially in the mioritic individual's mental association of death and wedding bliss, reflected in the lyrics of Miorita ballad, and highly exciting by their complex feeling of the "fatum." (Blaga, 1994a:25).

The problem of *time horizon* is but vaguely approached by Blaga. He claims that the mioritic soul had stubbornly boycotted history for centuries and led an unhistorical, organic existence. The philosopher calls it "boycott of history". Any plus or any minus in describing this way of life is meant to nuance Blaga's theory, and even to deform it. At this point we can give as an example of nuance, Emil Cioran's nihilistic view of fate, under the influence of Nietzsche's philosophy. Cioran criticizes the platitude of the common individual, dominated by "inexorable fatality" and "herd mentality" (Cioran, 1993:7). However, Romanian philosophy had seen concepts about local soul that are similar to Blaga's: that of Mircea Vulcanescu, preoccupied to describe Romanian destiny as a "sum of its temptations", which are nothing more than the "latencies" of the past or his way of living, biological and spiritual (Vulc nescu, 1991:15). C. Radulescu Motru (1996:39) views destiny from a different perspective, emphasizing "the fertile energies" of a nation, which, by their intervention, may restrain or remove the pessimistic, irrational, brutal and demonic manifestations of life (never seen as uniform geometric movements), interfering and thus correcting (on the go) the future of a human community.

Blaga clearly demonstrated that the Romanian had always cherished and even worshiped his

mioritic spatial horizon and he often preferred to withdraw from history, that is "to boycott" it. Therefore it is not difficult for us to note *the positive axiological accent placed on the spatial background*, and *the negative accent placed on the temporal one*, which explains the Romanian individual's "unhistorical", organic type of existence. In Blaga's view, the organic is a new category of Romanian spirituality, visible in the style and the configuration of houses, the metric of folk poetry and, especially, in the manifestations of Orthodox Christian spirituality.

In a comparative analysis of Christian spiritualities (Catholic, Evangelical and Orthodox), the philosopher insists on their bipolar character, as their orientation is towards both transcendence and transience, each with its peculiar characteristics, highlighting that differences are rather stylistic than conceptual. Thus, as far as Catholics are concerned, transcendence remains inaccessible, while the categories of transience are marked by Church, looked upon as "the Kingdom of God on Earth". Protestants have the same vision of transcendence, the accent being placed on the categories of individual freedom, while with Orthodox believers, bipolarity is given by the continuous oscillation of the spirit between inaccessible transcendence and the temporal categories of the organic, as if "seen" through the lenses of morphologists' eyeglasses. The examples given by Blaga are many, because at this point he glimpses a wide *ledge*, which is open to the whole Balkan and Eastern Orthodox spirituality. The three religious types are differentiated from each other by a whole series of factors such as: conception of the Church, conceptions of nation, differences due to forms of dialects, culture, missionary activity, proselytizing and concepts of salvation, human types and the ways the three denominations perform their rituals.

However, in Blaga's philosophy, the *transcendent which descends* stands for the second pole of Christian spirituality, according to which differences of vision are due to a stylistic category, belonging, this time, to the religious architecture of Sophia Hagia in Constantinople; this is how the most important category of orthodoxy is announced – the "sophianic" orientation which, by recalling Greek philosophy (Sophia = wisdom), gained the larger meaning of "divine wisdom", having an intermediary role between God and the world (according to Dionysius the Areopagite, Florenski and Bulgakov). In *Miorita* the "sophianic" element

transfigures nature, which becomes “church” and the mioritic death turns into a sacramental act with “the bride of the world”. In order to support his ideas, the philosopher resorts to visions discovered in local mythology, including: “the transparent earth”, “Christological wheat”, “the neighboring heaven” etc., mentioning, however, that they had been taken over from other peoples, during history. (Blaga, 1994a:99-101).

Blaga maintains that *the formative aspiration* of the Romanian soul had long declined preference for geometric and phenomenal elements, to be noticed in folk art ornaments (costumes, tools, wooden gates and porches, pottery etc.), all decorated with elements specific to other European and Balkan peoples as well. But the local stylistic matrix would not be complete if it missed love for beauty and picturesque setting. The skirt, the shawl, the hat, the shepherd’s coat, the breastplate, the shirt, the magic beliefs (in order to be beautiful, women should bathe in water from which the rainbow had drunk, spilled peas are looked upon as Virgin Mary’s tears, burnt woods “take revenge” and lay their former leaves on the windowpane, Abel appears at night with his broken head suspended over a barrel etc.), the spirit of proverbs – all are expressions of picturesque elements, originating from the depths of a rich metaphysical substrate; Romanian folk poetry, with its load of nostalgia – neither too heavy nor too light – in its various situations – ranging from love for the beloved person, to the expression of sadness and ugliness, in melancholy songs (doinas) and mourning laments – is fed from the same mysterious substance, contributing undoubtedly, to stylistic nuances. Yet, this tendency to give all active determinants a certain touch of “deafness” is another feature of the Romanian soul, namely: *discretion*.

Regarding the structure of the mioritic space, we can make certain comparisons with significant elements and events, recorded over the centuries in our cultural history, ethnography and folklore. Thus, in terms of “wavy” representation, it is not too difficult to seize it in Dimitrie Cantemir’s writings (the phenomenon of “increase” and “decrease”) and in Vasile Conta’s works as well, as an argued theory of “universal waving”, in which waves have a cyclic evolution, with three crucial moments: the “ascending curve”, the “climax” and the “descending curve”. We also note Conta’s concept of the “influence of the environment” on the “spontaneous generation” of species, as well as the solution he suggests to revive “superior organic

beings” – crossing and migration; the more closer the merged races are to the culminating points of their waves, the more vital the effects. Leaving behind the heavy burden of traditions means not only biological, but also spiritual progress. As for Vasile Parvan, he believes that historical rhythm is spiritual rhythm as well, and rhythmic waves can be “closed”, “static” (in point of art, science and philosophy) and “open” (when they refer to social, political and religious fields). He also maintains that it is not “cosmic fatalism” that marked the destiny of the Romanian peasant, but the pagan-Christian morality according to which evil and injustice will not remain unpunished, so that he can wait for the Last Judgment, with “philosophical resignation” (Pârvan, 1981:381).

“The cultural method”, which Blaga had planned to use (ever since the preface of his doctoral thesis, *Culture and Knowledge*, held in Vienna, in 1920) as a possibility for achieving a “comprehensive synthesis” is, in fact, an attempt to philosophically investigate our ethnographic “depths” (Blaga, 1990:265). Published in some interwar magazines (Gandirea, Banatul, Cuvantul, Lamura, Darul vremii etc.), the considerations of the (then) young philosopher about the “metaphysical depths of the Romanian soul” (often troubled by what he calls “the revolt of our non-Latin substance”), about the baroque art in Banat, about the Romanian ballads, melancholy songs, proverbs and carols, communication and interference of cultures, beyond geographical and political boundaries (“equivalence of cultures”), spatial symbols – are not just newspaper articles, but profound deep investigations, subsequently developed and included in his argumentative theory of the psychological potential of the local stylistic matrix.

The major level of Romanian culture, represented by the writings of personalities who worked for the spiritual benefit of the nation, is mentioned by Blaga in a series of studies published in “Patria”, “Cultura”, “Vremea” etc. The philosopher’s interest is captivated by the personality of Dimitrie Cantemir – “a Leibniz or our own”, the acts of culture of the Transylvanian Latinist School, I. H. Radulescu – “father of our literature”, the poet D. Bolintineanu, the Metropolitan bishop Andrei Saguna, the folklore tours of Russo and Alecsandri, Eminescu’s poetry, born of romantic nostalgia but having its sources in our original substance, the historian Dimitrie Onciu – a “forerunner” of Brancusi, the mythical Aurel Vlaicu, Enescu’s musical art, Caragiale’s

dramatic works, Spiru Haret's pedagogical reforms, Sadoveanu's novels and stories.

The comprehensive relationship between the minor (ethnographic) culture and the major (monumental) culture is another issue that stirred our interest. Some of Blaga's ideas must necessarily be referred to, for they highly personalize his philosophy. Thus, he rejects the *dimensional criterion* in distinguishing between the two types of culture and suggests a *qualitative-structural* criterion. He also strongly contradicts Spengler, who considers culture as being an organism and claims that differences in level are due precisely to its ages: childhood corresponds to minor culture whereas mature age corresponds to major culture. Blaga also criticizes Arnold Gehlen's biologic conception which reduces culture to a "process of making up for man's failure to adapt", pointing out that culture is much more than that; culture is our very ontological condition, responding to man's continuous need for revealing mysteries through acts of creation (Blaga, 1976:142).

The theory of adoptive ages of culture applies to larger human communities, peoples included, the philosopher expressing his full admiration for our popular culture, for our ancestral village – a permanent reservoir of spirituality, claiming that childhood and the village are in perfect symbiosis and that would be the optimal "age" for opening a broad perspective in mythology and metaphysics.

Although he clearly maintains that he does not "embroider literature", the philosopher's description of the relationship between childhood and the village-idea, through describing his own metaphysical memories, is not convincing, despite his undeniable epic talent. Blaga's emotional plea is highly criticized by sociologist Henri H. Stahl who maintains that Blaga's approach of the issue is totally wrong. As far as we are concerned, we believe that Blaga's description is marked by the naïve and pure experiences of childhood as well as by lyrical impulses, viewed by both the metaphysician child and the metaphysician poet. Concerning Blaga's village-idea, which counts itself in the center of the world, living in cosmic horizons and extending in myth and mystery, both heavenly and "virginal" and expressing "the magic of a collective soul" (Blaga, 1994b:19) we agree with the philosopher: it was at the antipode of the pragmatic North American communities, where churches resembled a kind of "economic enterprise", religious services being paid at the entrance, like the cinema ticket. (However, if we

take into consideration the pragmatic guidelines of our church in recent years, the situation has totally changed).

Describing the long almost timeless, unhistorical coexistence of our ancestors in the wild nature, in isolated settlements on side-valleys of mountains and rivers, the philosopher notes that it was in this very way of understanding nature that the pre-Romanian stylistic matrix was conceived. But, boycotting history, Romanians boycotted themselves, their whole existence falling into the categories of the organic, which only allow the assertion of minor cultural events. The temporary occupation of the geographical space of ancient Imperial Dacia (after Aurelianus' withdrawal) by some barbarian tribes, the failure to consolidate the Romanian principalities and the invasions of migratory peoples (Hungarians, Pechenegs and Cumans) and many other adverse circumstances of history caused the local people (though well structured from an ethnic point of view and living in brotherhood with the geographical environment) to fix in their own unconsciousness a horizon that was marked by a sense of destiny and contained a strange mixture of passivity and fatality. The threat of Mongolian invasion and the positive influence of Teutonic Knights' military organization made it possible during the period of foundation of Romanian feudal states, made it possible for the native stylistic matrix to burst into a renaissance local efflorescence - a moment of culture that saw the appearance of the architectural style of churches in northern Moldavia, the evolution of language, particularly through the studies carried out in the royal chancelleries, while medieval poems and popular songs were always present in the daily life of the natives. But, unfortunately, the chance to participate in history was missed once more, and our aspiration towards synchronization broke under the threat of Turkish expansion and the religious reform in Transylvania, where the population of many a village, refusing to accept "forms without substance" withdrew in an unhistorical life, feeding themselves, for centuries, from the sources of the anonymous substance, from which, at times, splendid cultural creations emerged.

Dwelling on his theory of adoptive ages, Blaga tries to convince us of its validity, the stylistic matrix being considered as the origin of both minor and major culture, *the transition* (not the jump) from minor to major culture being achieved by people's ceasing, at one moment, to create in terms of the structures of childhood, but through

adopting the “order of spiritual attitudes and real ages”. Comparing the two types of culture, Blaga notes the virtuosity of the minor culture, but also its improvisational aspects (each individual in the village is a householder, artisan and architect, poet and singer, concomitantly), so that it is only in rare circumstances that this type of culture impresses by its scope and products; its temporal vision seems to be suspended in time and space while the spatial vision is only apparently restrained to the horizon of the village-idea because, at a closer look, both of them go beyond mythological boundaries. On the other hand, the spatial-temporal horizons of minor culture do not exceed the limits of individual’s biological life. In contrast, major culture, created by the structures of mature age, urges the individual towards a unique specialization, yet he can opt for a “creative front”, thus acting together with many other individuals that have the same cultural or scientific vocation. Both the spatial and the time horizon of major culture creators go far beyond the city-fortress horizon and the limits of ordinary life of an individual, which may always announce new historic facts.

Blaga holds that a value differentiation between the two types of culture cannot be made without carefully examining the qualities and weaknesses of each; so he declines preference for minor culture that keeps man in close contact with nature, does not “alienate him from the laws of nature” and may vegetate in the collective unconscious for thousands and thousands of years, while major culture, born of the spontaneous desire to overcome space and time, is more exposed to degradation and catastrophes.

The decisive argument of the philosopher is that a major culture requires a “foundation” that cannot be other than the stylistic matrix of popular culture. The fact that a major culture does not repeat a minor culture, but sublimates it, turns it into a monumental one, thanks to the creative thesaurus lurking into the unconscious – is again one of Blaga’s rather sophisticated ways to explain the...unexplainable (Blaga, 1972:276).

Approaching the problem of our spiritual loans, often made indiscriminately, Blaga correctly appreciates that we should not neglect the formative influence of French culture (to be noted in the writings of Grigore Alexandrescu, D. Bolintineanu, Vasile Alecsandri, Al. Macedonski) and the catalytic influence of German culture (as in the works of Gheorghe Lazar, Mihail Kogalniceanu, Titu Maiorescu, Mihai Eminescu,

George Cosbuc and others), highlighting the important role of German culture in the creation of highly original works such as those of Eminescu, where the philosopher detects a number of basic elements of the Romanian stylistic matrix (the spatial-temporal horizons, love for the picturesque landscape, the male ideal of the outlaw and the young prince etc.).

Insisting upon some of Blaga’s considerations, in an attempt to enlighten ourselves, we come to ask some questions: does there exist an ethnical soul? And, if any, what would it look like in point of structure? The investigations of the researcher in his attempt to answer these questions perforce focus on clarifying how this soul appeared and developed along history, considering it from the viewpoint of a favorite profession of ancient Romanian community: sheep breeding and its undeniable influences on ethnic psychology. However, let’s not forget that sheep breeding was closely related with the phenomenon of transhumance, which meant a millennial swinging, of dozens of generations of shepherds, with their flocks, between the Carpathians and the Black Sea, a fact that could not remain without consequences in shaping our ethnic soul. The writings of folklorists, literary critics and historians, sociologists, historians and philosophers such as Ovid Densusseanu, Petru Cancel, Anonymus, Nicolae Iorga, C. Radulescu Motru, Mircea Eliade, D. Draghicescu, Marin Stefanescu etc. give convincing explanations about different aspects of this complex issue. However, the prevailing preference of Romanians for sheep breeding, the Latin influence and the persistence of pagan, ancestral elements in their physical and spiritual universe, the Orthodox idea, seen as “cosmic Christianity”, aspiration towards a spiritual harmony – are just a few of these features that can be “extracted” easily from these “investigations”, well defined in *The Mioritic Space*.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In a further phase of research, specialists should clearly establish the way *mioritism* manifested itself in our cultural history (as much as it is!), i.e. the way in which the burdensome secular and religious vestments of Slavic and Oriental spirituality (“Balkanism”, “Phanariotism”, “Turkism”) as well as the beneficial influences of Catholicism (coming from the Vatican but also from Hungarian-Polish direction) acted as instruments of suppression or revival of local

energies. The pride we take in our noble Latin lineage and the falsity of Robert Roestler's immigration theory, propagated at that epoch, in support of the dominant political interests of the Habsburg Empire and its satellites, caused the Romanian consciousness and culture in the 19th century to strongly assert the Latinist orientation (especially in Transylvania) and, complementary to it, the Thracian orientation - both in the service of our millennial autochthony in the space of origin. Folklore and history (sometimes fabulous, as in Nicolae Densușeanu's massive *Prehistoric Dacia*) are defining reasons for these orientations that combine Pelasgic nostalgia and patriarchal conservatism, ending with open revolt against civilizing assault, promoted by *samanatorism*, which deplores the giving up of old customs, habits and traditions.

The cultural and philosophical reverberations of *Miorita* popular ballad – in which not only Blaga, but many researchers in different fields (men of letters, folklorists, sociologists and philosophers) noted the shepherd's facing death with serenity and his acceptance of fate with stunning resignation – could certify, with no doubt, that the philosopher's insights were auspicious and, indeed, in the content of popular poetic creations, specific characteristics of the collective soul can sometimes be discovered. The numerous variants of the ballad, its presence in all Romania territories and abroad, especially in the Balkan peninsula and the Pannonian steppe, its lyrical profoundness, the pre-Christian pagan elements that can be detected in its epic and, above all, the perfection of the "archetype" in Alecsandri's version, fully validates Blaga's theory about the adoptive ages of culture, in the sense that, by acting in terms of mature age adoptive structures, the Romanian people produced a monumental cultural creation. Yet, the shadow of a question still remains at this point: what if things were not like that at all? What if the ballad was "polished" by master Alecsandri? He published the ballad in 1850 in "Bucovina" magazine (but it had been collected ever since 1842, apparently by Alecu Russo, during his exile in Soveja) and, ever since, the ballad has been approached by numerous

authors, which might encourage us to consider, with patience and interest, some of the most exciting interpretations, of which we mention particularly those of Adrian Fochi, Ovid Densușeanu, Jules Michelet, Mircea Eliade, Duiliu Zamfirescu, Lecca Morariu, Barbu Stefanescu Delavrancea, Mihail Sadoveanu, Liviu Rebreanu, D. Caracostea, Henri H. Stahl etc.

Finally, we should ask ourselves whether Blaga's mioritic space could be related (in point of meaning and spiritual energy) with the totemic symbols of ancient populations, since it clearly reveals a wonderful sight, sanctified by the bones of the ancestors, a space where those who are gone beyond "the customs of heaven" are still by the side of the living ones, in the horizon of the "holy realm", to support and protect them against harm.

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HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY SITUATIONS SEEN AS INTERCULTURALITY *IN NUCE*: LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF TWO ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS

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Abstract: *Society is not static, but always in motion, it is a composition made of diverse elements also when the migrations are not intervening. But when are migrations “forced” by poverty, famine and wars to oblige people to run away from their land, he who is involved in those events finds himself in one of those situations which Giddens defines “cultural shock”, which affects the refugees as well as the populations of the country chosen for the landing. The goal that we are aiming at is that of analyzing how the newspapers report the news about immigration in Italy. Newspapers are mostly the voice of the power and they suggest the readers how to consider themselves and the others. Hostility towards minority groups have been noticed by many sociological and psychological studies and the migration movements provided always new targets to inter-group prejudice and led to opportunities of new confictions. In 2003 the first newspaper exhibits the foreigners as deviants while the second one faces the problem from a political perspective and interprets the landings as something tragic. In 2013 the first newspaper stresses the political aspect and the tragic situation of the immigrants, while the second one continues to keep the attention on the landings and stresses the dramatic events. It can be said that the reporters produce an agenda setting that should aim to accompany the feeling of reception which should be widespread to accept the difficult situation.*

Keywords: *interculturality, cultural shock, agenda setting, clandestine landings*

1. INTRODUCTION

The media of mass communication are a source of news and knowledge inside social life spheres which single individuals cannot directly attempt. Media have therefore the power of deciding how much has to be known and they are in charge of the task of selecting which news to make known and how to do it. The emphasis on certain facts, the silence on others lead to acknowledge such media a not negligible degree of “manipulability” and therefore of power. Even though mass communication media represent only one of the many factors which can strengthen the attitudes already existent in an individual. The media, in their role of providers of informations offer the great audience a representation of the reality orienting the individual and collective behavior involving at the same time both the cognitive and the normative dimensions (Tessarolo, 1997).

The social representation defines a shared reality which is produced and, at the same time, produces social communication and interaction. In order that the social representation could consolidate it is necessary that mass

communication media carry out an operation of objectivation and anchorage of the informations. The objectivation takes place by means of a selection and organization of the informations concerning the representation in which the selected elements are de-contextualized and re-organized in hierarchical manner, producing a new representation made and modified by media and proposed to the audience (Ambrosini, 1999; 2010).

Media, furthermore, pre-sort for the audience an agenda-setting which depends on the way they present the various themes and on the order of importance which, afterwards, will be shared by the audience exposed to the news. Press, therefore, induces the audience to take a determined perspective and it takes care that people judge certain themes more importantly than others. In this way the press’ agenda becomes indeed the audience’s agenda (Erta, 2014; Di Luzio, 2011).

Media in general emphasize the importance of a piece of news applying a journalistic technique which consists in staying “one tone above”, interpreting in such way the expectations of a reader. Instead a reporter should try to provide a narrative hypothesis allowing a reader to choose his own reading key pointing at a path, but also the

possibility of taking other ones (Tessarolo, 1997; Beck, 2006, Maneri, 2009).

2. THE IMMIGRATION

During the nineties, the governments of the European countries of old immigration (France, England, Germany) adopted more and more restrictive policies towards migrants and refugees. A clear example of the closure of Europe towards foreigners is constituted by the migratory policies of the countries of new immigration (Spain, Italy and Greece). In the eighties the flow of thousands of migrants hadn't lead Italy to adopt any strategy of social insertion, or any measure to facilitate the integration, but only rare and hasty legislative initiatives. In demonstration of such a closure towards foreigners, in the nineties the indifference of the institutions and of the Italian society gave way to hostility; indeed various episodes of intolerance followed, as the repatriation of hundreds of Albanians in 1991 to whom had been promised residence and work permits, or as the sending in 1995 of the army on the shores of Apulia to block the clandestines. Since the beginning of the nineties, the migrants became, according to the Italian public opinion, "the causes of the social crisis and of the collective fears" (Dal Lago 1999:25; Maneri, 2009)¹.

The immigration from EU countries has become for many countries in the Union one of the most urgent matters of the politics agenda. Schengen agreement provides that the complying countries allow free entry from the other signatory countries. This configuration of European borders had a strong impact on illegal immigration. Irregular immigrants who succeed in entering any of the agreeing countries can afterwards move without hindrances inside the whole Schengen space (Giddens, 2001:159). The long Italian coastline is considered one of the most permeable barriers of Europe. The right of asylum is considered a universal right, but the weighting procedures of the requests are very controversial. Giddens observes that in human history it has

never happened that ideas and individuals so easily crossed the borders and that everyone's expectations of enhancing the quality of life were reclaimed in particular the ones of the persons escaping from poverty, starvation and warfare². According to Giddens just because of the spreading speed we can speak of radical transformation of the societies which we're living in and he forecasts that many of them, making the example of Italian society, "will become multi-ethnic for the first time in their history" (2001:160)³.

European situation, according to Eurostat's data (2012), sees foreigner population concentrated in four countries which in order are: Germany (7.400.000), Spain (5.600.000), UK (4.800.000), Italy (4.800.000) In percentage terms Italy is placed at the eleventh position. The prevalence of certain nationalities in the single countries is due to different factors of historical, geographical, economical or legislative nature which play a decisive role. France, Germany and United Kingdom are countries with a long migratory tradition, they have indeed a strong presence of second generations; on the contrary, in the immediate post-war period Italy and Spain were countries with much emigration and only during the last decades they became outlet areas for the migrants, from the European community and not, with very high flows in the last ten years. In the other EU member countries of Mediterranean area too the increase of the migrants has been greater than the doubling. The continuity of the presence in Italy is a condition for starting paths of radicacion which in time can lead, passing through the obtainment of not expiring residence permits, to the acquisition of the status of Italian citizenship. According to the year 2013 ISTAT report, 56.148 acquisitions of citizenship have been registered

² It should be one's own State the one who cares for the happiness of its citizens, but the hoarding of the wealth is stronger than the common good.

³ With this statement Giddens shows that he does not know Italian history: since 350 A.D. con Franchi, Visigoths (418 A.D.), Unni (452 A.D.), Longobardi dal 568 A.D. (Lombardia) and in 753 A.D. they siege Rome, Vandals in Sicily (468 A.D.), Unni (452 A.D.), Ostrogoti (Verona e Ravenna 526 A.D.). And again Arabians in Sicily 900 A.D., Normans in Sicily (first 1061), Cimbri in the north (1200), Catalans in Sardinia (from 1297 to 1479). In 1600 the vales of Abruzzi, having remained deserted because of the Black Death, were inhabited by Croatians and Albanians whose communities, still today after 400 years, still speak the old dialects. The pacts of Versailles (1919) assigned Italy the south Tirol.

¹ Informations about discrimination and racism at European level are contained in the report published in 2011 by the European Agency for the Fundamental Rights (FRA), important consultative organ of EU constituted in 2007 for the protection of the fundamental rights in Europe. Such a report analyzes the interviews made to 23.500 foreigners, about the discriminations in various areas of everyday life (job, school, health, spare time, etc.)

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during year 2011, while during 2012 they were 65.383. The citizenship acquisitions in 2013 increased by the 16.4% compared to the previous year. On January, 29th 2015 the association Carta di Roma published a research on how newspapers report the news about emigration. The public dialogue about immigration presented on the written press shows a prevalence of social alarm: too much people arrive, luckily there's Italy helping them, but the reception centers are saturated⁴. 846 articles dated between January and June 2014 and extracted from three big national newspapers (La Repubblica, Corriere della sera and Il sole 24 ore) have been taken into account. We selected the articles and the handiness which tread of the theme of immigration. This theme is often presented with chronicle events, with stereotyped main characters and tones. The job theme remains in the background and the articles emphasizing the contribution of immigration to the Italian economy are a few. Immigrants are chiefly "those who disembark and who are involved in chronicle events". The three newspapers differ in the presentation modalities: the Corriere della sera confronts topics of chronicle and criminality, la Repubblica stands out for the quantity of articles on the topic of integration and il Sole 24 Ore emerges for the presence of topics inherent to politics, justice and economy. What links all these newspapers are the chronicles of the landings. A study made by the Eurobarometer in December 2014 on how immigration is perceived inside the EU, notices that the 18% of the Europeans feels the phenomenon of immigration as a worry for their own country. At a personal level the 8% of the Italians feels menaced compared to a mean of the 5%. In Italy the 36% of the interviewed sees positively the immigration from other EU members countries (in Europe they are the 52%) while the 56% considers it negatively. If it is a matter of immigrants from outside the European the Italians have a positive opinion in the 18% of the cases and negative in the 75% (for what regards the European data the 35% are positive opinions while the 57% are negative ones). The data the cited research found and those of the Eurobarometro show a status quo, i.e. how the situation currently is. Yet we think that to better understand how we came to this situation it might

⁴ The results of the inquiry are presented in the volume "The value of immigration" edited by the Fondazione Leone Moressa with the support of Open Society Foundations.

be useful to go through a certain time span, sufficient to "measure" the changes intervened in the way of perceiving and, of course, of presenting a phenomenon, following certain modalities. Moreover, a detached sight, the seeing from the outside allows one to put between parenthesis, to suspend the judgment as one does in the epochè process which lasts until one has enough informations to evaluate a certain phenomenon. The decennial distance intervened between the two measurements makes it possible to understand if there have been relevant changes in the perception of immigration and if the prejudices present in year 2003 last until 2013. This can allow us to notice also if "making journalism" brings with itself a particular attention toward the existing transformations in nuce, and if the job of reporter consists not only in following the spread prejudices, but also in conducting a reader "out of the shoals" of the obvious and triviality, opening tears of reality transformation which bring him to accept and spread among readers the transformations taking place in the society.

2.1 The Research. The research we are going to present is about what two widespread Italian newspapers wrote: il Corriere della sera and La Stampa. On these two newspapers we analyzed the headlines and the articles of two time periods with ten years far in between them: from August, 1st to October, 31st 2003 and the same time span in year 2013. The corpus subject to inquiry was acquired searching for the articles inherent the argument chosen by means of the insertion [in a search engine] of the following keywords: immigrant/s, immigration, foreigner/s, non-EU-individual/s, refugee/s, clandestine/s. In the two time spans the phenomenon of immigration saw many episodes regarding clandestines remaining victims in the landings in Lampedusa and in Sicily. Inside this work the independent variables are the articles and their headlines published by the two newspapers. On the whole 583 articles have been analyzed, of which 263 coming from "il Corriere della Sera" and 320 from "La Stampa"⁵. We proceeded with the textual analysis using the SPAD software⁶.

3. WHAT HEADLINES SAY

3.1 Analysis of year 2003 headlines. An headline is the synthesis which precedes, presents

⁵ Data have been collected by doc. Valentina Pajola.

⁶ SPAD is a software for semi-automatic and qualitative/quantitative analysis of textual data.

and emphasizes a news, an article or a report. The headline has a fundamental importance because its attractiveness determines the following reading of the article itself, therefore it is essential that it catches the attention and the interest of the reader. Very often, indeed, the headline is the only part of an article to be read even several times (Ambrosi, Tessarolo, 2001).

Proceeding with the vocabulary analysis for year 2003 headlines of both newspapers we see that 7374 words appear, whose vocabulary is made of 2471 distinct words (word type), more than half of which (1557) have a frequency of 1 (hapax). The percentage of distinct words is 33.5%: this fact allows us to say that the words used are quite various, therefore there is a good lexical richness. Nonetheless observing more analytically the results one can notice that there is a high presence of words with frequency of 1 which tends to create a background noise distracting the attention from the main argumentations suggested to the reader.

Table 1. The first 20 most frequent words in year 2003 headlines

Graphical form	Frequency
immigrants	63
clandestines	40
foreigners	30
Italy	26
against	21
Pisanu	19
Lampedusa	17
sea	16
vote	15
blitz	14
years	13
non-European	13
lega	13
immigration	13
deaths	13
bossi	12
minister	12
escape	11
city	11
euro	11

The first three words of table 1 (immigrants, clandestines, foreigners and, further on, non-European and immigration) appear conspicuously in the headlines of the two newspapers, as it could be otherwise foreseen considering which the key terms chosen to do the research were. These labels concentrate, connoting negatively the persons whom they are referred to: miserables, menacing,

prones to crime. Some excerpts provide an example: “(...) clandestine landings decreasing in Apulia, incrementing in Sicily”; “Six arrested, 18 clandestines stopped at Porta Palazzo, it’s war to degradation”; “(...) let the immigrants pay their punishments in their homeland”. The term against might express a feeling of refusal toward these persons: “Protest of the humanitarian organizations against the project submitted to the union governments...”; “against terrorism a task force made of polices”. A sort of intolerance toward the immigrants is evident. Another frequent term is blitz, which emphasizes the crime events (blitz on the beach two arrested operation in Savona; anti-slavers blitz seven arrested in Naples). Some terms concern politics and legislation: Pisanu (minister), vote, Lega (right party), Bossi (leader of Lega), minister. The word Italy can be justified with the fact that being the newspapers national, it is normal that word is a subject of strong interest. Therefore “Italy” as a way of emphasizing one’s own being, one’s own boundaries, in order to distinguish “us” from the “other”. “(...) 31 thousand help requests Italian engagement against prostitution and slavery during European six-month period”; “Italy reaches 57 millions individuals thanks to immigrants”. There are eventually terms like city, Lampedusa, sea, deaths, escape, years and euro which point out other elements which contribute to increase the lines of clandestine and forced immigration we are witnessing. Observing the distribution of the terms in the headlines by means of the Vospec⁷ procedure, one verifies that in the headlines are more frequently used terms like “immigrants, clandestines, terrorism, blitz, invasion, arrested, degradation” and terms having an explicit connection to the political stage and in particular to specific government representatives. Among the politicians coming out there are “Pisanu, Berlusconi Bossi-Fini and Ciampi”⁸.

⁷ The Vospec procedure allows one to find out the characteristic words of a text. The words which are over- or under-represented in a given variable represent the specificity of the term in that given context. The analysis starts from a probabilistic hypothesis of even distribution of the lexical forms. The characteristic words are those more or less frequent which by means of the applications of the valuer test are evaluated on the percentual frequency base of a lexeme in a given variable and in its global presence, The level of significance is p.05 and the range of the valuer test is from -1.96 to +1.96.

⁸ It can be noticed that in the headlines the term Romanian associated to chronicle events is significant.

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3.2 Year 2013 headlines. Concerning year 2013 headlines, 7054 words appear (occurrences or word token), whose vocabulary is made of 2659 distinct words (graphical forms or word type), more than half of which (1852) have a frequency of 1 (hapax). The calculated percentage of distinct words is 37.7%; therefore we have, in this case too, a fairly good lexical richness. In table 2 are presented the first twenty more frequent words.

Table 2. The first 20 most frequent words in year 2013 headlines

Graphical form	Frequency
refugees	29
migrants	24
Lampedusa	24
immigrants	19
immigration	15
Italy	15
foreigners	14
Europe	13
lega	13
syrians	13
Kyenge	12
against	12
euro	12
escape	11
Syria	11
emergency	11
minister	11
tragedy	11
years	10
families	10

Many of the terms have been already found in the analysis of year 2003 headlines, thing that might lead one to think that under certain aspects the situation hasn't changed much in the course of 10 years. The terms appearing are: refugees, immigrants, immigration, foreigners and the new term migrants. At a first sight the denomination

This datum seems to be strongly stereotyped because Romania is an European country even though in 2003 it wasn't yet a member of the European community (enters EU in 2007). In 2013 Rumanians in Italy are almost one million and ten thousands. It is the first time that a community reaches such a figure and there should be a push toward a reinforcement of the relationship between Rome and Bucharest. It is a matter of a second homeland! (Perrotta, 2011).

seems mitigated because in the definition of this category the word non-European (which vehiculates a sense of extraneousness) doesn't appear anymore and it is substituted with the term migrant. The image of the foreigner obtained isn't any more a picture of a deviant only: "center-left party asks again for providing paediatrists to the irregular immigrants' children"; "scholarships as long as are for immigrants"; "let the expenses for the immigrants in jail be paid by their homelands"; "refugees, the local administration throws the alarm". A reality which seems to have taken root emerges and it seems more and more accepted as one can notice from the higher and higher number of measures useful for a better integration, for granting base rights and welfare even to a migrant. The tones which emphasize the "immigration emergency" have not disappeared in fact the headlines recall the numerous landings and the continued clandestines waves, but the climate is of major acceptance and cohabitation compared to what was perceived ten years before. For the first time emerge terms talking of immigrants nationalities, they are given a face: it is a matter of Syrians and of Syria. According to the data reported by the minister of the Interior the Syrians represent the most numerous people which landed on the Italian shores in 2013, because of the civil war fought in that country. It is a matter of people escaping from their own homeland in search of a better life. "Mediterranean sea south shore shipwreck of Syrians and Palestinians refugees", "families escaping from Egypt and Syria". The theme of the exodus was already made explicit in 2003: the peoples change but the desperation and the hope remain always the same. Other terms add up and are those of the places: Lampedusa, Italy, Europe. Political terms stand out: lega, Kyenge (Cécile Kyenge, of Congolese origin, is the minister of the Integration of Letta's government), minister and against. Finally come the terms euro, emergency and tragedy which are source of the crisis and of the notiziability and to which years and families are added. While in 2003 was emphasized the feeling of abandonment and of lack of a sort of protection represented by the home, here the union of the family nucleus in facing tragic events is emphasized.

Analyzing the Vospec we find that in 2003 the reflection focuses on the relationship between migratory flows and terrorism and on the value attribution expressed by terms such as "invasion and degradation". In 2013 the geopolitical stage changed its asset and the matter of the north Africa

raised the reflection on the themes of human rights. The term “immigrants” present in 2003 modifies in “migrants and refugees” opening in this way the debate on wider themes with implications linked mainly to the difficulties of government and of protection of individuals. The emotional dimension seems to be the most present. In 2013 also the Syrian matter and the tragedies happened in the Mediterranean sea are taken into consideration.

3.3 Analysis of year 2003 articles. In the text of the articles published in the chosen months of the year 2003, 140901 words appear (occurrences or word token), whose vocabulary is made of 17301 distinct words (graphical forms or word type), about half of which (8736) have a frequency of 1 (hapax). The calculated percentage of distinct words is 12.3% which shows a limited lexical richness. The first twenty more frequent words which emerge are presented in table 3.

Table 3. The first 20 most frequent words in year 2003 articles

Graphical form	Frequency
years	369
immigrants	315
Italy	312
immigration	240
job	211
clandestines	197
non-European	184
foreigners	153
persons	151
country	134
police	133
Lampedusa	133
home	122
city	122
minister	120
government	120
Europe	118
law	115
sea	114
Pisanu	110

Because it is a matter of the articles linked to the headlines just analyzed, it is expected to find in part the same words again, although with different frequencies. Among the most frequently appearing words stand out immigrants, immigration, clandestines, non-European and a new terminology

not found in the headlines, foreigners. Here are some examples: “hard line not only against who earns money by means of immigration, but no tolerance against the immigrants too”; “look, there are a lot of non-European in Castelleone, you write we had enough and we just don’t want any more of them”; “With each passing decade the foreigners in the Peninsula double”. From the excerpts utilized emerge the same elements and tones which were anticipated in the headlines, a negative image of the foreigner is vehiculated leading to a feeling of intolerance and exasperation which becomes manifest through the measures carried out by the government with the passing of the years. The term years still appears with a twofold value either of age or of time span. Then the word Italy: “because in Italy this policy doesn’t work”; “he died while he was going to crown his dream: enter Italy and try to change the course of his destiny”; “the doubts on the difficulties which regular non-European encounter arriving in Italy”⁹. Linked to Italy we find again the word country as emergency moment. The term city opens ambivalent thematics: “in the big cities crimes decreased by 12%”; “we are facing a transformation of the city”: city therefore is mentioned with the meaning of group. A new term is job: “job” and “foreigners” represents an important but ambivalent union. Then comes the word person which seems to recall a meaning of greater humanity confronted to immigrants, clandestines or non-European. Some excerpts point out this change: “on the whole 104 persons between 16 and 35 years old have been checked, 8 foreigners have been proposed for expulsion”; “increasing the number of persons reported to judicial authority”; “remembering the most recent landings of persons escaped from Liberia to Lampedusa”; “The phenomenon of clandestines present in the country is drastically decreasing”. Media show single and particular situations, they shift the attention from a general plane to a specific one, activating a greater sense of humanity and identification.

In the analysis of the words used by media in year 2003, the word police evocates criminality which is by now coupled to the term immigration. A relevant topic for the immigration on Italian

⁹ Even though the data reported by Eurostat in 2012 show that the migratory flows are more substantial in Germany, Spain and United Kingdom, this is never told in these articles. It seems that immigration is above all an interest of Italy and that it doesn’t represent a phenomenon touching other EU member countries too in an important way.

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shores is represented by the words Lampedusa, sea, home. “Home” is our familiar, known, foreseeable, reassuring world: “people forget that who leaves his own country does it for a need. He who is well in his home, stays there”; “escaping from misery, he arrived in Turin in search for a job and a home”; “those who emigrate search for a job to gain money and go back home”. The political theme emerges in the articles too: minister, government, law and Pisanu. Finally, another new term is Europe standing out, though, as a term which seems to want to look away from the Italian situation.

3.4. Analysis of year 2013 articles. The articles present in the months chosen for the year 2013 allow to find out 153654 occurrences, whose vocabulary is composed by 19720 graphical forms, more than half of which (10537) have a frequency of 1. The calculated percentage of distinct words is 12.8% indicating a limited lexical richness. The first twenty most frequent words emerging are presented in table 4.

Table 4. The first 20 most frequent words in year 2013 articles

Graphical form	Frequency
them	382
years	348
Italy	257
sea	210
Lampedusa	179
persons	171
country	166
today	161
migrants	159
refugees	158
children	154
Center	139
job	133
days	130
president	129
countries	128
immigrants	127
Euro	127
us	126
Europe	124

The first word found was them (N= 382) contrasting with us (N=126). Although the numeric difference is remarkable, this emphasized

separation of boundaries between two areas, not geographical but ideological, cannot be ignored. The articles report the separation between two worlds in this way: “right here with us in Italy”; “but clandestines must pay for their treatments. Them and their relatives”; “these migrants get ashore to Italy, but the majority of them wants to go elsewhere”; “in the end they organized it by themselves, that funeral which we Italians failed to offer them by any means”.

It is therefore suggested again a temporal reflection by means of the use of terms such as years, today and days: the goal is probably focus the attention on the hic et nunc of the Italian situation which seems living moments of serious difficulty in facing and managing the immigration phenomenon. Also the words Italy, country and countries are not new: although mentioning other realities as the term countries lead us to think, Italy remains the undisputed protagonist of the examined phenomenon. Sea and Lampedusa are once again among the most used words and reflect the great landings that took place in Sicily. Also linked to the landings is the term center, by means of which the emergency and the difficult situations, which the refugees reception centers are in, are reported. The human aspect of the facts comes back and therefore the terms persons and children. The fact that these words appear more often than migrants, refugees and immigrants can be a signal that the persons who find themselves facing tragic situations are human beings. The word job appears less frequently in comparison to year 2003 (133 times versus the 211 times of ten years before) on the contrary of what was to be expected: since the recent period has been characterized by an important crisis, all that involves the occupational sphere represents a delicate point, because of the numerous cuts to the jobs and of the fear Italians have of the possibility of being “robbed” of the job duties by the foreigners themselves. “the premier Enrico Letta claimed the work done by Italy in front of the continual emergency of the landings”; “therefore many non-European who have a precarious job can seek after a stable one”. Speaking of crisis one could think of a correlation with the term euro which appears among the first twenty words with a reference to the economical sphere. “the center of first reception in Pozzallo, Ragusa, hosts 400 persons compared to the 130 estimated. And its Major protests claiming a credit of 650.000 euros from the State”; “hundreds of non-European crowded together in shacks and put at work in the

orange-groves in exchange of very few euros”, going through the headlines one can notice that term is used in reference to the costs of the measures carried out to face the immigration phenomenon whose costs weigh on a not particularly flourishing economical situation; however emerge also meanings of that term which recall the generally precarious conditions which the immigrants find themselves to live in: the exploitation and not regular job conditions or the poverty and desperation forcing them to embark on a voyage of unknown outcome.

The political sphere is faced in a cleanly inferior manner compared to what found until now, both for what concerns the inherent terminology (only the word president appears consistently in the articles) and at the level of numerical frequency. The topic is nonetheless dealt with by means of other words (for example speaking of labour), but it seems there is a diminution in the global attention toward politics: this doesn't mean it is less important or that media don't deal with it anymore, this rather means that speaking of immigration the dramatic events concerning the emergency caused by the landings its significant. “Lampedusa is the symbol of European migratory policy, which transformed the Mediterranean sea in a graveyard. Europarlament president Martin Schulz's words”; “a reasonable proposal to save Italy, the Italians and the immigrants. Two persons are subscribing: the PD parliamentarian Luigi Manconi, president of the senate extraordinary commission for the protection of human rights”. At the end of the list appears the word Europe which testimonies the fact that the events taking place near us are considered more important and attention worthy compared to more distant ones. Europe is generally mentioned speaking of politics (“it sanctions the unstoppable affirmation of the ultra-right party in Europe”) or reporting facts and testimonies on how Europe acts before the immigration phenomenon (“but it is not Italy the first border which Syrians and Afghans try to cross to enter Europe”); the cases which refer to an idea of deviance inherent to immigrants are in diminution.

Observing the characteristic words emerged from the two newspapers we notice that in year 2003 there is a correspondence with the data emerged from the headlines, one can notice that the theme of immigration is widened to embrace the matter of Maghreb, indeed one speaks of “Tunisian, Moroccan”; another group characterizing this year is the “Albanians”. In the

argumentation is also taken into examination the religious subject and the theme of Islam is introduced. This aspect seems to be more linked to the attempt of supporting a theory bound to fear and suspect, it is not by chance that in the same year the term terrorism appears among the significant words too.

In 2013 the reflection on the theme of immigration opens to a more various discussion mainly oriented to considering immigration as a mass phenomenon caused by serious tensions inside the country of origin. From the characteristic words the Syrian matter emerges. The immigrant is called “migrant or refugee” and the theme of war as the cause of the migratory phenomenon and the presence of children in those long voyages are faced.

Reading through the terms used more frequently and with a statistically significant difference inside *Corriere della Sera*, confronting to other newspapers emerges that the words recalling a deviant behavior are used more frequently: jail, thefts, robberies, escapes. An aspect of strong localism is also expressed in the newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, it speaks of events happened in Lombardy, the reference to the San Vittore Milanese jail also manifests that the narration seems to lean to associate the immigration theme with the local criminality one. In *la Stampa* too the image of deviance is vehiculated, but with a lesser frequency (blitz, to arrest, aggression). In *la Stampa* the use of terms such as island, ship, landing, Lampedusa appears more emphatically, giving this way room to the events bound to the landings on the Sicilian island, fact that doesn't take place for what regards the significant words found inside *Corriere*. The politics sphere is reserved a particular attention too: Fini, president, Berlusconi, premier and elections are among the most used terms. The *Corriere* reports politics bound terms too (parties, politics), but their variety and frequency results being inferior compared to that of *la Stampa*.

If one considers the variable year, there are no evident differences compared to the reflections already emerged during the headline and article analysis. Year 2013 confirms the tendency to open the evaluation to humanitarian nature themes less bound to the fear of being aggressed, but more lean to consider immigration mainly as the expression of an international tension and humanitarian emergency. The emotional dynamics are expressed by means of the use of the narrations concerning the presence of children and the cases of death.

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During the years indeed emotions seem to have undergone a substantial change, passing from a fear relationship to a role of help and solidarity.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In media language the immigrant is represented in a negative way and the terms constantly found in relation to immigration are emergency, invasion, landings, criminality, desperation and terrorism (Cotesta, 1999; Maneri, 2009; Cesareo, Bichi, 2010). This emphasizes an idea of urgency and exceptionality, united to a feeling of uncertainty. Such an image is vehiculated especially in the articles dating back to year 2003 in which the term “emergency” recalls a feeling of danger and fear in the Italian citizens, who seem to be overwhelmed by the presence of these new inconvenient neighbors coming to our country, as the media report us, mainly to steal, to push and to prostitute themselves. During year 2003 in Italy was spreading the idea that foreigners were different, alien characters (Dal Lago, 1999; Colombo, 2012; Zanfrini, 2011), whom to defend from; “the immigrant as an enemy” is a thought which has by now become part of the common sense in an almost uniform manner.

Doing a forward time jump of ten years we notice how the emergency remains a constant referring to immigrants, it is however modified the meaning the word is used with and the events leading to talking of migrants in terms of urgency. Year 2013 indeed portrays foreigners as desperate persons who come to Italy in search of a better future which their homeland cannot offer them. The emergency therefore lies in the fact that Italy is not able to face the always numerous arrivals of clandestines, not having the economical and material resources to receive them: the sense of fear hovering about among Italians is not linked to a deviant foreigner anymore, but rather to the invasion of immigrants themselves, who on the one hand are received with a sensation of exasperation and worry, mostly concerning a possible abstraction of jobs, but on the other hand with a feeling of compassion and mercy for these people who have nothing but their own lives and families. In 2013 the image of the foreigner as a deviant does not disappear but it is outclassed by the one of the desperate migrant. In both years, with a different degree, solidarity and reception are set against refusal, discrimination, exploitation traffics, grief and death. Escaping from misery or persecution situations towards better perspectives,

thousands of persons begin a migratory voyage and, while hoping to find a better situation, they often find distrust, closure and exclusion which hurt their human dignity. The numerous waves of migrants which pressmen define “invasions” makes the situation dramatic and important. The rhetorical tool of numerical exaggeration (over-characterization) is indeed frequent, used to strengthen an argumentation without justifying it with the use of data or statistics (Van Dijk, 2005). Even though the actual illegal immigrants are a few tens of thousands, a high number of migrants is associated to illegality, following a cognitive shortcut dictated by the common sense (Dal Lago, 1999). Such a narrative ambiguity is constant although ten years have passed.

Together with the great quantity of foreigners, actual but also suggested by media, entering our country we are brought to believe (and newspapers articles confirm such idea) that non-European are represented by peoples generally considered economically poor, with stories of warfare behind them: foreigners are the ones who are not part of western Europe, their countries are not developed and wealthy. Moroccan, Algerian, Rumanian, Gipsy, Albanian immigrants are included in that circle. The discrimination and the treatment reserved to the peoples listed before doesn't apply to Japanese, North Americans or other foreigners who formally would be part of the “non-European” category. Migratory flows are accepted when taking place between developed countries or when regarding the wealthy subjects of the world (Dal Lago, 1999). As Bauman (2002) noticed all societies create foreigners, but each and every one of them creates its own type of foreigner and does it its own way. Furthermore while characterizing foreigners the media are used to make a distinction between “us” and “them”, tracing a sort of boundary line: what emerges is often a positive representation of us opposed to a negative representation of them (van Dijk, 2005).

While throwing the immigration alarm though it is very rarely remembered that Italy is fairly often a land of passage for migrants who prefer to continue their voyage to reach other countries. Italy therefore finds itself to fill a role of “fixed waypoint” towards North Europe or of “last shore” alternative to traditional immigration countries. The change is never easy to be recognized while “taking place” (Melucci, 1998), and considering what has been said, it is clear how the definition of foreigner changes according to the social-cultural landscape acting as the background for the events;

such a landscape is described in the two years in particular by the political theme which, by means of the inherent measures, discussions, debates, let us understand what the priorities in matter of immigration are, describing the weak points and the interventions requested by the people: as we had repeatedly noticed, political life is influenced by the social sphere which in turn is influenced by the former (De Leo, 2003). Two dimensions seem to be important to understand the transformations which contribute to the modification of the relationships between migrants and hosting country: on the one hand the spreading of a complex connectivity (Bosisio, Colombo *et al.* 2005) defined as a globalization always connected with local (permits, passports, citizenship). On the other hand a transformation of the concept of difference which is becoming one of the most manifest fields of clash and one of the “main stakes for most of the current social conflicts” (Bosisio, Colombo *et al.* 2005, pp. 46).

Nowadays the presence of foreigners is no longer a transitory problem, the main preoccupation is “how to get rid of them”; nowadays the priority sits in “how to live together” with non-involvement on a day by day basis. With the passing of time the presence of differences has been more and more accepted. It has been understood that different cultures produce different persons and it is right being that way, because from there derives the uniqueness of each of us. It has been accomplished what Simmel (1989) noticed: “one fears foreigners because they are the ones who come to stay”, but just because of this a resident has to change too. The task of journalism is find out the nervations of society and catch its changes. But when it is a matter of the theme of “immigration” the pictures shot often appear blurred and bent to political advantages, becoming truth shards crushed by the dominant rhetoric (Corradi *et al.*, 2010). The newspapers are the place where society reflects on itself, while applauding the most recent bill or exhibiting the most recent landing. “Foreigner” is often meant as Otherness: the values of non-involvement and contain Otherness instead different meanings, the former refers to the image of foreigner, of a relationship with somebody different from one’s own order of belonging while the latter refers to the construction of an identity which depends on the presence of the other. Both situations therefore are not talking about values, but of identity functions meant as processes needing continual constructions.

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THE ONLINE REPUTATION OF ROMA PEOPLE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN FIVE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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Abstract: *The development of the online space changed radically not only the public communication and the frames of reference, but the way in which the image and the reputation of organizations is built and maintained. By using content analysis on data obtained via Google search, this paper compares the online reputation of Roma people in five European countries (Romania, France, Great Britain, Spain and Italy). The analysis has been done on the general case (Roma people, regardless of their origin) and on the specific case (Roma people of Romania). The main premise was that cultural features and personal interaction with Roma people were the most important influence factors for the online reputation of Roma people as an ethnic group, in the public spaces of the five countries considered. The results showed important differences between the values of indicators in the five countries considered, and also a difference between the general case and the specific case (Roma people of Romania). The paper also emphasized specific characteristics of the institutional communication, non-governmental communication, traditional media and independent users' practices in the five online spaces which formed the sample for analysis.*

Keywords: *online reputation, ethnic culture, comparative analysis*

1. INTRODUCTION

The development of the online space had among consequences the change in objectives in public communication, and also in the way in which reputation, image and perception of organization is built in the public space. The paper aims the analysis of the online reputation of Roma people in several European countries. The analysis starts from the premise that the national cultural features and the direct experience of natives from different countries after the temporary migration of Roma people influenced the online reputation of Roma as an ethnic group in the countries from the sample.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical perspectives on reputation.

The theories which conceptualize reputation can be seen from two perspectives: the economical and the institutional perspective. The economical perspective conceives reputation as an intangible asset or a resource (economical, financial), which can contribute to the organizational performance and competitive advantage by satisfying quality standards. The institutional theories speak about reputation as being the collective recognition of a

company in the public space (Rindova *et al.*, 2005:1034-1035). Rindova *et al.* considered reputation as a double- dimensional concept, composed from the perceived quality of services or products of organization and, on the other side, the prominence (the extent to which the company is known by the stakeholders). On their turn, Lange, Lee and Dai (2011:163-167) propose three dimensions: prominence/notoriety (to be known), the componential perspective/image (to be known for something) and the generalized favorability for the organization. The first dimension refers to the visibility level of a public actor (how well known is the actor in the public sphere). The notoriety in the public sphere would be, from this angle, an indicator of visibility and an essential condition in building reputation. The second dimension reveals reputation as a result of evaluations and judgements based on expectations about a company. By this perspective, reputation is a representation or a set of images formed in the mind of stakeholders as a consequence of interaction with the organization (Lange *et al.*, 2011:157-159). On the same direction, Rhee and Haunschild (2006:102) define reputation as a subjective evaluation of the perceived quality of the organization's products and services.

The favorable attitude towards an organization is the direct result of evaluations which reflect the attractiveness of the organization for publics. According to Charles Fombrun (1996:72), reputation is a representation of past and future actions of an organization in comparison with other organizations. This definition considers the comparative character of reputation, but also the idea of interaction, which is responsible for the construction of representations and value judgements.

2.2 Distinction between reputation, image and identity. We consider that reputation is defined in the direction initiated by Fombrun (1996:6), as an integrative concept for all the „neighbour concepts”. The perspective in which reputation is the essence of image is justified because „nowadays the publics do not receipt image on multiple dimensions any more, but only the key and visible aspects” (Cismaru, 2012a:83-95). Reputation has a comparative nature, while the image is an independent representation, a sum of organizational characteristics in the eyes of stakeholders (Cismaru, 2012a:27). The comparative feature of reputation is observed by several authors, who emphasize that reputation cannot exist independently, but only in comparison with other actors in the same field. Reputation can be earned, maintained, strengthened or reduced in time (Rhee & Valdez, 2009:146-167).

2.3 The influence of the online space’s development on reputation. The development of the online space had an impact on reputation building and maintenance process. It was observed, in scholarship, that people use more and more the online sources in order to determine the extent of trust in a public actor (Newmark, 2011:ix), and the online space offered the possibility of unlimited expansion of the online social networks (configured until recently only by personal contacts). In this way, reputation building is performed by direct contact with trusted actors and sources of information. Thus, the real life started to be influenced dramatically by these social and informational configurations in the online space, as the same author observed.

2.4 Research questions. The sample of countries for the comparative analysis of the reputation of an ethnic group was formed by Romania, France, Great Britain, Spain, Italy.

The research questions were the following:

- (RQ1) Which are the characteristics of the online reputational profiles of Roma people from Romania in each of the five countries?

- (RQ2) Which are the differences between countries in population’s attitude towards the social problem of the Roma people of Romania?

- (RQ3) Are there differences between the general case (the Roma people) and the specific case (the Roma people of Romania) in each of the five analyzed cases?

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Collection of data and coding. The method applied was the system of indicators for the online reputation assessment, a system proposed by the author in 2012 (Cismaru, 2012b). The collection of data and the content analysis have been done during 20-25 of June 2013. Each online reputational profile has been built by the results displayed by Google on the first two pages, obtaining a total of 20 postings/articles for each search. The search in Google has been performed in two phases, first it was selected the Google engine visible in the specific country analyzed, (Google Romania, United Kingdom, France, Spain, Italy, respectively). In the second phase, the search involved two types of searches: „Roma”/”gipsies”, respectively with the equivalent in the specific languages: *gypsies*, *gitans*, *gitanos*, *zingari*. By this way it was obtained the online reputational profile for the Roma people. In order to obtain the online reputational profile of the Roma people of Romania, the search was repeated by adding the expression “from Romania”. The analysis of entries has been done by using Google translation when needed. A number of 200 registration units (entries/articles) have been evaluated and included in the formulas of indicators. Each recording unit (each entry) received a favorability coefficient, as it follows: (3) intensely favorable; (2) favorable; (1) mention; (0) outside the topic, refers to other actor; (-1) slightly unfavorable; (-2) unfavorable articles; (-3) intensely unfavorable articles.

A second aspect of coding was the online rating (depending on the monthly audience of an online media source, and expressed initially through percentages). Coding of online media sources used the data of Alexa.com site and traffic.ro. The video sharing network Youtube has been coded with “10”, and the online social network Facebook has been coded with “8” as a source. Wikipedia was coded with “5”, while Twitter was coded with “2”. In case of the other countries, the audiences were evaluated subsequently, by the same method (monitoring tools). In case of local sources

(individual blogs or sites, or local newspapers), these were conventionally coded with a "1". Finally, the audience data were converted in corresponding importance coefficients for each online media source, from 1 to 10.

3.2 Indicators. The first indicator, *Online Visibility* indicates the extent to which a public actor or group are present in the online environment. Secondly, *Online Control* refers to the proportion of the content generated directly by official sources. The third indicator, expressed also in percentages, *Balance*, shows the negative media coverage at a time, and it represents the proportion of negative input of the total number of entries. *The intensity of unfavorable coverage* indicates the climate of comments about the organizational actor and is calculated as the ratio of negative favorability coefficients and the sum of positive favorability coefficients: when above par, negative coefficients may prove to be stronger than the positive ones. *Magnitude of Sources.* Indicator shows the importance of sources who post material about the group. The indicator varies on a scale from 0 to 5, and scores below 3.5 reveal coverage by local media / with small audiences or unimportant sources, while the score above 3.5 is registered in the case of central sources with large audiences. Finally, *Ranking* refers to negative entries on the first page and it is calculated as the formula with $R = (p * i) / 10$, where p - positional coefficient (first entry - 10, last entry -1, only the first page) and i - favorability ratio. Ranking ranges between 0 and 15, but a value over 4 is considered a high one.

The online reputation coefficient (*the online reputation score*) *ORS* includes the online visibility, the online rating and the favorability and it is calculated using the formula:

$$ORS = ORSI \times V / 100, \quad [1]$$

where

$$ORSI = [\sum (i1 \times n) \times 2 + \sum (i2 \times n)] / 3 \quad [2]$$

- intermediary score; where $i1$, $i2$ - favorability factors awarded to the input on the first or second page of online reputational profile; n corresponding to online source coefficient rating (range 0-10); $V / 100$ - online visibility.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Overview of cases. Among the cases analyzed, there was a significant difference both in

terms of the general problem of the Roma people in public space, but also the general attitude towards Roma people, and especially against the Roma people from Romania. In all three cases, regardless of cultural particularities and recent reality of social contact with Roma people / Roma people from Romania, there was a high confusion between Roma-Romanian (for phonetic reasons and lack of information) and a large number of postings related to relegating this problem -posts made by more knowledgeable individual and collective actors. As a collateral observation, this confusion affects Romania's reputation at a country level - a further argument against the adoption of the term 'Roma', recently legalized. On the other hand, the research has demonstrated the artificiality of the term, as the main debate in Romania is on the term "tsigan" while official information management is done on the term "Roma" (therefore the latter cannot solve the former).

4.2 The case of Romania. This case is relatively better-known and indicator values confirmed expectations: Roma people had a negative online reputation, no matter what search term is operating (ORS = -9 with the term "Roma", ORS = -26.8 with the term "Tsigan"). As aspects of the negative attitude, the balance is moderate in the case of the first term (B = 25%), and higher in the case of the second term (60%) indicating a chronic reputational crisis. In terms of intensity, it is moderate for the first term (I = 0.35) and rather high (I = 1.8 indicating that negative entries are twice stronger than the positive ones) for the second term. In terms of ranking, it is small in the first case and relatively high with the second search term (R = 4.4) showing that adverse entries are placed on the first page, in highly visible positions, generating further online visitors and maintaining this profile in the near future. Regarding the issue's prominence in the public space, it is moderate for the first search term (H 2) but high for the second search term (H = 4.2).

The indicators showed parallel situations: non-governmental organizations, political parties and institutions are trying to manage the problem using the term "Roma" (control C = 25%) while the real debate in the public space is on the term "Tsigan" and, even if by banning its use some large audience online publications will not belong to the second reputational profile, it does not mean that the existing negative entries will be removed in any way. Thus, it can be estimated that the level of these indicators and the extremely negative online

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reputation will be maintained in the near future (Chart 1 - low value indicators were multiplied by 10 or 100 to be represented).

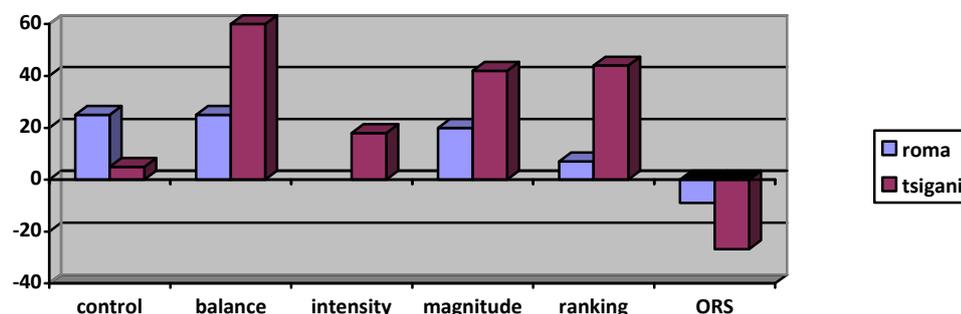


Fig.1 The difference in indicators for the general case (Roma) and specific (Tsigani)

4.3 The case of Great Britain. In this space, the Roma people issue is negatively reflected (the online reputation coefficient $ORS = -10.5$) although English institutions are trying to manage the problem in a friendly and democratic way (the characteristic way in which social issues are addressed in this country). It was noted the large number of informative entries on the official sites of the municipalities, which provide guidance information for nomadic populations and other inhabitants as well as a significant number of informative entries on forums and blogs, without attracting a large number of comments. It is also noted the controversy between important online publications such as *The Independent*, *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* but also the less prominent *The Sun*. Thus, *The Daily Mail* has a tabloid typical approach, promoting stereotypes and the unrealistic prospect of a mass migration of the Roma people occurring soon. The other newspapers promote an attitude related to their political orientation, as it follows: *The Independent* (left-wing) promotes tolerance, emphasizes the stereotypes and discrimination that the Roma people were subjected to throughout history because of these stereotypes and unjust measures, while *The Guardian* (right-wing) and *The Sun* have a predominantly negative attitude.

The attitude towards the Roma people from Romania is also controversial ($ORS = 5$) and the above controversy is even more intense. Right-wing newspapers emphasize the negative impact of the presence of the Roma in Romania on tourism in the UK, and the imminence increase in emigration, amid poverty in Romania. However, *The Independent* is still stronger in the controversy, holding the first position in the online reputational profile and thus generating a slight

deviation towards positive of the online reputation of Roma in Romania.

4.4 The case of France. The case of France is characterized by tolerance and the predominance of public dispute among individual users regarding the Roma as an ethnic group. Thus, it is noted the poor visibility ($V = 75\%$ for "gigans" and 70% for "gigans of Roumanie" because some entries in the reputational profile are occupied by artistic and musical bands with that name). Much of the inputs also come from artistic, cultural and historical information, which demonstrates a cultural openness and interest in this space for cultural diversity. Another feature of the French online reputational profile is the large number of entries on forums, in which they discussed the Roma / Roma from Romania. At this point, it is worth mentioning that the discussions were held both positively and negatively against Roma (there is a balance of positions and arguments) but also numerous parallels between the behavior of the Maghreb and the Romanian Roma in informal discussions.

Central newspapers had very few entries and positions on this issue; also the public institutions, NGOs or parties do not seek to have an opinion online in connection with the Roma issue. Even on the recent expulsion of the Roma from Romania, some opinions were rather critical of Sarkozy. Consequently, this issue in the French public issue is rather marginal ($H = 2.4$ for the general term and $H 2.2$ for the specific term, gigans of Roumanie). The balance is low ($B = 15\%$ for the general term, and $B = 25\%$ for the specific one). From the sample of the five selected countries, France is the most tolerant, although the online reputation of the Roma people of Romania is controversial ($ORS = 5.6$).

4.5 The case of Spain. The case of Spain stands out in several respects. First, it is the country where the Roma minority is the best integrated: the online reputation for the general case ("Gitanos") has the highest score in the sample (ORS = 24.3). The integration was achieved in a cultural direction: thus, the Spanish Roma people are perceived as dancers and promoters of distinct cultural traditions which are greatly appreciated. As with the French space, visibility is low (V = 90%) due to inputs generated by dance troupes and music bands. The number and virulence of negative inputs are low (B = 15%, I = 0.14) and these inputs are less visible on the first page (R = 1). The Roma issue is managed by NGOs, political parties and institutions which provide information in the online space (C = 20%)

However, the problem of the Roma of Romania is present through many negative connotations both on online forums and newspapers with mid-level audience. Thus, in this second case we can observe the high balance (B = 65%) indicating the large share of negative inputs, and high intensity (I = 2.3) showing that the negative views are more intense than the positive ones. Ranking is high (R = 3.4), indicating that the chronic reputational crisis will not end soon. Publications, online social networks and individual comments (in large numbers) resemble in the attitude of rejection they manifest, which leads to a negative score (ORS = -22.3). In an attempt to recover the balance, a Spanish journalist posted some films on Youtube presenting the objective situation of the Roma from Romania, projecting stereotypes and the existence of "peak" or improvement of the situation etc.

4.6 The Case of Italy. Although in Spain we could notice moderation even when rejected, in the

case of Italy the individual users' frustration and phobia are very high. A feature of the Italian reputational profile was the extremely high number of comments (hundreds) to articles. A large number of comments reflect the possibility of social unrest in the future, due to the lack of communication with the authorities. Also, in Italy one can observe a very low level of control (5% on the general case and 0% on the particular one, *Zingari of Rumania*), which demonstrates either the indifference or the inability of institutions and NGOs to communicate with the public on this issue. There is concern from some newspapers of both large audience and from online magazines, blogs and active users on social networks.

Therefore, the problem is rather important in the social space (H = 3.6 in the general case, H = 3.3 in the specific one). Ranking is higher for the general case (R = 6.9) demonstrating alongside with the reputational low coefficient (ORS = -29.3) an ongoing chronic reputational crisis. Also, the balance is negative in both cases (B = 40% if both in general and in the specific case), showing that almost half of reputational profile is full of negative entries. In addition, the intensity is moderate (I = 1 or I = 0.6) but it only refers to the tone of articles (not of the comments, which was virulent). In the specific case of Romania, both features and reputational crisis level (ORS = -27.7 for *Zingari de Rumania*) are maintained, the only difference being that extremely negative articles in the national media did not refer directly to the case of Romania and are not present in the reputational profile particularly investigated.

Table 1 and table 2 show a synthesis of the seven indicators in all the five countries, in the general case (table 1) and in the specific case (table 2).

Table 1. The online reputation of the Roma people

	V(%)	C (%)	B (%)	I (0-10)	H (1-5)	R (0-15)	ORS (-100 /+100)
1.Romania – "romi"	100	25	25	0.35	2	0.7	-9
2.Romania – "Tigani"	100	5	60	1.8	4.2	4.4	-26.8
3.Great Britain	95	30	15	0.4	3.2	3	-10.5
4.France	75	10	15	0.2	2.4	0.6	12.2
5.Spain	90	20	15	0.1	2.4	1	24.3
6. Italy	100	5	40	1	3.6	6.9	-29.3

Table 2. The online reputation of the Roma people from Romania

	V(%)	C (%)	B (%)	I (0-10)	H (1-5)	R (0-15)	ORS (-100 /+100)
1.Romania – "Tigani"	100	5	60	1.8	4.2	4.4	-26.8
2.Great Britain	100	5	25	0.5	4	3.6	5.0
3.France	70	10	25	0.7	2.2	1.6	5.6
4.Spain	90	10	65	2.3	4.1	3.4	-22.3
5. Italy	100	0	40	0.6	3.3	1.9	-27.7

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Regarding the second research question (the difference between the countries on the issue of Roma from Romania) this is shown in Chart 2, which presents the different online reputation score.

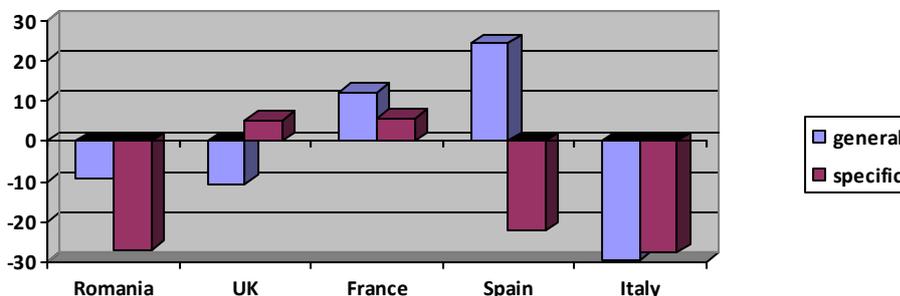


Fig.2 The online reputation score for the general and specific case (Roma from Romania)

As shown, there are large differences both between countries and between the general and the specific case. Spain presents the biggest difference between the overall score and the specific one, 50 in absolute value on ORS scale. Italy, by contrast, is the most consistent in the negative attitude. Regarding the differences between nations on Roma from Romania, it is noted that in France and Great Britain the issue is highly controversial but it is likely to turn positive with the help of institutional management and exploitation of cultural and democratic values. Meanwhile, Spain and Italy are less likely to have a positive evolution on this issue in the near future: in Spain due to the difference in attitude between the general and the specific case and in Italy due to the intensity of the

negative attitude of individual users and lack of institutional communication.

Among the cases presented, the case of Romania and Italy resemble in many regards in the report of the general -specific case and in the consistency of the negative attitude of individual users. However, Romania has a higher predominance of institutional and NGOs efforts, a greater interest to communicate and support the minority. Chart 3 supports these observations, by presenting the magnitude and ranking for each country, in order to compare the presence of this issue in the public space and the extent to which this issue is a chronic crisis in the online space or not.

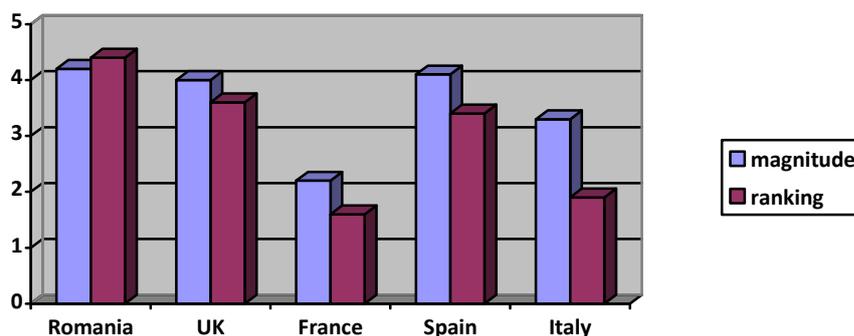


Fig.3 Comparison between magnitude and ranking in the five countries.

The graph shows that the issue of the Roma from Romania is quite severe and with the most prominent chronicity and visibility in Romania, of great importance in the United Kingdom, Spain (but moderate in Italy), and the problem has the

lowest visibility in France and Italy. At the same time, France is the country that records the lowest visibility and chronicity of the online reputational crisis in the sample of five countries (though there is a controversy at individual users).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Application of the seven indicators confirmed the initial expectation, that the online reputation of the Roma from Romania will be influenced, on the one hand, by cultural characteristics and on the other hand by the contextual features in which the majority of the population contacts this particular minority. Thus, due to national culture, France has proven to be the most tolerant country in the sample considered; on the other hand, the most negative scores are recorded in Spain and Italy, countries where migration has the highest level. Also, the indicators demonstrate both significant differences between the online reputation of the Roma in general and the Roma from Romania in particular. Each case showed particularities in corporate communication, the non-governmental environment, media communication and the individual users.

Given these differences, it is recommended that the issue of the Roma people be dealt with in the context of each country, and any government or European strategy of accommodation and integration be accompanied by a communication strategy tailored to each country in particular.

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IDENTITY AND INTERCULTURAL ADAPTATION. STUDENTS' ADJUSTMENT PROCESS TO EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENTS

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Abstract: *This paper focuses on Erasmus students' adjustment process to foreign cultural settings in relation to the identity changes that are triggered by the new contexts and experiences abroad. In this regard, the core of the paper is to understand the main adaptive challenges generated by students' educational transition, and to identify the factors and strategies they employ to overcome them. Facilitating a more positive adjustment and educational experience for the international students remains a growing interest and concern in higher education (Shigaki, Smith, 1997; Olivas, Li, 2006; Wenhua, Zhe, 2013). However, most of the studies that investigate educational transitions focus on the attitudes and adjustment problems of foreign students in the United States (Zimmermann, 1995; de Araujo, 2011). In this context, we find it important and pertinent to examine the adjustment experiences that European students undergo in Europe, in order to learn more about the stages and forms of intercultural adaptation as it occurs in their specific case, and about how to ease their confrontation with different cultures and people in a variety of ways. To achieve its objectives, our study reviews several theoretical notions and models – such as “identity negotiation” (Ting-Toomey, 1999) and “cultural contracts theory” (Jackson, 2002; Hecht, Jackson, Ribeau, 2003; Onwumechili et al., 2003), that help understanding Erasmus students' identity shifting and adjustment process abroad. To the same end, a qualitative research based on semistructured interviews was conducted among Romanian and Dutch students who have recently performed academic exchange in a European country.*

Keywords: *cross-cultural adaptation, identity negotiation, cultural contracts theory, Erasmus students*

1. INTRODUCTION

The literature on foreign students is varied, but it is also concentrated in several fairly narrow areas. Much research has been carried out on such topics as the attitudes and adjustment problems of foreign students in the United States (Boyer, Sedlacek, 1988; Barnes, 1991; Zimmermann, 1995; Araujo, 2011) and on the problems of the non-return of the foreign students (the “brain drain”). Many other important issues, such as the process of identity negotiation experienced by international students have received scant attention from scholars and analysts. Yet, it is highly known and well documented that when individuals move from one culture to another (even for short amounts of time), many aspects of their identity are modified “to accommodate information about and experiences within the new culture” (Ryder *et al.*, 2000:49). This happens due to the continuous and direct contact between individuals of different cultural origins and backgrounds, which causes changes in attitudes, behaviours, values, and, at a fundamental level, alterations in the individual's

sense of self. Thus, this work reflects students' identity negotiation experiences while abroad, in an attempt to identify coping strategies that may facilitate their cultural adjustment during the temporary relocation. Consequently, in what follows, we will introduce the main concepts and models in light of which processes of identity negotiation and cultural adaptation are understood and discussed; we will present the most common theoretical perspectives that were developed to understand the way sojourners, in general, and international students, in particular, deal with the challenges imposed by being abroad; we will expose the main factors that influence students' adaptive process as revealed by the extant literature on the topic; and, finally we will present the empirical findings resulted from a qualitative research based on indepth interviewing.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Identity negotiation in intercultural settings. In order to explore students' identity shifting and identity negotiation in relation to their

adjustment abroad we rely on *Cultural Contracts Theory* (Jackson, 2002; Hecht, Jackson, Ribeau, 2003; Onwumehili *et al.*, 2003). Created in 2001, this theoretical paradigm “allows us to examine how identities take shape and are retained on a daily basis” (Jackson, 2002:366). Cultural contracts are defined by Jackson as “manifested products of identity negotiation during communication with others” (2002:362). But why do people need to negotiate or manage their identities, and, moreover, what is identity negotiation?

It is undeniable that nowadays people hold multiple, dynamic identities (Smith, 1993; Ting-Toomey, 2005) which may be ‘activated’ in terms of context or situation. At the same time, the changing and evolving identities which people carry with them into every cultural and conversational encounter reflect difference and, very often, with this difference conflict may come easily. Therefore, *identity negotiation* emerged as one useful strategy for reducing conflict (Jackson, 2002), and one of the preconditions for successful intercultural communication (Ting-Toomey, 1993). Within the sociological literature, the idea that identities are negotiated originated in the work of Goffman (1959), who introduced the notion of *working consensus* or agreement regarding the roles each person will assume in a given situation. In different words, through identity negotiation processes people reach agreements about who is who in their relationships and about what they can expect from one another during their further interactions. However, the terminology as it appears today in the field of intercultural communication emerged only recently through the work of Stella Ting-Toomey, who defines communication as “the identity-negotiation process between the self and relevant others” (1986:123). This identity negotiation paradigm refers, as Ting-Toomey puts it, to the selection of one among the multiple role identities individuals display to engage within a particular communication context. In short, identity negotiation “is about coordinating one’s identity to match, compliment or simply not resist the presence of other cultural identities” (Jackson, 2002: 362).

As previously explained, identity negotiation is about alterations in people’s worldview. A shift in any one or any part of one of the cultural aspects of students’ cultural identities, for instance, represents the *signing* of a cultural contract. Hence, in line with Jackson (2002) and Onwumehili *et al.* (2003), we may state that everyone has “signed” at least one cultural contract in his/ her life, since

cultural contracts “are necessary for the sake of preserving, protecting, and defining the self” (Jackson, 2002:363). And with every significant encounter, one or more of those cultural contracts is negotiated. In different terms, everyone has identified or aligned himself/ herself with others throughout his/ her life. And this happens because our identities are acquired and developed through interactions with significant others (Ting-Toomey, 2005) who will always play an important part in how we define ourselves and why we define ourselves as we do.

2.2. Theories of cross-cultural adaptation.

Cross-cultural adaptation – a concept that is used to represent various other terms such as assimilation, acculturation, integration, and adjustment has been defined as “a complex, multi-staged process of cultural encounters” (Sussman, 2002:391-392). As Adler notes, it is a “depth experience” that “begins with the encounter of another culture and evolves into the encounter with the self” (1975:18). In the literature, there appear to be at least four theories or models of cross-cultural adaptation that inform us of the various psychosocial stages that accompany this complex process. The first model, *The U-Curve Model*, was developed by Oberg in the ‘60s and explains the emotional curve that many sojourners experience upon entering into a new culture. Oberg (1960:178) distinguishes 3 to 5 stages of emotional adaptation: *honeymoon stage* (characterized by feelings of initial euphoria, excitement, fascination and optimism), *culture shock* (characterized by feelings of disorientation and the loss of many familiar cues), *hostility towards the host culture* (leading to feelings of resentment), *initial adaptation* (described by a sense of autonomy within the host culture), and *assimilation into the host culture* (when adjustment is about as complete as possible, anxiety is gone, and new customs are accepted and enjoyed). As some scholars show, the model “cannot be regarded as a comprehensive explanation of intercultural adaptation” (Hottola, 2004:450) since it does not allow for the uniqueness of individual experience (Adler, 1975).

The second model, *The Anxiety/ Uncertainty Management* was introduced by Gudykunst (1998, 2005) and was developed from Berger & Calebrese’s (1975) *Uncertainty Reduction Theory*. Simply put, this model states that when entering in a new culture, sojourners experience anxiety as they feel too little ability to predict or explain the behaviour of the host nationals. In order to reduce uncertainty, manage anxiety, and adapt effectively,

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a sojourner must have a solid sense of self-awareness, good communicative tools to gather information and navigate the adjustment process, adaptable attitudes and behaviour, and a high tolerance for ambiguity (Gudykunst, 2005:424). A strength of this model is its suggestion that a certain amount of uncertainty and anxiety are actually necessary for positive acculturation. In this context, culture shock is no longer conceptualized as a problem to be cured, but as a necessary step towards a successful transition experience.

The third model, *The Transition Model* was introduced by Bennett (1998), who views cultural adaptation as a natural process that exists within the human experience, its difficulty or ease depending on various factors such as the psychological personality traits of the individual, his/ her preparedness to change, the goals, aspirations and expectations correlated with the transition stage. Hence, sojourners' experiences and reactions to the new settings and people are rather unique to each individual than phases that are generally valid or predictable. A strength of the model is the conceptualization of culture shock as a natural psychological phenomenon, as a normal stage in people's cultural adjustment abroad, suggesting that sojourners are not alone in their experiences.

Finally, the model we build our analysis on, *The Communication Systems Model*, was introduced by Kim, who argues that adaptation actually occurs through communication and the building of social networks (2005:342-343). This is actually the first model of cross-cultural adaptation to specifically take communication into account in its application. According to Kim, cultural adaptation can be viewed as "a combination of communication adaptability and interaction involvement" (Chen, 1992:34). This model maintains that adaptability means

the individual's capacity to suspend or modify some of the old cultural ways, to learn and accommodate some of the new cultural ways, and to creatively find ways to manage the dynamics of cultural difference/ unfamiliarity, intergroup posture and the accompanying stress (Kim, 1991:268).

In short, through acculturation, sojourners acquire host-cultural practices; simultaneously, deculturation, or the "unlearning of some of the old cultural elements" occurs (Kim, 2005:340). Through both of these processes, Kim suggests, cultural adaptation takes place. More importantly though, the process of adapting to a new culture is grounded in communicative activities, including

speaking, listening, interpreting, and understanding verbal and nonverbal messages (Kim, 2005). Consequently, cultural immersion is positively related with fluency in the language of the host culture. So, to facilitate adaptation, sojourners

need to develop their ability to communicate effectively and efficiently according to the systems of language, non-verbal behaviour, and communication rules prevalent in the new society (Kim, 1988:166).

Also, along with developing host communication competence, they have to try to maximize their social participation by developing interpersonal relationships with the host nationals.

2.3. The predictors of cross-cultural adaptation. Countless studies have explored the predictors of cultural adjustment or adaptation. Based on a variety of literature sources, Sussman (2002:292) makes an inventory of those variables found to influence adjustment to a host environment and includes, among the most significant ones: individual differences in personality, the nature of the sojourn (purpose, length of stay), familial and social networks, interactions with home and host nationals, and cultural factors (e.g. cultural distance between home and host countries). Besides these variables, other authors (Pawanteh, 2000: 51) stress the importance of interpersonal relationships with the local community for the creation of positive attitudes towards the host country. Nevertheless,

the local community's efforts at intercultural contact have a significant effect too on whether or not the sojourner has a meaningful, uneventful or unsuccessful intercultural experience (Pawanteh, 2001:141).

At the same time, the preconceived notions of the destination (the stereotypes and prejudices that the sojourner holds) may influence to a certain extent his/ her (initial) life in another environment. On the other hand, the opposite phenomenon of sojourners being stereotyped by the host country's nationals or by other foreign people may lead to an unsuccessful sojourn. As Imahori and Cupach (2005:199) put it, "people may experience face threatening acts when their cultural identities are constrained because of being stereotyped" or being perceived only as members of their respective cultures, while the other aspects of their identities are ignored or left in shadow. Also, the sojourner's motives prior to his/ her arrival in the foreign country as well as the previous cross-cultural

experience can result in a meaningful intercultural experience. In addition, the actual conditions to which the individual is exposed in the new culture would seem to be of paramount importance for emotional well-being, satisfaction and successful adjustment (Church, 1982:549).

At the same time, it has been commonly assumed that having a high level of communication competence with people of another culture will result in more familiarity with the other's culture and lead to a favorable sojourn (Pawanteh, 2000:49). In this sense, there is substantial support in the literature for a positive relationship between language proficiency and the amount of social interaction with host nationals (Gullahorn, Gullahorn, 1966; Deutsch, 1970, Kim, 1988, 2001 etc.), which ultimately may lead to an easier adjustment (Kim, 2005). Also, the similarities in the cultural framework between the host culture and that of the sojourners are assumed to allow for an easier and more natural adaptation process (Chen *et al.*, 2008). In the same line, most of the researchers assume that "the cultural distance" will influence negatively the adaptation for the sojourners belonging to cultures that are very different from the host destinations (Bochner, 2003). And the empirical studies have generally supported this notion (Chen *et al.*, 2008). In brief, very often, external differences such as climate, geography, economic resources and cultural patterns can give rise to a set of individual adjustment problems. For example, a student who comes from a country with a tropical climate will have trouble adjusting to a country in northern Europe, where the average temperatures do not exceed 10 degrees Celsius (Bochner, 2003).

Cultural adaptation is a continuum, a process that cannot be analyzed from a global perspective, as it depends on a number of variables whose combination provides an infinite number of possible outcomes (Bochner, 2003). In this sense, sojourners exhibit a broad range of degrees, modes, and levels of adaptation (Anderson, 1994:293). It is therefore pertinent to examine the daily experiences of different categories of sojourners while in the host country as a means to further understand the nature of their intercultural adaptation (Pawanteh, 2000:48).

3. QUESTIONS AND INSTRUMENTS OF THE RESEARCH

Our empirical research focused on Erasmus students from Romania and the Netherlands and

aimed to explore their adjustment process to foreign cultural settings in relation to the identity changes that were triggered by their temporary intercultural transitions. 59 young people accepted to participate in this study between 2011 and 2012. By using indepth retrospective interviews, we were interested to find out how European students negotiate their identities abroad, and which are the main transformations that the relocating experience brings to their identity feelings.

Two research questions have guided our endeavour: *How do students negotiate their (cultural) identities abroad and what are the main identity changes that the intercultural experience may cause? What are the most common challenges that students face in the foreign environment and how they manage to deal with them?*

In line with the theoretical model that provided the analytical framework for our approach, we argue that communication and social networking are central to the process of intercultural adaptation. Moreover, we assume that the success of students' academic sojourn both academically and personally depends to a large extent on their communication skills and on their abilities to interact with locals and other internationals as well.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The empirical section of this paper centers on Romanian and Dutch Erasmus students' adjustment process to foreign European environments (i.e. on the main difficulties imposed by the foreign contexts as well as on the main adaptive factors that helped students cope with the new situations) in connection to the identity transformations involved by their efforts to adapt to the host destinations.

In relation to the first research question, regarding the identity alterations caused by students' intercultural experience, our findings showed that all the surveyed students changed themselves in the process of adaptation to the new educational and socio-cultural settings. Although respondents have tried to maintain their own cultural identity during the academic mobility, most of them have also assumed other layers of identification in order to be mindful, respectful, competent communicators when traversing cultural boundaries. Put differently, while abroad, students' cultural identity started to change slowly, as to incorporate new information into old patterns and to become less stranger and more fit to the host environment. Thus, we may say that most of the

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respondents have developed (at least for the time of their sojourn in the foreign country) what Kim (2007) calls an *intercultural identity* – a broader, more universal identity, combining and assimilating elements of the multiple cultures they got into contact with. According to the interviewees, this new, expanded identity has developed out of the many challenging experiences of self reorganization and redefinition under the demands of the new environments:

Erasmus enriches your experience, it helps you learn to deal with extreme situations, such as getting in a country where you don't speak the language. Through Erasmus you get in contact with other cultures, with a different world, and this makes you often test your limits and become more open; you begin to see things differently, you begin to see particularities and not to generalize that much (Livia, Italy);

Erasmus was very interesting, it helped me becoming more independent, more confident as well... and it kind of like... gave me like a broader perspective on things, because you get in touch with other cultures, with other people's views on things, and you kind of loose that narrow mind you had before... (Doenja, UK).

As for the second research question, the present data show that among the main challenges of the host cultural and educational environment, most of the respondents have rated "the language barrier" in the leading position, followed by "making friends with host nationals". Language was the most important drawback during students' adaptive period; sometimes they perceived the different national languages as obstacles, while English, lingua franca for most of them, was very rarely felt as disadvantage. The host country's language as a barrier was mentioned by all the 8 Romanian Erasmus located in Germany or Holland (as opposed to the rare mentions of the same problem for other countries such as Italy, Spain or France):

Some of the Germans just refused to speak English, even if they knew the language; some of them did it on purpose and we reacted by speaking only English, even if we could have used German instead (Mihaela, Germany).

Symmetrically, most of the Dutch students performing their Erasmus in Italy, Romania, Spain or France emphasized the host country's language as an important barrier in their adaptation process, while their fellows who studied in Germany,

Norway, Sweden or Austria have experienced fewer problems with the foreign language.

Regarding the second main challenge which, as deriving from the interviews, was "creating bonds with local students and people", most of the respondents argued that despite their repeated attempts and efforts to build relationships with the host country's nationals, they ended up by only getting closer to the other international students:

One of my goals was to make friends with a lot of British people, and that didn't really worked out, I failed... because you kind of tend to move towards the international students, because they're alone and they're looking for friends, and you're alone and you're looking for friends, and that kind of creates like a bond. So it's easier to talk to each other and to do things with each other (Doenja, UK).

Furthermore, many Erasmus students rated "bureaucracy" as another difficult part of their life abroad, with 5 Dutch and 3 Romanians emphasizing it as the most challenging aspect of their sojourning experience:

At the beginning the most challenging was to get through with all the administrative staff. It was really chaotic... (Bibi, Poland).

Other challenges that the Erasmus students faced and learnt to deal with were "the weather" (the cold climate was mentioned by all the Dutch students who performed their mobility stage in Norway, Austria or Poland while the hot weather was usually unbearable for most of the Dutch who studied in Italy, Spain or Romania), "living abroad for the very first time", "living on campus", "missing family and friends" etc. Also, "finding the right courses", "finding a place to stay", "not knowing anyone" or "living in a big city" were considered less challenging than, for instance, the "high prices" – which 4 students from the Netherlands and more than half of the Romanian interviewees emphasized several times:

Probably the biggest challenge was how to cover all my expenses, because Ireland is a very expensive country and I think it was a struggle not to spend too much (Laura, Ireland).

Despite all the obstacles and difficult moments that influenced students' initial life abroad, the adaptation to the foreign milieu was easy for most of the interviewees. 48 out of the total number of the surveyed students revealed that adjusting to the new context was softer than initially expected, and most of them got to feel like home there in the end.

The main factors that helped students cope more easily with both the academic and the socio-cultural challenges were multiple and various; still, speaking English or the host country's language, their status of Erasmus students and the intercultural contacts were rated among the top three elements that facilitated respondents' adjustment process to the unfamiliar cultural settings, followed by their friendships with co-nationals or the previous experience of travelling and living abroad.

However, it is necessary to make some distinctions between Romanian and Dutch students' views and perspectives because, although the challenges they confronted in the host society were similar, the ways they chose to overcome them were rather different. In this regard, findings showed that in Romanian students' case, almost half of the respondents highlighted the friendship with other Romanians (with whom they started the "Erasmus adventure" or whom they met abroad) as the most powerful means of adaptation:

To my adaptation has greatly contributed the fact that I left my country with two other Romanians whom I already knew, and I also made friends with a co-national I met there. Without them I wouldn't have felt the same, definitely! (Raluca, Netherlands).

In line with other studies in the current literature dedicated to sojourners' adjustment (Church, 1982 etc.), our research emphasizes that, because of the anxieties associated with immersing themselves in the host culture, many Romanians tended to form "enclaves" of fellow nationals. On the one hand, establishing these primary-group relations allowed them to maintain familiar, traditional values and belief systems; on the other hand, these enclaves served as "reference groups" with whom the new environment could be interpreted, discussed, compared and often criticized. However, despite the benefits their increased interaction with co-nationals has brought along, most of the Romanian respondents admitted that their contact with the local or the international students and people was restricted in this way.

Furthermore, the Erasmus group identity, the communication and friendships with other exchange students, a good English (or/ and a good knowledge of the host language), the constant support they received from tutors and professors, the intercultural parties, and the fact that some of them have travelled or even lived abroad before the

Erasmus experience were also emphasized as very important factors that reduced Romanian interviewees' anxiety and facilitated their temporary integration in the foreign environment. At the same time, the similarities between their host and home cultures were often considered to be cardinal aspects in the Romanian respondents' adaptation process, though they were less stressed than the previously exposed factors.

As far as the Dutch interviewees are concerned, the main factors helping them to surpass both the academic and the socio-cultural obstacles were their proficiency in English, the intercultural contacts and the new international friends (which most of them mentioned among the top three adaptive elements); these were followed by the previous experience of working and/ or living abroad, the cultural similarities between their home and host destinations and the Erasmus family. Other means of adjustment comprised in the Dutch students' answers were the activities arranged by the host universities (such as the welcoming parties, the intercultural dinners and many other informal meetings), the common concerns and preoccupations that students manifested for experiencing new things, for itinerating, and for making new friends and, finally, their interest and eagerness to make contact with different people from various cultures. An important distinction between the Dutch respondents and their Romanian colleagues was that the former students did not accentuate the support of and friendship with fellow nationals as essential in facilitating their cultural transition:

[...] my goal was not to hang out with Dutch people, because I know a lot of Dutch people and I like them, but not when I'm abroad, I want to meet other people (Doreth, Norway).

At the same time, as largely explained before, this was the main adaptive pattern in the Romanian students' case.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Students (particularly Erasmus students) are enrolling in European universities in increasing numbers, yet previous research seldom focuses on their adaptive challenges abroad in relation to the identity shifts that the intercultural experiences may trigger. In this context, the empirical section of this article was meant to address such issues and to contribute to the extant literature on the subject by revealing the main inconveniences that Erasmus

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students face nowadays while trying to temporarily adapt to the host European cultures, together with the factors that help them diminish their adaptive efforts and integrate abroad. To this end, our research addressed to young Romanian and Dutch people who have spent an Erasmus stage of several months in a European country at their choice. Among the most common theories that explain the complex phenomenon of cross-cultural adaptation we have built the analysis on Kim's *Communication Systems Model* (2001, 2005), which highlights that adaptation actually occurs through communication and the building of social networks.

Being transplanted into a new culture inevitably necessitates adjustment. The most obvious type of adjustment international students have to deal with is academic, as studying in a different country often involves a different education style and new kinds of demands and expectations. Still, academic adjustment is only one aspect of the whole process of adaptation international students deal with. Like other sojourners, these students have to adapt "outside of the classroom" as well. And our empirical study has rather focused on Romanian and Dutch students' adaptation (mainly) outside the academic context, although the academic and the non-academic aspects of students' experiences are often inextricably linked.

From the adaptive perspective, the main conclusion of this article is in line with other studies in the field revealing that the problems reported by the foreign students during their cultural transitions have remained essentially the same over the past years. Among them, the language barrier and the friendships with the host nationals were emphasized as the greatest challenges by our respondents. Nevertheless, if the language-related problems diminished considerably after the first sojourning weeks, the interaction with the host country's students and locals remained difficult throughout the whole exchange period and, most of the times, it did not exceed the academic environment. However, despite the initial language and accommodation-related difficulties associated with their foreign study, the great majority of the interviewed students have experienced a rather "soft" transition to the new cultural environments. Also, most of them confessed they grew attached to their host cultures and got to feel like home by the end of their stay, a fact demonstrating that students' overall level of adjustment to the new

environments was high. Among the various means of dealing with the challenges raised by the experience of being a foreign student, the fluency in English or the mastery of the host country's language (after the initial weeks abroad), the Erasmus identity and the interaction with other internationals were mentioned the most frequently. The theoretical assumption that intercultural adaptation actually occurs through increased communication and the building of social networks was highly confirmed by both the Romanian and the Dutch interviewees' experiences and perspectives. Having good communicative tools to gather information and navigate the adjustment process) as well as being fluent in English or in the host country's language were positively correlated with a successful cross-cultural adaptation by almost all the students. In short, drawing on the theoretical model that guided the current discussion concerning Erasmus students' cultural adaptation during their academic sojourn (*The Communication Systems Model*), we may conclude that students' communication adaptability together with their increased interaction (and, moreover, the combination of the two) can be viewed as the definition of cultural adjustment for the respondents involved in this study

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INTERCULTURAL AND MULTICULTURAL CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDENTS OF THE FACULTY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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Abstract: *This article aims to analyze the impact of implementation of projects in developing countries in the context of teaching students majoring in International Studies at increasing knowledge and competencies. With regards to increasing the level of understanding of intercultural and multicultural approaches in the process of refinement of the content of courses focused on regional development and sustainability and furthermore with focus on their theses. Development of the study program International Territorial Studies and knowledge of students is developed through a process of theses as well as by implemented projects in international internships. Students and supervising teachers participated on international travels within the projects NIKAZAM a SID in the years 2008 - 2014. The proposals that emerged from the analysis clearly demonstrated the positive impact on the expertise of students, not only in professional issues, but also in language training and skills preparation and implementation of various development projects. At the same time predictions about the need to increase the number of hours of courses leading to intercultural communication competence were confirmed. The total number of 96 students participated in the implementation of projects in the framework of international internships, specifically with 48 projects in 8 countries. The discovery of knowledge development test was used for humanitarian and developmental skills (HAT), which was aimed at testing expertise, project management knowledge and language skills.*

Keywords: *intercultural, multicultural, development project*

1. INTRODUCTION

International organizations operating in developing countries or countries affected by extraordinary events, address the security issue of distribution of essential commodities and then address the issue of humanitarian aid and development programs that require increasing levels of knowledge and skills that must follow the changes in educational programs and curriculum subjects so to allow to implement the defined objectives and to help exploit all available processes and technologies in the short term so that the burden for local resource constraints (Stiglitz 1999; Ivan ík *et al.*, 2014).

Solving the problem also requires the ability to analyze the economic level of an incident, the impact on future economic development and local participation in the aftermath. The ability to understand the differences in the political and economic development should be based on the knowledge and ability to implement theoretical approaches to practical implementation of projects and policies (Korecki, Pomazalová 2010).

Understanding the processes of humanitarian aid and development projects must be based on expanding knowledge of these areas and understanding of competencies and responsibilities of civilian and military actors in the development process of the region. Students of FRDIS should, due to its focus, gain greater knowledge of the activities of humanitarian and development assistance in the short term as well as in the intermediate term. The main problematic areas were identified as: low ability of graduate students to effectively use military and commercial capabilities in the humanitarian and development assistance in developing-country environments, feasibility of support plan for key competencies in development of graduate students, assessment of key activities for integrated knowledge of minimum needs and distribution process.

The problem of harmony of student knowledge, performed function, needed knowledge and realization of humanitarian assistance, was solved with the method of allocation of resources (Jurák, Ivan ík 2014; Buška, Stehlíková 2014). The problem of resources allocation was conceived

as a problem among contesting alternatives so that total costs of humanitarian assistance (Korecki *et al.*, 2010) and educational process were minimized. Identified issues had diverse components, which include set of resources and its availability, set of activities to be performed, consumption of resources and a set of costs and profits for each activity and resource.

Based on the development of knowledge of humanitarian capabilities and resources distribution the authors tested knowledge in several areas via the Humanitarian Assessment Test (HAT). The purpose of the Humanitarian Assessment Test (HAT) was to compare knowledge requested and knowledge achieved through the implementation of projects in developing countries for innovation needs of study programs. Based on testing and assessing of students who participated in internships abroad an innovation was proposed, with regards to the capability and preparedness of students to work in international environment, was made. Assumption on how to innovate curricula to knowledge student possible to identify local community problems and propose development projects and the current process of evaluation subjects suggest directions for further development of the curriculum.

The divergence in the interpretation of theoretical interpretation and practical implications of the knowledge and skill competencies is often a serious disproportion that creates an unbalanced relationship between the need for theoretical basis and practical skills. This situation is in the discrepancy with recent concept of humanitarian and development assistance. There are weak bindings in the structure of social networks created for sharing formal and informal knowledge by students and qualified and experienced members of members of UN and others NGO and IO members. Results of HAT pointed to the fact that the participation of foreign trips allow students to understand the issues of selected regions of developing countries in detail and it allows them to assess the needs of individual communities to develop the capacity for sustainable development. Clearly identified was a need for extension of development programs and internships abroad, including practical training of students (Korecki, Draghici 2012). These additional costs will be reflected in improved analytical capabilities of students and should contribute to understanding the process of implementation of humanitarian and development assistance and their reflection in the proposed projects of students in internships abroad.

Draft of curricula innovation stems from the need to deepen students' knowledge in the field of intercultural and multicultural knowledge and to upgrade curriculum of hard and soft skills in communication and negotiation.

In recent years, the question of how to educate humanitarian and development professionals gaining interest among educational institutions and experts at international level arose, due to the fact that the number of incidents of military and non-military permanently increased (Korecki, Cempřek 2014). Research has shown to be necessary not only to expand knowledge of the issue of distribution of channels and bottlenecks, but also in the use of sophisticated software distribution, the UN process to ensure the sustainability of humanitarian aid (Hondlová, Cabicarová 2013) and process analysis of transport networks of regions. The researchers noted that students have a fairly good knowledge of economic and statistical matters, but lack the knowledge of project management and implementation of projects in real life. Experience of 5 years of practical internships and curriculum development enabled to analyze and upgrade objectives and complement teaching with the necessary theoretical and practical knowledge, which are directed towards the implementation of sustainable development projects (Rejzek 2005; Ivaník *et al.*, 2014).

Despite considerable interest to determine what working positions were occupied by graduates and what skills are required the most in the field of development and humanitarian positions, due to the fact that most graduates began their careers at other positions, requirements of humanitarian organizations and the United Nations need to be considered. Based on this fact implementation of refinement and innovation of study programs needs to be done.

Faculty benefited from a survey completed in all subjects, but in several cases student participation was minimal and it was not possible to evaluate a relevant subject and propose innovative solutions. On the other hand, this result forced researchers to use robust lesson learned from the missions of humanitarian organizations, which served as a guide to change. The proposed changes are therefore curricula mix results obtained from the survey of students in dialogue with implementing the humanitarian and development aid and study the information available by the UN and other international and national bodies. Due to the efforts of the Czech

Republic to be more involved in UN missions it can be assumed that the need for humanitarian educated professionals will grow and will be closely monitored by their training in the context of the changing humanitarian situation and needs (Pecina, Kvapilová 2011).

Humanitarian and development aid is wide in both the content as well as in a wide range of activities and entrance requirements of members of

humanitarian organizations are very different. Still, the team evaluated the processors entry requirements and assumptions, and in this respect conducting research. The paper deals with graduates of International Area Studies who are mastering and benefiting of subjects, including their evaluation and processing implemented projects in developing countries.

Table 1: Total figures of students in academic year

	2008/ 2009	2009/ 2010	2010/ 2011	2011/ 2012	2012/ 2013	2013/ 2014	2014/ 2015
Regional development Bachelor's degree program	343	542	719	610	528	486	421
Regional development English language Bachelor's degree program	15	31	45	51	51	63	39
Master's degree program				101	170	183	169
English language Master's degree program				10	28	42	33
International territorial studies Bachelor's degree program		52	98	182	234	288	240
International territorial studies English language Bachelor's degree program		18	26	42	54	70	84
Master's degree program					31	81	87
English language Master's degree program					14	34	56
Total	358	643	888	996	1110	1247	1129

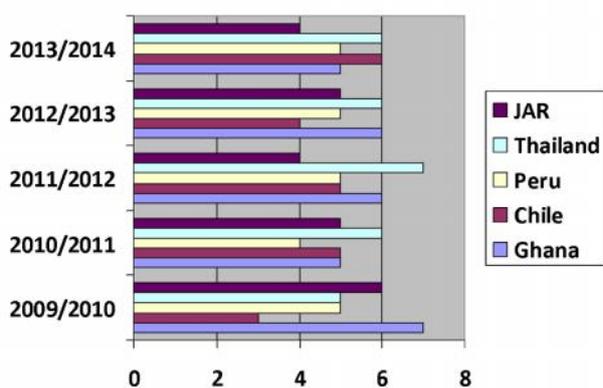


Fig.1 The number of projects in different countries

2. RELATION TO EXISTING THEORIES AND WORK

The purpose of the educational theory in general sense is to develop a theory of learning and to encourage a broad and effective discussion on theoretical problems in the educational process

(Engel, Gallagher, Lyle 2010). Educational Theory by Piaget (1972) based on multivariate analysis, in which he tried to find an answer to the following question: How knowledge grows and how it can be measured. Then he came up with the idea that intelligence is a general term that determines the level of customization capabilities, assimilation and accommodation. On the basis of published results Mezirow (1990) level of knowledge is not only influenced by the level of education, but its influence is also working environment, which are obtained by the knowledge that cannot be obtained in the course of training. When used and applied theory of transformative learning (Mezirow 1990), we assume that the psychological approach to adult learning is based on changes in self-perception and understanding of adults, their role in society. Mezirow theory has been used to express the reflection of education, skills development and the need to increase knowledge in the context of the requirements of practice.

3. RESEARCH APPROACH

The paper has direct relevance to the current debate on the impact and innovation of study programs at the level of theoretical knowledge and practical experience of students participating in internships abroad and changes in the level of interoperability in curriculum innovation in order to meet the expectations of the beneficiaries in third world countries. Secondly, the data set used in this document represents the first comprehensive analysis reflecting the accreditation process and the educational needs of students in the design and implementation of projects. Consequently, this paper is the first output of assessing students' expertise in contact with the realities of the developing world during the five academic years. These findings are consistent understanding of how to permanently adapt curricula to meet the needs of governmental and non-governmental organizations, which represent a potential employer for students of FRDIS. Furthermore, the research point to several new dimensions in the study program changes based on the new development of humanitarian and development aid. Research including 96 students participating in the implementation of projects NIKAZAM and SID represented a set of information for departmental advice when applying changes to the program. Through test questionnaire answered by 96 students who completed courses and internships during 2009–2014.

To achieve efficient use of skills and abilities in humanitarian and development aid in a hostile environment at strategic distances metrics and methods of quantification assessing performance

were formulated. At the same time, however, due to the changing conditions of the international environment, especially the difference in attitudes towards the suffering of victims was very difficult to define the zero option, since that was to be done to compare. Defining and identifying key actors, their activities and uncontrolled variables were used as a basis for finding the best criteria for the optimal solution. Decision-making criterion was defined as the deciding factor of students' abilities. Achievements of academic knowledge and practical skills are indicative of the fact that the increasing demands on students are good preparation for the implementation of practical projects in the real world. It is likely that academics can predict future market requirements and the needs of graduates, but without analysis of practical experience will make adjustments study programs at random and uncoordinated manner, without sufficiently filled with knowledge.

4. FINDINGS

The authors found that students of the international territorial studies achieved the following results in the past year expertise; in subjects Security Problems in Developing Countries ranging from 45 to 73 points, Tourism in regional development ranging from 42 to 78 points, Economic geography ranging from 43 to 76 points, Global and Regional Aspects of the labor market in the range of 28 to 60, International Trade between 30 to 63, Development problems of Africa ranging from 32 to 83, Preparation and project management between 42 to 90 (see Figure 2).

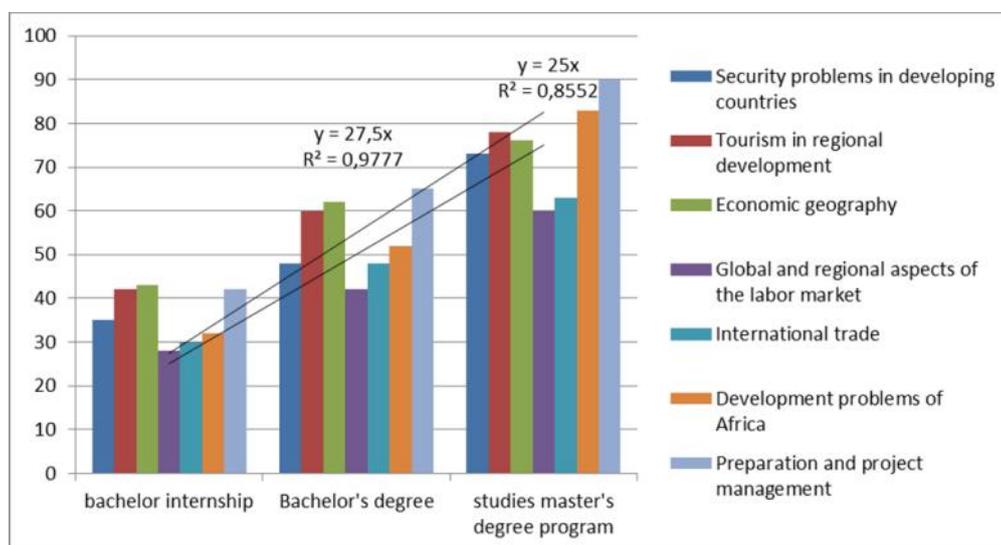


Fig.2 Master degree students - growth (level) of knowledge in certain periods of interest

Milestones for measuring knowledge were established in the period between the first and third year of internships and study periods for the state exam of master's degree. During testing there was a predictive knowledge, the current evaluation of subjects will not only improve the quality of teaching, but also help increase the expertise of students, not only in theory but also in practical skills, especially in the process of development and implementation of projects. Further analysis shows that statistical significance is the requirement for more comprehensive knowledge in the field of information technology and knowledge of logistic processes in multinational environment. Evidence also suggests that the study hours and a suitable study literature improves general knowledge and at the same time it shows to be a good tool in increasing of e-learning knowledge and a suitable study material, excluding presentations.

Measured periods of interest: 1...End of initial short-term attachment; 2...Bachelor's exam; 3...Master exam (only master degree students).

Linear trend line represents regular growth of Preparation and project management and Development problems of Africa. The reason linear increase of knowledge is that when students for internships abroad have created conditions for intensive processing project while meeting with reality allows them not only to understand the complex issues of development assistance, but can compare theoretical knowledge with practical implementation. Research on students' knowledge before leaving a bachelor's degree before the end proved well-adjusted trend because it allows students of master study program to choose the area of interest for further study. this selection is mostly positively influenced by dislocations internships.

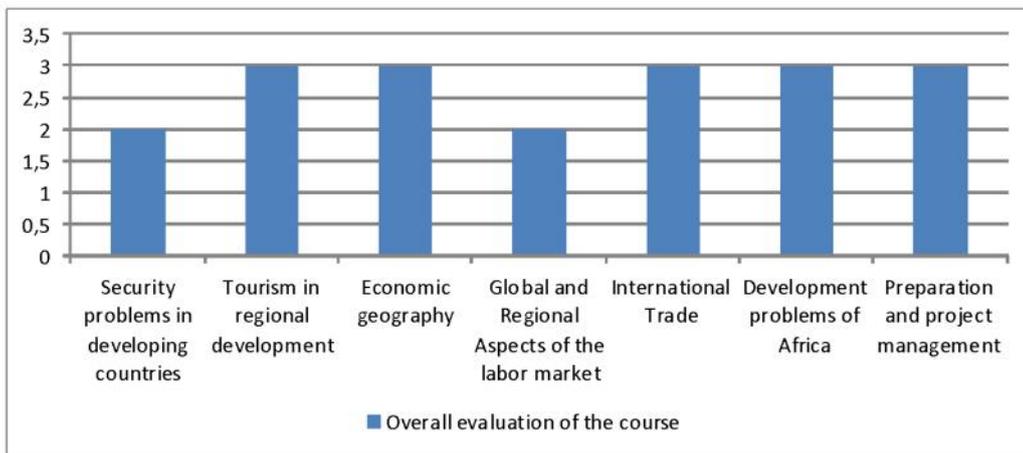


Fig.3 Evaluation of the course in terms of quality and skills

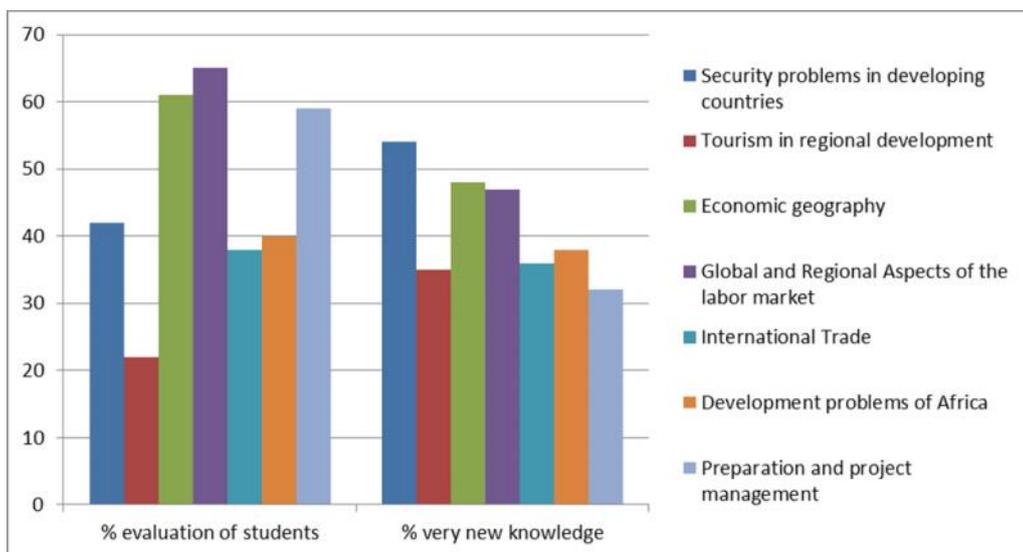


Fig.4 Evaluation of subjects

GENERAL MILITARY REGULATIONS – NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION HANDBOOKS? THE PRESCRIPTIVE NONVERBAL PROFILE OF ROMANIAN SOLDIERS

A precondition for successful study Programmes Centre's ability to obtain adequate response from the students and lecturers from abroad. The data collection process has enabled Specialist Board study program to respond and provide the required areas of interest in education to prepare students for practical exits better. To illustrate the process Specialist Board are graphs 3 and 4 evaluation of selected items that most correlated to foreign internships and needs of students' knowledge.

Based on our findings, there are two main reasons for the differences in the level of knowledge before departure and on return, just as there are differences between students who did not participate in the internships. Based on the analysis, the students who participated in trips demonstrating the greater level of interest and implementation of foreign and defense projects have led to higher student interest in the issue of development aid and examining the results of this assistance to the standard of living of countries. This case demonstrates that students, graduates of foreign internships are not only more critical of the topics discussed, but are also actively involved in teaching projects. At the same time demonstrated the interdependence between language skills and the complexity of the problems (Lehtonen, Karjalainen 2008). Execution of the tasks of humanitarian and development assistance in the context of the objectives of the UN one of the most important problems and develop skills of students reflects the ability of the doctoral board of FRDIS not only analyze the data, but also their transfer into the curriculum of courses and educational literature. It turns out that regular participation of students on internships abroad, continuous evaluation of subjects and data collection on students' knowledge is the right way to maintain competitiveness of FRDIS graduates in the labor market in the Czech Republic, but also internationally.

5. CONCLUSIONS & ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Due to the fact that FRDIS in 2015 finished projects NIKAZAM and SID and held simultaneously study program evaluation, it was appropriate to implement innovation articles, while preparing other projects to support student internships abroad to destinations of interest in Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. Detection of knowledge has been demonstrated by test development and humanitarian knowledge.

The total number of students who passed the test in the academic year 2014/2015 was 112 HAT uses a set of testing tools used to test students' knowledge gained in the areas of security (Kelemen, Bu ka, Ne as 2010) regional development, labor market, trade and tourism and enable cross-sectionally gain a complete understanding of students' knowledge. The main reason for the preparation and implementation of the test was to examine students' abilities to implement development programs in Third World countries under limited conditions and in harsh environments. The proposed projects, their confrontation with the local conditions of the developing world, and comparison options to implement Czech and European experience in Third World countries are a good starting point for future employees of governmental and non-governmental organizations or managers of medium level. The authors analyzed the students' knowledge in several milestones that enable them to develop the comparison results. According to participatory paradigm HAT test was created to allow analyzing the theoretical basis in comparison with practical skills. A systematic approach is used in solving the given problem was the behavior of the entire system. It is believed that the interaction between these elements contributed to the progress of students' learning, requirements development and humanitarian organizations and to allow further innovation subjects.

Based on the findings, the authors recommend paying more attention to greater fulfillment of competencies, particularly in teamwork, awareness and respect for non-European cultures and strengthen the ability to organize and plan the work of the team members. It was also found that the students did not have sufficient analytical apparatus in assessing everyday needs of local residents and they were not experienced in standardized procedures and processes. Standing deficit of human resources and the complexity of forecasting requirements in meeting the humanitarian and development aid assumes constant innovation courses in international area studies so as to implement the requirements of the contemporary development of third world countries while allowing for ongoing education experts and voluntary employees of non-profit organizations involved in both, development and humanitarian programs.

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University in Brno (Czech Republic). The authors take full responsibility for the contents and scientific correctness of the paper.

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AMBIGUITY IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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Abstract: *The focus of this paper is on intercultural communication, on the process of making information cross different cultures and social groups. Taking into account the fact that transmitting information properly across cultures is a challenge even for individuals acting on their own behalf, this process becomes even more difficult for supranational institutions. The starting point is the perspective of Eric Eisenberg on strategic ambiguity, as an important element in successful organizational communication. But to what extent can we regard ambiguity as being constructive or destructive in building inter or cross-cultural interactions and to what extent does communication need to be clear in order to be effective? These are the main aspects that are being analysed in this paper.*

Keywords: *strategic ambiguity, intercultural communication, discourse, collective identity, institution.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, intercultural communication has become a more complex process, due to the new technological development and to the borders that it manages to surpass. Supranational institutions have an even more difficult task, when trying to convey messages to a large and diverse audience.

The aspects we are going to discuss in this article are divided into a theoretical and a practical approach: First, we are going to discuss institutional discourse, collective identity, clarity and strategic ambiguity in discourse, and the ethics behind strategic ambiguity. The practical part consists in a short interpretation of the ambiguity used in the European Union institutional discourse. The question we are trying to answer is whether ambiguity in institutional discourse impedes the recipients of the message to be properly informed, or it is a means of addressing a wide audience in an inclusive way.

2. LACK OF CLARITY IN DISCOURSE

Ignacio Ramonet in the paper *La tyrannie de la communication* analyses the role that new information technologies, in general, and the Internet, in particular, have in transmitting information that is more and more diffuse and less and less controlled:

the current concern of the citizens is based on the belief that the informational system in itself is not

reliable, that it is faulty, that it gives proof of incompetence and that it can – sometimes without knowledge - present enormous lies as truths¹ (Ramonet, 2001: 42).

Notwithstanding the impact of the Internet, television is considered to be the medium of transmitting information of the greatest impact; it can lead to the amplification in the importance of a particular event or to draw the attention from other important events (Ramonet, 2001:45-52).

Alice Krieg-Planque, in the book *Analyser les discours institutionnels*, points out that democratic life is completely constructed with texts and words, and she gives the example of the election process, a free and independent act, behind which there are a lot of discourse activities meant to lead to persuasion, adhesion, association or support (Krieg-Planque, 2014:15). In discourse analysis, the lack of clarity, the vague, is not considered to be a shortcoming, but a resource that the language offers to its users, as producing or analysing a text does not consist in eliminating ambiguities, but in identifying its multiple points of questionability, of describing the discursive effects, of offering different interpretations (Krieg-Planque, 2014:155). In some institutional and professional situations, the uncertainty and lack of explicitly can be considered as a problem or an obstacle, as there is a tendency to value clarity and the lack of confusion. Hence, part of the lack of clarity is

¹ author's translation from French

eliminated due to the usage of language in context and the targeted audience would eventually perceive what was meant to be transmitted; ambiguity and polysemy are considered to be acceptable in particular domains such as poetry or advertising. Krieg-Planque considers that the acceptance of ambiguity should not be restrained to some particular domains, as language is considered to be naturally equivocal, and each language has its own points of ambiguity and polysemy that are difficult to be transposed and translated in other languages. In the translation process, some ambiguities are eliminated but, at the same time, new ones are being introduced. The misunderstandings that occur because of ambiguity are not denied, but ambiguity should be regarded also as a multitude of interpretations, as a plurality of possible interpretations, and not only as a source of misinterpretation. The political discourse, for example, or public discourse in general, needs to take into account the diversity of the audience and of the addressees. How else could a message represent a threat and a commitment at the same time, other than being equivocal? The author gives the example of the sentence *Order will be maintained at any cost*, which can be perceived and interpreted in both of the above mentioned ways, by different categories of audience. (Krieg-Planque, 2014: 155-166)

An over neutral tone and register may have the exact opposite effect. Instead of including a large range of the audience, it can make individuals feel that the speech does not address them personally. An over neutral language may not reach the audience, and can be interpreted as lack of involvement. Let us use as example the online marketing campaigns, where the e-mails we receive are personalized. Instead of the more impersonal *dear customer*, using names and, mostly, first names has the purpose of creating a more personal relation, a stronger bond between the one who offers the service and the product, and the potential customer or consumer.

But we cannot always address individuals directly and, in some cases, the purpose is to address them as a group, in order to make them feel that they belong to that particular group. This leads us to the concept of collective identity.

3. COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

The concept of collective identity, an identity that dynamically transcends the individual, is defined by Alberto Melucci as

an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place. (Melucci, 1995: 44)

He also points out that identity is the result of an active process that comprises self-reflection, in spite of the tendency to make it stable. (Melucci, 1995: 45-46).

Collective identity does not refer only to the recipients of the message, but also to the sender of the message, to the collective sender or enunciator. Dominique Maingueneau makes a distinction between *locuteurs individuels* and *locuteurs collectifs*, identifying the discourse of institutions as a discourse of collective locutors/enunciators, a discourse that not only creates, but also reinforces the identity of the institutions (Maingueneau, 2014: 75).

The bond between language and identity is very strong as, language is not just a means of expressing identity, but also a means of creating identity, or of identities, as we can belong to different types of groups, whether they are small or large, supranational ones, and we can migrate from one group to the other. (Ferreol, Jucquois, 2005: 159).

4. STRATEGIC AMBIGUITY AND ETHICS

The notion of „strategic ambiguity” was introduced by Eric Eisenberg in an article published in 1984, *Ambiguity as strategy in organizational communication* (Eisenberg, 2007: 3-24). According to Eisenberg, the concept of an idyllic message is clearly deceiving, as clarity is not a characteristic of messages, but it is a relational variable, influenced by a series of factors such as the source, the message and the recipient of the message. In an attempt of being clear, individuals take into consideration the possible interpretative contexts of the recipient and the possibility of restraining the area of possible interpretations. However, in certain contexts, it is more convenient to omit certain contextual aspects and to make room for multiple interpretations by the recipients.

Discussing the way strategic ambiguity is being used within the organizations, Eisenberg considers that it encompasses multiple points of view, and its usage is common in the organizational missions, scopes or plans. Using strategic ambiguity is considered to be a political necessity, so that different composing groups can give different interpretations to the utilized symbols. This type of discourse can also be used in the case of group documents, promoting in this

manner a unified diversity. Even though the perspectives of the group members can be somewhat different, this is a manner in which the group can express one single voice (Eisenberg, 2007: 8-9).

According to Eisenberg, strategic ambiguity can contribute to the development of interpersonal relations within organizations, creating certain personal bonds between the people that perceive messages in a similar way. To support this statement, Eisenberg gives the example of using jargon and nicknames. For those outside the organization, a speech that uses these elements may seem ambiguous and bizarre, but for those within, who understand the real meaning of the message, it is a reaffirmation of their belonging to that particular group. (Eisenberg, 2007: 12).

Another aspect that should be taken into consideration when discussing strategic ambiguity is ethics. Eisenberg considers that ambiguity is ethical or not depending on the scope that it is being used for:

The use of more or less ambiguity is in itself not good or bad, effective or ineffective; whether a strategy is ethical depends upon the ends to which it is used, and whether it is effective depends upon the goals of the individual communicators (Eisenberg, 2007: 18).

However, in some cases, the unethical use of strategic ambiguity is evident, and greater attention should be paid to the line between ambiguity and deception (Sim, Fernando, 2010: 19).

Similarly to the awareness of cultural specificity, when communication surpasses the limits of a certain discursive system the people involved are more aware of the communicational process. In order to improve professional communication, in the case of different discursive systems, we could consider a thorough research regarding the people that we interact with, whether this research envisages culture, gender, age, individual specificities, and accepting the fact that discrepancies in common understanding are a constant of intercultural or inter-discursive communication, that should be accepted.

The use of strategic ambiguity is an instrument of expressing a diversity of views or interpretations and promotes *inclusiveness and unity in its diversity*. (Sim, Fernando, 2010: 4). And since *unity in diversity* is also a motto of the European Union, next, we are going to focus on a favourable interpretation of ambiguity, on its usage in a type of non-conflictual discourse, namely the EU discourse in official documents and speeches.

5. AMBIGUITY IN THE EU INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE

We have chosen this type of institutional discourse due to the complexity and diversity of the recipients and to the wide impact that it has in the public sphere. We are going to present three categories of discursive ambiguity, in terms of three main purposes that we have identified: ambiguity to avoid assigning blame or responsibility; ambiguity to draw cautious conclusions and make cautious predictions; ambiguity for inclusion and to encourage participation.

5.1 Ambiguity to avoid assigning blame or responsibility. In order to exemplify this role of subtle accountability, we are going to use a press release of the *European Commission on Giving Citizens a Say: Commission Report on European Citizens' Initiatives*:

The fact that two Citizens' Initiatives have gone through the full process shows that the Regulation establishing the ECI has been fully implemented. However, the report acknowledges that *there is still room to improve* the process and identifies *a number of possible issues* for further discussion with stakeholders and institutions.[...] Statements of support have been received from citizens in all 28 EU Member States. However, *there are situations where some citizens* have not been able to support Initiatives due to diverging Member States' requirements. The Commission is involved in constructive discussions with the Member States concerned to address these issues and *has adopted measures* today to facilitate a resolution. (European Commission, 31 March 2015)

The speech seems to be more precise when it expresses the positive outcomes, but more ambiguous when tackling less positive outcomes. The fact that *there is still room to improve the process* has the aim of highlighting what has been accomplished, instead of what was not implemented. The purpose of the speech is not only of transmitting information, but also of generating action. The aim could be to make the persons or institutions that are in charge of these aspects to solve some of the problems that occurred, without clarify assigning responsibilities. Hence, ambiguity is not only strategic, but we can consider it to be inevitable, as the purpose is not to particularize but to generalize, in order to present a report on a situation. The measures to facilitate resolution, though not clearly stated at this point, are presented as potential generators of win-win

situations, where all member states are responsible and where all can benefit from the outcomes.

5.2 Ambiguity to draw cautious conclusions and make cautious predictions. Let us examine part of a report provided by Policy Department A for the Committee on Employment and Social Affairs, which summarises the results of the project *Wage Dispersion in the European Union*:

Although this share has been *rather* stable in the years before 2010, it *may* have increased due to the adverse economic developments caused by the Euro area debt crisis, as fiscal consolidation programmes launched in several countries are *likely* to have limited employment opportunities in the short and medium run [...] Finally, the gender dimension *may* be among the driving forces of inequality. [...] Gender-based inequalities are further enforced by the fact that women are more often engaged in part time work than men. In this regard, the creation of more full-time work opportunities for females *might* act as an instrument to reduce the difference between *certain* percentiles of monthly earnings. [...] Wage setting institutions *may* affect wage inequality, but *probably* not instantaneously (Dreger *et al.*, 2015:14-45).

We can notice in the text above the use of modifiers such as *rather*, *likely*, *probably*, or of modal verbs of possibility, such as *may*, that express cautiousness when making predictions or when making affirmations about the factors that led to complex social, political or economic consequences. As the report tackles sensitive topics such as inequality, incomes and gender, it is not advisable to make clear cause-effect affirmations, and a slight ambiguity is not only a strategy, but also advisable and realistic.

2.4.3 Ambiguity for inclusion and to encourage participation. In order to illustrate the inclusive usage of ambiguity, we can observe parts of a speech given by Neven Mimica, commissioner in charge of International cooperation and Development, at the Conference European Responsibility in a Global World:

We stand before a unique opportunity to shape the development agenda for generations to come and to re-define the way the global community works together. The European Union - both the European institutions and the EU Member States - have a great responsibility in making this opportunity a success.[...] I consider it essential that politicians and citizens use this momentum to hold informed discussions on what more Europe can do to make the world a fairer place, ensure social justice and eradicate poverty. (European Commission, 26 March 2015)

The notion of fairness can be considered to be ambiguous, as it is perceived differently, and how a group or an individual perceives fairness will justify their actions, regardless of how they may impact others. Let us take the example of similar wages for similar positions. For some employees, this could seem like a fair treatment, but to others, that feel they put more effort and they contribute more to the welfare of the institution of company that they work for, the same algorithm can be perceived as unfair. Nevertheless, concepts such as *fairness* or *social justice* are often included in speeches, as they have a positive connotation, even if they are interpreted differently.

The commissioner adds that:

We stand at a critical point in the process, with the post-2015 negotiations intensifying. The EU will play an invaluable bridge-building role. (European Commission, 26 March 2015)

This role of building bridges is again slightly ambiguous, and can be interpreted as building bridges between member-states, between citizens, between member and non-member states, building economic, cultural or political bridges.

She also states that:

The Union's clear message is that financing for development [...] needs to ensure mobilisation and effective use of domestic resources. This includes responsible public finance management, preventing tax avoidance and evasion, fight against illicit financial outflows, introducing financial transactions tax and other innovative taxation. But we must not only ask others in the developing world to improve tax fairness and transparency. We must start with that at home in Europe. (European Commission, 26 March 2015)

This part of the speech encourages participation. It is interesting to see how taxation, which is normally perceived in a negative way, is associated with the term *innovative*, in order to give it a positive connotation, as financing has a development purpose, without clearly specifying what taxation or what development is to be expected. Also, how domestic resources are being used effectively is again an aspect that is perceived and quantified differently.

6. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, ambiguity should be regarded more than as a lack of conveying a singular, clear message, as a capacity of producing multiple understandings, a way of reconciling the diversity

of individuals and the institutions envisaged. Ethical aspects are, in many cases, difficult to be established, as they depend on the intention of the author, but strategic ambiguity should not be associated with unethical behaviour, as even a very clear message can have unethical intentions behind it.

Similar perceptions of ambiguous messages give individuals the feeling of belonging or confirm the belonging to a group. Hence, the ambiguity used in institutional discourse is a valuable tactic and, even though we do not encourage lack of clarity, we are aware of the fact that, in some cases, ambiguity is a feature of intercultural communication.

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REPETITIVE AND COMPETITIVE MEDIA FRAMES AND HOW THEY AFFECT AUDIENCES' TRUST

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Abstract: *Today, due to the dynamic media context, there is a high probability that people expose to different types of media frames over time. Thus, the present study starts from two suppositions: firstly, individuals tend to be exposed to a variety of information flows, including one-sided or two-sided information flows and secondly, the exposure to different frames might cause different effects. More specifically, these flows refer to either repetitive (one-sided information frames) or competitive coverage (two-sided information frames). Therefore, this study aims at comparing the effects of repetitive versus competitive frames on audiences' trust in political figures, as well as determining the duration of framing effects. The research methodology used for the present study is based on a framing experiment (N=769), since this study empirically follows the dynamic nature of framing effects and their duration. Therefore, to investigate the effects of repetitive and competitive media frames over time, we conducted a survey experiment with three measurement points: T1 – immediate after exposure, T2 – one week after exposure and T3 – one month after exposure. As a stimulus material, we chose the issue regarding the present economic situation in Romania because studies show that topics linked to economic consequences tend to be more socially relevant to people in general. Findings show that there are some differences between the groups of participants assigned to the repetitive scenario as compared to those assigned to the competitive one. When analysing the duration of framing effects, we found grounds to argue that framing effects are more powerful after one month, if compared with one week.*

Keywords: *framing effects, repetitive frames, competitive frames, duration of effects*

1. INTRODUCTION

During the last ten years, research in the field of media effects has been gaining more and more ground among researchers. More specifically, recent news framing research is exploring if and how media continue to play a role in influencing people's attitudes, behaviours and opinions (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008; Holbert, Garrett, & Gleason, 2010; Shehata & Strömbäck, 2013). Thus, this study aims at determining if media still influence audiences' attitudes in such a consistent way as to be considered an important entity in people's lives.

Given this context, this study starts from the idea that the real-life impact of media frames on attitudes, behaviours and opinions could not be investigated apart from creating a dynamic media scenario. It includes two possible types of media exposure: exposure to the same frame (repetitive framing) as well as exposure to different frames (competitive framing). Moreover, in line with recent research developments, we included tests of duration of framing effects (Lecheler & de Vreese,

2011, 2013). The reason why we chose to create a scenario including both one-sided and two-sided information flows (Zaller, 1992) as well as exposures after certain moments in time is that we wanted to come closer to what happens in real life.

As studies show, a lot of framing research designs are based on a microscopic view of the influence that news frames exert on audiences' attitudes (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013:149). This microscopic view refers to the fact that these research studies focus mainly on the influence of one frame at a time (i.e., Nelson, Oxley, & Clawson, 1997). Building on this empirical finding, which reveals that there is a framing effect mechanism, research should go further in order to investigate how framing effects function in a setting that is similar to the dynamics of a daily media use. Thus, from now on, framing research designs should consider that it is not enough to evaluate the significant impact of framing effects on people's attitudes apart from the entire flow of communication – they should emphasize the role of framing effects on audience's attitudes and behaviours within this flow.

Our study is based on a combination of both classical and recent theoretical discoveries in the field of framing effects. This combination allowed us to build a strong theoretical framework that describes the variability of people's attitudes as a result of how media framed an issue. Moreover, recent discoveries on the duration of framing effects allowed us to reconsider these classical theories as starting points for a research design that is more firmly set into reality.

The power of framing effects on people's attitudes and behaviour has been consistently investigated and there are results that show visible effects evoked by a single media frame even a full two weeks after exposure (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2011, 2013). These results are in favour of the idea that framing effects have real-life applicability (Tewksbury, Jones, Peske, Raymond, & Vig, 2000) or, in other words, that media frames can still have a role in influencing people's attitudes. On the other hand, these results question whether framing effects are similar or different in a dynamic context, as it is the case of today's media context. That is why our study wants to advance a more complex research design, including multiple frame exposures (some repetitive, others competitive) as well as the duration of effects across time (one week versus one month after the first exposure). By doing so, our goal is to come closer to a dynamic media use scenario and also to move further in the direction of a realistic approach towards news framing effects (see also Chong & Druckman, 2008; Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013).

In the present study, we test the magnitude of a framing effect immediately and at two delayed time points. In addition, we analyse the effects of either a repetitive or a competitive re-exposure. It is our purpose to advance the idea that framing research could not be done systematically without considering the implications of a dynamic media scenario – not only in terms of frames, but also in terms of framing effects duration.

2. REPETITIVE AND COMPETITIVE FRAMING EFFECTS

The literature regarding framing effects has been consistently augmented since more and more researchers seem to be interested by the fundamental theoretical framework on which framing effects function (Chong & Druckman, 2007c; Entman, 1993; Iyengar, 1990, 1991; Scheufele, 2000; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Zhou & Moy, 2007). As studies suggest, analysing

framing effects is an interesting research field, since it might serve the researcher as a tool to explain why some "changes in the presentation of an issue or an event produce changes of opinion" (Chong & Druckman, 2007c:104). Media frames can be defined as specific mirrors through which reality can be perceived. Moreover, as framing scholars pointed, frames have a selective function and may offer suggestions about certain attributes, judgments or decisions (Scheufele, 2000).

Framing scholars have successfully suggested how media frames influence the way in which audiences make sense of issues in general. In particular, researchers focused on showing if and how news frames are able to modify audiences' opinions, attitudes, and behaviours with regard to a specific topic. However, the discovery of a framing effect mechanism that might be working is not enough and the next step would be to evaluate the implications of such an effect in a realistic setting (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013:149). This setting that comes closer to the dynamics of the daily media use includes a fluent flow of communication, in which both conflict and consensus are high on the media agenda.

In real-life scenarios people might be exposed to different news frames at different times. This discovery can be explained with the help of some findings suggested by Zaller (1992) in persuasion research studies. The author found interesting implications of repeated, as compared to competing types of information and he developed a model that explains the role of different types of media content on opinion formation. His main discovery was that media might have a substantial effect on modifying people's opinion only when the information they presented was repeated and consistent (one-sided information). On the other hand, when media present conflicting information, their potential impact on people's opinion is limited or absent. Thus, starting from these discoveries and applying them to framing research, media frames flows are likely to involve both the repetition and the competition among messages as time passes. Since they are different, the results and implications of these two types of frames are likely to vary. One possible explanation of this variance could be based on the framing literature, which offers some hints about the psychological mechanisms behind these different effects (Brewer, 2006; Hansen, 2007; Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013; Lee, McLeod, & Shah, 2008).

Zaller's work on how different media content can generate different effects on opinion is not

singular. For example, Peter (2004:145) studies the effects produced by the news frames that are consistent to people's pre-existing considerations (consonant coverage) in comparison with the effects produced by news frames that are opposed to what people already think and know (dissonant coverage). His expectation is that it is more probable that consonant coverage generates a more significant effect than dissonant one. Also, de Vreese and Boomgaarden (2006) suggest that media frames that contain information people already expect are more likely to produce effects, as compared to those frames that are in contradiction to people's expectation and knowledge. Thus, in line with these theoretical insights, our study focuses on the idea that framing effects may be different due to different types of exposure: repetitive or competitive.

Some framing scholars have mentioned that repetitive exposures might exert stronger effects on people's opinions attitudes, and behaviours as compared to one frame exposures (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Iyengar, 1991; Valkenburg, Semetko, & de Vreese, 1999). The emergence of stronger effects is motivated by the fact that the repetition of a message is one of the main factors that determines strong and stable attitude changes (Holland, Verplanken, & Knippenberg, 2003). Another explanation for strong effects determined by repetitive frames is based on the approach developed by Price and Tewksbury (1997:199). The authors suggest that the impact of a frame is generally influenced by the effects of accessibility and applicability. To be more specific, accessibility refers to the extent to which individuals can bring certain considerations back to memory; applicability means the extent to which individuals are able to create cognitive bridges between what they already know and what media present. This explains why repetitive frames can be more powerful than other types of frames because they are able to cause higher levels of accessibility. Then, once a consideration is repeatedly activated, the probability that it is in accordance with other pre-existing considerations is also high. Thus, if a framing effect has taken place, repetition of that specific frame generates a high level of accessibility, which, in turn, determines a stronger connection between the new and old information (see also Matthes, 2007). In other words, repetitive exposure guarantees a strong influence of a frame, both on a short-term and on a long-term basis (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013:149).

The majority of existing studies are in favour of the idea that repetitive framing effects are strong and that they could be explained through the impact of accessibility and applicability. Iyengar (1991) suggested that at least in domains with which people do not have direct connections, they tend to rely on media and, more specifically, on the information that media chose for them. Besides accessibility, it is important to mention that stronger effects generated by the repetition of media frames firstly depend on how applicable a specific frame is to the individual (Baden, 2009).

It is not surprising that competitive news framing has attracted the attention of a number of scholars (Chong & Druckman, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c; Druckman & Bolsen, 2009). It is probably because the study of dispute itself fascinates researchers in communication (see also Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992). Studies about competitive exposure refer to exposure to at least two competing messages, which are expected to cause different effects. Sniderman and Theriault (2004) added one extra condition in their study design – they wanted to evaluate the impact of competing media messages present at the same time. Their main discovery is that competitive exposure functions as a factor that drives individuals to reconsider their own ideas, which leads to minimal framing effects.

The approach of Sniderman and Theriault (2004) is not unique. Thus, their main idea that exposure to competitive messages may have a minimal framing effect is also explained by other researchers, mainly in connection with the rules of motivated reasoning. For example, Chong and Druckman (2007b:640) make a distinction between strong and weak frames and suggest that the alternative presence of these competing frames is what leads individuals to weigh the advantages of alternative interpretations. Strong frames are built on the principles of accessibility and applicability – they can be easily activated and they are in line with individuals' pre-existing considerations; weak frames cannot be so easily brought back into memory, mainly because they are less applicable. In this context, weak frames might be rejected and only strong frames would have a more powerful effect. In other words, as the authors suggest, competitive framing effects depend on the strength of the frame (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013:150).

According to the framing literature discussed above, we can conclude that both theoretical and empirical research has explored the impact of repetitive and competitive exposure on individuals'

opinions, attitudes, or behaviours. The main ideas of these research studies are:

1. Repetitive exposure may generate strong framing effects

2. Competitive exposure may lead individuals reconsider their own beliefs/considerations, which means minimal or no framing effects.

However, these two important ideas refer to a single exposure and, implicitly, to a single experimental setting, in which the magnitude of a framing effect is tested only immediately after exposure. We think that only by considering the impact of time on framing effects could we make strong and valuable conclusions. Thus, the next section of the paper is dedicated to a discussion on the power of framing effects over time.

3. THE POWER OF FRAMING EFFECTS OVER TIME

Research studies from the last ten years show an increasing interest regarding the impact of time on the magnitude of framing effects (de Vreese, 2004; Druckman & Nelson, 2003). Yet, studies that investigate the duration of powerful framing effects by exposing participants to multiple news frames, either repetitive or competitive in nature, are very rare. Also, there is little reference to the role played by the length of the period between two successive media exposures. Moreover, there seems to be two different approaches to time duration of framing: one that suggest that framing effects run quickly (i.e., de Vreese, 2004; Druckman & Nelson, 2003) and the other one that argue in favour of persistent framing effects (i.e., Lecheler & de Vreese, 2011; Tewksbury *et al.*, 2000).

For instance, de Vreese (2004) suggests that framing effects are fleeting and that a period of two weeks after the exposure leads to a total absence of effects. On the other hand, Tewksbury *et al.* (2000) suggest that framing effects are visible even after three weeks after exposure. Yet, as Lecheler and de Vreese (2013) noted, none of these studies point out why and when a framing effect exerts such an impact on individuals' attitudes as to be considered lasting or transitory.

3.1 Repetitive frames. Effects over time. In line with the literature discussed above, we argue in favour of the idea that repetitive exposures may function as a multiplier of effects over time. It is important to note that the power of repetition over time depends on the applicability of the frame to the individual and on the rate of accessibility,

which is how much media information people activate when exposed to a similar frame. According to Feldman and Lynch (1988), the rate of accessibility varies according to the period that passed since the last activation and according to the familiarity of the individual with the repeated message. Thus, starting from the assumption that, at least on political and economic topics, previous exposures are likely to be limited, we can assume that, if the period between two exposures is longer, the accumulative effect of repetition is weaker. In other words, repetitive exposures lead to strong effects, but they depend on the time that passes between two successive exposures. Stronger effects are more visible when the period between two exposures is shorter.

Hypothesis 1a (H1a): If an individual is repeatedly exposed to the same news frame over time, initial framing effects get stronger. (Accumulation hypothesis)

Hypothesis 1b (H1b): The shorter the interim period between two exposures, the stronger the accumulation effect.

3.2 Competitive frames. Effects over time.

Framing research studies on the effects of competitive exposures on individuals' attitudes show that competitive messages stimulate individuals to reconsider their own values and beliefs, thus framing effects are minimal. In other words, competing messages lead to diminishing applicability effects and only highly applicable news frames can produce significant effects in competitive settings (Chong & Druckman, 2007b). Also, Chong and Druckman (2008) suggest a first approach in framing research that considers both the competitive exposure and the temporal dimension. Based on some findings in psychology, the authors point out that the first (primacy effect) and the last (recency effect) things from a list are more likely to be activated, as compared to the things placed in the middle. Neighbouring disciplines, such as persuasion, confirm the dominance of recency effects in communication, which means that the latest media exposure exerts strong influence on attitudes and behaviour (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013:152). Thus, taking into consideration the recency effects and the idea that accessibility diminishes as time passes, we assume that competitive exposures function in the sense that the most recent frame is the strongest, also depending on the time that passes between two successive exposures. Stronger effects are more visible when the period between two exposures is longer.

Hypothesis 2a (H2a): If an individual is exposed to competing news frames over time, the most recent frame will have the strongest influence. (Recency hypothesis)

Hypothesis 2b (H2b): The longer the interim period between two exposures, the stronger the most recent frame effect.

4. POLITICAL TRUST

Research indicates that mass media still represent the main means of information nowadays. Moreover, mainly on issues that are more distant, sometimes, media offer their audiences the first contact with what reality is about. For example, research shows that media provide the bulk of politically relevant information and often serve as young voters' first contact with politics (Fu, Mou, Miller, & Jalette, 2011:45). Thus, we assume that different types of media coverage (repetitive versus competitive) and the time that passes between two exposures cause different levels of political trust.

Researchers have argued that media can have a significant influence on political attitudes (Cohen, Tsfati, & Sheaffer, 2008; McQuail, 1979; Newton, 1999; Stroud, 2008), which may explain other subtle influences that serve as driving forces behind attitude formation and change in general. In this vein, one political attitude that merits our attention is political trust. It is often referred in the literature as either political trust or political cynicism, both concepts describing the same variable (Fu et al., 2011:46). Political trust reveals a feeling of confidence in politics, politicians and governmental institutions by the public, whereas political cynicism reveals a feeling of distrust in these political entities (Strama, 1998). People who trust politics and politicians believe that the political systems, the politicians and the government deserve public respect and attention, they are honest and trustworthy. The two main dimensions of political trust seem to be politicians' reliability and competence (Adriaansen, van Praag, & de Vreese, 2010:435). Thus, a high degree of trust in political system means a higher motivation to participate in public activities; a low degree of trust leads to a gap between citizens and the political system, which means disengagement and distance from political processes (Pinkleton & Austin, 2004). Ultimately, a consistently low degree of political trust negatively influences the whole social structure in a country.

Since cynicism has been attributed by some scholars to negative media coverage (i.e., Adriaansen et al., 2010; Cappella & Jamieson, 1997) we assume that an increase in the degree of political trust could also be attributed to positive media coverage. Thus, in our research design, we assume that positive messages could result in a higher level of political trust, as compared to negative messages. As time passes, we assume that repetitive positive exposure might cause an increase of political trust, whereas repetitive negative exposure might cause a significant decrease. Moreover, we also expect that the latest frame would have the strongest impact on political trust: if the latest frame is positive, then the level of trust will be higher; on the other hand, if the latest frame is negative, then the level of trust will be lower.

Hypothesis 3a (H3a): If an individual is exposed to a positive message, the level of political trust will increase. Similarly, if an individual is exposed to a negative message, the level of political trust will decrease.

Hypothesis 3b (H3b): If an individual is exposed to repeated positive messages, the level of political trust will increase. Similarly, if an individual is exposed to repeated negative messages, the level of political trust will decrease.

Hypothesis 3c (H3c): If an individual is exposed to competitive messages, the latest positive frame will increase the level of political trust. Similarly, if an individual is exposed to competitive messages, the latest negative frame will decrease the level of political trust.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Research objective and questions

Our research has two main objectives: The first objective is to investigate the immediate effects generated by media exposure and the second one is to analyse the significant duration of framing effects. Thus, the research questions that guided our research are:

RQ1: How does a positive news frame influence the level of political trust?

RQ2: How does a negative news frame influence the level of political trust?

RQ3: How do repetitive exposures influence the level of political trust?

RQ4: How do a competitive exposures influence the level of political trust?

RQ5: How visible are framing effects on political trust over time?

5.2 Method. In order to analyse the effects of repetitive and competitive exposures over time, we conducted a survey experiment with three measurement points among young people, namely Romanian students. As a stimulus material, we chose the issue of the present economic situation in Romania. More specifically, we tested the impact of both positive and negative coverage of the present economic situation on people's political attitudes, namely on political trust. The choice for the economic situation in Romania is motivated by the idea that economic and political topics in general are expected to attract people's attention. Moreover, the importance that people attach to this kind of topics seems to be higher as compared to other topics.

Our study replicates a more complex study developed by Lecheler and de Vreese (2013). Thus, following some lines from this research study, we first established whether a news frame had a significant immediate effect on the dependent variable – political trust. Second, we allocated our sample into subgroups and traced the effects of both repetitive and competitive framing across two delayed measurement points.

5.3 General design. Initially, we randomly assigned participants to one of two conditions, which represented two alternative versions of a popular generic news frame, the “economic consequences” frame (see also Schuck & de Vreese, 2006; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). More specifically, one frame pointed out that the economic situation in Romania is good (positive frame) and the other one pointed out that the economic situation in Romania is bad (negative frame). The use of alternative versions of the economic frame has two main advantages: it enables us to create a scenario where both repetitive and competitive frames work and it ensures commensurability of the effects across conditions (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013:154). The external validity in our study is high, since both the positive and the negative economic frames are present in real media coverage in Romania today.

Our design also required participants to be assigned to a frame exposure scenario: repetitive exposure, competitive exposure or single/no re-exposure. The participants in the single/no re-exposure group were used as a control group; they received only one frame at T1. In order to create a clean experimental design, each participant was tested at a maximum of two points in time. This means that, after being tested immediately after a first exposure (T1), all the participants were split

up in time groups and each participant was assigned to only one additional delayed measurement point: after one week (T2) or after one month (T3). This procedure left us with an overall of 7 experimental conditions (see the Appendix). We made sure that each delayed time group contained a comparable number of participants for each condition. During the delayed measurement points, participants were interviewed on the basis of the same measures that were used in the immediate measurement test.

5.4 Interim period. The interim period we refer to is the period between two successive exposures. In order to create clean experimental conditions, we asked participants how much attention they had paid to news about the economic situation in Romania during the interim period (1 = no attention to 4 = a great deal of attention). This measurement revealed that 77.5% from the participants (N=285) had not paid any or had paid very little attention to this type of news. We also asked participants whether they had discussed the issue with someone else (for example with family or friends) during the interim period (1 = I did not discuss it to 4 = I discussed it quite a number of times). This measurement revealed that 84.2% from the participants had not discussed at all or had hardly discussed the issue. These findings confirm the idea that the absence of the issue from people's personal agenda might be a sign that their related attitudes are fluid and easy to be influenced by media and argue for effects due to the experimental treatment only.

5.5 Sample. The participants in our study were 769 Bachelor and Master Students from the College of Communication and Public Relations, NUPSPA, Bucharest. They were randomly chosen to participate in this study. For T1 they received a printed questionnaire (N=769), whereas for T2 and T3 they received an online questionnaire via Survey Monkey (T2 – N=151; T3 – N=134). The choice for students as participants in our study is motivated by the results from other research studies, which suggest that younger citizens have less stable attitudes than older ones and may not be so politically sophisticated since they have less economic and political experience. We therefore expect that young people's attitudes will be particularly affected by media coverage, either in a positive or in a negative way (Adriaansen et al., 2010; de Vreese & Elenbaas, 2008).

5.6 Procedure. The experimental procedure consisted in three main steps for each participant. Firstly, all participants received a printed

questionnaire at the moment T1, containing one of the two possible alternative economic frames (the economic situation is good or the economic situation is bad). Then, each participant was assigned to a re-exposure group: repetitive/competitive/single exposure. This was done to make sure that no participant would be tested at more than two points in time. At completing the T1 questionnaire, each participant was informed that he or she would be contacted for a follow-up study. Participants did not know that they would be asked the same question again in this follow up. The delayed repetitive or competitive news frame manipulations and the questionnaires were sent to participants after the respective delay: one week or one month. Participants in the single exposure group did not receive an additional news frame. Following the delayed measurement, all participants were debriefed.

5.7 Stimulus material. The stimulus material consisted of one news article per condition at T1 and one additional news article at T2 and T3 for the repetitive and competitive treatment conditions. Each news article contained one version of an economic consequences frame, varied to express either that the present economic situation in Romania is good or bad. Thus, articles varied both in their arguments and in the evaluative direction. Specifically, we manipulated an article about the economic and political issues in Romania, placing attention both to the economic situation itself and to the fact that politicians are responsible for the actual economic setting in which Romania is. Given the design of the study, it was better to use constructed rather than actually published news materials, since the use of real news coverage could have minimized the commensurability across conditions (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013:156). We chose this issue because it can be logically presented in terms of economic consequences and we adjusted the news articles as to be in line with the common layout and style of daily Romanian news coverage. We kept the basic core information within each news article identical, while some paragraphs in the story pointed out alternative economic facets of Romania's present situation.

5.8 Measures. Our dependent variable, political trust, was measured with a scale translated and adapted from Adriaansen, van Praag and de Vreese (2010:452). There were seven items on a five-point scale, with higher scores indicating higher levels of political trust (T1 – N = 753: M = 3.91, SD = 0.56, Cronbach's α = 0.715; T2 – N =

151: M = 3.84, SD = 0.65, Cronbach's α = 0.831; T3 – N = 134: M = 3.81, SD = 0.58, Cronbach's α = 0.767). For more details, see the Appendix.

6. FINDINGS

6.1. Positive versus negative news frames and their influence on political trust. We expected that if an individual is exposed to a positive news frame his or her level of political trust will be higher. Similarly, we expected that if an individual is exposed to a negative news frame his or her level of political trust will be lower. We used an Independent Sample T Test in order to test the levels of political trust between the groups. Results indicate that there are no significant differences between the levels of trust of the individuals that did not receive any news frame, as compared to those who were exposed either to a positive or to a negative news frame. However, findings show that there are statistically significant differences between the groups of participants exposed to a positive frame, as compared to the one exposed to a negative frame. The exposure to a positive news frame led to a significant increase in the level of political trust, whereas the exposure to a negative frame led to a significant decrease in the level of political trust ($t(303) = -2.095$, $p < .05$). In other words, political trust is significantly correlated with the tone of voice of political news.

6.2. Repetitive news frames and their effects over time. We predicted that repetitive positive frames would lead to an increase in the level of political trust and that this effect would be more visible at T2 (after one week) as compared with T3 (after one month). Following the same line, we also predicted that repetitive negative frames would lead to a decrease in the level of political trust and that this effect would be more visible at T2 (after one week) as compared with T3 (after one month). Results indicate that neither repeated positive messages, nor repeated negative ones have a significant impact on the level of political trust. Thus, the hypothesis 3b cannot be supported.

6.3. Competitive news frames and their effects over time. We predicted that the exposure to a negative news frame, followed by a positive one would lead to an increase in the level of political trust and that this effect would be more visible at T3 (after one month) as compared with T2 (after one week). Following the same line, we also predicted that the exposure to a positive news frame, followed by a negative news frame would lead to a decrease in the level of political trust and

that this effect would be more visible at T3 (after one month) as compared with T2 (after one week). We used an Independent Sample T Test in order to test the levels of political trust between the groups and time settings. Results indicate that the exposure to competitive news frames (negative + positive) leads to a significant increase in the level of political trust in general ($t(136)=-2.060, p<.05$). The same trend is also significant after one month since the first exposure, as predicted. In the case of exposure to competitive news frames (positive + negative), results show that there is a significant decrease in the level of political trust measured at one month after the initial exposure ($t(62)=-1.933, p<.05$). Moreover, results indicate that there is a significant difference between the groups of participants firstly exposed to a negative frame, followed by a positive one, as compared to the participants firstly exposed to a positive frame, followed by a negative one. The latest positive message led to an increase in the level of political trust, as compared to the effects generated by the latest negative message ($t(131)=2.658, p<.01$). The same trend is even more prominent after one month since the first exposure ($t(64)=2.684, p<.01$). Thus, the hypothesis 3c can be supported.

7. DISCUSSION

Our research has successfully shown that news frames affect people's attitudes, namely political trust. As Lecheler and de Vreese (2013:163) suggest, a necessary next step is to analyse the exact role played by these framing effects in the context of real-life scenarios. In our study, we discuss the advantages of testing both the immediate impact of a frame as well as the persistence of framing effects. We also enriched the present study with the analysis on the effects of repetitive versus competitive framing over time.

Our analysis shows that the direction of a news frame can have a significant influence in changing the direction of political trust. More specifically, a positive news frame functions as a factor that motivates individuals in developing higher levels of political trust. On the other hand, negative news frames determine individuals to display a lower level of political trust. One explanation for the increase in the level of political trust after a positive media exposure could be that the distance between people and economic issues is so wide, that people prefer to rely on media information when developing an attitude. Because media present politicians and the government as

important entities responsible for a good economic situation, people tend to follow the trend in the media. Following the same logic, when media blame politicians and the government for the bad economic situation in Romania, people also tend to follow the trend. Results show that negative news frames seem to have a more powerful impact on political trust, in the sense that they could generate a more visible effect.

The fact that a negative exposure has the potential to determine a significant decrease in the level of political trust could also be interpreted in relation to the event. When media present such a sensitive topic, mainly in terms of economic losses, people tend to react to both the event and the way in which it is framed. However, both for our negative and positive exposures, we must note that we also included source credibility as a possible moderator that may explain some changes in framing effects. In this context, although these findings are part of another study, we must assume that higher levels of political trust could be attributed to a positive message from a credible source. Similarly, lower levels of political trust could be attributed to a negative message from a less credible source. Given these results, we think that media may be a significant factor in influencing the direction of people's attitudes – media can either decrease or increase the distance between individuals and public life in general.

In what regards repetitive news framing, our analysis shows that repeated messages have no substantive additional effect on the level of political trust. Repeated news frames do not function in the sense of adding up effects. Media exposure to either positive or negative repeated messages does not increase or decrease the level of political trust; it seems to stay at a more or less comparable level as time passes. Thus, we report a stable effect in cases where repetition took place (see also Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013). Also, our results are in favour of the idea that repeated media exposure may lead to strong, but not necessarily additional media effects (Zaller, 1992). In this context, repetitive frames seem to depend on the framed issue and on how applicable the issue is to individuals. Further research is needed to clarify the connection between sensitive issues (for example, economic issues in a country dominated by a persistent economic crisis) and individuals' pre-existing considerations on them. Our findings enable us to argue that repetitive news framing is not the only key to strong media effects, mainly when the frames are presented one after the other

and not at the same time. Finally, the inclusion of other interim periods between two repetitive frame exposures could have shown important differences. Yet, we recommend that future studies would include more repeated frame re-exposures over time, since we do not know if the initial effect still has an influence after one week or it has already dissipated and individuals are out of media's influence.

Our findings on competitive framing show that alternative messages have a strong impact on political trust. Specifically, the latest positive or negative frame to which individuals were exposed had the strongest influence on the dependent variable. This influence is more visible as the period between two exposures is longer. In other words, the most delayed competitive exposures led to a strong impact that followed the direction of the frame: the latest positive frame determined a strong increase in the level of political trust, whereas the latest negative frame determined a strong decrease in individuals' political trust. These results are in line with Chong and Druckman's research (2008), which showed that, for competitive frames and more specifically for the most recent frame, the passage of time functions as a factor that increases effects. Thus, our findings show that dissonant framing effects are more visible if the delay between two successive exposures is longer. This means that initial framing exposure do play a role in the whole process, since the latest frame is able to cause latent effects. Yet, future research studies must analyse the interaction between the first and second exposure.

Again, we must note that both repetitive and competitive effects depend on a number of individual and contextual variables. Thus, future studies should concentrate on some important moderators that could explain the differences between effects generated by either consonant or dissonant media coverage. For example, the influence of source credibility on news framing, the influence of prior beliefs, the characteristics of the issue at stake or even the power of the news frame itself could play a role in the magnitude of framing effects over time. Moreover, in line with the debate regarding the minimal effects of media (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008, 2010; Holbert et al., 2010), the findings in our study prove that we are not entering an era of minimal effects, but we should reconsider the power of the media. As the results from our research show, media can still have a decisive power in influencing people's

attitudes, behaviour and opinion; though, sometimes, effects do not follow our expectations.

Our study has some limits. Firstly, we expected that negatively valence frames to be more effective on political trust in general. More specifically, we expected negative frames to significantly lower the level of political trust, whereas positive frames to slightly increase the level of political trust. This was not the case. A possible explanation of this phenomenon is that individuals that were exposed to a positive frame were surprised by its content, given the overall negative tone on issues regarding the present economic situation in Romania. This surprise could have left participants with such a profound impression of what they had read, while the negative frame involved a rather self-explanatory effect (see also Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013).

Secondly, given the limited number of research studies on the duration of framing effects, we had limited theoretical guidance about how to define the delayed measurement points. Future research studies should start from a similar design and should concentrate on determining the rate of decay of news framing effects. Such studies could trace some explanations about when a framing effect can be called "lasting, transitory or fleeting" (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013:165). These studies could also address the idea of the exact "curve of effect decay" (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013:165) for both scenarios – repetitive and competitive.

Thirdly, during our interim period, our participants hardly discussed the issue of the economic situation in Romania. Although this was ideal from a methodological point of view, our design was closer to an artificial setting than originally expected. This leaves us with the question of how quickly framing effects would have dissipated, had we chosen a more debatable issue. Starting from the idea that different issues carry different levels of salience, we expected that young people were particularly interested in economic issues. Our research shows that it was not necessarily the case. Thus, future studies could use our results for a research design that includes issues of varying levels of salience. As Gaines et al. (2007:6) suggested, the durability of framing effects might depend on the issue that is framed.

As pointed in the literature, due to the debates regarding the actual value of framing research, only by considering the dynamic nature of the communication flow and by investigating duration, can we make convincing statements about media's influence on people's opinions, attitudes, and

behaviour. Thus, we urge researchers to address framing effects theories in settings more similar to real life. This includes tests for multiple exposures to different frames, as well as the study of effects over time. We view our research study as a small contribution to a long tradition of future studies addressing framing effects theory in a more realistic setting.

7. APPENDIX

8.1 Experimental conditions

1. Control group (without exposure to a news article)

2. Single exposure group 1 (exposure to a news article presenting the economic situation in Romania as a good one + no re-exposure)

3. Repetitive exposure 1 (exposure to a news article presenting the economic situation in Romania as a good one + exposure to the same news article)

4. Competitive exposure 1 (exposure to a news article presenting the economic situation in Romania as a good one + exposure to a news article presenting the economic situation in Romania as a bad one)

5. Single exposure group 2 (exposure to a news article presenting the economic situation in Romania as a bad one + no re-exposure)

6. Repetitive exposure 2 (exposure to a news article presenting the economic situation in Romania as a bad one + exposure to the same news article)

7. Competitive exposure 2 (exposure to a news article presenting the economic situation in Romania as a bad one + exposure to a news article presenting the economic situation in Romania as a good one)

8.2 Political trust scale. Below are some statements on people's opinion about politicians and political system in Romania. Please indicate for each statement whether you agree or do not agree (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree):

Politicians consciously promise more than they can deliver

Ministers and junior-ministers are primarily self-interested

To become Member of Parliament, friends are more important than abilities

Political parties are only interested in my vote, not in my opinion

Politicians do not understand what matters to society

Politicians are capable of solving important problems

Most politicians are competent people who know what they are doing

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MEDIA-SPORT COMMUNITY: GOING BEYOND AN AD-HOC COMPLICITY

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Abstract: *The aim of this paper is to address the media-sport nexus in terms of the interaction contexts and social practices that define the relationship between the journalists and the sport actors. In questioning the idea of a "media-sport community" we have focused on three dimensions that attest to the dialectical nature of this relationship: collaborative versus conflictive ends, in-group versus out-group identification, professional versus personal engagement. Each of these dimensions covers a complex process of symbolic negotiation between the media and the sport actors, revealing both ritualized practices, as well as some structuring effects of the celebrity media logic that the sport field has entered within. We argue that the media-sport community is a very debatable concept, as it brings along both convergent and disruptive forces in terms of the identification mechanisms, goals and corollary socio-professional practices. Moreover, the mixture of professional and personal grounds in building the relationships between the journalists and the sport actors makes them engage in a form of role-play complicity, which brings along important face management challenges. Despite the consistent interaction contexts and common experiences, we are rather speaking about a conventional community of action, mainly defined by an instrumental connectivity than an organic in-group belonging feeling. In addressing this inside-out resistance to the media-sport community identification, some of the ideas we have looked into are supported by the findings we have come across during a qualitative study that covered 23 in-depth interviews with Romanian handball coaches.*

Keywords: *media-sport community, celebrity, symbolic power negotiation, in-group identification, face management, sport journalism*

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays sport-related issues are discussed within the wider framework of the media social and commercial dynamics, as most of our sport experiences are, in fact, mediated ones. It is not only that the "history of sport has been to a large extent both dominated and documented by the mass media" (Boyle, Haynes, 2009:1), but the mere social imagery of sport has been redefined and strongly "tied down by the compelling structural force of the media field" (Bourdieu, 1996:64).

Thus, media have not only provided us with wide-scale accessibility to the sport world, which is now subject to high public visibility, but they ended up transforming that world (Whannel, 1992:3). The main coordinates of this process were the dramatization and spectacularization of sport acts, which have become highly marketable media-sport products. "By presenting sport as a social drama, sport stories can be <given legs>" (Craig, Beedie, 2008:163), exerting both a powerful entertaining and commercial magnetism over the

audiences. Along with this accelerated process of sport commodification, the win-win relationship between sport and media was significantly strengthened, consolidating their already successful "marriage of convenience" (Lever, Wheeler, 1993:130).

In addressing the centrality of the media logic within the social field of sport, the reconfiguration of the sport experiences and the marketization of the sport performances seem to be among the research topics that have gained prominence, serving both academic and non-academic interests.

Moreover, in this equation that brings together media actors, sport actors and audiences, the focus was rather directed towards the media-audiences dyad or towards the sport actors-audiences dyad. If the first approach brings to the fore the media discourses and the experiences of mediated sport consumption, the second one lays stress on the fan experiences and the sport celebrity culture. However, the sport actors-media actors relation has receive less attention in explaining the reconfiguration of the sport world and the corollary dynamics of the sport experiences.

Looking at what fuels this resourceful sport and media joint-venture, we can argue that one of the constitutive units of interaction between the two fields is the mere relationship between the media actors and the sport actors. It is this relationship that counts the most when addressing the field of media-sport production, whether we speak in terms of spectatorship experiences, sport events or sport celebrity stories. The aim of this paper is thus to discuss the media-sport nexus in terms of the media actors-sport actors dyad. What is at stake for both parts in this relationship? Which are the main interaction contexts and social practices that define it? In addressing these questions, we lay stress on the dialectical nature of this relationship and argue about the actual and potential basis for a media-sport community.

2. THE DYNAMICS OF THE MEDIA-SPORT LANDSCAPE

The success of the sport and media joint-venture inside the commodification framework has generated not only new products, but also new commercial fields *per se*. These commercial grounds that both sport and media share have increased the interdependency between the two social fields, favouring an intense hybridization processes between them.

Sport was not only one of the fastest-growing sector in media, but also subject to a spectacular evolution, which was, to some extent, similar to the hollywoodian success stories. Starting as the "toy department", always appendix to some other hard-core media products, sport made its way and came to the fore as a central pillar of the media system. "More and more mainstream news coverage is devoted to carrying sporting stories and the stars that the media sport industries work so hard to create" (Boyle, Haynes, 2009:vi), so that they meet the demand of the audiences.

Moreover,

sport has played a key role in television's change from being a predominantly nation-based and state-run medium toward one that is internationalized and privatized (Robertson, 2004: 293),

as sport media events are both globalized and globalizing. They manage to bring together wide-world distant publics, providing prominence to their global fan or sport customer profile over their national citizenship one. It is no wonder that these

interconnections between sport, the media and advertising have helped to create the impression

that the pivotal social and personal experience of the modern age is to be a consumer (Craig, Beedie, 2008:130).

Following the abundance principle of the consumer society, sport and media joined their forces in providing us with richer spectatorship experiences. This is how sport entered new competitive markets as the commodification process that it was subject to generated a snowball effect in terms of sport-related products, that go from TV shows, to sport related books, magazines, clothing, museums or media institutions.

Besides the proliferation of the media-sport products, another important aspect of these emergent markets was their increasing specialization. From the must-have sport page in every newspaper, sport ended up having its own prime-time newscast and, furthermore, attested to its autonomy through the success of sport TV channels and newspapers. Today we are not only speaking about general sport channels and magazine, but, moreover, about specialized media-sport products. From Eurosport to Extreme Sport Channel or Motors TV, everyone can customize his media-sport package to fit his interests.

We are now facing a wide variety of TV channels, websites, radio stations and social media pages dedicated to sport. Professional as well as amateur sport are highly integrated into a global '*sport-media complex*' (Law, Harvey, Kemp, 2002; Smart, 2007) that it is subject to constant reconfiguration. But what did this reconfiguration process involved in terms of media practices and media actors-sport actors relationship? What defines the general framework of sport journalism?

It all started with sport journalists having to cope with an outsider position within the media community, always challenged to prove they are more than a "toy department". Placed at the bottom of the media hierarchy, they were often criticized and teased with their underdog position as "fans with a typewriter" (Craig, Beedie, 2008:157). Nevertheless, the new visibility of sport and its increasing cultural centrality (Malcom, 2008) brought along a reevaluation of the sport journalist status, as they become key-players in the media's race for wide-sale audiences. And what can be more entertaining and guarantee a higher rating than a sport event?

In this context of sport being placed at the conjunction between journalism and entertainment, thus having "all the immediacy, authenticity, and unpredictability of news, but also the stars, the drama, the narrative structure, and the spectacle of

show business" (Whannel, 1985:54), the mere sport-related journalistic practices have faced significant changes. From the informative approach and the "practices of objectivity" (Richardson, 2007: 87) that the journalists used for providing that sense of neutrality in covering sport-related issues, the focus was moved to a more personal approach that has encouraged journalists to be more critical, as well as more involved in creating stories that are meant to move and captivate the public. The facts are no longer enough and, thus, sport journalists must turn to storytelling and tabloidization to maintain the attraction chains of the sport news.

The cyclicity of sport events provides a high level of stability and predictability in terms of sport calendar and corollary event-related news. Nevertheless,

different from most events whose news values would and could be judged only after they occur, sport competitions are presumed to be newsworthy before they take place (Craig, Beedie, 2008:156),

making the differentiation fight more about the way the same topics are addressed. Thus, what really counts in terms of media coverage of sport acts is *when* and *how* these news are released.

The value of major sport events as media products has led to a *prime-time synchronicity effect*. Media and sport actors understood the mutual benefits of scheduling a major sport event inside the prime-time period, as this meant larger audiences and higher public exposure, which can be further translated in profitability for both parties. Implicitly, this brought higher visibility for sport journalists, who won an important battle in terms of their recognition within the media community, as well as for the general public. The constant presence of sport events and news in the prime-time segment made the sport journalists' name seen or heard by a large portion of the public nearly every day, transforming them into minor celebrities (Smith, 1976:8).

Another important aspect in terms of sport-related news time-frame is that, within the highly competitive media landscape, the proximity to the event is an important competitive advantage. But this proximity battle comes with some costs and consequences, two of which we will like to address here, as they have a great impact for the overall process of the sport-related news production.

On the one hand, there is the standardization of the media discourses and the tendency to turn to sport journalistic clichés. It is this pressure of

being the first in releasing the news that sometimes leads sport journalists to a rather "habitual, unreflexive, and uncritical adherence to well established production routines and occupational formulae" (Negus, 2002: 510), turning them into what Bourdieu (1996) refers to as "fast thinkers". By turning to general accepted ideas and social representations, as well as stereotypes and categorization discursive practices, journalists can hence provide a consistent source for public's need for "familiar and known" (Rowe, 2004), while, at the same time, minimizing their effort and time for news' production.

On the other hand, the differentiation card is hard to be played when it comes to the facts that are covered (as most of them are already known and open to all media actors). So, the interpretation component remains the one to serve this purpose. This is the actual added value that sport journalist can bring to the spectatorship experiences. People are attracted to sports journalism mostly because it can provide a frame of interpretation, the sport journalist being "often sought out by the public for his expert opinion on sports related matters" (Smith, 1976:8) and his cultural mediator role (Desmarais, Bruce, 2010).

Moreover, the expert opinion can be combined or even replaced by the preferential access to backstage information that people seek to in this overall tabloidization of the sport ethos. Infotainment is the referential position for sport-related news, but it is also the most controversial aspect when sport-related media practices become subject to public debate. Therefore,

an understanding of the way the media constructs meanings around sport and identities among its audience is central to a critical engagement with sport (Kennedy, Hills, 2009:6).

This change of the sport journalists' status within the media landscape, as well as in terms of their public exposure and social recognition had a great impact on the relationship between the media actors and the sport actors. One important aspect in this regard was the intensification of the dialectic nature of this relationship on three dimension that we will further address: collaborative versus conflictive ends, in-group versus out-group identification, professional versus personal engagement. Based on these constitutive aspects embedded in the media actors-sport actors relationship, we will then bring to the fore the idea and the nature of a media-sport community.

3. THE DIALECTICAL NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE JOURNALISTS AND THE SPORT ACTORS

Building on the generally accepted premises that the relationship between the media and the sport actors is mainly defined by a "mutually beneficial inter-dependence" (Boyle, 2006), we argue that both parties are facing significant dilemmas in managing this relationship. This comes as a consequence of the dialectical nature of their relationship, which we are going to discuss in this section.

3.1 A dynamic balance between collaborative and conflictive ends. When discussing the media-sport nexus, the dominant perspective was to lay stress on the increasing interdependency between the actors that perform within the both social fields. The "symbiotic nature of this relationship" (Smith, 1976: 5) was mainly translated in terms of their mutual commercial interest that allowed for the emergence and success of the wider sport-related circle of promotion. Thus, media actors and sport actors found themselves part of a win-win relationship that requires collaboration. While sport actors are expected to provide content that the journalists could build on and convert into news, media actors are the ones to make sport stories visible and to mediate the audiences accessibility to sport actors and events.

Nevertheless, this collaboration was rather the result of an instrumental approach of the media-sport nexus. In other words, both sport journalists and sport actors understood that they need each other in order to maintain their forefront position on the media agenda and, moreover, on the entertainment market. Even though they shared the same audience dependency commercial law, which requires constant presence and high public visibility, the means of achieving these goals bring them to conflictive positions.

Beyond the general collaborative component of their relationship, media actors and sport actors end up having conflictive approaches on "*how*" and "*about what*" sport news should be. While journalists tend to look for the spectacularity of sport news outside the sport field, the sport actors plead for finding it within the sport arena.

The neo-media logic (Casetti & Odin, 1990) moved the focus towards a more and more entertaining news content. This, in turn, brought along a reconfiguration of the public-private life boundaries, as well as a hybridization of the front

stage-backstage regions of performance (Goffman, 1959/2003). People want to see more and to get access to "forbidden" areas that they find to be so fascinating, especially when it comes to actors and events that have entered the celebrity market. This transpassing of public-private or front stage-backstage zones are both newsworthy and highly entertaining. Therefore, sport journalists are seeking to reveal as much as they can about the private life of sport actors and backstage information from sport events, as these news have higher chances to gain the public attention.

Pleasing the public by relaying on this type of media practices can rise significant resistance from the sport actors' part, as this means forcing them to cope with high face management pressure (Goffman, 1967). Sport actors are as interested as the sport journalists in keeping themselves on the front page, but they prefer doing this mostly with news regarding their professional activity and less about their personal life, as this requires additional impression management strategies to maintain the consistency of their public face.

Thus, to some extent, we can say that, despite understanding the common commercial grounds of the media-sport nexus, it seems that media actors are more inclined to stand for the fact that the "end justifies the means", while the sport actors are rather looking for a more moderate approach, trying to keep the costs of the public exposure and the walk of fame under control. These different perspectives on how to fulfill the audiences' need for spectacularity and fresh new information about the sport world gives rise to a constant process of negotiation between sport actors and journalists. To what extent can journalist reveal private or backstage information about the sport actors? When is their collaboration called in question? Who and what has to win or lose by entering the conflictive zone of this relationship? What is at stake in coping with this dynamic balance between collaborative and conflictive forces?

On the one hand, by narrowing down the distance to the sport actors and events, media built up the exclusivity positioning and provided the public with some sort of preferential access to what was perceived as being a very restricted area. Moreover, this form of exclusivity and complicity in revealing what was supposed to be out of the spotlights is a source of spectacularity, as the "logic of presence gradually takes over the one of representation" (Charaudeau, Ghiglione, 2005:34). Thus, this unrevealing process that sport journalists fight for, forcing the collaborative terms of their

relationship with the sport actors, is meant to be played as a tacit complicity between the public and the media.

On the other hand, sport actors try to minimize the vulnerability that this race for unrevealing private and backstage information brings in terms of face management. Extending the regions of public exposure can come with high costs in terms of impression management and redressive/remedial face management strategies (Goffman, 1971, Brown, Levinson, 1987). Celebrities or just public figures, sport actors have understood the risks that come with mixing public and private aspects of their lives.

However, there are other unavoidable things that they have to take into consideration and cope with: the tabloidization of media and the general infotainment wave, as well as the fact that celebrity is not just about sport achievements, but rather "it is constituted discursively, by the way in which the individual is represented" (Turner, Bonner, Marshall, 2000:11) in the media. Moreover, the celebrity as role model, which serves both self-esteem and commercial purposes, "is both made and undone by press and television coverage" (Smart, 2005: 8), making them even more media-dependent.

Thus, although they do not agree with the offensive media practices of pushing the public visibility further than the actual borders of their professional activity, sport actors are rather cautious in dealing and negotiating these aspects. This is how the complicity between the journalists and the public is, sometimes, artificial, as the access to certain "hidden" information about sport events or actors is actually negotiated and provided by the sport actors themselves. These practices are meant to rebalance the relationship between the journalists and sport actors, giving the latter more control over what is revealed in the media, while maintaining the captivating feeling of the journalist-audiences complicity.

3.2 In-group versus out-group identification for the media and the sport actors. The everyday activity of both journalists and sport actors brings them together into a relationship that is not only strategic, but first of all operative for the dynamics of the wider media-sport system. It is not only that journalists and sport actors interact with high frequency but, more important, that this constant interaction has given rise to a highly institutionalized communication cycle. Within it we can distinguish between communication contexts and corollary communication contracts

that define the interaction and discursive practices involved by both the media and the sport actors (i.e. pre-competition interviews and press conference, media corner prompt reactions after the competitive act, post-game press conferences, sport talk-shows etc.).

This functional interdependency between the journalists and the sport actors makes them act as a group, sharing not only commercial interests, but also common knowledge and experiences. However, as much as the media-sport nexus acts as platform of convergence for this group, there are also factors that come to probe this instrumental convergence.

Another aspect that is worth discussing is that on both the sport actors' and sport journalists' part, there is a slow change when it comes to the front stage figures. Not only do we face a gradual change of generations, but there is a significant migration of sport actors inside the same narrow walk of fame circle. Most of the coaches and staff members come from former athletes, which means that there is a high retention rate in terms of sport front stage actors. This, in turn, allows for developing long-term relationship with the media actors.

Coaches and journalists tend to have the longest career path when it comes to professional sport, changing teams or press institutions, but finding their place in a similar sport-related position. Top sport journalists end up being referential public figures that dominate the national field of sport press, some of them even "rivalling" with sport actors in terms of public visibility and fame. In these cases, the media actors are not only enjoying the expert position when it comes to sport related issues, but they become stars *per se*, gaining a considerable influence inside the sport field. Moreover, there are many sport actors who enter the journalistic field, capitalizing on their notoriety, expertise and familiarity with the media-sport world. This type of professional mobility contributes to the hybridization between the two fields, while also enhancing the in-group feeling.

While the common contexts of action and interaction, which are mostly sport event-related, favour a working-group identification, the distinct professional agendas allow for the emergence of conflictive approaches. The group identification mechanism is thus very much dependent on the context and the third party reference point, and, even more dependent on the intentionality and the degree of the instrumentalization of the group identification.

We thus argue that accepting, as well as questioning the in-group or the out-group position of the other, is actually part of a constant power negotiation between the journalists and the sport actors. Moreover, it is a matter of trust and legitimacy call. Whenever one party tries to take the lion share by making use of the privileged access and knowledge about the other party, the latter lays stress on the limits of this ad-hoc similarity and proximity of action. In other words, when conflictive approaches emerge, the gap between the journalists and the sport actors is enlarged. While one part insists on its in-group position, the other calls it into question, challenging the inside claim of the other party as source of power.

3.3 Professional versus personal engagement. The crowded sport calendar and, moreover, the pressure for sport-related news, in and outside the sport competition time-frame, means constant interaction between the media and the sport actors. However, the high specialization of sport journalists, as well as the backstage experiences that they share with the sport actors - before and after a sport event- come along with significant time and emotion investment from both parts. The proximity and constant interaction between the journalists and the sport actors consolidate a relationship that, in many cases, goes beyond the professional framework.

Besides sharing the same professional contexts of action and the "live" emotional experience of the sport performances, the journalists' access to backstage information is rather dependent on the personal relationship they manage to build with the sport actors. Gaining access, priority or even exclusiveness to reveal aspects that go beyond the mere sport performance on the field is, hence, dependent on the level of trust and familiarity that defines their relationship with the sport actors.

Nevertheless, this relationship building process has a dialectical nature. It usually starts from a rather instrumental approach. On the one hand, journalists believe that a more personal relationship with the sport actors means a easier and higher access to newsworthy information, while, on the other hand, sport actors find it helpful in terms of the media coverage and public image management. The deeper and longer the personal experience sharing, the higher the moral dilemmas in taking advantage of this position for professional reasons and unilateral gain.

Balancing the benefits and the costs of the instrumental use of this relationship is therefore

more difficult. To what extent they can take advantage of their position becomes a matter of long-term evaluation of both personal and professional consequences. It is not only the professional gain that is at stake, but also the emotional capital that has been invested in building that relationship. Moreover, an inappropriate call of action in this regard can be highly face threatening, thus affecting other similar relationships or potential ones, as this media-sport actors' cycle is quite closed.

The personal involvement of sport journalists in this relationship is also favored by a general consideration and fandom feeling towards top sport actors. They cannot bypass their spectatorship experience, which is, inevitably, embedded in their professional activity. Moreover, this multiple identification mechanisms activated in relation to sport actors - as spectators, as media professional or as friend - can bring along a certain bias that the journalist need to acknowledge and cope with. For example, a high personal involvement in their relationship with the sport actors can make journalists more cautious in choosing what and how to speak about. Going further, the

lack of distance from their news sources, who are very often subjects being reported on, means that sports journalists are reluctant to risk their good relationship with the sports organizations or sportspeople, which may have cost them years of efforts to establish (Craig & Beedie, 2008:157-158).

This is how we end up with a form of "complicity" between the journalists and the sport actors, which involves a constant negotiation in setting out the balance between what journalists know and what they actually choose to reveal to the public.

Another potential cost for this familiarity and high emotional involvement of the journalists, whether paternalistic or hostile, is that it can make the content and overall framing of the news too much dependent on the personal relationship that the journalists have with the sport actors. This, in turn, calls into question the objectivity and the professional deontology of the journalists and can affect their credibility and expert position in the eyes of their audiences.

As for the sport actors, the main risk in making the relationship with the journalists too personal is that of exposing themselves too much and becoming vulnerable in terms of potential personal information reveal. However, we can argue that the pressure and the moral dilemma in defining to what extent can the personal component of this

relationship can be used for professional purposes and unilateral gain is higher for the journalists than for the sport actors. The perceived short-term benefits of taking advantage of this relationship in order to provide high newsworthy content are very tempting for the journalists, while the costs are rather related to a long-term framework.

All in all, on this professional versus personal engagement dimension, we can say that both the journalists and the sport actors are involved in a strategic evaluation of the short-term versus long-term benefits and costs of taking advantage of their position. It is this decision to accept the risk of potential exposure (from the sport actors part) and to voluntarily conceal some newsworthy material (from the journalist part) that makes the discussion about media actors-sport actors' relationship not only a matter of professional bargain, but also a matter of personal complicity.

4. THE MEDIA-SPORT COMMUNITY

Given the dialectic nature of the relationship between the journalists and the sport actors and the general dynamics of the media-sport nexus, can we speak about a "media-sport community"? To what extent and in which terms can we argue its existence?

If we focus on the cohesive forces within the media-sport nexus, the media-sport community concept is easier to argue for. The high level of shared experiences, the common interaction contexts and similarity in terms of sport-related interests provide a solid platform to build on. Starting from here, the journalists and the sport actors share and even develop their own communication resources (i.e. media-sport jargon), stories and legends, as well as a consistent formal, but, most of all, informal rules of (inter)action. Moreover, when it comes to the top sport performance, the small number of both the sport actors and the journalists to cover their stories favor significant time and emotional involvement in developing a consistent long-term relationship.

Therefore, approaching the community concept in a broader sense, as it

encompasses a wide range of social ties and common interests which go beyond proximity or common residence (Jarvie, 2006: 328),

we can speak about a media-sport community. Nevertheless, it is mainly defined as a professional community or a community of action, building on the shared experiences, norms and practices that

come with these specific contexts of professional-related interaction. Within the media-sport community, both the journalists and the sport actors experience some sense of belonging to the group, being actively engaged in "continuous social relationships" (Schifirneț, 2002:167). In terms of boundaries, we thus relate to symbolic boundaries embedded in the dynamics of the media-sport nexus, as the media-sport community can be seen rather as an output of the day to day connectivity and identification activated by the professional display of both the media and the sport actors' practices.

However, if we focus on the divergent forces within the journalists and sport actors' relationship, we can find the media-sport community concept to be rather artificial and speculative. The fact that their professional activity makes them interdependent and brings them together with a high frequency can be seen as a necessary, but not sufficient condition to speak about the existence of an authentic community.

Moreover, it can be argued that this media-sport community representation is rather based on simulated closeness and engagement from both parts, serving an instrumental approach of this relationship. This is consistent with the media-sport marriage of convenience metaphor (Lever, Wheeler, 1993) and builds on the premises that the relationship between journalists and sport actors is projected to look more complex than it is. In the light of these arguments, the media-sport community can at the very most be understood as a strategic construct that serves commercial interests. The functional and strategic grounds thus rule over the emotional ones. This does not mean that all journalists-sport actors relationships are an emotional simulacrum, but that they should rather be discussed as dyads or small groups than related to the existence of a wider media-sport community.

To lay stress on the idea of the media-sport community as an inconsistent construct impelled by the strategic complicity between the journalists and the sport actors we bring into discussion some insights from a qualitative research conducted among professional handball coaches. The study was developed during the first months of 2011 and covered a wider spectrum of topics regarding the alternative logics of (in)success and the definition corollary roles of sport actors. The media actors-sport actors relationship, was one of the dimensions that have been explored in the 23 in-depth interviews with handball coaches from the Main and the Second League of the Romanian

Feminine Championship. The aspects we have chosen to address here are meant to reveal the dominant competitive framework that the sport actors themselves use in addressing their relationship with the journalists and the consequences of this positioning in terms of the media-sport community idea. Coaches discourses are more about "we" versus "them", which is not consistent with the community "we-ness" feeling and identification mechanism.

There is a general consensus when it comes to the high interdependency between the media actors and the sport actors' activity. Coaches are not only aware of the media's centrality within the sport world in general, but also in terms of the demanding process of building and managing their public image. Therefore, the relationship they have with the journalists is merely defined by its instrumental value, becoming an integral part of the overall success equation –

Media has a significant role in a team's success of failure.[...] It is very important for a coach to have a media that supports him and let him do his work in peace; it is very hard to do that if you constantly have to look over your shoulder and you are concerned with other aspect except your coaching responsibilities. (M.T.)

We can argue that this reflects a defensive strategy of preventing potential damage control and acknowledging a power position that the media actors can exert upon the sport actors. It also lays stress on the competitive rather than collaborative nature of the relationship between the sport actors and the journalists. Nevertheless, the distinct agendas of the media and the sport actors are the bone of contention that generates an opponency position in coaches identifying themselves with the journalists approach of the sport performance as news resource. In this regard, there are three main lines of criticism that media is subject to: the reality distortion, the tabloidization and the judgemental oscillation of sport performances.

The common perception is that what media reveals is far away from the truth and the reasons behind this are mostly correlated to the lack of professionalism or a biased position determined by the journalists' personal affinities –

I am not a friend of media, because they don't even get to 50% information that is close to reality. They tend to fabricate much of their information. There are people who hardly know anything about sport, but, none the less, they continue writing about" (G.C).

This, in turn, leads to mistrust and diminished legitimacy for the media actors, limiting their relationship to a rather conventional framework.

Another media tendency that coaches' disagree with is the tabloidization and the disturbing chase for spectacular aspects that go beyond the professional sphere of the actual sport performance. Knowing and anticipating media's interest, coaches become part of an "avoidance dance", mutually accepted and recurrently played on the public stage. Moreover, this forces the sport actors to be more cautious and engaged in preventive or reactive face management actions –

Lately I have started to be more careful because, unfortunately -I don't want to generalize- the media are less interested in sport itself, but rather in those spectacular or conflictive aspects and, thus, you become more calculated with your words (D.M.).

When it comes to the media's judgmental oscillation in covering and evaluating sport performances, coaches notice a form of "schizophrenic media syndrome" that can be described as a dramatic turnover from praise to blame, which takes place in a short time distance: "After a period during which they have praised us to the skies, at our first failure they casted dirt at us" (G.A.). This lack of consistency affects the reliability and the general trust in journalists, contributing to the negative evaluation their professionalism.

Despite these aspects, the sport actors are fully aware of the need to maintain a functional relationship with the journalist, arguing for what we can call as "professional courtesy" that both actors can benefit from on the long run. There is, thus, a constant negotiation and give-and-take process which governs coaches' relation to the journalists –

You have to maintain a good relation with the media, even if you don't reveal the backstage details. It is better to speak to the press rather than leave room for speculation, because, at one point, we will surely need them or, on the contrary, will need them to leave us alone. You have to decide [...] Afterwards, they are doing their jobs (G.M.).

The findings of our study are, hence, consistent in laying stress on the instrumental professional-related nature of this relationship. However, its conventional and, moreover, latent conflictive nature call into question the idea of an authentic media-sport community.

All in all, it can be argued that the media-sport community seems more consistent from outside-in than from inside-out and that the sport actors are the ones that are more inclined to adopt a resistance position to this type of in-group identification as they find it very difficult to cope with such different agendas and logics of public exposure.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The new visibility of sport and the dynamics of the wider commodification process that this social field has been subject to brought along not only a reconfiguration of the spectatorship experience, but also a reconfiguration of the relationship between the media actors and the sport actors. Defined by an infotainment logic, the sport news production cycle was strongly influenced by the sport actors becoming central figures on the celebrity market, as this brought along a rather “make noise–make news–make change” model (Thrall *et al.*, 2008: 363). In terms of media practices this meant that dramatization, spectacularity and personalization became the main coordinates in sport news converge.

Within this general framework of the media-sport nexus, the relationship between the journalists and the sport actors is defined by a dialectical nature that makes the media-sport community idea highly debatable. The three dimensions that we have addressed in this paper: collaborative versus conflictive ends, in-group versus out-group identification and professional versus personal engagement are consistent in enhancing the high interdependency between the journalists and the sport actors. However, they also show a dynamic balance between the cohesive and the disruptive forces that act within this relationship. While the common audience dependency, their constant interaction and the shared experiences in and outside the sport field bring the journalists and the sport actors together, their different agendas in what and how to reveal to the public bring them apart.

The media-sport community is, thus, rather defined by the instrumental nature of what is mainly an unavoidable professional interdependence. This community representation is more consistent from an outside-in perspective, while being strongly challenged from inside-out. Moreover, the resistance to a media-sport community identification is stronger when it comes to the sport actors, as they find the journalistic

practices to be highly face threatening and feel forced to adopt a rather defensive and cautious position.

Although grounded on strategic professional interests, this long-term relationship between the journalists and the sport actors inevitably involves a personal component. Nevertheless, the constitutive professional nature of this relationship makes both parties doubt of the authenticity of their personal involvement, thus, undermining the solid grounds for a real media-sport community. We argue that the defining principal for the relationship between the journalists and the sport actors is a constant negotiation of power. This is usually translated in terms of the extent to which their position can legitimize the exploitation of this relationship for unilateral professional or personal gains.

Understanding the dynamics of the relationship between the media and the sport actors is a key-element in discussing the wider reconfiguration of the sport experiences. Further analysis of the way the media actors and the sport actors address their relationship and define their position within the media-sport nexus can provide useful insights in this regard. Therefore, arguing for or against the existence of a media-sport community and discussing the nature of this community is important in explaining not only the sport news cycle of production, but also the sport performances as wider social constructs.

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USE OF HYPERBOLES IN ADVERTISING EFFECTIVENESS

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Abstract: *The use of rhetorical figures in advertising communication is more than obvious; their powerful ability of representation opens an easy way to perception and understanding for the masses. However, research in this area is relatively limited in the communication field, as it intersects literature, psychology and communication models. One type of visual and textual figure that has been little analysed, yet enjoys wide popularity in today's advertisement production, is hyperbole. Portraying people, products, and services in ways that far exceed their capability is a common strategy used to gain attention, generate humour, and underline product qualities. However, the little analysis and understanding of visual hyperboles has led researchers and consumers to dismiss this popular figure as an instance of advertising's exaggerated or false praise. Therefore this study is aimed to make important distinctions among these terms, analyse types of hyperboles used in commercial communication. Based on comparative analysis, we will try to show how and why hyperbolic emphasised ads produce more ad and content liking than non-hyperbolic ads. As a case study we will take into consideration the way hyperbole is used in alimentary and gustative imaginary of advertising production and effectiveness. Two visual advertisements (one containing hyperboles and one without hyperboles) will be qualitatively analysed (Hermeneutical analysis of advertising symbols) and focus group results will be compared. The research is aimed to emphasis on the powerful representative role of hyperboles in promoting alimentary related products and their advertising effectiveness. However, our preliminary analysis suggests that subjects measuring high in advertising skepticism and those who fail to comprehend the figurative nature of the hyperboles used respond more negatively toward the ads. Various causes of flawed perception of the message will be suggested briefly, as the question remains debatable: does the use of hyperboles fall short, meet or exceed subjects' expectation. Is hyperbole used in advertising as a visual puffery or does it appeal to more?*

Keywords: *hyperbole, advertising, alimentary, symbol*

1. PURPOSE

This paper investigates one of the most common used figures of speech in the persuasive context of the advertising discourse. We will not particularly emphasis on the persuasive aspects of the advertisements, but rather on the possible impact of using hyperboles as a communication tool. Our research will be developed by semiotically interpreting a hyperbolised printed ad and qualitatively analysing the results of two focus groups conducted in the spring of 2015.

2. METHODOLOGY

The objectives of this paper are to investigate:
a. the role of hyperboles in advertising's discourse and their influence in visual rhetorics; b. some of the possible effects a hyperbole can produce to it's consumers; c. the effectiveness it has in promoting an advertised product. By means of a semiotic analysis and the results of a qualitative research

(two focus groups, each with twelve respondents), we will capture the correspondent attributes emerged from the ads. The purpose of our analysis is mainly to understand how a hyperbole works and what are its main features as a communication tool. Assuming that a rhetorical figure, such as hyperbola, can be approached as a sharp-witted arrangement of words, images or meanings, meant to produce a specific effect on an audience, we will try to underline the specific tone of hyperboles in advertisements, its high impact on consumers and possible threats.

3. BACKGROUND

As Edward F. McQuarri (1993:309-313) states, "A rhetorical figure can be defined as an artful deviation in the form taken by a statement". Therefore, a figure of speech can be explained as an sharp-witted arrangement of words, images or meanings meant to produce a specific effect on an audience. Since Aristotle's work, dozens of figures

have been recorded and listed, starting from the familiar ones (rhyme, pun), to the most frequent used (metaphor, hyperbole), and to the less used (*antimetabole*). Despite the persistent presence of rhetorical figures in print advertisements and, even more present in online advertising, their role and outcome into advertising theory and research has been somehow minimal. Nowadays their use is more and more linked to a certain kind of pictorial argumentation, namely *visual tropology* that enables viewer's understanding and decoding.

One type of visual device that has been somehow neglected, yet enjoys wide popularity in today's ads, is hyperbole. Outlining people, products, and objects in ways that far exceed their abilities, using hyperboles in an advertising discourse is a common strategy used to capture attention, insert humour in an argumentative discourse, and emphasise emotions or product attributes. However, a lack of understanding of visual hyperboles has led some researchers and consumers to dismiss this popular figure as "an instance of advertising puffery".

However, to argue in favour of this research, we should take into consideration that several works have been accounted for the existence of visual communication (e.g. Finnegan, 2001; Birdsell and Groarke, 2007; Kjeldsen, 2007; Groarke, 2009) and more and more researchers see both as possible and beneficial to consider pictures and other sample of visual communication as argumentation. Our paper is in accordance with Professor J.E. Kjeldsen (2001:132-157) view that

visual argumentation is designated by an enthymematic process in which the visuals function as indicators that evoke intended meanings, premises and lines of reasoning.

This function becomes possible, as Jens E. Kjeldsen (2010) arguments, because an argument, whether visual or verbal, is not a text, or "a thing to be looked for, but rather a concept people use, a perspective they take" (Brockriede 1992).

Approaching advertising in this context, from a structural-linguistic perspective, we observe that semiotic analysis are often made on the intrinsic description and analysis of the message, which is considered to be in itself the carrier of means, being the prior container of the significance. This analysis has the role of clearing the intentional meaning of the advertising message, but it is incomplete if it lacks the taking into account of the social and cultural context in which the communication takes place. Because advertising is

a contextual form of communication, a great role is held by its public, who not only receives and decodes the message, but also – as we are going to reveal later on – establishes a personal meaning.

Pictures, I suggest, argue primarily by means of context and condensation. They offer a rhetorical enthymematic process where something is omitted, and, as a consequence, the spectator has to provide the unspoken premises. Rational condensation in pictures, then, is the visual counterpart of verbal argumentation. However, the spectator needs certain directions to be able to (re)construct the arguments, i.e. some cognitive schemes to make use of. (Kjeldsen, 2010).

In the advertisements' discourse, the viewer's (re)assembling of arguments is enabled through visual tropes and figures. Metaphor and metonymy, juxtaposing and hyperbole, ellipsis and contrasts are the most common variety of visual argumentation (e.g. Kjeldsen, 2000, 2008; McQuarrie & Mick, 2003; Forceville, 2006).

As a primary form of its activity, the informative dimension of the advertising message has, for the first time, awakened the public's interest in consumption and the objects that surround it. In its most common sense, advertising represents a discursive presence aimed at its public. This means: drawing attention towards something with a double iconic meaning: both visual and textual; talking up a material, social or cultural benefice, that up to this point was not revealed. It's exactly because of this, that advertising has become today such a huge argumentative system that uses both visual and textual rhetorics and operates at a large social scale. Assuming that argumentation is a communicative action, we will approach advertising as a communicative compound which is designed, performed, evoked, and must be understood in a rhetorical context by its participants.

4. VISUAL RHETORICS AND THE USE OF HYPERBOLES IN ADVERTISEMENTS

Recently, more theorists have started to focus their attention on the effects of the visual components of advertising such as visual hyperbole (Callister and Stern, 2007) and visual metaphor (McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005) stating that both the verbal and visual information presented in an advertisement can impact the way an advertising message is processed and perceived by the viewer.



Fig.1 Hamburger “extra big” advertisement

Consider the hamburger ad in Figure 1. This ad deviates from realistic representation in ads (such as ordinary products and their typical uses) by showing an augmented reality juxtaposed on a realistic character. The huge opened mouth painted on the character’s face, over his lips, chin and neck, creates an optical (and intended designed) illusion, focusing viewers’ attention on this central point. From the perspective of Daniel Berlyne (1971:3-12), like an aesthetic object, a rhetorical device, such as a hyperbole, offers a means to make what is known, unknown and the natural, unnatural. The deviation is, in this case, a way to create what the researchers of the society of consumption call contextual dissonance. Thus, rhetoric dissonance could explain the way in which certain types of textual structures, metaphors for example, can produce displacements of meaning in advertising texts.

Nonetheless, this is exactly how an image “talks” to us (Kjeldsen, 2007:124-132); they argue primarily by considering context (i.e food, hunger, “bigger hamburger for same price” argument) and condensation. Kjeldsen defines this condensation as a rhetorical enthymematic process where something is intentionally excluded, and, as a consequence, the viewer has to come up with the unspoken premises. “Rational condensation in pictures, then, is the visual counterpart of verbal argumentation” (Kjeldsen, 2007). However, the viewer needs certain hints to be able to (re)build the arguments, some cognitive schemes to rely on. Visual structures, like all rhetorical figures, are

essentially built on the correlation of one thing with another (McQuarri and Mick, 1993).

Following our argumentation, Kjeldsen argues that a visual figure must present two elements on a printed page, as there are three possible ways to perform visual argumentation. The easiest way is to juxtapose two image elements side by side; this is how a comparison is created. A more complex structure involves merging two image elements together, such as in the hamburger ad shown in Figure 1, where an oversized body painting is fused with other normal body parts; this method creates metaphors and hyperboles. The third and most elaborate way to present two image elements is to have one replace the other in such a way that the present image calls to mind the absent image and its role. In our advertisement, the oversized mouth replaced the mouth of the character pointing out his appetite and desire for the product. Furthermore, the focus group results will clarify more on the impact of the image shift.

As our focus group will show, consumers are unlikely to consider the ad as a blunder ; they have seen this type of communication tool used in advertisements before. We therefore suggest that this image (the oversized moth) is in fact a visual rhetorical figure, not significantly different from the verbal epithet or hyperbole. Consequently, although many different interpretations of the ad are possible, most are likely to rest on positive similarities between the advertised food (the extra big hamburger) and hunger (a natural need)

(Phillips, 1997; Tanaka, 1994): bigger product (big mouth), delicious (opened big mouth with visible teeth, tongue and uvula), and hunger as a familiar feeling (big opened mouth with teeth painted on someone's face, chin and neck). As researchers show, this is because consumers know that they should look for similarities when they encounter a visual template of this kind.

Such visual rhetorical figures in advertisements, have appeared with increasing frequency over the past 50 years (Phillips and McQuarrie, 2003) with the purpose of drawing attention or emphasising on the advertised product. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) defines puffery as a

term frequently used to denote the exaggerations reasonably to be expected of a seller as to the degree of quality of his product, the truth or falsity of which cannot be precisely determined. (DeFrancis, 2004:10-12).

The exaggerated replacement of a human mouth in Figure 1 is so beyond belief that a logical mind would not take the claim seriously, but may influence his attention as the image can be appreciated for other reasons (aesthetically, contextually etc.). Advertisers use puffery - exaggeration and hyperboles - to get people's attention and make their message notable. Because the claims in advertising puffery are obviously amplified, and because exaggeration works to get people's attention, puffery is an accepted and highly used advertising technique.

4.1 Hyperboles' effectiveness. Even if, at a discursive level we are dealing only with the text-image couple, the broad spectrum of organisational forms of the rhetorical figures in advertisements, such as using hyperboles, is based mainly on the great availability/flexibility of each component to express its contents in diverse forms. Even when the lexical level is concerned, the advertising discourse seems not to be bound by any rules. Its openness toward increasingly more varied categories of terms, its propensity towards polysemy, insinuation and reading between the lines make advertising a contemporary discourse of great originality and dynamism. Moreover, that which linguists call deviations from the rules of language (meta-plastic or onomatopoeic changes of words) have come to be seen as distinctive traits of this kind of discourse. The exaggeration of the size (Extra Big hamburger), the adding of sounds (Mirindaaaaa!, Bambuchaaa!), using onomatopoeic formations (Galina Blanca, bul-bul!, Hei Psst Cichi

Cichi, Kltz Pmz Aahh!), replacing sounds or mixing words (Méganemaipomenit = Mégane + nemaipomenit - catchphrase in the romanian commercial for Renault Megane, a mix between the name of the product and the word nemaipomenit - en. amazing), are commonplace techniques for generating the advertising characteristic fervent discourse.

From a pragmatic perspective, advertising visual argumentation are more evocative than explicit; they don't communicate raw information but a meaning and rarely talk about a direct benefit. Most often the visual is generated as a fusion between a benefit, an offered value and a sensory fact or promise highlighted in a visual way. A slogan like *Sans parfum, la peau est muette* (en. Without perfume the skin is mute) creates an entire synaesthetic interpretation (in Figure 1: hunger-big appetite-big food), the accommodation to the product being facilitated once we familiarise ourselves with it on a sensory level.

In this regard, after the shock effect usually generated by hyperboles, rhetorical figures often lead to what Roland Barthes called "the pleasure of the text" - a reward that comes from an intelligent information processing of a sequence of signs. The same premise underlies Roland Barthes in his "Rhetoric of the image" (1964), where two levels of image analysis, simultaneously perceived by the human eye, are presented: the *denotative* level, which is purely theoretical for image analysis, as it is hard to conceive an image without connotations. When referring to the "fashion system" for example, Barthes identifies a specific language of combinations between colours and dimensions, which provides the subject with an additional meaning through the way in which it is presented. On the other hand Barthes describes the symbolic level, *of connotation* - at which the reading of the visual image varies according to the receiver and the codes which he associates with the message. The latter, emerges at the interpretation level, where the perceptive intelligence of the subject activates according to the socio-cultural meanings. The denotative layer plays a very important part as it represents the foundation for the connotative dimension. This action of processing visual rhetorical figures corresponds to Daniel Berlyne's argument (1971:56) which states that the deviation of interpretation from the commonly understood meaning can generate the pleasant feeling of inspiration and even profound understanding. The rewards of meaning deviation suggest thus that the figurative language of advertising, by comparison

to literary language, should produce a more positive attitude; advertising texts and images are liked, referred to and remembered more easily.

On the other hand, by using hyperboles in the advertising discourse, the message sent to the viewer can have transformational effects. Transformational advertising, as defined by William Wells (1984:638-643), is effective by

developing associations with the brand use experience that transforms that experience into something different than it would be in the absence of the advertising ...

“transformational advertising creates, alters, or intensifies feelings” (Aaker and Stayman, 1992:239) and attempts to move the consumer emotionally to a point of greater product acceptance (Cutler *et al.*, 2000). In that respect, transformational advertising enhance mostly hedonic and symbolic benefits but it does not appear to affect evaluations of functional benefits or the final process of product choice, as our focus group will outline.

5. SEMIOTIC FOCUS GROUP ANALYSIS

5.1. Methodology and theoretical background.

So far only a few theorists (Corbett, 1990; McQuarrie and Mick, 1999; Morgan and Reichert, 1999; McQuarrie and Mick, 2003a; McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005) have applied visual rhetoric analysis as an interpretative theory in advertising research. Nevertheless, Phillips and McQuarrie (2002) show that metaphors and hyperbole, which are figurative expressions that imply visual or verbal intentionally exaggerated statements, appear in 17.3% of advertisement pictures and 44% of headlines and have increased steadily since the 1960s.

More recently, Callister and Stern (2007) looked at the use of visual hyperbole as an engaging form of exaggeration in advertising, emphasising people’s need for alternate, hyper or augmented realities. To do so, people focus on the description of the rhetorical figures present in ads and try to (re)build the argumentation. The focus group we conducted followed this hypothesis: Like rhetoric analysis, semiotic analysis can also be used by the researcher to assess the effects of images and symbols (McQuarrie and Mick, 2002). As such, “they make relatively simple and straightforward assumptions about the human system, concentrating instead on the development of elaborated structures that can be used to differentiate types of visual content in

advertisements” (McQuarrie and Mick, 2003b:192). A qualitative interpretation (by using semiotic analysis) of the gathered data was operated.

5.2 Data Collection. In addition to these theoretical findings we supplemented our study with an actual focus group evaluation. Two groups of 12 people, both male and female, age between 18 and over 50, were group interviewed after visualising an advertising poster where a visual hyperbola was used (Figure 1). After gathering the open answers regarding “what does the image depicted in the ad represent to them”, in the second section, an individual questionnaire with multiple choice answers was applied to each of them.

The participants were asked to answer questions relevant to the presented ad. The questions required subjects to describe how they interpreted the ad’s visual discourse, what is its focus point, appreciate the ad’s effectiveness at a personal level and also how the rhetorical figure made them feel. Subjects were also asked to identify the rhetorical figure used in the ad and answer freely about it’s commercial intentions.

5.3 Viewers’ expectations and evaluation.

The focus group method was selected as it is known for its stimulative effect; listening to others’ verbalised opinion stimulates memories, ideas, and experiences in participants. As a result, two focus group discussions (each with 12 participants, both male 40% and female 60%) were conducted in order to underline shared understanding and common views related to Figure 1 ad. Bringing together all the opinion that an individual makes in order can enable the researcher to determine whether their view changes in the course of discussion and, if so, further examination of the transcript may reveal which contributions by other focus group members brought about the change. After ten minutes of exposure to the selected ad, each participant was asked to interpret the visual message. Interactions between group members were encouraged. The answers of the participants were only recorded without giving any direction to what kind of answer is correct or not.

Recording the participants’ answers shows that one of our hypothesis is confirmed. A majority of 78% recognised the image as an advertisement that uses exaggeration as a communication tool. Moreover, even if they recognised the ad as a puffery, consumers did not consider the ad as inaccurate and were not bothered by its visual representation; Each one of them confirmed that they have seen this type of communication tool used in advertisements before and they do not

believe it to fall under true/false criteria. Therefore, we suggest that this image (the oversized moth) was recognised by the participants as visual communication, and is in fact a visual rhetorical figure, not significantly different from the verbal epithet or hyperbole. When asked if this image “tells them something”, participants recognised discursive elements such as the visual representation of hunger, the exaggerated painting and the greedy posture of the character’s body. Comments were made over the link between the exaggerated representation and the promoted public, only 62% of the participants linking hunger to the oversized mouth and the extra large hamburger presented in the upper right corner. As a communication technique, through bodily distortion, the hyperbole creates an argument based on a symptomatic argument scheme, claiming that the hamburger belongs to the categories of big things:

Claim: Buy this hamburger
 Ground1: It is extra big
 Warrant: You should buy big hamburgers.

One interesting observation was made by a male (age 18-24) who did not recognise the advertised product and considered the exaggerated image to cloud the general message. "I don't really know what it represents, but I wouldn't think of a hamburger. It's too much". This is recognised by Jens Kjeldsen (2012) as one of the possible threats a rhetorical figure can bring to an argument, meaning the setting aside the prior message (advertising a bigger hamburger). The fact that a hyperbole is capable of undermining the general discursive claim can be associated with what Ketelaar (2008) called “the openness” of an ad. Such open ads have the common characteristic that viewers are not directly pointed towards a certain interpretation, and that the presence of rhetorical figures are one of five antecedents rendering an advertisement more open; the others being presence of a prominent visual, absence of the

product, absence of verbal anchoring, and a low level of brand anchoring. However, the focus group discussions underlined that, in general, precisely because of the presence of a visual rhetorical figure and its transformational effect, one can delimit possible interpretations, guiding the viewer’s reconstruction of the argument in a constructed context.

“I don’t see the product, but I can feel the hunger” (female, age 24). This answer, confirmed by most participants, is rooted in hyperbole’s sensory effect; it creates an entire synaesthetic interpretation (hunger-big appetite-big food), the accommodation to the product being facilitated once the viewer is familiarised with its message on a sensory level. In that respect, the transformational effect of the advertisement enhanced in our participants mostly hedonic and symbolic meanings without affecting the evaluation of functional benefits. These type of arguments may be relatively easy to decode by the viewer because of their familiarity, presuming of course that the viewer’s attention has been caught.

5.4 Questionnaire interpretation and discussion. In the second part a number of 6 multiple choice questions and one open answer question were given as part of the individual interview. Participants were asked to answer based on their opinion and the shared points of view with the focus group. The individual survey was conducted as proof for the effectiveness of the hyperbolised ad, it’s emotional impact on possible consumers. The questions that were part of the survey covered their personal interpretation of the ad’s visual discourse (open question answers), what its focus point is, recognise the ad’s effectiveness at a personal level and also, outline how the rhetorical figure made them feel. Subjects were also asked to identify the rhetorical figure used in the ad and answer freely about it’s commercial intentions.

A. First question: *Your age is...*

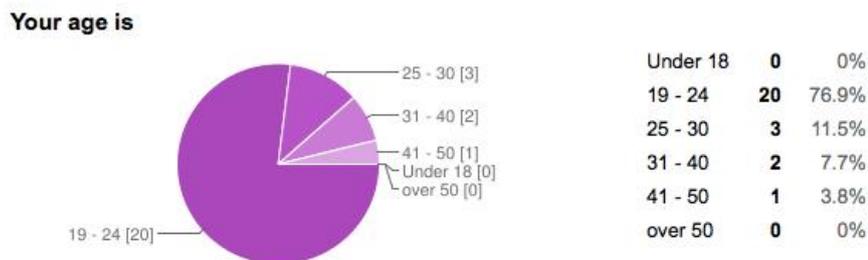


Fig.2 First question: *Your age is...*

USE OF HYPERBOLES IN ADVERTISING EFFECTIVENESS

The participants to the focus group and the survey were selected according to the product's target defined by the main character presented in the ad (young male character, age over 18, dressed in an informal outfit, short sleeves, proactive attitude suggested by his leaned forward body): male and female, age over 18, with an active social life, who sometimes buy fast-food products. Most

participants (20) were enrolled from the 19-24 age group, 3 from the 25-30 group, 2 from the 31-40 age group, and one participant was over 40 years old. After participating to the group discussions, they were asked to give their personal opinion on the ad.

B. Second question: *What does this image represent for you?*

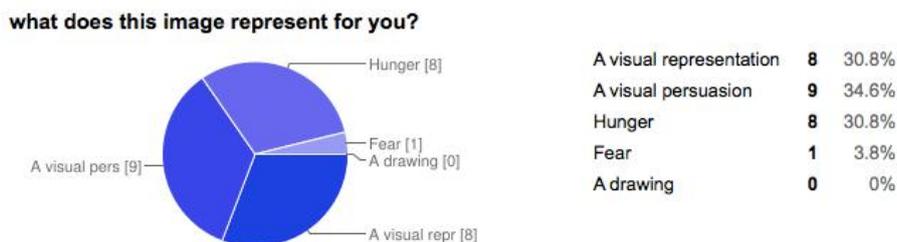


Fig.3 Second question: *What does this image represent for you?*

All the participants recognised the image as an advertising poster. A majority of 65,4% recognised this image as a visual representation or a visual persuasion image, confirming our assumed hypothesis that visual rhetorics is recognised and interpreted by its viewers. 30,8% of the

participants deepened their interpretation by recognising the image to be the representation of hunger, only 3,8% of them misinterpreting the message as “fear”.

C. Third question: *What strikes you more in this image?*

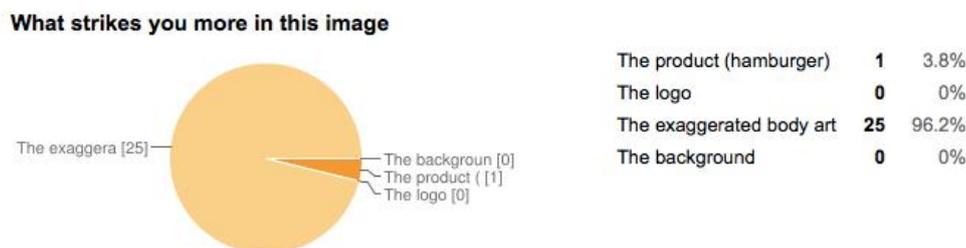


Fig.4 Third question: *What strikes you more in this image?*

A majority of 96,2% recognised the focus point of the image to be the hyperbole used as a rhetorical figure, the oversized body art painted on the ad's character being the striking element of the image. Thus, the effectiveness of this hyperbole in drawing attention towards the ad can be confirmed. On the other hand, the lack of a direct reference to the advertised product is visible, the exaggerated painting putting aside the real purpose of the image.

D. Fourth question: *From your perspective, what does the ad promote?* The fourth question was intentionally left an open answer question as personal interpretation and recorded data were encouraged to be shared, after the group talk. The given answers show that even if the hyperbole fixes the viewer's gaze on a visual exaggeration, it mostly delimits the interpretation to a specific

context where links between concepts like appetite, hunger, the desire to eat, are established due to a visual *representation*. Find below some of the recorded answers:

The fact that the product is so delicious that one would need a bigger mouth to eat it and taste it (male, 25-30)

I think the whole body conception refers to a man who is very hungry and the hamburger is so delicious that you can't control yourself not to eat it. It's like a temptation of the mind towards the food. (female, 19-24)

It represents Hunger. The urge to eat. (male, 31-40)

An extra big product which needs a very large mouth to be eaten (male, 19-24)

From my perspective, this ad shows exactly what is promoting, because this kind of drawing it seems to think that the person is yelling or is very hungry. It's a very good idea of promoting that extra big sandwich. Awesome! (female, 19-24)

In my opinion, the exaggerated mouth size represents the appetite and craving for the hamburger. Also, a big mouth makes you think of a huge hamburger, and size is important, because a bigger size means a fuller stomach, for the same money. (male, 19-24)

We have recorded answers that use as referral a previously known fictional character proving that people interpret images based on associations and visual structures, like all rhetorical figures, are essentially built on the correlation of one thing with another:

Somehow reminds of Pacman or Jaws. It looks like this dude needs a really big meal to satisfy his insatiable hunger. (male, 25-30)

Looks like a hungry anime character ready to eat everything (female, 31-40)

More than this, by exaggerating reality and augmenting the characteristics of a product, hyperboles can also generate a negative impact on their viewers, some participants emphasising the aggressive effect such an image can have. It is interesting to observe that negative impact is not related to age, but rather we believe it is related to participants' experience and preferences:

I see greed in this image. Greed and hunger (male, 31-40)

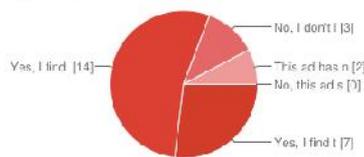
Somehow reminds of Pacman or Jaws. It looks like this dude needs a really big meal to satisfy his insatiable hunger. (male, 25-30)

It scares me, it's too much exaggeration in this image (female, 41-50)

Some of the participants have written "art" as their answer, recognising the visual impact of the image, but not its commercial use. From a total of 24 answers, 10 answers listed "art" recording 41,6% from the total number of answers.

E. Fifth question: *Is this an effective ad?*

Is this an effective ad?



Yes, I find this ad highly effective and I would try the product	7	26.9%
Yes, I find the ad effective but from a design point of view	14	53.8%
No, I don't like this ad. It's exaggerated	3	11.5%
This ad has no effect on me	2	7.7%
No, this ad scares me!	0	0%

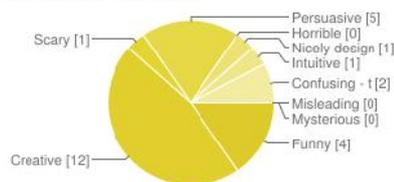
Fig.5 Fifth question: *Is this an effective ad?*

The effectiveness of the ad was recognised by 80,7% from the total answers, 53,8% of them pointing out the striking design used in perceiving the message. Only 26,9% recognised that they would try the product after seeing the advertising

poster, and a number of 11,5% listed this ad as exaggerated. Two participants listed that the ad has no effect on them, although, for the next question, both recognised the ad as being creative.

F. Sixth question: *Do you find this ad to be...*

Do you find this ad to be:



Funny	4	15.4%
Creative	12	46.2%
Scary	1	3.8%
Persuasive	5	19.2%
Horrible	0	0%
Nicely designed	1	3.8%
Intuitive	1	3.8%
Confusing - the message is not clear	2	7.7%
Misleading	0	0%
Mysterious	0	0%

Fig.6 Sixth question: *Do you find this ad to be...*

Personal influence of this hyperbole over its viewers was also targeted, as hyperboles tend to

exaggerate reality or oversize qualities. By giving the participants a list of possible characteristics of

the ad, a majority of 46,2% listed the image as being creative.

Other possible effects of a hyperbole were proposed as options such as humour generator, its persuasive effect, intuitive role, but also possible scary reactions to exaggeration, or hyperboles as confusion generators. Its persuasive effect was

recognised by 19,2%, while 15.4% choose the “funny” effect of the ad. The visual representation was perceived as confusing by only two participants, although both of them answered "hunger" at the second question.

G. Seventh question: *In this ad the rhetorical figure used is...*

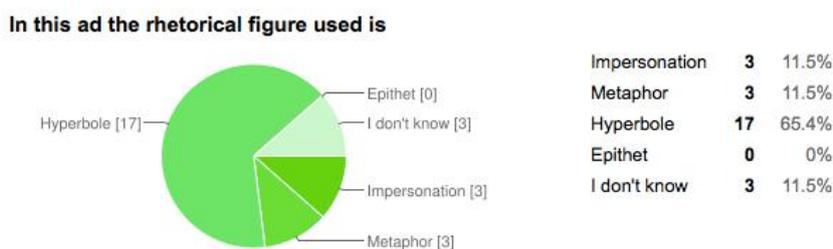


Fig.7 Seventh question: *In this ad the rhetorical figure used is...*

We wanted to know if our participants are aware of the rhetorical figure used in the selected ad in order to see how informed they are in front of this kind of persuasive exposure. Also, this final question is linked to the second one, where recognising a visual representation of an argument was required. With a majority of 65.4%, people recognised this image as being a hyperbole without being bothered by its visual representation (as shown in question no. 2).

6. CONCLUSIONS

This study contributes and extends existing literature by suggesting further research in visual rhetorics and especially in the effect that visual rhetorical figures can have upon its viewers. Nevertheless, this kind of study could give us more hints over the way consumers interpret the visual discourse and informations given in advertising materials.

Our results show that the visual cues and imagery in the selected ad are decoded, under certain conditions (targeted group, personal preferences, lifestyle) to result in product expectations that exceed actual product evaluations, suggesting the existence of visual hyperbole. Visual rhetorical figures are recognised and reinterpreted by their viewers in a specific context by making use of their personal experiences and preferences. The aesthetically form in which a visual discourse is wrapped can have a high impact influence in how a consumer devices its attention and the advertised product is perceived. Creativity is a key factor in creating

visual rhetorical figures that carry a targeted message and can also impact the product choice process.

However, there are certain limitations which must be taken into consideration. First, we used a carefully controlled setting (two focus groups), with one consumer product for four consumer segments, based on a single advertisement poster. Our results cannot be generalised beyond the product’s category nor beyond the consumer segments used in this study in the context of city print advertisements. Future research should investigate other product groups in which advertising hyperboles are used (e.g. high versus low involvement products), possible consumer segments (e.g., male vs. female), gender presence in ads, ads from different countries and in different cultural settings, different visual representations.

All in all, one unanswered question is whether the expectations of viewers influence their purchasing intention after being impacted by visual argumentation and ultimately their choice behaviour and if so, to what extent?

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POWER DISCOURSE IN MULTINATIONAL DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENTS. A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA) PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: *Individual discourse is power focused and that is all the more true in situations in which status and rules of the game are to be maintained or imposed in front of outsiders. However, the question that arises is the extent to which this discourse is actually shaped and inculcated into the individual frame of mind by institutional discourse and ideology. Hence, this article starts from a cross disciplinary understanding of the concept of “power”, and by building on the CDA approach to discourse and its relationship with power, it analyses the extent to which NATO discourse is assumed by affiliated/allied national establishments and hence gains, maintains or loses the multinational footprint to national approaches. In this respect, based on a textual and semiotic analysis of the official websites of entities that allegedly epitomize the multinational environments fostered by the very mission of this alliance of nations, the article is to describe how power discourse is shaped both at overt and covert level in multinational defense establishments.*

Keywords: *power, discourse, defense, organizational ideology, critical discourse analysis, organization studies*

1. INTRODUCTION

“You are here to learn and network.”

“This culture is wrong.”

“They are smart. Too bad their English isn’t better.”

All of the above are remarks made within the precincts of multinational institutions or in multinational environments that the author of the article was part of at a given point in time. Regardless of what emotions or thoughts they first trigger (even in the absence of the overall context in which they were uttered), they actually point out to the following reality: individual discourse is power focused and that is all the more true in situations in which status and rules of the game are to be maintained or imposed in front of outsiders. However, the question that arises is the extent to which this discourse is actually shaped and inculcated into the individual frame of mind by institutional discourse and ideology. In this respect, the remarks above actually remind of the following truth and of the inherent question it triggers:

Very often, multilingual societies which apparently tolerate or promote heterogeneity in fact undervalue or appear to ignore the linguistic diversity of the people. An apparently liberal orientation to equality may mask an ideological drive towards homogeneity, a drive which potentially

marginalizes or excludes those who either refuse, or are unwilling, to conform. However, having established that language ideologies are powerful means by which discrimination occurs in multilingual societies, it is less clear where such ideologies originate. Nor is it immediately evident how such ideologies are reproduced, or how they gain power and authority. (Blackledge, 2005:vii)

Hence, the first research assumptions that initially emerged based on all of the above were as follows: A1: “Discourse at individual level is influenced by institution/culture affiliation”, and A2: “Discourse at individual level must be supported by institutional infrastructure (i.e. organization mission, vision, supporting architecture, processes, information flows, etc.) to actually be a promoter of power status”. However, for these to be validated, access to a multinational environment where to actually conduct the research to this end was not possible. Consequently, the research endeavor took an outsider’s perspective. As such, it focused on the North Atlantic Organization as an entity that fosters multinational encounters and projects, and more specifically the latter’s Partnership and Training Centers that, by their very mission and role within the alliance, epitomize a multicultural approach both at institutional and individual level. The theoretical underpinnings for the research are

cross disciplinary and are built on the theoretical delineations of “power” and “discourse” anchored in organization studies and Critical Discourse Analysis. The source for data collection was open access media, namely the websites of the aforementioned PTECs. Consequently, the research questions developed were as follows:

Q1: Is multinational organization (i.e. NATO) ideology assumed by the overt/covert online power discourse (both textual and semiotic) of affiliated/allied national establishments?

Q2: Under what circumstances is NATO PTEC discourse enabled/disabled/omitted as a power discourse?

2. NATO AND ITS INHERENT FEATURES

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is defined as a political and military alliance of nations whose main goal is to “safeguard the freedom and security of its members through political and military means” (NATO, 2015). This very way of defining it entails two important aspects. First, as an alliance, is characterized by the following (Bamford *et al.*, 2003:12-13): a. Agreement on behalf of partners to contribute resources on an ongoing basis in order to achieve “joint value”; b. The terms of the agreement cannot and are not specified distinctly from the very beginning (“incomplete contract”); c. Joint decision making is needed in order to meet the first two conditions. Second, as the phrasing itself, but also as history has proved it, this alliance is first and foremost a political one and hence, its military related features become overt as a last resort. Moreover, the first feature of any alliance: resource contribution raises, a question in terms of organization theory: is NATO an international, multinational or transnational organization? If it is an international establishment, then as a lead entity it transfers and adapts its knowledge and expertise to foreign environments. In this respect, the subsidiaries do not retain much authority or independence, but they can adapt products and ideas from the center. If it is a multinational entity, it consists of a “portfolio of multiple national identities” and as such “is very sensitive and responsive to differences in national environments around the world” while preserving a “dominant strategic mentality”. As a transnational organization, certain decisions need to be made as to centralizing or decentralizing resources in order to “realize scale economies, protect certain competencies, and to provide the necessary supervision of... management” (Furrer *et al.*, 2001:343-346).

With a view to all of the above, the nominal definition that this article is to rely on in its research investigation is as follows: NATO is an international organization in terms of knowledge transfer and adaptation to its member or partner countries needs and commitments, a transnational organization as far as the centralization/decentralization focus is concerned, but also an organization that given the two features above, as well its guiding principle of “collective defense” fosters multinational encounters and, hence, multinational projects. In this context of describing NATO as a triple hatted entity in terms of its resource building and use, the research question that arises is as follows: *To what extent, does the multinational environment characteristic of NATO, the work processes and decision making system actually trigger a specific type of strategic discourse and ideology?* Moreover, how is this ideology assumed and hence reflected at individual level? In this respect, it is worth also looking at whether there are any power levers that actually contribute to the shaping of the discourse of individual representatives who are part of multinational environments. Hence, the proposal is to understand the micro political games (discourse) played/displayed by understanding the macro political and structural differences among multinational defense institutions/environments: i.e. the country where they are (and inherently the country’s level of contribution to NATO), their service orientation: tactical, operational, strategic, and the employee categories (adapted from Furrer *et al.*, 2001).

3. BRIEF CONCEPTUAL DELINEATIONS

The approach undertaken by the article is highly indebted to the CDA method since it enables an approach based on the “linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures”, while also allowing for an interdisciplinary perspective (Blackledge, 2005:3). Moreover, as Fairclough (2013) emphasizes

CDA explores the tension between understandings of language as socially shaped, and language as socially shaping. Language use is simultaneously constitutive of social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and belief, although with different degrees of salience in different instances.

Consequently, given the advantages offered by the method, the hypothesis inbuilt in it is that as a result of the power asymmetry resulting among participants to discourse events, the latter have

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uneven and imbalanced capacity to control text production, distribution and consumption.

Moreover, concerning the fine relationship between language and power, the same method establishes that even though language does not yield power, it does though grant the means by which power status is expressed in hierarchical structures. Thus, the main propositions of CDA concerning discourse as a form of both linguistic and isual communication are:

- Discourse is structured by dominance;
- Every discourse is historically produced and interpreted and, hence, situated in time and space;
- Dominance structures are legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups.

As such, discourse is both “socially shaped” and “socially shaping and constitutive” (Fairclough, 2013:92). Last but not the least, from an organizational perspective offered by organizational studies, organizational discourse

is a structured collections of texts embodied in the practices of talking and writing (as well as a wide variety of visual representations and cultural artifacts) that bring organizationally related objects into being as those texts are produced, disseminated and consumed (Grant *et al.*, 2004).

4. METHODOLOGY

The research methodology employed by this paper takes both a qualitative and quantitative stance. Quantitatively, the investigation starts from the total number of 29 Partnership Training and Education Centers and indentifies the relevant sample by narrowing down the numbers in terms of access to information in the online environment, namely to the sites of the aforementioned multinational NATO establishments. Qualitatively, the research is based on comparison and contrast between the key textual markers identified in NATO PTECs vision as it is to be found in the promotional brochure and established as guiding lines for the CDA analysis of the open source media employed by these centers to inform on their mission, vision and activity.

Thus, the means to establish the key words relevant for the investigation undertaken by this paper consist in focusing on: (1) the status expressed by the name chosen for each of the centers as derived from the aforementioned vision and overall definition of their mission; (2) their underlying implicit and explicit goals as formulated against the overarching ones expressed

in the same brochure that is self telling of the status in the community; (3) the means employed to achieve the goals and that are either directly expressed or merely hinted at.

All of the above are underlined in bold in the quote below that details the aforementioned of NATO PTECs:

The PTECs are a Community of Education, Training, and Research Partnerships promoting transparency and mutual understanding for sustainable global peace, security, and stability achieved through: Cooperation; Coordination; Inclusivity; Communication; Networking; Standardization.

PTECs are a global network of educational and training establishments promoting collaborative initiatives and quality instruction to enhance capacity building, interoperability, and a comprehensive understanding of wider security issues. (NATO, 2015)

Based on all of the above, the levels of analysis are two fold. Overtly, the research focuses on the textual and semiotic references to the research questions as they are to be found on the main website page of these centers or yielded upon key words search in the website. Thus, the indicators searched for are PTEC or NATO related signs, and their presence is to be read as the establishment’s willingness and/or pride to be part of this “community”.

Covertly, the analysis focuses on textual references by investigating the correlation between the vision of the center and the vision of NATO on PTECs. Mention should be made that in the cases when the center is part of a larger vision that describes a national entity’s direction (a center, department, Ministry of Defense, etc.), the analysis does take into account the latter’s vision, as well. Thus, the indicators in this respect point out to a status that is covertly expressed not necessarily hinting at the PTEC community as such. Hence, the reading of such indicators is to be done as a self-explanatory role that is already fully assumed and no longer needs recognition on behalf of fellow members

Thus, the research initially took into account all the 29 PTECs listed by the NATO official site in 2015, as well as the active links provided by the latter (NATO, 2015). Then, the criterion employed by the research endeavor in order to identify relevant categories for analysis and decide what elements of the categories could not be used was the type of country affiliation to NATO: full NATO members (group 1); PfP NATO countries

and MAP countries (group 2), European non-NATO countries (group 3), and non NATO countries outside Europe (group 4).

Concerning Group 1, this consists of 13 centers located in Germany, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Romania (2), Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States, namely: Partner Language Training Center, Europe (PLTCE), Garmisch, Germany; Foreign Languages Department (FLD) National Military University, Bulgaria; Hellenic Multinational Peace Support Operations Training Center (MPSOTC), Greece; International Institute of Humanitarian Law (IIHL), Italy; The Regional Department of Defence Resources Management Studies (DRESMARA), Romania; Crisis Management and Multinational Operations Department (CMMOD), Romania; The Slovak Armed Forces Academy of General Milan Rastislav Stefanik, Slovakia; The Slovenian PfP Language Training Centre, Slovenia; Turkish PfP Training Centre, Turkey; Defence Academy, United Kingdom; Joint Special Operations University, Tampa, Florida, United States; Naval Postgraduate School (NPS), United States.

As for group 2, this is made of two sub categories: PfP NATO countries (a), and MAP countries (b). In terms of subcategory a, out of the five centers: Sachkhere Mountain-Training School, Georgia; Continuous Training Centre of the Armed Forces Military Academy, Moldova; Austrian Armed Forces International Centre (AUTINT), Austria; Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Switzerland; PSO Training Centre Swiss Armed Forces International Command (PSO TC SWISSINT), Switzerland, only three could be analyzed in terms of the research questions of this paper. As for the MAP countries, out of four: Peace Support Operations Training Centre (PSOTC), Bosnia and Herzegovina; Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) Training Centre, Serbia; Public Affairs Regional Centre (PARC), The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; International Peacekeeping and Security Centre (IPSC), Ukraine, only one website was available, namely that of the center from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The European non-NATO countries (group 3) hosting PTECs are Finland and Sweden with the following establishments: Swedish Armed Forces International Centre (SWEDINT), Sweden; Finnish Defence Forces International Centre (FINCENT), Finland.

Concerning the non NATO countries outside Europe (group 4) gaining military and financial

benefits from their strategic partnership with NATO, out of five PTECs: Cairo Regional Center for Training on Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa (CCCPA), Egypt; Jordan Armed Forces Language Institute, Jordan; Peace Operation Training Center (POTC), Jordan; Partnership for Peace Training Center, Army Academy (KAZCENT), Kazakhstan; Five Hills Peace Support Operations Training Centre, Mongolia, only the websites of those from Jordan could be analyzed.

Thus, out of 29 NATO PTECs, the research could only focus on 24 multinational establishments. Hence, the next criterion employed in the interpretation of the findings was the eagerness/willingness of the state to be part of NATO and to be acknowledged as such in terms of its politics and/ or chronological approach/resource contribution level (who are the founders, who are newcomers, etc. in the community) as all this becomes obvious at overt and covert level of analysis, as well as in terms of the three fold indicators related to status, goal and means to achieve the stated goal.

5. FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

When analyzing both overtly and covertly the available websites of the PTECs listed on NATO page, the following approach was taken. At overt level the focus was on the textual and semiotic references to the research question as displayed on the main website page or yielded upon key words search in the website. At covert level, the textual clues were the point of reference and the method employed relied on investigating the correlation between the vision of the center and the vision of NATO on PTECs. In terms of the indicators, the clues concerning the acknowledgment of goals, means and status were taken into account.

The findings of the research undertaken were as follows. In terms of the thirteen centers belonging to NATO member countries, the ones from the USA, namely the Joint Special Operations University, Tampa, Florida, and the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) do not provide any overt or covert textual or semiotic clues as to their status of PTECs. What is more, the vision, mission and goals are fully aligned to the US DOD goals. A somewhat similar situation is represented by the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom since no overt or covert reference is made to its PTEC status. However, concerning the means employed by the center to achieve its goals there is a slight

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difference and an implicitness of the roles derived from the aforementioned status at the level of the discourse employed: “establishing and maintaining itself as the MOD’s primary link with UK universities and with international military educational institutions”.

By comparison, the power discourse of the centers from Slovakia, Bulgaria and Slovenia is nationally anchored while also acknowledging to a certain extent their belonging to the community of PTECS. In this respect, information about the Bulgarian Foreign Languages Department (FLD) is to be found on the website of the National Military University. As such, the status of the center is supported by the national identity as unveiled by the mission of this university. Consequently, the goals and means are anchored into national values. Unlike this overall national focus, the The Slovenian PfP Language Training Centre and The Slovak Armed Forces Academy of General Milan Rastislav Stefanik manage to merge the national discourse with the NATO related one. Thus, the overt textual clues included in the name of the center from Slovenia are already an indicator of a shift from a nationally anchored perspective to a potentially multinational one. Even though the website of the center is hosted by the Slovenian Ministry of Defense webpage and the National objective is first expressed, that is immediately completed by the following goal

PfP LTC is also responsible for the language training that enhances NATO’s interoperability objectives and international peace initiatives.

As for The Slovak Armed Forces Academy of General Milan Rastislav Stefanik, Slovakia, the covert clues hint at a nationally anchored power discourse given the goals and means expressed on the website. However, even though the PTEC status is not overtly mentioned on the site except for the news area, the discourse employed acknowledges the center as being part of a community by pointing out the other participants to PTEC events as “colleagues”. Thus, in one of the news feeds, this type of belonging reads as follows:

The main aim of the annual marketplace was to strengthen the relations and to promote the activities of the institutions, taking part in the event. Our representants approached the colleagues from other PTEC centres about future cooperation. From the total amount of twenty six, the sixteen PTEC took part this year.

Additionally, in terms of the overt textual clues, it is worth mentioning that this center positions the coat of arms of NATO PTEC community in the left margin in the lower part of the page, the NATO symbol top page next to the name of the university, and the active participation of the center to the PTEC community in the news area. Concerning the other centers from the NATO member countries, the only one that makes no overt or covert reference to its affiliation and that also takes a rather neutral approach is the International Institute of Humanitarian Law (IIHL), Italy. The latter, does have a specific indication that is really worth recording in terms of the neutral perspective it adopts: “The Institute pursues its objectives and carries out its activities in full independence from any government or organization.” The Partner Language Training Center, Europe (PLTCE), Garmisch, Germany, acknowledges first and foremost its belonging to the George C. Marshall Center for Security Studies and hence it adopts the latter’s vision. Even if its very name is an overt reference, there are no other overt or covert clues to NATO or to the PTEC community. Even though the Hellenic Multinational Peace Support Operations Training Center (MPSOTC), Greece does not provide any direct reference to its PTEC status, at covert level, its mission outlines compliance with NATO and other organizations’ standards, whereas the news area refers to the PTEC specific events or to the center’s acknowledgement as such by NATO publications. The Crisis Management and Multinational Operations Department (CMMOD), Romania is referred to as a former PfP in the presentation on the front page of the website. Moreover, the goals express its full alignment to NATO principles:

“to promote the wider dissemination of NATO doctrine and procedures”, “support of the current and developing NATO and EU doctrine and procedures used in multinational operations”.

Concerning the Turkish PfP Training Centre, its name is explanatory. Moreover, the NATO symbol is placed in the right margin, upper half, links area of the webpage, and the goals and means it assumes are, by comparison with the centers previously analyzed, the most compatible and aligned to the vision and mission of the NATO PTECs community:

To be one of the leading institutions; on partnership training within NATO Education & Training

community and on multinational operational training in Turkey ...to provide training and education to NATO, Partner Nations and National Personnel in order to contribute for the attainment of interoperability objectives and enhance military cooperation in accordance with NATO and TGS policy and principles.

Last but not the least, The Regional Department of Defence Resources Management Studies (DRESMARA), Romania, is very much similar in terms of acknowledging its status to the Turkish center. However, if in the case of the latter, this is to be found at textual level, the former emphasizes the visual clues that contribute to the covert acknowledgment of its status: the PTEC Coat of arms is top left, the 5th button out of 7 provides more information on NATO PTEC's, and below the buttons the following mention is found: "NATO Training and Education Center". Additionally, unlike all the other centers, this one fully assumes its belonging to PTEC community:

DRESMARA is officially acknowledged by NATO as one of its 26 international Partnership Training and Education Centers – PTEC.

Concerning the PfP NATO COUNTRIES and the PTECs of these, the ones of Switzerland and Austria should form a distinct group since, even though the two countries do not wish to enter NATO, they are heavily involved in NATO activities. However, that is also overtly and covertly expressed by the website of only one of these. For instance, the Austrian Armed Forces International Centre (AUTINT) makes an explicit textual acknowledgement of being a PfP center "The Austrian Armed Forces International Centre are the Austrian Partnership for Peace Training Centre." Moreover, it cannot go unnoticed the heavy emphasis placed on troop use in operations abroad among which NATO ones, as well as the national focus in terms of the number of troops contributed to various operations. Moreover, the center is keen on reinforcing NATO vision and mission for its PTECs:

the Austrian Armed Forces' main focus within enhanced Partnership for Peace is the achievement of interoperability, primarily for crisis response operations. The Austrian Armed Forces have long-term experience within multinational forces on battalion-level. They participate in international NATO-, UN-, EU-, and OSCE- led operations.

By contrast, the PSO Training Centre Swiss Armed Forces International Command (PSO TC

SWISSINT), Switzerland has no individual site and upon searching its name the action is redirected towards the Swiss Armed Forces site. As for the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Switzerland, Its goal expressed in the "Mandate and Vision" area and it can be implicitly identified in the goal expressed in the vision of NATO PTEC.

Concerning the Continuous Training Centre of the Armed Forces Military Academy, Moldova, its site is available as part of the Military Academy "Alexandru cel Bun". There are no distinctive signs concerning the PTEC affiliation, except for an announcement on the bottom of the page that reads: "On 22 March 2012, Continuous Training Centre was recognized as a Partnership and Education Centre." In terms of its goals, they are aligned to that of PTECs: "to reach Interoperability Objectives and Partnership Goals".

As for the MAP countries, the Peace Support Operations Training Centre (PSOTC) of Bosnia and Herzegovina displays a highly visible coat of arms (larger than that of the Center) placed in the left margin, mid page, the acknowledgement of its status is to be found in the mission and vision areas of the text. Moreover, its goal is in line with national and NATO goals and emphasize its orientation towards the larger area of security:

operate as a Partnership and Regional Training and Education Centre in order to support BiH's contribution to international peace and security (mission);

delivers PSO related functional/specialized courses as well as products related to wider security and its comprehensive approach concept without losing its global and regional reach.

Similar to one of the centers from Romania, this center also emphasizes its status as PTEC unequivocally: "accredited Partnership for Peace (PfP) Training and Education Centre".

Concerning the European non-NATO countries, that are service providers to NATO among other partners equally important, the situation is somewhat distinct and more coherent compared to the findings concerning the previous groups. Thus, the when accessing the website of the Swedish Armed Forces International Centre (SWEDINT), the front picture displays the a number of flag poles with NATO flag right in the middle next to the one of the European Union. Additionally, the center acknowledges its contribution to NATO and other organization led operations, whereas in the news area the center

celebrates the award “NATO Quality Assurance Unconditional Accreditation” received in recognition for its efforts to produce the highest quality NATO education and training. The news headline reads as „SWEDINT first PTEC to receive NATO full systems accreditation”. As for the Finnish Defence Forces International Centre (FINCENT), even though on the front page there is no acknowledgment of its status as PTEC, an indirect and *inter alia* reference to this is made in the tasks page: „arrange and host national and international seminars, courses and exercises for the UN, NORDEF, the EU, NATO and NATO/Partnership”. Besides its textual reference, there are also coat of arms of the other organizations the center established relations with.

Another category of centers held under scrutiny belongs to non-NATO countries gaining military and financial benefits from their strategic partnership with NATO. Out of the three centers, only the Jordanian ones have their own websites. Thus, the PTEC status of the Jordan Armed Forces Language Institute is acknowledged textually and briefly in the right bottom corner. When trying to access the mission/vision, we find in the Institute’s message in the last paragraph the same acknowledgment and two values of NATO vision: cooperation and coordination. Moreover, in the history of the Institute “chronological milestone” one can find an image of the certificate testifying to the status of PTEC. Concerning the Peace Operation Training Center (POTC), Jordan its status and goal alignment to NATO PTEC vision is openly acknowledged right on front page. While the coat of arms of the center lies to the left right under the main heading presenting the name, the buttons of access to the page, the one of NATO PTEC lies in the same position to the right. Exactly under this coat of arms, the status is also announced in textual form and underlines the community and network idea from the vision.

POTC is now a full and official member in NATO PTEC Community and Network; the Center has been declared as Partnership Training Center since 11 July 2011.

Moreover, its goal is a takeover and adaptation of NATO PTEC goal to the Jordanian Armed Forces’ outreach

building high capacity for the most important sector of society, that is peace and security... enables JAF members in those fields and launching toward international and regional prospects to serve the Jordanian objectives.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the answer to the research question concerning the existence and manifestation of an overt/covert power discourse that in builds NATO ideology becomes more than obvious. Thus, reference to NATO and its discourse becomes a means of status upheaval inside or outside the country of the PTEC that either through textual and/or visual clues acknowledges its contribution to NATO or its commitment to the same alliance. In this respect, this two-fold differentiation is of utmost importance to be made since it structures and directs the “semiosis” of the text. What is more, the same semiosis is to be understood from a more comprehensive perspective: the centers of major contributors in terms of resources to NATO either do not feel the need to show their belonging to this multinational organizations and hence NATO ideology goes unnoticed in their case (see the websites of the two US PTEC) or are aware of their role as regional players and as such incorporate NATO discourse as part of a more comprehensive regional approach. Nonetheless, there are centers that choose to adopt NATO ideology through their very assignment as PTECs, but that still rely on a national ideology, rather than a multinational one. Such a situation can only be understood as a self serving case since the power discourse simply unveils a national calculation on behalf of the bodies accepting only or hardly in an (c)overt manner their status and underlying goals.

Furthermore, the research question about the circumstances in which NATO PTEC discourse is enabled/disabled/omitted as a power discourse, finds its answer in the political orientation of the countries where the centers are located, as well as in the nature of contribution granted or received as part of NATO power discourse. All of the above considered, the research endeavor could be further continued by focusing on the individual power discourse that manifests within these centers. However, this is a long term commitment that, if it to be undertaken, may unveil new findings in the area of organizational ideology transfer into employees’ discourses. Additionally, it may also contribute to the research in the field of organizational studies and more particularly to the area of organizational culture as that was initially defined by Hofstede: a mix of national and organizational culture that molds and shapes

organizational reality and people's discursive behavior.

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THE ROLE OF OSINT COLLECTION IN INTELLIGENCE AND THE FUTURE OF INTELLIGENT SEARCH

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Abstract: *In the Intelligence process, OSINT collection has a crucial role. Collection is the key to getting a good and useful product. Regardless of the field of study or preference for defining data - but especially in the Intelligence field - accurate data collection is essential to maintaining the integrity of the analytical product. The world is changing with the advancement of technology. Online sources prove more useful in gathering required intelligence to help analysts to understand some things. Nowadays, the Internet plays an important role in the OSINT collection, maybe the most important, because it provides lots of data that can be spread very fast. Therefore, the Internet is important for the growth of social media, media sharing sites, and their ease of access through various devices. Search engines are also experiencing a permanent development. For that reason, they provide a real support to analysts and their work. For instance, an eloquent example is the new Google service called Knowledge Graph. The Knowledge Graph is a knowledge base used by Google to enhance its search engine's search results with semantic search information gathered from a wide variety of sources. That way, it provides detailed information about a topic in addition to a list of links to other sites. That means users can use the information without having to navigate to other websites and assemble the information themselves.*

Keywords: *OSINT collection, Internet search tools, Knowledge Graph*

1. INTRODUCTION

Intelligence has increasingly become an activity based mainly on analysis of information on the use of open source and academic information. Consistent with these changes, modern intelligence means the ability to solve problems and bring new situations, process information, collect information, including to fully benefit from scientific, technological, military, economic, and political information. Today, OSINT holds an important place in the intelligence services' activity. With the passage of time and the evolution of technology, OSINT's contribution to the process of intelligence has changed. Open source development is largely due to the Internet and features that it provides. The explosion of intelligence information we are currently facing has been greatly magnified by what is called New Media, considered the main communication platform of the 21st century.

Society has evolved a lot and, at the same time, ways to collect information have greatly diversified. As stated by Wiewiorka & Wolton (1987), as not long ago it was very difficult to get informed because of the lack of information and poor access to it, today it is difficult to be properly

informed because of the high information flow. The most important moment in the OSINT development was the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States of America. After those events, it was realized the importance of open source information, corroborated with intelligence obtained from other sources, but especially the importance of information sharing.

Open sources were long disregarded before their importance has been recognized. Today, great emphasis is laid on open source information relevant to national security. Currently, a growing number of government departments and non-governmental organizations are actively exploiting open sources of information. Organizations and institutions operating in the fields of security, defense, and public order, which are in charge with ensuring state security, are increasingly cooperating with the public through the virtual world.

2. COLLECTION IN THE INTELLIGENCE PROCESS

In the simplest way to say it, the intelligence cycle is the process of developing unrefined data into polished intelligence for the use of customers. The intelligence cycle consists of six steps. The

second step, collection, contains both acquiring information and provisioning that information to processing and production components. Actually, collection represents the gathering of raw information taking into account requirements. Also, the collection process involves many activities, such as interviews, technical and physical surveillances, human source operation, searches, and liaison relationships (FBI.gov).

Collection strategies shifted from sophisticated surveillance satellites capable of counting tanks and missiles to the gathering of whatever information was available on rogue states and terrorist groups. Much of the information found was actually openly available but not hitherto collected and analyzed (CRS Report for Congress, 2007). OSINT collection is normally accomplished through monitoring, data-mining, and research. Open-source production supports all-source intelligence and the continuing activities of the intelligence process (generate intelligence knowledge, analyze, assess, and disseminate) OSINT is derived from the systematic collection, processing, and analysis of publicly available, relevant information in response to intelligence requirements. Two important related terms are open source and publicly available information: open source and publicly available information. OSINT collection is normally accomplished through monitoring, data-mining, and research (Headquarters, Department of Army, 2012). The collecting intelligence about individuals, groups, or states of interest has come under increasing scrutiny since September 11, 2001. Collectors have a specific view of the collection function, structure and process. Analysts need to take a different perspective, one that is not closely tied to the existing functional or structural divisions.

Collection operations depend on secure, rapid, and reliable communications to allow for data exchange and to provide opportunities for cross-cueing of assets and tip-off exchanges between assets. Once collected, information is correlated and forwarded for processing and production (Federation of American Scientists, 1996).

3. OSINT COLLECTION PROCESS

Intelligence collection requirements are developed to meet the needs of potential consumers. Based upon identified intelligence, requirements collection activities are given specific tasks to collect data. These tasks may use a number of different intelligence disciplines for collection

activities and the use of different types of collection systems contributes to redundancy. It also allows the collection of different types of information that can be used to confirm or disprove potential assessments. Several intelligence disciplines are used to acquire information, including human intelligence/HUMINT, open source intelligence/OSINT, imagery intelligence/IMINT, signals intelligence/SIGINT, measurement and signatures intelligence/MASINT (FAS, 1996).

Open source collection becomes more of a threat as more information becomes electronically accessible especially with the evolution of the Internet. This represents one of the risks of OSINT collection. As many others things, OSINT collection includes many risks and protective countermeasures should be developed to prevent inadvertent compromise of program activities through publication of data in publicly available media (Federation of American Scientists, 1996). Collection services include online collection - searchers that specialize in Internet, deep web and premium commercial online source exploitation (NATO Open Source Intelligence Handbook, 2001). Also, WebCase simplifies the challenge of documenting Internet based OSINT by allowing you to collect only the high quality information you need. Whether a news article, blog rumor, recruitment video, or "chatter" among tweets or forum postings - among many other forms of information - WebCase enables analysts to focus your intelligence gathering efforts for each case you examine (Vere Software, 2011).

Specialists recommend to analysts to establish the validity of their collected intelligence at the moment they collect it - even if the source web location is changed or deleted at any time afterward. This can be important when it comes to convincing their supervisors of the veracity of their actionable intelligence. Collecting information from open sources is generally less expensive and less risky than collection from other intelligence sources. The use of OSINT may result not only in monetary savings but also in less risk than utilizing sensitive technical and human sources (CRS Report for Congress, 2007).

4. THE GOOGLE KNOWLEDGE GRAPH

The Google Knowledge Graph (GKG) is a system launched by Google in May 2012, starting in the United States. Since July 2013, this system has been available for Romania, too. It can understand facts about persons, places and things

and how they are connected. The Knowledge Graph is used to enhance Google's search engine's search results with semantic search information added from a variety of sources (Singhal, 2012). It provides structured and detailed information about the topic in addition to a list of links to other sites. The goal is that users would be able to use this information to resolve their query without having to navigate to other sites and assemble the information themselves (Waters, 2012).

According to Google team, the information in the Knowledge Graph is derived from many sources, including the CIA World Factbook, Freebase, and Wikipedia. The feature is similar in intent to answer engines such as Ask Jeeves and Wolfram Alpha (Staff, 2012). As of 2012, its semantic network contained over 570 million objects and more than 18 billion facts about and relationships between different objects that are used to understand the meaning of the keywords entered for the search (Isidoro, 2013). The Knowledge Graph is used both behind-the-scenes to help Google improve its search relevancy and also to present Knowledge Graph boxes, at times, within its search results that provide direct answers. Below are recent stories about the system (Search Engine Land, 2012). When it comes to search, we are accustomed to queries that are initiated client-side and not server-side. This new Knowledge graph update will essentially play an important role in how Google's engine understands your search queries and how you should SEO your website. The basic concept works as follows: when you type a phrase into the search box, like say for instance "Zama Zama", Google needs to know if you are searching for news about illegal mining, how to do the zama dance, or if you want to book tickets for Zama Zama the movie, which are completely different things. Once you type your particular phrase into the search box, Google will display all the related forms of your search on the right hand side, with small descriptions about each different interpretation of Zama Zama. You can then choose which interpretation you meant to search for and once you click on the particular field in the knowledge graph, your search results will refresh to show you the related information and search results (Zululex, 2012).

The second part of this update will then adapt the sidebar on the right to give you quick, factual information regarding your newly defined and more relative quire. For example, if you chose Zama Zama the movie, Google will display regular sites that mention the film in the search results, and

in the right hand sidebar quick booking options and cinema times will be displayed. Would you have searched for the director of zama zama Vickus Strijdom, a wikipedia like wiki will be shown in the sidebar with a short biography about Vickus. Google has a database with the facts people search for about Vickus the most, and will thus show only the information for these most popular facts. These summaries will contain links just like a wikipedia article, which will allow you to view summaries of related people, co-workers, family and other projects (Zululex, 2012). In the acceptance of Google's Vice President Ben Gomes, "To put this into perspective, one of the biggest launches in the past was Universal Search". He added that "the Knowledge Graph features affect a larger fraction of queries than Universal Search. Users will see these features more often than they see Google Maps in Google Search."

Google's latest upgrade will also deliver a brief profile of the queried subject, from an author's birthplace to a band's discography. Google use Knowledge Graph to showcase biographical details about a specific architect on its own website, serving up his birthdate, spouse, children and images of his most famous buildings. Google will customize the selection of facts to reflect users' most common queries relating to that person or place. The change puts Google front and center and promises to keep some users on Google, rather than diverting them to the websites where they could have found similar facts. It also promises to annoy some sites, which could see traffic diverted from their own pages, as well as attract the attention of antitrust regulators, who are already investigating charges that Google cooked its algorithms to feature its own products ahead of competitors (Bosker, 2012). The summaries will also add some surprises into users' search results, surfacing information users didn't know they wanted but may be interested in. The change underscores the steps tech companies are taking to engineer serendipity and introduce us to ideas we might not have discovered otherwise. Also, Ben Gomes mentioned that

We can connect things to what you're searching for in ways you might not have expected. In terms of search, this will greatly increase the amount of serendipity in search as you browse from a topic to things related to it.

Another new feature uses the Knowledge Graph to help users move from an ambiguous query. Google will present a list of more specific

queries to the right of its results. Gomes explains that Google hopes its Knowledge Graph will help the search engine answer more advanced questions that take into account specific locations and times of year, or require bringing together information from discreet databases (Bosker, 2012).

4. CONCLUSIONS

The collection and the use of open source intelligence (OSINT) can be of immense value to an analyst. Open source information may be indistinguishable from classified information, but based on its source, may not be evaluated as trustworthy. The classic OSINT collection process is about to change with GKG, this major upgrade to Google's search results, which aims to eradicate ambiguity and make clicking on the sites shown in search results increasingly unnecessary. Google notes that by connecting billions of disparate points of data, its search results can present users with a more coherent narrative, thus providing a better understanding of the relationships between facts. This is considered to be the future of intelligent search.

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A NEW GEOGRAPHY IN A NEW AGE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF LOCAL AND GLOBAL IDENTITY IN THE DISCOURSE OF AN ITALIAN RIGHT-WING PARTY

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Abstract: *The study analyzes the discourse of the Italian right-wing party Lega Nord ('Northern League'), focusing on a corpus of 12 texts issued between 2007 and 2014. The methodology applied is van Leeuwen's (2008) approach to discourse as social practice, within the larger framework of critical discourse analysis. The analysis of the corpus focuses on the construction of legitimation strategies in the party discourse and on the representation of local, national and European identity. Results show that the identity of the party as a social actor remains constant, while the definition of the represented collectivity changes. The party sometimes claims to represent the Italian people confronting the danger of immigration, while at other times it defends the inhabitants of Northern Italy in front of the danger represented by the South. Traits which are characteristic for right-wing political discourse, such as populism and xenophobia (e.g. Caiani, della Porta 2011) are constantly represented, in the Lega Nord texts, by a contestation of current geographical and statal boundaries, and an attempt to impose a new geography, based on a marked delimitation of the North from the South and of Italy from other states.*

Keywords: *identity, otherness, radical right, immigration, discourse analysis*

1. INTRODUCTION

During the last decades, the enlargement of the European Union has led to similar rights and obligations for more member-states. Besides the socio-political dimension, the EU integration encompasses a cultural dimension as well, based on the enforcement of a specific set of values considered as 'European', for example equality, cooperation and protection of human rights. Based on such considerations, it is argued that a new form of supranational identity, the European one, emerges. Still, the process of European integration appears to be never completed or fully accepted by all member states. Instead, it seems to be challenged by dissonant voices, such as nationalist parties or extremist organizations in diverse European countries. This study focuses on a specific case, namely the discourse of an Italian political party, the Northern League (*Lega Nord*-LN). LN claims to be a right-wing party and explicitly rejects criticism which defines it as anti-European; however, there are instances when the statements made by LN politicians seem to contradict this stance. The present research focuses on different texts issued by the party's office or delivered by prominent members in the last years,

aiming to assess (1) how the European identity is constructed in regard to the national identity in this party's discourse and (2) whether its current discourse reveals any traits which indicate a radical right orientation in the party's ideology.

2. BACKGROUND OF THE CASE

The history of the party begins in the 1980s, with the formation of the Lega Autonomia Lombarda. After having gained first a seat in the provincial assembly, the political organization expanded considerably, merging with other regionalist groups, so that in a decade it became the largest political party in the North of Italy (Cento Bull, Gilbert, 2001:8-9). The alliance became a political party and changed its name to Lega Nord in the early 1990s. At present, LN has representatives in the Italian Parliament. Its electoral success and the constant presence on the Italian political stage in the last decades indicate that the party has a considerable group of supporters and electors. Cento Bull and Gilbert (2001:11) point out the important role played by the founder, Umberto Bossi, for the success of the party. However, there are also other elements which influenced the LN success, as the socio-

economic situation of Italy and the problem of corruption among public representatives (Cento Bull, Gilbert, 2001:13-15).

Obviously, the role played by LN in Italian politics needs to be linked to the larger social and political background and to the characteristics of the voters themselves. Italy is one of the states which contributed to the foundation of the European Community and the time and the extent of the EU membership appear to be important factors influencing the citizen's attitudes in regard to the EU (Bruter, 2005). Still, the current conception of the EU among the Italians is not a very unitary one, as Pitasi *et al.* (2005) acknowledge 'a sort of suspicion and distrust towards the European Community among Italians' in the 1980s, which is attributed to the partial rejection of the manifest ideated by Altiero Spinelli and Ernesto Rossi. Such distrust has been more recently followed by a more positive view of the EU, as an economic benefactor for Italy (Pitasi *et al.*, 2005: 144). In their study, Pitasi *et al.* identify a 'nationalist' attitude as one of the four major types of attitudes manifested by the Italian people in regard to the European identity. The persons sustaining this view displayed a marked loyalty towards their nation-state and, simultaneously, aversion towards the EU; without completely rejecting the idea of Europe, the 'predominance is given to Italian belonging' (Pitasi *et al.*, 2005:148-149). The study indicates the existence of a segment of the Italian voters with nationalist orientation, and thus more inclined to vote for right-wing or radical right party.

It is debatable whether LN can be simply labelled as a 'nationalist' party. Because of its claims to regional autonomy for the Northern Italian region, LN programme has been viewed as 'regionalist populism' (Ennsner, 2010:159). According to other researchers, LN discourse presents consistent traits which indicate its positioning as a radical right party (Mudde, 2007) or as a 'nationalist, populist right party' (Jaschke, 2001:10). It is precisely this 'borderline' character of the party what makes it worthy of more detailed examination (Ennsner, 2010).

3. CORPUS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The corpus examined is formed of 12 texts which have been issued during the last seven years. The majority of them are parliamentary speeches delivered in the Italian Parliament by MPs from the

LN group. Two texts represent statements authored by Roberto Marraccini, which present LN's point of view in regard to the European integration of Italy and the role which Italy should play at the European level. Finally, two other texts are brief newsbulletins (*Lega Nord Flash*) addressing the larger public and explaining the party's position regarding Italy's situation in the international context. Free Internet access to all texts was available at the time when the corpus was gathered.

The framework used relies on the critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, especially because of its concern for its focus on 'social problems and political issues' (e.g. Van Dijk 2001:353). The analysis of discourse is constantly correlated to various social parameters, in order to better understand the relations of power, dominance or status between the participants or in the larger social setting (e.g. Van Dijk, 1985:5). CDA takes on a constructivist perspective, assuming that 'power relationships are not natural and objective; they are artificial, socially constructed intersubjective realities' (Fowler 1985:61). CDA includes several distinct frameworks for the study of discourse, of which van Leeuwen's social action approach will be applied for the purpose of the present analysis. According to this perspective, social practices are 'socially regulated ways of doing things' (van Leeuwen 2008:6) which are represented in the texts produced in a specific society or context. Starting from the investigation of texts, it is possible to reconstruct the discourses on social practices, which encompass 'contextually specific legitimations of these social practices' (van Leeuwen, 2008:105). Van Leeuwen identifies four main types of legitimating strategies: authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoesis. The analysis of the corpus will focus mainly on the strategies of authorization and moral evaluation, showing how these strategies are used in the LN discourse in order to legitimate its position as a significant social and political actor and to construct various categories of in- and out-groups.

4. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The main traits currently associated with the radical right are: populism, xenophobia, nationalism and socio-cultural authoritarianism (Mudde, 2007; Caiani and della Porta, 2011:182). As a consequence, the current analysis searched for discursive manifestations of nationalism and xenophobia in the corpus.

Although the texts examined cover a span of seven years time, a general feature of the texts is their coherence. An illustrative example, in this sense, is represented by two manifests signed by the LN secretary, Roberto Marraccini, in the spring of 2007 and in the spring of 2014. The main topics brought up in the latter bulletin are very similar to those of the former, although political, economical and social realities have changed, both in Italy and on the international scene. Furthermore, these topics are also similar with those identified by Cento Bull and Gilbert (2001) in their study. Such coherence of content can be interpreted as constancy, but also as an indicator of a particular conservatism and rigidity of LN political programme. Moreover, the repetition of the LN claims is an indicator of the fact that the political goals set by the party have not been achieved yet.

2.1 The construction of local identity through intra-national hierarchization. The discourse of LN presents variations in regard to the construction of the in-group it claims to represent. As the name *Lega Nord* shows, the party has been created in order to represent the interests of a specific group of Italians, distinguished from the other Italian citizens because of the geographical area inhabited: the Padania or the region around the river Po, in the Northern Italy. This delimitation is clearly expressed in the texts issued by the party as an organization: for example, the journal *La Padania*, with the logo ‘The voice of the North’ (*La voce del Nord*) or, the logo ‘for the independence of Padania’ (*per l’indipendenza della Padania*) following the party’s name, as it appears on the manifest dated May 2014. The political programme of the party has at its core a geographical hierarchization of the national territory: the northern regions of the country are considered to have a stronger economy than the southern ones and, consequently, to contribute more to the state budget.

The positive valorization of the North in comparison to the South forms therefore a strong topos in the LN discourse and the legitimation of this argument is realized in various modes. A legitimating strategy by means of authorization is implied, when the speakers appeal to ‘the authority of tradition’ (van Leeuwen 2008: 108). Tradition is frequently mentioned in the texts issued by LN or in the speeches delivered by party members, forming an argument which is difficult to challenge. In the following example, tradition is invoked linguistically through the use of the syntagma *da sempre* (‘for always’), positioning the

facts on an ambiguous temporal segment. Here, the legitimation through tradition is associated to another cultural form of legitimation, which appeals at the national pride, creating the imaginary context of a competition between Italians and foreigners:

Ex. (1): “And it should be noted that, within the unique European market of the euro, the only reality which meant competition for the German manufacturer – and it still means, I dare say – is the Italian manufacturer and, especially, the Padanian one, who, since always, has maintained the value of our exports high.” (LN_Parlam_9)

In other cases, as the newsbulletins issued by the party show, the discourse valorizing the North and incriminating the South becomes more violent.

Ex. (2): “The healthy economy under attack. THEY MASSACRE ONLY THE NORTH. Taxes in order to give money to the South.

The new taxes for the first house, envisaged by Mario Monti’s maneuver, will bring to Rome various billions. More than two thirds of the taxes on the houses will have to be paid by the regions of Padania. And they are deemed to grow exponentially with the revision of the cadastral surveys, in comparison to a South where it is talked about 2 millions of buildings which are *inexistent* for the IRS.

Then, there is the IVA – which will increase by 2 points – of which 75% will be paid by the Padania, because of the degree of tax evasion, which it is known to grow as the latitude decreases. Finally, in the North there are three quarters of the pensions (often earned very hard, with 40 years of work).

In brief, the Government, instead of accelerating – having majority – the federalist reform, in order to fight the historical wastes of the South, pounces on the most productive part: the workers, small and medium-sized companies and the craftspeople of the North.” (*Lega Nord Flash*, no.77, January 2012; italics in original)

This fragment synthesizes the LN rhetoric of intra-national differentiation, by presenting the perspective of economic justice in opposition to the one of fraud. The differentiation of the Italian North from the South, although it is sustained by LN through the use of economic arguments, never remains a merely financial problem. Instead of appealing to the strategy of rationalization, according to van Leeuwen’s framework, the party brings into discussion a moral evaluation, by attributing to the geographical area in the north positive values as ‘honesty’ and ‘hard work’, while the values attributed to the south are ‘deceit’,

‘corruption’, ‘evasion’. The northern region is described symmetrically at the beginning and at the end of this text by appealing to terms which contain a favourable evaluation ‘healthy economy’ (*l’economia sana*) or a comparison: ‘the most productive part’ (*sulla parte più produttiva*). Having this positive construction of the Northern area as a starting point, two types of oppositions are formed in this text.

First, a contrast is formed between the image of Northern Italy and that of the South. The latter one is constructed by repeated references to economic fraud. This is first realized by an allusion ‘a South where it is talked about 2 millions of buildings which are *inexistent* for the IRS’ (*un Meridione dove si parla di 2 milioni di immobili inesistenti per il fisco*). Then, the comparison is enhanced through an irony (*del tasso di infedeltà fiscale che notoriamente sale vertiginosamente mano a mano che scende la latitudine*). In both cases, the negative presentation of the South is made by the use of the authority of tradition or an impersonal authority: the verb *si parla* (‘it is talked about’) or the adverb *notoriamente* (‘notoriously’). In the final paragraph, the conclusion of the negative construction of the South is realized through an adjective with superlative value: ‘the historical wastes of the South’ (*gli sprechi storici del Sud*).

A second script opposes the North of Italy to the Italian government, which is often presented in LN texts through the reference to *Roma* (Rome). In the general frame of the LN rhetoric, the isolation of the capital appears to be one more form of delineating symbolic geographic boundaries within the same nation. The text above leaves place for another interpretation: according to the LN viewpoint, wastes and fraud increase proportionally towards the South of the country and, hence, Rome appears also to be more corrupt than the Northern Italy. The opposition between the northern citizens and the government is clearly expressed throughout the text by the selection of terms which are value-laden, some of them coming from the register of war or fight (‘economy under attack’ /*colpita l’economia*; ‘they massacre only the north’ /*massacrano solo il nord*) or the final verb ‘pounces’ (*si avventa*), alluding to the action of a predator. According to this logic, the northern region is presented as an innocent victim, whose misery is an act of injustice. The party assumes the role of the defender of the people’s interests, organizing its rhetoric according to a ‘local populism’.

4.2. The de-construction of the global European identity. A particularity of LN discourse is that the local identity which characterizes the in-group is sometimes glossed over and a different mode of identification is forwarded. The shift from one definition of the in-group to another is linked to the topic of discussion. When issues of foreign affairs are under debate, LN politicians construct through their discourse a coherent and homogeneous in-group based on ethnicity. The differences between the North and the South of Italy lose their importance and the Italian identity is sustained and opposed to other national or supranational identities.

Throughout the last two decades, research in political science has indicated the possibility for the emergence of a ‘European’ identity, based on the expansion of the EU and its growing importance as an actor on the international scene (e.g. Robyn, 2005; Bruter, 2005). European identity seems to be generally understood as commitment to a particular set of values, such as freedom, democracy, tolerance, cooperation, as the expression of a new ‘age’ in international politics, opposed to the period of the Second World War. These general values are reiterated, in varied forms, in the discourse of the political parties in the EU member states, no matter their ideology; it can be observed that the affirmation of commitment to the ‘European values’ has become a topos of contemporary political discourse.

The position of the LN politicians in regard to the existence of a global European identity appears to be circumspect. In this regard, LN discourse faces a challenge, because an explicit denial of the EU values would mean a negative singularization of the party, while at the same time, the EU policies collide with the party programme. The party states its position by means of a corrective strategy, which is linked to the strategy of self-legitimation, presenting the party in a positive light. The definition of ‘Europe’ represents almost a topos in LN discourse, which is based on a linguistic as well as a conceptual correction, trying to neutralize the criticisms brought against LN by its opponents:

Ex. (3) “... to reject the prejudice about the anti-Europeanism of Lega Nord. Because Lega Nord is not – let’s say it clearly – against Europe. But against Europe as it has been construed until now.” (LN_Marraccini_1)

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The positive presentation of the LN, as the only political formation which is truly visionary and concerned for the interest of the people, is more extensively realized in the following example.

Ex. (4) “When the League was trying, on that occasion, to show the problems which would have been created in the real society, everybody called us insurgents, everybody called us persons who did not understand, did not understand what great opportunities Europe offered. On the contrary, we saw far. We saw far and today everybody can see the present: if anybody had listened to us, we would have seen, probably, a bit of the future as well.” (LN_Parlam_10)

This strategy contributes to the creation of a particular type of authority, distinct from the personal or the expert authority originally advanced by van Leeuwen. What is introduced here is a group source, which can be termed as ‘party authority’. Its expertise consists in the political programme proposed, which is here presented as better than all the rest, and in the wisdom of the party leaders, presented here as more prudent than all other politicians. A further trait emerging from these examples is the awareness of the speaker or author about the necessity of constructing and legitimating his party, the necessity to respond to criticisms in regard to the anti-European stance sustained by LN. In these texts, be it manifestoes or parliamentary speeches, the speaker explicitly tackles and rejects the accusations brought to LN by other political actors.

According to Pentland (1973), two major positions regarding the European integration can be distinguished: the functionalist and the pluralist view. The former sustains the importance of international cooperation and policies, while the latter emphasizes the importance of national sovereignty, which needs to be preserved by the states, even in the context of their membership to international organizations. To this taxonomy, Robyn (2005: 10-18) adds a third position, the nationalist one. These categories are useful for the understanding of LN position on European integration and cooperation: the party shows a dominant nationalist position, which it attempts to present as a ‘pluralist’ one. The main critic which LN brings against ‘Europe’ is the presumed attempt to destroy the sovereignty of the member states. According to this logic, the threats posed by EU policies are multiple: political, economic, but

also cultural. This idea has been emphasized in the speech delivered by Luciano Dussin in the Italian Parliament, regarding the ratification of the Lisbon treaty:

Ex. (5) “Thus, it will be the task of the Government majority [...] to act in such a way, that our state will have the power – I wouldn’t say to impose – but to signal its demands. Since the demands of other states have been accepted – because what I’m saying is written in the Lisbon Treaty, black on white – it is desirable that the other member states accept an Italy which enters, but maintaining her dignity (Applause from the deputies of the group Lega Nord Padania). Such dignity is useful to us, in order to be able to have access to the ‘control panels’, or better said, the panels of Government, not as humble servants, but as leading people. Because our history has nothing less than the histories of other member states – we can even say, with a touch of pride, that we could be a guideline for others, in the construction of common life – we can go on with our values and our wealth.” (LN_Parlam_7)

The contestation of the EU integration is made through a shift of topic. The speaker equates the ratifying of the treaty of Lisbon with a possible cancellation of symbolic, cultural features. As a consequence, he highlights the importance of the cultural dimension of the national identity and asserts the Italian identity as a source of common pride. The appeal is made to the past, to history as a source of legitimation. In this case, history is compared to the history of other European states; the speaker manages to create a hierarchization of the past, implying that some states are historically inferior to others. The emphasis on the image of the country, which shifts to an ambiguous ‘we’ pronoun, is part of the populist rhetoric, aiming to create a connection with the mass of electors, by proposing an image with which they can only identify. The texts above show how LN rejects the existence of a common supranational or global identity at the European level. In their political programme, LN representatives present their stance as support for a federalist Europe, while depicting the EU structures as a menace for the Italian state. The affiliation to such structures and the activity taken by the Italian government leads to strong criticisms from LN, because the relationship between the EU and their state is viewed as hierarchical, with the Italian officials ‘taking orders’ from the European institutions.

Foreign authorities do not represent the only type of out-group which LN presents negatively. As their view of the nation is based on ethnic

homogeneity (Jaschke, 2001: 16), the out-group is constituted by foreigners or by those who do not share the Italian nationality. LN constructs the image of Italy as a victim, a country which is exposed to the danger of being invaded by foreign immigrants. Its xenophobic rhetoric is manifest in various texts and it has been considered the key trait of the party discourse (Harrison, Bruter, 2011).

The rejection of immigration is not a particularity of LN; the negative attitude towards foreigners remains a constant dimension in the programmes and discourses of European right-wing parties, while the other characteristic traits (populism or authoritarianism) may vary. As Ivarsflaten (2008) found out, studying the grievances used by populist right parties in seven countries of Western Europe, the grievance over immigration is the only one which has been used constantly by all successful right-wing parties. This finding is in line with other research which points out that, in the last decades, constant immigration to Europe has led to a change of the political agenda in many states (Jaschke, 2001: 11) and also contributed to an increase in the citizen's level of dissatisfaction with the policies of the state authorities.

The example chosen to illustrate the xenophobic dimension of LN discourse is represented by a short speech delivered by the deputy Marco Rondini, in the Italian Parliament in February 2014. The matter discussed was an interpellation made by a group of members of parliament and addressed to Cécile Kyenge, the Minister for Integration. The interpellation asked her to explain the reason why she decided not to attend a public event organized in Brescia, in September 2013. According to the procedure, after the minister presented an explanatory speech, one of the MPs who made the interpellation, Marco Rondini, was invited to state whether he considered the explanation satisfying or not.

His evaluation of Kyenge's answer was in general a negative one, as Rondini criticized the explanation for being insufficient and ambiguous. What is interesting about Rondini's brief speech is the manner in which he takes advantage of the opportunity to address the minister and introduces more topics of discussion. One of the topics concerns Kyenge's statement, while the others regard her entire activity as a minister, the activity of the government and the policies of the international organizations, especially the EU. A further and more general topic tackled by Rondini regards the immigration policies sustained by the

government and the foreign immigrants themselves. His entire statement consists of a strong criticism, directed against two targets: a wide and vaguely defined target (which encompasses the 'enemies of the nation'), and an individualized target, in this case Cécile Kyenge.

Ex. (6a) "... you are the minister of an Italian government and you should represent the hopes and instances of the communities which have made, one generation after another, the history of the peninsula. And, still, it is not so. You perform wonderfully the role of the one aiming to guarantee the «right to invasion». You are one of the material executors of that kind of happily assisted suicide of our identity, which is planned by those who consider we are all citizens of the world and who tenaciously pursue the annihilation of diverse cultures, which they would like to see reduced to [the status of] historical exhibits in a museum." (LN_Parlam_5)

Rondini's criticism follows two dimensions: at the beginning of the speech, he indicates the 'correct' or desirable manner of behaviour for the minister, then the minister's actual actions, emphasizing the contrast between the 'right' path to follow and the 'wrong' things that have been done. He accuses Kyenge of being more concerned about the immigrants coming to Italy than about the ethnic minorities which have been living in Italy for generations. Further, Rondini also belittles Kyenge by denying her role as a politician and a member of government: she is presented as a mere executor of a plan ideated by others. The parallelism based on the repetition of the pronoun 'you' at the beginning of successive phrases highlights Kyenge's role as a negative agent. Rondini's entire argumentation here is based on a false premise, the presupposition that a group of enemies of Italy really exists. The recourse to such premise contributes to highlight the role taken by the speaker and by his party as promoters and defenders of the national identity:

Ex. (6b) "It is significant that the Letta government, created, just as the Monti government, in order to place itself in the service of the EU, includes ministers like you, who tend to despise our identity."

Throughout his entire speech, Marco Rondini displays a position of authority in regard to the minister Kyenge. First, his discursive superiority is based on procedural elements: being a MP, he has the right to question a minister. Second, another type of superiority becomes also manifest,

especially in the last sections of the speech, and it is based merely on the speaker's ethnic identity. Using irony, Rondini gives advises the minister to buy an Italian dictionary, implying that she does not know the Italian language and neither the Italian reality:

Ex. (6c) "If the Italian state gives you the money [...] you should buy yourself a dictionary and you'll find out that *meticcio* (mestizo/ mixblood) refers to a person born of parents with different racial or ethnic backgrounds. For example, Brasil is very *meticcio*, but Italy is not."

Rondini's argumentation is based on powerful topoi like the topos of threat and that of the people as a victim (Wodak et al., 2009), which is one of the key topoi in LN discourse. The key idea sustained by the LN politician is that Italy suffers because of a foreign menace, that of the immigrants. The idea of threat is constantly indicated by the constant use of terms connected to the semantic field of 'death': 'suicide'/'suicidio' (4 occurrences); 'annihilation' /*annullamento*; 'tragedies'/'tragedie'; 'holocausts'/'olocausti'; 'annihilation'/'annientamento'; 'to delete'/'eliminare'; 'to cancel'/'annullare'; 'disappeared culture'/'(cultura) scomparsa'; 'process of extinction'/'processo di estinzione'; 'the death (of Italy)'/'morte (dell'Italia)'; 'we are dying'/'stiamo morendo'; 'our identity is deleted'/'cancellata la nostra identità. The abundance of such terms gives a sense of tragedy and urgency to the entire speech. This idea is argued through the appeal to authorization strategies: for example, Rondini quotes the work of an Italian scientist, claiming that the Western culture is likely to disappear in the future 50 years. Another argument refers to the alleged high birth-rates among Oriental populations, leading the speaker to conclude: "The death of Italy is already happening especially for this reason, because nobody fights to make her live, because nobody cries for her" (*La morte dell'Italia è già in atto soprattutto per questo, perché nessuno combatte per farla vivere, persino perché nessuno la piange.*). The conclusion of Rondini's speech appeals one more time to a false authorization based on 'common knowledge', in order to plead for the rejection of immigrants:

Ex. (6d): "Popular wisdom used to say: [take] a wife and oxen from your own region. And this is a message, the future which we would like to deliver to the future generations, not a reality where there is no more the feeling of belonging to a community, where our identity has been deleted because of the

migratory waves which bring nothing good to our society."

The excerpts above illustrate how the speaker combines the authorization strategy with the moral evaluation, leading to a highly emotional discourse, which is xenophobic and populist at the same time.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis shows that LN discourse has remained considerably constant during time, by maintaining a few key topics. One of them regards the autonomy of the North of Italy and the separation from the South. A more general topic is connected to the rejection of immigrants and of foreigners. It is visible that LN proposes different modes of identification through its discourse. The in-group represented oscillates from the local identity, that of the people in northern Italy, to a 'national' identity which is based on ethnic belonging. According to this logic, LN discourse advances a clear hierarchization, placing the Western civilization, but more precisely the Italian one, above other cultures and ethnicities. The representation of Italy and of the world is constantly made in terms of identity and otherness, with one opposing the other, as the party promotes a rhetoric of war and threat. The perspective of identities in conflict leads to a clear rejection of the European structures and identity as well, as LN represents the relation between national and supranational identity as a necessarily conflictual one. The party discourse therefore shows traits which are characteristic for the radical right position.

6. ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM: INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS THAT FACILITATE HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND POTENTIAL PREVENTIVE MEASURES THROUGH COMMUNICATION

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Abstract: *The paper identifies the factors which encourage the human trafficking in Romania: corruption, the weakness of state institutions, and lack of adequate social protection measures. The application is performed on a notorious case in Romania: the "nd rei" case, largely reported in the press, both in the Romanian and in the British press. Around 180 Roma children from poor families were exploited by wealthy members of their community in the "nd rei" case, Ialomița County, being transported in UK in order to practice begging and theft. The method of analysis was the study of judiciary documents and files instrumented in this case, for over seven years. Finally, the paper proposes communication and institutional measures in order to ensure the social reintegration of victims and the effective prevention of this phenomenon.*

Keywords: *human trafficking, organized crime, institutional measures*

1. INTRODUCTION

During the last decade there has been a notable increase in terms of studies addressing human trafficking topic to describe the various elements associated with human trafficking, including estimates of the scope of the phenomenon, descriptions of trends, and characteristics of victims (Kelly, 2002)

Human trafficking is a global public health issue. Poor living and work conditions faced by trafficking victims often combine to create or exacerbate serious health problems and in some situations, the spread of infectious disease (Burke, 2013). The international definition of trafficking has emerged only in December 2000, with the signing of the *UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons* (in Palermo, Italy), despite the magnitude of trafficking in personae.

As a worldwide phenomenon, human trafficking deprives victims of their basic rights each day. Its multifaceted nature poses a great challenge for (1) effective prevention, (2) victim protection and (3) prosecution related measures and policies. Its linkage with illegal migration, determines the urgency for decision makers at the international, regional and local levels to communicate, cooperate, and share responsibility in the fight against it. (UNITAR, 2013:4)

As globalization and commodification defy national borders (Liu, 2010: 13), law enforcers, local and national governments, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations are among the key actors at the forefront of this topic. In particular, implementing communication strategies, all in alignment with international human rights standards, plays a significant role in reducing vulnerability of potential victims.

2. THE FACTORS WHICH STIMULATE HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN ROMANIA

Economic and political liberalization has produced major changes in Romanian society after 1989. The transition to a market economy provided on one hand, economic opportunities, and on the other hand, it has affected a large part of the population unprepared for these changes and favored the emergence of vulnerable groups.

The most common sense of vulnerability is the lack of support and inability to seize opportunities. Regarding the groups identified as vulnerable in official documents, they are defined as those experiencing one or a plurality of social deprivation (such as: (1) high levels of poverty, (2) lack of long-term employment, (3) early school leavers, (4) lack of access to education or health care, (5) homelessness or inadequate housing, (6) lack of access to a water supply system, heat or

electricity, or (7) discrimination of any kind etc.). The Roma population is a vulnerable group in relation to several criteria: standard of living, education, employment, housing, health, discrimination and even segregation.

Consequently, a study conducted in 2010 (European Roma Rights Centre and People in Need, 2011: 12) confirmed that Roma people are victims of human trafficking for different purposes: (1) labor exploitation, (2) begging, (3) organ trafficking, (4) domestic servitude, and (5) sexual exploitation. The most noteworthy, however, of the vulnerability factors, is not inherently ethnic or a 'cultural practice'. The primary vulnerability lies in poverty, social exclusion, unemployment, ethnic and gender discrimination, domestic violence, homelessness, or lack of education. In other words, there is no unique 'Roma vulnerability factor', and no indication that trafficking is a 'cultural practice' of Roma.

A number of leaders occupying important positions in Roma communities, can be distinguished in several categories, such as: (1) Roma rich elite, (2) religious leaders, (3) intellectual-activists. (Popoviciu, 2009:26) *Roma rich elite* generally adopts a patriarchal lifestyle where economic status determines the rank of leader. *The religious elite* groups form themselves in neo-Protestant circles, adopt a religious discourse, and establish places of worship where Romani language is used. The third category is made up of *Roma intellectual activists* who took the initiative for civic and political organization, and emphasized the reconstruction of identity and image enhancement of Roma (Popoviciu, 2009). They are involved in various education projects and to support the emancipation of their people, while promoting an inclusive view of Roma culture and identity.

Moreover, in an analysis conducted by the online publication Verticalnews (see www.verticalnews.ro), the richest Roma individual has an estimated fortune of 13 million euros, followed by another Roma individual with an estimated fortune of 11 million euros. The third place Roma individual has a fortune of 7 million euros, while the Roma leaders involved in trafficking within the T̄nd rei network (the case that we will discuss later on) have estimated fortunes of 2.3 to 1.9 million euros. Many of those at this top are prosecuted, due to suspicions that these fortunes were not legally acquired. Pair them with various politicians in power, with protection

conferred by the state authorities, and, last but not least, corruption, aided the creation of a rich elite of Roma.

In various police reports, but also in Ion Pitulescu's book "Organised crime. Third World War" depiction of Roma clans involved in organized crime is quite common. In an interview with Ion Pitulescu (Muntean, June 2005), known for his involvement in combating organized crime, he showed that these networks have penetrated the entire system state: parliament, government, ministries, prosecutors, and especially, justice. Pitulescu notes that they enjoy the protection of high-ranking politicians, suggesting that their financial disclosure could be directly proportionate to the illegal businesses of these organized crime groups.

3. METHODOLOGY

We conducted an in-depth analysis, by using a qualitative method document analysis, in order to find out the social and institutional factors behind trafficking crime among Roma people. In addition, it offers remedies that could stop the growth of this type of crime among them. Documents that may be used for systematic evaluation as part of a study take a variety of forms. As a research method, document analysis is particularly applicable to qualitative case studies—intensive studies producing rich descriptions of a single phenomenon, event, organization, or program (Stake, 1995). We reviewed the indictments and judgments referring to T̄nd rei case. This case was significantly reported in the press, both Romanian and British. We have analyzed the facts, group structure, and protection offered by authorities and subsequent procedures.

We aim to answer two main research questions: (1) what were the social and institutional factors that led migration through trafficking crime among Roma and (2) what remedies can be proposed for stopping the growth of this type of crime among Roma.

4. STUDY CASE: NETWORK OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN T̄ND REI

4.1 Case description. The chosen case is a representative one, in terms of (1) the number of people involved, (2) the period during which group acted (2002-2010), (3) the transnational nature of trafficking and (4) the complexity of criminal investigation.

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Since 2002, several Roma people from Țîndrei, Ialomița County, have joined a group that aimed at recruiting children in Țîndrei, and nearby in order to exploit them abroad. Therefore, from 2002 to 2008, the group managed to pull out of the country, exclusively through border crossing points: Turnu, Ndlac and Vrand and around 180 children from Ialomița, Constanța, Iași, Brila, Braov and Clra i County. (Courts web portal, criminal file case no. 496/96/2012, details available at: http://portal.just.ro/96/SitePages/Dosar.aspx?id_dosar=960000000027270&id_inst=96)

The group members were, mostly, people uneducated and unemployed. Among the 24 members who committed crimes of trafficking in minors, the most noteworthy are three of them who have primary education, and one with secondary education, while the other 20 people have no education.

As, the children recruitment was conducted in rural, poor, Roma communities, network members were seeking children from poor families or with disabilities, and obtained agreement through false promises, or in exchange for money. Family members were promised financial aid, but subsequently minors' families received no such aid. Thus, some children were taken from families through the 'loans method' - clan members offering high interest loans to poor families, which they could not return. Therefore, as the debt exchange, willingly or by compulsion, group members were taking children away from their families to exploit them abroad. The *children*, dealing with difficult family situations and poor financial conditions, easily became victims by creating a state of physical and psychological dependence on the members of organized criminal group. This dependence happened mainly through: (1) deprivation of any financial resources, (2) linguistic isolation and (3) interruption of all contacts and communications with their families remaining in Romania. Faced with these situations, conjugated with forms of coercion exercised by group members, children were forced to (1) practice begging, (2) to commit antisocial acts and (3) give members of organized criminal groups all income from this illegal activity.

An indictment (Indictment prepared in criminal case file no. 333 / D / P / 2006 of the Prosecutor's Office attached to the High Court of Cassation and Justice - Directorate for Investigating Organized Crime and Terrorism, Central Structure) notes that traffickers have exploited children from 8 to 16 years, children

below the age of criminal responsibility. Thus, these shall be presumed not to have the capacity to infringe the penal law.

Minors are a vulnerable group for offenders who practice human trafficking because (1) they are not mature physically and mentally, and (2) lack of judgment and the ability to assess the risks and severity of the situation. During their growth, 8-16 years, these children did not attend school, but they learned to commit antisocial acts as their behavior had been shaped by traffickers.

By entering traffic, these children had been modeled in respect with deviant behavior, thus the chance to reintegrate into society reduced considerably. They lost contact with the school, lacked necessary professional qualifications, and acquired criminal skills. They most likely can rejoin human trafficking under one or another form, and, actually, still being within easy reach of traffickers. For these people, rights and freedoms are practically canceled, being condemned to perpetual captivity.

Being chosen Roma children, their recruitment was easier for group members, as in some cases children were encouraged by their families, thus being easily manipulated in accepting the inhuman conditions imposed by the traffickers, and being deprived of any protection.

Abroad, the children were taken over by other group members, who dealt with both accommodation and their exploitation. Children were forced to beg, to wash windshields at intersections, or were used to commit a crime of pickpocketing in shops or restaurants. Their accommodations were inadequate as they were sleeping all down on some mattresses, extremely crowded. Children were (1) badly treated, (2) scantily clothed, (3) forced to leave the street in any conditions - rain and low temperatures -, (4) most often they ate alone with food taken right out of the garbage. Being threatened, they were forced to beg on the street all day long, and to commit various crimes, especially theft and all income was taken by the group members. Hence, juveniles were identified by the UK authorities committing a series of robberies or practicing begging.

According to criminal records, sent by the judicial authorities from United Kingdom, a large number of children (about 80) were discovered, investigated, and arrested for committing antisocial acts, such as: begging, theft, various frauds, deception, and aggressive behavior. Some minors were noted committing a large number of offenses, over 30 crimes, mostly theft, and arrests, about 30

times at intervals ranging from one month to several months. These children were found during searches conducted at their homes in United Kingdom, and were identified by authorities as part of the group of minors trafficked by organized criminal group *nd rei*.

Besides children, another trafficked category was that of *people with disabilities*. They have an increased vulnerability, as those physical or mental deficiencies that characterize these victims are causing them difficulty to defend against possible threats. Thus, being unable to secure their basic needs, their state of dependency is higher.

The money obtained from these criminal activities came to group members and were used exclusively in their interest. With the search warrant and decided precautionary measures, it was found that the traffickers had impressive wealth, stately mansions, large areas of land, large sums of money, and luxury cars, although none of those investigated persons in this case has a legal source of income, with no remunerated activities conducted.

4.2 The structure of criminal network. The group was composed of Roma citizens, structured on internal and external branches, with well defined hierarchies and specific tasks. While the internal branch was dealing with (1) the recruitment, (2) transportation, and (3) children's transfer, the external branch was in charge of (1) housing and exploitation and (2) collection and money transfer to the internal branch of the group.

General characteristics of this criminal network consist of being built around a family, the clan system, which had a dominant influence in the community through the property they displayed and the relation with local authorities. Moreover, smaller groups that gravitated around leaders were set up all around families.

4.3 A Short View of Legal Proceedings. On 31.08.2007, the case was indicted *in rem*, for the offense of trafficking minors (performing acts of criminal prosecution to determine those responsible for this crime. Three years later, by resolution no. 150, dated on 06.04.2010, 26 people, identified as members of a criminal network, were indicted for (1) *trafficking of children*, (2) *money laundering*, and (3) *the offense to establish an organized criminal group*.

On 08.04.2010, (1) the criminal prosecution against 26 accused Roma individuals began, (2) it proceeded to carry out house searches at addresses from *nd rei* (where they were living), and (3) their hearing was ordered. After conducting house

searches, they discovered documents, money, large amounts of gold jewelry, and several firearms, ammunition, swords, and other weapons. In this situation, by Order no. 333 dated 14.07.2010, has decided to extend the investigations and the criminal prosecution against four defendants also for the offenses of breach of regulations on ammunition. One day after, on 09.04.2010, the defendants were presented to Bucharest Court with the proposal for preemptive arrest for a period of 29 days. By the sentence dated on 09.04.2010, issued in criminal case file 17661/3/2010, Bucharest Court, Criminal Section I, admitted the prosecutor's request and ordered the preemptive detention of 17 defendants for a period of 29 days (starting from 09.04.2010 until 07.05.2010 inclusively) (Arrest warrants no. 90- 106 / 09.04.2010 issued on behalf of 17 defendants, members of the network). The defendants appealed against the decision to order their preemptive arrest, but it was rejected.

Moreover, by the report of the criminal case file no. 17763/3/2010, the arrest was ordered *in absentia* for an additional 8 persons, members of the group, for a period of 30 days from the date of incarceration. Later, the arrest warrants mentioned above, were executed. Throughout the investigation, the defendants have denied committing the facts evidence against them, with insincere attitude, claiming that trafficked minors are, in fact, grandchildren or other relatives, even though those minors are unrelated to their families. In this respect, preemptive arrest was periodically extended (until 08.02.2011 when they were set free by the Court of Appeal Târgu Mureș).

Through Criminal Sentence no. 8 / 19.01.2011, delivered in criminal case file no. 2483/96/2010, Harghita Tribunal ordered the return of the criminal case to the Prosecutor's Office attached to the High Court of Cassation and Justice, DIOCT (Directorate for Investigating Organized Crime and Terrorism) - Central Structure, for restoring notification act, as it was not shown (1) the number of material acts, (2) the content, nor (3) when the crime was done. In this context, a proper description of the facts adduced against the accused was not possible. The Court considered that, until the new prosecution is ready, it is necessary to maintain the state of preemptive arrest of the accused.

They appealed against this judicial decision to the Prosecutor's Office attached to the High Court of Cassation and Justice - DIOCT Harghita. On 08.02.2011, the Court of Appeal Târgu-Mureș,

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with dissent, admitted, it ordered retrial by the Court Harghita and released arrested defendants by replacing the requirement of preemptive arrest with measure not to leave the country or locality, as appropriate. Consequently, Harghita Court criminal case file no 496/96/2012 was formed. Thus, on 31.07.2012, it was ordered again the return of the case to the prosecution for restoring indictment. This order was appealed, allowed by the Court of Appeal Târgu Mure , and referred back to the Court Harghita. Hence, new criminal file case is formed: no, 496/96/2012 which in 2014 was still under judicial investigation to the trial court with 11 court appearances.

The fact that this criminal group committed human trafficking was known to the local authorities (as it is shown in Indictment in case file no. 333 / D / P / 2006). In fact, this criminal group was functioning because of the relationship with local authorities: (1) police and rei, (2) the border police, and (3) the courts.

This process roadmap demonstrates the ineffectiveness of Romanian justice system, to the extent that members of organized criminal networks are set free and are not convicted, while this time (seven years) victims are not included in any program of social reintegration.

4.4. Proposed measures to remedy the situation. After a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents, we could note that the measures to prevent trafficking should focus on several areas: (1) reducing vulnerability through social (re)integration of victims, (2) controlling the phenomenon through authorities' concerted actions, and (3) increasing the effectiveness of the justice system.

(1) *Reducing vulnerability through social (re)integration of victims.* Allowing educational and vocational integration possibilities are solutions mentioned as essential in order to increase the autonomy of victims and reduce the vulnerability to recruitment by criminals. Secondly, the adequacy and standard of support services (to the needs of these categories of victims) is also critical in this matter. In this respect, a range of initial accreditation programs or retraining programs could lead to employment opportunities for victims. Third, the increased number of centers and places available to assist people in distress after exposure to shares of a criminal network and the inclusion of children identified as vulnerable or day care programs, can potentially ensure both their basic needs and learning a normal lifestyle.

(2) *Controlling the phenomenon through authorities' concerted actions.* Externally, institutions concerned with the issues of trafficking should strengthen cooperation with authorities in other countries, especially with migration destination states who had a large number of Romanian trafficking victims (such as United Kingdom). This would establish liaison points for addressing such cases in a timely and effective way. Secondly, Romanian embassies should be regularly updated concerning trends in trafficking of Romanian citizens, so that they could be prepared to meet the needs of victims. Third, taking internal measures for institutions' cooperation in order to strengthen the response capacity of the authorities at the least possible signs of human trafficking situations (sighting the phenomenon since its origin). These measures should be linked to (1) penalties and exclusion of institutions' members that have been proven as agents of corruption and (2) implementation of a fair system of criminal case management, starting with the small ones (such as begging).

(3) *Efficiency of justice.* The authorities must cease the crisis through urgent and timely measures, designed to discourage traffickers. Remand should be the rule so that they cannot repeat or continue offenses. Secondly, increasing penalties due to evidence is another needed solution. The resulting sentencing patterns have shown that, usually, traffickers receive either minimum sentences or no punishment. This pattern predictably (1) leads to high risk of re-trafficking and (2) maintains human trafficking vulnerability.

5. CONCLUSIONS & ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The presented case of human trafficking would not have been possible without the support of high-ranking politicians, administrative officials, prosecutors, judges, underworld clan members, and corrupted officials. The given money to politicians and public officials, directly or indirectly, contributed to solving the apparent legal problems and ensure the 'protection' of the criminal justice system.

Corruption (1) delays economic development, (2) diverts resources, (3) weakens state authority and (4) contributes to violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The costs of corruption are very high, reflected in delayed development of communities and lack of resources for most people. Corruption generates a *power pole shift*,

diverting state authority and protection from vulnerable groups to private organizations, oligarchs, clans and organized crime groups, as in the present case.

This case reflects (1) widespread corruption, (2) dysfunctional Romanian state institutions fostering organized crime and wrongdoing at this level, and (3) that laws and regulations are completely ignored. Human rights and freedoms have become in the control of clans or oligarchs. As a result, this raises legitimate questions - *to what extent it is justified to maintain these systems that are encouraging or ignoring criminals, and how might they cure a social body* (or to what extent would work well in a particular social sector) *while even the systems designed to protect honest citizens and the laws, despise them the most?*

With regard to the specific situation of Roma people, the presented case strongly shows internal limits on their integration or on the design of effective strategies by which their living standards and education could improve, as long as the criminal model can proliferate in their ranks.

6. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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SOME THEORETICAL REMARKS ON INTERPERSONAL AND COMMUNICATIVE ASPECTS IN NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS

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Abstract: *This paper focuses on a few theoretical aspects of interpersonal and communicative features in newspaper editorials. The language employed in editorials not only structures them but also foregrounds interpersonal levels of relationship between editorialists and readers thus serving as a tool for establishing interpersonal engagement and managing it throughout interactions. It, at the same time, transmits some kind of content. Language also "constructs and conveys some kind of interpersonal relationship: it has interpersonal as well as ideational meaning" (Ravelli, 2000: 44). Thus, interpersonal communication could be best approached as a (meta)linguistic process involving both (socio)cultural and linguistic factors, present in newspaper editorials as well.*

Keywords: *editorials, the interpersonal, communication, cultural aspects*

1. INTRODUCTION

The motivation for conducting this research is twofold. First, as far as we know, there are no other studies investigating aspects of evidentiality and presence in English editorials. In this regard, this paper aims at exploring these issues from a cross-cultural perspective and in the light of the sociopolitical influence on language use in leading articles such as editorials. Furthermore, it could be a modest contribution to the exploration of many more useful linguistic tools and strategies employed and followed in editorials, especially from a contrastive perspective. Second, the present study considers some very useful (meta)discoursal devices such as hedges, boosters and self-mentions which are often employed to appeal to the editorialist's ethos and which are sometimes neglected as not functioning to create interpersonal effects on editorials. The main concern of some previous studies has been mainly the investigation of pathos and logos elements and some important devices which enact them in the realm of persuasion in editorials (e.g. Virtanen, 2005; Le, 2004, 2006, 2010; Pak and Aceveto, 2008; White, 2006; Morley, 2004; Martin and White, 2005), since they are intended to affect the readership's attitude and to show proper and effective reasoning when (re)constructing arguments. Examples (1) and (2) in the next section exemplify some of these uses.

2. INTERPERSONAL ASPECTS IN EDITORIALS

Broadly speaking, interpersonal communication is a form of human communication¹, either verbal or non-verbal, through which individuals attempt to inform or influence one another in a simultaneous and interactional process. The notion of this ongoing process is extremely important when investigating the interpersonal, since it involves a number of relevant aspects which either affect it or are affected by it. In this study, we focus on only two of them: (socio)cultural and linguistic, given their particular impact on interactions and particularly in editorials. As Corbett observes, individuals involved in interpersonal communication follow certain communicative practices which "result from their socialization into a set of broad and specific 'cultures'" (2011: 308). Similarly, Hargie and Dickinson (2004: 32) state that culture has a bearing on "the different features of the communicative process", specifically characterized by "a complex of perceptual, cognitive, affective and performative factors operating within a person-situation framework" (2004: 11) as well as in the

¹ Strictly speaking, this is not a paper on communication, but the term will be used in the first part of this section to facilitate the brief discussion on some characteristics of interpersonal verbal exchanges, although we do not deny that we have to refer indirectly to several aspects of communication in this short paper.

construction of social reality. The linguistic aspect of interpersonal communication is equally important when scholars are interested in exploring the stages which the interactional process goes through. Every act of verbal communication is always interactional and every verbal interaction is always linguistic. Furthermore, “at the same time as conveying some kind of content, language also constructs and conveys some kind of interpersonal relationship: it has interpersonal as well as ideational meaning” (Ravelli, 2000: 44). Thus, interpersonal communication could be best approached as a (meta)linguistic process involving both (socio)cultural and linguistic factors, present in newspaper editorials as well.

Looking at different domains of life, generally from a political perspective (Le, 2010: 1), editorials are considered to be an important and influential genre in the written media. Reynolds (1993: 36) describes editorials as acts of passing judgments on events and people to their readerships for a mixture of purposes², deliberately seeking “to influence and guide public opinions” (Lihua, 2010: 9) by adopting certain positions, usually representing those of the respective newspapers. Inevitably, editorialists attempt not only to involve the audience but also to construct and reflect an appropriate (socio)cultural background along the interpersonal dimensions in newspaper editorials. The interpersonal or the dialogic aspect in editorials becomes obvious and particularly relevant if one considers that they “convey some sense of the public mood or feeling about an issue” (Walton, 2007:202), express certain opinions or attitudes to the audience by carrying “a significant persuasive value” (Le, 2004: 688) in the realm of the “silent” and dialogic (two-way) interactional acts. These claims are also supported by Thompson (2012: 97) arguing that editorials “are more or less effectively shaped to take account of the actual or potential utterances of others, particularly the addressee”.

Needless to say, language employed in editorials not only structures them but also foregrounds interpersonal levels of relationship between editorialists and the readership serving as a tool for establishing the interpersonal engagement and managing it throughout interactions. And we strongly believe that “language as representation, as a projection of positions and perspectives, as a way of

communicating attitudes and assumptions” (Simpson, 1993: 2) maintains these interactions and intersubjective positioning in editorials. In this regard, linguistic strategies adopted by editorialists become very important in the course of the interactions. As Thompson (2012: 78) claims in his study, editorialists “exploit intersubjective choices to enact interaction with their intended audience” and the investigation of these choices “makes it possible to advance more secure claims about the assumptions that different newspapers make about their own socio-cultural role and about the characteristics of their target audience”. In this way, editorialists are not only able to bring their audience in editorials but also to inform, satisfy, direct, influence, or even manipulate the audience.

In the following examples we wish to briefly discuss (in general terms) how the choice of some linguistic strategies³ enables editorialists to include their audience in the passages, to maintain interpersonal relation with it and to direct it to the intended interpretation of the extracts. Example (1) has been extracted from the first part of an editorial and constitutes one of the many premises that the editorialist forwards to support his/her stance, brought here in example (2).

- (1) The picture of the Syrian civil war *as given by British and French leaders* is either *over-simple*, *imaginary* or *out of date*. The conflict *may have begun* as a popular uprising against a tyrannical government, *but* it has turned into a sectarian conflict between Sunni and Alawites, a Shia sect, inside Syria.

There are four specific linguistic choices in this passage which assist the editorialist to apparently be informative, but who presumably aim at engaging the readership in his/her argument.

First, the writer employs the phrase, or the evidential as Hyland’s (2005) names it, *as given by British and French leaders* to identify the source of the picture given for the Syrian war and to involve a third party in the editorial, namely British and French leaders, as it is often the case in editorials, “to involve three parties: the editorialists, the audience, and the people linked in one way or another to the issue discussed” (Lee, 2004: 688).

Second, the editorialist indicates his/her attitude towards the picture given by using the adjectives *over-simple*, *imaginary* and *out of date*, which convey a rather unpleasant feeling to the

² He adopts the description from Jack Rosenthal (1979: 196), as cited in his work, a columnist for *The New York Times*.

³ We focus only on lexical items in order to be consistent with the devices analyzed and compared in SEC and IEC in the fourth part of this paper.

audience, and what is more, restrict the possibility⁴ of attributing any other quality to the proposition of the sentence (note the use of *either* as well, which restricts further the range of choice by the audience). Thus, the audience is directed to interpret the picture provided for the war in Syria in those terms. Further, we believe that the adjectives *imaginary* and *out of date* are unlikely to be accepted by the audience, since, under normal circumstances leaders cannot give an imaginary or out of date account of the situation in Syria. Thus, the audience is made to accept the over-simple description of the situation, which also proves to be the editorialist's stance in the end.

Third, the use of the hedge *may have begun* indicates that the editorialist recognizes the possibility that the conflict began as an uprising against the Syrian government and shows his/her plausible reasoning and prudence with the aim of constructing an argumentation which the audience is willing to follow.

And fourth, *but* marks the transition between the preceding and the following part of the sentence and help the audience to interpret the counterargument of the editorials that what counts after all is that the uprising has turned into a sectarian conflict. Thus, the writer is attempting to drag the audience to his/her point.

Example (2), as mentioned, is the last sentence of the editorial which summarizes concisely the stance of the editorialist. After having enacted interaction with the readership throughout his/her argument, the editorialist indicates his/her position by openly stating it: a *dangerous over-simplification* of picture given for the war in Syria constructing the social reality of events from his/her point of view, and which possibly or likely will affect the readership as well.

- (2) Here the American and Russian approach is much more grown-up and realistic than the *dangerous over-simplifications* coming out of London and Paris.

Although we could have discussed more specific cases of similar linguistic strategies chosen in editorials, the devices analyzed here, particularly the adjectives, enable the writer to forward his/her stance and involve the audience in editorials in an interactional process, as evidentiality and presence devices do.

⁴ Note the use of *either* as well, which restricts further the range of choice by the audience.

3. CONCLUSIONS

This short article attempted to highlight a few theoretical issues related to interpersonal and communicative aspects in newspaper editorials. Although it is a pilot study, it can be used as a theoretical background for future investigations into the realm of editorial discourse. The authors in this paper intended to concentrate on a few relevant features which can be explored from various discursual and metadiscursual perspectives, including lexical, cultural, social influence when addressing the readership in these opinion pieces.

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ORGANIZATIONAL DECISION – MAKING MANNERS

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Abstract: *This research tries to answer the following questions: what is the mechanism of decision-making process?, which are the advantages and the disadvantages of the collective decision?, how does the uncertainty influence the decision-making process? and what strategies can be used to make decisions at organizational level? The main argument of the research is to discover the way a small group of individuals decide for larger communities and especially if the individuals' interests and rights are taken into account. The research is based on sociometric method, meaning a sociological survey and a sociological observation, and the way of relating to reality is through direct inquiry. Research strategy includes qualitative and quantitative data. At the top level management of an organization, decisions influence the evolution of the entire organization, of its members and beneficiaries, as well as the relations with the external environment. Consequently, a number of strategies used in the organizational decision-making process, such as: the rational model, the limited-rational model, the unstructured model, the incremental model, and the "garbage can" model. These were differentiated taking into account a number of criteria: the information available, uncertainty/ certainty of the environment in which the decision is made and the decision procedure.*

Keywords: *intercultural context, collective decision, communal town hall*

1. INTRODUCTION

The subject of this research is organizational decision – making strategies. The decision–making process within a town hall, through which we are trying to illustrate the importance of the decision–making process and of the decision–making strategies within public organisations, having as a case study a communal town hall. The present paper sets out to deal with the importance of the decision–making process, taking into consideration all the factors such a process implies. This research is the result of our desire to illustrate the way in which a restricted group of people makes decisions for important communities of people and, especially, if these decisions take into consideration the latter's concerns and rights. Decisions are fundamental for the development of an organization, as well as for its members. In addition, the way in which they are being adopted within the town halls greatly influence the accomplishment of the town hall's main objectives, which are meant to ensure their social well being and to respect citizens' concerns, irrespective of the model based upon (rational , of limited rationality , non structured , incrementalism or "dustbin"). The decision made regarding an issue or regarding the daily aspects have a great impact upon the development of future things. This

is why it is important that each and every decision be very well thought and planned in order to be able to prevent possible failures. The uncertainty also plays an important part, as well as all factors deriving from it, because most part of decisions are not easy to make. One must take into account a series of effects which can be the consequence of decisions, of all actors involved, but, especially of its context. This is why certain people react differently in similar situations. Also, the effects of the decisions made will be different.

The present research is based on different documents, going from books, trade magazines, articles and dictionaries, necessary to illustrate the elements characteristic of a decision–making process. I established my objectives based on this theoretical research, which is directed towards data analysis. For this paper, I have aimed at outlining the characteristic (its description) of the decision–making process within a town hall. I have also set out to point out the factors which intervene in this process, the advantages and disadvantages of collective decisions made within town halls, the way in which uncertainty influences the decision–making process and the strategies used in making the decisions.

After having established the objectives, there followed the operationalizing of concepts, the presentation of research methods and instruments,

pointing out the characteristics of the organization under study and the presentation of the results obtained. The field research was carried out within a communal town hall of an important size at the level of the county it belonged to. The research instruments used in order to pick up data are the interview and the observation. This is how we succeeded in gathering various fundamental information for the conclusions of the present paper.

2. THE DECISION AND THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS – THEORETICAL ELEMENTS

2.1 Conceptual explanations. The decision and, implicitly, the decision-making process is one of the most important aspects within an organization and they will directly influence the latter's efficiency and performance. Certain very important decisions, at the level of the organization's management, influence the organization's path, its members and beneficiaries and its relations with the external environment. The decision is the solution adopted by a system (person, group, organization, collectivity) in order to solve a problem (Vișeanu & Zamfir: 1993).

Many authors pinpoint the fact that the decision plays one of the most important parts regarding the organization's performance and distinguishes the leader based on the quality of the decisions he makes. In this respect, the author Stanciu Ștefan reached the following conclusion:

a leader's ability to make the correct decisions must be understood in a wider context, which aims at the rationality of the decision-making process (Stanciu, 2005:123).

Every decision-making process involves four important components: a problem; a person, a group, a collectivity or an organization making the decision (called decision-maker); the solution identified, formed in a hierarchy and implemented as well as decision assessor (Preda, 2006: 93).

The decision-making process must be rational, but, as mentioned by Cătălin Zamfir, there are different types of rationality according to which different people guide themselves, and „the quantity and the quality of the knowledge available” require „slightly different modalities of rationality” (Zamfir, 2005: 21). The human rationality is limited by the fact that we do not live in a strictly necessitarian world, our knowledge being limited (Preda, 2006: 83) – is the explanation

offered when it comes to situations when we do not know the most adequate solution, taking into consideration the context of the problem. This happens because we do not know for sure which is the best solution, we can only sense it. Thus, the decision-making process starts with an issue or a situation, a decision-maker must react in a certain way in order to solve it, the best solution is chosen after having formed a hierarchy and, after its embracement, it will be analyzed by an assessor.

2.2 The collective decision. The decision can be made by one person or by a group (collective decision). The collective decision implies

choosing from a variety of solutions and variants, on the basis of already established standards and criteria, with specialized instruments, the solution which has the greatest chance of success in order to achieve a group's objectives (Stanciu, 2005: 122).

The decision is made only after having consulted each and every member of the group. The decision made must always serve the interests of the group and organization these members are part of. The propositions of all the members are subsequently analyzed in order to reach the best variant and it must happen as „their synthesis and generalization, an interacting product with new powers and valences, of utmost importance (Zlate, 1981: 224 *apud* Stanciu, 2005: 122).

Collective decisions are more appropriate to modern organisations, which are not too much hierarchized, or whose hierarchy is not pyramidal. The demarcation between management and employees is more difficult to achieve within these organizations. Collective decisions most often occur within work teams which are concentrated on a certain project. Both the individual and the collective decision determine a series of advantages and disadvantages. Nevertheless, most authors think of the collective decision as the most advantageous one, precisely because it brings more advantages.

2.3 The advantages of the collective decisions. Authors like Cătălin Zamfir, Ștefan Stanciu or Gary Johns have identified a series of advantages of the collective decision: (1) Work division, because group members divide their work tasks and they can better concentrate on their precise task; (2) Multiplication of the resources used, because each member brings his/her own resources which will be used by the whole team; (3) Diversity of knowledge and abilities, because each member owns some information offering some perspectives in order to solve some

problems. However, it is important that they are not too different, as there can appear various misunderstandings; (4) Increases employees' engagement and motivation because they better understand the situation, they invest resources and they get engaged into the management activity (Stanciu, 2005: 80); (5) Exchange of opinions and self-esteem determined by the affiliation to a group lead to creativity of group thinking (Zamfir, 2005: 264); (6) Development of the consensus (refers to the relaxing atmosphere and the psychological comfort – characteristic elements for a pleasant environment) because it increases the probability of adopting efficient decisions;

2.4 Disadvantages of collective decisions.

Even if the collective decisions are preferred over the individual ones, the former have numerous disadvantages which can affect the members of the organization and the organization itself in the following way: (1) In case of failure, it is very possible that the responsibility be of a single person. All members will defend themselves and will put the blame on one person. Preda (2005: 95) explains this aspect as „an attenuation of individual authority in case of success, as well as reduction of drastic penalties directed to the manager in case of failure”; (2) Because of different perspectives, values or beliefs, the members of a group think differently, thus the decisions will be different, resulting in conflicts. The conflictual situations are also a result of the personal interests which the members of the group defend against adopting some correct decisions which could affect their personal life or could change the way of working; (3) The time needed to make a collective decision can be greater than the time needed to make individual decisions because all the opinions of the members of the group must be taken into account. Within numerous groups there are often dissenting opinions, and the reasons brought forward mean spending a lot of resources, especially spending time; (4) The compromise of the members who accept some opinions only to prevent contradictory discussions or out of attachment for certain colleagues and, implicitly, in order to be liked, or conformism - „the process through which the group makes use of pressure in order to determine its members to respect the group's norms” (Neculau & Boncu, 2004: 244); (5) The collective decision can make difficult or even stop the decision-making process because its members do not reach an agreement; (6) The authority of a member or the existence of a leader, because the group members can be reserved when making a

decision (they do not like the way in which their leader tackles the problem, the procedures used, etc), even if the leader has proved his competence; (7) The social influence, which is a sort of interaction between two social entities (people or groups), one being the target and the other one the influence of the source, all materializing in several processes as normalization, conformism, obedience or manipulation (Chelcea, 2006: 133). The social influence is positive when the group members observe the social norms within the organization, and is negative when a member tries to convince the other members (maybe through manipulation) to act according to his/her advice, having as hidden aim to defend his/her own interests.

2.5 The uncertainty and influence of collective decision in the decision-making process. There are three key factors within the decision-making process whose characteristics are to be found in the decision-making process which they imply, generating three situations: certainty, uncertainty and risk (Nicolescu, Verboncu, 2007: 206). Thus, the individuals are confronted with a series of uncertainties, which they have to remove and try and find the best solution. Uncertainty is

a state of unpredictability regarding the events and the results of human actions; the difficulty of the decision-making process to identify the best solution for an issue, in relation to its sources (Vișeanu & Zamfir, 1993).

The majority of decision theories support the idea of probability when making a decision against the idea of the total certainties. In general, there are very few certain estimates. Thus, the uncertainty is part of the decision-making process as an imminent condition, indicating the individuals' limited capacity to explain and predict the knowledge they have.

„The main effect of the uncertainty is the postponement of the decision and the triggering of a cognitive activity regarding its reduction” (Zamfir, 2005: 60-61). The reason for which the individual postpones making the decision is represented by the time allotted to thinking, the analysis of the situation and in order to prepare an adequate justification. Because the cognition effort made by the decision-maker is justified by uncertainty, the cognitive basis of the decision can be considerably improved.

Due to its complexity, the decision-making process implies numerous variables of economic, social, technical, human and legal nature. Thus, the risks cannot be avoided within the decision-

making process. In order to work, an organization needs to take a risk and uncertainty decision; thus, it is important to have knowledge about risks in order to diminish them as much as possible (Nicolescu, 1998: 64).

The uncertainty can face the decision-maker with tension, discomfort and unease because of the failure an unfavorable decision can cause. His expectations regarding the success have an impact on his motivation regarding the operation. The decision-maker can easily go from uncertainty to stress, nervousness or even violence because he is not quite sure about what he should chose. The stake is very important and closely connected to uncertainty. An individual's performance and good operation are influenced by his motivation.

The reducible uncertainty compresses cognitive activities and delays making the decision (active effects), whereas irreducible uncertainty determines unease, variations, stress (passive effects).

3. CASE STUDY REGARDING THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS WITHIN A COMMUNAL TOWN HALL

I have established as main objective for this research to outline the characteristic (description) of the decision-making process within a town hall. I have also established, as a secondary objective, to outline the factors which interfere with the decision-making process.

The universe of the research is represented by the population which was inquired, formed of 12 people: the mayor, the vice-mayor and other ten counselors within a communal town hall. Thus, the research refers to a segment of population, concentrating itself on a small collectivity. The basic characteristics of the population consist of the fact that the members of the town halls are aged between 29 and 58, with seniority between 3 and 12 years of work, having secondary and higher education studies. The units of analysis are represented by a human group, formed according to the workplace criteria, respectively the town hall, where the mayor and the local council conduct their activities, form their perceptions and develop their professional abilities. The analysis and recording units coincide, being represented by people (counselors and mayor).

3.1 Methodology. This paper is made up both of a theoretical part and an empirical one, and the direct investigation is the way in which reference to reality is being made. The empirical part was

made through a field study, taking shape by the visits paid to the town hall under study. A direct contact was established with the people inquired. They were chosen so as to increase the accuracy of the data and the results obtained. I have carried out the qualitative research because it gives the possibility to include all details and elements which help to outline, as accurately as possible, the reality of the aspects under study.

In as far as the research instruments are concerned, I resorted to the centered intervals because

it approaches themes and hypotheses already established, as well as the structures interview, but the questions and their order is not previously established (Chelcea, 2001: 277).

I have also used the participative observation on the grounds that it has in mind „people's daily life, right in the environment they are living in (Chelcea, 2001:369). The participative observation has helped me in closely looking at interesting aspects for the research, by direct contact with the population under research. The data analysis and interpretation obtained as a result of this research is based on the 16 interviews taken to the local counselors and the mayor and following the observations during two council meetings attended. The council meetings were held in the meeting room of the town hall. During the meetings I attended, the mayor, a variable number of local counselors, the secretary of the commune and, sometimes, certain employees were present.

3.2 Concepts' operationalization. In this research, the stages of the decision-making process are being operationalized, representing dimensions which are conferred a series of indicators through which the analysis can be carried out. The independent variable is represented by the decision-making process. The dimensions consist of:

- Identification and definition of the problem. The indicators of this dimension are the following: The number of decision-makers; The number of subjects on the agenda of meeting;
- Research: The extent to each the necessary knowledge is detained; The extent to which the specific legal framework is known; The extent to which there are pieces of information regarding the points on the agenda of meeting; The extent to which different sources are being consulted;
- Identification of alternative solutions: The extent to each the members are getting engaged; The frequency of proposals and ideas launched;

The extent to which the solutions talked about reveal own interests;

- Issue of decision-making criteria: The extent to which the members support the proposals of the other members; The extent to which the effects implied by the solutions proposed (necessary resources, costs) are taken into account; The frequency with which people resort to similar past situations; The frequency with which personal or political interests influence the choice of solutions; Exemplification of a priority evidence;

- Hierarchy of proposed solutions: The voting procedure; Number of decisions with respect to the project;

- Solution embracement: The existence of certain people who insist on imposing certain propositions; Vote cast according to political views; The presence of decisions established prior to the meeting (influenced by Party chiefs, Party colleagues or special consulting services); The weight of certain criteria against others; The extent to each the confidence in certain people influences the casting of the vote;

- Implementation: The extent to which the efficiency of decisions is accepted.

3.3 The results of the research. In the following lines, I will present the results of the analysis and the interpretation of the data, bearing in mind all dimensions established within the process of operationalization of concepts, more precisely the stages and factors of the decision-making process which interfered all along the decision-making process.

The local council is formed of 15 members and they are part of five political parties, as it follows: 8 are from the Liberal Democratic Party, 2 from the National Liberal Party, Social Democratic Party has 3 representatives, only one member represents the Democratic Party, and the Christian Democratic National Party is represented by only one counselor. Out of the 15 members, 13 are men and only two are women.

The decision-makers have acknowledged the fact that they have problems when making decisions and that, most of the times, they do not follow all the stages.

There were various answers to the following question: "How much time do you spend researching the points on the agenda of meeting?". Even though they stated a different number of days necessary for research, they all considered allotting sufficient time for this activity. One can notice a correlation between the years they were appointed in these positions and the number of days they allot

to research for a council meeting. One of the respondents answered in this respect. In general, they consider the process of research and briefing fundamental for the decision-making process so as to finally solve some issues. In addition, the necessary time in order to debate these issues will considerably decrease when they all know the topic of discussion and what is important for them to know.

There are different situations in which the respondents refer to the law. They admitted that the law is consulted every time it is necessary, in order to improve the decision-making process. The majority of the respondents answered that the law is consulted every time it is necessary (sixteen of them). Nine of the respondents consult the law before beginning the council meeting, fourteen when they do not know some of the legal terms or the issue under discussion or when the issue identified does not pertain to their area of specialization, whereas one person consults the law before the issuing of decisions and decision drafts.

To the question: "Do you consult with other people (other counselors, party colleagues, acquaintances, specialists) when you vote for a certain thing?", most of the people interviewed answered that they frequently consult with other people before casting their vote. Twelve of them ask the opinion of their party colleagues. Ten of the respondents stated that they also resort to their local council colleagues who are specialized in a certain area and who can help them in solving their issue. Six of the respondents stated that they consult with the citizens and only one of them said that he consults with the mayor.

To the question: "How often do you step into the council and board meetings to identify solutions?", most of them stated that they step into as often as they think it is necessary or when they feel they should interfere so as not to let things go into the wrong direction. Most of them stated that they often consult with the citizens in order to find solutions to problems, according to the citizens' interests. As the issues and local concern are of utmost importance in their activity, they try to get engaged in finding efficient solutions as much as possible.

To the question: "How much trust do you think the other participants place upon your propositions?", the majority of those asked consider that their initiatives are very valued by the other members because they respond to the citizens' needs and interests. Certain respondents considered that their initiatives were valued to a

smaller extent and they attributed this to different factors, such as, for example, other counselors' interference or even the mayor's interference, who do not encourage that particular idea, accusing them of certain personal interests.

The question: "Which are, in your opinion, the commune's most important issues which should be solved?" received different answers. The commune's priority list is different from one counselor to another, but they all consider that the most important issues to be solved are related to a higher standard of living of the citizens: water supply and sewerage, gas supply (project in progress), drainpipes installation and pavement construction, road fixing, support graziers, maintaining the quality of the environment, financial support to the local football team. These are considered as the most important aspects to be solved. They all state that there are a lot of problems in their commune and they would like more support coming from the government, as well as understanding from the County Councils.

All people interviewed stated that, when making decisions, they take into account, first of all, the local interests. None of them answered that they take into account personal interests when making a decision. Some of them, more precisely five of them, specified that, to a certain extent, it is necessary to bear in mind the political interests too, according to the ideas supported by their Party. The respondents also come up with solutions according to their experience and the context.

To the question: "Which are the criteria upon which you guide your decisions?", all respondents stated that they have in mind, first of all, to defend their citizens' interests and to accomplish social well-being. Among other criteria, they also mentioned the respect for their principles, the law, justice and truth. The main goal is to follow the decisions of the local council.

All respondents said that there are conflicts when making a decision and these conflicts affect the entire group and not only those directly involved. On the other hand, there are voices which consider these conflicts positive for the quality of a decision.

The subjects stated that they sometimes consult with other employees of the town hall because their education might help them with a specific issue. Even if many of the subjects declared that there is no informal leader to lead the debate, there were some voices uttering that this aspect is frequent, especially in the case of those in leading positions because they represent and influence the

majority. The subjects stated that some of the people want to impose themselves when there are election campaigns in order to prove their skills and in order to be supported during these election campaigns or to become part of that Party. There were also cases when the decision to be made was guessed because there had been other important discussions before the council meetings and, thus, the subjects knew what decision would be adopted.

Nine of the respondents said that the decisions adopted were successfully implemented to the utmost extent. Two of the respondents said that the decisions were successfully implemented to a great extent. Five of the respondents said that the decisions adopted were not very efficient and that other solutions should be found. Thus, there are different opinions and the respondents who wanted other decisions to be made associate those made with the failure.

On the basis of the data supplied by the respondents and found out during observation, one can say there is a close connection between the conflicts between the members of the town hall and the decision-making process. There are numerous conflicts which are a result of the decision-making process, because the decision-makers cannot understand each other. These conflicts are also amplified by situations governed by uncertainty. People often become suspicious, undecided or anxious when they do not have certainty for a thing and this aspect affects their relations with others.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Bearing in mind the accomplishment of the objectives established, the following concepts were studied within this research: decision, decision-making process, collective decision, uncertainty, strategies to lead to relevant results.

The research focused very much on the operationalization of the decision-making process precisely to see the extent to which the respondents behave regarding each stage, to see if they take it into account first of all, if they respect it and the stress upon one or the other.

We have to mention that the current economic situation reflected the aspect researched, people bearing in mind, when making decisions, all resources available, resorting all the time to them, as well as the people's limited possibilities, generated by the financial crisis.

The decision-making process is very important and tackled with particular interest by

the members of the town hall. Some of them really think that it is necessary to concentrate when they meet in order to make a decision. There are some members who do not give too much importance to these moments, considering them as a routine, a thing which should be done. The path followed by the decision-makers until reaching a conclusion is rational only in certain situations. Due to the fact that a town hall's performances cannot be measured as easily as those of an organization, its members cannot be so easily called to account for their decisions. And here come certain interests, more or less personal, which are more important than those of the organization, and this leads to citizens losing their confidence in the people they voted for.

Most of the respondents admit that the decision-making process often skips some stages and that things are not always done according to the rule. Nevertheless, the decision-making process exists and its functionality is proved by the existence of misunderstandings which appear as a result of conflicts. People contradict each other and defend themselves precisely to adopt certain decisions. In addition, the uncertainty situations determine them to find new pieces of information, to make researches and to start discussions, to consult other people who are trained in a specific field which reinforces the idea that the decision-making process is being followed.

Because the quality of the decisions reflects the capacity of the decision-makers, they have often wanted to think twice the problem before making a decision. Thus, the people interviewed look differently at the decision-making process and this fact results from the attitude they have when talking about this subject, the time they allot to research, the degree of involvement when solving problems and their propositions etc.

The decision-making process within the town hall where the research was carried out is regarded as important by most of the respondents and treated accordingly, but they do not exactly respect the stages of such a process. The conflictual situations arising as a result of some misunderstandings make the decision-making process more difficult, just like the current economic situation, the parties wanting solid arguments and considering any doubt until reaching an agreement, as they cannot risk for numerous limitations.

5. ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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EUROPE 2020: WHICH LANGUAGES FOR BUSINESSES IN EUROPE?

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Abstract: *In an increasingly international business environment, where the European strategy for 2020 aims at 'smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth', as well as at turning Europe into an economic force, where the job market is characterised by the continuous circulation of people and knowledge, can one still speak of multilingualism? Is multilingualism still preserved, or is a single 'corporate language' preferred to several 'working languages'? This paper tries to analyse the current status of languages in European businesses, if one may speak of a 'corporate lingua franca', and if multilingualism can still be seen as a true advantage for companies.*

Keywords: *businesses, corporate language, corporate lingua franca, Europe 2020 strategy, education*

1. INTRODUCTION

In 2010, at a 'moment of transformation' (EC, 2010:3), the European Commission issued a communication to reinforce its three main priorities: smart growth, sustainable growth, and inclusive growth of the economy of Europe, which had much suffered because of the financial and economic crisis. That is why, the 10-year European strategy targeted the development of the economies of all its 28 member states, in order to 'take charge of their future' (EC, 2010:3).

How can Europe take its future into its own hands and make the best out of what it has? Its leaders actually try to rely on seven initiatives that support the three above-mentioned priorities, namely: innovative union (which refers to the access to finance), youth on the move (its purpose being the improvement of education and the increase of young people's employability), a digital agenda for Europe (which refers to a digital market), resource efficient Europe (the aim is to make a shift to renewable energy sources), an industrial policy for the globalization era (targets mainly the small and medium-sized enterprises – SMEs), an agenda for new skills and jobs (modernization of the labour market and empowerment of people with new skills for better jobs), and, last but not least, European platform against poverty (EC, 2010:4-5).

All these seven initiatives cover five main domains of action, i.e. employment, research and development, climate change and energy sustainability, education, as well as fighting poverty and social exclusion. What do all these

initiatives and actions have in common? The answer is language. We need language to communicate in order to access finance, to go in an exchange programme, to find better jobs. But which language? The European Union has 28 member states and 24 official languages. Can all 24 languages contribute equally to the development of the European Union and to the businesses of Europe?

2. LANGUAGES AND BUSINESSES

2.1 Overview of the European economic market. After World War II and until the 1980s, the European Union economy grew steadily. Up to the 1980s, the GDP per capita in Europe was bigger than in the US. However, after 1980, a decline started in Europe, which led - among other things - to a rising unemployment rate (Balcerowicz, 2013:9). By 2007, the GDP per capita was bigger in the USA than in Europe. Some of the reasons for this difference are low productivity, low employment, etc.

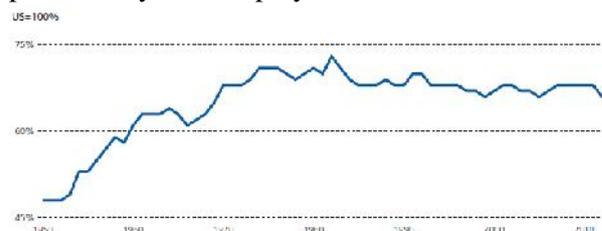


Fig.1 GDP per capita in EU-15 (1950-2012) *apud* Balcerowicz (2013:9)

Employment is one of the actions the European strategy is aiming to improve by 2020. The

European Commission’s agenda set as target to increase the employment rate to 75%, to have more and better jobs. In the executive summary of the Europe 2020 strategy are presented some figures regarding the employment rates in Europe: 63% of women are employed compared to 73% of men; there are only 46% of older employees (aged 55 to 64) compared to more than 62% in the US and in Japan (EC., 2010:7).

In today’s globalised world, young people are not encouraged to start their own business due to both the absence of business knowledge and the lack of start-up capital necessary for the setting up of a business. Young people lack motivation, which is often the ‘engine’ of a successful business. They also lack the necessary start-up capital, and most of the times the access to funding is expensive and bureaucratic. Furthermore, young people feel (and most of the times, they are right!) they are not trained to form an entrepreneurial mentality. Most young people complain about the fact that the current educational system does not offer support in understanding and knowing the reality of the current economy.

From a motivational point of view, young people are rather drawn to finding a job within a company than to starting their own business. The fear of failure, their lack of experience, as well as the absence of viable role models are the factors that replace the motivation of starting their own business with that of finding a stable and well-paid job. But who are the employers on the EU labour market? Apart from the state institutions of each country, which offer jobs, there are also the large multinational companies. However, according to research, the largest number of companies on the EU market (99%) are the small and medium-sized companies (SMEs) (ec.europa.eu). They are the companies that spin the wheel of or fuel the European economy.



Fig. 2 Small and medium-sized enterprises in the EU in figures, Source: http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/sme/facts-figures-analysis/sme-definition/index_en.htm

According to the Annual Report on the European SMEs 2013-2014, small and medium-sized enterprises employ two out of three

employees. The five key sectors of the European economy (manufacturing, construction, accommodation and food, business services, wholesale and retail trade) account for 78% of SMEs (ec.europa.eu).

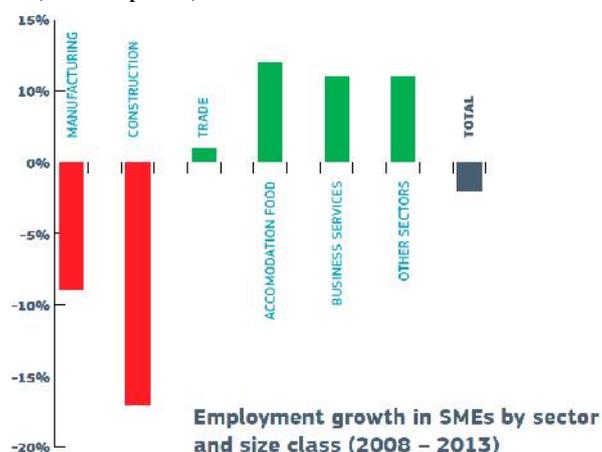


Figure 3. Employment growth in SMEs by sector and size class (2008-2013), Source: http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/sme/facts-figures-analysis/sme-definition/index_en.htm

As the graph above shows, there was an increase, until 2013, in accommodation and food, business services, and trading companies in Europe. According to the same statistics of the European Commission, one of the main problems that the SMEs have to struggle with is to find customers, to access finance, as well as to find skilled workers and managers.

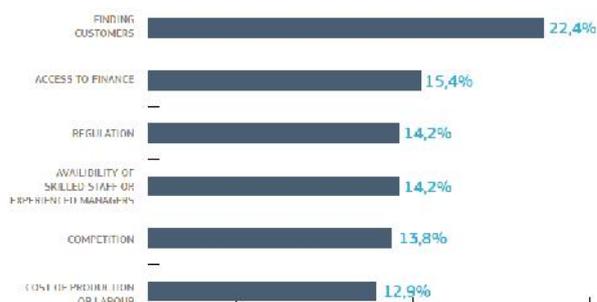


Fig.4 Pressing issues for SMEs (2013-2014), Source: http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/sme/facts-figures-analysis/sme-definition/index_en.htm

Given the fact that the societies worldwide become more multicultural and globalisation embraces both societies and economies, companies, in their turn, feel the effects of multiculturalism and globalisation.

It is much easier now to find a job abroad, legislation is more permissive for immigrant workers. Therefore, companies have to deal with several cultures and languages. Is there one

language of business in Europe? How can companies make sure their message is understood by all its employees? Certainly, one of the answers is - as in the case of the European Union institutions - to make sure all employees and collaborators, consumers and suppliers receive the information and instructions in their mother tongue. Another answer is to find a common corporate language that all employees speak.

The first solution would probably be better for the recipients and would be a sign of respect for each partner's language. This means translating documents into their native language. However, some companies might consider this solution to be counter-productive and time-wasting. One of the main purposes of companies is to obtain profit and reduce unnecessary costs. Therefore, the second solution is often considered more practical for the companies and its employees.

2.2 The power of English. The dominance of a certain language over the communication in businesses across Europe is strongly influenced by the economic power of a country. A language usually becomes a global language not only due to the historical traditions it comprises or due to the culture it brings with it; these are usually the reasons why one may choose to study a foreign language or another. The main reason for the global spreading of a language is strongly connected to the power of the people speaking that language, to the economic power it brings. It is the case of English. In its case, it is well known the fact that, at the beginning of the 19th century, Britain was one of the most important countries in the industrial and trading sector. However, by the end of the same century, the leading role was taken by the U.S.A.. This new economic power managed to, in only one century, to develop quickly and to become the most productive economy in the world at that time.

The 19th century immigration waves to the American continent led to the adoption of English as a means of integration into the new community, and it is in fact the language that managed to maintain the unity of the new continent. There were two major factors responsible for the spread of English all around the world. The first one was, as we have already seen above, the colonial power of the British that expanded in different continents all around the globe. The second factor was the emergence of the U.S.A. as the greatest economic power of the 20th century; in fact, it is this latter factor that actually explains the current position and power that the English language enjoys

nowadays (Crystal 2003: 59). Consequently, a notion well-known in the field of sociolinguistics was brought into discussion: the *linguistic imperialism*. This notion appeared at the beginning of the '90s, more specifically, with the publishing of Robert Phillipson's book with the same title. One may argue that the supremacy of this language is still of current interest, even though its power is not as great as it used to be during the last century.

We have textbooks in English for almost all educational programmes, we have TV programmes or movies broadcast with the original soundtrack, we have music and newspapers coming from the English-speaking countries, we have brands and products entering the national markets. We are surrounded by English almost everywhere, not to mention the fact that English words have been borrowed in our vocabularies, especially for the technical and IT domains.

Westernization, modernization, the spread of international youth culture, popular technology and consumerism are all ideologically encumbered and have ideological as well as behavioural and economic consequences

- Joshua Fishman stated in 1987 (*apud* Phillipson, 1992:10). The European Union is based on the belief that people should be united in diversity. But lately English has become an international lingua franca and more and more people have started learning and speaking it, considering it a real competitive advantage for their personal and professional development.

2.3 English-only businesses? It is well known that we are living in a globalized world, in which "states and societies are becoming «increasingly enmeshed in worldwide systems and networks of interactions»" (Rassool 2007:100). Therefore, the flow of people, trade and capital placed language and communication at the centre of the interactive global cultural economy. As such, Colin Baker underlined the importance of speaking at least two languages, mentioning that

as swift communication by phone and computer across great distances has become possible in recent decades, and as air travel has brought countries closer together, so the importance of bilingualism and multilingualism has been highlighted (Baker 2001: 417).

He also pointed out that bilinguals had become more important in the employment market due to the increase in the amount of information and to the ease of delivering it around the world.

In tourism, marketing, retailing, airlines, public relations, banking, information and communications technology, accountancy, business consultancy, secretarial work, hotels, law and teaching, for example, bilingual and multilingual employees often have the competitive edge when applying for a post or for promotion (Baker 2001:417-418).

The strong connection between bilingualism / multilingualism and the employment market has also been proved by the fact that those who master several languages may use this for the prosperity of the businesses in order to act on the market trying to satisfy their customers' needs (Baker 2001:419-420). Even multinational corporations have become aware of the necessity to exploit the linguistic resources of their employees as "language in the new service economy is viewed as a commodity" (Cameron 2005:15). Deborah Cameron stated that

companies increasingly see it as necessary to add value to the linguistic raw material embodied in their employees, by designing a way of interacting which is believed to appeal to customers, training workers to reproduce the prescribed design in their behaviour, and keeping them under surveillance to make sure they stick to the specifications (Cameron 2005: 15).

Multinational corporations face challenges as they deal with employees coming from different countries, with different cultures and languages. Specialists agree that

when operating in a multicultural environment, you want to be sensitive to different levels of language fluency and comprehension (Solomon, Schell 2009:156),

as barriers may come up in global teams. It is highly recognized that "global teams are a complex mixture of individual personalities and skills, cultural values and diverse work style" (Solomon, Schell 2009:245), where creativity, flexibility, high tolerance level, multiple perspectives, inspiration and bridge building are seen as advantages of multicultural teams, while they encounter challenges as: different expectations, communication and coordination problems (Solomon, Schell 2009: 244). It has been said that "language skills equal business skills" and that multilingualism is becoming more and more relevant not only for multinational companies but also for small and medium enterprises. As such, in 2006, the National Centre for Languages (CiLT) and the International Communication Specialists initiated a study entitled: *ELAN: Effects on the*

European Economy of Shortages of Foreign Language Skills in Enterprise, because, as stated in the European Commission's document, drafted in 2005, "language skills will be important in achieving European policy goals, particularly against a background of increasing global competition" (European Commission, 2005). The purpose of this study was to analyse the importance of languages and of language skills in the European economic environment, especially in what small and medium enterprises are concerned.

The study shows that there is a direct connection between languages and successful exporting: "four elements of language management were found to be associated with successful export performance: having a language strategy, appointing native speakers, recruiting staff with language skills and using translators and interpreters" (ELAN, 2006:7). This investment in languages has proven to be very efficient as, the study further mentions, companies, and especially SMEs, investing in the language management have registered an increase of almost 45% in export sales, as compared to companies that did not consider these elements as being important (ELAN, 2006:7). English (more specifically *global English*) seems to be the language that has a visible economic power. In a research carried out in 2011 by Bloomberg magazine, they tried to see which languages – except English – are more useful in businesses around the world.



Welle magazine, the famous German linguist Ulrich Ammon talked about the languages most used in businesses, stating that – in an international ranking of languages – an important factor taken into account is the gross national product of a country. According to him, English ranks first, followed by Chinese, Spanish and German.

As to the languages spoken within a company, this is a matter of practicality. There are companies that, for mere practical reasons, choose English as the language of communication within them (for example BMW in Germany), or both English and the official language of that country (e.g. VW in Germany) (Ammon, 2006:32).

3. CONCLUSIONS

Businesses need language, whether for communication among the co-workers or for communication with business partners, consumers, suppliers, etc. In some authors' opinions, English is the language that has visible economic value. To support this statement, Colin Baker is mentioning in one of his studies what Florian Coulmas (professor for Sprache und Kultur des modernen Japan at the University in Duisburg) said in 1992:

no Japanese businessman ever tries to operate on the American market without a sufficient command of English, whereas the reverse case, of American business people who expect to be able to do business in Japan without being proficient in Japanese, is not at all rare (Baker 2001: 428).

In the conference delivered in Tallinn, *Multilingualism – challenges and opportunities of the world economy*, Leonard Orban, the former European Commissioner for Multilingualism, emphasized the development of today knowledge society and the change in the nature of work, “the movement from a *job-for-life* perspective to one where people will change job, and even career, several times”, and the need to invest in language skills. The remark that is used to highlight the value of languages in today's business world is: “with English you can buy anything in the world. But if you want to sell, you had better learn your client's language”.

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HUMAN SUBJECTIVITY AND SECURITY

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Abstract: *Topics regarding national security are increasingly present in scientific and public space and lately they are characterized by the multiplication of its analyzed dimensions. Intelligence analysis has also become an important area of these approaches and variables that influence its products are considered more and more. In this article we emphasize how important is for intelligence analysts to acknowledge their subjectivity and also we underline the impact that human subjectivity can have on analytical process. To reveal such a premise of human subjectivity we will analyze the history of theories addressing man as a rational agent (borrowed from economics) and the failure suffered by these theories. We will also highlight several dimensions for the manifestation of subjectivity in the analytical process and also some ideas regarding the limitation of their effects.*

Keywords: *subjectivity, intelligence analysis, security, community welfare*

1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of security has become increasingly present in a world where the desire to maintain prosperity represents a fundamental requirement for an extreme low percentage of people, and a survival imperative desire for others. Studies on this topic have multiplied, and the directions of research of the phenomenon have been gradually extended to branches of other disciplines, ostensibly independent, such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, political sciences, communication, etc. Information analysis is one of these branches, but more spectacular than others because this process is involved in dealing with any data and information from different scientific areas, but especially in decision-making processes of strategic security.

Analysis of information can acquire crucial importance both from a scientific and pragmatic perspective, especially when its results are prerequisites of the decisions for national security. Therefore, in this paper we have chosen to refer to intelligence analysis as a complex process of transformation of the data and information obtained through the collection of data using a range of specific tools and methods, which produces national security intelligence, able to serve in the decision-making process. Intelligence analysis leads to the production of national security information, following to specialized activities like searching, identifying, acquiring, processing of data related to indicators of threat (dysfunctions,

vulnerabilities, risk factors, risk status etc.) or threats to national values and interests, characterized by: (1). Relevance for national security (it refers to a threat, a threat to national security or to an opportunity to promote security interests) and (2). Novelty in relation to pre-existing data.

To ensure the accuracy of the analytic process, in the literature there are numerous references to rules that should be observed by analysts. Still, is it correct to question the real objectivity of intelligence analysis when all these procedures are followed? Is it fair to rely on rationality? Or is it necessary to accept a degree of analysts' subjectivity that will affect the outcome of their activities? Although the issue of rationality has been an important subject of analysis for philosophy, sociology, economics, the findings within these areas of study were insignificantly transferred to the field of security and intelligence.

2. PHILOSOPHIC RATIONALISM

As opposed to reason, rationalism, as understood in philosophy, means the sum of the currents that assigns primacy of reason and knowledge in guiding human behavior. Descartes is considered the founder of modern rationalism. In his works, *Rules for the direction of the mind* and *Discourse on Method* excluded from philosophic knowledge all probable knowledge or those legitimated by the principle of religious, moral, political or historical authority. The 18th century

was a culmination of respect shown towards the mathematical method, in particular Euclidian one taken from the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes and Spinoza (whose *Ethics* is intended to be demonstrated with Geometry methods). However, Hobbes insisted on the conventional and artificial nature of scientific knowledge.

Nondogmatic rationalism is an approach whereby the rationale holds primacy, but this idea is not a scientific dogma, because the superiority of reason is associated with awareness of its limits. Voltaire (1766) wrote *The Ignorant Philosopher* where he assumes the Socratic principle "I know that I don't know" saying

In spite of this continuous despair, however, I am always seeking knowledge of certain things, and my curiosity remains forever unabated.

At his turn, D. Diderot (1762) in *Addition to philosophical thought* compared reason to a little light in a sea of darkness, saying he feels as if he "wandered at night in a huge forest, having only a candle to guide me" (*apud EFSU*, 2004:901). Karl Popper was the one who turned the consciousness of the human fallibility in critical modern rationalism. From his point of view in order to gain knowledge it is not necessary to have a method, as classic rationalism had required, being more important to have the ability to learn from your own critical ideas and from the conditions for increasing knowledge. Thus, theories can be important only because of the results of trying their rejection. From the perspective of critical rationalism any form of dogmatism, even a rational-based one is, in fact, irrationalism. Therefore, it is necessary to "reject all the assumptions that are not supported by arguments or experience" (Popper, 1934/1981). Thus, critical rationalism tries to identify and eliminate errors, their progressive disclosure being the path to truth, even more than demonstration.

3. RATIONALISM IN ECONOMY

Economy was, at its turn, a science deeply interested in human rationality, as an ability to build a structural, procedural model for surrounding area, and also to use that model to identify, evaluate and resolve dependencies to environment through transformation or evaluating activities.

The most common references to human rationality in economy are the concept of *homo economicus*, who is that individual who tries to

achieve his very specific goals with the lowest costs. However, only the naive application of the *homo economicus* model argue that this hypothetical individual knows what is best for his physical and mental health over the long term to make the right decision for himself.

The history of the term *homo economicus* is suggestive for its scientific saga. Although it was used in the nineteenth century, the term was associated with specific eighteenth-century theories of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, who refer to personal selfishness as evidenced by references like

we do not expect dinner from the grocer' or brewer' magnanimity, but from pursuing their own interest (Smith, 1776).

In the late nineteenth century, Francis Edgeworth, William Stanley Jevons, Léon Walras, Vilfredo Pareto suggested mathematical models that allow rational understanding of human behavior. In the 20th century, Lionel Robbins refers to the term *economic man* having the meaning of the person who behaves rationally on the basis of knowledge involving his personal interests and his desire for welfare. Subsequently, even economists (Thorstein Verblen, John Maynard Keynes, Herbert Simon) have criticized the theory of rational human, identifying children and limited rationality in economic decision-making as variable that prevents correct macroeconomic forecast.

Research of Danny Kahneman and Amos Tversky have questioned assumptions such as the fact that people tend to decide so as to maximize their expected utility in accordance with the calculation of probabilities, showing that the probabilistic judgements are based on different heuristics which lead to cognitive errors (Kahneman, Slovic, Tversky, 1982; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974) and showing how people combine risk of losing and chance of winning in decision-making (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). For example, Kahneman and Tversky describe investors who are prone to risk when the loss seems inevitable (not selling when they're at a loss, hoping for a return of quotes, for example) and aversion to risk when the gain has a high probability (investors prefer a smaller, but safer gain). Such a theory emphasizes the impossibility of using rationality of social actors in landmarks for prognosis as they do not always act for the maximization of individual profits. Although rationality theories enjoyed a long time of

scientific monopole and they were transferred to other areas, their initial meanings suffered important transformations.

4. RATIONALISM IN PSYCHOSOCIOLOGY

In sociology, rationalism is that human feature that makes individual behaviors predictable. Weber studied this subject and introduced the concept of rationalization in connection with mass and industrial society, as the process by which society institutionalizes those types of behavior that brought desired results through the use of the minimum possible means (e.g. bureaucracy). Reasoning was also cherished by Frankfurt School (M. Horkheimer, Th. Adorno), which considers that instrumental rationality is a form of domination and manipulation of reality. The same with a dictator against the people, the scientist knows things only when he can handle them. This conception was revised by Habermas, who introduced the paradigm of social rationalism (Habermas, 1981).

Rational choice theory can be summed up by applying economic methods in contexts which are normally subjected to other disciplines. Therefore, using rational choice theory scientists tried to explain the functioning of various social institutions as determined by the interests of the person (Douglass North, 1990), various macro phenomena through micro choices (James Coleman, 1990). Also, the contemporary theory of rational choice was followed by development of the game theory from John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, it allowed the demonstration that individual preferences are not cumulated in collective preferences or it explains political participation. An essential element of rational choice theory is that it assumes the intentionality, and this is the main difference from a pure Bayesian rationalism (Borgatta i Montgomery, 2000: 2335).

Sociologist rationalist theories were very successful particularly in the twentieth century, but declined from the introduction of the welfare state and economic paradigm. J Habermas (1981) proposes a new approach in his book *The theory of communicative action* - social communicative rationality. For him, technical or instrumental approach is not prioritized anymore, more important being the rationality of the best argument that comes up in the communication between social actors. In this way contents are accepted or rejected, while none of them have been

a priori better. Therefore social rationalism is more context-dependent than goal-dependent. Like this a major mutation occurs in rationalistic theories, as reason becomes relative, depending on the actors and contexts. Studies also describe situations when decisions are made irrationally, when people are more sensitive to short-term goals at the expense of long-term objectives, at the cost of significant internal conflicts that resulted in inconsistency, psychological paralysis, neurosis and / or mental pain. Ralf Dahrendorf (1958) conceptualized the term *Homo sociologicus*, to highlight the fact that many sociological models attempt to limit the power of social forces that determine individual choices and social values. Still, unlike the economic man, *homo sociologicus* is not pursuing his personal interest, but achieving social roles.

5. COGNITIVE ERRORS AND INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS

While polemics on rationality and its limited nature captured the interest of researchers for a long time, philosopher Jonathan Cohen (1981) shows that experiments have never proved that man is irrational and this view became a landmark of the area. Stanovich (1999, 2009) attacked his position underlining the role of alternative constructs and alternative rules in decision-making and Oaksford and Chater (1998, 2007) have considered that people are rational only confronted with a Bayesian perspective.

In his seminal work *Discourse on Method*, Descartes said:

The ability to judge right and to distinguish truth from falsehood, which is precisely what is called common sense or reason, is found in natural form, equally in all men; therefore, our opinions inequality does not stem from the fact that some are more rational than others, but only that we lead our thoughts on various ways and that we don't consider the same things. It is not enough to have a healthy mind, the important thing is to apply it well (*apud EFSU*, 2004:902).

Some of the problems that may arise in data analysis originate from specific human mental processes. This is because data analysis is a mental process itself thus it is subjected to bias and limits related to human psychology. New researches in psychology even sustains that, most of the time, individuals have no conscious experience of most of the things happening in the human mind. A lot of functions or mental processes associated with

perception, memory and information processing are conducted prior to and independent of any conscious reasoning. Thus what appears spontaneously in consciousness is the result of thought, not the thought process itself.

Stereotypes, expectations, prejudices, cognitive laziness, mental sets, previous experience work as active filters for decoding and interpretation of reality. Their implications for intelligence analysis derives from a lot of contextual factors such as the fact that reality is not directly described by the observer, but there are a number of links in the chain of communication to writing information inside intelligence, which determines the quantity and quality of incoming message deformation in the flow of information. A central point of this exercise is to explain the role of the observer in determining what is observed and how it is interpreted. People construct their own version of "reality" based on information provided by their senses, but this version is mediated by complex mental processes that determine which information are considered, how they are organized and the meaning attributed to them. What people perceive, how long it takes them to perceive that thing and how they process this information after they received them are all strongly influenced by past experience, education, cultural values, role requirements, organizational rules and also the particularities information it receives.

The first question which arises: is there any reality *per se*? According to the thesis of the social construction of reality, we can admit the existence of reality or, more precisely, of a world which consists of several realities. Initiated before, but coherently articulated in the writings of P. Berger and T. Luckman (1966), the theory sustains the inability of individuals to know the world "as it is", but only on the basis of what is said about it. In other words, the human universe of meanings is built and rebuilt by his actors inside and through all the changes between them. Thus, individuals "translate" their reality in their own terms or in "suitable" terms, according to ideological or symbolic filters involved in knowledge. This process can be assimilated to viewing environment wearing glasses that can distort that "landscape". In the same way, language is a tool that reflects an independent object (reality) but is also a resource that lends us new forms of our world. Moreover, the assumption that representation does not reflect the world, but it is constructing it is supported by the following assumptions (Barker, 2000:173): meanings are generated in relation to other

signifiers rather than to fixed objects. According to the semiotic theory, the meaning is produced by differentiating relationships (e.g. "good" understood as opposed to "bad"); the relationship between signifier and signified is not immutable; language doubles any representation of the world; language is relational: words generate meaning not only by reference to certain characteristics of an object, but to the network of relations of the language in use; every word contains echoes or traces of other meanings related in various contexts, which implies that the meaning is constantly changing.

Evaluation and cognition processes are seconded by general cognitive schemes, by categorization and attribution. The concept of "cognitive schema" is essential to develop a coherent theory regarding building, understanding and interpretation of social reality. Cognitive schemes are relatively stable algorithm-based ways of processing, organization and storage of information, characterized by generality and hierarchical organization with well-defined functionality for physical activity and related behaviors. An important cognitive scheme is the one of accesibility of information and it explains recurring situations where individuals have assessments and judgments about people and situations, without being able to objectively review all the available data relevant to the case (as it scientists does). Consequently, most often, it is considered the most accessible information, with all the inherent risks: information may not be necessary or relevant to the situation, which betrays the shallowness or cognitive laziness.

"False consensus" bias relates to the individual need to support the mental attitudes, opinions or actions that determines the development of attribution judgments that can create the illusion of a false consensus: individuals assign to others the same preferences, attitudes, opinions, so ones behavior in a special situation does not contradict the behavior of others in a similar situation. Although individuals do not have objective data to confirm their hypothesis, they consider their own behavior as relatively normal, under the belief that, in a similar situation, many others would behave in a similar way.

Another relevant cognitive scheme for the way we construct reality is the *halo effect*, according to which individuals extrapolate what is known, poignant and meaningful to previous behaviors of subjects when they assess and attribute causes on behaviors in other contexts. The halo which

sometimes appears around people is likely to significantly affect the objective assessments of the real context one. Halo effect is an unlawful and inappropriate extrapolation of assessment of a sphere of personal behaviors on contexts which, objectively, are not related with the same level of quality. Equally, *the need for coherence and cognitive balance* determines the selection of that information confirming the initial assumptions, also conceptualized as *the confirmation of the hypothesis*. Based on previous experience, each subject has cognitive and evaluative schemes and he tends to apply them in the current activity. Subsequently, the available information will be unconsciously selected or modified to confirm the hypothesis adopted.

Cognitive schemes are functionally inertial: they are activated during previous sequences extending their influence on the subsequent sequence, even if the two sequences are not as similar as to justify the operational continuity of the same scheme. This *effect of prior activation* may considerably affect individual mood and attitudes but also the intellectual predisposition to judge events that are succeeding in a certain way. Also, individuals tend to spontaneously adopt attitudes considered normal by their group, being a part of social consensus. The social conventions are adopted as operating schemas and people uses them to assess promptly everyday situations, freeing thinking of a futile effort.

Based on categories that provide maximum information about the world with a minimum of reflection, the individual interprets and attributes meanings to contexts associating contents with stereotyped and labels of a category. A category is not a representation of reality, but a construction of it, in the sense that categorical structure fundamentally depends on the objectives and individual knowledge (Shweder, 1977, *apud* Leyens and Bourhis, 1997:72). The concept of categorization designates cognitive activity which consists in including in the same class all the objects or persons of the same kind. As a cognitive activity indispensable for functional roles in society, categorization allows the organization of items based on a single criterion. The personal experience is structured in order to make sense and allows interpretation of acquired data. The saved time and effort allow the individual adaptation to the surrounding reality. However, organizing data into classes according to the principle of economy of effort facilitates an easier access to further information received from the environment.

Many theorists consider that categorization is an involuntary process that works automatically without conscious involvement of the subject. Activated category not only has the effect of subject awareness of belonging to one category or another, but it brings to attention the full amount of existing knowledge synthesized into schemas, prototypes or stereotypes. Activated schemes are cognitive structures, where positive and negative attributes are arranged in clusters.

One's own opinions are neither good nor bad, they are inevitable. "There is some truth in the maxim, indeed dangerous, that an open mind is a blank mind" (Betts, 1978, *apud* Heuer, 1999, 10). Therefore, analysts do not make an objective analysis by avoiding preconceptions; it denotes ignorance. Objectivity is obtained by basic assumptions, but reasonable reasoning allows the assessment of the validity of judgments themselves.

The analytical mental model is determined to a large extent by memory and also by processes occurring inside it (Eysenck, 2001). As processing data for intelligence decisions involves working with a large number of information, the analytical process is affected by what we remember or forget (Heuer, 1999:41). Previous knowledge and experiences determine the schemes used to generate hypotheses. Also, the ability to remember patterns on which to correlate data with each other is also an important variable affecting analyzed information. Analysts' key ability is to update patterns linking facts from each other, leading to extensive concepts and to the use of procedures that facilitate analytical process. Knowledge and experience determines stock information and analytical scheme that evokes the analyst to generate and evaluate hypotheses. Key ability is the ability to update patterns linking facts from each other, leading to extensive concepts and the use of procedures that facilitate this process.

Memory processes tend to operate with generalized categories. When people do not have an appropriate category for something, they may not perceive "the thing" and store it. If these categories are incorrect, they will inaccurately perceive and remember things. When different types of information are stored in memory under a single category, errors may occur in the analysis. This is a common analytical bias counteracted by distinctions between categories and removing the ambiguity. In a benchmark article, *The Magic Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two*, George Miller (1956) underline the limitations of short-term

memory and draw the following conclusion: the number of things that people can remember at the same time is seven - plus or minus two. This limitation of active memory is a source of many errors. Speaking of thinking in terms of pros and cons, it means that only a few individuals can take into account more than three arguments in favor of an idea and three against the same idea at the same time. Memory depends on the quality of information stored on a specific theme, focused attention, the reliability of information and the importance attributed to information.

Analysts often receive new information which should logically lead them to reassess the credibility and significance of the foregoing. But memories are rarely reviewed retrospectively or reorganized in response to new information. For example, when an analyst considers a piece of information as important or irrelevant, that information is difficult to be stored and the analyst cannot remember it even if he changes his idea to the point where the same information, received today, could be recognized as very significant. Literature shows that individuals are characterized by dual rationality based on the idea that there are two different forms of cognitive processes: Type 1 (intuitive): fast, automatic, high capacity, this type of rationality is more vulnerable to errors, unconscious associations based on faith; Type 2 (reflexive): slow, controlled, low-capacity, rules-based, sequential, abstract and related to standards.

The two types of rationality are found in all analytical processes of everyday life: in learning, social cognition, reasoning, and decision making. Literature has shown that, despite the characteristics described before, errors cannot be associated with Type 1 nor performance with Type 2 (e.g. Evans, 2007, 2008). Studies show that both are strongly influenced by beliefs (Verschuere, Schaeken & Ydewalle, 2005). While Type 1 rationality is associated with the idea of ancestry, connecting with animal and its type of cognition, Type 2 rationality is recent in human evolutionary history (Evans, 2003, *apud* Evans 2013). Usually the two types of rationality cooperate, but there may be times when one of them takes over the other, such as the case of gambling. Ordinary situations make use of Type 1, and new extraordinary situations need Type 2 rationality (Evans, 2013).

Yet, there are tragic or heroic moments in history when fundamental decisions relied more on flair and intuition and made no use of any analysis. E.g. it is still present in the collective memory the

day of January 28, 1986, when rocket Challenger exploded into space in just 73 seconds after launch. The managers' decision to allow rocket launch under a temperature below 0°Celsius is such an example. Consensus group and the need to take a decision within a time limit can create a very dangerous illusion of invulnerability. Intelligence analysis is vulnerable to the occurrence of such situations when the right decision is sacrificed on the altar of individual subjectivity or beliefs of the group. Moreover, while structured analytical methods involve teamwork, J. Stoner (1961) found that the group is more likely to have risky decision, and the explanation is the diffusion of responsibility, because a group cannot be considered responsible for a potentially wrong decision. To be efficient in any working intelligence team analysts should value standards of independence and critical thinking.

6. CONCLUSIONS

We described a relatively small number of psychological processes that may occur during intelligence analysis, each representing a powerful con for rationality, but also a pro for internalizing the idea that analysts try hard to be objective, but they must understand that they may be deeply subjective in the process. Probably this is the only viable way to reduce the effects of subjectivity in intelligence analysis: by identifying and understanding how its effects affect logical argumentation.

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HISTORICAL REFERENCE POINTS OF OPEN SOURCE UTILITY IN INTELLIGENCE

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Abstract: *Open sources have proven their utility throughout the last decade, especially for giving the national intelligence communities a whole insight and context of their nation's state. The evolution of what we call today security environment has been highly influenced by the shift from secret or covert to open-source, leading to a nowadays widely acknowledged OSINT importance. For example, the intelligence communities estimate that OSINT provides between 80 and 95 per cent of the information used in their operations. In other terms, the present paper describes the way open-source has reached its major role in the intelligence activity, by listing the most influential OSINT initiatives and their creators: Sherman Kent, Vannevar Bush and Robert David Steele, and also the most significant moments in the so-called „OSINT Revolution”. From this last point of view, one hypothesis from which we start in this article is that the develop of modern open sources – the internet, especially social media, had encouraged intercultural communication, offering new opportunities for knowledge and the management of transnational security challenges in a constantly changing environment.*

Keywords: *utility, OSINT, (R)evolution, intelligence, history*

1. INTRODUCTION

From a historical point of view, it is difficult to determine when open information sources started to be used in national security activity. A rigorous scientific approach in this regard would require the initiation of a research on the types of sources that may be associated with open sources for each historical epoch, and similarly on the issues that could be subsumed for each security era.

Military-media relationship date from modern era, and throughout history consisted of propaganda for the kings and warriors, which was provided by the chroniclers paid to do that. Even if, in general, open source has long been disregarded, specific casuistry of the nineteenth century and twentieth century provides examples of technological innovations (invention of photography and radio), which allowed the diversification of sources as well as examples of the use of media in military operations (Lahneman: 2010). Moreover, in this period, although open source exploitation was not a systematic process governed by detailed rules, its role began to be realized, illustrative to that end being the statements of Tsar Nicholas II (1818-1881), who said that "we do not need spies. We have the Times of London" and of Oscar Wilde (1854 - 1900), who emphasized that "spies are no longer used today.

The newspapers do their work instantly" (Pallaris, 2009). The impact of new mass communication technologies was true during the early nineteenth century with mass circulation newspapers and electric telegraph. It also marked a major change in the structure of the armed forces and some quality developments of society. Many works address the relationship between military environment and media and their position in society, including their legal obligations. In recent decades, particularly the U.S. armed forces have seen their relationship with the media in much narrower terms. That military view had a major impact on U.S. actions during Iraq war (2003 - 2011).

Today, the ways of getting information have diversified greatly along with significant technological developments, so the intelligence tends to become more and more an activity based on analysis of information obtained from open sources and on the use of societal academic/private specialists. More recently, the emergence of social media has been a major change in the long history of the use of open source in activities with an impact on the national and international security. Events in Syria, 1994 Rwanda massacre, and Kosovo War - the first major war of the Internet age - are examples to that end (Badsey, 2009).

As a result of the emphasis on technological change, some governments and their armed forces

didn't pay attention to such social issues. For example, one of the first reactions to the Mubarak government uprising in Cairo in January 2011 was an attempt to block Egypt links with the "outside world". That proved not only ineffective, but also of secondary importance to the way in which subsequently the revolt spread. Currently, a more complex and subtle struggle for international propaganda is underway largely by exploiting Web 2.0 (Badsey, 2009). From a historical point of view, military response to each new change in media technology (from the electric telegraph and mass newspapers, through photography, cinema journals, radio and television to the Internet) was to identify vulnerabilities, risks, and threats posed by them to answer - as described by sociologists - to a "moral panic".

2. OPEN SOURCES EXPLOATATION AND INTERCULTURAL CONTEXT

Over time, communication has evolved greatly, acquiring more advanced forms. News in information technology are considerably improving. The conduct of interpersonal relations are influenced by the Internet and by all the possibilities it offered. The Internet, the largest open source information, provides extensive possibilities for communication and access to remote areas and groups and also assimilation of different cultural values (Bodoga *et al.*, 2010). The twentieth century adapts to a multicultural communication, which involves more than understanding the rules of the group. It means accepting and tolerating differences. At present, communication between individuals occurs quasi-instantly, in a world where time and space no longer involve real barriers, because information technology helps us to move quickly and freely in the virtual context. We are constantly subjected to the pressure of speed, in an online and offline world, because numerous online social networks were developed in communication. Intercultural dialogue therefore aims to strengthen respect for cultural diversity in the context of the complex reality of today's society, characterized by different cultural identities and beliefs (Bodoga *et al.*, 2010).

3. TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS AND OPEN SOURCES IN MODERN EPOCH

Intrigue, espionage, coded correspondence, closed-door meetings and clandestine operations led and influenced much of European politics

during the Renaissance. These activities have been occasionally in the center of political scene and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (FAS, 2009). A large part of these efforts was based on data collected from open sources (chronicles, printed papers) by "honorable spies", as ambassadors were called at that time, or by other practitioners of "secret diplomacy".

So-called black art practitioners have included some of the most famous names in Europe: Nicollo Machiavelli, Sir Francis Walsingham - Secretary of State for Queen Elizabeth I - who designed the first permanent peacetime intelligence device. Even from the start, the Catholic Church has become a force in espionage, based on information collected from the time chronicles. Having a large and powerful bureaucratic apparatus, important resources, but also access to culture, it was able to control extensive information operations creating a true spy network (FAS, 2009). The church domination was challenged in the Renaissance when the consolidation of centralized states made them take the lead and even to establish dominance, monopoly in that area, to protect their political and military, but also economic and military interests. More than twenty years after the end of the Civil War, photography became an essential resource in the business of intelligence. The first example is the 1887, when there were taken photos for certain coastal British crews. Also, by radio appearance in 1895, has been revolutionized the intelligence activity (Federation of American Scientists).

In its first phases open sources exploitation was not achieved by structured rules, most often being reduced to newspaper clippings or public information to the citizens, that were subsequently transmitted to decision-makers via spies. Napoleon Bonaparte is a representative exponent of what a politician who has built and enhanced his public image throughout his life represents. Historian Philip Taylor said that "under Napoleon regime, France became in fact the first modern state based on propaganda". One could notice that propaganda could have been seen everywhere, by force of strict censorship and ubiquity of imperial authority. He perfectly intuited and benefited greatly from print media and printed explosion generated by the French Revolution, which he knew how to exploit it for his own benefit. He transformed the two government-sponsored military newspapers "Courrier de L'Armee d'Italie" and "La France vue de L'Armee d'Italie" that were supporting French morale in his own promotional

tools, constantly linking his name to any victory or heroic action on the Italian front. To strengthen and enhance his public image, Napoleon continuously wrote mails, bulletins, proclamations. One of the first steps Napoleon took as first consul of a country who had proclaimed its liberty as supreme ideal was to introduce strict censorship, removing 64 of the 73 publications that were published in France. In 1810 he founded the General Directorate of Printing and Booksellers which collaborated with the police to control all publications. However, French history was rewritten to highlight Bourbon's decadence compared with his greatness.

During the 1877 – 1878 Romania's War of Independence, newspapers in Romanian and German ("Albina Carpatilor", "Observatorul", "Scoala romaneasca", "Telegraful roman", "Resboiul" "Hermannstadter Zeitung", "Siebenbürger Boten") were publishing updated news on developments on the front, about Romanian troops and its Russian allies which were fighting Ottoman army. The reports of these publications generated a memorable solidarity response of the population in support of Romanian army materialized in voluntary conscriptions, money and even doctors accompanying the ambulances at the front. Between 1914 and 1916, the embassies of the main combatant countries were heavily subsidized Romanian press, trying to get public sympathy. Germany, France, and England have paid newspapers and publicists who, through articles, were to determine Romania enter the war. Pamfil Seicaru wrote in "History of the Press" that the delegations of France, Russia, Britain and Germany had received funds to purchase newspapers, establish new publications, and to influence politicians.

4. PREMISIS FOR AN INSTITUTIONALIZED OSINT

If public information exploitation is closely connected to the creation of intelligence as a tool to support government actions, the transformation of the open sources collection and analysis in a strategic area with specific rules and tools has its origins in the U.S. Following the 1941 Princeton University research it was created "Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service" / FBMS, the first professional structure responsible for monitoring, filtering, archiving as well as transcription and translation of information and news from foreign media sources. The exploitation of open sources

within the U.S. intelligence was influenced by two critical moments considered failures of intelligence activity, namely the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) and the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. Thus, in 1947, FBMS came under the authority of CIA as "Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service" / FBIS, and in 1948 it was created "Federal Research Division" in order to provide "specialized research and analytical services through the use of the largest libraries in the world, that of the American Congress".

At the European level, the first structured approach of open sources, without being so complex as the American one, can be found in 1939 when, at the request of the British Executive, BBC launched a commercial service to monitor and analyse foreign print and radio media within the 'Digest of Foreign Broadcasts' programme, later called "Summary of World Broadcasts" and then "BBC Monitoring". Also, the East German "Ministry for State Security" service developed its monitoring capabilities, some sources indicating that it monthly analyzed 1,000 magazines, 100 books, 100 newspapers, and transmissions of radio and TV from West Germany. During the Cold War open sources had an important role in understanding the military and political intentions of the opponent being a standing resource to other departments in establishing the collection requirements. However, the intelligence community has been reluctant to recognize their value, and among experts there was the belief, that persists even today in some areas, according to which secret information is the most valuable one (IRSN, 2010).

Moreover, a study by three researchers (Mark Travers, Leaf Van Boven and Charles Judd) at University of Colorado Boulder / USA has shown how the "heuristic secrecy" can increase the perceived value and weight of intelligence-based decision, regardless of its informative quality (2014). According to the authors,

a possible explanation for this is that the authorities devote significant resources to collecting and protecting 'state secrets' and, often, these investments yielded results that showed notable added value of the use of classified information. (Travers *et al.*, 2014:99)

However, technological advances, the Cold War, and the change in geographic and thematic priorities for intelligence operations prompted renewed debate about the need to reform the

structure of intelligence community. In this vision, one of the factors was public information sources dynamics (Mercado, 2007).

In 1992, the US Intelligence Reorganization Act defined the intelligence-gathering program objectives as "providing timely and objective intelligence, based on all available public and non-public sources of the U.S. Intelligence Community". In 1996, the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the U.S. Intelligence Community (known as the Aspin-Brown Commission) concluded that "a greater effort to exploit the great universe of information currently available in open source is needed". Along with American efforts, OSINT methodologies and tools were developed at the level of NATO and the European Union (European Monitoring Centre for Media, Joint Research Centre of the European Union). The year 2005 marked the creation of the first open sources agency, which was set up taking into account the recommendations of the U.S. Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission – when the National Intelligence Director/DNI decided to create Open Source Center by absorbing CIA FBIS Division and the World News Connection / WNC under the supervision of the National Technical Information Service / NTIS. OSC is defined as

the first U.S. Government provider/supplier of foreign open source intelligence which provides international data on the political, military and economic issues and technical information unrelated to common media. (Raytheon, 2014:1).

At the same time, it was created the position of Deputy Assistant to the National Intelligence for Open Source, in order to enhance the visibility of the "National Open Source Enterprise". Later, in 2006, it was created Informational Sharing Initiative Environment and a framework that defined U.S OSINT (IRSN, 2010). Currently, there are a growing number of government departments and NGOs active in the exploitation of open sources. Organizations and institutions in the fields of security, defense and public order empowered to ensure state security are creating more and more links with the public through the virtual world. (Steele, 1995:462).

The Romanian Intelligence Service (SRI) created the Open Source Center, a structure dedicated to this activity in Romania. In Canada, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service does not benefit from an independent agency, but within the Office for Foreign Relations there is a media center that deals with open source monitoring.

Specialized structures in Italy, Agency for External Information and Security (AISE) and the Agency for Internal Information and Security (AISI), have developed specialized departments in this regard. And the Joint Counter-Terrorism Center (GTAZ) in Germany has under its command Joint Internet Center, called GIZ.

5. CONCLUSIONS

As M. Wiewiorka and D. Wolton (1987) stated, if not so long ago it was very difficult to get informed due to the lack of information and poor accessibility to them, today is difficult to be properly informed just because high flow of information. In the twenty-first century, global world claims another reference to information. Is about the information retrieved, managed and distributed by a certain kind of intellectual elite, that should always be a prerequisite for political act and, equally, the foundation of everything that our democracies represent today.

Today, we put great emphasis on national security information obtained from open sources. This is true as standalone product, but also as part of the secret intelligence. Over the time, amid the evolution of technology, OSINT contribution to the process of intelligence has changes, many intelligence agencies realizing the strategic advantage offered by the exploitation of open sources in the context of the growing influence of new media and the increasing number of think tanks and private companies that can provide analytical support. The increasing complexity and interconnections of our world, along with decreasing uncertainty have highlighted the importance of Open Source Intelligence (OSINT) to achieve national security. This type of information provides a wide range of "operational needs" from strategic historical and cultural knowledge to data on infrastructure and current socio-economic conditions, vital tactical commercial geospatial data that cannot be provided by other operational capabilities.

In the new networked society (network society), the interaction between these processes and the reactions triggered by them are considered the foundations of a new society. Specific for this type of society is the culture of communication protocols that allow direct relationship based on sharing of different cultures to communicate value. The cultural meanings coexist, interact and transform each other, as a result of this ongoing exchange.

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KEY ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS COMMUNICATION

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Abstract: *A brilliant business mind knows that perfect communicative competence opens the doors of opportunity and of fruitful collaboration but effective communication has its challenges. Any language learner should understand that the lexical part is as important in the verbal and the written contact as the linguistic and the cultural parts are. In a competitive international business market communicating your thoughts effectively is vital. So, good business people need – besides the abilities specific to their domain of activity and those related to all thinking processes – other abilities, just as important, such as using correct grammar structures, reading body language, and interpreting cultural signals necessary to offer information as well as to acquire data. Moreover, it is essential to master the four language skills – listening, reading, speaking, and writing – in order to transmit accurate messages in international business contexts which can be done only if the communicative abilities mentioned above are developed. Therefore, language and culture risks should not be ignored and steps should be taken to prevent them. Clearly, linguistic and cultural competences are a must in an international and multicultural world.*

Keywords: *communication, issues, risks, challenges, competence, body language, culture, international business market*

1. INTRODUCTION

This article is the result of years of teaching ESP as well as of studying and observing the importance of verbal and non-verbal communication in the international business context. It is a fact that people of different nationalities who choose to communicate in English while doing business need to develop their grammar and lexical skills in the same time with their knowledge of the behavior specific to a particular nation in a business situation. Thus, communication competences include an accurate and fluent use of the language plus an appropriate interpretation of the cultural message transmitted and of the allusions made followed by a suitable response constructed logically and strategically in accordance with what the situation requires. It must be mentioned here that such realities are valid in all communication instances no matter if the receptive skills (reading and listening) or the productive skills (speaking or writing) are necessary especially in the cases when a set of skills or one skill support(s) and/or entail(s) the other(s) since language skills are known to have by definition a relation of interdependence. Taking into consideration everything mentioned above, it is clearly the job of foreign language professors to raise the learners' awareness about these aspects when teaching. Although this is true for

communication in any language, the focus of this paper is the English language which is without doubt the language of international communication. Therefore, people who add English to their abilities not only become able to do their work in an international environment improving thus their financial prospects but also enhance their professional and personal development. Nevertheless, without good English grammar knowledge, a rich vocabulary and a deep understanding of such issues as culture and body language, there will always be failures in communication which can even lead to serious problems.

2. THE IMPACT OF GRAMMAR, CULTURE AND BODY LANGUAGE ON THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS

2.1 Theories and Approaches. Due to the fact that more and more business companies are being globalized, the English language – which is considered the lingua franca of international communication – is used to acquire and communicate information and knowledge as well as to build relationships in a business environment. Therefore, students aspiring to become professionals in different domains need to develop their English for Specific Purposes.

English for Specific Purposes is a “special discourse used in specific settings by people

sharing common purposes” (Ruiz-Garido *et al*, 2010:2). Actually, as Henry Widdowson – one of the authorities in the field of applied linguistics and language learning and teaching – says “all language use is specific in a sense” (*apud* Ruiz-Gurrido *et al*, 2010:1) meaning that “language serves a specific purpose wherever it is used” (Ruiz-Garido *et al*, 2010:2). The idea is that ESP professors design their courses taking into consideration the real needs of future professionals at their job and it is essential that they help students understand the necessity of working both on the lexis and on the grammar part of the English language without disregarding culture and body language issues if they want to avoid misunderstandings and eliminate obstacles to professional and even personal development. In order to prove true everything mentioned above, the needs of students in computing and information technology will be analyzed as technology is becoming increasingly important in our lives leading to the development of the IT market.

The greatest difficulty when teaching an ESP class is to convince students that in the process of developing English language competences they cannot focus only on learning new lexis and on practicing it or better said on trying to practice it. The reason for this is that lexis alone cannot render meaning by itself in certain contexts and even if new words were put in structures and these structures learned as such the result would not be a desirable one because the human brain is unable to remember too many new items or constructions without finding some logic in them. So people are more likely to remember rules which enable them to come up with new meaningful sentences or/and phrases in accordance with an existing context.

In *How to Teach Grammar*, there are clear points regarding the connection between grammar and meaning. Grammar is described as “a process for making a speaker’s or a writer’s meaning clear when contextual information is lacking” (Thornbury, 2008:4) which is done by employing “rules of syntax and rules of morphology” (Thornbury, 2008:4). Consequently, students “need to learn not only what forms are possible, but what particular forms will express their particular meaning.” (Thornbury, 2008:4) This is why good communicative competence is due on the one hand to the ability to combine knowledge of grammar rules which include form, meaning and function added to broad word knowledge and on the other hand to the ability to read culture signs and body language which will be discussed later in this

article. As most students believe that all they need is to learn how to communicate and they do not realize the importance of grammar in this, the professor’s job is to balance grammar input with practice in communication and allow the learners to gradually reach accuracy as long as it is made clear from the start that being intelligible is not possible without being correct or that grasping meaning and sometimes nuances is not possible without a previous acquisition of language structures and their use. Moreover, grammar can also be seen as a competence that supports the development of other competences in the areas of listening, speaking, reading and writing. When grammar is incorrect or misunderstood in any of these areas, communication may be disrupted and/or the message(s) lost.

For an ESP course design a diagnostic test on grammar and on words of general and specific usefulness in English are necessary in the beginning in order to establish the students’ level and thus later choose the appropriate materials and ways to teach. Grammar structures occupy a high place in the learning of the English language and must be understood and used correctly in specific contexts and situations which must be emphasized. For instance, in computing and IT students need to develop their reading and writing skills a lot because, usually, computer specialists develop and maintain the computer equipment and software programs which means that they have to read a lot to be able understand certain processes and then to be able to find their own solutions according to the problem they are facing. Thus, students or people working in computing have to know how to formulate logical series of commands and instructions necessary in the work with and use of computers and sometimes they need to give coherent explanations to the beneficiaries of their computer work. Moreover, as their domain can also be considered a business domain from the point of view of selling devices or ideas/concepts which in their turn are used in different businesses, they have to talk about possibilities, expectations, obligations, rules and regulations; make logical deductions; give advice; speak about their actions and business activities, talk about their plans and so on. People in the computing domain should definitely master tenses, moods, voice as well as the modals and their nuances to be able to comprehend any piece of reading material, to write accurate e-mails and to understand and communicate fluently with their business partners or customers/clients. All this does not mean that

other grammar structures are ignored. It is obvious that students have to be capable of using all grammar structures correctly in order to have meaningful conversations free of misunderstandings or in order to transmit a message verbally or in writing. Clearly, grammar is taught in context and rules are elicited from the students because they are supposed to already have some knowledge of grammar and are supposed to be motivated to practice in their main field of study – grammar structures in meaningful context are understood and acquired more easily. The vocabulary teaching is also very important and has to be focused both on words of general use in English and on specialized core lexical items.

As long as students are motivated to learn, the teaching process is valuable and ends with acquisition. ESP professors' task is to teach students English grammar structures in the way they appear in future work related contexts and to shed light especially on those grammar parts that can entangle meaning. An experienced professor of ESP can say what problems students have when they work on their English and what can put them in difficulty. A good way to make students see the importance of grammar in reaching their goals is to speak to them about risks and about eliminating them. An analysis of the SWOT type always works perfectly. Students are told to think of the process of communicating and sharing information as well as of working in a globalized world in terms of the SWOT sectors: strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Obviously, English language can open the door to the opportunity sector as long as it is used as a tool or a means of developing one's business, of working more efficiently and effectively. Thus, English can be placed in the strength sector only if it is polished otherwise it will transfer English in the weaknesses sector or the threats sector because a misused, misunderstood or badly handled grammar structure can cause serious problems.

The mistakes that students make when asked to use English for one purpose or another are mostly the same. The list of common mistakes built over years of working with students in informatics uncovers that their lack of grammar knowledge can lead to either a total failure in communication or to a show of ignorance which can result in people judging the rest of their work in accordance with the attention paid to their communicative competences. However, a good command of English can help students with more than transmitting the right message properly and

figuratively. It can make it easier for them to understand their interlocutors if their language is poor.

Usually, students react well to activities which imply exposure to an inductive approach in teaching as they see the benefits of solving language problems themselves. Nevertheless when professors see their students struggling to identify rules and uses of the language, they should point out which is the focus of the lesson and even make use of deductive presentations of grammar.

The common confusions and mistakes made by students can be classified as weaknesses or threats. The former are the grammatical errors that do not influence the outcome of the verbal interaction in the speaking – listening process or do not modify the meaning in the writing – reading process but are still instances of inaccuracy. The latter are those errors that interfere with the message transmitted while using the productive skills or that prove a real stumbling block in the use of receptive skills. Whether you are doing business or you are socializing, when you are in an activity that requires you to produce language there are grammar structures that can raise the standard of communication. These types of structures are a proof that the user has detailed knowledge of the English grammar but if used incorrectly they become uncomplimentary even if the message remains unmodified. Grammar books like *Cambridge Grammar of English* and MyGrammarLab reveal that this happens when:

a) pronouns occur together or a pronoun and a noun appear close to each other

eg *My colleagues and me are going to test the app, as it is, on the live environment.

My colleagues and I ... (the pronoun and the noun are both subjects)

*The most indicated for this task are him and her.

The most indicated for this task are he and she. (after being verbs we have to use subject pronouns)

b) *which* and *what* are used in questions

eg *Of the two variants we have suggested via e-mail, what variant is best for you.

Of the two variants, we have suggested via e-mail, which variant is best for you. (*what* is used when specific information is requested from a general or an open-ended possible range whereas *which* is used when specific information is requested from a restricted range of possibilities)

c) agreement between subject and verb is required

eg * Either the managers or the owner are expected to discuss with the accountants today.

Either the managers or the owner is expected to discuss with the accountants today. (the predicate agrees with the subject which is closest to it)

* Any employee from our firm work hard but also get benefits.

Any employee from our firm works hard but also gets benefits. (the omission of the „s” from the third person singular)

d) tenses are used in some cases

eg * During yesterday’s meeting, our team proved that this contract was very well written.

During yesterday’s meeting, our team proved that this contract is very well written. (the present tense is justified here because the situation regarding the contract is still valid)

e) verb forms or tense forms are wrong

eg * They thought that that they could solve the issue.

They thought that they could solve the issue. (think – thought – thought)

* Did they managed to finish?

Did they manage to finish? (Did + S + Verb?)

f) word order is overlooked

eg * You can find below a list with the items.

You can find a list with the items below. (verb + direct object + adverb)

* We need to know how do you want us to proceed.

We need to know how you want us to proceed. (*how* being in an indirect question does not require an inversion between the subject and the predicate)

* Not only we have to postpone this delivery but we also have to stop the production and check what has gone wrong.

Not only do we have to ... (after a negative adverb placed at the beginning of the sentence, an inversion between the subject and the predicate is necessary)

g) *will* – auxiliary for the future is used in temporal clauses or *will* – auxiliary for the future/*would* – auxiliary for the conditional appears in *if* clauses.

eg. * We will let you know when we will finish testing.

We will let you know when we finish testing. (future tense is replaced by present tense in temporal clauses)

* If you will send us a complete bug report by tomorrow we will fix the bugs in the estimated time.

If you send ... (the conditional is replaced by the subjunctive in *if* clauses)

h) *which* and *who* introduce relative clauses: *which* refers to a non-human subject and to objects whereas *who* refers to human subjects

Eg. * The client which has sent new requests is expecting an answer as soon as possible.

The client who has sent ...

In addition to such grammar structures, there are some grammar structures that can compromise the interaction if they have not been properly acquired and are thus incorrectly used grammarians show. Users/ Speakers have to know the meaning these structures express and put grammar structures in correct contexts lest confusion should arise. Here are a few examples which are convincing:

a) aspect

- *Present Continuous* for temporary situations and *Present Simple* for general situations

eg Our company is working hard to provide its clients with the best and most creative software products on the market.

Our company works hard to provide its clients with the best and most creative software products on the market.

- *Present Continuous* for actions in progress at the moment of speech or for arrangements that will take place in the future

eg. I am working on the computer. (This sentence is ambiguous without a time indicator.)

I am working on the computer now/ tomorrow.

- *Present Perfect Simple* for a past completed action with results in the present vs *Present Perfect Continuous* for an action which started in the past and is still continuing

eg Don’t worry! We have been improving the methods of management. (here the achievement is clear)

Don’t worry! We have improved the methods of management. (here there is stress on duration and thus on incompleteness – present perfect simple works better here because it refers to the fact that the methods are much better now whereas in the case of present perfect continuous the client would understand that they are in the process of getting better so problems may still arise)

- Present simple is used for facts and things that are generally true and present continuous is the

tense and aspect used to talk about things going on at the moment of speech.

eg. What do you do? – I am a software developer.
What are you doing? – I am reading about operating systems.

- Present Perfect which is connected somehow to the present and Past Tense which is not connected to the present

eg The computer has crashed. I cannot work on it. (The result of the past action influences the present.)

The computer crashed and we had to call somebody from technical support. (The past action remains in the past.)

We have been working as software developers for NASA for five years. (We are still working there.)

We worked as software developers for NASA for five years. (We are no longer working there.)

They have outsourced their IT work many times. (They are still open to this approach.)

They outsourced their IT work many times. (They no longer do it.)

b) reported speech

eg It was agreed that our IT team would deal with the issue in question. (The issue should have been solved at the time of the message)

It was agreed that our IT team will deal with the issue in question. (The issue might not have been solved at the time of the message.)

The clients said that they would leave soon. (The clients left.)

The clients said that they will leave soon. (The clients have not left yet.)

c) modals

eg You must not hit „reply all” when there is only one person who needs to read your e-mail. (It is forbidden.)

You do not have to hit „reply all” when there is only one person who needs to read your e-mail. (It is not necessary.)

You must not be late at the meetings and the conferences with the client. (It is forbidden to do this or it is very important not to do this.)

You do not have to be late at the meetings and the conferences with the client. (It is not necessary.)

It must be the browser that is causing all these issues. (It is a certainty. No further tests are required.)

It may/might/could be the browser that is causing all these issues. (It is a possibility. Some tests are necessary.)

The PC settings did not need to be modified. (It was not done because it was not necessary.)

The PC settings need not have been modified. (It was done, although it was not necessary.)

d) *few* vs *a few*

eg There are a few major bugs. (They are not many but enough to entail serious consequences.)

There are few major bugs. (They are not many.)

e) passive constructions. These constructions are often needed in business language to make reference to things being or having been done. The difference between *be + past participle* and *have + D.O. + past participle* is vital for the message transmitted.

eg The report of risk evaluation has been done. (We have done it ourselves – an investor might get discouraged by this.)

We have had the report of risk evaluation done. (We have had an expert do it.)

f) *when* – *if* – *in case*: *when* – implies certainty, *if* – reveals the fact that there is a condition, *in case* – stresses the idea that an action is done as a precaution

eg When you discover all the types of bugs from this application and you can classify them, you can consider yourself a tester of a higher rank. (It is only a matter of time until something happens.)

If you discover all the types of bugs from this application and you can classify them, you can consider yourself a tester of a higher rank. (There is a condition to be met in order to have the desired result.)

When they contact you, please send us the report. (The moment you are contacted you have to send the report)

If they contact you, please send us the report. (You have to send the report if you are contacted.)

In case they contact you, please send us the report. (You have to send the report just in case you are contacted)

g) *even if* vs *even though*

eg Will you accept their offer even if they cannot provide you with all the estimates? (There is no certainty that something will happen.)

Will you accept their offer even though they cannot provide you with all the estimates? (There is a certainty that something will happen.)

h) reference pronouns

eg We started the app. It put up a warning window. We tried closing it and it crashed. (Here it is unclear what the user tried closing – the warning window or the app.)

We started the app. There appeared a warning window on the screen whose closing led to the crushing of the app. (Here the idea is clear but no reference pronouns are used.)

We started the app. There appeared a warning window on the screen and when we tried closing it, the app crushed. (The message is clear and reference pronouns are used.)

The better you know the correct pattern of the grammar structure and its use, the easiest and quickest it is to express your thoughts and/or understand others. Some say that the teaching – learning process is more effective when the grammar is presented under the form of functions. More exactly, if students are told the phrases that would be suitable in a particular situation such as: when making a request, when making logical deductions or suppositions, when negotiating, when making suggestions or trying to persuade somebody, when expressing certainty/ opinions/ disbelief, when giving permission, when offering advice, when agreeing and disagreeing, when clarifying and giving reasons, when providing and receiving feedback, etc. without being explained the forms. Still, work with students has showed that pointing out the forms used and practising them will lead to successful acquisition. There has to be a conscious rule- learning. Students often prefer to study by looking at examples and by getting to the rules themselves. The professors could first introduce language in context through the common language skills (reading, listening) and then they could discuss with the students the way language works – for lower levels they could even provide the students with the audio scripts to make the learning process easier. Later on, students could be asked to do some exercises of correction on language both in speaking and in writing. In the end, they should be ready to produce language themselves. As highlighted in the beginning and as experts have demonstrated, the human brain cannot retain things without making connections. Therefore it is a fact that prior experience of language in contexts followed by exercise in language structures put in examples and situations can help the learning process. If some feel that a list of useful phrases and vocabulary organized according to language functions will help them/has helped them it is a false assumption. Actually, it is like in the case of „the advance-organiser argument” described in Thornbury’s *How to Teach Grammar*. The researcher Richard Schmidt believes that „grammar instruction might have a delayed effect” (*apud* Thornbury, 2008:16)

in that exposure to grammatical items and an emphasis on their usage can be a decisive factor in the acquisition process. Only noticing a certain structure and its use plays a major role in somebody’s fluency in a language because analysis and pedagogical instruction act as an „advance organiser” for later acquisition.

For instance, in the present when we make requests we use the modal construction *can + verb* or *could + verb*; when we make logical deductions *must + verb* we use for the positive and *cannot + verb* for the negative; when we speculate about something we use *could/might/may + verb*; when we express opinion we use *couldn’t be more + adjective* or *couldn’t agree more* or *could/may/might have a point*; when we ask for clarifications we use either the pattern with *could* for requests or a direct question containing alternatives *Did + S + say/mean this or that?*; when we clarify something we can use *cleft sentences*; when we give reasons we can use *because + S + verb* or *because of + pronoun/noun*; when we talk about the purpose of something we use *in order (not) to + infinitive* or *so that + modal verb*; when we offer advice we can use *if + I/We + were you* construction; when we provide tactful feedback and recommendations we can use *S+should+verb* or even *S+ had better+ verb* to say that this is the proper way of acting, when we want to persuade people we can use negative questions or question tags; when we suggest something *could+verb* or *could/might as well + verb*; *sugesst/propose + that + S + should + verb* are the preferred constructions. As a result, there are several grammar structures that can be used to express the same thing. Moreover keeping a conversation going is not just a matter of having a rich vocabulary. It implies having some strategies which require some use of grammar structures. Let us take for example a conference call. It should be made up of several parts: socializing, making a start and introducing the agenda, asking probing questions or direct questions to get information from each side, clarifying and summarizing, ending the conversation. Going through all these parts supposes knowing how to ask different kinds of questions, handling modal verbs easily, being able to correctly use tenses and linking words.

When socializing on the other hand, it is advisable to use the „ask, answer, add, ask” technique mentioned in the books of culture. Being able to use all types of questions (closed, open, tag questions positive or negative and even indirect questions), tenses, and modals can help somebody

very much in conversation. Question tags with the right intonation can also help when you do not know what else to say but you want to keep the conversation going. With question tags, the general rule is to use a positive tag after a negative statement and a negative tag after a positive statement. The intonation – rising or falling – indicates if the speaker is looking for an answer or for confirmation.

When you are listening to somebody speaking, getting the right message means understanding allusions and nuances that are again evident in many grammar structures: tenses, modals, if clauses, subjunctive mood. For example in order to reach a decision regarding what is being said, the listener needs to be able to understand suggestions (modals, „Why don't you/How about + verbING”) and show agreement or disagreement (some of the structures suggested above plus the „S1 + would rather S2 + the second form of the verb/ had+the third form of the verb”, „if it hadn't been for ...” to agree; adverbs to minimize the effect of refusal) or try to persuade somebody („if” structures). Another factor that can make the difference in grasping the meaning when listening to something/someone are distractors. It is wise to continue listening very carefully until the end because new, valuable information can be added with the help of a cohesion device like „however” for instance.

When writing a message organizing well a text implies being able to use linking words. In addition to this, again grammar structures matter. When expressing purpose, reason, result, one needs to know what follows logically after the connectors. Furthermore in comparing and contrasting ideas in a written presentation again grammatical knowledge is vital. Any written text consists of complete sentences that are connected together grammatically. For example, when you have to describe changes you have to use the appropriate tense (past tense to refer to actions within a given span, past perfect to refer to actions that occurred before other past actions, present perfect continuous to show that an action has the point of departure in the past and is still going on in the present, etc.). Grammatical accuracy implies also using numbers and figures accurately. Great attention must be paid to writing dates which are differently expressed in British and American English and also to writing numbers in tables because where the Romanian use a point, the English have a comma and the other way around. All this lead to coherence, that is to how easy your writing is understood.

When reading grammar can raise questions because of the many meanings expressed by a grammatical pattern. For example, understanding arguments and explanations can prove difficult without good knowledge of cohesive devices. It is essential to realize how things are added to clarify a point, how opposite ideas are presented and when examples come to support them, how theories and views of various persons, usually experts, are referred to, and finally how the result is introduced or how the conclusion is drawn.

It is clear that insufficient or lack of grammar knowledge can easily entangle meaning no matter if you are using the receptive skills or the production skills. If studying grammar is more a matter of reluctance, studying culture and body language is disregarded. People fail to realize that being able to read culture and body language signs can influence the outcome of the communication process. Acquiring knowledge of English as an international language is not enough, there are two other types of language that need attention.

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines culture as „the customs and beliefs, art, way of life and social organization of a particular country or group” and body language as „the process of communicating what you are feeling or thinking by the way you place and move your body rather than by words.” The definitions hint at the idea that learning to read culture and body language is a complex task. When it comes to intercultural communication in a business context two types of culture should be considered: the national culture (the values, norms and behaviour specific to a certain nationality) the business culture (the professional and corporate culture).

IT and computing people share some beliefs with other business people as they also are business people but they are also characterized by some different traits. The author of *Intercultural Business Communication* asserts that there are some factors, among which he mentions corporate culture and professional culture, that „play a more significant part than national culture in bidding people together” (Gibson, 2014: 8). The reason is that their work-related interests are stronger than national cultural differences. The words of order for business people are politeness and tact. In the computer world, precision, creativity and in some cases – eg. software companies – team spirit are the beliefs that govern the work process. Nevertheless, national culture should not be ignored as Geert Hofstede (2001) – the famous

social scientist who worked for a computer company (IBM) – affirms.

Being polite and tactful, surprisingly or not, involves not only knowing grammar but also knowing some business approaches to certain situations. In business contexts politeness is a rule of thumb and formal language often a request. There are some grammar structures – as our grammar books show – that reflect a polite attitude or/and a formal one”

- Past Tense Simple and Continuous with a present meaning when you want to be less direct or more polite.

eg. We wanted to ask you about the delay.

We were thinking we could discuss about the suggested approach.

- Future continuous to soften questions about future instead of the more direct questions with future tense simple

eg. Will you be wanting immediate feedback?

- The use of adverbs as softeners in possible critique

eg. This is a pretty good presentation but you need to add more arguments.

- Modals and *if* clauses used to make polite requests, suggestions, and give advice

eg. We would appreciate some additional information.

We would be grateful if you could send us the necessary data by tomorrow at noon.

Would you be willing to help us with some data input.

Please let us know when/if you need further assistance.

Can/Could you make a report about it?

You can take the folders now.

You might want to check the website again.

You'd better decided now before we start the implement.

We don't think you should/ we think you should change the service provider.

If I could continue with what I was saying ...

If I might finish what I have just started saying ...

If you find out the news before us, would you please communicate them to us too?

- The use of the personal pronoun „we” instead of „you” to tell somebody to do something because it less direct:

Eg. We need to write a priority list.

We have to e-mail them the information about the accommodation arrangements.

- Indirect questions

Eg. We were wondering if you could explain the process one more time.

Could you tell us when you will be available?

- Perfect Aspect can also have a softening function

eg. We have been wanting to ask you about the investment.

And further on some approaches that are specific to business situations and that require tact need to be mentioned:

- The plural nouns and the personal pronoun „they” to avoid biased language.

eg. Testers need to prioritize the bugs found. Then they have to send the list to their supervisors.

Developers correct the written code after they receive their tester's report.

- The „Yes, but” structure making reference to a diplomatic refusal, that is positive comment/partial agreement followed by *but/however*

eg. We can understand exactly where you are coming from but/ however at the moment this is not an option.

We see your point of view, but we are not quite sure that this will work for the best.

This seems to be a good idea but it might be a bit difficult to implement.

- Avoiding negative words or constructions in the case of refusals or complaints.

eg. Thank you for the update/ your input.
instead of

We have received your complaint.

There are some issues that require your immediate attention.

instead of

There are some problems ...

We work from Monday till Tuesday.

instead of

We do not work during the weekend.

- Always be positive and keep an open mind. If you consider yourself to be in a delicate situation, make sure you use a lot of questions and ways to clarify everything:

eg. Could you explain further?

Could you please tell me more?

So, you are saying ..., is that correct?

Well, I do not quite understand what you mean, could you please be more specific?

I have a suggestion, may I have permission to check the documents you are talking about?

Would you mind allowing me to have the documents checked?

In *Fifty Ways to Improve your Telephoning and Teleconferencing Skills*, Ken Taylor speaks about some methods of communicating delicate information in business contexts: The use of the sandwich technique when giving bad news. Business people should „give negative information between two positive pieces of information” (Taylor, 2009:104); The consensus seeking technique. „Problem-solving should start by sharing ideas.” (Taylor, 2009:105); Making use of the DORA technique – Definition-Opinion-Reason-Agreement (Taylor, 2009:77) – to make sure people are listening to you. According to Taylor, you start by making a clear statement of what you think the key issue is, then you offer your opinion, next you support it with arguments, and last but not least you try to get the others to agree with you by using question tags with a falling intonation or negative questions. Despite these general approaches to communication, it is mandatory to consider the national culture too. Hofstede’s way of differentiating cultures in the work place is a good way to start (Hofstede, 2001). As it is extremely difficult to remember the many traits a person can have as a result of the influence of the national environment, a business person can learn to differentiate between the following dimensions in a culture: „individualism-collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity – femininity” (Schmidt, 2007:28).

When working with foreigners, business people should look for signs that would tell them if their business partners are task-oriented and individualistic or relationship-oriented and team-focused, if they apply the principles of flat hierarchy being uncomfortable with inequalities or those of steep hierarchy where inequalities are expected and supervision a must in all areas, if they are not afraid to take risks and openly disagree, and are not keen on rules relying a lot on the spoken word or if they always keep chance to a minimum, rely on written rules and agreement terms; if they show empathy and caring for others or if they focus on performance and the need to compete. Nonetheless, these are just guidelines to use until there is a little time to study the culture of the respective business partners. A good book of reference for this is *When Cultures Collide* which

makes an indepth analysis of these cultural domains and then describes in detail the cultures of the entire globe.

Professors can raise students’ awareness about the relevance of culture in international communication by providing them with culture-related materials such as: texts and then case studies, definitions or descriptions first and exercises afterwards, information cards enabling role plays in communicative activities, questionnaires whose answers uncover the learners’ level of knowledge in culture issues and the impact of this knowledge on communication, etc.

As for the body language, there are general rules that apply to all cultures: smiling and nodding as a sign of attention and approval when somebody is talking, keeping eye contact without staring though, taking turns in conversation although in conference calls interruptions are common and accepted as long as they include polite language as showed above, keeping a reasonable distance from your interlocutor – usually an arm length – to avoid his/her comfort zone, using intonation together with appropriate constructions to show enthusiasm, interest or conviction. For more exact information on body language specific to the many existing cultures, *Body Language in the Workplace* (Fast, 1991) and *Kiss, Bow or Shake Hands* (Morrison & Conaway, 2006) are useful reference books for students and teachers alike.

3. CONCLUSIONS

English language skills equip students for success and enhance their job prospects. It is thus crucial that learners of English realize that being up to date with the current and emerging technologies in the IT business world for instance means also being comfortable with the use of the English language in a fluent and accurate way. In this way, these students have a unique combination of computing, technical, business and English knowledge and the awareness about the existence of culture and body language which makes it possible for them to enjoy significant rewards in the world’s most exciting and very well-paid domain. The winning recipe has such ingredients as technical, business and communicative competences.

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Intercultural Education

“A DIFFERENT HISTORY”- A WAY TO FORM INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCES

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Abstract: *The article is focused on the effect of teaching, learning and assessing History in a different way, according to the values of postmodern society and students' needs to develop intercultural competences. The great intercultural potential of the History subject matter is well-known and teachers must become aware of this opportunity to form intercultural competences. “A different History” is an interdisciplinary optional course about local History, which aims to develop intercultural competences by using interactive strategies and invites students to exercise self-knowledge and deep knowledge of the other, acceptance and tolerance. It is necessary to redefine History teaching from a perspective much closer to the actual needs of society and to the students' psycho-individual profile in the knowledge society. This paper presents a concrete way in which high school students' may achieve intercultural competences through an optional of local history, which contributes to the development of identity and of the sense of belonging to the community as a prerequisite for developing a broader social identity. The practical conclusion of our entire work is evident: exploiting the intercultural potential of History can be achieved by offering motivating historical content, useful for students who will become citizens of a multicultural world.*

Keywords: *local history, interactive strategies, intercultural education*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the current socio-economic context, intercultural competences are real tools for adaptation, which improve employability in a complex and dynamic labour market in which interactions with other cultures will be more frequent, more profound, and more dynamic. The need for training intercultural competences in the contemporary society is undeniable, although many questions remain open on how the training of these skills can be done, such as:

(1) Which is the most effective form of education to achieve intercultural education: formal (in school, through "classic" subject matters with intercultural potential or through a distinct subject matter aimed directly and explicitly at training intercultural competences?), non-formal (associations, programmes/projects of intercultural education) or informal (knowing that many of the attitudes for or against interactions with "strangers" develop in family, during early childhood)?

(2) Who is to teach this subject: a teacher (but to what extent is the teacher of Geography, History, Arts or Physical education able to develop intercultural skills) or more teachers (how many, what specialization should they have)?

(3) How should we assess intercultural competences, given the fact that they "are to be tested" in concrete situations of interactions?

Here are just some of the open issues of intercultural education, which has become increasingly necessary and increasingly present in schools in Romania. Many studies about globalization (Ritzer, 2003, 2010; Voinea, 2012) concluded that society influence the way in which people define their own system of values, and that intercultural education and all humanistic subjects plays a decisive part in shaping and confirming the individual's system of values and identity.

This paper presents a concrete way in which high school students' may achieve intercultural competences through an optional of local history, which contributes to the development of identity and of the sense of belonging to the community as a prerequisite for developing a broader social identity.

2. A DIFFERENT HISTORY- A WAY TO FORM INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCES

Tensions related to "local" – “global”, we - you can be overcome if students understand that personal / individual identity begins with the

profound knowledge of the community to which they belong, of the traditions, values and heroes of that community, according Hofstede's model (2002) and ending with the inclusion of "local" in the structure of global society, in which each community brings some specific "extra value".

The intercultural potential of History is very large, recognized by most experts in science education, but sometimes not enough exploited. This intercultural potential with large-scale formative dimension on the students' level can be maximally exploited if teaching History is done according to the constructivist paradigm (Siebert, 2000), where interactive methods, critical thinking, argumentation of the same phenomenon from multiple perspectives, integrated into the concrete reality of everyday life increase the formative impact of History.

Both science education experts and historians Căpiță L. (2005); Stradling (2001; 2014) have repeatedly emphasized the need to redefine History teaching from a perspective much closer to the actual needs of society and to the students' psycho-individual profile in the knowledge society. R. Stradling (2014) argues the need to teach "multi-perspective" history for the following reasons: a. historical phenomena can be interpreted and reconstructed from a variety of perspectives, depending on the subjectivity of the one interpreting, on the generation he is part of, on the culture in which he lives and on the dominant values in society at a time.

b. In the past, the mono-cultural, ethnocentric perspective dominated History teaching.

c. The need of school to prepare young people for a society where the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity is dominant.

All these arguments support the idea of approaching History in a *different* way. The same ideas are highlighted by a study initiated by the Council of Europe, concerning the initial training for History teachers. Among CE recommendations on teaching History in twenty-first century Europe we find following principle "reaffirming the educational and cultural dimensions of the major challenges in the Europe of tomorrow". In other words, History taught in a constructivist paradigm can develop intercultural competences as tolerance, empathy, critical thinking, and human solidarity.

How can we teach History differently? Firstly, a different History means new interesting topics (globalization, immigration, economic and social changes) or traditional topics seen in new perspectives - the role of local history, heroes and

traditional values in contemporary society. Today, local history is important because on one hand, it develops a feeling of belonging and, on the other hand, "students come to understand that groups have made a contribution to the history of the community as whole and are an integral part of community's past. They have helped to make the community what it is today" (Stradling, 2001:159). The local history can be taught (in Romanian schools) as optional course.

Secondly, a different History involves new teaching strategies and new technologies. The interactive learning strategies are very important for developing critical thinking and cooperation. Interactive strategies of learning can be use not only in the classroom, but also out of school (at museums, archaeological sites, medieval monuments, etc.). The partnership between museums and schools is a solution to make learning more efficient, especially as museums promote the so-called "museum pedagogy", through which they have quickly adapted to the new public (Voinea, 2004). History out of school offers many learning opportunities which motivate students and form intercultural competences. Using new technologies in teaching History can make it more attractive, with better educational results:

through access to such diversity of sources and perspectives, the Internet can also provide the history student (and teacher) with opportunities to practices the skills of historian (Stradling, 2001:171).

The assessment has an important role, too. Methods of assessment such as the portfolio are more adequate to evaluate competences and motivate students to progress. A portfolio for History can evaluate the critical capacities, the power of argumentations, the multiple perspectives, the depth of understanding, the individual's values and students' interest.

3. LOCAL HISTORY OPTIONAL - A PEDAGOGICAL RESEARCH

The main purpose of this research was to demonstrate the role of an optional course of local History in developing intercultural competences.

Methods: A questionnaire regarding students' attitudes on local history, the observation and a pedagogical experiment were used. A number of 100 participants were included in the study, all pupils in the IXth grade.

Research hypothesis: teaching – learning – assessing the Local History optional in the constructivist manner will lead to the training of intercultural competences (critical thinking, spirit of cooperation, tolerance).

The research concerned a total of 100 subjects, pupils in the ninth grade, 34 boys and 66 girls, distributed in two groups of students - a control group and an experimental group (which did not attend the Local History optional course).

One of the tools used in our research was a questionnaire aimed at the interest in local history, which was applied to both groups before and after performing the experiment. The results gathered using the questionnaire were correlated with data collected by other research methods used, namely, conversation, analysis of school documents and observation. The analysis of school documents was used in order to "measure" more concretely the subjects' statements. Thus, the school results in the Local History subject, called "The History of Brasov", were recorded along the school year. The observation was a method used frequently during the experiment. The content of the observations was the subjects' behaviour throughout the "The History of Brasov" classes (especially during the construction of parts of the portfolio). There was an increase in the number of active participants, the contribution, the cognitive and/or affective involvement, the attitude towards work done (incitement, captivation or carelessness, indifference), the spirit of cooperation, the ability to support one's arguments, the acceptance of different opinions.

The pedagogical experiment consisted in the design, implementation and assessment of an optional of Local History about Brasov. The optional called "The History of Brasov". Brasov, one of the major cities in Transylvania, has a specific history due to the ethnic puzzle and cultural and religious diversity. It is a good study case for what exercising tolerance and cooperation, openness to the "other" and accepting him mean.

The optional, which was conducted over one school year, included topics relating to the history of Brasov, about the written testimonies about it, the city's legends, personalities (men of culture, artists, journalists, religious and political personalities, etc.), specific cultural events. In the optional classes, teaching and learning were achieved by using interactive strategies, group work and methods such as: the mosaic, creative writing, debates, role play etc. The evaluation was carried out using the portfolio. Students in the

experimental group were announced at the beginning of the school year that they will be assessed through a portfolio, and its content and the evaluation criteria were clearly explained. The portfolio had to contain (at the end of each semester): Reading sheets (at least 5); Essays (at least 3); Test papers (at least 3); Drawings (optional); Biographies of local historical figures (optional).

The tasks had to be carried out individually or in groups. In developing parts of the portfolio, students were encouraged to use the Internet, to collaborate with people from the local community to gather various historical materials - photos of old Brasov, newspapers, or even specific objects (costumes of the "Junii" – a group of young men, specific to Brasov). The portfolio structure, as it can be seen, was chosen so as to succeed in capturing aspects of interest in local history. In addition to the "mandatory" pieces (essays, assignments), there were also introduced some optional elements to highlight the differences between students in terms of interest in the discipline, skills, attitudes, aptitudes and even personality traits. However, students were given the opportunity to put into your own portfolio the materials they deemed necessary and they thought those represented them best.

The analysis and interpretation of the results obtained by using the above mentioned instruments and methods show the increase of the interest in local history, the emergence of a sense of belonging to the local community, but also openness to cooperation, tolerance, critical thinking, which confirm the hypothesis of the present research. The interest in history was highlighted by several aspects: increased desire to read, to achieve higher grades in the History of Brasov subject, more complex and active participation in class, interest in the interdisciplinary aspects involved in historical texts. These issues have resulted from the difference in the results of two questionnaires applied before and after the experiment. The observations done while students were attending History of Brasov classes led to underlying the following aspects:

1. The number of people actively participating in class increased.

2. The attitude towards the class is positive, enthusiastic (students were observed before the beginning of class, during class and after its completion). It is worth mentioning that the students were looking forward for the class,

preparing their portfolio. They admired their colleagues' portfolios and sometimes exactly immediately after the class they began to work on something for the History of Brasov subject or continued certain discussions about a historic text or about the activity conducted, for example, a visit to the museum. It was also noted the students' originality in achieving the portfolio. Many students competed in achieving a portfolio as complete as possible, in a very creative manner. Thus, many students made drawings or collages on some historical texts, others took photographs of historic sights, accompanied them by specialized reviews, found links to other subject matters and highlighted these connections (with Literature or Geography).

The students showed a real spirit of cooperation and mutual help when doing the parts that requested teamwork. A formative effect mentioned by most students was the emergence of the feeling of belonging, often expressed as "Brasov, the city where I was born, is a diverse city with a rich history. I am proud to be from Brasov!". Students also noticed the intercultural dimension of Brasov: "my hometown has always been a special city, where people of different ethnicities and religions made it special, as it is today." Many students emphasized the practical side of this optional course. "When tourists or friends come from other cities I will be a good guide for them". The formative effects collected via the questionnaire and the observations are shown in the table below:

Table 1. The formative effects of the *Local History* optional course

The formative effects of the Local History optional course	Frequency
Feeling of pride / affiliation	87%
Utility	76%
Spirit of cooperation	45%
Interest in history	43%
Accepting different opinions	37%

4. CONCLUSIONS

From the research undertaken and the assessments made in the paper emerges the idea that the teaching-learning-assessing History differently, in a constructivist approach led to the development of intercultural competences necessary in contemporary society. The practical conclusion of our entire work is evident: exploiting the intercultural potential of History can be achieved by offering motivating historical content, useful for students who will become citizens of a multicultural world.

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INTERCULTURAL EXPERIENCES AND TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING

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Abstract: *The article is focused on the effect of intercultural experiences (Erasmus mobilities, learning, working in other countries) and transformative learning. One of the contemporary learning theories is transformative learning, which has usually been defined as transformations of meaning perspectives, frames of reference, and habits of mind (Mezirow). The intercultural experiences are an occasion to exercise critical thinking, to manage the positive and negative feelings, to adapt behavioural strategies. We used a questionnaire regarding students' attitudes on intercultural experiences and focused-groups were used. A number of 100 participants were included in the study, pupils from the XIIth grade at CT Maria Baiulescu and third year students from the Transilvania University of Brasov. As a conclusion, we found that the intercultural experiences are a good occasion to develop intercultural competences through transformative learning.*

Keywords: *intercultural experiences, transformative learning, intercultural education*

1. INTRODUCTION

We are living in a changing society which involves new strategies of learning new competences to cope the diversity of reality: critical thinking skills, democracy, tolerance, cooperation, etc. For all educators it is a challenge to identify how to teach more adequately for students which are in a "digital era" while the educators are in an "analogic era". The values of post-modern society, described by many sociologists, such as Ritzer (2003; 2010) Huntigton (2012), Lipovestki (2007) put their mark on the way young people learn and especially, on the way they build their learning.

In other words, postmodernism encourages a different kind of learning, much different from the traditional learning, based on the dominance of cognitive processes and ignoring the socio-emotional learning. Today's learning route is closely linked to the route of individual growth, where the emotional aspects are as important as the cognitive ones, where the scale of values changes according to changes in context and the "change of mind" in the sense described by H. Gardner (2006) is an attribute of emotional intelligence and cognitive flexibility. Young people today, corresponding to the description of "Homo zappiens", with the specific requirements of the world in which they were born and live, consider

school "just one of the focal points of life", much more important for them being the relationships with friends, part-time jobs and going out at the week-end" (Veen, Wracking, 2011:11).

In this context, what kind of learning theory is able to answer students' and social needs? A possible answer is transformative learning, which has usually been defined as transformations of meaning perspectives, frames of reference, and habits of mind (Mezirow, 2014). This learning is not only in agreement with the principles of the constructivist pedagogy (Siebert, 2001), but aims the person entirely, with its lifelong learning, in different contexts. This learning is capable of producing transformations in individuals' minds because it fully involves the individual in learning and invites to introspection, reflection and reconstruction. Transformative learning is more than learning, it is a real opportunity to reflect and develop oneself. Even if this kind of learning is typical for adults, we think that transformative learning must be promoted in school through practice and experiences. For example, schools must be turned into "open spaces" of experiences and social exercises.

Intercultural education is based on the effects and benefits of transformative learning that leads to changing the stereotypes, prejudices, values, or more simply said, leads to changes in the individual's mind. This is possible because

transformative learning involves: critical reflection on the source, the nature and the consequences of the relevant assumptions, being them ours or the others'; seeking for evidence for transformation, acting in our transformed perspective; acquiring a particular disposition to validate our transformed position (Mezirow, 2014:171).

But how can we bring transformative learning in schools? – One answer may be: through intercultural experiences and intercultural education!

2. INTERCULTURAL EXPERIENCES AND TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING

For the students, in the current socio-economic context, intercultural skills become true adaptation tools for a sustainable society, which improve employability in a dynamic and complex labour market, where interactions with other cultures will be more numerous, more profound, more dynamic.

Intercultural competence is a multi-dimensional concept, dependent on a number of psycho-individual factors, as shown in numerous explanatory models of the concept presented in the specialty literature - structural, interactional, developmental, cultural, adaptive, causal models, synthesized by Spitzberg and Changnon (2009).

Byram and Zarate describe the structure of intercultural competences: 1) Attitudes: curiosity, openness to deal with stereotypes of other groups and beliefs about the them; 2) Knowledge of social groups, their "products" and their own culture or practices of others, general processes of social interaction on the macro-and micro-level; 3) Interpretation skills and networking. Balanced analysis of a document or event belonging to a culture, and explanation of proper relationship with those of their culture; 4) Skills of interaction and discovery, ability to receive new information and practices of other cultures, to operate with knowledge, attitudes, skills in communication and interaction within reality's limits; 5) Reflection and critical evaluation skills on the basis of perspectives, practices and products of their culture and of the others (Nedelcu, 2008:25-26).

We can see that these components of the intercultural competence are formed through a

progressive training process, based on the complex interactions in the environment where the individual lives, starting with the family and community and ending at the macro level, society. The most important ingredient in the formation of the intercultural competence is, however, participation.

Hence the importance of the social context that reveals a person's intercultural competences" (Voinea, 2014:p.64).

Beyond the questionable aspects of contemporary society, from the perspective of interculturalism and transformative learning, society gives us more and more opportunities for experimentation with different ways of thinking and acting, due to the openness to other cultures or, as Hofstede et al (2012) suggestively calls them, opportunities of "intercultural encounter", such as educational programmes of cultural exchanges, sports, media, tourism, working with international corporations.

3. THE ROLE OF INTERCULTURAL EXPERIENCES ON STUDENTS LEARNING - A PEDAGOGICAL RESEARCH

The main purpose of this research was to demonstrate the role of intercultural experiences in students' learning.

Methods: A questionnaire regarding students' attitudes on intercultural experiences and two focus-groups, as well as an analysis of the activity products (reflexive journals) were used.

Research hypothesis: the more intercultural experiences students / pupils have, the more transforming learning effects occur, resulting in critical thinking, spirit of cooperation, tolerance.

A number of 100 participants (30 pupils in the twelfth form and 70 students in the third year) were included in the study, XIIth grade pupils from "Maria Baiulescu" College and third year students at "Transilvania" University of Brasov. Both pupils and students were selected taking into consideration the intercultural experiences they had had. The selection criterion was the number of intercultural experiences (minimum one during the last year) and their duration (at least a month). The analysis of data collected through the questionnaire showed that intercultural experiences, regardless of their purpose (whether for work, tourism or learning) are rated as positive in 96% of the cases, with beneficial effects on learning in dimensions / plans as they are represented in Fig.1.

Differences among the learning dimensions appear if we refer to the type of intercultural experience and the status of the subjects. Thus, the high school students have intercultural experiences such as visits to parents or relatives working or living abroad. For them, the most important effect of the intercultural experience is reflected in exercising the language of the host country and

getting to know certain lifestyle traditions and customs specific to the host country.

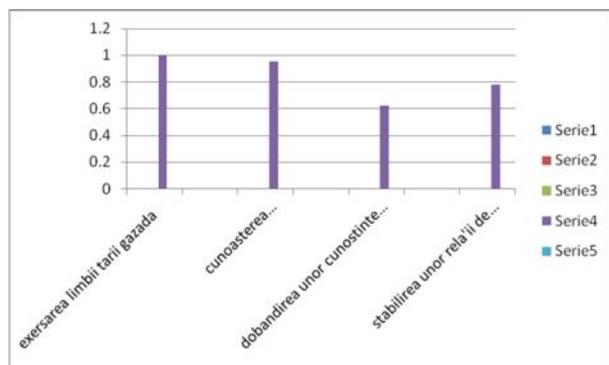


Fig.1 Dimensions of learning from intercultural experiences

Students, who were mostly involved in Erasmus exchange projects or through various educational projects / programs in other countries believe that the most important effects (as in the case of pupils) are: knowledge of host country language, binding friendships with other students, acquiring knowledge in a specific field. It can be noted that, both for pupils and for students, the formative effects are felt primarily on the socio-emotional level. While not denying the cognitive dimension of the intercultural experience, the emotional impact and motivation are much easier to notice and describe.

The analysis of data from two focus groups with pupils, respectively, with students revealed the following:

1. The intercultural experiences are motivating for both students and pupils. Most of them want "to learn as well as they can" to be able to study in another country.

2. The intercultural experiences have the power to "open their mind", fact much better described by students.

Significant in this regard is the statement of a student who was for a month in China (and, at the suggestion of a teacher, she kept a diary while being there):

I am happy that I have greatly enriched myself and I have gained so many new experiences and information (DB, student).

The analysis of the reflexive journal, which the student made available to the researchers, highlighted the main themes of reflection: customs and traditions, lifestyle, educational system. The reflexive journal used to facilitate experiential learning, was analysed using the SOLO taxonomy developed by Biggs and Collis (1982). It was

found that the journal reflected the abstract level, the subject being capable of understanding complex phenomena, transfer of knowledge, having a deep understanding of his own emotions / beliefs, being awareness of both the limits and the advantages of their own reference systems. The interaction with the Chinese learning system and thus the learning experiences were likely to lead to increased self-confidence, to experimenting positive, stimulating emotions:

In the end, even the Chinese teacher told me that I did a good job presenting my work in Chinese. I do not know how good it was, but I felt good and proud that I could hear myself speaking Chinese!

Summarizing all the data gathered, we can say that the intercultural experiences produce learning capable of transformations, more or less subtle, depending on a number of factors: the subject's age and ability of receiving and understanding the experience, the type of experience (tourism, work, study), its duration, method of processing experience, etc. Regardless of these variables, however, intercultural experience is able to produce an effective learning, useful for individual.

4. CONCLUSIONS

From the research undertaken and the assessments made so far in the paper, the idea that intercultural experiences promote transformative learning emerges. Although there are limits concerning the number of research subjects and the intercultural experiences conducted (most subjects appreciate this experience as positive because many of them go into a safe environment – visiting relatives or for study), the subjectivity of the participants or their previous intercultural experiences, we may consider that even these somewhat shallow, superficial experiences are likely to produce changes in the individual's system of values and mind. The practical conclusion of our entire paper is obvious: taking any opportunity of intercultural "meeting" lead to extensive formative effects in the overall development of the individual. School should be rethought in the light of current transformative learning, by opening it to wider contexts of learning.

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MORAL DISAGREEMENTS OF THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD VERSUS INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

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Abstract: *The current paper aims to highlight the indestructible connection between ethical education and intercultural education, whose shared goal is to cultivate humanity, homo humanus, in the meaning prefigured by the German existentialist Karl Jaspers. Among the defining traits of the humankind, we chose dignity that urges respect, regardless of people's belonging to a specific ethnic group, race, culture etc. Rehabilitation of the human being in a society characterized by mercantilism entails revitalization of Kant's categorical imperative, adjusted to the contemporary individual's condition and educational endeavors able to go beyond the institutional framework. Culture and morality (perceived as a component of culture) may offer, through a conjugated attempt, approaches to solving the existential distress of the contemporary individual.*

Keywords: *moral crisis, ethical education, dignity, intercultural education, values, categorical imperative, humanity.*

1. INTRODUCTION. MODERN TIMES AND HUMAN CONDITION

Philosophers of Late Modernity warn of the menace that may affect the human condition:

The idea of humanity has lost its entire force and prestige. Should a deep change not occur in our souls, then we will face decades, or even centuries of massacres (von Keyserling, 1996:7).

The thinker Hermann von Keyserling, upon analyzing the effects of the discrepancy between the progress of people's external lives and that of their inner lives, reached the conclusion that "The human being is literally going to dehumanize itself" (von Keyserling, 1996:8).

The conception of civilization imposed itself throughout the Enlightenment, it being associated with the industrial or the technical-scientific advancement. For that time, the development of rationality and the thirst for progress were the main goals of the humankind; nevertheless, these very ambitions would turn into modernity's tyranny. Society's modernization received the shape of "a set of cumulative processes" (Habermas, 2000:20) that supported and consolidated one another: forming of capital and mobilization of resources, development of production force and increasing labor productivity. The cult of money and the exhilaration of progress create new mentalities and behaviors, a new lifestyle. "To possess" becomes the expression of supreme happiness.

Effectiveness, productivity, success and prestige become the life's main goals, whose leveling effect annihilates the very individuality and liberty of individuals.

Humankind feeds on the illusion of emancipation and domination of nature, processes that secretly accompany the regress of people's inner lives. We witness the dissolution of axiological milestones, erosion of traditions and the relativity of values, phenomena that hold a huge impact on agreement and social cohesion, which become more and more fragile, and which will soon be replaced by individualism.

The individual, fed on the vanity of his privileged position in the world, reduces the world itself to a quantifiable object that may be entirely under his control. Similarly, the same fate expands over his own body, which builds itself within the individual's creation. Herbert Marcuse invokes the "one-dimensional man", whose liberty, emptied by any content, is administered under the auspices of a "total administration" (Marcuse, 1977:285). Having his personal life amputated, the man finds himself alone, in a hostile and unfriendly environment. Praised but collectivized, without an identity, he is totally a vassal to his society. This is how an absurd world comes to life, together with a crisis of the sense, as a breach between man and the world, between man and his very own existence. The man's increase of his capacity of discovering and dominating nature occurs at the cost of his incapacity to look after his own life.

Existentialist philosophers criticize vehemently the alienation of the human being, under the impact of science and technology development. The individual is reduced to a mere role, a social function; he ceases to be a person.

If we do not attempt to transform the others into objects, we at least defend our right not to be objects for the others. We attempt to make possible a world of people (...), the only world in which we can really enjoy life,

the Spanish philosopher Fernando Savater argues (Savater, 1997:93). The modern civilization offers us a totally different perspective, it is oriented toward conquering the material supremacy, which gradually suppresses the authenticity of our existence, dehumanizes. To an extreme, "what we possess, it also possesses us" (Savater, 1997:93). In a show-world, whose directors are named appearance and not essence, quantity, but not quality, there is an overturn of values: the dethronement of man as a supreme value.

The Romanian philosopher Constantin Noica describes the appearance of the *number-man*, as a consequence of the ruling of numbers (quantity), both within social sciences (see the fever for statistics) and within each individual's life. The number, emptied of its Pythagorean mystique, becomes the factor that allows for a chain-reaction: man's quantification (by transforming "I" in "we") is followed by a slide of "we/us" into statistic analyses.

Numbers divide and separate things and people. <The new> logic is the reflex of the extension initiated by the number and of exteriority of rapports and relationships between people within society <of the others> (Noica, 1993: 164-165).

Nonetheless, the philosopher assumes an optimistic position and hopes for our redemption through addition, although "this disconnected form of connection brings about vacuity upon people and things" (C.Noica,1993:164-165). Following the same trend of thinking, the Romanian thinker Anton Dumitriu describes Europe's crisis as being a reality characterized by "disorientation of people of all walks of life, by the panic of incertitude and the demon of destruction" (Dumitriu, 1991:66).

2. FROM THE MERCANTILIZATION OF CULTURE TO MORAL CRISIS

All schools of philosophy admit the exceptional existential status of the human being,

as a cultural being and the substance, eminently cultural, of its existence. The man is culture-creator, whereas culture offers its society behavioral models, values, norms, mentalities, thus contributing to the achievement of an organized social life.

Paolo Calcagno, in his work, "Culture and Being"(1969), operates the distribution between the metaphysical and functional concepts of culture. He appreciates that the traditional form of culture, perceived as "cultural patrimony", represents an absolutist, ethnocentric, europocentric, aristocratic concept, whose validity has begun to erode throughout the two world wars. The actual meaning of culture, the functional one, established after the war, revigorates its original meaning, of a forming and educating manner. Thus, culture becomes the model for the basic personality of a community's members (as a source inspiring attitudes, behaviors, skills etc.), as well as a connecting bridge, a meeting place for humans. It is the "system of ideas and values that holds the man at its core, if not the entire humankind, seeking their development at one or all levels" (A. Dumitriu, 1991:154-155). Moreover, culture becomes a discipline meant to bring up the individual and his collectivity.

Therefore, the social meaning and the moral significance of one's behavior are determined by the cultural context: "The integrity of the meanings system depends on the stability of the cultural system" (G.Silberbauer, *apud* P. Singer, 2006:52) By analyzing ethics of small-sized societies, George Silberbauer discovered that any alteration of behaviors/culture zones produces significance modifications. At the same time, the frequency and nature of changes accepted by the contemporary society affect the "cultural coherence". The omnipresence of commercial "culture", the cultural globalization erodes the world's cultures, but mainly, they affect the stability of the traditional order and of the moral and social significance systems. Although respect for the human life and dignity represents a universal value, the degree of their recognition and the behavioral registers that accompany it vary from one culture to another. The same cultural imprint is to be found in relation to the importance given to interpersonal relationships or rapports established among circles of friends: "The tolerance threshold is culturally determined and subjectively perceived" (Silberbauer, *apud* P.Singer, 2006:53) These aspects, revealed by cultural anthropology studies, are accompanied by the ultra-dynamism of the

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contemporary world and by the phenomenon of de-encapsulation” (Anthony Giddens, 2000), which confer a feeling of cold and tragic indifference toward the others, fact that contravenes the authentic ethics. The liberal perspective, contract-based, specific to post-modern Western countries, also sets its imprints on primordial ethics that increases disagreements among various societies or, within the same pluri-cultural society, through the cohabitation of some diverse moral traditions. The ethical relativism ends up in nihilism, at the cost of moral convictions’ degradation.

Depreciation of ethics represents the social anomy symptom that is reflected by the man’s interiority:

under the pressure of anomic moods (breaking of traditional norms, which lose their authority), there appear spontaneous alternatives, through which individual seek for new models, adequate for their altered lifestyle (Bellu, 1989:29)

Meanwhile, as if they were inside a vicious circle, the two phenomena find their resources and support each other: the crisis of moral values “erodes the soul of a society, disturbs and even annihilates its inner balance, finally casting it into anomy, into anarchy” (Enăchescu, 2005:52).

From the perspective of moral philosophy, the human crisis, the restlessness of a person is the expression of the moral conflict of existence. Similarly, modernity and post-modernity cause and maintain tensions between the man’s singularity and the repressive mechanisms of society. Traditional instances of social control (church, family, school) are replaced by a culture that is vassal to economic interests, which praises modernity, selfishness, entertainment and human right to happiness and welfare. Gilles Lipovetsky identifies the causes of the ethical minimalism of the modern era in the explosion of human liberty and in the promotion of liberal policies. Technocracy produces rigorous normative systems so as to obtain performance in man’s nature domination. At the same time, hyper-normativity of the human life reflects the tendency of escalating the domination of the human nature. Social development manipulates relationships of life in all its dimensions, whereas the control mechanisms intensify:

These mechanisms pervert and atrophy the very immanence of social life and individuals’ relationships, the content and manner of expression of direct rapport among people (Bellu, 1989:246)

The interval between the two world wars forecast the beginning of culture’s decline in Western countries and the human decadence. The trigger of these processes consists of the values crisis: old values are dropped without any replacement, thus creating an axiological void. To the same extent, although there was a sort of replacement, new values do not manage to cover the man’s needs, nor his humanity. Hence, improvisations are resorted to, and principles of particular value appear only to eliminate the unifying, integrating factor.

Furthermore, the post-war time is characterized by a disparity between individual rights and moral obligations of the citizen. The latter gradually lose their credibility and are replaced, given the collective frenzy of the time, by the seductive urges for happiness, pleasure and particular interests. We witness an escalation of individualist and hedonist values. On this new axiological map

value is too often (...) confused for kindness, and this causes so much unhappiness to the individual and society in nowadays world“ (Noica, 1993:59)

Under the circumstances of serving progress, there is appreciation of the human qualities that come to man’s service. Moreover, humans act with a “clear conscience” even when they behave inhumanly, an amplified tendency after the experience of the two world wars. There is evidence of a gradual distortion of the humans’ mentality: if, at the beginning there was antinomy between humans’ values (the inner ones) and effective that lead them, without their being aware of this fact, afterward, there appear a new mentality, based on which, it is not worth consuming energy for something, if only one’s soul takes advantage of it, or if that thing does not produce any profit or prestige. A fine analyst of the feeling of love, Erich Fromm found that:

In a culture in which orientation toward life is preponderant and material success is the primordial value (...) the human feeling of love follows the same rules of the exchange that also govern the labor and goods markets (Fromm, 1995:11).

The new hierarchy of values is dictated by the economic structure. Attachment to things provokes estrangement from humans and it causes fragility in people’s moral feelings for others. Likewise, the excessive power of money makes out of it the only valuable measurement of life. Morality loses its power of ordering the human condition. Qualitative differences and differences in humans’

acts diminish up to the point of disappearance, leaving place for ethical nihilism or ethical minimalism, for the better. Neutrality and indifference become the expression of moral petrifying, so as the torment of despair is the expression of the modern man's crisis. The man is dominated by the conscience of failure, of any of his acts' futility. The man behave chaotically, he becomes a sort of energy in permanent exhaustion, who lives at the core of a perpetual restlessness, drained by his demonic preoccupation "to make" and "to have", through his actions freed from the restraints of any principles.

At times of crisis, like the one we currently live in, at the ethical level, the ethical principles that are imposed are the ones dictated by selfish interests. The moral myopia (the lack of discernment), the comfortable and lazy ethics of non-engagement are supplemented by deontological codes that reflect a preoccupation for the assurance of some minimum moral rigor, necessary by all means, for the functioning of social life, without involving the moral consciousness. Post-war thinkers are placed among the opponents to the deontological attitude and consider that humanity has entered the post-deontic epoch, characterized by freedom from oppressive debts, demands or obligations. Following the same tendency, Gilles Lipovetsky speaks about a new era in the history of modern ethics, "*the epoch of post-debt*". There are more and more voices to argue that the time of theories and moral principles has passed and that humanity witnesses the birth of a post-theoretical epoch or even post-principles.

3. CULTURE AND MORALITY

Morality is a component part of culture and, together with the other cultural creations; it comes to life and evolves to satisfy human needs. Also, it bears the imprint of the cultural pattern within which it appears and functions. Yet, no matter their paternity, ethical principles are meant to satisfy two of the fundamental human needs:

- a) They solve conflicts of interests between people;
- b) They solve inter-individual conflicts that appear as a result of different desires and that cannot be satisfied at the same time (David Wong, *apud* Singer, 2006: 476).

Solving these two categories of conflicts is possible through the conception of some rules of conduct, expression of social values. Within the management of the rapport between individual

welfare and the collective one, authentic ethical principles promote the engagement and non-indifference toward others' interests, toward the community's interests.

Under the conditions of the contemporary world's cultural pluralism and dynamism, there is need for a new approach to ethics, through the discovery of some topics of minimum morality, accessible and acceptable from the broad scale of the moral doctrines diversity. Even the cultural anthropology studies, although they are in support of their identity and cultural specificity, re-orient their interest toward finding a common foundation for the world's cultures and ethical principles, which means that the identification of values, valuable judgments and axiological criteria, generally applicable, without amputating the identity of each of them. It is evident that the diversity of moral traditions may become the source for some social tensions between different societies or even within the same multicultural society. In order to surpass such difficulties, there must exist a new type of moral reflection that implies a doubled effort: on the one side, there is the effort to reach an agreement with those who hold substantially different values, on the other side, there is the effort to remain loyal to own values. People's clearly defined cultural identity is completed by their capacity of being open toward diversity, and of operatively evaluating the multitude of cultural stimuli that affect the contemporary world.

In this context,

ethics is no longer a series of various things, lacking sense, for various people, at various times and places. Rather, given the background of diverse historical and cultural approaches to the question about how we should live, its convergence degree is amazing. The human nature has its regularities and there is a limited number of manner in which the human beings may cohabitate and progress" (Singer, 2006:573).

Accordingly, the key to the problem, its common denominator of the world's cultural and implicitly, ethical diversity is the MAN and his dignity. Humanity represents the supreme cultural value that imposes a perfect morality and the revival of the consciousness of the human "to be". Beyond theory, the current realities prove the fact that people are guided, manipulated many times, not by the values of humanity, but by "particular and mischievous ideologies, small and equally useless interests that divide the humankind rather than to unify it" (Dumitriu, 1991:70).

**4. INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION –
MORAL EDUCATION CONVERGENCE:
COMMON SOLUTIONS**

Both educational endeavors seek for reactivate the Socratic mission: to make people better citizens. For their achievement, they use values, the only capable to rehabilitate the sense of life and human dignity. From a humanistic perspective, the recovery of the sense of life consists of living in a dignified manner for a human being. Consequently, the foremost value promoted, or the supreme value, is the man himself. The two educational components follow the path of the human being's humanization, offering it a content and reliability. Their role is overwhelming in transforming the objective status-quo (the genetic potential specific to a human being) into engaged subjectivity, through the activation of those conducts accordant with cultural/moral values and social normativity.

In the actual context, there is an attempt to launch a project for reconstructing humanity, for creating the "*homo-humanus*" invoked by Karl Jaspers, for reinvigorating humanistic values and for humanizing of technology. Re-humanization of the quotidian climate and the removal of indifference among people mainly presuppose a re-education of the human sensitivity, through primary groups perceived as nuclei of life (family, school, work group etc.). Social psychology and micro-sociology are also preoccupied with the "new humanization" and promote the projection of some forms of group inter-relationships, stimulating and highly positive, which are able to create a new human understanding. In the educational area created by intercultural and moral education, the fertility of the human being's transformation into a MAN is maximal. They will apply the ways and progress of knowledge belonging to socio-humanistic sciences, activating the man's efforts of reflecting over his existence in the world and of creating his own practical philosophy of life. Furthermore, they cannot reach their proposed goal by means of abstract discourses, through "lessons" or advice. Knowledge is necessary, yet, it is not sufficient. What matters is the active learning, the life instance lived by man, in which he discovers the other as a being, and helps him to discover himself. The communicative competences involved in this educational context imply a moral strategy at all times. Ethics must be present in all forms of human inter-relations, excluding the neutrality of values.

Lipovetsky pleads in favor of I-the Other balance, Levinas is pro an ethics of dialogue, of responsibility and equilibrium between freedom and solidarity. Jurgen Habermas highlights the fact that the Other is a dignified person who deserves respect. All of these perspectives lead to a change in attitude toward man, no matter his belonging or his qualities. This is the common nucleus of intercultural education and of moral education, as well. There is need for a repositioning of man as the supreme value, who subordinates all the other values. "The economic machine has to serve the man, and not the man to serve the economic machine" (Fromm, 1995:118).

There are also formulated some false solutions to the contemporary man's dilemma. One of them is the culture for success, regarded as a substitute for the crises of sense, and which is specific to the American society, inside which appears the idea that success is the key of morality: the moral/immoral character of one's action is being judged subsequently, based on the obtained results. An action leading to failure is considered immoral. This is a suggestive example of alteration of the moral appreciation criteria that affects the entire axiological system. It is obvious that alterations, accelerated changes imply a certain degree of insecurity and disorder. However, a limitation of disorder to a bearable amount is necessary for the maintenance of order and for the human beings to be able to live humanly. The reality experienced by each of us shows that

the planetary expansion of the scientific and technical civilization exiles the moral strengths to a microsphere (family, couple, and neighborhood) in which consequences related to the very destiny of humanity can no longer be controlled (Macoviciuc, 2000:482).

5. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, although the necessity of a new approach to ethics and morality is generally accepted, discourses are delivered at an excessively theorized level; they are taken away from the concrete existential context and the contemporary man's interrogations. The perspective most closely to the contemporary world could be the contextualist ethics. In reply to those who oppose the general rationalist perspective (universal moral principles ignore diversity of life) she proposes an approach that is related to the characteristics of those who react to social circumstances and ideals defining a variety

of real human communities. This sensitivity of the contextualist ethics to particularities of the moral actors (individually and collectively) makes possible for it to meet the exigencies of interculturality, to a greater extent.

All the same, even though the topics of interculturality are intensely debated on in political and academic environments, those related to morality are exiled to obscurity. This is the very cause of many failures in the area of intercultural policies and intercultural management. We find the same situation in case of educational policies, which give insufficient importance to moral education. Pragmatization of knowledge, its excessive bureaucratization, the omnipresent manipulation, formalization of interpersonal relationships etc. justify the interrogation to which any of us should give a thought:

To be good or to be non-good?" – this is the strange dilemma of this millennium. The answer we may submit to this question will influence the destiny of an epoch, the destiny of the whole planet (Mircea, 1995:7)

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ICT AND INNOVATIVE TEACHING. HOW TO BUILD SKILLS FOR GENERATING WEB 2.0 WITH FLIPPED LEARNING. A CASE STUDY ITIS MAJORANA OF BRINDISI

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Abstract: *The Italian National Guidelines for the first cycle and for high schools, as well as guidelines for technical and professional institutes, articulated learning outcomes for skills. The definition of reference of skills is that given in the Recommendation of the European Parliament and Council dated 23 April 2008 of the establishment of the European Qualifications Framework for lifelong learning (2008 / C 111/01). The adoption of the European Qualifications Framework (EQF), applied in levels defined on the basis of skills, knowledge and ability, will make it possible to compare titles and professional qualifications of the students of the various countries. However, attempting to verify the status of this state of the art new learning paradigm it is clear that the teaching skills are spreading very slowly in Italy. To achieve the curriculum, the set of skills that all children need to acquire and the UDA, the learning units that enable them acquisition requires a substantial investment of time and the collaboration of several teachers. This type of education stipulates a new way of thinking and flipped learning has proved to be a valuable support. Teaching for skills is based on the idea that it is important (Da Re, 2009) that children learn not only the facts, ideas, concepts, but above all that they learn how to apply them in practice, and how to use them in non-conventional fields precisely transforming their skills knowledge. With the methodology of the flipped classroom all six degrees of learning are within the reach of ordinary learning. In the ancient profession of teaching it is good to find new means with MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) with flipped classes. The flipped classroom therefore consists of inverting the location where the lesson is held with the one in which they study and do their homework. This approach combined with multimedia learning resources in general can become functional to a constructive and social education. This favored interactive online personalized teaching experience is moving closer to the needs of digital natives. As H. Jenkins (2010), former director of the Comparative Media Studies Program at MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) explains, the traditional analogical model of learning is ill-adapted to our completely hi-tech generation. The flipped classroom tip also overturns student assessment outlining a model of authentic evaluation takes into account individual differences among students which does not stem from poor personal commitment. Flipped learning allows students to achieve these objectives. This paper explores this leading theme through an empirical experimental-approach case study of ITS Majorana Brindisi.*

Keywords: *ICT, innovative teaching, skills, flipped classroom*

1. INTRODUCTION

The Italian National Guidelines for the first cycle and for high schools, as well as guidelines for technical and professional institutes, articulated learning outcomes for skills. The definition of reference of skills is that given in the Recommendation of the European Parliament and Council dated 23 April 2008 of the establishment of the European Qualifications Framework for lifelong learning (2008 / C 111/01).

The emphasis of learning outcomes in terms of skills in the different educational levels accepts the invited concepts in the Recommendations of the European Parliament and Council dated 23 April

2008 to allow for comparison of European titles and qualifications required for the job mobility within the various Member States of the European Union. The adoption of the European Qualifications Framework (EQF), applied in levels defined on the basis of skills, knowledge and ability, will make it possible to compare titles and professional qualifications of the students of the various countries. However, attempting to verify the status of this state of the art new learning paradigm it is clear that the teaching skills are spreading very slowly in Italy. To achieve the curriculum, the set of skills that all children need to acquire and the UDA (Castoldi, 2009), the learning units that enable them acquisition requires a

substantial investment of time and the collaboration of several teachers. This type of education stipulates a new way of thinking and flipped learning has proved to be a valuable support. Teaching for skills is based on the idea that it is important (Da Re, 2009) that children learn not only the facts, ideas, concepts, but above all that they learn how to apply them in practice, and how to use them in non-conventional fields precisely transforming their skills knowledge. In teaching skills the precisely principle is to integrate: knowledge, know-how, knowing how to do, knowing why, the generalization and transfer of knowledge, concept, planning, address and manage; the collaboration and interaction. The ultimate objective is to train an appropriately qualified person who is capable of taking action. In the 50s of the twentieth century a US scholar Benjamin Bloom outlined degree scale of learning which remains traditional: 1) to know, remember; 2) understand, describe; 3) apply; 4) analyze; 5) evaluate; 6) create. With the methodology of the flipped classroom all six degrees of learning are within the reach of ordinary learning. In the ancient profession of teaching it is good to find new means with MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) with flipped classes. The flipped classroom therefore consists of inverting the location where the lesson is held with the one in which they study and do their homework. For several years the students of Woodland Park High School in Colorado and many other schools in the world follow lessons at home using videos made by their professors or taken from the internet. Then they study and practice in the classroom, in small groups, assisted by teachers so that they can tailor their actions taking into account the pace and potential of each one. This approach combined with multimedia learning resources in general can become functional to a constructive and social education. This favored interactive online personalized teaching experience is moving closer to the needs of digital natives. As H. Jenkins (2010), former director of the Comparative Media Studies Program at MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) explains, the traditional analogical model of learning is ill-adapted to our completely hi-tech generations. From their first year of life, children are used to a participatory culture. The flipped classroom tip also overturns student assessment outlining a model of authentic evaluation takes into account individual differences among students which does not stem from poor personal commitment. Flipped learning

allows students to achieve these objectives. This paper explores this leading theme through an empirical experimental-approach case study (Trincherò, 2004) of ITS Majorana Brindisi.

2. LANGUAGE FOR SKILLS: A CHALLENGE ACCEPTED

The most significant news in the debate about schooling in the last ten to fifteen years consists of the eruption of the development of expertise. This is not simply a term alongside those traditionally used in scholastic language to identify the goals of learning: knowledge, skills, attitudes, aptitudes, skills, or the like (Topping, 1997). The development of expertise brings with it a paradigm shift in conceptualizing the learning experience and a reflection of the training model of the school. Only full awareness of the subversive potential contained in the development of expertise can help to address the operational implications associated with its use in teaching and school assessment. It is not on the surface structure of teaching practices and evaluation of the school that the resulting development of expertise should be explored, but rather the deep structure, on ways of thinking about teaching and learning. To quote Wazlawick (1974) this is a "change of type 2" amending the paradigms and assumptions of the values of the educational experience, not of a simpler "change of type 1" limited to some corrective or revisions of the facade. The first definition of development of expertise was used in the field of education. The first meaning of the concept of expertise used in training recalled a behaviorist perspective, according to which jurisdiction is identified with a performance of the observable and measurable subject. Based on a design paradigm and evaluation based on technical rationality it aspired to break down the skills into a set of empirically observable performances, whose summation allowed to verify the level of proficiency of the subject (the matrix "job / skill" well represents this type of approach to competence). In subsequent decades there has been a progressive articulation of the concept, which can be summarized in three evolutionary directions: *from simple to complex*: expertise cannot be reduced to a set of atomic and separate performances, but tends to be thought of as an integration of resources held by an individual, which involves the activation of knowledge, skills and personal dispositions relating to both the cognitive level and the socio-emotional and willful level. Its expression requires

mobilizing and putting into play the whole of the person in their many dimensions, it cannot be reduced to isolated performances and defined; *from external to internal*: the analysis of the expertise requires going beyond observable behaviors and paying attention to the internal provisions of the subject and the way in which they approach the performance of an operating task. In this direction lies the distinction of Chomskian origin between "competence", defined as inner quality of the subject, and "performance", defined as observable behavior; distinctive recovery and extended to cognitive processes by B.G. Bara:

The term competence means the set of abstract skills possessed by a system, regardless of how those capabilities are actually used. The performance term I am referring to the capabilities actually demonstrated by a system in action, may be directly deduced from his behavior in a specific situation. (Bara, 1990).

From abstract to found: expertise cannot be reduced to an abstract and general concept but tends to refer to the ability to deal with specific tasks in different cultural, social, operational contexts. The reference to specific tasks highlights the growing size of contextualized competence, attributable to the use of exact knowledge in practical situations and in relation to specific purposes. In a figurative and effective manner, Le Boterf (Le Boterf, 1990) summarizes the path of development that has characterized the concept of competence in the transition from the "know how" to "knowing how to act": an expression that aptly summarizes the transition from a vision behaviorist, more centered on the operational and performance dimensions, with a view that echoes the strands of social and situational constructivism (see Le Boterf, 1990).

A concise definition of the concept, able to account for the evolutionary path that we have drawn, is that proposed by M. Pellerey, who defines competence as

the ability to cope with a task, or a set of tasks, failing to put in motion and to orchestrate its internal resources, cognitive, emotional and willful, and use external ones available consistently and productive (Pellerey, 2004).

This enables us to highlight the main attributes that are categorizing this concept in current learning debates: the ability to cope with a task or set of tasks as the focus of the manifestation of competent behavior, which implies the *use* of

knowledge to deal with problematic situations and highlights the operational dimension underlying the concept of expertise, its inseparable link with the action; *to set in motion and the orchestration of its internal resources*, which signals the holistic nature of expertise, not be reduced to mere cognitive, but also extended to motivational, attributional, socio-emotional and metacognitive components. The demonstration of a competent (Castoldi, 2013) behavior requires the subject to put everything into play himself, mobilizing all the personal resources available; *the use of external resources* according to the task at hand and their integration with internal resources, meaning external resources are the other parties involved, both the tools and the means available, and the potential present in the physical and cultural environment where the action takes place. This highlights the values found in expertise and the ecological perspective within which to understand the meaning and the value.

According to this interpretation, the development of expertise is understanding the various dimensions involved in the learning process, related to the following three levels: knowledge, intended as representations of the world that the subject is constructed through the stimuli that come from the external environment and from the encoded knowledge (classified into declarative, procedural and conditional); skills, defined as operating frameworks that allow the subject to act on the physical and mental appearance of material or symbolic objects; the disposition to act, designed as the aptitude of the subject to relate to the reality in which it operates, both on the subjective aspect (relationship with himself and with others), and on the objective aspect (relationship with the context of action and with the task reality).

Albeit with differences in terms and concepts, the concept of shared responsibility that we have drawn from the most recent literature on this topic in education: it offers one of the most influential and emblematic, taken from a project promoted by the OECD-oriented identification of key competencies for active involvement in adult life, in which there are three levels indicated (knowledge, know-how and interpersonal skills) and are well highlighted keywords that define the development of expertise: "realization" to highlight the reference to a task to be solved through a recognizable and identifiable product; "Integration" to invoke the mobilization of resources available to the subject; "Context" to

emphasize the capacity to move within the resources and constraints characterizing the context of action; "Responsibility" to invoke the active role of the subject in the exercise of competence (Perrenoud, 2003). Another authoritative reference is included in the Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council on the European Framework of Qualifications for lifelong learning (23 April 2008), in which the following definitions are proposed:

knowledge "means the outcome of assimilation of information through learning. Knowledge is the body of facts, principles, theories and practices related to a field of study or work. In the European Framework of Qualifications, knowledge is described as theoretical and / or practical"; skills "means the ability to apply knowledge and use know-how to complete tasks and solve problems. In the European Framework of Qualifications, skills are described as cognitive (use of logical, intuitive and creative thinking) and practical (involving manual dexterity and the use of methods, materials, tools)"; competence "means the proven ability to use knowledge, skills and personal, social and / or methodological abilities, in work or study situations and in professional and / or personal development. In the European Framework of Qualifications "competences "they are described in terms of responsibility and autonomy.

3. ICT AND INNOVATIVE TEACHING FOR STUDENTS WEB 2.0. METHODOLOGIES AND RESEARCH TOOLS: THE FLIPPED CLASSROOM

This type of education stipulates a new way of thinking and flipped learning has proved be a valuable support. Teaching for competence is based on the idea that it is important (Da Re, 2009) that children learn not only the facts, ideas, concepts, but also that they learn how to apply them in practice, and how to use them in non-conventional environments by precisely transforming their knowledge skills. In teaching skills for expertise (Brandsford, 2000) the precise principle is to integrate: knowledge, know-how, knowing how to do, knowing why, the generalization and transfer of knowledge, create, design, address and manage; to collaborate (Crouch) and interact. The ultimate goal is to train a competent person who is aware of the operated knowledge. In the 50s of the 20th century US scholar Benjamin Bloom outlined a scale of degrees of learning which remain classic:

1. to know, remember;

2. understand, describe;
3. apply;
4. analyze;
5. evaluate;
6. create.

With the methodology of the flipped classroom (Keengwe J., 2014) all six degrees of learning are within the reach of ordinary learning. Within the ancient profession of teaching it is good to learn new tools with MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) with flipped classes. The flipped classroom therefore consists of inverting the location where the lesson is held with the one in which they study and do their homework. For several years students of Woodland Park High School in Colorado and many other schools in the world have followed lessons at home using videos made by their professors or taken from the Internet. Then study and practice in the classroom, in small groups, assisted by teachers who can then tailor their actions taking into account the pace and potential of each one. This approach combined with multimedia learning resources in general can become functional to a constructive and social education. This online interaction promotes personalized learning experiences closer to the needs of digital natives. As explained by H. Jenkins (2010), former director of the Comparative Media Studies Program at MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) The traditional analogical model of learning is ill-adapted to our completely hi-tech generations. From their first year of life, children are used to a participatory culture. The flipped classroom also overturns student assessment outlining a model of authentic evaluation which takes into account individual differences among students which does not stem from poor personal commitment. Flipped learning allows students to achieve these objectives. In the major universities in the United States, always at the forefront in terms of technology have been delivering real on-line courses for a number of years (Adoni, 2001). The real change, however, has not been to university where students have always been able to choose whether to attend or study at home, but in secondary schools. The idea of flipped teaching, as simple as it is revolutionary, is to make sure that students can study the video before class. It may seem trivial, but this small change will free an incredible amount of time in the classroom. This timeframe can be used to answer their questions, to organize group work (Kaye, 1994), and for many other activities in which the child gets to assume the lead role of his

training. The flipped classroom therefore consists of reversing the place where the lesson is followed (at home rather than at school) with one in which they study and do their homework (in school rather than in the home). With the methodology of flipped teaching, the teacher provides students with educational materials specifically selected, prepared by himself or by others. The educational material can be video, multimedia resources, books or e-books. Students study watching videos and consulting the material time and time again, each according to their needs, before and outside of school, and not after, as in the classical model. The on-line interactivity, also promotes personalized learning experiences, closer to the needs of the latest generation, those of digital natives (Fornasari, 2013). The second part of the work happens in the classroom, where the teacher proposes and follows the enforcement activities alongside the pupils rather than from behind the desk; tutorials, workshops, assignments, problem solving, case studies, in-depth activities. We can then define a flipped classroom (Houston, 2012) as a class that: increases and enhances the time when students and teachers are in contact; an immersive environment in which students take responsibility for their own learning, a class where the teacher is not the wise man in the chair, but the guidance alongside the child; a mixture of direct instruction and constructivist learning; a class in which absent students are not left behind; a class in which the contents of the learning are permanently archived for possible revision, to be retrieved and for subsequent years; a place where all students can enjoy personalized learning and express their characteristics and potential; a place where more talented children can be encouraged to help those less talented. In order to become a flipped teacher one should have: a computer or tablet with Internet access and software Office Automation with Word, Excel and Power Point for feedback of contents; a recent quick and easy browser (like Google Chrome) which enables you to translate foreign websites into your language; a mailbox. The first step is to publish our educational material on a website so that it is available to students. In particular: the teaching materials we use, the exercises addressed and examples, instructions and tasks to do at home (Keengwe, 2013). There are essentially three ways to go on-line: use the platform of e-learning provided by the school (many schools are using Moodle for this purpose), (Galliani, 2004) use a free e-learning platform such as Edmodo, a social network constructed for

schools and designed for educational purposes; publish your own content on your own website, which has been specially developed.

4. A CASE STUDY ITIS MAJORANA OF BRINDISI. RESULTS

A skills oriented education (Michelini, 2013), in which the teacher is a 'facilitator' of learning and also virtual classrooms, e-learning platforms with synchronous and asynchronous classes, brief teaching. This as experimented by the Technical Sector- Technological High School of Applied Sciences Majorana in Brindisi which I report in my case study. Banned from the normalizing action of reform, the experimental teaching decision finally reappeared on the agenda of the school. And so the experimentation carried out by the Institute Majorana in which the duration of schooling has been taken from 5 to only four years: a revolution to optimize the methods and timing of teaching through innovative methodologies producing graduates who are not only a year younger but also more 'competent' to continue their studies and for the job market. This is a reorganization of school time that is intended to bring the Italian curriculum in line with the European, simultaneously allowing Italian students to achieve their diploma a year earlier than they normally do in Italy and in line with what happens in many EU countries. The presence of a committee composed of representatives of the Ministry and the schools participating in the trial that will aim to finalize the details and to monitor the path, which is a trial followed by the Ministry based on the principle that we should not squeeze five years into four, but make better use of school time organizing a less rigid delivery of timetabling. The learning objectives are the same path as for five years, in fact, a different State Examination is not expected, but academic credits starting from the second year instead of the third. Training offers have been increased also strengthening ties with companies and therefore the alternation of school-work, which continues to envisage, a phase in school with lessons created by positions that come from the world of production and work experience. A 2.0 school, "Majorana" which carries a wealth of experience in all respect when it comes to innovative teaching practices and new technologies (from robotics to the Book in progress project with the flipped classroom. Regarding the project Book in Progress this textbook, of high-scientific and communicative importance, was written by 800

teachers from the national network led by ITIS Majorana Brindisi and printed in schools. This initiative has significantly improved student learning and, at the same time provides a practical answer to the economic problems of families and expensive books. The publishing schedule of the Book in Progress includes the delivery of textbooks for the following subjects: Italian, History, Geography, Chemistry, Economics, English, Integrated Science, Physics, Law and Economics, Mathematics, Computer Science, Design and Technology, Natural Sciences for the first and second classes of secondary schools, Technical Institutes and Professional Institutes. The structure of the Book in Progress, can be varied according to the basis of educational needs, training and learning of the students, the contents to be passed on). Almost the majority of non-language subjects, then, shall be in a foreign language (CLIL), and there has been a great deal of investment in placements abroad and above all to reorganize school time. It is aimed at a different methodology that has made new technology their best resource. E-learning platforms were built with synchronous and asynchronous states. Firstly students ask the teacher questions and considerations, secondly they will benefit in the home through recorded materials available to them at any time. It is aimed, in short, to create real communities of learning. Some places become virtual, others continue to have their physicality, but changes the way you enter and sit in class around circular tables. Farewell then dear old chair: Even in just a few years the students of Majorana Brindisi work in similar skills groups guided by the teachers who are facilitators and not dispensers of knowledge. The idea is to enhance the experience of the six flipped classrooms activated by the Institute, in which traditional teaching virtually no longer exists: the exercises are not assigned by the teacher after the explanation, but immediately given to pupils through multimedia video that can be seen and revised according to need. Even the procedure for parallel classes is performing well: in this way the teachers can exchange students and focus on strengthening or recovery of certain topics based on the real needs of students. But what is the answer from the region in the face of a proposal for a school so different from the traditional one? Fear or interest? Through the administration of a closed answer questionnaire administered on-line to families of students of the first year (and tabulated with SPSS software) 83% of families were

recorded as being excited about the ongoing trial their children showing an increase in the amount of motivation for study and better performance.

5. CONCLUSIONS

When class grading, teachers' meetings, departments, the electronic register to be completed, questions and correction tasks absorb almost all the time and energies of a teacher, you realize that you are likely to precisely forget about the children. Students certainly come to school to learn but also because they need guidance. Often they are ready to follow the teacher and engage in subjects which they do not like, provided they 'receive in return a little' of that attention that can give meaning to their efforts. Also the children no longer need to learn by heart but require a reference point to navigate the endless details that are now within their reach at any time, swiping a button with their finger on their Smartphone. Who better than the teacher, who follows them for years, who has the opportunity 'to lead them towards the path of knowledge?

The model of the flipped classroom, as we have seen in this article, provides a framework and the tools to provide classroom lessons at home thus gaining valuable time in the classroom. And so more 'time can be spent making sure that knowledge will transform into skills and to support their growth, helping them to overcome the problems'. Group work, peer learning, the SWoRD learning (peer review), laboratory teaching and in general all activities 'that can be organized in class to allow students to discuss between themselves, to value their individuality', and to experiment with different roles within the group. Flipped learning however, is not just the beginning of a revolution. Bermann and Sams (2012) also introduce us to the master class. Basically once the teacher has already operated the learning pinball for some years and has all the material for their courses they can' allow the more talented children to proceed independently. They can thus 'traveling at top speed' deepening aspects of the discipline that were blocked due to a lack of time. In general in fact the more motivated do not have a great need for help, but a stimulating environment that they value and which makes them grow by supporting their passions. In this context, our hope is 'that the school can become not the place where young people learn the basics but rather the framework of experimentation, the sharing of knowledge, creativity and passion (Trincherro, 2012).

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SOUNDS OF APRIL IN PORTUGAL: PROPAGANDA & PROTEST FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

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Abstract: *This article discusses ways of interpreting music sounds useful for the realm of Intercultural Education. The approach proposes a set of three core concepts basic to the human condition – mobility, complexity, versatility – and rather meaningful within the practice of Intercultural Education. As departing points it uses two metaphorical ideas associated with songs of Portuguese origin and multiple influences, which became strong symbols of identifiable political purposes: propaganda and protest. Armstrong's release of April in Portugal (New York 1953) signaled a propaganda strategy of global scope in the aftermath of World War II. Many musicians and singers would perform the song, spread still today in the memories of many all over the world. The Portuguese revolution that ended the dictatorial regime in 1974 happened soundly, by coincidence, in April. The revolutionary forces involved used protest songs to awake the populations' awareness, to signal the military actions for the coup d'etat and to educate the illiterate population in the new principles and practices afterwards. Both metaphors Sounds of April, as these revolutionary songs became known, and April in Portugal were associated with industrious and meaningful expressive behaviors that performed needed propaganda and protest roles of national and international scope. The deconstruction of these political roles, made slogans of different times, helps us to interpret inner processes of human relationships affected by governmental strategies, and to think about why and how to develop Intercultural Education.*

Keywords: *Louis Armstrong, Amália Rodrigues, José Afonso, Protest songs, Propaganda, Ethnomusicology, Intercultural Education, Music.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The notion of Intercultural Education is, for the purpose of this discussion, synonymous to those of Multicultural Education, Education for Citizenship, or Ethno-national Conflict Solving Education, among others. It has been developed primarily in major national representative urban centers where, as a result of human mobility, people from different backgrounds have needed, for political purposes of governmental nature, to be civilized in socially acceptable ways. The more people move, the more governors consider the values of diversity, and the more they see the advantages of cooperation, the more complex it is the task of educating interculturally. Advocating the urgency to develop efficacy in Intercultural Education, this article proposes a reflection on the notion of versatility as a key condition in the process: a major pedagogical competence to understand in social life and to develop within Intercultural Education. For that purpose this article discusses a musical subject through a metaphorical idea – *Sounds of April in Portugal* – the most Western-European minor but rather old country in the 20th century.

Apparently opposing, for their political uses, the notions of propaganda and protest do, in some cases however, interweave their meanings to a point of almost identification. This happens for instances today in Portugal when a municipal service uses a former protest song to announce the foundation of a new observatory of expressive behavior. The protest song is thus used as a propaganda tool. This vicissitude illustrates also the versatility of these two ideas moving through complex threads of the cultural tissues in which we live our social life and from which we try to build interpretations of webs of meaning, to use the old image of Max Weber reframed by Clifford Geertz (1973:5).

Discussing information to deconstruct both a right-wing dictatorial propaganda tool and a left-wing strategy of protest, the analytical thoughts presented, based on two meaningful phonograms, representative of the metaphorical idea of *Sounds of April in Portugal*, the aim of this article is to produce food for thought. The intention is to stimulate the interpretation of how human mobility enhances the complexity of social life, and how behavioral expression products, such as songs,

most of the times part of political conceptions or results, may help us to value the condition of versatility so needed in the realm of Intercultural Education.

2. THE APRIL IN PORTUGAL PROPAGANDA

Music was pointed as a strong governmental tool for the *Policy of the Spirit*, the name given to the cultural policy of the National Dictatorship entitled *Estado Novo*. This *New State*, founded in 1933, within the political regime that lasted from 1926 to 1974, had, as a primary aim, the task to create and educate the *National Conscience* of all Portuguese citizens. For that, the government created the *Secretariat of National Propaganda*. The man in charge of the Secretariat, António Ferro, the promoter of the idea of Propaganda, had made it clear in a newspaper article (*Diário de Notícias*, Nov.21st, 1932) precisely entitled *Policy of the Spirit*, that, as he said quoting Napoleon Bonaparte, *Of all the arts, music is the one that exercises greatest influence in the passions, the one that the legislator should most encourage* (in *Côrte-Real* 2002: 238). Although António Ferro had abandoned the command of the dictatorial propaganda in 1949, the institution, the structure of the governmental service, the degree of internationalization and related actions that followed, tended, however, to perpetuate his initiatives. Nonetheless, the *April in Portugal* strong international propaganda slogan, through songs of state influence, belongs to the decade of 1950, the post-Ferro phase.

2.1 The mobility part in the process had already given large steps when on the 21st of April of 1953 Louis Armstrong recorded *April in Portugal* in New York for the album *Satchmo Serenades*. Already a mythical music figure, Armstrong not only plays but also sings the propaganda lyrics written by the Irish songwriter Jimmy Kennedy for this Portuguese song originated in the decade of 1930. The song, originally composed by the authorial pair of the music theater tradition of *Revista à Portuguesa* Raul Ferrão and José Galhardo (*Côrte-Real* 2004), mentions the intellectual city of Coimbra and its medieval university, associated with the legendary forbidden royal love of the prince heir D. Pedro and Inês de Castro who was crowned Queen of Portugal after death. The song named Coimbra, in itself of propaganda nature, alluding to the beauty references of the city: the graduate students (doutores) of the university, the park by the river

(Choupal), the sad story of Inês (the Lovers Fountain) the tears and the famous *saudade*, feeling of loneliness, was repeatedly rejected in the Lisbon theater context. It was finally included in the propaganda film *Capas Negras* (Dark Covers, the students' traditional costume). The film, co-authored by José Galhardo, with the young great singer Amália Rodrigues starring in the main feminine character, is reported as the greater box office success of the Portuguese film industry of all times. Among the preferred songs of the great Amália, *Coimbra* became part of her international repertoire:

Coimbra do Choupal
Ainda és capital
Do amor em Portugal, ainda

Coimbra onde uma vez
Com lágrimas se fez
A história dessa Inês, tão Linda

Coimbra das canções
Tão meigas que nos pões
Os nossos corações à luz

Coimbra dos doutores
P'ra nós os seus cantores
A Fonte dos Amores és tu

Refrain: Coimbra é uma lição de sonho e tradição
O lente é uma canção e a lua a faculdade
O livro é uma mulher, só passa quem souber
E aprende-se a dizer saudade

Once in a great European *tournee* of the Marshall Plan, Amália, as she told directly to me in a private ethnographic interview in the summer of 1990, sung two songs of her preference to be translated in an even more effective international touristic propaganda tool for Portugal. The Marshall Plan, as the European Recovery Plan of US initiative for four years became known, was signed by the US President Harry Truman on April 3rd, 1948, after the initiative of the Secretary of State George Marshall, presented at Harvard University in June 1947. From the songs proposed in Dublin in 1950, Amália with the connivance of Yvette Giraud, in the same *tournee*, chose Coimbra. Jacques Larue made the new lyrics in French for *Avril au Portugal*, stressing recollections for later memory, of good weather and beautiful landscapes of sea, land and sky, for love scenarios:

Je vais vous raconter ce qu'il m'est arrivé
Sous un ciel où l'été s'attarde
Histoire d'amoureux, voyage aventureux

Que pour les jours heureux je garde
Un grand navire à quai
La fouled ébarquait

Les yeux sous les bouquets regardent
L'amour devait rôder on s'est regardé
Et mon Coeur s'est mis à chanter

Refrain: Avril au Portugal, à deux c'est l'idéal
Là-bas si l'on est fou le ciel l'est plus que vous
Pour un sentimental, l'amour existe-t-il
Ailleurs qu'au Portugal en Avril

Le soir sous mes yeux clos, je vogue au fil de l'eau
Je vois par les hublots, la ville
Les vagues et des couleurs

De doux parfums de fleurs
Qui font de bateleur la ville
Tout ça berce mon couer

D'un rêve de bonheur
Don't les regrets ailleurs me suivant le soir
Que j'aimerais un jour le revoir

The English version of the lyrics, as mentioned before, by Jimmy Kennedy, stresses an April dream for lovers in Portugal under the spells of spring weather, music and wine:

Refrain: I found my April dream in Portugal with you
When we discovered romance, like we never knew.
My head was in the clouds, my heart went crazy too,
And madly I said: "I love you"
Too soon I heard you say:
"This dream is for a day",
That's Portugal and love in April!

And when the showers fell,
Those tears I know so well,
They told me it was spring fooling me.

Refrain: I found my April dream ...

This sad reality,
To know it couldn't be
That's Portugal and love in April!

The music and the wine
Convinced me you were mine
But it was just the spring fooling me

Lisbon, Coimbra, Dublin and New York were the four locals mentioned so far. Many other places represented important waypoints in the path of this song. Mobility, adding meanings to that and those who move, enlarged and enhanced the references that built the song presented. As Louis Armstrong framed it, *what we play is life*. His music performances as those of true interpreters are bits

of life as he verbally expressed. It is our job as social scientists and intercultural educators to interpret the meanings of such ideas. Partaking insights mentioned by Rice (2003) on the subject-centered musical ethnography, different places in different times represent meaningful influences, verbalized metaphorically in and about songs and music pieces alike. So, as observable in the music subject presented, of propaganda motivation, both places and times matter to value human mobility to build the webs in which all of us work and are in some ways suspended.

2.2 Bringing the complexity to the surface, the metaphorical idea of *April in Portugal* created as a major slogan of the Portuguese dictatorial propaganda in the early 1950s, followed its way, helping the central services to mold the *Politics of the Spirit*, as the cultural policy of the National Dictatorship defined itself (Côrte-Real 2002). Media campaigns, targeting international and national publics, were further developed in the 1950s and 60s, with remnants performed formally until 1975 and informally even after, for example in the realms of fado and folklore. In some fronts there are direct influences of these cultural policies still today. At this point of our presentation it is useful to mention Chomsky and Herman's idea of *propaganda model* as it was proposed in 1988 when the thinkers analyzed the role of the political economy of the mass media in *Manufacturing Consent*. The five parts model proposed considered ideas, identified as social filters of propaganda determination, here presented in the order given in the analysis of Cromwell (2002). These are those that (1) value the usually corporate ownerships of the media; (2) the advertising processes; (3) the sources of the propaganda themselves; (4) the negative responses to the media statements; and finally what the authors named (5) the "anti-communism" position. All these filters of propaganda determination are identifiable in the national dictatorial slogan *April in Portugal* and it is quite easy to interpret, through them, the construction of the complementary musical metaphor of the *Sounds of April* of communist inspiration and practice. Because this second metaphor is still celebrated in Portugal every year, as part of the ceremonies that represent the liberation of the Portuguese people from the dictatorial oppression of 48 years, from 1926 to 1974, it is meaningful that for Intercultural Education reasons the complexity surrounding the musical symbolism of the notion of April, and an array of related processes, and products are

considered. In the space of the brief allusion possible within the present Conference support, and taking the first filter of Chomsky and Herman, (1) the ownership of the media of the slogan *April in Portugal* can be considered the Portuguese state itself, through the Secretariat in charge of the political propaganda of the dictatorship. The former *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (Secretariat of National Propaganda, founded in 1933), named *Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo* (National Secretariat of Information, Popular Culture and Tourism) since 1945 and then *Secretaria de Estado da Informação e Turismo* (Secretary of State of Information and Tourism) since 1968. The propaganda slogan, property of the Portuguese state was first, as a song, extraordinarily supported by the American patronage of the Marshall Plan. Then, in 1954, as Richard Haines points out, the *April in Portugal* film, was the first in which the British cinematographer Ted Moore, who became famous for the James Bond image, creating the definition of the spy genre, acted as director of photography (2003: 230). As narrated to me by Amália Rodrigues in the private ethnographic interview mentioned, in the Summer of 1990, this film, in which she entered singing the homonymous song *April in Portugal*, resulted from a negotiation with the team of José Ferrer, the famous Puerto Rican film director and actor who had won the Academy Award for the Best Actor, from the US based Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, for his *Cyrano de Bergerac* in 1950. The team was in Lisbon for the shooting of the British war film *The Cockleshell Heroes*. As a condition, Amália recalled, the opportunity made itself for the first short travelogue documentary genre film directed by the British producer Euan Lloyd. It was most probably the Secretariat of National Information that financed the documentary propaganda film, marking again the ownership of the Portuguese state for the new media for the same slogan then joining visual components to the sounds of the song. Regarding the second and the third filters proposed by Chomsky and Herman, (2) the advertising processes and (3) the sources of the propaganda themselves, the power of the elements involved dictated the success of the propaganda campaign. The expressive behaviors represented by songs as simple performances or included in documentary film works may carry extremely powerful messages. If happens as it was the case that the singer and the performers chosen are of excellent

quality, as Amália Rodrigues, Louis Armstrong, Bing Crosby, Xavier Cugat, Liberace, Bert Kaempfert, Eartha Kitt and Caetano Veloso among many others, the product target in the propaganda action, in this case the visit to the dreamy Portugal in April would indeed sell. The dreamy Portugal, a country that had resisted the World War, and apparently had no problems, passed in this propaganda campaign. The fourth and the fifth filters, last, but not of least importance for this case, in the Chomsky and Herman propaganda model, respectively (4) the negative responses to the media statements; and (5) the “anti-communism” position, were of pivotal meaning for the connection of the two metaphorical slogans here presented. The *April in Portugal* propaganda campaign became so evident and imposing, even developing in the decade of 1960 to denominate the most important festival of the nation, first named Market of April in Portugal, organized uninterruptedly from 1965 to 1975, though exchanging names meanwhile. This Festival, involving music of rural and urban provenance, gastronomy and handicraft from all over the country, and then land and sea sports of different kinds, was responsible for the definition of the national arts, from songs such as urban fado to dances of all kinds of regional folklore and gastronomy also attributed to different regions in and identity distribution that in many cases is still influential these days. The coverage of the entire country was developed in all-year round contests and other initiatives that contacted singers, players, dancers, craftsmen and women, restaurant owners, associative managers and other cultural agents, who after consecutive rounds would represent the models for each region and cultural domain. Notoriety was assured through prizes and diplomas to exhibit in the respective public places. The negative responses by those, and they were many, not elected, in the case of many restaurants even considered with *no interest for tourism*, heavily penalized with fees, many obliged to close doors, and others impeded of a number of attracting strategies as offering live or recorded music in chosen days of the week, raised an increasing set of discontent professionals of the domain of entertainment and restaurant and hotel activities among others. As the National Dictatorship was of fascist ideology, communism represented the main fear and so the first enemy to condemn. Thus the negative responses to the media statement of *April in Portugal* configured if not in essence, just as the waited reaction, the feared and repressed

communist position, until 1974. Thus the five-part propaganda model proposed by Chomsky and Herman fit as a perfect glove in the music case of propaganda and protest around April here proposed for Portugal in its relationship among dominators and dominated.

2.3 Versatility in music as in social life happens for example when a listener, viewer or reader identifies the subtlety of paraphrasing in music, dance, literary or any other expression. It means that he or she has the intellectual knowledge and versatility needed to at least hypothetically consider the aesthetic paraphrase envisioned by the artist, being him/her the composer, the interpreter of any kind (singer, player, conductor, dancer, actor or painter) or even the mere receptors that make connections that may in some cases have never been thought by the producers. Regarding expressive behaviors of artistic or other nature, all human beings are participants, presenters, or receptors. As such, and partaking Thomas Turino's insights on the relationship between performance and the politics of participation (2008) all of us take part in the social life that these expressions involve. In the case under consideration, even more emblematic than the detail of identifying paraphrases it happens the situation in which entire bodies of repertoire may be reference of both metaphorical slogans of complementary nature. When we think in bodies of folk repertoire it is possible to include them in the *April in Portugal* musical world or in the complementary musical world of the *Sounds of April* considered in the following section.

3. THE PROTEST SOUNDS OF APRIL

A dissent voice, musically constructed since the end of the World War II in Portugal, as a negative response to the governmental media statements, to use the idea of the 3rd filter proposed by Chomsky and Herman, gained expression during the 1960s and early 1970s. The paradigm shift mentioned by Beate Kutschke, from the state influence to that of self-organizing social-political processes (2013: 2), fostered by the new-left events of 1968 is observable in this situation in Portugal since the beginning of the decade of 1960. The late Portuguese Colonial War, calling attention for the problem of territorial autonomy, discussed in the United Nations since 1959, was officially condemned in a General Assembly in 1960, by the Resolution 1542 (in Rodrigues 2006: 62). *The end of an era* was marked (Ferreira 1974), and the

protest *Sounds of April*, through songs of self-organizing social-political processes of communist and new-left inspiration finally reached their aims.

3.1 Again the mobility part in the process is rather visible in the realm of the protest metaphor considered: the *Sounds of April* (for an ethnomusicological account of this metaphor see Côte-Real 1996). Although the related musical activity had begun in the continental territory of Portugal, with the work of the composer/collector Fernando Lopes-Graça in his *Heroic Songs*, composed in 1945, for choir, and forbidden by the state censorship as soon as they came to light in 1946, the bulk of the activity, mainly for solo singing and guitar accompaniment developed in the decade of 1960 as a direct response to the colonial policy, argued within the students aggregates. Coimbra, Lisbon and Setubal, represented main centers of development, being important places in the route of José Afonso, the main singer of this movement, actively recording songs since 1960, the year of edition of his emblematic *Balada de Outono* (Autumn Ballad) a revolutionary message coming from the music nest of *fado* or *canção de Coimbra*, representative of the most conservative university student environment in Portugal (the place where the old dictator António Salazar had studied). It was however outside of Portugal, and far from the strict censorial measures of the government, that most singers and recordings worked and originated. The African colonies, industriously called Portuguese Provinces, where some young singers were serving in the Portuguese military system and Paris and other French and European urban centers, where many other young singers arrived, escaping from the compulsory military service, contextualized informal and in some cases formal music labs where the *Sounds of April* incubated, until their open release in the Portuguese Revolution of April 25th, 1974. Repressed, colonial and exile experiences were then the main contextual influences operating behind the dispersed construction field for the Sounds of April. Among the main early references of mobility, out of the continental Portugal territory, in this phenomenon emerges in 1964 through the record, edited in Paris, *Portugal-Angola: Chants de lutte*, by the singer Luís Cília, born in Angola and former student of the University of Lisbon. Supported by the Portuguese Communist Party this and other young musicians participated in international music festivals, where the political songs of different regions interacted and mingled their ideas

and sounds. The old French record label *Chant du Monde* (founded in 1938 and still active), the political song festivals in Cuba and in the German Democratic Republic, and some educational support provided in these countries represented major help and laboratorial context in the exile experience of these young musicians, amateur ones, fighting for ideological dreams in their majority. The *rive gauche* style associated to the Sorbonne milieu in left margin of the Seine River was very influential. It is present, for example, in the music authorship of mainstream songs as the famous and beautiful *Mudam-se os Tempos, Mudam-se as Vontades* (Times Change, Wills change), by José Mário Branco. The song gave the name to a long-playing record, recorded in Paris and edited by Sasseti in the fruitful year of 1971. It was a time of vain hope – the *Marcelist Spring* – emerging from an internal dictatorial move that characterized part of the complexity in turn of the subject of the *Sounds of April*.

3.2 Once more showing the complexity that a musical phenomenon may represent, the second metaphor – *Sounds of April* – born from the negative responses to the media statements, named afterwards, as in a retrospect action of analytic thought, when this body of songs recalling protest properties was used to celebrate the peoples' revolution, and the new democratic regime, in charge since 1974. This metaphor is thus used to celebrate the Revolution of 1974, a propaganda tool of the Democratic Regime? For the purpose of the present point, however, the complexity observed is the one at work before 1974, when the body of sounds considered represented protest positions. They entailed a long set of influences, determining aspects and emotionally built reactions that when observed from today may configure nationalist principles very closed to those of the dictatorial discourse. The international influences, though collected from different perspectives resulted from the mobility of people, influenced thoughts and songs. To mention just a few, among the most determining aspects of identity presented in both music metaphors pointed, there are those that over value the past, a very typical concern of the 19th century romanticism and nationalism in Europe, renewing old historical references and traditions; the forbidden love of the Prince D. Pedro, then King and his dead Queen, killed on demand of his father, and the longing sonnet of the great poet revived by the dictatorship, about changing times in the music style of the *rive gauche* by Jean

Sommer in 1971. Or the notes by the composer Lopes-Graça on the values of the Portuguese popular song, *the real folklore*, all based on past, poor, unindustrialized and urbanized traditions (1953:5-26) that go in the same direction, reaching the point to say that the Portuguese should love their *popular song* because it is Portuguese.

3.3 Other versatilities in music as in social life take us to the joint metaphor of the *Sounds of April in Portugal* to quickly stress, thinking in Intercultural Education today, that for understanding power, Chomsky (2002) reminds us that media has tended to delay the moving potential of community groups' initiative in different societies. And, thinking in inner processes of human relationships (Blacking 1973) may one consider that musical expression adds something to verbal language?

4. CONCLUSIONS & THANKS

As reminded by the careful editor Adrian Lesenciuc, the author takes full responsibility for the contents and scientific correctness of the paper. She thanks his patience for the last minute submission, and that of the readers for following the thoughts presented. Further I invite you to look for more available great releases, in Internet and other sound sources, of the quite different *April in Portugal* and *Coimbra* songs, so much nurtured by its new interpreters; and also to look for the large repertoire of Portuguese and other protest songs available, and soon reachable through the coming site of the recently founded Observatory of the Protest Song in Grândola, Portugal. Great songs as great metaphors or even parts of them, – as *April* in the case discussed – surpass ideological barriers, serving opposite sides of apparently so important principles and arguments. Language gives us the opportunity to express ourselves about these matters, and if as for some reasons language is sometimes not enough to tell and ear some messages, music helps us in the communication effort. In this regard, and stressing the versatile condition of music let us try to understand the message of the *Govenda me* (Our dances) repertoire (Lundberg 2010: 30) claimed as an identity symbol of both Curd and Turk populations. Last, but not the least April happened to be only by chance the month of the Revolution in 1974. Before that probably May would better suit the purpose. After 1974 however, April was abundantly mentioned and the old metaphor was erase from the memory.

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ROLE OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN MAKING A GLOBAL WORLD

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Abstract: *Globalization is an integrating force to unite the peoples, their economies, societies and cultures for a better world. However, there is a strong and necessary need to integrate these cultures, economies and societies in a smooth process. In the integration of the peoples worldwide, what should be the approach? Could Globalization as a monolithic culture be promoted by destroying other cultures? Or could Globalization be promoted as an integrating force with the promotion of other cultures? How could intercultural education strengthen the process of globalization around the world? The present paper focuses on the role of intercultural education in the process of globalization.*

Keywords: *intercultural education, globalization, culture*

1. INTRODUCTION

The world is full of diversity. Each and every corner of the world has variation in the climate, land, fauna and flora. This diversity made possible the rise of civilizations, different from each other in nature, aims and objectives, while numerous cultures emerged from these civilizations in the world. Culture is defined as

the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or social group... (encompassing) in addition to art and literature, life styles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs. (UNESCO, 2006:12).

This variation of cultures creates the beauty of the world, the to and fro of the people from one corner of the world to another being a fine example of love for the diversity of culture. This to and fro of people can be seen in terms of an aesthetic sense, economic gain and appreciation of culture.

This diversity in / of cultures is also a source of expanding markets for various goods and services. The greater this diversity, the more would be the diversities in the supply and demand of various products. There are more opportunities for various people to be prosperous, since a diverse culture is also a main hurdle in the monopolization of market by few companies. In other words we can say that the scope of market dominance is less in case of diverse culture. The existence of various cultures

in the world is also necessary from the point of view of peace and prosperity. Each and every culture has its own area of existence which cannot be replaced by other cultures. There may be some variations in the elements and structure of the culture of a particular region but these cannot be changed completely. There may be fluctuations in the segments of the cultures but there is balance in the give and take of many cultures. There appears a problem when any culture tries to dominate other cultures or tries to be a super culture.

There is the necessity of a better relation among the cultures of the world for their peaceful coexistence. Tolerance among cultures is a must. There is need of heterogeneity approaches which

see continued cultural difference and highlight local cultural autonomy, cultural resistance to homogenization, cultural clashes and polarization and distinct subjective experiences of globalization. (Robinson, 2007:140)

There should be understanding among the people of diverse cultures. Europe that is marching from single cultures to a multicultural society needs a strong intercultural education to keep peace in the continent. There is need that people and government understand the necessity of a diverse culture in a global world, since the diverse culture is not a ban but a boon for the society, economy and politics. The multicultural is a sort of surety of limitation of the powers in each and every field to ensure peace and justice if people

know their limits. This can be done by the strengthening of the intercultural education. Intercultural education

involves educational policies and practices by which the members of different cultures, whether in majority or minority positions, learn to interact constructively with each other. As a minimum, intercultural education requires majorities to learn about the minorities and their cultural and traditions while minorities must similarly learn about other minorities in the same society as well as about the majorities. (Eide, 1999: 23)

The present era is one of globalization. The term globalization has a wider meaning in many contexts, with economic, cultural and political aims to change the world into a particular direction. Globalization is also a process of integrating economies, societies, politics and cultures. According to IMF (1997)

Globalization refers to the growing economic interdependence of countries worldwide through the increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services and of international capital flows, and also through the more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology. (IMF, 1997: 45)

According to UNESCO (2001), which also looks into the education of the world states,

globalization can be defined as a set of economic, social, technological, political and cultural structures and processes arising from the changing character of the production, consumption and trade of goods and assets that comprise the base of the international political economy. (UNESCO, 2001).

OECD sees globalization in terms of internationalization and as a multidimensional process. For OECD (2005)

The term 'globalization' has been widely used to describe the increasing internationalization of financial markets and of markets for goods and services. Globalization refers above all to a dynamic and multidimensional process of economic integration whereby national resources become more and more internationally mobile while national economies become increasingly interdependent. (OECD, 2005: 11)

Another scholar sees globalization from the perspective of culture. According to Featherstone,

the process of globalization suggests simultaneously two images of culture. The first image entails the extension outwards of a particular culture to its

limit, the globe. Heterogeneous culture becomes incorporated and integrated into a dominant culture which eventually covers the whole world. The second image points to the compression of cultures. Things formerly held apart are now brought into contact and juxtaposition." (Featherstone, 1995:6-7).

Globalization has also been seen in terms of a prevailing process. Amoore states that

Under the predominant process perspective, globalization is a master concept that is used to capture material and institutional transformations across contemporary economy, politics and society. (Amoore, 2002: 4).

The migration of people is an important phenomenon of the global world. With the migration, people also carry their cultures with themselves. The new destination in the process of migration presents the state of transition of the cultures of migrated people. They face problems in adjustment and, as a result, tension and resistance will create. The process of integration in host countries works efficiently as long as the policies change periodically.

The new dynamics of both migration and integration have also led to policy changes. While the policy domains of migration and integration have been separate ones in most European countries in the past, one of the most significant new trends is that these two policy domains have become more and more intertwined. (Audebert, Dorai, 2010: 24)

Besides these definitions and perspectives, globalization has also been defined in other contexts and in other perspectives like 'World System theory' (Arrighi, 2005), 'theory of the global system' (Sklair, 2000, 2002), 'Global Capitalism' (Robinson, 2004) 'techno logistic approach' (Castells, 1997, 1998) 'time-space compression' (Harvey, 1990) 'trans-nationality and transnationalism' (Levitt, 2001 and Basch, 1994), 'Modernity, Post modernity and Globalization' (Robertson, 1992), 'Theories of Global Culture' (Pieterse, 2004) etc. According to Eide, Intercultural education

requires the development of respect, mutual tolerance and co-operation. Respect and tolerance must be based on common recognition of general human rights as the basic framework which is applicable to all and which must be respected by all whether in a majority or minority position. (Eide, 1999: 23)

In the globalization process, intercultural education can help international community to

achieve the common interests of all. The intercultural education can solve the challenges arisen from the process of globalization. According to Portera (2008)

The intercultural education approach represents the most appropriate response to the challenges of globalization and complexity. It offers a means to gain a complete and thorough understanding of the concepts of democracy and pluralism, as well as different customs, traditions, faiths and values. Intercultural education helps to identify the risks of globalization and multicultural communities; of economically motivated rules and regulations without any intervention by governments and/or politics. (Portera, 2008:488)

In such a process of globalization, the culture can be approached in three ways: by 'homogenization', 'heterogeneity' or 'hybridization'. In this condition, intercultural education can play a very important role in understanding, strengthening and advancing of the globalization. In the light of the above discussion, the present paper has studied the role of intercultural education in making a global world by discussing the various elements which could promote the globalization. This paper has also discussed the models and approaches which could be used to advance the idea of making a global world. The paper has also put forward the suggestions for strengthening the role of intercultural education in the making of the global world.

2. METHODOLOGY

In the present paper, the descriptive methodology has been adopted to study the role of intercultural education in the making of globalization. Throughout the paper, globalization has been taken both as a "process" and a "condition". Globalization is an ongoing process around the world, integrating nations, economies, and cultures etc. The paper has taken the role of intercultural education in making global world a process and how intercultural education can help in speeding and strengthening that process. The "process" is a dynamic concept and gives the notion of expansion. In the case of "condition", globalization depicts both dynamic and static notions. In the case of dynamics, globalization shows the fast changing "condition" of the world. In the latter case, the "condition" is static if it shows the globalization as a condition where globalization seems to have been completed. Thus, avoiding the confusion, Globalization has been

taken as a whole, encompassing both the "process" and "condition".

This paper has taken 'intercultural' and 'globalization' from an interdisciplinary perspective. Globalization is not only integrating economies, societies, and nations, but cultures as well. This integration of various aspects of economies, politics and cultures cannot be studied separately because if it is studied separately then it will certainly be at the cost of the others. Globalization is not a single dimension process affecting only one aspect of the life of the people but a multidimensional process, affecting all the aspects of society.

3. QUESTIONS AND RELEVANCE OF STUDY

There are numerous questions to answer about the role of intercultural education in the making of the global world. These questions are: (1) Is globalization a single model approach or multi-model approach? (2) Is globalization a single cultural approach or multi-cultural approach? (3) How intercultural education can help in the making a global world in all approaches and models?

Globalization has brought very fast and drastic changes in the world. These changes are both positive and negative ones. It has started at world level and viewed by people with both hope and despair. Globally, many groups have viewed it against their interests and existence. In their opinion, globalization is an extension of the culture of the West through the integration of world economies. For them, the culture of West has the values, morality and aspiration of the Christian world. The culture has the ideas of modernity in its core to advance the Western civilization. The globalization for them, also poses a threat to their distinct cultures which they assume the harbinger of their own values. In the few years of the 21st century, the process of globalization has penetrated into every nook and corners of the world. According to Waters (2001)

Globalization is the direct consequence of the expansion of European culture across the planet via settlement, colonization and cultural replication. It is also bound up intrinsically with the pattern of capitalist development as it has ramified through political and cultural arenas. However, it does not imply that every corner of the planet must become westernized and capitalist but rather that every set of social arrangements must establish its position in relation to the capitalist West-to use Robertson's term, it must relativize itself". (Water, 2001: 6)

Other groups see the Eurocentric approaches in the making of the global world in terms of culture. According to Stain and Shohat (2007)

Eurocentric appropriates the cultural and material production of the non-west, while denying both the non-west's achievements and its own appropriation, thus consolidating its sense of self and glorifying its own cultural anthropophagy. (Stain, Shohat, 2007:298).

As a result, this group, instead of facilitating the process of globalization, is creating hurdle. This is due to the so called "clashes of culture" which hamper the advancement of globalization. At this juncture, intercultural education can bring understanding among the followers of various cultures. How could a common ground of understanding be created? How could the dialogue and discussion be initiated for a better understanding? With a better understanding of others, cultures could minimize the resistance of globalization and people around the world could help in facilitating the advancement of globalization.

Culture is the whole sum of the standard values of a society, which derives its contents from religion, economy, polity etc. In the case of the third world, particularly in the Islamic world where religion is dominant, culture is based on the tenets of religion and is, therefore, more rigid. In other cases, where religion is not dominant, culture may be based on political ideologies, economy or some other variables. In such cases, culture is more liberal and adjusts with the passage of time. In these conditions, intercultural education can make people understand the real constituent process of globalization. It can help the people to understand the various dimensions of globalization, while all those people who see globalization as a hegemonic project to advance the western civilization through economic means could understand globalization from better perspectives.

4. DISCUSSION OF QUESTIONS IN DETAIL

4.1 World is full of diversity in every walk of life. The economic system of the world, the polities of the nations, the cultures of the regions of the world, all is diverse. This diversity marks the beauty of the world and the necessity of life on earth. Each and every region of the world has its own climatic condition, fauna and flora for survival. The people of the world in various parts follow numerous religions, while nations have different political ideologies. The West has its democratic political system; the Arabs have their

own monarchial system; the Chinese have the socialist system; the nations of Latin America have own specific political systems. In the case of the economy of the nations of the world, there are different types of economic systems. The nations of the Western world have the "capitalist system of economy"; the Chinese - "socialist System of economy"; India - "mixed economy" while many nations present other models of economic systems.

Due to variance in economy, polity and religion, the world has developed various types of society and cultures. Many societies are liberal while others are conservatives. Many societies have reached the advanced level of development while other still presenting the model of a primitive society. In such cases, the question that arises is: what should be the model of globalization? Should this be based on a single model or be multi-modeled? If this should be based on a single model then which model should it be? If this model is based on the European civilization, then what would be the place of the Chinese, the Arab, the Judaist, or the Indian ones? What would be the attitude of dominant model towards other models - reconciliatory or rival? What would be the reaction of the other models towards the dominant model? Which model would be suitable for the advancement of globalization? What would be the future of the other models in case of the application of a particular model? If Globalization is advancing through the multi-model then which other models would be in core of the globalization? Would the West accept the dominance of other models in the making of globalization? Can multi-model be more effective than single model?

In the context of all these questions the statement of Appadurai (1990) is meaningful when he says that

the central problem of today's 'global interactions' is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization. (Robinson, 2007: 140)

As the world is full of diversity, the application of multi-model for making globalization would be better. Globalization needs a reconciliatory approach to minimize the resistance. If the purpose of globalization is to bring peace and prosperity to the world by bringing all groups of people together to advance the humanity, then the rights, aspirations and diversity of all have to be preserved. This would not only ensure the beauty of the world but would also facilitate the coming of the people nearer to each other.

Intercultural education would provide the opportunities to understand the models in a better way, with all its pros and cons. Intercultural education could create a better environment of peace and mutual cooperation by facilitating the study of other cultures. In the case of the multi-cultural model, intercultural education would train groups of people who would advance the cause of globalization by bringing peace and cooperation among the people. There is no peace where there is no development.

4.2 Globalization as an integrating process of the economies of the nations of the world also needs to be clear on the cultural ground. Many theories have been put forward in the cultural context of globalization. Ritzer (2002) sees the culture of the globalization in the context of 'McDonaldization' around the world. He uses the concept 'McDonaldization'

to describe the sociocultural processes by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant came to dominate more and more sectors of US and later world society. (Robinson, 2007: 140)

The 'McDonaldization' is a homogenization approach of culture through the process of globalization. The culture of any region, nation or society is the sum of all the aspirations and standard thoughts of the living standard, the other factors like economy, polity and religion helping to attain the standard of living. In certain societies, particularly in the case of the Muslim society, religion is the basis of culture on which the political and economic systems depend. In other words, culture is the basis of the economic and political systems. This is one of the reasons why economic and political systems could not advance as compared to the West.

In such cases of diverse cultures, what should the approaches of globalization be? Should it be single cultural approach of globalization or a multi-cultural approach? In the case of a single culture, which culture would be in the core of the globalization? Would it be the culture of the West, based on the capitalist system, or others? If it were to be others, then how all others would be united together? What would be the structure and values of that culture? In the case of a single cultural approach, how the other cultures would pose challenges? In the case of a single culture what would happen to the societies and nations of the world? Could the economies and polities of other nations accept the hegemony of the culture advancing through the globalization? What would happen to peace and security of the world?

4.3 Globalization has been seen by various scholars from various perspectives. It is the integration of the world in terms of society, economy, polity and culture. The important question is whether the integration is for homogenization or heterogeneity or hybridization of the societies, polities, economies and cultures? The other question is whether intercultural education can study the relation of cultures only or much more. To understand the cultures in a better way, one must understand the economic, political and social systems. One must promote interculturality, defined as

the existence and equitable interaction of diverse cultures and the possibility of generating shared cultural expressions through dialogue and mutual respect. (UNESCO, 2006:17).

Intercultural education, which promotes intercultural relations, can help to understand the problems very well. Intercultural education can help the people to study and appreciate the cultures of others. It can produce the individual who would advance the globalization by minimizing the resistance by understanding the structure and functioning of the culture. It can provide the people opportunities to understand the essence of other cultures and give ways for dialogue and discussion among the people of various cultures. It can give foundation knowledge to the individual to appreciate the beauty of other cultures.

In the present world, the process of globalization is witnessing cultural conflicts. The work of Huntington to see the world order in terms of civilizations is another way to see the conflicts among civilizations. For Huntington civilization and culture are the same as he states that

civilization and culture both refer to the overall way of life of a people, and a civilization is a culture writ large." (Huntington, 1996:41).

He further divides the whole world into various civilizations. According to him

human history is the history of civilizations. It is impossible to think of the development of humanity in any other terms. The story stretches through generations of civilization from ancient Sumerian and Egyptians to classical and Mesoamerican to Christian and Islamic civilization and through successive manifestations of Sinic and Hindu civilizations. (Huntington, 1996: 40)

Thus he points out the various cultures in the world and his thesis of clashes of civilizations (cultures) can be seen as a major hurdle in the

advancement of globalization. Intercultural education can provide the opportunities to study the cultures of the world and facilitate the understanding among civilizations which could strengthen the making of a global world.

The major reasons for the clashes of cultures are the injustice in political matters and distribution of wealth among the people by the state or dominant groups. These reasons are applicable to all civilizations. Globalization should be advanced in such a way, where all civilizations or cultures get the best opportunities to develop and thrive. Globalization should integrate the civilizations in a better way and peacefully as well. The people of various cultures should get the opportunities to advance their own values, and participate in making common values of global world, acceptable to all.

5. SUGGESTIONS

What are the suggestions for making intercultural education more effective in the making of a global world? Globalization should be advanced on a multi-model approach and intercultural education should be used to make understand various models and approaches. Globalization should be advanced a multi-cultural approach and intercultural education should be used to produce groups of people who could appreciate and respect the values of other cultures.

Intercultural education should be started on a massive level worldwide to provide better understanding about the various cultures, among the people of the world, who could accept globalization as a mission to integrate the whole humanity into a family. Intercultural education should be used to initiate dialogue and discussion among the people of various cultures to remove the misconceptions and bring unity among people. Intercultural education should not be limited to the cultural study only but it should be studied in a multidisciplinary approach. This approach would be helpful to understand the process, structure, values, aims and objectives of globalization in broader perspectives. Intercultural education can minimize the resistance around the world against globalization. In many regions of the world, the latter is assumed as the Western project to dominate the world economic and political systems in order to remain hegemonic in the future. In many nations, globalization is considered a threat to the national culture. It is assumed that through globalization, the Western civilization is trying to enforce its own values and cultures. Intercultural

education should be used to bridge the gap among the cultures of the world. Due to this gap and misunderstanding, there is a strong reaction against globalization, particularly in the Muslim nations. In most of the Muslim nations the ongoing violence is not only religious but cultural too. The conservatives assume the culture of the West practiced by the modern educated people as anti-Islam and a threat to Islamic culture. As a result they do not only reject its supporters, but also the very process of globalization. In such conditions, intercultural education can provide better opportunities to both parts in order to understand the cultures and minimize the violence in the Islamic world.

The globalization should be advanced on the aspiration of all the people so that people could associate themselves with globalization and play important roles in facilitating the process. To get the support of all people it is necessary that all cultures should be given due importance in their local framework. The concept of a 'monolithic culture', based on the hegemony of a single culture should be discouraged as this sort of trend in globalization would create negative feelings towards the people and nations that are advancing the cause of globalization. People should be made aware of the importance of culture in the advancement of the economy, polity and values. The role of intercultural education is to strengthen the relationship among various groups of people.

Globalization should be used to integrate the diverse cultures of the world. Globalization should not be used to advance the economic and political causes of a particular group but it should be used to unite the people for greater causes of humanity. The West has to see globalization from a broader perspective. And, in order to broaden the outlook, one needs to know and understand the fundamentals of the other cultures. Therefore, intercultural education can play an important role in the widening the people's perspectives. The present problem of violence in the Islamic world is due to the narrow outlook of both the West and Islamic world towards each other. The West, as a world leader, and the Islamic world, on the other hand, has the obligation to treat each other with respect and justice. The peace and security of the West and particularly of Europe lies in the peaceful co-existence of various groups of people. In this context, the globalization should have a multicultural approach towards the people of other cultures. Otherwise, the West may have to face the same fate which the Islamic world is facing today, even though from a different perspective.

Intercultural education is the need of the time for the West to be peaceful and become a genuine leader of the world. There should be a close eye on the players of globalization, particularly the multi-national corporations, in making the world global. What sort of culture are these companies projecting? How would they affect the core values of the Western civilization? Are they advancing globalization for the cause of the peace in the Western world or for achieving particular aims? There should be no hidden agendas but open policies of welfare for all.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Globalization has many challenges ranging from economic and political to cultural ones. Many of these challenges are due to the misunderstandings people from various cultures develop. This can be sorted out by promoting intercultural education whose role should be making people understand globalization around the world. It should not be globalization of multi-national companies for economic gains, but it should be for the causes of peace and security around the world, beauty of the world in terms of the multicultural and appreciation of the people to each other for a better world. Globalization may be single dimensional or multidimensional but its predominant role should be the advancement of humanity.

Intercultural education can help in the advancement of the global world by studying the various cultures and civilizations and develop models for a better understanding among the people and the governments. Whether the process of globalization is of single model or multi-model, of homogenization or heterogeneity or hybridization, intercultural education can play an important role in the advancement of globalization. Intercultural education can minimize resistance against globalization and make people appreciate the cultures of each other. The role of intercultural education in the making of a global world can be seen in the words of Vesajoki (2002):

To understand globalization one must re-understand the world and how culture, diversity, politics, ethnicity, race and homogeneity are manifested. For the generations of people who are accustomed to understanding and defining the world through narrowly and artificially constructed national identities it is a challenge to break from these conceptions of identity. (Vesajoki, 2002: 8)

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COMMUNICATION AND GENDER IDENTITY IN THE HISTORY OF WOMEN: FEMALE CONTRIBUTIONS AS A SIGN OF EMANCIPATION

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Abstract: *Since ancient times, except in rare cases, women have never had social, political or economical relevant roles. They gradually started to improve their self-awareness by taking actively part in public life, till to the feminist movement in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century and then finally to all gender studies called "women's studies". After these first studies, new researches proliferate as they were a communication source about both private and public women history. This branch has been fully improved: in England this topic has been rapidly spread since it has been heavily influenced by a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach; in France the historiography school of the "Annales" magazine gave a great contribution, in Germany and Austria Gisela Bock started many researches cooperating with "Man" magazine. This is the origin of gender history, the history of both genders which identify themselves by relating each other. Through contemporary historiography it has been possible to start new studies and think about the communication-relationship in combination with the diversity of genders. My research is focused in Italy, where there were many lines of collection research. We talk about collection such as: "History of Women" conducted by Antonella Cagnolati, "Social history of education" directed by Carmela Hatched and Simonetta Ulivieri. These publications offer pedagogical insights about women's stories in the field of Social History, the History of Pedagogy and the History of Education. These researches didn't show any more a static image of women, but highlight a great improvement: women are active both in private and in public life. Furthermore they acknowledge evident historical changes in the status of women and in the relationship between women and men. These issues - in ancient time as well as medieval, modern and contemporary era - are significant indicators of more general changes in "culture" from a figurative and anthropology point of view and about concept and value systems.*

Keywords: *women, identity, change, education*

1. INTRODUCTION

Let's consider some deliberations about the concept of "awareness" by women of their ability to act and learn. These deep considerations do not have to overlook the value of the difference, although them have to be enhanced, not dejected. As an example: woman education was once really basic, so different if compared with man education; it mainly consisted in a sort of training. Hereinafter teaching institutions had a key role in conveying the lifestyles of boys and girls, by different methods and social destinies. As for the history of women and about the educational models to them conveyed, this cognitive process has had a particularly deep meaning because it gave back them freedom of speech and expression. This re-appropriation of the "word" had a redemption result by allowing women being thinking subject starting from themselves (Ulivieri, Biemmi, 2011:34-35). At this point, the knowledge of women are no longer based only on learning the

"womanly arts" (Covato, 2007:54). It can therefore be gather that the contrast between an education based on silence and the desire to give back to the woman a voice, or the opportunity to achieve a place in history and to communicate in a different ways. Women assert themselves by their political activism, with the educational practice and finally expressing themselves in literature; they have introduced new subject of analysis by the purpose to establish themselves in different fields of society.

In all ages we have examples of women able to give their word evocative and substantial power. The study examines the following interpretive aspect: first, Fenelon theory about a moral education important for education and training for the new generations. In *The education of young girls* Fenelon introduced the theory about a imitated education of women to avoid all dangerous intellectual curiosity. In the age of Enlightenment, women were just allowed to "muted lights and supervised knowledge" (Duby,

Perrot, 1991:119-153); on the contrary, Jean Antoine Caritat de Condorcet already denounced in the “Journal de la société de 1789” habits and prejudices against woman’s rights. Condorcet, in fact, became the defender of women as jurist by introducing the matter of women political rights. On the other side, Jean Jacques Rousseau, invited everyone not to confuse the genres. According to the Genevan philosopher “the woman is mainly cut out to please man” and “is the order of nature that the woman obey the man”. Oppositely, Condorcet expressed a different view of women aimed to be very important in history of the feminist movement, both during the French Revolution and in XIX century, when the women's movement improved and women had new legal and institutional autonomy.

Founded in USA at the end of XIX century, the feminists movement branched in 1903 “The National Council of Italian Women” and followed by “The Alliance Pro Female Suffrage” both established in Rome. The conscious emancipation was the result of the new concept of women personality and the opening of the communication and gender identity. According to Carmela Covato, the “women achievement of new right of the word” is a phenomenon concerning the anthropological and cultural differences regarding the last 1900s decades (Covato, 2007:45-48).

2. THE CONQUEST OF THE WORD

Women “conquer the word” when, during the demonstrations on women empowerment, they demand their freedom, equality and equal rights in relation to men. In England, Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* claimed that to get to equal rights “a cultural change involving an equal education for men and women” was needed (Wollstonecraft, 1792:7). Wollstonecraft argued that it was necessary to convince women to “gain strength, both physical and mental” and that the first goal of an admirable ambition was to “acquire the character of human being regardless of gender distinctions” (M.Wollstonecraft, 1792:17-18). In the United States, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott are leading figures in the social defence who drew up the so-called *Declaration of Sentiments*, which stated that, since men and women are created equal, they had some inalienable rights including that of life, of liberty and of word. This *Statement of sentiments* denounced a state of subjugation of women to man in society, including the right to vote (Stanton, Mott, 2013:9).

The same struggle toward equality of civil rights along with that of word was supported by the literate Virginia Woolf who, born in 1800 within a wealthy and educated family, proved actively engaged in the defence of these rights. The interesting work of Virginia Woolf emerges as a singular example, in fact, its progress came in gradually and almost naturally, due to the feeling in the air at that time. An air of independence and open-mindedness, as evidenced by her membership in the intellectual and snob “Bloomsbury group” club. She wrote many novels, essays and literary criticism. Her works communicate a new approach to process concepts: subjective voice, inner monologue to allow main characters talk to themselves and let the reader be part of their thinking, as virtually inserted into the thoughts and feelings of the characters. (Woolf, 2011).

Virginia Woolf’s literary production is a flagship of women brilliance. It is easily pointing out main features which show how the writer cared about woman self-expression, the improvement of her ideas and personality, highlighting, at the same time, the importance of women independence. In *A room of one's own*, published in 1929, the author described the importance to have her own writing space, while in one of her diaries Simone de Beauvoir complained lack of private area for reading and writing, separate from the family one. *A Room of one’s own* was written on the occasion of a conference during which the writer discussed the topic “Women and novel”. She pointed out the differences between men and women education.

More than one writers have been involved in this literary current improving the self-education importance of women literature to share their experiences by writing.

3. COMMUNICATING IDEAS: THE MODERNITY OF ELLEN KEY

Thanks to the modern historiography, new studies about the subject of gender have been proceed. These are stories of dynamic women, both in private and in public sphere, stories related to communication skills of each woman.

Among a significant number of essays we mention the educational work of the Swedish writer Ellen Key: one of the most distinguished intellectual for works about feminism in Italy at the beginning of the twentieth century. (Cagnolati, 2010:41-42). She gave up her career in political journalism to study personal issues and relationship between natural and lawful families,

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the child and love. In her book entitled *The century of the child* she worked to awake the consciousness of the generation which had children, taking care of them and their education.

The educationalist had significant success with this work especially thanks to the Sibilla Aleramo's – journalist and successful writer - review on "The new anthology"; according to her, it was a work of great social value, a suggested reading for future mothers and young women (Cagnolati, 2010:43). Sibilla Aleramo is the point of connection with Ellen Key, as she introduced her to the Italian intellectuals in 1905. Mrs. Aleramo was involved in social work; she was also engaged for schools opening in the rural area of Milan, in order to help farmers and illiterates people and provided clinic assistance to mothers and children. Besides her commitment to social rights, she joined in 1899 the feminist movement of Milan. Mrs. Key and Mrs. Aleramo shared the commitment to woman rights. Mrs. Key had an unusual, innovative and unconventional approach, according to Mrs. Aleramo. At the beginning of 1900s, her work awoke people's conscience, as „it will transform our children, their birth, care and education, into the keystone of all social responsibility to which will depend laws, all habits and customs". She was beset with the eternal dilemma between mother's duty and women rule in society. She was very critical about law and organization of society at that time, considered as punitive conditions inflicted to mothers. These laws forced "woman choice between freedom and dignity and her children". According to her, the cause of liberating women had been supported by their personal social achievement not by reproducing men model behaviour. It was necessary, as said by Ellen Key, an "equivalence" and not an "equality", as men and women are different, neither above nor under each other, just persons it can not be compared.

At the beginning of last century, this theory became subject of discussion both in feminism and in educational areas. The point was try to join public and private sphere, motherhood and personal autonomy. Mrs. Key enhanced the relations between woman and maternity, pointing out its problematic issues. The solution was not locking them up inside four walls, but let them achieve their hard-won freedom also by looking for the right way to preserve the social purpose of motherhood (Cagnolati, 2010:57).

This position raised few polemics with Charlotte Perkins Gilman, the American feminist

which supported women working outside the home to improve their independence, therefore the importance to plan collective services to help women in homework (central kitchens, infirmaries, nurseries schools). Maria Montessori was also of the opinion that only a job outside home would guarantee to women independence necessary for a relationship based on deep feeling instead of a functional partnership. However, as stated by Tiziana Pironi, Maria Montessori accepted the challenge of Ellen Key and her *children's house* founded in the district of San Lorenzo in 1907, as a project for "social house of future" to let every woman be free not only for herself, "but also to improve mankind in the future." (Pironi, 2010:9-10).

3. CONCLUSIONS

In this work it has been analysed the role of woman, the importance of a proper education to be given in order to communicate properly and succeed in career; making women voices heard to the world. It is a result of a research based on different studies about pedagogy and literature concerning female gender.

It has also stressed the evocative and education value of writing by the works of some twentieth century's writes such as: Ellen Key, Sibilla Aleramo and Wirginia Woolf. A writing itinerary about personal and social aspects. Write down their thoughts means for women to emerge from the silence and give voice to their existence after having been considered for a long, too long times, as lesser people. Also, describe their experience help the writer, as well as young readers, to have a non-stereotyped image of women life.

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HIGHLIGHTS OF ETHICS AND PARTNERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY RELATED TO INTELLIGENCE

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Abstract: *The challenge of the intelligence staff is to strengthen interdisciplinary, by exposure to flows of acculturation partnership, the individual who will become the focal point of several dimensions, namely intelligence operator. The principles reflected in documents, such as statement about core values and code of conduct, values fundamental ethical the characteristics that unite and stand as intelligence professionals. At the macro scale, existing professional standards within the community network is insufficient to ensure that intelligence agencies act both, in the most efficient manner and in the interest of democracy, so it must be a process of acculturation network, which is defined as community pressure on illiberal agencies to adopt a more professional behavior towards rights. As a general rule, intelligence ethics should include principles of justification, proportionality, necessity and accuracy, and practitioners and policy makers must have the courage to introduce ethical and professional tools, a kind of nanoindicators, having the role of whistleblowers sensitive throughout the complex process of cooperation in intelligence.*

Keywords: *ethics intelligence, code of conduct, ethic power, acculturation network, nanoethics.*

1. THE INTELLIGENCE OPERATOR. THE PERCEPTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The job of an intelligence officer is undoubtedly one of the most exciting, ancient and essential jobs in the world. Moreover, the future of humanity is not of conventional wars that would impoverish or destroy the warring parties, but a future of information warfare, economic, psychological. We hear increasingly often the phrase "information is power". In this context, the role of intelligence agencies will increase more and more. So, the challenge of the intelligence staff is to strengthen interdisciplinary, by exposure to flows of acculturation partnership, the individual who will become the focal point of several dimensions, namely intelligence operator.

In the public eye, as PR specialist Mihaela Nicola (2014) noticed, Romanian intelligence officer has middle-aged, well educated, discreet, speaks several languages, is smart, clever and very adaptable. Does issues and concerns in a cosmopolitan way, he is patriot, has self-control, balance, does not have political preferences, is suspicious, silent, is skilful to achieve professional goals, his work is risky, difficult, but interesting. Romanian public does not associate SRI officer with James Bond, but they consider to be very "cool". Please fill in here:

SRI officer is young and is a professional with more rigorous in his work than I have met in private, with much more attention to details of major significance and bending to factual reporting at the expense of personal opinion. (Nicola, 2014).

The specialist in public relations that we cited here, deepening knowledge of local operators intelligence, and thanks to a partnership opportunities for the institution rebadged thus notes that:

SRI employees are particularly prone to reflection, to analyze, travel all the way from idea to speak, without burning steps. And then, from words to deeds, as carefully and thoroughly. They are extremely well trained, educated, have an unostentatious elegance, they are aware and able to anticipate the direction of concepts' movement.

Sociological investigation was necessary to introduce elements of marketing in an important issue of the institution: promoting a security culture. Thus, some conclusions were drawn regarding the axiological important items, in public opinion.

The first of these values, recurrent in most focus groups, is patriotism, so that the promise of value in the external public eye and also as the self-image of people who belong to the organization, the value of the institution declined

her new visual identity, in to the motto "Patria a priori". To be add in the public eye, a mixture of appreciation and gratitude for the professionalism intelligence officers for their effectiveness discreet for victory to be kept silent security, peace and stability, to be made Romania a country where the risks and threats were managed so that citizens and the rule of law to be protected.

All projections have one common: whatever would happen, SRI acts as a court brings in a unseen way, a form of equilibrium in systems, between systems.

2. ETHICS, CODE OF ETHICS AND INSTITUTIONAL BEHAVIOR PATTERN

Most ethicists consider ethics as a philosophical discipline that studies the moral, while the latter has the meaning of the object of ethics, real phenomenon, collectively and individually, comprising values, principles and standards, assessments and specific manifestations of human relations and subject to the requirement of public opinion and individual conscience

Ethics seeks to answer the question "How should act the individual in relation with himself, with his peers and with others?". The main task of ethics is prescribed rules for both individual behavior and social organization of the moral life. From this perspective, ethics can be defined broadly as the discipline dealing with what is valuable in life, what we deserve and what rules should govern human behavior.

2.1 Principles of professional ethics for the Intelligence Community. USA. For the first time in the largest democracy of the world, as a result of events uncontrolled leakage of classified information (see Manning cases, Snowden) there's the question of deep evaluation to a set of professional ethics values which should be undertaken by intelligence operators.

As members of the intelligence profession, they conduct themselves in accordance with certain basic principles. These principles are stated below, and reflect the standard of ethical conduct expected of all Intelligence Community personnel, regardless of individual role or agency affiliation. Many of these principles are also reflected in other documents that we look to for guidance, such as statements of core values, and the *Code of Conduct: Principles of Ethical Conduct for Government Officers and Employees*; it is nonetheless important for the Intelligence Community to set forth in a single statement the

fundamental ethical principles that unite us and distinguish us as intelligence professionals (NIS USA, 2014):

- Mission. We serve the people, and understand that our mission requires selfless dedication to the security of our nation.

- Truth. We seek the truth; speak truth to power; and obtain, analyze, and provide intelligence objectively.

- Lawfulness. We support and defend the Constitution, and comply with the laws of the state, ensuring that we carry out our mission in a manner that respects privacy, civil liberties, and human rights obligations.

- Integrity. We demonstrate integrity in our conduct, mindful that all our actions, whether public or not, should reflect positively on the Intelligence Community at large.

- Stewardship. We are responsible stewards of the public trust; we use intelligence authorities and resources prudently, protect intelligence sources and methods diligently, report wrongdoing through appropriate channels; and remain accountable to ourselves, our oversight institutions, and through those institutions, ultimately to the people.

- Excellence. We seek to improve our performance and our craft continuously, share information responsibly, collaborate with our colleagues, and demonstrate innovation and agility when meeting new challenges.

- Diversity. We embrace the diversity of our nation, promote diversity and inclusion in our workforce, and encourage diversity in our thinking.

2.2 Codes of institutional conduct. Romania. In the other hand, domestic affaires and so claims professionalism in duty of service are domains that should be very precisely engaged in a deep analyze about the matrix of conduct, similar profiles that sustain the real face of intelligence operator. Codes of undertaken conduct are part of our identity and define who we are as professionals in the field and we seek to become. As such, we also consider a code or a specific creed of intelligence activity. Thus, each intelligence officer must confront daily how each segment of their activities with some value requirements (Coldea, 2014):

- First, to place the institution value prior himself and Patria prior to any. *Patria a priori* - that is the motto assumed and the quintessence of a way of life that goes beyond the rigid distinction between "segment" of professional and personal values.

- To appreciate the history, culture and traditions of the country, so as to contribute to its

future. You can not go any further if you do not understand the past.

- To believe in the law, keep fairness and remain discreet, both inside and outside the profession.

- To defend the community in which he lives, to appreciate and respect people's beliefs. Intelligence officer is part of the social context, and each other's values and way of manifestation can be a natural addition to capital and security of Romania.

- To reflect objectivity to both, himself and the activity, and support exclusively and unconditional Romania's interests. Compared to these guidelines there's no partisanship, no whisksers and no color investigative efforts orientation or party-political pris.

- Have responsibility and believe in doing things right till the end. Each officer is related to norms and values deeply implemented and domestic system ensures the traceability of each command, of each action.

- To take intelligent risks, without excesses of tolerance or aversion. Risks are treated differently, depending on the assessment that realize on impact and probability, and the expected operational benefits.

- Have the courage to clearly highlight the truth and to assume responsibilities arising from vertical attitude. Information of the beneficiaries is based on factual truth, without nuances to fold or distort the information, according to their expectations.

- To defend their professional and personal integrity in any court. Integrity is more necessary precisely in those moments or situations that seem difficult to maintain. Ethical conduct of officers covers both, how and where, and the means of collecting data and information so that they are pertinent, relevant and valuable in relation to institutional objectives. It refers to integrity analysis, so it would ensure objectivity in professional diagnosis, during the "assembly" of all parts that are later given information's beneficiaries.

- To understand that intersection to others often remain discreet. The specifics of his work, an intelligence service is reserved at both, the institutional and the voice of his officers, for a public communication plan.

2.3 Ethics begins where the law stops. Institutional bureaucracy versus professional ethics. The common people must have deep understanding about the tough dilemmas facing intelligence professionals, for those who risked

much to give birth to a professional ethos began to those working in the shadows of society. These professionals make life more difficult when working for institutions, which, morally, are bankrupt, and the methods of force employees are harmful in every respect.

That is why, sometimes, the matrix of beneficiary affects almost natural process of maturation of a foundation and professional ethical conduct in the field.

Wide of intelligence community appears more discussed the "politicization" problem. This basically means that policymakers impairment of product information, so as to meet their desires and prejudices. This can lead to horrible consequences (as when top-level decision makers want to attack someone, regardless of the facts, or go crazy and take their country on the path of disaster and destruction in other ways). Therefore, all schools that prepare intelligence officers teach analysts avoid such politicization (Andregg, 2014:14).

Very interesting is the point of view of a well known American expert (Andregg, 2012:100-120) on intelligence, saying that bureaucratic institutions fear of ethics for at least five reasons: fear, greed, embarrassment, an obsession with secrecy itself, and as a result, isolation from society respect.

Fear: Tasked with defending America from all threats to the republic, and faced with novel dangers of international terrorism, our intelligence community has overreacted enormously. Pervasive propaganda to encourage public support for unpopular wars and invasive surveillance at home blows back on the agencies themselves.

Greed: A climate of perpetual fear leads to *much bigger budgets* for all of the security and intelligence services.

Embarrassment: IC bureaucracies do not want their mistakes, waste, and other dirty laundry revealed to a world that is very focused on costs of government in normal times, much less when thousands are dying each year because of mistakes made long ago.

The Obsession with Secrecy: Trying to operationalize protection of essential secrets in large bureaucracies has led to a spider's nest of rules, regulations, and cherished customs that turns back to ensnare and poison the very people who created them.

Isolation from society: Security clearance systems isolate many good and kind intelligence professionals from deeply moral people who can often see more easily what is wrong and sometimes

help with solutions. Furthermore, the most moral people simply will not sign a broad nondisclosure agreement that requires keeping all secrets, no matter how lethal or evil. That keeps those with moral dilemmas inside, isolated from outsiders with expertise in such problems, such as clergy and psychologists. That has bad consequences for IC employees, as evidenced by their stunning rates of alcoholism, divorce, and suicide, among other indicators of excessive stress induced by employer rules.

Ethics matter. Discarding ethics just because we are scaring ourselves to death, to get a few billions more in budgets, because we prefer to hide our embarrassments, and/or because we are obsessed with some aspects of tradecraft and thus are isolated.

3. PARTNERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY. ETHICAL STANDARDS INSIDE COOPERATIVE PARTNERSHIPS

The experience of the last years is a indication that existing professional standards in network arrangements are inadequate to ensure that intelligence services act both in the most effective way and in the best interests of democracy. Connections to untrustworthy, unreliable intelligence partners create a substantial risk of bad foreign policy decisions, false positives, and subversion of democracy. There are argues in favor of clear ethical professional standards to advance reliable intelligence sharing and human rights compliance. Also, contends that the most effective way to institute compliance with such standards is through *acculturation within the network*—that is, communitarian pressure on illiberal agencies to adopt more professional, rights-respective behavior.

3.1 Cooperative partnerships and ethical behavior towards allies. Cooperation through intelligence efforts, information sharing and other needs of today's cooperation is achieved through agreements, programs, projects or information operations, specifying that terminology introduce two other terms, *cooperation* - on the activity within an intelligence service or *collaboration*, which, together with cooperation in space is done internally or externally. Cooperation in the field of intelligence requires a new stage in the cooperation between intelligence services: moving the center of gravity from the exchange of information of the generality for cooperation on cases and specific measures as a way to reap the full potential of the partners involved.

The issue of collaboration / cooperation arising from the intelligence community, we believe that actions on this line should be to:

- increasing interconnectivity between intelligence services for existing vulnerabilities boundary demarcation of several systems (critical infrastructure security, disruption of energy supplies, financial markets, climate change);
- build a robust information infrastructure based on a culture of information sharing;
- shifting the focus from „exchange of information” at „exchange of knowledge” by addressing strategic knowledge exchange and management, operational capacity, robust networking, collaboration services permanent, integrated e-learning solutions, means view and organizational management systems;
- realization of virtual networks among analysts classified Community and intelligence services with access to databases made on issues or areas.

A good proposal integrates an approach that benefits from the expertise and exploit synergies arising from the breadth and depth of the partnership. Strengthen existing partnerships and establish new ones with private and public entities, internal and external sources to improve access to information and to ensure appropriate dissemination of intelligence products, is a prerequisite functioning intelligence community in terms of efficiency and performance. Partnerships can provide the solution to the problems of transnational exceeding existing organizational boundaries, and this approach should be circumscribed and comprehensive national policy to be implemented at the community level through policies that define the roles, responsibilities and authorities.

Achieving this objective to strengthen partnerships have focused on the following areas:

- strengthening the relationships existing - by informing partners about what the intelligence community, capacities and capabilities, as well as awareness of the benefits offered by partners;
- extending partnerships - to determine the exchange of information and cooperation;
- establishing new partnerships - by building mutual trust and a common understanding regarding the needs, capabilities and missions undertaken with partners.

Improved integration and exchange of information are intended to provide information management practices related purpose, information systems and architectures to meet their

responsibility to provide information and data, while protecting them from the risk of compromise. The type and amount of data grows exponentially with the speed and capabilities of their processing, which makes the whole cycle information to be held in a compressed frame and exchange of information to be quick, protecting at the same time, sources and methods and respecting fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens.

3.2 Get busy with professional tools. Rebranding less trustable partners. Professional standards, rather than legislative or other domestic oversight, are the prime mechanism to sanction and professionalize network partners. Therefore, the use of peer accountability and reputational sanctioning to enforce ethical professional norms, including prohibitions on mistreatment, may present the most effective mechanism to professionalize repressive intelligence agencies. Changing the culture of intelligence agencies is without a doubt a difficult task, and legal and ethical standards have to be taken seriously if they are to become part of the organizational culture, rather than just window dressing. Effective acculturation to ethical professional standards will require concerted reputational sanctioning and targeted use of intelligence aid and training. If leading intelligence powers set standards through intelligence collaboration, restraint, and objective assessment, other professional norms can spread to less professionalized agencies.

Here are some recommendations (HRW, 2014) of a very interesting report of a ONG that monitoring civil rights in USA. They suggest using professional sanctioning and transmitting norms through intelligence networks to encourage more effective long-term counterterrorism information sharing and overall strategy. It relies primarily on the theory of acculturation and argues that where hegemony or groups of influential intelligence agencies encourage compliance with certain norms, other intelligence agencies may adopt and comply with them. The idea of *communitarian pressure* operating within intelligence networks to induce human rights compliance may seem unlikely, but changes may occur, especially where well-respected intelligence agencies target their support and sanction violators collectively and consistently.

Such use of intelligence networks suggests the capacity of intelligence contacts to provide a lever for change. Inclusion in a network can lead to pressure to imitate and identify with the group,

which is likely to generate compliance with the group's norms. Within intelligence networks, interactions among partners and concern over the development of reputation can drive compliance with professional norms. For less reputable agencies, the anticipated long-term benefits of a good professional reputation may then outweigh the present value of violating network standards. Rewarding good behavior similarly may help induce compliance by less reputable intelligence agencies.

The goal of intelligence network sanctions and rewards should be to cultivate capable, accountable, and professionalized network partners who can be trusted to gather, analyze, and use information in humane and professional ways. As is the aspiration of western intelligence generally, intelligence networks should employ reputational sanctions and aid in order to keep the players honest, not permit disreputable arguments to thrive, point out where positions are internally contradictory or rest on tortured readings of the evidence.

3. CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

Perhaps the most effective way to establish professional standards is the process of *acculturation network*, which is defined as a community pressure on illiberal agencies, representative of some questionable democratic states to adopt a more professional behavior towards fundamental rights citizens. As a general rule, intelligence ethics should include principles of justification, proportionality, necessity and accuracy. All partners should understand that individuals will be covered only when the situation is justified, authorized, and the information collected will be properly recorded and kept or made available when establishing a legitimate need. Exercise transparency and participatory, the citizenship could support the premise that setting standards and monitoring by acculturation strengthen democratic bodies of intelligence networks to encourage ethical standards and behavior information in the interests of liberal democracies.

Here are some topics insight underlying our horizon near, and that requires a joint effort of all stakeholders in taking democratic principles, both in terms of respecting the overall framework of human rights, especially the radiography of the best security solutions. Could be true? Let us have the courage to introduce ethical and professional

tools, a kind of nanoindicators, with the role of whistleblowers sensitive throughout the entire complex process of cooperation in intelligence.

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Literature &
Linguistics

“THE BOOK OF WHISPERS” BY VARUJAN VOSGANIAN AS A LITERARY WAY OF UNDERSTANDING ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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Abstract: *The well-known novel “The Book of Whispers” (2009) by Varujan Vosganian is a relevant example of how different cultures, religions and traditions interact in different historical and geographical contexts. The presentation will refer to the way of combining in the novel the historical reality and literary fiction in order to highlight the tragic faith of the Armenian people in its interaction with the neighbor nations during the 20th century. The novel will be analyzed from the perspective of the intercultural theory and culture memory concepts and is attached to the 100 years anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. A particular point in the presentation will represent my own experience of translation of the novel in Russian language.*

Keywords: *Armenian Genocide, culture and historical memory, literary fiction, intercultural communication, xenophobia*

1. INTRODUCTION

The international commemoration of the tragic anniversary of the Armenian genocide centenary in April 2015 raised numerous polemics in mass-media regarding the historical essence and the political consequences of the event. While Pope Francis marked the Armenian genocide as the “first genocide of the 20th century”, the Turkish officials consecutively denied every statement that would entail the necessity of public acknowledgement of the historical guilt or any reparations to the Armenian people. The requirement of the recognition of the Armenian genocide as a historical fact on the one hand and the persistent negation of it on the other hand is one of the causes of the continuing cold relations between Turkey and Armenia. The position of the Pope Francis expressed during a mess on the 100th anniversary of Armenian mass killings in Ottoman Empire is obvious in his words that “concealing or denying evil is like allowing a wound to keep bleeding without bandaging it” (*ArmenPress*, 2015). The worldwide Armenian Diaspora settled for almost a century out of its historical fatherland and almost completely represented by direct descendants of the genocide victims perceived these words as an extra step to the historical equity and hope that it could become a lesson for the future, especially because of the fact that the suppression and denying of the Armenian genocide at the beginning of the 20th century entailed lately Holocaust, Stalinist repressions and other crimes of this type:

All the methods used to kill the Armenians, on the roads of Anatolia, from Constantinople to Deir-ez-Zor and Mosul, were later used by the Nazis against the Jews, methods that ranged from caravans taken to isolated and easily encircled places to be slaughtered, to the concentration camps where the dying were shot, starved, plunged in icy water or burnt alive (V. Vosganian, “The Book of Whispers”, here and further translation from Romanian by Alistair Ian Blyth, 2009:356).

The artistic reception of the events that took place in 1915 began almost at once after the publication of the official documents, photos or memories of those who survived the slaughters or deportations. The very first remarkable appearance in this sense was the autobiographical book “Ravished Armenia” (1918) by Aurora Mardiganian (1901-1994) that was filmed in 1919 by Oscar Apfel (1878-1938) as the “Auction of Souls”. A number of other fiction and documentary films appeared basically after the World War II. The best known literary work on the Armenian Genocide is the historical novel “The Forty Days of Musa Dagh” (1933/2012) by the Austrian-Bohemian writer Franz Werfel (1890-1945) that described the resistance of Armenians on the Musa Dagh Mountain during the Armenian genocide. Among others who wrote about it were William Saroyan (1908-1981) in his short story “The Armenian and the Armenian” (1936), Kurt Vonnegut (1922-2007) in “Bluebeard” (1987), other British, German, Armenian, Polish, Azerbaijani and even Turkish writers.

2. “THE BOOK OF WHISPERS” AND THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

“The Book of Whispers” (2009) by Varujan Vosganian (born in 1958), a Romanian writer of Armenian origin, continues this list of works dealing with the recollection and understanding of the Armenian genocide. Chapters seven and eight of his novel were read during the Worldwide Reading commemorating the centenary of the Armenian Genocide organized on April 21 by the International Literature Festival Berlin and the Lepsiushaus Potsdam. Moreover, being translated in 20 languages the fragments of the book were read in different cities of the world during the commemorative events. Mosaic, multidimensional novel “The Book of Whispers” by V. Vosganian offers the readers a historical and at the same time a very personal perspective to the identity and the tragic destiny of the Armenian people from the 20th century. The interweaving of characters, voices, images, documentary dates, individual memories and evidences make the novel a great epic texture build on the correlation between life and death, past and present, time and space, rational and mystical, divine and human. The historical reality and literary fiction in the book are fused together, although as the author said

every line of the novel is confirmed by documents. I didn’t change the realities in order to produce the stronger influence to the reader. The reality is so terrible and ruthless that is no sense to exaggerate. (Захарян, 2015)

Of all these real-life characters, some of their names you will find in the history books, others you will find only in *The Book of Whispers*. Although more often than not it tells of the past, it is not a history book, for the history books tell of the victors. Rather, it is a collection of psalms; it tells of the vanquished. (Vosganian, 2009:331-332)

“The Book of Whispers” is a family novel and a book of memory: first of the narrator, then of what “whispered” his forefathers, reconstituting from separate fragments the total perspective on the collective fortune of his family and nation. According to V. Vosganian

telling about it became for me a necessity and a duty, because there are cases that the world wouldn’t know about without this book. (Захарян, 2015)

Thus the novel suggests how the Armenian people as a small nation were forced to survive

during the ideological or geopolitical pressures between some great states: between Russian and Ottoman Empires at the beginning of the century, Stalinist and German Nazis troops in the middle of the century, between western liberal views and communist dogma after the World War II.

The novel by V. Vosganian is a relevant example of how different cultures, religions and traditions interact in different historical and geographical contexts. First, the genocide revealed the relation between host and foreign nations at a certain territory: that of the public domination and submission; however the relations on the simple human level are often characterized as being cooperative. Armenian people during the genocide were placed in the position of civilly dead victims against the politics of rage discrimination. Then, after the “Exodus” the interethnic and intercultural relations of Armenian Diaspora with other places and people highlighted their often outside status, that of the “xenos”, that brings them together with the nations that experienced the same destiny – Jews and Gypsies. The otherness and xenophobia attitude to Armenians in Romania of the past is relevant through the image of the narrator’s grandfather:

Under the Iron Guard regime he was slapped around, accused of being a Jew, and only the crucifix he wore at his throat saved him from much worse. He was slapped around after the communists came to power, accused of being a member of the Iron Guard, but this time the crucifix he wore at his chest was of no use to him, quite the contrary. (Vosganian, 2009:322)

The state of lack of freedom wherever they are continues in a kind of hostage that involves this time not only the Armenians but also the Romanians as their neighbors and host nation during the expansion of communism after the World War II. Thus, speaking about the Russian soldiers coming and leaving Romania, one of the characters says that “If we are to be free, then rather than them leaving and us remaining, we should leave and they should remain”, because

the red flags had sunk roots and the hammers and sickles had become part of the plasterwork, so that to remove them from the frontons you would have had to rip away the wall. (Vosganian, 2009:326)

The “Nansen” or stateless status of Armenians in Romania shaped their new identity of people whose “fatherland is everywhere and nowhere”, of “nobody’s” people, a nomad, straying nation in a perpetual search for home:

“THE BOOK OF WHISPERS” BY VARUJAN VOSGANIAN AS A LITERARY WAY OF UNDERSTANDING ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

We became the Romanian citizenship in 1948, as I found in the documents of my grandfather Garabet. Before that we weren't taken in the army, we couldn't launch a business in our name, we could only go everywhere we wished, although nobody else welcomed us. We were Nansenians. (Vosganian, 2009:55)

However the most part of Armenians went to America, the idea was that “if at one day it will prove that it isn't a searched land, they will go again to the roads”. Focșani, the narrator's native town in Romania, became in this sense a new home and place of encountering and reciprocal perception not only for Armenians, but also for many other peoples: Jews, Greeks, Albanians, and Gypsies.

Nevertheless, contrary to deportations, humiliation or persecution Armenians were able to keep their authenticity as ethos. “*The Book of Whispers*, as we find in the novel, is not a history book, but one of state of conscience”. This becomes evident through the attitudes of characters to what is home, life, death, and above all time and space. Thus, as the narrator:

To the old Armenians of my childhood the place where they lived seemed accidental. To some of them even the time in which they lived seemed accidental, except that time was harder to deceive. (...) As place was therefore nothing but a convention, which you could ignore when the circumstances were not particularly threatening, my old folk were fascinated with wide-open spaces. They used to speak as if they could be in different places at once. This probably helped them to survive when it seemed the hardest thing possible, but it also helped them die when there was not much else to do. (Vosganian, 2009: 321)

The culminant part of the book (chapters *Seven* and *Eight*) shows the consequent process of bestial extermination of Armenians from the Eastern territories of the Turkey inside the “seven circles of death” that symbolically mean the mortal deportation or the “initiation in death” of Armenian people:

The dead resulting from the endeavour to annihilate the Armenian people were not as numerous, if comparisons can be made between crimes on such a scale, but they were numberless. The names of which we know are mainly those of the murderers, the governors, the camp commanders, the pashas, those with the ranks of *bey*, *aga*, *çavuş*. The victims rarely have names. (...) From this nameless core of death I have traced seven circles, whose centre is

Deir-ez-Zor. Within their area, whose outer circumference passes through Mamura, Diarbekir and Mosul, more than a million people died, around two thirds of all those who died in the Armenian genocide. We know that they were there and that of those who entered the circles of death, of those who were not forcibly converted to Islam, sold as slaves or taken for the harems, almost none escaped. Anybody could die anywhere. There is not one family of Armenians in this world that does not have a member who vanished in the circles of death, as if dragged down into a whirlpool. Therefore, you can pray at the edge of every mass grave in the sure knowledge that somebody who belonged to your family is laid there. (Vosganian, 2009:356-357)

The collective memory about this was more than a “whisper”: it was merely an inaudible prayer or an interior silence caused by the shock of memory:

My grandfathers, Garabet Vosganian and Setrak Melikian, did not sing songs of the deportation in their moments of solitude. And nor did the other old Armenians of my childhood. The poems we read as children, the songs we heard, told mainly of the fedayi who had fought in the mountains, nor of the massacres and the deportations. In silence did the caravans descend each level of the initiation into death. Perhaps it was because the inner suffering was too strong to allow anything to pierce through to the outside. Perhaps it was because they did not believe that anything would come afterward. (Vosganian, 2009: 352)

The attitude towards death and relation with it is what, after V. Vosganian, defines the interpersonal, interethnic and intercultural relations: “We differ not through what we are, but through the dead people that everybody bewails”. These words, attributed to the grandfather of the author, became the epigraph of the book and the key to it because they determine the dimension of memory, the existential position in front of the other, family roots and sources of the past.

3. CONCLUSIONS

While translating “The Book of Whispers” from Romanian in Russian I had a feeling, however pathetic it may sound, of doing something important not only for the Romanian literature itself, but for the recovery of what shouldn't be forgotten. The direct certainty of this I took listening to V. Vosganian while presenting his novel in 2010 in Chișinău:

Everyone lives in his simplicity an epic. For every life seen careful, with patience and tolerance can be compared – by the intensity of living, by the symbols of the simplest things – with some great epics. It's a terrible way to understand the world. But beyond that nothing and never will be able to overcome the book. History is an infinite series of victories of the book... Most powerful empires collapsed, the cities fell, the armies were scattered, but what resisted is the memory of the leaf ... For the true human memory is the memory of papyrus, manuscript memory, memory of the book. It was a kind of nervous system of humanity... Who remembers today the name of prince of Florence in times of Dante Alighieri?.. The authorities have never won the book, because people write more than they can forget... The great conqueror of world history is the book. The real heroes don't need to look for under the horses' hoofs, but in the pages of books. Those who have created history were not the winners, generals, but those who were defeated, the poets. (Notes from my personal archive)

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THE FAILURE OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION – FROM ALBERT CAMUS TO KAMEL DAOUD AND “CHARLIE HEBDO”

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Abstract: *The present paper aims at analysing a sad paradox of contemporary civilisation: despite the extraordinary development of the technical means of communication, still multicultural communities (and especially cosmopolite cities) seem to be confronted to a serious failure of intercultural and inter-ethnic relationships. Although the postmodern world proclaims itself a society of “Difference” (Derrida, Deleuze) and a space of tolerance, the understanding of ‘the Other’ and of ‘otherness’ still remains problematic. This rather frustrating fact is reflected by literary works such as Albert Camus’s famous fiction “L’Étranger”/‘The Stranger’ and Kamel Daoud’s recent novel “Meursault, contre-enquête”/‘Meursault, Counter-Inquiry’ (Goncourt Prize nominee and winner of the “Prize of the Five Continents” in 2014). But nothing is more self-evident than reality itself: the violent attacks in Paris, of 7-9 January 2015, against the journalists and cartoonists of “Charlie Hebdo”, revealed (beside the over-discussed problems of security) a serious communication problem and a dramatic cultural hiatus between the Islamic and European cultural discourses.*

Keywords: *intercultural communication, multicultural community, culture clash, otherness, communication failure.*

1. THE UPS AND DOWNS OF HISTORY

The evolution of modern society was marked, during the 20th century, by two major phenomena: on one hand, the two planetary conflagrations swept away mankind’s dream of a more human and peaceful world; on the other hand, the disintegration of modern colonial empires engendered dangerous resentments between the post-colonial countries and the ex-metropolises. After World War One, the economic crisis of the 1930 came to aggravate the general climate of distress and deepened the gap between rich and poor countries. The period that followed to World War Two increased the general feeling of instability and undermined the mutual trust between nations.

Besides these latent tensions, the post-colonial era brought about a dangerous revival of some old, problematic oppositions (such as: centre/periphery, metropolis/ex-colonies, developed/under-developed countries), which led to a sharpening of inter-ethnic and interracial conflicts. Both the young “liberated countries” and the former colonial states had to face a multitude of unpredictable new problems (Onfray, 2012). On one hand, the emerging post-colonial nations – somehow disconcerted after the departure of the colonists – underwent a difficult, painful process of identity

reconstruction, which encountered unexpected obstacles and generated internal conflicts between “fundamentalists” (followers of old traditions and religion) and “moderns” or “reformists” (adepts of a more liberal, European vision of the World). On the other hand, new situations appeared inside the borders of the motherland, bringing to light important discrepancies between the West-European cultural pattern and other types of socio-cultural patterns, (principally caused by the gap between religious beliefs, mentalities, traditions, educational systems, social behaviours etc.), which engendered what sociologists call the “culture clash”.

2. ALBERT CAMUS AND THE FAILURE OF INDIVIDUAL COMMUNICATION

The bizarre story told by Albert Camus in his novel *L’Étranger* /*The Stranger* (published in 1942), takes place in French Algeria, probably around the 1940s, after a series of uprisings of the Arabs, brutally repressed by the French administration. Meursault, the main character, is an average French clerk who lives his life in a total indifference towards everything and everyone around him (friends, colleagues, family and society); moreover, he shows the same indifference towards his own person.

Along the story, we remark that none of Meursault's acts makes any sense; his deeds or gestures never seem to obey any logical "cause-effect" development. In fact, Meursault is a fatalist, he has concluded some time ago that the universe was absurd and, whatever he (or the others) may do, the result would be the same. It is the reason why most of his replies contain, like a leitmotiv, the automatic phrase: "Ça m'est égal" / "Never mind, I don't care". Every step in his life is taken at random; he never thinks about the consequences of his own acts, never asks himself a serious question about his relationship with the others, with the universe or with a possible God, in whose existence he refuses to believe. He manifests the same absolute lack of curiosity about his inner self, never analysing the motivations of his deeds or the morality of his behaviour.

He doesn't seem to feel much grief when he is announced, in a telegram, that his mother died (all alone, in a retirement home); no tear was seen in his eyes during the funeral ceremony, a fact that will be evoked, later on, as one of the important aggravating circumstances, in a trial where he will be sentenced to death. The day after his mother's funeral, he goes swimming in the sea and makes love to a woman, Marie, to whom he has never paid much attention before. But when she asked him whether he loved her, his sincere answer was: "I don't know", which confused her, but reflected, in fact, just an authentic, unbiased conduct.

The day after a violent incident with a group of Arabs, Meursault kills one of them, by five gunshots, because he is blinded and confused by the sunlight, and because the Arab takes out his knife, in an obviously aggressive attitude. A trial follows, where he is accused of "cold blood murder", and where all his previous gestures and deeds are interpreted against him. Meursault is sentenced to death, because nobody understands him (the judge, the jury, his defence attorney, and finally, the entire society). And that is because he is completely unable to explain his acts – to society or to himself. He could have evoked a justified clause of self-defence – and the French administration would have been happy to accept it, and grant him attenuating circumstances. But Meursault is in a situation of complete communication failure. Asked by the judge "Why did you kill that man?", he answers: "Because of the sun", which was true; but his answer sounded more like an ironic reply to the judge and jury, who took it like a real offense. Meursault is sentenced to death by his own incapacity of expression, by his position of "incommunicado":

he is just a dumb and deaf prisoner within his own body.

This is a typical situation of individual (or personal) non-communication. Meursault remains a stranger to the others, to the world and to himself, because he never even tried to initiate a real dialogue with any of these instances. He is guilty of... "complete alienation". And he pays this fault by his life. But, besides this tragic individual story, Albert Camus seems to bring forward a serious question about society's tolerance to difference. All these people who judge Meursault – in a Court of law, or outside it – never tried to look more closely at this strange case, to know the man behind his acts and find out his motivations; because, if they had tried harder, they might have seen a human being who did not resemble them, a man of few words, very little talkative, but very authentic in everything he says or does. They might have seen a white man, crashed under a heat of 45° C, on an Algerian desert beach, frightened by an Arab who took out his knife and threatened him. The defence could have pleaded for temporary suspension of mental faculties, or, more likely, for a justified self-defence situation. But no one is interested in knowing anyone in this novel: neither the Judge, nor the Jury; neither the defence, nor the prosecutor; neither Meursault, nor the society he lives in. All of Meursault's movements are considered by the others like the acts of an insensitive person, he looks like a cold-blood criminal, almost inhuman. In fact, Camus's hero is sentenced to death because *he is different*, and his society is not ready to understand or accept the right to *Difference*. His story would have been one of an utmost banality, if Misfortune hadn't decided to make a serious turn in his life. Beside the philosophical illustration of the absurdity of human existence, Camus's story is a pleading speech in favour of tolerance and of the acceptance of otherness, as bizarre as it may seem.

As Camus shows, a coincidence of unfortunate circumstances led to the death of his hero – a harmless, peaceful man (Todd, 1996; Vircondelet, 2010). The absurd, the "infernal machinery" (in Jean Cocteau's words) consists in the aleatory association of different elements that compose a human destiny; and, irrespective of the equation, the result is always the same: the only certitude in life is that we shall die. Camus's hero never seems to realize the inter-ethnic nature of the conflict between him and the Arab; his total indifference to the surrounding world keeps him blind to the latent tensions between the colonists and the native population. By the time, the two categories – the

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white people and the Arabs – lived in different neighbourhoods; they had different stores, different schools and different churches. They usually didn't mix up much and they rarely interfered or communicated with each other. From Meursault's point of view, no intercultural dialogue was necessary between the two communities, and he had never tried to find out anything, whatsoever, about the way of life, the philosophy, the traditions, the habits, or the beliefs of the people belonging to the other group. In fact, Meursault never seemed to perceive *otherness*; for him, *alterity* was practically inexistent. He unconsciously accepted the colonial privileges that came to him, in the most natural way; there was no question or doubt in his mind about the colonial relationships; as far as he was concerned, the man he killed was just an Arab, and nothing more. And this is precisely the attitude that will be reproached to him (and, implicitly, to his author) by the contemporary novelist Kamel Daoud.

3. KAMEL DAOUD AND THE FAILURE OF INTER-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Half a century after the publication of *The Stranger* by Albert Camus, the Algerian writer and journalist Kamel Daoud gives him a literary reply, in a fiction entitled *Meursault, contre-enquête / Meursault, Counter-Inquiry*; the book was first published in 2013, in his native country, and in 2014, at “Actes Sud” Publishing house, in France. Daoud presents the same events as Camus, but... from the opposite point of view. The story of the Arab killed on a beach by a French colonist is told, in a never-ending *soliloquy*, by the brother of the victim, Haroun, fifty years after Meursault's execution. He has some glasses of wine every night in a bar (one of the few ones left, where alcohol is still served) and tells each time one episode of his brother's story; he seems to be so caught in his own souvenirs, that no one can say for sure if he really talks to an interlocutor, or if he utters his story in the ether, talking to an imaginary person or a ghost.

Apparently, Haroun's intention is to communicate *his* side of the events, together with his feelings of anger and disappointment, to a young Frenchman, apparently a PHD candidate, who is writing a thesis about Meursault. Haroun tries to make him see the facts from the reverse angle as well, like in a real trial. He demands that the principle of *audiatur et altera pars* should be granted to him and to his dead brother, since it is

considered as a fundament of justice and equity, in most legal systems.

The leitmotiv of Haroun's discourse is the absence of the Arab's name in Camus's novel; his mother and himself, as well as the whole community, consider this omission as an ultimate offense to the victim, to his family and to his people. Haroun blames this error on the white colonists' complex of superiority, which made them see in the Arab not their fellow-man, but a sub-human entity. They never thought of Moussa (Haroun's brother) as an equal human being, but just as one of their numerous, impersonal servants. Haroun obsessively repeats the name “Moussa”, over and over, as if he wished to engrave its sonority in his interlocutor's memory. What bothers him most is the anonymous figure of his brother in the Frenchman's book, and he speaks out his mind in a burst of bitterness and frustration:

Me too, I have read his version of the facts. Just like you, and millions of others. From the very beginning, you could understand everything: he had a man's name; my brother had the name of an accident. He could have called him “two o'clock”, as the other one called his Blackman “Friday”.¹ (Daoud, 2014:15).

Kamel Daoud deliberately mixes up the references in his book: he attributes the authorship of Camus's novel to Meursault himself, who allegedly wrote *The Stranger* in prison, while he was waiting for his execution. Haroun's entire life was subordinated to two main purposes: to give an identity to his brother, and to avenge his death. The night Algeria gained her official liberty, he killed a Frenchman whom he didn't know, just to offer some comfort to *M'ma* (his mother), who had grown old, waiting for an opportunity to see her elder son avenged. But Haroun didn't get the expected satisfaction after this crime: this was not *his* way of making justice and of putting things in their right place. He realised (unfortunately, too late) that *his* view upon life was quite different from his mother's. *M'ma* belonged to a revolutive world: she blindly believed in the Islamic religion and held to a primitive law, whose basic principle was “an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth”. Haroun finally adopts a more relative philosophical position: he concludes that religion is just a way of

¹ Original text: *Moi aussi, j'ai lu sa version des faits. Comme toi, et des millions d'autres. Dès le début, on comprenait tout : lui, il avait un nom d'homme, mon frère, celui d'un accident. Il aurait pu l'appeler « quatorze heures », comme l'autre a appelé son nègre Vendredi.*

manipulating people, and the old law has to be left behind, in favour of the modern values of individual liberty. Approaching the end of his life, he realizes that his whole existence was a waste of time, that he has lived in his mother's shadow, executing *her* orders, doing everything *her* way, accomplishing *her* wishes, and never doing anything for himself.

After taking the Frenchman's life, Haroun was not punished by the new indigenous leaders of his country, under the excuse that the killing took place during the last minutes of the Liberation War. In exchange, his new local chiefs looked at him in a superior contempt, because he had not joined the *maquis* (the forces of the Algerian Resistance), like the other young men in his town; he is not accepted as one of them, because he hasn't killed any Frenchman *before* Liberation. He draws the (ironical) conclusion that if you kill one man, you are a criminal, but if you kill lots of people, you are a hero. Moreover, being an atheist, Haroun never goes to the mosque, and he is regarded with circumspection and disapproval by all the citizens of the small town. In the end, he remarks that he has become a *stranger*, just like the Frenchman who killed his brother; and thinking of Meursault, he feels that he is somehow bound to him, in a sort of universal fraternity of criminals.

By writing this book, Kamel Daoud's intention was not to deny the literary and philosophical value of Albert Camus's novel, but to initiate a dialogue between the two cultural patterns: the French one and his own (see also Daoud, 2013). Brought up in the French educational system, Daoud (just like his hero) acquires a more complex and more nuanced vision of the world, as compared to his compatriots; through his multiple readings, he came to relativize some "sacred" values of his culture (such as the Islamic religious precepts); besides, he gets to appreciate the elegance and refinement of French language, as well as the liberal principles of French society. Therefore, his book is also a tribute paid to Camus and to the French culture. Very often, he makes subtle intertexts with *The Stranger*. Camus's novel begins by the following phrase: *Mother died today*² (Camus, 1942:5); with a slight irony, Daoud commences his novel by the phrase: *M'ma is still alive today*³. (Daoud, 2014:13). He writes his novel in French language, in order to open a communication way between the ex-colony and the metropolis. And Daoud's dialogic attempt was

rewarded: the metropolis responded, by publishing his book in France, by nominating him among the finalists of the prestigious "Goncourt Prize", and by attributing him "The Prize of the five continents" and the "François Mauriac Prize" – all during the same year, 2014.

The only problems of Kamel Daoud came from his own homeland; some of his compatriots did not seem to appreciate his close relations to the Occident, and especially to the French culture. On December 2014, an imam gave a *Fatwa* (i.e. a recommendation, released by a specialist in Islamic law) against Kamel Daoud, requiring his execution, for the following accusations:

he has put the Koran under the sign of doubt, as well as the sacred Islam; he has hurt the Muslims in their dignity and sang the praises to the Occident and the Zionists; he has attacked the Arab language. (Coquet, 2014).

The same month, the imam launched a call on Facebook, demanding his death, for "apostasy and heresy" (Coquet, 2014). Daoud has lately been the target of several failed criminal attempts, perpetrated in the name of the 'sacred values' of the Islam, under instigation from a religious authority.

Kamel Daoud's good intentions to create a bridge between his country's culture and a West-European ones were obstructed by some extremists, who do not represent the majority of the Algerian population; even if the metropolis responded to his call by the affirmative, the fundamentalists replied by the negative. A real dialogue cannot take place without the good will of both sides.

And, as a frightening coincidence, one month later, the editorial staff of the French magazine *Charlie Hebdo* was going to be the victim of a horrible tragedy, caused, once again, by an extremist group of Islamic fundamentalists.

4. CHARLIE HEBDO AND THE TRAGEDY OF NON-COMMUNICATION

The entire civilised World was shaken by the tragic events that took place in Paris, in the beginning of this year, between the 7th and the 9th of January, when a group of masked extremists, armed with Kalashnikov rifles, attacked the journalists and cartoonists from the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris. Eleven people were gunshot on the first day of the massacre, in the Charlie Hebdo's offices: a police bodyguard, a caretaker, an editor and four cartoonists of the

² Original text: *Aujourd'hui, maman est morte.*

³ Original text: *Aujourd'hui, M'ma est encore vivante.*

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magazine, along with three other people of the editorial staff, and a guest. Witnesses said they had heard the gunmen shouting “We have avenged the Prophet Muhammad!” and “God is Great!” in Arabic, after calling out the names of the assassinated persons.

The journalists and cartoonists of *Charlie Hebdo* have been repeatedly threatened by Islamic extremists on different occasions; they also had been the targets of some failed attempts to their lives; but they believed in their cause – the liberty of expression – and never gave up their ideals. They knew that they were exposed to multiple dangers, and they assumed this risk. Who said that “the pen is mightier than the sword”? He must have been an incurable dreamer.

Nothing can justify the unimaginable cruelty of the Paris incidents; but the fanatics who caused this massacre sincerely believed they had praised their God by killing innocent civilian people: they considered themselves as “true-believers”. Therefore, should we draw the conclusion that the *Koran*, Allah or Muhammad the Prophet, require from the Islamists to kill those who have a different religious belief? or those who have no belief at all? Kamel Daoud, through the voice of his hero, Haroun, proves quite the opposite, by quoting the Islam’s sacred book:

Le seul verset du Coran qui résonne en moi est bien celui-ci: "Si vous tuez une seule âme, c'est comme si vous aviez tué l'humanité toute entière". [The only verse of the Koran that has a resonance inside

me is the following one: “If you kill one single soul, it is as if you had killed the whole mankind”]. (Daoud, 2014:101).

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THE MELANCHOLY OF RESISTANCE WITH MIRCEA NEDELCIU AND LÁSZLÓ KRASZNAHORKAI: SYMBOLIC IMAGES OF COMMUNITY UNDER COMMUNISM AND ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF MORAL IDENTITY

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Abstract: Starting from a comparative analysis of the symbolic representations of community in the works of two major Eastern European fiction writers of the 1980s (nationally praised Romanian prose writer Mircea Nedelciu and internationally acclaimed Hungarian novelist László Krasznahorkai), the present contribution brings together their fundamentally similar perspectives on community disaggregation under communist totalitarianism. The two authors' aesthetic (re)constructions of community – favouring fantasy-like approaches and a poetics of absence often turning into actual representations of "spectrality" (in the Derridean sense of the term) – are meant to be read as (underlying) ethical standpoint(s) on the distortion of the moral component of personal and group identity under totalitarianism. Moreover, both writers are interested in exploring the possibilities (and limits) of marginal moral resistance (i.e. the possibility of moral resistance with socially marginalised individuals, marginal/uncharted communities etc.) as alternative moral identity (re)construction model(s). Nedelciu and Krasznahorkai's "fabulatory" ways of exploring socio-cultural reality and political imagery could hereby be associated with theoretical viewpoints such as André Petitat's approach on "secret" and social forms, Tadeusz Buksiński's concept of "covert passive resistance", Jacques Derrida's take on "spectrality" or with the more general discussions concerning the concept of "moral identity", while also proposing a particular and plausible relationship between "aesthetics and mimesis" (as recently re-defined by Beljah Mehdi-Kacem).

Keywords: community, moral identity, totalitarianism, marginality, resistance, freedom of thought

1. THE "MORAL IDENTITY" OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND OF THE COMMUNITY UNDER EASTERN-EUROPEAN COMMUNIST REGIMES; LITERARY REFLECTIONS

Morality as a concept is more and more often regarded in contemporary context (especially since Charles Taylor's *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*, published in 1989) not only as a matter of (individual or collective) action (i.e. by normatively establishing or judging "do-s" and "don't-s"), but rather as part of a complex and flexible cultural process of identity construction, i.e. an existential option, a way of "being" in the world (Taylor, 1989:79). More recent studies – as well as reference works such as the fourth edition of Monique Canto-Sperber's *Dictionnaire d'éthique et de philosophie morale* – acknowledge the concept of "moral identity" as part of a person's or a group's "essential identity". In what concerns the latter, it can be mainly defined as a group of "characteristics enabling the identification"

of an individual or a group "as being essentially" that person or community, "in such a way that if those characteristics were altered", the given entity "would become a different one, in spite of the fact that" he, she or it "may still be differentiated and re-identified as being the same person" or collectivity (Rorty, *apud* Montefiore, 2004:885)¹. Moreover, the "essential", as well as the "moral" identity of the individual is considered to be closely linked to that of the group, through a convoluted mechanics negotiating appurtenance under various social and historical conditions (Montefiore, 2004:885-886). Consequently, as the idea of morally "belonging" doesn't always forcefully imply homogeneity among the persons affiliated to a certain group or community, and as the

¹ Original fragment: "Quels types de caractéristiques permettent d'identifier une personne comme étant *par essence* la même personne qu'elle est, de sorte que si ces caractéristiques changeaient, elle serait une personne très différente, bien qu'elle puisse encore être différenciée et ré-identifiée comme étant la même personne?"

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ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF MORAL IDENTITY**

“individuals have little or no control over the behaviour of the group they belong to or over the roles they might play” (Montefiore, 2004:889)², an individual or a small group of people may very well “morally” de-solidarise or abandon the moral identity of his/her/their community and acknowledge the values of another, thus becoming a bearer of value, a *locus* of “dignity” (Kant, *apud* Taylor, 1989:83-84) and “responsibility” (Rorty, *apud* Montefiore, 2004:883-885). The “moral identity” of the person can thus be defined as

a deep commitment to certain values – an engagement manifesting itself both by means of practical dispositions and observable behaviour, on the one hand, and by means of what we say (or tell ourselves) explicitly or not [...], a feature in the absence of which we would be unrecognisable as being the same person «in the morally complete sense of the term» (Montefiore, 2004: 890)³.

Much as that of the individual, the “moral identity” of groups or communities will be defined as

their specific adhesions to certain values, such as those of a laic domain open to everyone or those specific to the beliefs or the social practices typical of a certain religion [...] (Montefiore, 2004: 890)⁴.

In this sense, a particular type of individual (or marginal) moral disengagement occurred under the totalitarian communist regimes in Eastern Europe. The term “covert passive resistance”, coined by contemporary Polish philosopher Tadeusz Buksiński, and defined as a resultant of

² Original fragment: “[...] en tant qu’individus, ils n’ont souvent que peu ou pas de contrôle sur le comportement des groupes auxquels ils appartiennent ou sur les rôles qu’ils se trouvent jouer [...]”.

³ Original fragment: “Mais un profond engagement en faveur de certaines valeurs – un engagement qui se manifeste autant dans les dispositions pratiques et le comportement observable que dans ce qu’on dit (ou ne dit pas) explicitement à soi-même et aux autres – peut certainement former une caractéristique centrale du caractère, au point de constituer ce qu’on peut tout à fait considérer comme l’identité morale, une caractéristique en l’absence de laquelle on ne serait plus reconnaissable comme la même personne au «plein sens moral du terme»”.

⁴ Original fragment: “Mais les groupes, autant que les individus, peuvent avoir leur propre identité morale – faite de leur adhésion caractéristique à certaines valeurs, celles d’un domaine publique laïque ouvert à tous, par exemple, ou celles qui s’attachent aux croyances et pratiques sociales d’une religion donnée”.

“utilitarian” calculations an “traditional morality”, as “a partly open cooperation with the regime, and at the same time, taking actions which weakened or liberalized the system” (Buksiński, 2011:40), as well as the concept of “overt non-violent protest”, understood as “evident individual opposition or dissidence”, as individual explicit establishment of “*non possum*”-s which “delimited the effective identity of [...] individuals, groups, communities and institutions” – i.e. the things that “we cannot yield any more” without “jeopardizing” our “spiritual identity” (Buksiński, 2011: 41) – are a terminology corresponding to such particular forms of disengagement and obviously imply an irreducible moral coordinate. In addition, various (composite) types of non-violent resistance also find literary reflections in 1980s and 1990s Eastern European fiction – such as in the fictional productions of Mircea Nedelciu in Romania, László Krasznahorkai or Péter Esterházy in Hungary, Sergei Dovlatov in Russia or Andrzej Stasiuk in Poland – and in different testimonials regarding the last decades of communism in the Eastern Bloc.

It is this kind of covert, unspoken tension between the moral configuration of collective and personal identities that are depicted and presented in the works of Mircea Nedelciu and László Krasznahorkai, the two fiction writers of the 1980s that will make the main object of this study. The nowadays canonical Romanian author Mircea Nedelciu wrote his four tomes of short stories – *Aventuri într-o curte interioară* [*Adventures in an Interior Courtyard*]⁵ (1979); *Efectul de ecou controlat* [*The Well-Controlled Echo Effect*] (1981); *Amendament la instinctul proprietății* [*The Property Instinct Amended*] (1983); *Și ieri va fi o zi* [*And Yesterday will Be a Day, Too*] (1989) – and three of his four novels: *Zmeura de câmpie* [*Plain Strawberries*] (1984), *Tratament fabulatoriu* [*Fabulatory Treatment*] (1986), *Femeia în Roșu* [*The Woman in Red*] (1989) and *Zodia scafandrului* [*Under the Diver’s Sign*] (2000), under Ceaușescu’s regime (except for his unfinished, posthumously published novel *Zodia...*, still conceived before 1990, but continued afterwards).

Hungarian novelist László Krasznahorkai is still literarily active and has reached worldwide

⁵ All the English translations from Romanian and French quoted in the paper belong to the author of the article.

literary recognition after the collapse of the Soviet Bloc; since his 1980s masterpieces, *Satantango* (1985) and *The Melancholy of Resistance* (1989), and after the publication of *War and War* (1999), he gradually achieved national, then international success and has collaborated (as a screenwriter) with cinema director Béla Tarr. The latter worked almost exclusively with Krasznahorkai and turned *Satantango* (in 1994) and *Werkmeister Harmonies* (in 2001) into feature films. However, I will mainly restrict here to his first two novels – written and published under Hungarian communism –, since after 1990 Krasznahorkai changes what Romanian critic Nicolae Manolescu would call the “hinterland” of his stories, i.e. the real, actual world model inspiring fictional representations of reality (Manolescu, 1998:33-34).

The ethical standpoints in Nedelciu’s and Krasznahorkai’s works concerning the moral identity of the community and its disaggregation under communism are basically translated within the literary text(s) by means of two primary mechanisms, namely: the fictional construction of space, relying on the recurrent presence of spectral, haunting sceneries and marginal geographies, on the one hand; and the critical presence of the morally disengaged, marginal individual as counterpart for the ethical decadence of the group, on the other.

2. SPECTRAL SCENERY AND MARGINAL GEOGRAPHIES

The fictional construction of anthropologic space with the two authors very often coincides not only when it comes to selecting pertinent “hinterlands” or fractions of reality, but also when it comes to the symbolic representations of cultural space (in the broadest sense of the term). Their specific or preferential *topoi* are marginal (social or cultural) geographies. With Krasznahorkai, the depiction of rural communities, off-road spaces and phantomatic ruins is almost exclusive; with Nedelciu, the predilection for rural isolated communities and “on-the-road” places – or “non-places”, in Marc Augé’s terms (Augé, 1992) – is also completed by urban, if still mainly marginal, alienating landscapes (student housing facilities, motels, parking spaces, airports, derelict suburbs).

The two writers’ recurrent representation of marginal places already becomes evident as an ethical option. The most obvious moral significance of the margin as omnipresence is the suggested idea of community disarticulation: in a

society in which such values as cooperation or mutual trust become generally problematic, the visible effect is anthropologic disintegration of well-centred, well-managed and well-balanced space into infinite wastelands. The apocalyptic depictions of desolation and insalubrity as effects of poor local community management; the typical unendingly flat marsh-like sceneries suffocating human settlements in Krasznahorkai’s *Satantango* and *The Melancholy of resistance* are doubled in Nedelciu’s case by the extremely similar descriptions of pauper, almost lost countryside settlements in the Romanian Plain, sinking (and occasionally disappearing completely) under colossal amounts of snow or between unseen, phantasmal Möbius-like “fractures” or “folds” of the landscape (e.g. in the short story *O căutare în zăpadă* [*A Pursuit in the Snow*] – where a village is completely covered by the 1954 colossal snowfalls –, in *Tratament fabulatoriu* or in *Zodia scafandrului*, where entire settlements disappear under the treacherous curves of the scenery and people’s lives are lost under abundant snowfalls or endangered by invisible snow pits).

Another typical feature of anthropologic space – again, with both authors – is its powerful, almost unbearable spectrality. Phantom buildings and settlements haunt the rural scenery and lurk in every corner: ruins of abandoned buildings or agricultural co-operatives, dishevelled mansions once having belonged to local dignitaries or eccentric cultural personalities (such as the recurring *topos* of Mateiu Caragiale’s⁶ mansion in Nedelciu’s *Tratament Fabulatoriu* and *Zodia scafandrului* or the ruined mansion in *Satantango* where the ancient colonists hope to re-build their community), half-dead remainders of abandoned work colonies and outlandish clandestine “phalansteries” (e.g. the colony in Krasznahorkai’s *Satantango* or the Forierist phalanstery in Nedelciu’s *Tratament fabulatoriu*) – are all over-present elements generating a crushing, suffocating and ambiguously disturbing overall atmosphere. The anthropologic space thus described acquires a ghostly, menacing aura, melancholically and silently reminding everyone not only of the present decay of the community’s cultural and socio-economic patrimony, but also of the fall of all common moral values –and perhaps the most

⁶ Mateiu Caragiale, son of Ion Luca Caragiale, was a dandy-like, eccentric Romanian novelist of the early decades of the 1900s, who seemingly inhabited during the last part of his life a mansion near Nedelciu’s village of origin, Fundulea.

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symbolic representation of such axiological decay is the mummified dead whale become a circus exhibit in Krasznahorkai's *Melancholy of Resistance*.

The landscape and the anthropological space depicted by the two authors are thus highly symbolically charged with moral and political meaning. The apocalyptic abnormal/ paranormal/ fantastic features of the geography, surpassing all possible human control and understanding, may very well be read as allegories of the totalitarian communist Superstructure (dystopically) described – and Nedelciu literally does several times (in *Călătorie în vederea negației* or *Zodia scafandrului*), while Krasznahorkai aesthetically implies the same in *The Melancholy of Resistance* – as monstrosity, catastrophe, disorder or calamity, as a super-human, secular – if ever as dreadful – embodiment of Evil. It is this same uncontrollable power that manifests its adversity under the form of inimical atmospheric, climatic and geologic conditions, such as massive snowfalls or terrible earthquakes with Nedelciu (who significantly exploits real catastrophic natural phenomena having occurred since the installation of the communist regime in Romania, e.g. the massive snowfalls of 1954 or the disastrous earthquake in 1977); and as improbable, sudden windstorms or gloomy rainfalls (almost literally choking people and settlements in mud, isolating them further) with Krasznahorkai.

Everything in these descriptions of space thus converges towards a negative poetics of absence, as spectrality becomes both a sense of Evil disguised as apocalyptic (un-)natural calamity and a Derridean, melancholic presence of “the non-present”, of a “being-there of an absent or a departed one” that “de-synchronises”, “recalls to anachrony” and is “unnameable” (Derrida, 1994:6-7). A poetics of absence describing not only the community's broken historical and anthropological legacy, but the loss of its possibility to morally regroup and rejuvenate, or...resurrect/ return from the dead. Another (secondary) dimension of the moral significance of the Margin as omnipresence, applying to both Nedelciu and Krasznahorkai, and which is closely linked to its primary symbolic function (that of describing the decay of the community's essential identity), is the perception of the Margin as a space (or a zone) where a certain freedom should (theoretically) be possible. Most evident with Nedelciu – who often hints in his stories and novels at cultural theorists having studied the problematic nature of the “government

of [cultural] margins” (or of culturally marginal territories), such as Fernand Braudel or Michel Foucault –, this conception that the Margin is a space where the Centre's (i.e. the totalitarian power's) control is difficult and therefore relative is also visible in the common fictional representation of space – and so does with Krasznahorkai. On-the-road places often offer (with both authors) relative, momentary security, escape and the possibility of guarding secrecy (the secrecy of one's identity, of one's refusal to collaborate with the regime, a refuge from the “long arm of the law” as in *Satantango* and in most of Nedelciu's stories (e.g. *Partida de «Taxi-Sauvage»* [*The Game of «Taxi-Sauvage»*], *Amendament la instinctul proprietății*, *Acțiunea romanului «Black Money»* [*The case of the (novel) «Black Money»*] etc., in *Zmeura de câmpie* and in *Tratament fabulatoriu*). However, if the individual may find temporary refuge by constantly moving across marginal spaces, by becoming a sort of a runaway disguised as a drifter, community reconstruction remains utterly impossible with Krasznahorkai – where the *status quo* unfailingly wins over renewal tendencies. With Nedelciu, revival remains mainly impossible, too: the moral identity of remote, isolated communities can only be savaged if it stays forever out of the regime's reach. This is also applicable to Nedelciu's small, imaginary utopian communities in *Tratament fabulatoriu* or *Călătorie în vederea negației* [*Journeying Towards Negation*]. Since they can only function in secrecy, the slightest contact with the system contaminates them and seals their fate, vowing them to (apparent) self-destruction.

The dystopian character of space (symbolically representing the moral decay of the community) thus remains mainly unaltered with both authors: and if escape is occasionally possible by perpetual running away and or hiding, it is also extremely fragile, relative and eventually alienating. Since all frontiers are closed, any such attempt is bound to become a trap in itself or to move on a closed (and eventually finite) circuit... just as with the saloon flies in Krasznahorkai's *Satantango*, destined to (desperately) float around in infinite circles around the light bulbs in order to (temporarily) avoid being prayed upon by the ever-hungry spiders lurking in the darkness. And as the *perpetuum mobile* is an actual (physical) impossibility, no escape is ever final or even (completely) possible – except for death.

3. INDIVIDUAL VS. COLLECTIVE CHARACTER CONSTRUCTION

Another way of fictionally representing community degradation is, with both Nedelciu and Krasznahorkai, their respective collective and individual character construction techniques and the particular descriptions of underlying tensions between persons and social groups in the narrative. Precisely, as the moral identity of the local community or society in general disintegrates, Nedelciu's and Krasznahorkai's favourite protagonists settle on de-solidarisation/disengagement in relation to the negative tendencies of their communities. They generally opt for (auto-)marginalisation – even if this refusal of appurtenance usually attracts dramatic consequences – and for various forms of resistance and/or opposition. Dystopically constructed, the two fictional world models we are facing feature negative models of community countered by atypical, positive individual prototypes.

With László Krasznahorkai, the moral dissolution of community is almost parabolic as narrative rendition. Bestiality and moral decay rule over the collective characters in *Satantango* and *The Melancholy of Resistance*. Both communities (significantly not bearing names) are eaten from within by corruption, defeatism, petty hidden enmities and animalisation. Leaders – like Mrs Eszter or the monstrous master of the dead whale in *The Melancholy of Resistance*, or like Irimiás and Petrina in *Satantango*) are usually extremely morally debased, non-empathic compromisers, animated by nothing but personal interest. A vast number of morally decomposed, almost subhuman identities populates the community, from child abusers, thugs, tricksters and scoundrels of all sorts to sordid, promiscuous (slightly faded) local beauty queens and ridiculously conservative old maids. In spite of their ethical dishevelment, however, a common dream of moral resurrection haunts both the commoners in *Satantango* and *The Melancholy of Resistance*: as seemingly un-natural danger emerges, these collective characters attempt to regroup around their treacherous leaders and make a difference. Of course, the phantasies of the unknowledgeable crowd are always sort-lived, as it only manages to get abused and manipulated over and over again. Key-scenes or episodes like Irimiás' speech in *Satantango* or Mrs Eszter's in *The Melancholy of Resistance* are highly symbolic: they both occur in the aftermath of violence and death, as the crowd is celebrating the death of a

community member (Estike's and respectively Mrs Pflaum's) and are in fact funeral discourses. While the collective character is tricked into hoping that salvation may come from the outside, i.e. from the leader (who actually uses their mistakes and vague sentiments of guilt against them), the leader himself (ab)uses everyone (dead or alive) in order to gain power and attain his or her selfish goals. The community thus actually dies (morally) along with its last moral inhabitant (in *Satantango*) or actually becomes (symbolically speaking) its (posthumously) honoured, rotting dead member (in *The Melancholy of Resistance*).

Moral existence is only possible in Krasznahorkai's novels through extreme personal dis-engagement. By differentiating oneself and escaping to fantasy worlds (as with Estike in *Satantango* and Valuska in *The Melancholy of Resistance*), or on the contrary, by being over-aware and pessimistic (like Futaki or Mr Eszter), one attracts the others' suspicions and unjust judgements (e.g. Valuska and Estike are both the so-called "madmen of the town"), or embraces isolation (e.g. Futaki and Mr Eszter). Moreover, personal differentiation eventually draws tragic consequences: Estike's suicide, Valuska's insanity, Futaki and Eszter's definitive (self-) exclusion and their resignation before the impossibility to improve (themselves or the group). The ethic decomposition of the community thus inevitably attracts the annihilation or the alienation of the individual and vice-versa.

Krasznahorkai's viewpoint is therefore a rather abstract, parabolic, and highly symbolic one. In his case, character construction (and deconstruction – if we only think of the sequence describing the slow decomposition of Mrs Pflaum's corpse that closes *The Melancholy of Resistance*) is almost entirely poetic in nature.

With Mircea Nedelciu, on the other hand character construction is more realistic and relativized, even though poetic constructions are far from missing entirely (if we were only to consider the colonists inhabiting *Valea Plânșii* in *Tratament fabulatoriu* or the parabolic suicide/lethal accident/transformation of O[vid] P[etreanu] in *Călătorie în vederea negației*). In fact, the Romanian author creates his own particular mix of realism and parabolic/symbolic construction: immediate, familiar reality occasionally and (seemingly) randomly grows into unsettling, bizarre, ambiguous existential patterns.

Communitary dystopia is commonly suggested in Nedelciu's stories through the

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(individual and collective) figures of moral decay – especially in leaders, bosses and agents of the “Securitate” (like Primotei in *Acțiunea...*, Fatache and Bencu in *Efectul de ecou...* or Alexandru Sava in *Zodia...* – and moral annihilation – of the commoners (i.e. conformity/ lack of resistance leading to complete alienation, as with the “invisible” proletarian in *Cât timp ești invizibil [As Long As You’re Invisible]* or the “grey hats” in *Buzunare cu pumni, buzunare cu bomboane [Pocketfuls of Fists, Pocketfuls of Candies]*). The critical description of urbanization and its malfunctioning institutions (from the Postal Service or public cultural services to the Police and the so-called “national security” organisms) and the depiction of its *panopticum*-like sites (student hostels, orphanages, blocks of flats) is also a fictional construction with underlying ethical significance. The personnel in these institutions and its specific immoral or sub-moral behaviours also stand for the subtle disintegration of societal values (corruption and lust for power, trickery and hidden enmity, intolerance towards the other/ the commoner/ the different, intolerance etc.).

However, if society as macro-community is often described as a super-structural monstrosity (as in *Zodia scafandrului, Călătorie în vederea negației* or in *8006 de la Obor la Dâlga [8006 from Obor to Dâlga]*) – or perceived as malfunctioning and absurd by most of the protagonists –, local/ rural communities, on the other hand, silently disintegrate, and they do so rather out of a constitutional lack of self-awareness than by moral corruption. As forced urbanisation and industrialisation proceed, rural communities are silently overthrown into the void left behind by communist modernisation: they lose the practical perception of (and their adherence to) the fast-moving realities of the epoch (e.g. the community in *Cocoșul de cărămidă [The Brick Rooster]*). Trapped in their autistic and alienated conservatism, such communities usually accept their demise stoically and quietly. They seem to lose their names (they are often symbolised by a single letter like “B.”, for instance; they have ambiguously interchangeable names etc.) or to forget all about their own histories (like Boroana in *Zodia scafandrului*, Fuica-Temenia in *Tratament fabulatoriu* or B. in *Zmeura de câmpie*), in a general attitude of (unconscious and unproblematic) acceptance of demise as a horrible, yet irrefutable turn of “fate”. Of course, there are figures of corruption occasionally appearing

among villagers too, especially among the leaders or the well-respected members of the community (such as teacher Popescu in *Zmeura de câmpie* or the community leaders in *Dansul cocoșului [The Dance of the Mountain Rooster]* etc.) - but they are not dominant in Nedelciu’s stories. Much more usual are the collective profiles of resigned and ignorant peasants (e.g. the peasants in *Zmeura de câmpie* or the collective narrator in *Cocoșul de cărămidă*).

Other than that, a special type of community representation with Nedelciu is a fictional construction I would call “communitary utopian dystopia”, referring to the imaginary construction of fabulous, utopian, uncharted (or non-existent?) settlements like the Fourierist colony/ phalanstery of Valea Plânșii (in *Tratament fabulatoriu*) or the unmapped work colonies in *Călătorie în vederea negației*. These are spectral, clandestine settlements hidden in the scenery, accommodating secret communities. Their status in the narrative is however unclear: they seem to be real for an instant and disappear (like collective utopian hallucinations) in the next (as Valea Plânșii does in *Tratament...*), or seem to have no actual existence at all (like in *Călătorie...*), thus marking the illusionary character of any common salutary dream –within the given frames of totalitarian superstructure – and of any stable escape whatsoever.

Moreover, the phalanstery in *Tratament...* also seems to dissolve internally, as its leaders gradually and secretly seem to accept moral compromise with the “outer world”. Trust in one another weakens and the colony is seemingly swept away with no resistance by a band of gipsy intruders. Permeability to the values of the totalitarian system outside and the utopian delusions of grandeur thus apparently destroy the enterprise, but the phantomatic settlement seems to reappear in the end of the novel as someone (else, i.e. other than the protagonist of the novel) goes searching for it. Like the colonies in *Călătorie...*, on the other hand, the phalanstery in *Tratament...* may also symbolise the good will and intentions of the commoners (of the first communists or even Ceaușescu’s?) in trying to building a better, more righteous society and their failure to do. Thus, there are mainly three types of communities (and corresponding dissolutions) in Mircea Nedelciu’s fiction: the morally downfallen macro-community or super-structure (the entire totalitarian social system), the annihilated rural communities with

fading identities (exhibiting a sort of collective “overt non-aggressive protest”), and the experimental utopian communities (displaying a collective “overt non-aggressive resistance”).

Obviously, Buksiński’s categories taken as such become insufficient when trying to describe Nedelciu’s intricate fictional representations – but, as the Polish philosopher himself warns us, “those who opposed totalitarianism did not choose one of several clear-cut options” (Buksiński, 2011:43). This same observation is applicable to Nedelciu’s construction of individual positive models: his protagonists are generally young people who (consciously or intuitively) refuse to take part in the superstructure and practice one form or another of moral disengagement. In compensation, they feel rather (covertly) attached to another, transnational (counter-) cultural community: that of the Western *hippie* subculture, as a transnational anti-establishment movement. Just like their Western congeners, they are generally drifters, dreamers or (self-made) marginal individuals who avoid social or personal engagement and realisation for fear of regimentation. They attempt to re-construct their personal identities by mimicking the cultural identity of their foreign peers, not only by wearing long hair, blue-jeans and rock&roll t-shirts (all offenses *per se* at the time), but by also trying to imitate a certain freedom of thought and behaviour. They avoid, of course, “civil disobedience” or socially coherent (and criminally punishable) political action – a few exceptions are the groups of youngsters practicing a sort of “guerrilla” street theatre in *Claustrofobie* [*Claustrophobia*] and *O zi ca o proză scurtă* [*A Day Resembling a Short Story*] or the group of armed resisters in *Fabula rasa*). However, they generally try to decide for themselves and remain unattached – which obviously either eventually fails or gravely alienates them.

Nedelciu’s antagonists – when they are impersonated, because the foe (“the monster”) is usually “faceless” (Nedelciu, 2003: 54) and acts like an impersonal power that be – are either those who prefer social conformity or the corrupt/ the representatives of power. “Covert passive resistance” as described by Buksiński thus has an ambiguous moral status with Nedelciu: it can be positively connotated (as illegal traffics are, for instance, in *Partida de «Taxi-Sauvage»* or in *Amendament...*) or negatively perceived (as with Daldea’s corrupt father in *Amendament...* or with Marcel’s parents in *Crizantemele de tundră*

[*Tundra Crisanthems*], with Fatache in *Efectul de ecou controlat* etc.). The difference is made, in fact, on a rather pertinent criterion: that of the doer’s intimate motivations: selfish reasons or the will of power do not excuse such acts; on the contrary, the will of being free and independent does. And the writer also marks a visible difference between those obeying or profiting from the regime and those trying to resist or oppose it (among other more subtle techniques) by generally making protagonists out of the latter and secondary, collective characters or antagonists out of the former.

Nedelciu’s depictions of marginal individuals thus form a symbolic category which bears positive moral significance as opposed to the central, ideologised and conformist (or non-resistant/ non-oppositional) identity models. Their way of countering the totalitarian system could thus be described as a sort of “overt-covert passive protest or resistance”, a middle way between overt dissidence and Buksiński’s “covert passive resistance” model.

Unlike Krasznahorkai’s resisters, they generally manage not to get “caught” in the “spider’s web”. However, they too have to pay a dear price for their inner freedom and “secret”, transgressive or “reversible” convictions (Petitat, 2003:139): not belonging anywhere, not being able to attach to anything completely, they usually experience silent (but no less painful) forms of alienation and frustration and become socially and personally de-realised. This is, in fact, the actual meaning of Ovid Petreanu’s (self-)“negation”, of his tragic vanishing act: it stands for a moral decision involving a quiet, a secret personal annihilation, a definitive self-exclusion from society or a permanent dis-engagement in relation to the macro-social group he is assumed to “belong” to.

The essential identity of the group (or community) under communist totalitarian regimes is generally symbolically depicted as dismembered and morally decomposed (or not assumable) by individuals “without jeopardizing their spiritual identity” (Buksiński 2011: 41). From the destructive antagonism (or tension) between the ethically “sane” individual and the “corrupted” identity of the group ensues the tragic conflictual condition of personal and collective identities functioning under totalitarian oppression, just as well as the presence of the morally positive is meant to emphasize the disintegration of the community’s “imagined” moral representations.

4. CLOSING REMARKS

With Nedelciu and Krasznahorkai, community is obviously essentially defined as an (ultimately) imaginary space of symbolic representation, just as with contemporary theorists Benedict Anderson or André Petitat. And it is the “secret” “reversibility” of symbolic representation (Petitat, 2003) that the totalitarian power is ultimately seeking to suppress.

The message the two writers are trying to (covertly) convey is that secret, individual resistance to oppression should never be given up – otherwise, devastating consequences on the identity of persons and communities will ensue. Personal and group identities are thus closely linked in a self-perpetuating and inter-related continuum, having axiological and moral choices at its core. The main *locus* of responsibility resides in the person, whose attitude towards community and national politics should be first of all based on integrity and perpetual awareness.

What troubles most both writers is actually not the left-wing orientation of the regimes they covertly oppose – but their totalitarian dimension. What they long most of all is freedom of expression, freedom of thought and restoration of the Kantian “dignity” of the person as moral subject. Being in fact liberal left-wing thinkers, rather neo-marxist in their ideological option(s), they actually align to an entire Eastern European dissident line of thought criticizing Eastern European regimes “from within”, i.e. in terms of infidel applications of the basic Marxist principles. Well-known expert in Eastern-European communism Vladimir Tismăneanu notices that most opposition to communist totalitarianism in Eastern Europe was mainly formulated in the essentially Marxist terms of the Frankfurt School, rather than in outright right-wing vocabulary (Tismăneanu, 2001); and in this sense, literary opposition or resistance – like Nedelciu’s or Krasznahorkai’s – is no exception to the rule.

Nevertheless, works of fiction are seldom regarded as such – i.e. as “counter-cultural” discourse in a broad sense of the term (Dobrescu, 2001:52-66). This happens partly because such opposition is considered to be “covert passive resistance” (in Buksiński’s terms): a sort of half-speculative, half-subversive collaboration with the regime, said to have hardly reached its transgressive purposes at all; and partly, because fictional discourse generally tends to be considered strictly aesthetic, i.e. an a-political, a-social,

essentially individual and – to a certain extent – a culturally less relevant enterprise.

It goes without saying that the actual social effect of such (fictional) discourses is difficult (if not impossible) to quantify, especially since writers like Nedelciu and Krasznahorkai had their own (rather considerable) audience(s)... and both lived to see the Soviet Block fall by the hand of their own generation. But most important of all, such literary discourses should perhaps be taken into account when investigating around the idea of resistance against totalitarianism, as they are obviously highly social and political in their symbolic representations of the world and enact a poetics of spectrality (or absence) conveying strong cultural and ethical messages.

In this sense, it would be perhaps useful to bear in mind that some of the most influential theoretical discussions having recently (re)opened the case of the relationship between aesthetics and ideology tend to re-instate literary and artistic discourse as social and political *logos* in its own right – a definition suiting very well the works (hereby analysed) of Nedelciu and Krasznahorkai. This kind of association and understanding could not only underline the effective pertinence of Nedelciu’s or Krasznahorkai’s particular solution(s) against oppression – i.e. the particular “fabulatory treatment” of the political applied –, but could also actually improve the nowadays (rather marginal) cultural status of fictional, literary and artistic practices in general.

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A STYLISTIC APPROACH TO MIRCEA CĂRTĂRESCU'S ESSAY "COMPUTER GAMES FOREVER"

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Abstract: *When translating a text we should consider the correct understanding of the source language text, with all its implied subtleties and connotations. It is considered that, before translating, a text should not only be studied by means of traditional level of linguistic analysis (semantic) but also analyzed stylistically. A thorough stylistic analysis is a must in case of literary text translations, as it presupposes the investigation of the phonemic, grammatical, figurative or prosodic levels, all the elements that contribute to the individuality of a particular creation. Stylistics also enables us to evaluate losses due to certain linguistic transformations. Thus, the aim of this paper is to investigate all the linguistic difficulties determined by the language incompatibility and to provide a justified best English version of post-modernist Romanian essay writing. The present research aims at literary prose, namely, a prose passage, an essay in which the metaphorical language is hidden in the form of encoded meanings.*

Keywords: *linguistic analysis, stylistics, semantic, connotation, source language*

1. INTRODUCTION

The present paper is part of a wider project with a well-built theoretical foundation in the field of translation studies and stylistics. The aim is to investigate all linguistic difficulties determined by the language incompatibility as well as to provide a justified best English version of post-modernist essay writing. The theoreticians have considered language as the most important when it comes to any literary translation. According to E. Coşeriu (2004), „language with all its given functions is concentrated in it, as they are the richest texts of a given language”, but more, as they carry traditions and cultural values. Wellek and Warren (1984) have a different opinion, considering language used in literary text as being faulty and deficient as compared to scientific language. According to them, literary language abounds in ambiguities. Susan Bassnett (1991) sees it as a process of rendering a source language text into the target language, in order to ensure that the surface meaning of the two will be almost similar. Meaning remains the core issue and the hardest to preserve from one language into another. Without stylistics, any translation loses meaning. Saussure's view on language is not to be forgotten (1972). He considers that *langue* can only be approached through *parole*. Consequently, one has to find out what corpus of *parole* should be used in

establishing the model of *langue* against which the text is to be matched. Such a matching is inevitable as long as stylistic is defined as the study of individual expression or as the linguistic of *parole*. Thus, the author finds necessary to draw a comparison between *la linguistique de la parole* and *la linguistique de la langue*. Therefore, to get style, the investigator must begin by setting up a corpus of reference to find the norm from which a particular text differ – which I initially tried to accomplish before translating the text properly. Leon Leviţchi gives the following author-centred definition of style:

Style is the specific manner in which the author has organised his or her message as regards coherence and expression in order to value it at its utmost in the conscience of the potential reader. (Leviţchi, 1994:98; my translation)

This definition focuses on the issues that the translator needs to take into account when dealing with a literary work: logical organisation (coherence), connotation, denotation, accentuation, modality, and the specific manner of organising the message.

According to *Logman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2000), “style is the particular way someone uses words to express ideas, tell stories, etc”. It also refers to meaning. In order to acquire a good translation, I searched for

theoreticians' views on it. What is meaning? It has been long debated and discussed upon. Wermuth (1969) argues that the only reason that a term should mean something is the history of its application, the fact that it has meant something. The meaning of a term in given instance is what any man decides to make it. If a term has not a real meaning, it has at least an ideal one, something to which the term should refer, if it is to be used without producing nonsense. He argues that words should convey their language meaning, and at the same time be a non-linguistic tune, perhaps in harmony with the language meaning. What is certain is that one may say different things about the same topic, or different things, which are very much alike. Different words make different meanings. Meaning is not identical with words.

In terms of style and context, theoreticians consider that stylistics is not purely formalist. It is important to realise that "context" does not necessarily just mean context. Context literally means anything that comes "with the text", that circumscribes its meaning. More, literary stylistics is not a mechanical answer machine. That is, it cannot be laid over a text to produce the meaning, since the meaning also depends on the contextual use, which accompanies the text. The roots of modern stylistics can be uncovered in the work of Charles Bally (1905) and Leo Spitzer (1988). Bally's *Precis de stylistique* stresses the description and analysis of a language's generally available stylistic properties. Literary texts are particular examples of language use, and the analysis of their style is not a central part of the general stylistics, Bally emphasises. In contrast to the "stilistique" of Bally, Spitzer insisted upon following the more philologically based tradition of textual analysis. Such work, while using the analytical techniques of modern linguistics, strives to unite the analytical description with a critical interpretation that relates the style to a larger conceptual frame. Style is seen as an expression of a particular social or historical sensibility or moment, rather than as general property of particular language. The rapidly established importance of Chomsky's linguistics within his own discipline provided a strong argument for the importance of transformational generative grammar within literary stylistics as well. But beneath that academic cause there lay particular features of the theory that further explain the explosion of stylistic work using transformational generative grammar. Chomsky's approach to language gave a boost to the era, one of the most

dramatic in the formation and growth (1986) of stylistics. Numerous descriptive categories have been created to provide some order among the resulting variety of approaches to style, but the most common and useful taxonomies are those designed around a communication model such as that of Jakobson's (1963).

This paper is just an attempt to prove that a post-modernist text, with many difficulties regarding the meaning of the words, can be translated, taking into account all the connotations and present realities that it has brought about. The text has not been easy to translate as the translator had to render the mood, the atmosphere and the impact the computer game had on the author.

At first, the text seemed sombre and the vocabulary easy to render into the target language, but, after a deeper reading, very interesting and philosophical meanings came out.

The choice of this essay has been made according to the present realities, to what is mostly read during these days. It is obvious that such a text aims at different categories of readers, including teenagers, adult and all the other people interested in the development of communication by computers and Internet. But, we shall not forget about the impact it has on humankind and that's why I considered it proper for a translator to render the deep emotional involvement of the game player during the process of completing the game.

2. COMPUTER GAMES FOREVER

2.1 The topic. This essay is a fine and, at the same time, a very dynamic description of a computer game, played by the author, being focused on the author's mental and emotional perception of it. The process of playing the game is described as something demonic, as a kind of passing into another world, full of strange creatures and monsters, where the author cannot find his place. Nevertheless, he does not give up. He fights all the fiends, the Evil and finally completes all the levels without knowing why he has to do it. He sees no ultimate reality at the end of the game. His perception, concerning the other world he gets into, is very sombre and, consequently, he has all sorts of bad feelings. Everything seems to be a mixture between Good and Bad, God and Evil, Weapons and Crystals, Monsters and birds, etc. Thus, the text is built on a series of antitheses (frosts/lava; mountains/abysses; crystals which signify power and flowers which mean brittleness; Hell and Annunciation), which give a certain

ambiguity and the reader no longer knows which will be the next step in the process of playing the game. The readership does not know what will exactly happen next and the tension increases as the game is further played. The realism of the piece of writing keeps one close to the text, and to the game, too. It is as if the reader is in the same room with the writer, playing the same game, passing through the same emotional levels. The author seems to dislike the game, the fiends and monsters that are attacking him, but the game must be played up to the final level, which he easily completes. He willingly gets into this abstract world and, at the same time, he seeks to escape it, no matter the consequences. The game is played quickly, with little time to think. He wants to reach the essence of all things and the crystals, arms and the keys help him. However, to do that, he has to kill the Monster. He finds himself alone facing the creature that he finally kills and thus, the last level is completed.

2.2 Stylistic Approach. In this section of the paper we will discuss upon my English version of the essay 'Computer Games Forever' by Mircea Cărtărescu. The text is made up of four paragraphs.

2.2.1 The first paragraph. It introduces the reader into the world of computer games. It also bears a strong sign of affectivity by using the personal interrogation: 'Why am I here for?'. It is the description of an imaginary place. The text draws axes of time and space, but the indefiniteness of the two terms induces a fairy tale atmosphere. The time is described as a *never-ending* sequence of forms of relief: *never ending frosts, mountains and abysses*, being stressed by the repetition of the verb *to be (there are)*. The place reference is also important and it is as indefinite as time itself ('*Dar numele Lui nu este binevenit în aceste ținuturi*'), therefore the translator has to pay attention to it and come with notable ideas for translating it. Even from the very beginning we face the time-space references.

The first interrogative sentence introduces the spatial co-ordinates (*Here*) but also the temporal ones, in a more ecclesiastic way, symbolised by God's presence (E.g. *Ce Dumnezeu caut aici?*). The verbal structure 'caut' has been translated by the verb *to be*, correlated with the interrogative adverb *Ce*, the latter, has been translated through *Why for*, which is stronger than *What* and implies not only the place co-ordinate but also the emotional struggle that the author is faced with. This clause is, later on, reiterated under the same interrogative question 'Who am I?', followed by a

more obvious explanation: 'I can't figure it out' which has almost the same meaning as 'Why am I here for?'. I chose the structure 'I can't figure it out' instead of 'I can't remember' for the Romanian '*Nu-mi pot aduce aminte*', as I considered the former version more proper and adequate for rendering the exact meaning the author had in mind. The sentence expresses not only the forgetfulness of the author but also the non-adjustment into a world of computer games.

The epithet *eterne* (my version: *never-ending*), associated with *ghețuri* (my version: *frosts*) has a special connotation, as it signifies coldness, that is, the idea of death, while *never-ending* means eternal, something celestial, beyond human powers, closer to Divinity, as the writer himself is, through this creative deconstruction and construction of a demonic computer game.

This paragraph, as the rest of the text, is built upon distinct antitheses such as: *frosts* and *lava*, *mountains* and *abysses*. The landscape seems to be great but also unclear. For the term '*abstrus*' I considered proper the English variant '*abstruse*', which means 'misty', 'rather cloudy', but also 'unclear', 'uncertain', thus embodying best the meaning the author wanted to render. The Weapon, capitalised, also governs this first part, as if it were emphatically the Weapon of the Weapons. It represents not only a tool but also a means of completing the game. It is the symbol of power, but also of death. The author goes further and explains the meaning of the Weapon. It is a sceptre, not a usual one, but a winged one. For this reason, I chose the English paraphrase '*Hermes' winged sceptre*', which also draws us back to mythology, being a short rod carried by kings and queens on ceremonial occasions as a sign of power. I introduced Hermes God, as, in the Greek mythology, he was the messenger of the gods. He is usually shown in pictures bearing wings on his shoes and on his helmet. His sceptre is also winged. As we shall see later on, there are also series of capitalised nouns (*Crystals, Monsters, Dragon, Annunciation, Keys*), they represent all the good and evil means that are present in this game, that is, in fact, the projection of life, seen as a stage with actors and audience.

The first paragraph abounds in nouns: *ghețuri, râuri, lavă, munți, prăpăstii, ținuturi, peisaj, iaduri, instinct, încălțări, putere, arma*. Most of them are concrete, but some are abstract ones (*instinct, iaduri, sănătate, lumină*). If, in the first lines the nouns describe some forms of relief, in the following ones, they change to another register,

that of animals: *pășari, zombies, mumii, vîrcolaci, nevertebrate*. It is in fact an enumeration and description of beings that are part of the imaginary world of this game.

The next lines switch to nouns denoting flowers and stones: *Cristale, violacee, roze*. Thus, for the structure *limbi de jad*, I have considered it proper to use the version *jade of stripes* instead of *jade of strips*, because the former structure has the vowel *e* the same as *jade*, and as a whole, *jade stripes* renders a certain musicality that is a very important part of the text. For the term *ținut* I chose the English *realm*, as it introduces the reader into the imaginary world, that is under the rule of Hermes' sceptre, as a realm that is usually governed by kings and queens.

There are many adjectives that accompany these nouns: *eterne, măreț, abstrus, extropiați, inomabile, sulfuroase, închircit, dureroase*. They have highly affective connotations and that's why I took great interest when I translated them. Thus, I usually used compound adjectives: *never-ending, ice-clear*, which are stronger in meaning than the simple ones. *Never-ending* suggests continuity, while *ice-clear* is associated with sensations and visual perception. *Ice-clear* suggests the easiness so see through but also transparency. They also give fluency to the sentences. The adjective *inomabil* means 'unknown' and I have chosen to translate it by *unidentified*, which means that the name, its nature and origin are unknown, thus I have considered it to be the more appropriate version of translation. For the epithet 'o mare lumină', I chose 'an intense light', because it renders not only the greatness but also the extreme sensitive feeling that such light can radiate.

Verbs have an important role in the whole text and in the first paragraph, too. Thus, the verbal tenses used in my English version are the present tenses, mainly the Present Tense Simple, used to denote that the action is placed in an eternal present, that of computer games, being forever a source of skipping the everyday realities. The verbs of motion describe dynamism and keep the reader stuck to see what is to follow next: *pătrund, intru, se deschid, caut, ucid, trec, alunec, se furișează*. For the translation of the sentence: 'For Monsters do come out', I used the auxiliary 'do' to emphasise the fact that the monsters come, no matter if one wants that or not. For the predicate *vor* I used the English verb *to hanker after*, which means a strong wish for something, being the best choice in the given context. For the Romanian elliptic clause: 'Violacee, roze sau limezi ca

gheața', I considered proper to introduce a predicate in order to better render the image of the flowers which also have a chromatic element. (my version: 'They look violet, pink or ice-clear')

Adverbs are rare, the time and manner adverbial phrases are prevailing: *metal-like, hardly, forward, fortunately, suddenly*.

The syntax of the first paragraph is equally interesting. The great number of main clauses makes the message clearer to the reader. Usually, sentences are short: *Who am I? I can't figure it out(...)* *For Monsters do come out(...)* *Fortunately, Crystals are sprinkled on earth. They look violet, pink or ice-clear. They radiate strength and health.* There are also elliptic sentences: *Căci apar Monștrii* (my version: *For Monsters do come out*) or *Violacee, roze sau limezi ca gheața* (as I mentioned above, my version is not elliptic, as I considered more adequate to render the image by using the verb to look: *They look violet, pink or ice-clear*). These short sentences, which usually contain verbs of motion, give dynamism and liveliness to the passage.

The attributive clause is the most often syntactic construction the author resorted to. The word order in the sentences of the first paragraph shows few or no deviations (verb phrase - noun phrase). The musicality of the text should equally be taken into account by the translator in their attempt to create a good version and it will be closely analysed by us later on.

2.2.2 The second paragraph. It introduces the reader into the proper game. It is seen as a fortress, a world from which one cannot escape easily. The paragraph is dominated by verbal phrases, with a multitude of verbs of motion used in the present tense: *pătrund, intru, se deschid, caut, ucid, trec, alunec, mă atacă, trec, nu pot găsi, se furișează*. The scenery is restricted from the imaginary setting to a more undesired one, dominated by coldness, blood and monsters.

As far as space is concerned, we come across a cold, bloody, hellish and abstract space, totally different from the author's and the reader's mental representations. Space is described in terms of the dichotomy: concrete versus abstract space. The concrete space can be sensed, felt or seen and it is either narrow (e.g. the dungeon, the fortress) or open (*never-ending frosts, mountains and abysses*). The abstract space surrounds the ideal world of Heaven but also Hell. A very important part is played by the spiritual place with emotional valences, that is, the large space, a scene where various feelings, moods and sensations come and

go. Sadness, hopelessness, inner struggle, restlessness characterise the game player. It is a continual longing for something that should be attained and completed. This fight with monsters, representing the Evil, is rendered by verbs, used this time, in the Present Tense Simple and Continuous (*I'm stepping into dungeons, I'm bleeding...*). This paragraph is also full of common nouns that suggestively describe the setting (*prison, fortress, Devil's signs, frontispieces, corridors, doors, cages, mortals*).

The author prefers simple adjectives and few compound ones that are short so as not to affect the sequence of happenings (*artfulness, bloodstain*). There are also adjectives coming from participles: *slashed, pulled, crucified*. In point of form, two types of endings are preferred: the participial – *ed* and the –*ing* (*winding, slashed, crucified*). The *Weapon* appears again, being capitalized, denoting origins and the *Keys* as well, which are a link and a means of escaping this world, connected with the two formerly mentioned key words. Among the other adjectives we can distinguish some referring to colour (the malachite, the opal and the turquoise). Thus, the opal stone is a precious one that looks like milky water containing colours in it. The turquoise stone is a greenish – blue mineral and the malachite is green, too. The semantic fields, related to the adjectives, are similar to those of nouns: there are adjectives related to death and blood (*iron cages, slashed mortals, crucified, bloodstain, lava, stone bowels, phosphorous* – that is a yellowish substance that shines faintly in the dark and starts to burn when brought out into the air). All these chromatic elements help in creating a horrible but real image of the setting described.

A last characteristic of the adjectives the author makes use of is the comparison: *Aici cristalele sunt mai rare(...)/ Here, the crystals are ever rarer*. The comparative of superiority is encountered through the whole text. The degrees of comparison help the author place his ego to complete the game somewhere close to the ideal, while the crystals appear as a perfect tool. Crystals are miraculously shaped pieces of a natural mineral that look like ice.

Semantically, those few capitalized nouns are based on an antithesis; on the one hand, the Devil and on the other hand the Weapon and the Keys. Crystals are not of a great importance in this part of the text, thus, they are not capitalized. Most nouns are concrete: *prisons, cages, stairs, etc.*, but there are also some abstract ones, too: *thinking, breath, life*. The next lexical category under discussion is the verb. It is obvious that most of the

semantic fields in which the verbs are included have already been mentioned for the nominal categories above. Thus, some verbs denote movement: *pătrund, intru, caut, apăs, fug, trag* and some denote feelings: *nu mi-e frică, îmi ard tâlpile*.

The state verb *to be* coexists with the verbs of movement, being often met through the paragraph. (*I'm stepping..., I enter..., I'm looking for..., I'm bleeding..., I'm not afraid..., I cannot stop..., I am exactly as they are, I'm good...*). The verbal structure: *Îmi dau duhul* has been translated by: *I almost give my last breath*, as being the most appropriate in the given context. There are three uses of the Present tense Continuous: *I'm stepping into..., I'm looking for..., I'm bleeding....* The first suggests the very moment of stepping into another world and the second marks the immediate need to search for the tools followed by the physical feeling of bleeding. Adverbs are rare as compared to the other lexical categories. The time and manner adverbials are prevailing here, too (*exactly, constantly, and desperately*).

The second paragraph also abounds in main clauses, introduced by *and, but* and commas. Most of them begin with the first person personal pronoun *I*, as the author is the most active participant to the game. This implies his strong emotional involvement in everything that constitutes the process of completing the game.

Thus, the syntax of the paragraph is equally interesting. As we have already mentioned above, the two types of co-ordination between sentences the author prefers are the copulative co-ordination, achieved with the help of the conjunction *and*, and the disjunctive co-ordination, accomplished with the help of the adversative conjunction *but* (*And they're all cunningness; But I'm good*). The conjunction *and* is placed at the beginning of the sentence so that the new information which is added can be followed more logically. The main clause introduced by *but* brings about a new piece of information, which changes the perspective created by the previous main clauses. That is why it is but natural to be placed at the beginning of the sentence. There are also two relative clauses and an adverbial clause of manner

They are just a weapon that **burns everything down**; I slip down to the lava floors that **burn my soles**; I'm exactly **as they are**).

Regarding the sentence *In iron cages, there lie slashed mortals (...)*, I considered appropriate to replace the hyphen with *there*, as the English phrase *there lie* implies the visual aspect of the

scene described. It also gives fluency to the text, as the hyphen would have broken up the text.

2.2.3 The third paragraph. It is constructed around some key words: *Weapon, Annunciation, God and Dragon*. The action goes on around these four words. This passage is again dominated by verbs of motion but also by verbs of perception and ability: *can, see, defend, run, hide, scream, to be, enter, find, fight, notice, surround, crawl, touch*. Most of the verbs are used in the Present Tense Simple. There is only one sentence in which the verb is used in the Present Tense Continuous: *I am fighting the Dragon*. Towards the end of the paragraph there are also sentences in which the verb is used in the Present Perfect Tense Simple: *I have never been here before; It has finally been defeated*. The dynamism of the essay continues throughout this paragraph, too. The action and the tension intensify, more than in the previous paragraphs as the author is on the point of reaching the end of the game. By the end of the paragraph there are some reflexive verbs that refer to the monster: *Suddenly it petrifies. It vitrifies. It breaks down into pieces*. The use of the reflexive suggests the author's detachment from the monster he has just defeated, from now on following two separate ways. The monster is going to die and the writer tries to save his diminishing powers in order to reach the final destination, *the magical sign*. There are some verbs that create visual images: *disappear, see, petrifies, vitrifies, crawl, touch* as well as verbs of auditory sensations: *scream, to spit*. The most used verbs are *to be* and the modal verb *can*.

The game goes on, but the beginning of the paragraph is like an awakening, like an escape from that hellish world of fiends and all that is to be done now is to fight the Dragon. It is the last confrontation between Good and Evil, between the real and the imaginary world, between the author and the game. Thus, the first sentence begins with an adverb, emphatically placed first to draw once again the reader's attention as to what is to happen at this point of the game:

Deodată, arma-mi dispare și-mi văd acum înaintea doar brațele goale, păroase. [My translation: *Suddenly, the Weapon disappears and all I can see now before me are my bare, hairy arms.*]

Cărtărescu prefers to use simple, common nouns but full of meaning. This time, the passage does not abound in nouns but in adverbs and adjectives. Consequently, the choice of nouns is almost perfectly made, as almost every noun has

its purpose and meaning related to the atmosphere and to the author's feelings towards this level of the game. Thus, for *punte ca o lamă de brici*, I have chosen the phrase: *razorblade bridge*, as bridge means not only a surface very close to the ground but also a link to another world. The religious part is expressed through the Annunciation, a very important moment celebrated by the Christians, namely, the occasion on which the angel Gabriel appeared and told the Virgin Mary that she would bear the baby Jesus Christ. In the same way, the author receives the Dragon and fights it, feeling the Divine force inside him. For the Romanian word *jerbe* I considered proper to translate it by the term *wreaths*, as it means exactly the arrangement of flowers, such as one given at a funeral. The term has the meaning of death, the wreaths of iridium expressing the action of burning everything around.

Nouns are accompanied by adjectives under the form of epithets that give a certain emotional color to this paragraph: *razorblade bridge, dramatic great salty rocks, final grotto, magical sign*. As for the sentence: *Sînt steiuri de stîncă, tragice și mărețe*, I have considered proper to drop the conjunction and render the meaning using a compound adjective in order to avoid the referential contrast between *dramatic* and *great*: *dramatic great salty rocks*, which expresses best the characteristics of the rocks and gives fluency to the sentence. The phrase: *transfinită lumină* is full of meaning and incorporates the visual image that has to be rendered as it is of a great importance, being the only light in the dark world of the game. Thus, the translation should be very adequate and close to this image. I have translated it by a paraphrase as being the only choice I had: *light beyond light*. The word *transfinită* has the meaning of something that is beyond light.

The adverbs are another lexical category that, this time, is more often used. The adverb *suddenly*, which opens the third paragraph, is reiterated later on, towards the end. The time and manner adverbials are again the most frequently used ones, but there are also few adverbials of place: *now, anymore, never, exultantly, unbearable, agonizingly, suddenly, hardly, slowly, here, there*. All the adverbs determine the verbs. Some of them are placed at the beginning of the sentence: *Suddenly the Weapon disappears (...)*. As for the sentence: *Sînt dincolo*, I intentionally placed an adverb at the beginning of the sentence: *Now, I am on the other side*. There is another sentence that required an extra adverb: *Într-o nișă gădesc (...)*

which I have translated by: *Down there, in a niche (...)*, as it was adequate to render the meaning of a certain place.

As the pronouns are concerned the only ones that appear are the first person singular, *I* (the author), and the impersonal *itself* that represents the monster. They also appear under the reflexive form (*itself, myself*) and possessive form (*my, its*). They are the only game players, the only protagonists of the so-called plot. They also mark the two sides of the story, the Good and Evil parts of the game and of the world itself. It is, in fact, a life game, of reality versus the imaginary.

Regarding syntax, the text abounds again, as in the previous paragraphs, in main clauses linked by *and*. In fact, almost all of them are main clauses. There are only two sentences:

Led by it, as if it were an Annunciation, I enter the final grotto; I can hardly crawl myself to the malachite gate that rises, slowly, to let me in.

The former one is an adverbial clause of manner and the latter is a relative clause, but they are also short. They give certain dynamism to the text. They suggest simplicity, even lack of any doubt. For the imperative construction: *Evoe!* I used the syntagm: *Thank God!*, as the term comes from Greek and it means *beyond everything*. Thus, the translation implies the fact that nothing is beyond God. It is the expression of relief, success and completion.

Sentences follow the normal word order, but there is one clause I have deliberately translated by a rather unusual wording:

Se zbate agonice, nu mai poate sufla jerbele lui de iridiu. [*Agonizingly does it struggle, unable to spit it wreaths of iridium.*]

I emphatically fronted the adverb in the first position, followed by *does*, as the auxiliary increases the tension that has already been created by the last moments of the monster's life.

The essay abounds in interrogative clauses, especially in the last paragraph: *Whom have I defeated? Whom have I saved? Whose hero am I?* These clauses give a certain ambiguity as to the author's nature and the impact of computer games upon his mind and personality. The text begins with a question and ends in almost the same way: *Ce Dumnezeu caut aici? Pe cine am învins? (For God's sake why am I here for? Whom have I saved?)*. The author seems to be unable to figure out his role in the so-called 'play' (which is the computer game he is playing), throughout the

passage. There are some very short interrogative clauses at the beginning of the last paragraph but the essay ends up with a long, complex sentence as if it has summed up everything that hasn't been said. There is a conclusive clause as well, that describes the author's physical and mental transformation throughout the game.

2.2.4 The last paragraph. It also abounds in verbs (*am învins, am salvat, a fi, beau, mă dizolv, mă reîntrupez, văd*). The use of the Present Tense Simple and continuous switches to Present Perfect (*have I defeated*), which marks the end of the game in no definite time. There is also the modal verb *can* used towards the end of the text that suggests the ability to see the screen for the last time. Both nouns and adjectives are scarce in this part of the passage (*water, metempsychosis, screen, and hero*). They are either concrete or abstract. For the syntagm *apa uitării*, I have chosen the structure *water of oblivion* as it also means the state of being completely forgotten, unconscious or not noticing one's surroundings.

The final line refers to an enumeration of what is seen on the computer's screen. Words are highly technical, they refer only to the game and not to the author anymore. Words are capitalized, figures are introduced and everything seems to be detached from the world we live in. It comes as a conclusion, in which we find out that it was just a game, nothing happened for real. All the other capitalized words that we encountered in the whole passage were just tools to completing the game that had 26 levels. Most of the monsters have been killed, most secrets have been discovered and it took the player almost one hour and a half to complete it.

Cărtărescu's essay is, in point of morphology, not only noun-oriented but also verbal-oriented text, revolving around concrete notions. It is, indeed, a text of delicate emotional sensations as well as of powerful feelings, controlled, at times, by reason!

Usually, nouns are associated with pre-modifiers. Through their association, the nouns turn into symbols and metaphors. Without such pre-modifiers, the nouns would function as tenors, that is, as non-figurative meaning. By means of the association with such adjectives, those nouns are carried from the non-figurative meaning into the figurative metaphorical meaning. As the narrative structure is concerned, it is like a monologue, everything is said and felt through the author's eyes.

The phonological level is closely associated with the musicality of the text, in case of both the

Romanian and English versions. Although it seems rather cold and even glacial, there are some passages full of 'musical notes' that suggest the author's fast and deep falling into an unknown place. The whole text is constructed on two dimensions: the first one is the horizontal dimension associated with the proper game and its physiological space, and the second one is the vertical dimension, represented by the depth of the character's soul.

When analyzing a text one should consider at least three fundamental elements. Firstly, the text as a sign, made up of a signified and a signifier; secondly, the text having a communicative goal and as such it implies several levels of organization (the phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic levels) and several functions. Thirdly, the text as an act of generating meaning, having a deep structure that converts itself into surface structure through interpretation.

The interaction of different levels takes place in the surface structure of the text and the very study of the interaction of these levels is capable to reveal the profoundness of the macrostructure. To identify the way the microstructure works, there several types of combinations have been highlighted: the one-to-one, the one-to-many, the many-to-one type. The last one characterizes the link between the phonological, morphological, semantic and stylistic levels on the one hand, and the symbolic and thematic strata, on the other hand. Usually, all these patterns apply to poetry writings, but the present text is full of poetic valences, as the author was very much influenced by his poetry when he wrote his essays. Thus, our text has certain passages which best show this link between all the levels mentioned above. One of them is the following:

Pătrund acum în temnițe. E o cetate a morții și a vicleniei. Meterezele – i depășesc norii, iar pe frontispicii sînt semnele Diavolului. Intru pe coridoare de piatră. Uși secrete se deschid, trape cedează. În cuști de fier – muritori sfîrtecați, trași în țepă, răstigniți pe ziduri însîngerate. Fiecare nouă odaie e înșesată cu demoni. Sunt doar o Armă care carbonizează. Și viclenie. Acum caut cheile.

The passage abounds in alliterations and assonances, patterns that mainly contribute to the musicality of the text. We may notice the alliteration of *t*, that is, the repetition of the same consonant sound in different positions: *pătrund, temnițe, cetate, meterezele, sfîrtecați, trași, răstigniți, însîngerate, înșesată, sunt, caut*. This

/t/ alliterative pattern is inserted in meaningful morpho-syntactic items such as: verbs, nouns (in which the pattern is predominant), participles and adjectives. Another suggestive alliteration is that of the */m/*- consonant sound (*acum, temnițe, meterezele, morții, semnele, muritori, demoni, armă*). We should also have in view the */n/*- alliteration (*pătrund, temnițe, vicleniei, norii, frontispicii, sînt, semnele, intru, răstigniți, însîngerate, nouă, demoni, sunt, carbonizează, viclenie*). The */m/* and */n/*- alliterations give certain gravity to the text, they are nasal consonants, which sound stifled and thus, rather somber.

Last, but not least, there is the */c/*- alliteration that produces a very strong sound effect when the words that contain it are pronounced (*acum, vicleniei, depășesc, coridoare, secrete, deschid, cuști, sfîrtecați, fiecare, cu, care, acum, caut, cheile*). This last clause of the chosen paragraph, *Acum caut cheile*, is a kind of a 'key-clause', a very strong one, as the first syllable takes the heavy stress. This suggests the very important moment of the game, when the player should find means and tools in order to kill the monsters. The author's desire to kill the fiends, by all means, is beautifully expressed by this alliterative pattern.

The */p/*- alliteration increases the dynamism and the gradual descent into the realm of dungeons and of all Evil (*pătrund, depășesc, frontispicii, pe, piatră, trape, țepă*). The */d/* (*pătrund, deschid, cedează, depășesc, coridoare, ziduri, odaie, demoni, doar*) and */ș/*- alliterations (*depășesc, cuști, uși, trași, și*) are also to be mentioned here, as important patterns for the increasing of the tension inside the prisons.

Vowels are also grouped into patterns that grant musicality upon the text. The */a/*- assonance (*acum, cetate, coridoare, piatră, trape, cedează, trași, țepă, odaie, înșesată, doar, Armă, care, carbonizează, acum, caut*) increases the tonality, as *a* is an open vowel and it gives a bright resonance to the sad atmosphere. As for the */i/*- assonance, it reinforces the passage in discussion, thus joining the former entities (*temnițe, morții, vicleniei, norii, frontispicii, Diavolului, intru, coridoare, piatră, uși, deschid, cuști, fier, muritori, sfîrtecați, trași, răstigniți, ziduri, odaie, demoni, carbonizează, viclenie, cheile*).

The entire passage is like a mixture of tonalities. The */e/*- assonance (*temnițe, cetate, viclenie, meterezele, depășesc, semnele, coridoare, secrete, se deschid, trape, cedează, fier, sfîrtecați, însîngerate, fiecare, odaie, e înșesată, care, cheile*) is like a link, a bridge between the real, beautiful,

warm place of human existence and the unreal, somber, cold world of computer games. Being a middle tonality vowel, /e/ sound marks the slow but inevitable passing through the use of close vowels that are also present. One fine example is the /u/- assonance (*pătrund, acum, intru, uși, cuști, muritori, ziduri, nouă, sunt, acum, caut*). The same as /c/- alliteration, the /u/ assonance best suggests the idea of falling into another space. This fall is not desired, but the close tonality renders the fact that it is, by all means, inevitable. Here, we may also remark another assonance, that of the close vowel sound /ă/ which completes the close sonorous series of the passage (*pătrund, depășesc, piatră, cedează, țeapă, răstigniți, nouă, înșesată, Armă, carbonizează*). This passage, as we have already mentioned above, is full of vivid sounds that increase the tension, emotions and shows a complete image of how a computer game looks and sounds like.

The English version of this passage preserves most of the patterns identified above. But, there are also some other patterns like the alliteration of /d/ (*dungeons, death, clouds, Devil, corridors, doors, slashed, pulled, crucified, bloodstain, and demons*) and /s/ (*stepping, fortress, slyness, signs, stone, secret, slashed, stakes*). They have the same purpose as in the Romanian version, that is, to intensify the emotional experience of everything that happens in the game. The vowels have an important role, too. Thus, we encounter the /e/- assonance (*stepping, fortress, death, Devil, enter, trap, away, cages, slashed, stakes, chamber, weapon, everything*) which bridges the transgression from consonants to vowels.

This passage is not focused on any decent. The register changes and the dynamism increases. It is like a poem with short, dynamic lines. The rhythm is interrupted only by the full stop. Sentences are short and it is as if one could recite the whole poem as if it were a stanza. Thus, the sound patterns are very important here, they should be remarked and identified in order to better understand what is going on in the game. The author seems to be out of time, out of place but his mind is still working and everything he sees is the projection of his mind, i.e. the images and the sounds.

The idea of waving movement is best rendered by the /t/- alliteration (*timp, alte, atacă, răătăcit, resorturi, poartă, cristalele, sint, piatră, poarta, turcoaz, pot, treia, monștrii, spate, disperat*) which is the most often used pattern in this passage. Another alliteration is that of /p/ (*timp, pentru,*

viespi, pe, apă, spirală, podele, tălpile, căpcăuni, pînă, prima, poartă, aproape, prin, opal, pot, spate, disperat, esplanade). If we stress all these consonant sounds when reading the passage, we will obtain a wonderful piece of poetry, with a certain trochee and iambic mixture of rhythms, and also a gravity of what happens in that very moment.

We may also notice the presence of another alliteration, that of /m/- (*timp, mă, m-am, prima, mai, mațele, îmi, monștrii*) accompanied by that of /n/- (*pentru, gânduri, mecanice, alunec, căpcăuni, pînă, monștrii, esplanade*). These two patterns appear only in nouns, which are the morphological parts that create the scenery; they provide the components of what represents a computerised game. Although nasals are softer than other consonant sounds, here, they increase the terror and also the meaning of the entities the author has to fight against.

Other remarkable alliterations are those of /r/- (*rătăcit, resorturi, scări, spirală, ard, hoarde, cristalele, rare, poarta, a treia, monștrii, disperat, fosfor*) and /l/ (*alte, culoare, spirală, alunec, podele, lavă, tălpile, cheile, cristalele, duhul, mațele, opal, alunec, esplanade*).

Regarding the vowel sounds, we also have many patterns that are worth mentioning. Thus, we come across the assonance of the close vowel /u/ (*pentru, gânduri, culoare, resorturi, fug, sus, alunec, ucid, căpcăuni, duhul*). As in the previous mentioned text, the /u/ - vowel sound suggests the idea of ascending, of going up. It is like a trip to nowhere, which the author is ready to take, no matter the consequences. But this going up is followed by a descent, which is best suggested by another assonance, that of the vowel /ă/ (*atacă, răătăcit, apă, scări, spirală, lavă, căpcăuni*). It is also a close vowel that suggests the falling down to nothingness.

In opposition to it, we have also some assonances of open vowel sounds, such as that of /i/ (*timp, viespi, mecanice, răătăcit, tălpile, cristalele, piatră, viața, treia, furișează, frig, disperat*). The idea of going up is best suggested by this vowel sound but also by another open /a/ (*alte, atacă, mecanice, culoare, hoarde, spirală, poartă, viața, spate, esplanade*). All these patterns are met through the whole passage, each of them having its well-determined purpose, that of rendering the musicality of the text.

Musicality represents a part of the author's own style of writing. There are words throughout the text that are repeatedly used. The repetition of

the same word, under a different case, increases not only the tone but also the meaning of the text.

The whole text is built on symbols. The eyes and feet stand for human body features; the weapon, crystals stand for the material world; evils, fiend and monsters stand for the animal kingdom. Thus, the text is a highly figurative one. The text is exceptional, as the structures that form it are not only metaphorically, but also syntactically and phonologically patterned. These schemes produce impressive stylistic associations in the head of both the reader and the interpreter of it. The text has apparently illogical constructions as if the author were not mainly concerned with reality but with experience. In such texts, our basic concern would be not how things are, but how they seem to be.

The basic relations that occur are either of similarity, or of contrast. The author also seems to be on extremes. He consciously experiences the feeling that he lacks the sense of his own identity, that he is part of a background where he does not actually fit, but he continues to play the game, which he does not like at all.

The reader seems to share with the author not only background knowledge, but also a set of presuppositions, sympathies and standards, of what is pleasant and unpleasant, right and wrong, good and bad. For a reader to change himself and give up his disbeliefs and become the 'appropriate reader', he has to become aware of certain facts. He has also to make all kinds of linguistic, social and moral allowances. An obvious allowance is the way in which we, as readers, deal with modern standards. The text is modern, the reader, and implicitly, the translator, has to understand the mechanism of the game, and all its implications. The author, as an *I* narrator, manages to establish a personal relationship with the reader, which inevitably pushes the reader into liking, even admiring the narrator. The narrator succeeded in converting the reader to sympathize with the text.

3. CONCLUSIONS

As seen in this paper, translation is a very complex process, which consists mainly in transferring the meaning of a source language text into another language known as target language. A good translator should not only possess reliable knowledge about the two languages but he/she should also be aware of the two different cultural backgrounds.

The prose translation is not an easy thing to do as the relationship between the parts that make up a text (the words) and the text as a whole are extraordinarily complex. There is only a limited understanding of the mechanism, which makes single words influence the whole, and the whole influence the content of single words. This question cannot be solved without investigating the stylistic value of individual words. Researchers have taken diametrically opposed views on the question whether words have a semantic and stylistic value of their own or if they obtain their meaning and value from and through their context.

One possible feature would be the word's potency for meaning, or the extent to which a word can be predicted to influence or be influenced by its context. It is possible to establish general rules for the meaning potential, and one of the decisive variables for this is the stylistic value of a word. A word with strong connotative associations in the stylistic register should influence context rather than be influenced by it. This hypothesis cannot be put to the test before such lexical connotations have been established.

The text interpretation has been made according to the changes that appeared during the process of translation. I have insisted on some important phrases where I have considered that my translation is different from the Romanian version, thus, I insisted on giving reasons for it.

Regarding the phonological texture of the text, I considered it of tremendous importance for enacting the meaning of the whole essay. Normally, a prose text does not have sound patterns. This usually applies to poetry. But, after a deep reading and understanding of Cărtărescu's style, I have discovered that the text has great musical passages and I have thought it will be proper to expose them in detail. Thus, I have enumerated some sound patterns that are dominant and I have exemplified them in two short passages from the essay. I have dealt with the Romanian versions and then, I have drawn a comparison with their English variants.

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Annex 1

COMPUTER GAMES FOREVER

Mircea Cărtărescu

„Ce Dumnezeu caut aici? Dar numele Lui nu este binevenit în aceste ținuturi. Aici sunt ghețuri eterne printre care curg râuri de lavă, sunt munți și prăpăstii. Cine sînt? Nu-mi pot aduce aminte. Tot ce văd în fața mea e peisajul măreț și abstrus – și o Armă. Nu pot privi în jos ca să-mi văd măcar vârful încălțărilor, pe care le simt de metal. Încep să alunec, cu arma în fața (e un fel de caduceu înaripat), prin aceste iaduri. Nu am timp să-mi pun alte întrebări despre condiția mea. Căci apar Monștrii. Nici eu nu știu cine sînt și de ce putere sînt însuflețiți. N-au instinct de conservare. Păsări de foc, diavoli extropiați, zombies, mumii, vârcolaci, legiuni de inomabile nevertebrate se azvîrl înaintea, scuipe sfere de flacără, te năpădesc cu duhori sulfuroase. Îi extermin cu zecile, eliberînd limbi de jad din magicul caduceu, alunec rapid prin ținutul melancoliei, cu cîte-un copăcel închircit pe alocuri, mă feresc de văpăile dureroase ale celor care-mi vor sîngele. Cînd sînt atins, viața îmi scade, puterea se duce. Din fericire, pe pămînt sînt presărate Cristale. Violacee, roze sau limpezi ca gheața. Ele sunt forță și sănătate. De cîte ori ating unul, o mare lumină iradiază și mă simt deodată mai bine.

Pătrund acum în temnițe. E o cetate a morții și a vicleniei. Meterezele – i depășesc norii, iar pe frontispicii sînt semnele Diavolului. Intru pe coridoare de piatră. Uși secrete se deschid, trape cedează. În cuști de fier – muritori sîrtecați, trași în țeapă, răstigniți pe ziduri însîngerate. Fiecare nouă odaie e înțesată cu demoni. Sunt doar o Armă care carbonizează. Și viclenie. Acum caut cheile. Cea de opal, cea de turcoaz și cea de malachită. Sîngerez din sute de răni, dar nu mi-e frică și nu mă pot opri. Sînt întocmai ca Ei. Dar bun. Nu-i

timp pentru alte gînduri. Mă atacă viespi mecanice. M-am rătăcit pe culoare. Apăs resorturi. Fug în sus pe scări în spirală. Alunec pe podele de lavă care-mi ard tălpile. Am Cheile. Ucid hoarde de căpăuni pînă dau de prima poartă. Aici cristalele sînt mai rare. Aproape că-mi dau duhul prin mațele astea de piatră. Trec de poarta de opal, apoi de cea de turcoaz. N-o pot găsi pe a treia. Viața îmi scade mereu. Monștrii mi se furișează prin spate și mă frig cu ghearele lor. Alunec disperat pe esplanade de fosfor.

Deodată, arma-mi dispare și-mi văd acum înainte doar brațele goale, părăse. Nu mă pot apăra. Fug, mă ascund, diavolii zbiară triumfători. Merg în echilibru pe o punte ca o lamă de brici. Sînt dincolo. N-am mai ajuns pe aici. Sînt steiuri de stîncă, tragice și mărețe. Intru în defileul putreziciunii, înțesat de carcace de om. Într-o nișă găsesc – Evoe! – o formidabilă Armă. E un crin de transfinită lumină. Cu el înainte, ca o Bunăvestire, pătrund în grota finală. Lupt cu balaurul. N-am timp să văd cum arată. Îl învălui cu bilioane de steluțe otrăvite. Urletele-i sînt de nesuportat. Se zbate agonice, nu mai poate sufla jerbele lui de iridii. Se înțepenește brusc. Se vitrifică. Se sparge în țandări. E praf și pulbere. Dar și sănătatea mea e aproape la zero. Abia mă mai tîrăsc către poarta de malachită, ce se ridică, încet, ca să mă primească. Ating cu palma rășchirată semnul magic.

Pe cine-am învins? Pe cine-am salvat? Al cui erou sînt? Beau apa uitării și, pe cînd mă dizolv ca să mă reîntrez în eterna, absurda mea metempsihoză, apuc să mai văd ecranul final: LEVEL 26 COMPLETED//KILLED: 56/64// SECRETS:4/7 // TIME: 1:23:45.”

COMPUTER GAMES FOREVER

Mircea Cărtărescu

(My Translation)

For God's sake why am I here for? However His name is not desired in this part of the world. Here, there are never-ending frosts through which streams of lava flow, there are mountains and abysses. Who am I? I can't figure it out. All I can see before my eyes is the landscape, grandiose and abstruse – and a Weapon. I can't even look down to see the toe cap of my shoes, which feels metal-like. I start sliding, through these hellish areas, facing the Weapon (a kind of Hermes' winged sceptre). I have no time to question my condition. For Monsters do come out. Even I myself hardly know who they are and what kind of strength empowers them. They have no self - preservation instinct. Fire birds, crippled fiends, zombies, mummies, were-wolves, legions of unidentified invertebrates throw themselves forward, spit fire balls, flood you with their sulphurous stinks. I exterminate them by the dozen, releasing jade stripes out of the magic sceptre of Hermes, I slip fast through the realm of melancholy, with a small, cowered tree, stuck here and there, I avoid the burning flames of those who hanker after my blood. When I'm touched, my life dies out, my powers fade away. Fortunately, Crystals are sprinkled on earth. They look violet, pink or ice - clear. They radiate strength and health. Each time I touch one, an intense light radiates and I suddenly feel better.

I'm stepping into dungeons, now. This is a fortress of death and slyness. Its walls tower the clouds and Devil's signs mark the frontispieces. I enter corridors of stone. Secret doors open, trap doors give away. In iron cages there lie slashed mortals pulled on stakes, crucified on bloodstain walls. Each new chamber is filled with demons. They are just a Weapon that burns everything down. And they are all cunningness. Now, I'm looking for the keys: the opal, the turquoise and the malachite one. I'm bleeding due to hundreds of wounds but I'm not afraid and I can not stop. I am

exactly as they are. But I'm good. There's no time for further thinking. Mechanical wasps harass me. I've got lost on corridors. I push the springs. I run up the winding stairs. I slip down to the lava floors that burn my soles. I've got the Keys. I kill hoards of ogres before reaching the first gate. Here, the crystals are ever rarer. I almost give my last breath away outrunning these bowels of stone. I pass through the opal gate, then the turquoise one. I can not find the third. My life constantly fades away. Monsters sneak behind my back and burn me with their claws. I desperately slide down on phosphorous esplanades.

Suddenly, the Weapon disappears and all I can see now before me are my bare, hairy arms. I can't defend myself anymore. I run, hide and the devils scream exultantly. I keep my balance while pacing on a razorblade bridge. Now, I am on the other side. I have never been here before. Here are dramatic majestic salty rocks. I enter the narrow path of putrefaction, filled with human remains. Down there, in a niche, I find – Thank God! – a formidable Weapon. It's like a lily of light beyond light. Led by it, as if it were an Annunciation, I enter the final grotto. I am fighting the Dragon. I don't have time to see what it looks like. I surround it with billions of poisonous little stars. Its roars are unbearable. Agonisingly does it struggle, unable to spit its wreaths of iridium. Suddenly it petrifies. It vitrifies. It breaks down into pieces. It has finally been defeated. But my health is also gone out, as well. I can hardly crawl myself to the malachite gate that rises, slowly, to let me in. I touch the magical sign with my palm.

Whom have I defeated? Whom have I saved? Whose hero am I? I drink the water of oblivion and, when I begin to dissolve myself in order to reintegrate into my eternal, absurd metempsychosis, I still get to see the final screen: LEVEL26 COMPLETED // KILLED: 56/64 // SECRETS: 4/7 // TIME: 1:23:45.

A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE VARIETY USED ON TWITCH.TV: DESCRIPTIVE AND CORPUS-BASED APPROACHES

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Abstract: *This paper examines the variety of language used by the community of Twitch.tv with the application of descriptive and corpus-based methods. Twitch.tv is one of the world's most visited websites for live broadcasting of video games; the unusual conditions under which the website's users engage in discussions and express themselves gave birth to a language variety which only very remotely resembles any other internet-specific way of communicating. Twitch.tv is a website accessible from all the European, South/North American and East-Asian countries and the main language used by the majority of the site's users is English. The most fascinating aspect of the site from the linguistic point of view is the possibility for all its users to write on the chat. Approximately 400 000 users are logged in at any given time and during major broadcasts more than 100 000 users are often talking simultaneously on the same chat. These factors had an immense impact on the nature and structure of the messages. The huge interlingual gaming community (aged 16-26 on average) developed a very peculiar way to comment on the broadcasts and discuss the games being played. The language used on Twitch.tv chats is abundant in neologisms and meaningful site-specific emoticons. The corpus-based study I conducted indicates that the messages are extremely context-dependent and follow certain syntactic patterns.*

Keywords: *internet community, language variety, neologisms, emoticons, chat, eSport, computer games*

1. INTRODUCTION. THE HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY eSPORT

In this paper I introduce and discuss concepts closely related to eSport. Therefore, in order to avoid possible misreadings or misjudgments I feel that it is necessary to closely describe the current status of professional video gaming in the media. There is little to no academic research on the subject with regard to its contemporary state, while a common belief (Gumbel, 2013) has it that the significance and the degree of this phenomenon is rather low. However, the world of eSport, as Borowy (2012: 106-108) predicted in his thesis, has evolved rapidly within the last few years. The concept of eSport has been gaining in significance since early 2000s. The gaming landscape has been shaped by increasing availability of powerful computers and worldwide access to the Internet, though back then only very few expected to make a living from playing games at the competitive, almost Olympic, level. A number of major events were organized before 2000s, but those attracted a rather limited audience and focused on games which were not truly designed to be played competitively (Popper, 2013). First real gaming tournaments with large prize pools and audiences were World Cyber Games (2000, annual ever

since) and Dreamhack (2002, biannual ever since). Players would compete in games such as Starcraft or Counter-Strike but those events had little to no impact on media until late 2000s (Kim, 2007).

Those prevalent games differed from the rest because they made players face each other instead of making them compete against highly predictable artificial intelligence. Hence, they were heavily focused on teamwork, individual player skill, split-second decision making, strategy and objective control. These factors, together with complete removal of luck elements have become characteristic of the popular eSport games and are the most significant reason for their popularity nowadays. There was a visibly growing interest of players to watch the best members of their community compete against each other. The very idea that one can watch others playing computer games the same way one watches regular sports on the television has become a deciding factor for the development of eSport into such a huge phenomenon. This was also followed by increasing number of gaming tournaments per year: The Verge reports the growth from 10/year in 2000 to 696/year in 2012 (Popper, 2013).

2010s have brought two arguably biggest competitors on the eSport market: Riot Games' *League of Legends* and Valve's *DOTA2 (Defense*

of the Ancients 2), which stemmed from the idea of *MOBA* (Massive Online Battle Arena). In these games two teams, five players each, compete against each other head to head in dynamic, fast-paced skirmishes. The games are extremely intricate and very difficult to play on the top level; they require strategic planning, excellent decision making skills, team synergy and adjusting to the other team's strategies at a pace not possible in regular sports (Minotti, 2014). All these characteristics sum up to a reason why many people find eSport so exciting to watch.

2. RESEARCH SUBJECT

2.1. The phenomenon of video game streaming. The eSport suddenly became much alike any other spectator sport and the media very quickly adjusted to that. Making use of the potential of commonly available broadband Internet connections and the streaming technology, video game streaming websites were created, which allowed for live broadcasting (broadcasting and streaming are used interchangeably for the purposes of this paper as they are used to refer to the same concept but collocate differently) of video games on a global scale. Due to the fact that the streaming technology does not have high prerequisites of its own, it also allowed the regular, individual players to live broadcast their own gaming. This was facilitated by two major game streaming services opened in the early 2010s: own3d.tv and Twitch.tv, the former of which has been closed in 2013 (Popper, 2013).

Twitch.tv has developed over the years into an incredibly popular website and was bought by Amazon in September 2014 for \$970 million (Wawro, 2014). Nowadays it is the most popular streaming service for Europe, both Americas and western Asia. It allows both normal players and eSport organizations to stream any game in any language (though English is strongly preferred by the majority). Since the site provides subscription model (in which players are allowed to subscribe to a given person for \$5/month for extra privileges), those particularly popular streamers use the website as their major source of income.

2.2. The chat feature of Twitch.tv. The reasons for the growing popularity of the video game streams are many. Firstly, due to the complexity of the games being streamed, people often watch the broadcasts to learn from the best and improve. The eSport tournament broadcasts on the other hand do not differ much from other

regular sport broadcasts (in many European countries the major eSport events are nowadays available to watch on sport TV stations and in the movie theaters). Those events take place live in the regular sport venues and receive professional commentary and coverage in multiple languages.

All the above described activities are facilitated by the website's chat feature. Every broadcast has its own chat room, a large section of the screen in which messages of other broadcast viewers can be viewed and a text box through which one can enter and send their own messages. The individual streamers are usually very open to any queries and try to pass over their insights regarding the game; they also actively interact with their audience between the games via chat. Those successful individual streamers have devoted fan communities which develop their own language varieties. The eSport game broadcasts also allow the spectators to actively participate in the chat. Due to the nature of the competitive events (normally 50 000 - 500 000 users watching live), the chat's nature differs significantly from the individual streams. Due to a relatively low message uptime (see Fig. 1.) and huge number of participants, the chat is used mostly to express emotions as any kind of discussion is impaired by the constant influx of messages. However, this kind of situational context is truly unique: potentially hundreds of thousands of humans from different backgrounds engage in communication and attempt to simultaneously convey their attitudes and thoughts.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Corpus method: description of the research material. I created two types of corpora for the purposes of this paper. Firstly, there are 21 corpora containing 17 500 words total from the tournament broadcasts. These corpora are the major focus of the research I conducted as they reflect the behaviour of the community in an unorthodox communicative context, *i.e.* an unusually large group of users is allowed to simultaneously express their thoughts and interact. These corpora are divided into two major categories depending on the stream active viewer count: first category (hereinafter referred to as 50 000 Sample) shows the chat behaviour of 50 000 - 80 000 active users and the second category (hereinafter referred to as 150 000 sample) reflects the behaviour of 150 000 active users. Secondly, I also created 10 reference corpora to describe the

user behaviour in small, individual player streams. These are divided into 1 000 active users broadcasts (hereinafter referred to as 1 000 Sample) and 10 000 active users (hereinafter referred to as 10 000 Sample) categories. It has to be noted that the data samples from the smaller corpora are less reliable; the data collection process for the individual broadcasts is much slower and the specific streams differ from one another with regard to language variations and user types. Regardless, there are certain distinctive features relevant to those types of streams.

3.2. Methods of data collection and analysis.

I manually gathered the chat records from respective streams on Twitch.tv and pre-edited the corpora to allow their further examination with computer software. I processed the corpus data with the use of WordSmith Tools 6.0 and applied Wordlist and Keyness functions together with a number of manual operations to calculate and measure the desired statistics. Due to the nature of research material, I chose to analyse the sentence (message) length and emoticon density; I also manually measured onscreen uptime of the messages.

4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Active viewer count's influence on the content of the messages. The core aim of this part of the paper is to depict the relationship of viewer count with the content of the messages sent by individual users.

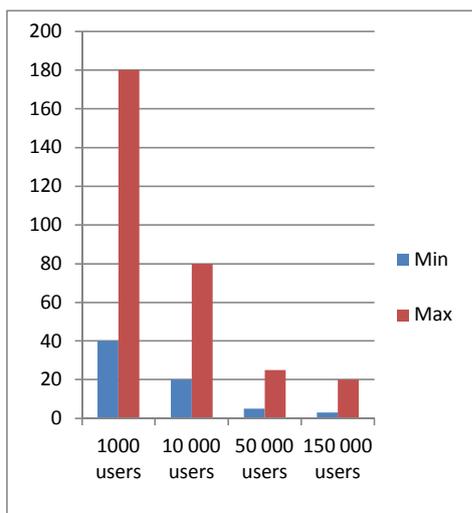


Fig.1 Message uptime (seconds)

The message uptime was also measured as I also expected it to be connected to active viewer count and thus to correlate with the message length. The purpose of this part of my research was to examine the user behaviour in unusual communicative context. The results are presented in the graphs and discussed below (see Fig. 1. and Fig. 2.).

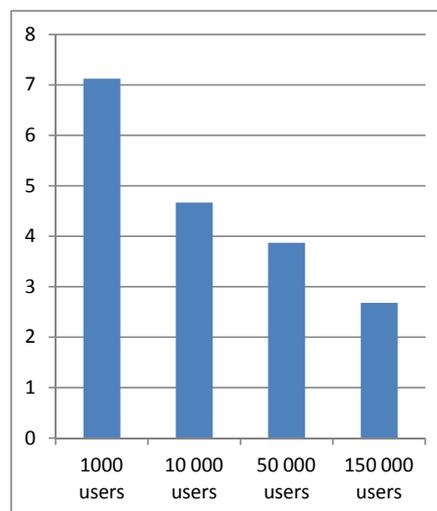


Fig.2 Sentence length (words)

The 150 000 Sample and 50 000 Sample are characterized by extremely low message uptimes (Fig.1.) and particularly short sentences (Fig. 2.). The relationship between message uptime and sentence length is intricate; the message uptime for 150 000 Sample is only slightly smaller than for 50 000 Sample, indicating that the number of messages sent does not differ drastically. The sentences, however are extremely short in 150 000 Sample and visibly longer in 50 000 Sample. Both large samples also contain unusually high amount of emoticons (see Fig. 3. and Section 4.3.). The 10 000 Sample is characterized by medium message uptime and relatively low sentence length. For the 1 000 Sample the message uptime is extremely long and the sentence length is visibly higher if compared to any other sample.

Having conducted the follow-up empirical examination of the corpora I confirmed that when communicating during the larger events (150 000 and 50 000 Samples), the users of Twitch.tv will focus on expressing themselves at all, being aware that what they write is very unlikely to be noticed and read (Fig. 1. and Fig. 2.). This means that the content of their messages will be very often limited

to two-four words, one of which is likely to be an emoticon (see Fig. 3.) and the other three will frequently contain players' names. In this case the Twitch.tv's user behaviour appears to resemble that of the crowd during major sport events. The users will cheer and even shout (write in upper case letters) knowing that there is little to no time for meaningful exchange of thoughts.

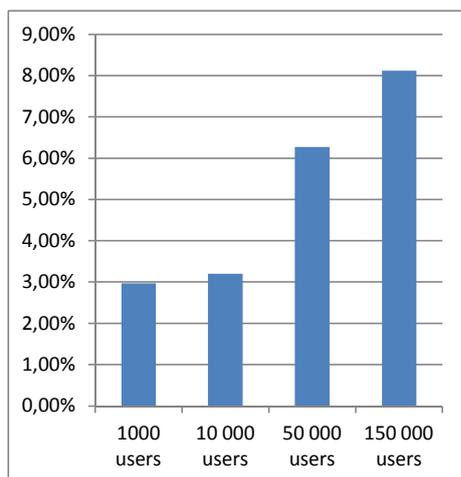


Fig.3 Emoticon % content in Twitch.tv messages

The smaller samples, unlike the large ones, are characterized by the reduced use of emoticons (more than two times less than in the large samples) and by much longer sentences. In 10 000 Sample broadcasts the users frequently engaged in exchange of thoughts, but the focus was still on relating to the gameplay (hence the medium sentence length, Fig. 2.). Longer message uptime ensured a larger variety in language and greatly limited the use of emoticons if compared to the larger samples (Fig. 1. and Fig. 2.) . The 1 000 Sample was characterized by very long message uptime, which encouraged the chat users to interact with each other and participate in meaningful exchange of opinions and thoughts. It is worth noting that the users in 1 000 Sample were often familiar with each other and their discussions sporadically encompassed topics not related to the game being played or computer games at all. Surprisingly, the use of emoticons does not differ significantly between 1 000 and 10 000 Samples (Fig. 3.), which indicates that the emoticons are used rather evenly both for commenting on gameplay and to discuss matters at hand.

4.2. The repetition principle. When I was conducting the empirical study I observed a

phenomenon closely connected to the larger samples (50 000 and 150 000). When typing in their messages, the chat users will frequently reproduce messages of other users. This results in strings of hundreds of repeated messages with exactly the same or similar content. This phenomenon usually transpires when something significant occurs during the broadcast itself. The repeated messages are usually one-two word long and contain simple phrases such as "wow" or "ok" which are sometimes accompanied by an emoticon.

The repetition principle has its variation in the smaller Samples (1000 and 10 000). In those cases, however, it takes a different shape. The community members of a given broadcast create short, nonsensical and deliberately ungrammatical stories which they later attempt to circulate. Those stories will normally end with "please do not copy-pasta *Kappa*" (which is a false request not to "copy paste", *i.e.* reproduce them). The successful ones are very quickly adopted: other users copy them and send them as their own messages. Many of those "copy-pasta" stories are later spread to other broadcasts.

4.3. The phenomenon of Twitch.tv emoticons. Contemporary research on emoticons focuses mainly on the manner of their adoption. Park *et al.* (2013, 472-473) assume that the new emoticons spread in two main ways: they are either created by a person and spread through their social networks or become spontaneously adopted. Park *et al.* (2013, 474) also hypothesize that

the emoticons are evolving from a universal way of expressing faces in text to culturally-bounded emotional dialects.

For Twitch.tv both statements hold true while the latter is of particular importance. Twitch's users use language mainly to respond to rapidly changing visual stimulus; emoticons facilitate transparent and quick expression and this is why they are often used instead of regular words (Fig. 3.). The crucial factor is that the website's owners created a feature which allows the streamers to create their own emoticons. The feature was very quickly adopted and nowadays the common emoticons have been completely replaced by the custom ones.

The custom emoticons of Twitch.tv resemble various faces, very often those of the Website's broadcasters or creators. To use the custom emoticon one has to type in a code, a simple combination of upper- and lower-case letters. The

most commonly used emoticon is encoded as "Kappa". It is a small icon resembling a grinning face cut out from the photo of one of the administrators of Twitch.tv and it denotes sarcasm and irony. It is most commonly used in the end of the messages which are intended as untrue. Interestingly, for both large Samples (150 000 and 50 000), *Kappa* was the most commonly used word and comprised approx. 2% of the all utterances (Fig. 4.). Currently, the most popular emoticons include, among others: *ResidentSleeper* (a face of the sleeping man), *PogChamp* (a screaming face), *FailFish* (face-palm expression) and *SwiftRage* (an angry face).

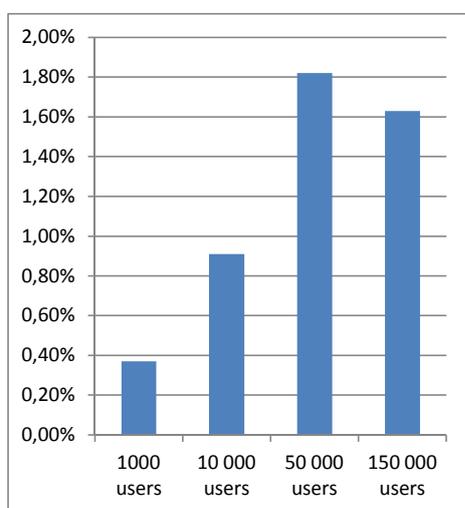


Fig. 4. Kappa emoticon % content in the text

The new emoticons are very often adopted overnight. Once added by one of the broadcasters, they may also be included by other broadcasters to their channels. This means that the broadcasters themselves control the actual spreading rate of the emoticons, while the regular users will sometimes suggest the emoticon adoption to a given broadcaster. Interestingly, this results in a situation where a given broadcaster and his/her fans frequently use their own exclusive (*i.e.* not used anywhere else) set of emoticons to communicate.

4.4. Neologisms. The community of Twitch.tv uses very peculiar means of expression, which results in constant coining of new words, some of which survive the passage of time, *i.e.* neologisation occurs (Levchenko, 2010:11-12). One of the most popular Twitch.tv neologisms, which is nowadays recognized and used by many

of the website's users has originated from the player's name. The nickname of Enrique "xPeke" Cedeño Martínez has become the part of the community's language after he singlehandedly won a seemingly unwinnable match of *League of Legends* for his team by outwitting his opponents in early 2013. The neologism "xPeke" is now recognized by UrbanDictionary. It is used in a multitude of forms, all of which appear in the corpora I investigated, including but not limited to: as a verb *to xPeke* (meaning "to outsmart"), as a noun and jokingly, as a variation of the verb "to expect" (*e.g. to xpekt*). A similar process is nowadays applied to the nickname of another *League of Legends* player, Lee "Faker" Sang-hyeok who is considered to be the best and most consistent player in the world.

Moreover, the popular Twitch.tv emoticons have become neologisms outside of the website. Even though they only have visual representations on the website itself, the expressions such as *Kappa* and *ResidentSleeper* are nowadays used by the gamer communities on various forums or in-game; the gamers assume that the meaning of those expressions is a part of the community's common ground. This also extends to the regular neologisms described above.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The conditions under which language is used on Twitch.tv do not resemble those of other internet communities; the messages are not permanent and are characterized by a low uptime on the screen, while the potentially huge number of participants imposes certain constraints on message length and content. My research revealed that the communication under those unusual circumstances favours short messages affluent in emoticons and repetitions used to express their senders' attitudes and emotions. With the decrease in the number of active users, the message length grows and regular text is increasingly favoured over emoticons. The language variety itself strives to be unique by introducing its own novel lexical elements and distinct emoticons.

Moreover, the features of language used on Twitch.tv appear to have influence on the general language of the gamer community outside of the website. The processes in which Twitch.tv neologisms diffuse into the general gamer language may prove to be an interesting research subject in the future.

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LANGUAGE PARTICULARITIES IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN AREA. ROLE OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPEAN CULTURAL CONTEXT

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Abstract: *This paper contradicts the centum-satem linguistic hypothesis that appeared in the intention of reconstructing the Proto-Indo-European language based on the evolution of dorsal consonant classes. Considering the peculiarities of the linguistic and cultural South-Eastern European context, we found that the centum-satem isogloss is unsatisfactory for our intention of explaining this context. In this respect, we designed a mixed research, in order to identify features of the Indo-European languages, based on an analysis of some morphological units from lexical fund of words of the languages under scrutiny. We included 123 Indo-European languages in the research corpus, analyzing the distribution of linguistic branches and groups in relation to words from the main lexical fund: water, to be and brother. Furthermore, we traced isophones and isoglosses and compared them with the centum-satem isogloss. We found that archaeological and anthropological data sustain the hypothesis of the Indo-European languages classification based on proposed isophones/isoglosses and not on the centum-satem isogloss. The present paper is important because it casts a different analytical light upon the Indo-European languages distribution, starting from the area where the two families of isoglosses intersect, specifically the South-Eastern European area.*

Keywords: *South-Eastern Europe, Indo-European languages, centum-satem, isoglosses, Balkan linguistic unity, Kurgan theory*

1. INTRODUCTION. BOUNDARIES OF THE CENTUM-SATEM HYPOTHESIS

We initially intended to approach the cultural area of reference by means of a mixed method of investigation, qualitative-quantitative, and further on, within this particular area, to set the foundation for a qualitative research focused on the role of the southeastern European cultural context in configuring cultural sign systems. In order for us to be able to focus on the configuration of the local cultural background, we thought it was important to consider some referential theoretical elements: the hypothesis of a South-Eastern European cultural and religious syncretism, put forward by the Lithuanian archaeologist and pre-historian Marija Gimbutas and by the French linguist André Martinet and the hypothesis of the Balkan "linguistic union", promoted by the Slovenian linguist and philologist Jernej Bartol Kopitar and analyzed by the Russian phonologist Nicholas Trubetzkoy (a representative of the Prague Linguistic Circle) and by the Romanian academician Al. Rosetti.

From this starting point, so long as "Old Europe", in Marija Gimbutas' acceptance (1989:49) constituted a cultural whole,

a cultural entity existent between the interval 6.500-3.500 B.C., based on a matriarchal society, a theocratic, peaceful, loving and art-making one that preceded the patriarchal Indo-Europeanized societies of warriors from the Bronze and Iron epochs,

our attention needs to center on those linguistic elements that can be analyzed specifically. "Old Europe's" languages, which offered the constitutive background for the "Balkan linguistics" topic, should the "theory of substratum not be sufficient for the explanation of these coincidences among languages that are genealogically related," (Rosetti, 1938/1943:29), cannot yet be reference elements for the study of cultural particularities. In case this hypothesis were plausible at the level of phonetic or morphologic analysis of the Balkan area's current languages, in other words if there were a common pre-Indo-European substratum, this would mean that the exhaustive analysis (both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective) of various words belonging to the Indo-European basic lexicon could configure a complete and correct picture of some distinct and particular linguistic areas. More precisely, should the Indo-

European languages have developed based on an Indo-European substratum, then, both the extinct and existing languages of this area would preserve common elements (especially their consonants).

Such an approach to the topic under debate opposes the classical organization of Indo-European languages based on the *centum-satem* isogloss. The isogloss represents a distinct area on a map, within which there are specific linguistic particularities. Isoglosses, generally used within the inferior linguistic divisions: group, subgroup, section, language, dialect, sub-dialect, vernacular, distinguish between aspects related to phonological particularities (isophones), semantic particularities (isolexes), particularities of syntactic constructions or distinct ways of inflecting some words. Obviously, the most well known isogloss is the *centum-satem* isophone, the distinction between its components being noticeable within the Indo-European languages, in accordance with the evolution of dorsal consonants. Its name originates in signifiers of the term *one hundred* in Latin (*centum*) and in Avestan (*satəm*). The isogloss, when related to dorsal consonants' evolution, regards the reconstruction intention of the proto-Indo-European language, starting from the studies of the German linguists Franz Bopp (1835), August Schleicher (1871) or Karl Brugmann (1886). Karl Brugmann divided the Indo-European language family into labialized and non-labialized languages, reminding of the above-mentioned isogloss' distribution. The terms *centum* and *satem* were for the first time used by Peter von Bradke (1890) in reference to the two classes of the language family, highlighted on a map by a vertical line that divides Indo-European Eurasia into two parts, respectively, at phonetic level, by retention of initial *k-* for the terms denoting *one hundred* in *centum* languages, and in assibilation - phenomenon that consists of transforming a non-sibilant sound into a sibilant sound, respectively, *k-* into *s-*, *š* or *s'* in *satem* languages (Ruhlen, 1991:54).



Figure 1. *Centum-satem classification of Indo-European languages*

Centum-satem distribution, proposed and promoted as a dividing element between Eastern and Western Indo-European cultural provinces, was put under investigation by the specialized criticism and it was amended, after the identification of Hittite and Tocharian from the *satem* area as *centum* languages.

Among the critics of von Bradke's isogloss were linguists such as Colin Renfrew, Philip Baldi, Francisco R. Adrados, Françoise Bader or Isidore Dyen. Dyen (1990a:385-391), for example, by mentioning syntax and morphology of adjectives, promotes the idea of a Slavic-Germanic subgroup, thus amending the idea of a *centum-satem* distribution. Dyen's amendment mainly regards the disproportionate treatment of assibilation and the intersection of isoglosses:

The Indo-European distribution centum-satem is considered a Proto-Indo-European isogloss, despite the fact that it limits the assibilation of palatals in a group of languages and it implies the fusion of palatal and velar series into others. This happens because it may appear reasonable to look at each series as if it were a unit and to take into account that other Indo-European isoglosses interconnect with the centum-satem isogloss.

Under such circumstances, by considering the *centum-satem* isogloss, we cannot take the hypothesis of the Balkan languages group into account, correspondingly, the hypothesis of the cultural and religious syncretism of this area. Still, should there be a common fund of a pre-Indo-European cultural entity; these hypotheses had to be valid. Accordingly, *centum-satem* isogloss should be crossed by another/other isogloss(es) that would lead to a natural distribution of the Indo-European language family into other over-branches.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

When studying the Balkan linguistic particularities to identify the role of the cultural context in configuring linguistic codes, we will focus on both descriptive and explanatory objectives. In order to identify such particularities, we will subject words from the Indo-European languages basic vocabulary to analysis, for establishing isoglosses based on their analysis. The general objective of the study, GO, consists of the identification of language particularities within the Indo-European area, by means of analysis of some morphological units, belonging to these languages' main lexicon, that carry meanings (words and morphemes). For the

achievement of this objective, we highlighted not only the specificity of these words based on the branches, sub-branches, groups and sub-groups of languages, but also the existence of common elements, so that isoglosses can be established. The specific objectives, SO, of our study are as follows: SO1: establishing isoglosses of the morphological units under analysis and their comparison; SO2: comparison of those isoglosses with the *centum-satem* isogloss and interpretation of results obtained.

The preliminary documentation included, apart from the mentioned authors' works and the analysis direction, the linguistic realities existent in our study area, especially in the area of the Indo-European language family: Baltic, Slavic, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Greek, Anatolian, Tocharian, Albanian, Armenian and Thraco-Phrygian. The social documents used are dictionaries of the Indo-European languages, more precisely, of the active languages, respectively, linguistic resources regarding the analyzed morphological units of the extinct languages. Our research focuses on the linguistic and cultural reality of the Indo-European area; the study comprises approximately 200 Indo-European languages, out of which, 124 languages will be under scrutiny, such as: 53 Indo-Iranian, 7 Baltic, 13 Slavic, 15 Italic, 7 Celtic, 14 Germanic, 2 Greek, 4 Anatolian, 2 Tocharian, 1 Albanian, 1 Armenian and 3 Thraco-Phrygian. Nevertheless, since not all linguistic branches are made of active languages, in circulation today, not all of these 124 languages will represent units of analysis and record. Individual languages (in detail, wherever there is dialectal richness or particularities of certain dialects) constitute units of analysis and record. For the identification of language particularities in the Indo-European area, we focused on both divisions of language and dialect, and linguistic divisions of a higher degree of generality: sub-branch, group, sub-group, and segment. The research instruments were used for a total number of 81 languages and more than 20 dialects, belonging to the Indo-European branch.

The projective endeavor holds a double interpretation, namely, deduction out of theory and direct experience. With regard to the deduction resulting from theory, given our intention to represent delimitations of certain linguistic particularities by means of isoglosses, we will make direct reference to the linguistic wave theory, or *Wellentheorie*, developed by

Johannes Schmidt in 1872, according to which, linguistic changes spread in waves, starting from the epicenter:

according to Schmidt's wave model, linguistic changes spread outward concentrically like waves, which become progressively weaker with the distance from their central point (Campbell, 1998/2004:213).

The wave theory confers researchers the freedom to identify linguistic elements based on which isogloss families may be achieved. Words' structure, within this framework, is the outcome of various influences, coming from different spreading directions of linguistic "waves". Schmidt's method is reductionist and it condenses the history of linguistics to etymology; therefore, this method should be applied with some caution. It is this reason why the etymological endeavor must not be singular (quantitative methods would be, in this case, insufficient); it needs to be doubled by interpretation and comparison of results of similar endeavors, from other study areas of culture forms: anthropology, archaeology etc.

For the comparison of findings, we applied a theory deriving from archaeology: the theory of Kurgans, formulated in 1956 by the American research of Lithuanian origin, Marija Gimbutas. The theory of Kurgans is the reference element for formulating hypotheses with regard to the origins and spread of the Indo-European population. In accordance with this theory, and based on archaeological facts, the "primordial homeland" of Indo-Europeans lies in the Pontic-Caspian steppe. For our projected comparative analysis, we intended to identify a positioning of the isoglosses in relation with the epicenter, taking into account the evolution phases of the Kurgans culture. Thus, there were Kurgan I (early 4th millennium B.C., in the Volga water catchment area, the Samara and Seroglazovo cultures being illustrative); Kurgan II-III (late 4th millennium B.C., with a coverage area up to Northern Caucasus, representative being the Srednâi Stod and Maikop cultures) and Kurgan IV (early 3rd millennium B.C., covering the entire steppe area between the Ural mountains and the Dniester river, culture Pit Grave). The Kurgans were followed by successive waves of their expansion, as follows: wave I - 4.300-4.200 B.C., wave II - 3.400-3.200 B.C., and wave III - approximately 2.800 years B.C. (Gimbutas, 1989:68-70). At the same time, we will mind the

local cultures' structuring, namely, pre-Indo-European cultures - 6.500-3.500 B.C., in the Adriatic area: Impresso, Danilo/Butmir and Hvar; the Aegean area: Pre-Pottery, Proto-Sesklo, Sesklo and late Neolithic; Central Balkans: Starčevo-Criş (stages I-III) and Vinča-Turdaş (stages I-III); Eastern Balkans: Karanovo (stages I-VI); Oltenia, Wallachia and Dobruđa/Dobrogea: Boian, Gumelnița; Moldova and Western Ukraine: Dniester-Bug and Cucuteni (proto stages, A, AB și B); the middle course of the Danube river: Liniar and Lengyel; Tisa river: Tisa Alöld Bük, Tiszapolgár-Bodrog-Keresztúr (Gimbutas, 1989:59).

The Kurgan theory is useful because it forwards the idea of a "secondary homeland" of the Proto-Indo-Europeans in the area delimited by the Globular Amphora Culture alongside of Elbe, Vistula, Dnieper and Dniester rivers, which divided into Bell-Beaker and Corded Ware Pottery cultures, and later on, lead to the appearance of the Italic, Celtic and Germanic linguistic families, as well as of other extinct or partially extinct linguistic groups.

As far as the direct experience is concerned, the contact with Balkan cultures (including linguistic contact), made us follow the research in the direction of Kopitar and Martinet hypotheses, by means of the wave theory and Kurgans theory.

Starting from these theoretical foundations and from the experience of cultural contacts, we formulated the following projective directions (working hypotheses); 1. If we set up isoglosses of the words belonging to the main lexicon, then, these lines separate branches or groups of Indo-European languages ; 2. If the isoglosses separate branches/groups of Indo-European languages, then, either Balkan languages would be situated on the same side of the isogloss, or within the Balkan languages, there are linguistic "remains" (coming from the local lexicon) that include the protolanguage in the same language class with the Balkan languages; 3. If it is possible to set up isoglosses that separate branches or groups of Indo-European languages, then they are influenced by Kurgan invasion waves.

The schematic presentation of the deductive-inductive enterprise may be represented as follows:

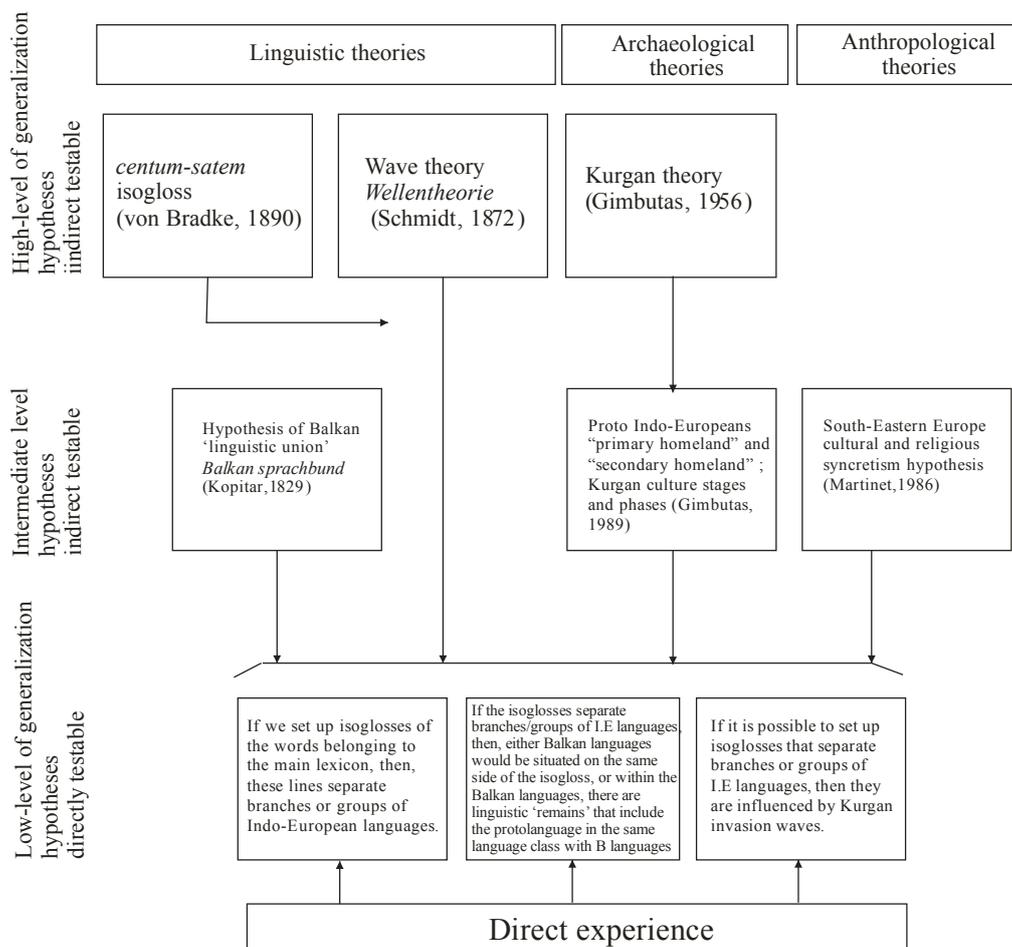


Fig. 2. Deductive-inductive reasoning of the predictive dimension. Design of working hypotheses

The approach to our investigation was possible to achieve through a working instrument relevant for researches of similar types, namely, through document analysis. Study of documents represents the main applicable strategy for historical research; nevertheless, it does not apply only to this type of research. Therefore, we used document analysis as our research method, more precisely, the indirect, mixed observation (holding a preponderantly external character but also participative, in case of the Romanian language). From the perspective of the linguistic research methods typology, because our intention was to design an adequate description and an interpretation suitable for the paradigmatic organization, we needed some modern mixed methodology, based on structuralist reasoning. This methodology implied a functional analysis, focused on the paradigmatic dimension, specifically, on what was relevant for the accomplishment of the communicative function of language, respectively, on distributional analysis (preponderantly aiming the syntagmatic dimension, yet useful for the interpretation of paradigms), implying the study of rapports with regard to the language distribution – its characteristic of appearing in various contexts and neighborhoods. Our information sources for the current research were documents: dictionaries, treaties etc. and artifacts that provided us with data related to the structure of morphological units carrying meanings specific to languages or dialects of the indo-European area.

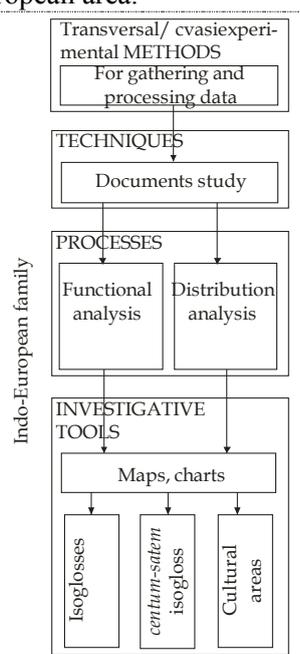


Fig. 3. Research methods, techniques, processes and investigative tools

In order to design the descriptive scheme of our research, we used structuring based on the research directions highlighted by the deductive enterprise of shaping the working hypotheses. Thus, we identified the Indo-European languages and their distribution into segments, sub-groups, groups, sub-branches, branches and we identified structures of words from the main lexicon of the accessible Indo-European languages (with the exception of extinct or isolated languages). Then, we set up isoglosses, we compared those isoglosses with the *centum-satem* isogloss, we interpreted results and we compared our results with the ones obtained through archaeological studies.

The type of research methods, techniques, procedures and instruments, included together within the framework of a system of rules and principles of knowledge, depends directly on previous stages, which are illustrated by Figure 3.

3. RESEARCH FINDINGS

In agreement with Sala and Vintilă-Rădulescu's work entitled *Limbile lumii. Mică enciclopedie* (1981) ["Languages of the World. A Concise Encyclopedia"], we identified 122 existing or extinct Indo-European languages, included within linguistic branches, sub-branches, groups and sub-groups, representing the majority of the known Indo-European languages¹. For instance,

¹ The 123 Indo-European languages included in the research corpus are the following, related to language branches, sub-branches, groups, subgroups and sections: Indo-Iranian branch: Indo-Aryan (or Indic) group: Dardic (or Dardu) sub-group: Kashmiri, Khowar (Chitrali), Kohistani, Pashayi, Phalura (Palula), Shina; Central Indo-Aryan sub-group: Bhili, Gujarati, Hindi, Khandeshi, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Sindhi, Urdu; Eastern Indo-Aryan sub-group: Bengali, Bihari, Oriya; Northern Indo-Aryan sub-group: Garwhali, Kumaoni, Nepali (Nepalese), Western Pahari; Sinhalese-Maldivian sub-group: Maldivian, Pali, Sinhalese; North-Western Indo-Aryan sub-group: Lahnda, Sanskrit; Nuristani sub-group: Kosali, Marathi, Romani; Iranian group: Modern Eastern sub-group: Ormuri, Ossetian, Paraci, Pashto, Sangleci, Wakhi, Yaghnobi, Yazgulyam; Modern Western sub-group: Balochi, Gilaki, Kurdish, Luri (Lurish), Mazandarani, Persian (Farsi), Tajik, Talysh, Tati (Azari); Old Eastern sub-group: Avestan, Chorasmian, Scythian, Sogdian; Old Western sub-group: Parthian (Pahlavi), Median, Kati; Baltic branch: Eastern group: Curonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Selonian, Zemgalian; Western group: Old Prussian; Slavic branch: Eastern group: Belarusian, Russian, Ukrainian; Western

out of more than 100 Indo-Iranian languages, only 53 are included in our analysis, yet, not all of them may be considered referential for our research. In the view of achieving a valid and applied analysis, we chose to make reference to words belonging to the main lexicons of the languages, words whose structures should not have been subjected to drastic changes, save for the case of some major cultural influences.

Holding particular interest in the structuralist functionality (Saussurean) of linguistic rapports, both from synchronic and diachronic perspective, but choosing methods, techniques, procedures and instruments related to causality, we intended to stop over these rapports, without pretending that we would clarify the etymological causality. This fact comes to strengthen our reserve toward the possibility of a linguistic reconstruction starting from an etymon – a presupposed, “invented”, morphological unit, phonetically reconstructed through some regular semantic and phonetic evolutions. Moreover, in the absence of regularity – a phenomenon characterizing the linguistic evolution –, in the absence of cultural artifacts archaeological proofs, the etymon may transform into an erroneous source when approaching the diachronic whole. Consequently, the review of structures of morphological units under analysis does not have the role of highlighting particularities in the reconstructive intention, but the intension of highlighting distributive particularities. In this respect, our intension was to make use of fundamental words, such as the verb

“to be”, as an auxiliary verb used to form more complex grammar structures, present in all Indo-European languages, which constituted the root for some nouns, created from the long infinitive form: “*fiire*”, “*fire*” and “*fîință*” [‘being’ in English].

Secondly, starting from an observation of the Romanian linguist Cicerone Poghiric (1967:8):

If I have the intention to establish the etymological association between the Latin word *aqua* and the Romanian *apă*, it is sufficient for me to know that, generally, *qu* from Latin became *p* in Romanian, and that the unstressed *a* turned into *ă*, still I do not really need to know the reason why it happened so.;

however, in our case, wanting to know why that linguistic phenomenon occurred (in one way or another), we chose to examine the word “water”. On the other side, in our intention to focus on family relations, we selected the word “brother” because “mother” and “father”, probably originating in some onomatopoeia and found, in very similar forms even outside the Indo-European area, may lead to the impossibility of validating the working hypotheses.

Analyzing the noun „water” in 71 Indo-European languages and 16 Indo-European dialects, we identified the following forms: Indo-Iranian branch: Indo-Aryan (or Indic) group: Dardic (or Dardu) sub-group: Khowar – *ugh*, Kohistani – *vĭ, vĕ*, Phalura – *wii*; Central Indo-Aryan sub-group: Gujarati – *panee*, Hindi – *a:b*, Punjabi – *awb*, Sindhi – *paarnii*, Urdu – *aab*; Eastern Indo-Aryan sub-group: Bengali – *ambu*; Northern Indo-Aryan sub-group: Nepalese – *pani*; Sinhalese-Maldivian sub-group: Maldivian – *fen*, Pali – *uda, udaka*, Sinhalese – *va tu ra*; North-Western Indo-Aryan sub-group: Sanskrit – *ap, udaka*; Nuristani sub-group: Marathi – *ap*, Romani – *pani, pawni*; Iranian group: Modern Eastern sub-group: Pashto – *obe*, Yaghnobi – *op*; Modern Western sub-group: Kurdish – *aw, av*, Persian – *āb, Tajik – ob*; Old Eastern sub-group: Avestan – *aiwyō*; Baltic branch: Eastern group: Latvian – *ūdens*, Lithuanian – *vanduo*; Western group: Old Prussian – *wunda, wundan*; Slavic branch: Eastern group: Belarusian – *vada*, Russian – *vada*, Ukrainian – *voda*; Western group: Czech – *voda*, Kashubian – *wōda*, Polish – *woda*, Slovakian – *voda*; Southern group: Bulgarian – *vodi*, Macedonian – *voda*, Serbo-Croatian – *vode*, Slovene – *vodo*; Italic branch: Umbro-Sabellian group: Proto-Italic sub-group: Ligurian – *ægoa*, Venetic – *aba, àcoa, àcua, àiva*; Latin group: Latin – *aqua, aquae*; Romanic sub-branch: Ibero-Romance group: Catalan – *l'aigua*, Portuguese –

group: Czech, Kashubian, Polabian, Polish, Slovakian, Sorbian; Southern group: Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene; Italic branch: Umbro-Sabellian group: Osco-Umbrian sub-group: Oscan, Umbrian; Proto-Italic sub-group: Illyrian, Ligurian, Raetic, Venetic; Latin group: Latin; Romanic sub-branch: Ibero-Romance (Iberian) group: Catalan, Portuguese, Spanish; Gallo-Romance group: French, Occitan; Italo-Romance group: Dalmatian, Italian, Rhaeto-Romance (Rhaetian), Romanian, Sardinian; Celtic branch: Island group: Gaelic sub-group: Irish, Manx, Scottish (Gaelic); Brittonic sub-group: Brittonic, Cornish, Welsh; Continental group: Gaulish (Gallic); Germanic branch: Scandinavian group: Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish; Western group: Afrikaans, Dutch, English, Flemish, Frison, German, Luxembourgish, Yiddish; Eastern group: Gothic; Greek branch: Greek, Old Macedonian; Anatolian branch: Hittite, Luwian, Lydian, Palaic; Tocharian branch: Agnean, Kuchean; Albanian branch: Albanian; Armenian branch: Armenian; Thracian group: Dacian, South-Eastern Thracian; Phrygian group: Phrygian.

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água, Spanish – *agua*; Gallo-Romance group: French – *l'eau*, Occitan – *aiga*; Italo-Romance group: Italian – *acqua*, Rhaeto-Romance – *aua*, *ava*, *ova*, Romanian – *apă*, Sardinian – *ábba*, *imbre* (Logudorese) – *àcua* (Campidanese) – *eba* (Sassarese) – *èa* (Gallurese) – *algua* (Algherese) – *êgua* (Tabarchino) – *vena d'a. cantaréddu* (Logudorese, Gallurese) – *a. di bucato lisciónu* (Gallurese) – *a. marina salatissima aqua fatta* (Campidanese) – *piccolo corso d'a. vadina* (Gallurese); Celtic branch: Island group: Gaelic sub-group: Irish – *uisce*, Manx – *ushtaghey*, *ushtey*, Scottish – *uisge*; Brittonic sub-group: Brittonic – *dour*, Cornish – *dowr*, Welsh – *dwfr*, *dŵr*; Germanic branch: Scandinavian group: Danish – *vand*, Faroese – *vatn*, Icelandic – *vatn*, Norwegian – *vann*, Swedish – *vatten*; Western group: Afrikaans – *water*, Dutch – *water*, English – *water*, Frison – *wetter*, German – *Wasser*, Luxembourgish – *Waasser*; Greek branch: Greek – *νερό*; Anatolian branch: Hittite – *uappa*, *vādar*; Tocharian branch: Agnean – *wār*, Kuchean – *war*, *āp*; Albanian branch: Albanian – *ujë*, *vadë*; Armenian branch: Armenian – *get*. We found that there were two important roots to words denoting „water” in Indo-European languages, which we defined in terms of Sanskrit terms *ap* and *udaka*.

Based on this distribution, we could reach the following conclusions, useful in setting up the *ap-udaka* isogloss: Indo-Iranian languages are preponderantly *ap* languages, many of the subgroups (mainly from the Indic) keeping both forms; exceptions are the Maldivian-Sinhalese languages, that are *udaka* languages, including a pre-Indo-European root used in Maldivian, *fen*, which developed independently in relationship with Sinhalese; Baltic, Slavic, and Germanic languages are, without any exception, *udaka* languages; Celtic languages, excepting the Brittonic subgroup, are mainly *udaka*, which are related to the non-Indo-European root *dwr-*, probably pre-Indo-European); Italic languages are preponderantly *ap*, although both roots are found in some of these languages, including Romanian; Greek fundamentally differs from other Indo-European languages, having a completely distinct term: *νερό*; Tocharian languages have both characters, being predominantly *udaka*; Anatolian languages and Albanian have both characters.

Regarding the distribution of the verb „to be” forms, we found the followings: Indo-Iranian branch: Indo-Aryan group: Dardic sub-group: Khowar – *bos*; Central Indo-Aryan sub-group:

Gujarati – *vũ*, Hindi – *aswiwva* (*aswiwv* – being), Punjabi – *baṇa* (*asatitava*, *hasatī* – being), Sindhi – *insaana* (being), Urdu – *būd* (being); Eastern Indo-Aryan sub-group: Bengali – *baṭā*; Northern Indo-Aryan sub-group: Nepalese – *astiva* (being); Sinhalese-Maldivian sub-group: Pali – *atthika* (being), Sinhalese – *sae ma tta*; North-Western Indo-Aryan sub-group: Sanskrit – *as*, *bhu*; Nuristani sub-group: Marathi – *astiva* (being); Iranian group: Modern Eastern sub-group: Pashto – *sta*, *shta*, Yagnobi – *ast*; Modern Western sub-group: Mazandarani – *be*, Persian – *bud*, Tajik – *bud*; Old Eastern sub-group: Avestan – *astu*; Baltic branch: Eastern group: Latvian – *būt*, Lithuanian – *būti*; Slavic branch: Eastern group: Belarusian – *być*, Russian – *byt'*, Ukrainian – *buty*; Western group: Czech – *být*, Kashubian – *badze* (for future), Polish – *być*, Slovakian – *byť*; Southern group: Bulgarian – *става*, *съм*, Macedonian – *буде*, Serbo-Croatian – *biti*, Slovene – *biti*; Italic branch: Umbro-Sabellian group: Proto-Italic sub-group: Ligurian – *stā*, *ēse*; Latin group: Latin – *existo*, *existere*, *existiti*, *existitus*; Romanic sub-branch: Ibero-Romance group: Catalan – *ser*, Portuguese – *estar*, Spanish – *ser*, *estar*; Gallo-Romance group: French – *être*, Occitan – *èsser*; Italo-Romance group: Italian – *èsser*, Romanian – *a fi*, Sardinian – *èssere* (Logudorese), *èssiri* (Campidanese), *essi* (Gallurese), *èsse* (Gallurese, Tabarchino), *èsser* (Algherese); Celtic branch: Island group: Gaelic sub-group: Irish – *bí*, Manx – *bee*, Scottish – *biti*; Brittonic sub-group: Brittonic – *bezañ*, Cornish – *bós*, Welsh – *bod*; Germanic branch: Scandinavian group: Danish – *være*, Icelandic – *vera*, Norwegian – *være*, Swedish – *vara*; Western group: Afrikaans – *te wees*, Dutch – *te zijn*, English – *to be*, Frison – *syn*, *wêze*, German – *zu sein*, Luxembourgish – *sinn*, *bass*, *ass*, Yidish – *sein*; Greek branch: Greek – *εἶναι*; Tocharian branch: Agnean – *es* (*skente* – they are), Kuchean – *nes-*, *ste-*, *stare*; Albanian branch: Albanian – *të jenë të*; Armenian branch: Armenian – *linel*.

Analyzing the distribution of the verb “to be” forms in Indo-European languages, we find that, starting from the roots *as-* (to be) and *bhu-* (to be, to become) present in Sanskrit, the Indo-European branches are divided as follows: Indo-Iranian languages are both *as-* (within Iranian languages, excepting the modern Western subgroup) and *bhu-* (some of them keeping both characters); Baltic, Slavic, and Celtic languages are, without exception, *bhu-* languages; Scandinavian Germanic subgroup is *bhu-*, while the western ones (except

English) are *as-* at infinitive and *bhu-* in conjugation; Italic languages are mainly *as-* type, although both roots are found in some of these languages, including Romanian; Greek, Albanian, and Tocharian languages are *as-* type, while retaining elements deriving from radical *bhu-*; there are important similarities between *ap-udaka* and *as-bhu* isoglosses.

Regarding the forms of the noun „brother”, useful for identification of relationship between the occlusive and the fricative found in *bhu-* languages, the results are the following: Indo-Iranian branch: Indo-Aryan group: Dardic sub-group: Khowar – *brar*, Kohistani – *tAtā, tAtū*; Central Indo-Aryan sub-group: Gujarati – *bən.d^hu*, Hindi – *bira:dar*, Punjabi – *bei, bir, bau, brw, bwei*, Sindhi – *bhaau*, Urdu – *bhai*; Eastern Indo-Aryan sub-group: Bengali – *bhāi*; Northern Indo-Aryan sub-group: Garwhali – *bhaai*, Nepalese – *bhai*; Sinhalese-Maldivian sub-group: Maldivian – *beebee*, Pali – *bhātuka*; North-Western Indo-Aryan sub-group: Sanskrit – *brātṛ-*; Nuristani sub-group: Marathi – *bāndhava*, Romani – *pal*; Iranian group: Modern Eastern sub-group: Pashto – *wror*, Yaghnobi – *burodar*; Modern Western sub-group: Kurdish – *bra*, Persian – *birādar*, Tajik – *barodar*, Baltic branch: Eastern group: Latvian – *brālis*, Lithuanian – *brolis*; Western group: Old Prussian – *brote*; Slavic branch: Eastern group: Belarusian – *brat*, Russian – *brat*, Ukrainian – *brat*; Western group: Czech – *bratr*, Polish – *brat*, Slovakian – *brat*; Southern group: Bulgarian – *brat*, Macedonian – *brat*, Serbo-Croatian – *brat*, Slovene – *brat*; Italic branch: Umbro-Sabellian group: Proto-Italic sub-group: Illyrian, Ligurian *fradél, fradélo fræ*, Venetic – *fradél, fradélo*; Latin group: Latin – *frater, fratris*; Romanic sub-branch: Ibero-Romance group: Catalan – *germà*, Portuguese – *irmão*, Spanish – *irmão*; Gallo-Romance group: French – *frère*, Occitan – *fraire*; Italo-Romance group: Italian – *fratello*, Rhaeto-Romance – *fragliuns, fardagliùns, fradgliuns*, Romanian – *frate*, Sardinian – *armanu, frade* (Logudorese), *germanu, fradi* (Campidanese), *fradeddu* (Sassarese), *frate, frateddu* (Gallurese), *frê* (Tabarchino), *germà* (Algherese); Celtic branch: Island group: Gaelic sub-group: Irish – *deartháir, dearthair*, Manx – *braar*, Scottish – *bràthair*; Brittonic sub-group: Brittonic – *breur*, Cornish – *broder*, Welsh – *broder*; Germanic branch: Scandinavian group: Danish – *broder, bror*, Faroese – *bróðir*, Icelandic – *bróðir*, Norwegian – *bror*, Swedish – *bror*; Western group: Afrikaans – *broer*, Dutch – *broer*, English – *brother*, Frison – *broer*, German – *Bruder*, Luxembourgish –

Brudder; Greek branch: Greek – *αδελφός* (Old Greek, *phrātēr*); Tocharian branch: Agnean – *pracar*, Kuccean – *procer*; Albanian branch: Albanian – *vëlla*; Armenian branch: Armenian – *egbayr*.

After analyzing the noun “brother” in Indo-European languages, we found a unique root, reconstructed in proto-Indo-European, **bhreh, tēr*, from which the current nouns in different languages are deriving. The difference is marked by the use of the initial consonant, which remains occlusive in certain languages (either aspirated voiced *bh*, or unaspirated voiced *b*), or become fricative in other languages (voiceless *f* or voiced *v*).

This distribution of languages, superposed on *as-bhu* isogloss, transforms it into an isophone. We find, therefore, that: Indo-Iranian languages keep the aspirated voiced occlusive, even if there are cases of the presence of the unaspirated voiced occlusive; Baltic, Slavic, Germanic, and Celtic are characterized by the presence of the voiced occlusive (noteworthy the unity of form, in this case, in Slavic languages); Italic languages are characterized by converting the voiced occlusive in voiceless fricative (excepting the Ibero-Romance group and a part of Sardinian dialects, that use a different root, which is non-Indo-European); Geek and Albanian are characterized by voiced and voiceless fricatives; Tocharian languages are unique, using the voiceless occlusive, *p*; there are many similarities between the distribution of *b(h)-f* isophone related to the forms of the noun “brother” and to *as-bhu* isogloss.

4. SETTING UP OF ISOGLOSSES AND THEIR COMPARISON WITH THE CENTUM-SATEM ISOGLOSS

For the observation and comparison of isoglosses, as well as for the interpretation of results, there was need for some aiding instruments, namely, some maps to display areas of linguistic branches and sub-branches and areas regarding the linguistic particularities of word structures under analysis: “water”, “to be” and “brother”.

Setting up the three isoglosses, we could observe that their display coincided for the most part. Still, the most important modifications regarded the very area on which our research was focused, the Balkan area. On the one side, we found that the Northern linguistic branches: Baltic, Slavic, Celtic and Germanic held common features, irrespective of their isogloss (Tocharian languages are added, also). On the other side,

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Southern languages have common features, although part of them, probably the oldest ones, kept both features: Indo-Iranian languages (especially those from the Iranian group), Anatolian languages, Greek, Albanian, Latin and Romanian.

The common isogloss intersected the *centum-satem* isogloss in the Balkan area. In order to represent branches/groups of Indo-European languages in setting up isoglosses/isophones, we used the following colors: red – for the Indic group, Indo-Iranian branch; magenta – for the Iranian group; with the other Indo-European languages, pink – for Baltic branch; green – for the Slavic branch; blue – for the Italic branch; dark green – for the Celtic branch; garnet-red – for the Germanic branch; orange – for Greek; red – for Anatolian; dark blue – for Tocharian; pale pink – for Albanian; purple – for Armenian. The Thraco-Phrygian branch, made up of dead languages, was not represented.

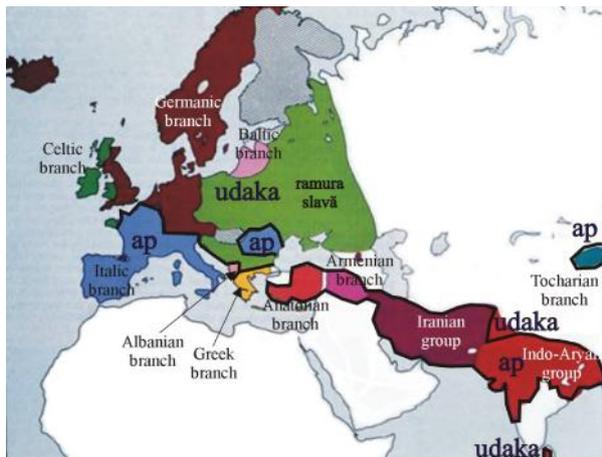


Fig.4 Ap-udaka isogloss

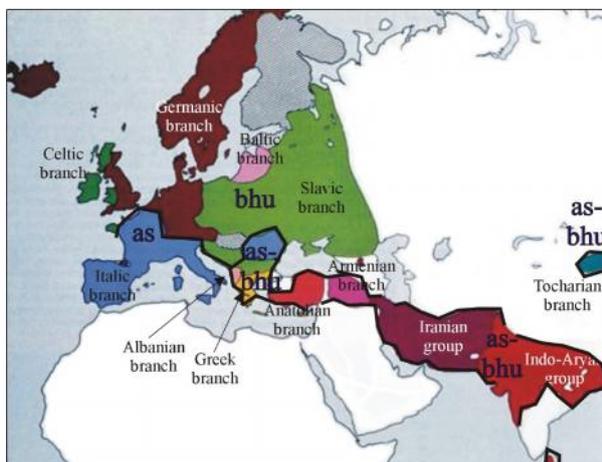


Fig.5 As-bhu isogloss

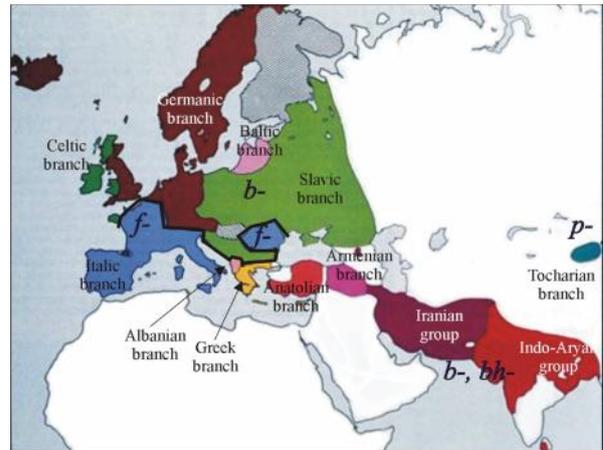


Fig.6 Bh-, b-/f- isophone



Figure 5. Comparison between *ap, as/udaka, bhu* isoglosses (red) and *centum/satem* isogloss (black)

5. INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS AND THEIR COMPARISON WITH RESULTS OBTAINED ON BASIS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES

5.1 Isogloss *ap-udaka*. Starting from Poghirc's hypothesis with regard to the role of causality of languages, let us bring up the non-compliance of the phonetic relevance criterion in the evolution of the Romanian *apă* (mr. *apă*, megl. *apă*, *apu*, istr. *ape*) < *acqua*, under the circumstances in which the Sanskrit term is *ap-*, with its declensions *āpas*, *apas*, *abhis*, the Avestan term is *ap*, the Persian forms are *āp*, *āb*, whereas the recorded correspondent in Hittite is *uappa*. From the Sanskrit word derives a possible criterion of Indo-European languages distribution, as compared to the classical *centum-satem* typology. With Hittites, considering the geographic relevance, there are, in fact, two words that refer to the same reality:

uappa and *vâdar*. The latter is also present in Sanskrit, as *udaka*, out of which derived, through Hittite, the Irish *uisge*, the English *water*, the German *Wasser*, the Russian *voda*, the Lithuanian *vanduo*. Phonetically and semantically close to the Sanskrit *udaka*, we have the word *ud* [wet]. In present day Albanian, probably due to its Illyrian inheritance, there are two words derived from *udaka*: *ujë* and *vadë*. It is probable that the other Illyrian tribes, on the Eastern and South-Eastern coasts of nowadays Italy, Messapians/Messapii, Salletines, Calabrians, Poediculls, and Apulls and from the North-Eastern coast, the Venetians, had used a derived form of *udaka*. It is remarkable that the Latin *aqua* could not modify it, not even on the territory of present Italy. With Sardinians, there is reminiscence from the Indo-European non-Latin tribes, a term close to the Aryan root: *abba*.

It is surprising, in this respect, the spread of the Latin *aqua*: Italian – *acqua* (Sardinian *abba*, Puter, Vallader / Engadin valley. *ouua*), Rhaeto-Romance (Sursilvan, Puter, Vallader *aua*, Ladin Dolomitan *ega*, Friulian *aghe*), French *eau*, Occitan *aiga*, Catalan *agua*, Old Occitan *aigua*, Spanish *agua*, Portuguese *agoa*. Some Celtic influence is not excluded. The existence of the word to the Western part of the peninsula makes us believe the influence is pertinent, from a diachronic perspective, and it is explicable through the Latins' migration from the East. Let us not omit that in Hittite, there is a root *eku-*, in words such as *ekutteni* [you drink] (the verb *to drink* – second person plural), while in Old German we meet the word *Ache* [water] (whereas in Hittite, due to the variety of dialects of the old Anatolian territory, there was a root – *aku*, in the word *a-ku-wa-an-na*, for example). The phonetic pertinence is an indicator for our taking this path into consideration, the *ap-udaka* typology, through which a distinction is made between languages (linguistic branches) with vowel harmony and those with poor consonantism, as compared to languages with strong consonantism, especially in initial position and without vowel harmony, in relation with the *centum-satem* typology, through which we differentiate languages with different reflexes of the gutturals either followed by other gutturals or by siflant or hissing fricatives. It is the same Albanian territory that offers us a pertinent model of interpretation: the combination of two languages, sharing the same origin, yet, differently featured (Martinet, 1994:52), one of a supposedly *centum* character: Illyrian (Krahe), the other, characterized as *satem*: Thracian (Bonfante). André Martinet is very strict about the *satem*

character of Albanian, despite the fact that the word *qind* reminds of *kentum*, *kent*. The French linguist considers that palatalization of consonant *k* turns it into [s] or [θ], such as the case of *vis* [Eng. place], compared to the Greek *οικός*. Following the *ap-udaka* criterion, the example would be similar: taking the *udaka* character from Illyrian, this character would be double through the display of *ap* languages features. The appearance of vowel *ë* [ǎ], both in Romanian and in Albanian could be explained through the mechanical force of the intensity stress (subsequent phenomenon of Latinization of Romanian).

With the other *satem* languages (Slavic languages especially) predominant is semivowel *â*, whose evolution would have started from a local fund, pre-Indo-European, only to set connection within the Euro-Asian languages mega-family: Indo-European, Caucasian, Uralic and Altaic. Let us also have a look at the argument of the surprising Basque language, a pre-Indo-European, Mediterranean language, belonging to a supposedly Euskara-Caucasian language family. Shall we understand that the Northern-Mediterranean area, belonged, in ancient times, to an Asian population, from whom there resulted the Basque language, and from whom we are left with the proof of a dead language, namely the Etruscan, Paleo-Mediterranean language? On basis of this hypothesis, the Iberian Peninsula would have been the theater of some linguistic interferences of remote origin, Hamitic, Asian or Japhetic (Indo-European)? In such case, it is easier to understand the etymological structuring, at least in the Mediterranean basin. In this area, the first etymological stratum is clearly pre-Indo-European, maybe Asian (now considering the Caspian reference). Nevertheless, we can only speculate on it, so long as influences from the above-mentioned area cannot be proven. There might have been some borrowings from unknown/partially known languages, which does not offer us anything else but a working hypothesis on a territory where we can sense the uncertainty and fluidity of some proto-languages that we cannot access through the practice of reconstruction

We could also bring up the fascinating Etruscan civilization, whose origin used to be debatable even for ancient writers. Herodotus spoke about a migration from the territory of old Lydia, from where, around 1200 B.C., part of a population, together with their King Tyrsenos, fled because of famine, to the Western coast of the Italic peninsula. Hellanicus, and also Anticlides argued that the people led by Tyrrhenos were

Pelasgians. Yet, Dionysus of Halicarnassus considered that Etruscans were indigenous, that they had lived in Etruria forever. It is interesting that this hypothesis is the only one that may be supported by Etruscan culture and mythology. Etruscans considered themselves aborigenes, they would not recognize any founding hero (see Tyrrhenus) and they did not call themselves Tyrrhenians, but *Rasenna*. However, migration of some Eastern Indo-European population took place, at the end of the 2nd millennium B.C., the Mycenaean millennium. Therefore, the presupposed king (hero) may have led the Latin people toward the Western coast of the Italic peninsula, yet, not to the South of Rome, and not to the North. Latins might have come from Lydia, because they were of Pelasgian origin. Lydia was occupied by Indo-Europeans at that time (1200 B.C.). Even the name of the land, Lydia or Lydói, comes from a supposedly Indo-European root, **lewdho*, **lowdho*, also found in German – *Leute* [men]; Russian – *l'udi* [men, world]; Lithuanian – *liaudis* [people]; Latvian – *laudis* [men]; Old Slavic – *ljudŭ* [people], *ljudje* [men]; Greek – *ἐλεύθερος* [free man]; Latin – *liber*, *liberi* [child]; Old Indic – *rodhati* [to grow]; Gothic – *liudan* [to grow].

Lydian is considered a late dialect of Western Hittite (this explains resemblances between Latin and Hittite), in which there are Luwian, Mysian, Phrygian, Greek and Iranian influences. It would then be impossible for Etruscans to have had their origins on the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Hence, we are going to emphasize, aided by language evidence, the impossibility for Etruscan to have Pelasgian/ Lydian origins. Etruscan was the only non-Indo-European language spoken on the territory of present Italy. There existed linguistic unity throughout the entire Etruscan homeland, from Fiesole up to Rome, more precisely, from the Arno River to the Tiber River, from the Apennines to the Tyrrhenian Sea (Bonfante, 1986/1996:90). Inscriptions found off the coasts of Troad, on the Aegean island of Lemnos where Tyrsenians lived, according to Tucidide, and their non-Indo-European language, resembling Etruscan does not necessarily represent proofs of this people's migration; rather, it is a proof of the Paleo-Mediterranean (non-Indo-European) linguistic substratum of the Southern European languages.

5.2 Isogloss *as-bhu*. A different possible typology of the Indo-European languages could be accomplished based on their rapport with the verb

“to be”: *bhū-* [to be; to become], out of which resulted the English *to be*, Russian *byť*, Breton *bevañ*, German *ich bin*, Latin *fui*, Romanian *a hi, a fi* (only in Infinitive form), through the evolution of the unaspirated labial into an aspirated labial (bh > b), respectively, *as-* [to be], conjugated in Present Indicative *asmi, asi, asti, smas, stha, santi; āsti* – [is]; *as* – (Hieroglyphic Hittite); *as-* (Luwian); *es-* (Cuneiform Hittite); see *a sí, a si* (Maramureş), far from the Latin *fieri*, mentioned as its origin. The presence of both forms in Romanian (both in cases of the noun ‘water’, and the verb ‘to be’) indicates a higher closeness to the Indo-Iranian linguistic area.

Broadly, the typology *bhū-as* is superposed on the *ap-udaka* typology. Although Infinitive forms from German, Yiddish and Dutch seemingly come from *as-*, the conjugation in the Present Indicative sends us to *bhū-*. Apparently originating in *as-* languages, Bulgarian has the Infinitive *бѹгам* – [to exist], but also the classical Slavic form *бѹм*, this time, as a noun, meaning [existence, living, lifestyle]. The derivative noun *бѹмѹе* indicating 1. [existence, living]; 2. [existence, reality], or the adjective *бѹмоѹ* [living], as well as the above-mentioned terms indicate the development of Bulgarian on basis of *bhū-*, with an *as-* substratum. The mixture *bhū-as* is also present in the Southern languages. Should Infinitives, as well as the verb conjugation in Indicative in French – *être*, Italian – *essere*, Spanish – *ser, estar*, Portuguese – *ser, estar* remind of an *as-* character, the same reality is not valid for Romanian, as we could observe.

Romanian is the language that has the reverse situation of German, Yiddish and Dutch. The Infinitive displays a *bhū-* feature, whereas Romanian verb displays *as-* features. For sure, long time ago, the common linguistic roots of the Romanian forms and of the Sanskrit verbs mentioned above were to be found on the territory of current Romania. It was confirmed, by archaeological evidence, that the area of Indo-European languages formation included our national territory. Should we, then, accept Candrea-Densușianu (2006:121) hypothesis, according to which the Romanian Infinitive is a borrowing from the Latin *fieri*? We are told, among other things, that this Infinitive form replaced the Infinitive *esse* (Ciorănescu, 1954-1966/2002:32), which has Romanian correspondents in the forms of the verb conjugated in Present Indicative. In this case, could the old term *esse* have influenced Romanian? Or, was the

Romanian a late borrowed term, like in Latin? Southern languages keep the characteristics of *as-*, fact confirmed by means of Romance languages. Latin is also *as-*. The borrowing *fieri*, from *bhū-* is relatively late. Greek, a pre-Latin language, has the forms *εἶμαι* for the Infinitive and *έστω!* –[(so) be it!], in other words, it belongs to the same category. The Albanian *eshtë* is no exception. Similarly, neither the term *es-*, in Cuneiform Hittite, nor *as-* in Hieroglyphic Hittite and Luwian contradict our supposition. Maybe the only term that might send us to *bhū-* is the Persian *boudan*, in Farsi dialect. Yet, even in this case, we would have half an answer, since the presence of *āst* confirms the coexistence of the two terms.

We would be tempted, then, to believe that the Romanian Infinitive is a late borrowing of the Latin term, which was also borrowed, *fieri*. Still, this supposition cannot be true so long as Romanian has one term, *fire*, with deep significance and much more complex, semantically, than the Latin constructs from *fieri*. *Fire* coincide in its meaning with the Sanskrit noun formed out of the root *bhū-*: *bhū* – [ground/land], *bhūmi* – [soil, terrain]. Thus, an old Indo-European pair of verb-noun, designating existence, has as correspondents the Sanskrit *bhū- bhū*, but also the Romanian *a fi – fire*.

Consequently, we took into account an old *bhū-* reminiscence in the Eastern *as-* languages (*ap-* languages). In other words, the successive waves of Indo-European populations heading Westward enriched Eastern *as-* languages of the area crossed by these populations, irrespective of their final destination, with both *ap-udaka*, *as-bhū* forms. Not by chance, the same territories preserve both forms in their colloquial languages, no matter which the current typology might be. We can only speak about different strata, but this aspect cannot lead to anything different but to a confirmation of words' oldness in the language (*bhū* stratum precedes *as* stratum), and not the other way round, as is the case of Latin, which, being a new language compared to Persian, Old Greek or Thracian, borrowed the term later, from the *bhū* substratum. There were also other territories, as well, subsequently conquered by Latins, that nowadays constitute or used to constitute areas of *bhū* isoglosses: Dalmatian *fir*, Old Venetian *fir*, Old Lombard *fir* sau Old Genoese *fi(r)*. Another argument in favor of the pre-existence of the two linguistic strata is given by the absence, in Sanskrit, of the verb 'To Have', expressed by means of *bhū-*, *as* - [to be]. *To be* (and its derivative nouns) substituted the verb *to have* until late, as in Greek, see Dosoftei's *Psaltirea* [Psalter]:

“*Au împărțit toată ființa lor la săraci*” [They shared all their being to poor people]. The common origin is not excluded, either; in Greek, we have *βίος* – life, coming from *bhū-*, and *τό βίος(ς)* – wealth; accordingly, this might be an explanation of 'wealth' through 'being'.

Not even the Past Participle of the Romanian could have come from *fūstis*. By opening, the labio-velar vowel *ū* may transform in labio-velar *ō*, but the phenomenon is not characteristic to the presupposed borrowing in Romanian. Exceptions, in this case, are questionable for Latinists, who believe that the opening occurred much earlier, in Vulgar Latin (not confirmed, yet). The variant *fūstis* > **fūstis* > *fost* relies on the argument of the Italian *foste*, which would confirm the presence of vowel *o* in Latin, but also on the identity in form, in Romanian, between the Participle form and the II-nd person plural of Perfect Simple Indicative (Ivănescu, 1980:118-119). That is, so long as Indo-Europeans, coming from the East, leave behind forms, throughout the entire *ap* area, that meet the phonetic (following rules of phonetic transformation) and semantic pertinence, Romanians would have needed to borrow these forms from Latin, by means of some invented terms from Vulgar Latin. Certification of *simus* and *sitis* is not satisfactory for the hypothesis of some intermediaries from Vulgar Latin, given the fact that the transformation of *u* > *i* > stressed *î*, for the I-st person plural Present Indicative cannot be included within a regular phonetic evolution, and similarly, nor can the turning of *estis* into *sitis*, by the loss of the tone/open vowel and its replacement with a close variant, in the next syllable, which becomes stressed. Moreover, not even the later on transformation of *i* > stressed *î* is reliable.

Regarding the noun derivative *ființă*, it seems to have appeared in Romanian, from the Gerund *fiind*, with the suffix *-ință* added (Ciorănescu, 1954-1966/2002:326-327), see also *ușurință*, *trebuință*, *suferință*, *cuviință*, *cerință*, *putință* etc. Pușcariu's variant, according to which *ființă* is a borrowed from a presupposed term of Vulgar Latin **fientia*, following the model *essentia* < *esse*, view shared by Noica, as well, cannot be validated. In Romanian, the word *esență* appears much later, at a time when the native *ființă* has already appeared. Likewise, in Sanskrit, the verb *bhū* (Inf.), *bhavati* (Pres. Ind. III-rd pers sing.), *bhava* (Imp.), *bhaviṣyati* (Fut.), Gerund and Present Participle are composed by means of a similar suffix: *-ta: bhūta*. Turned into a noun *being* becomes *bhūti* – [existence, but also prosperity, wealth, luck].

Coming back to the Romanian *ființă*, Noica was about to find out:

in our language, *ființă* [being] is too easily combining with terms to whom it might and should oppose. In our case, *ființă* is not closer to the idea of *essence*, that is the reason for being, than to *existence*, that is, the act of being; it does not express the virtual more than the actual, the law more than life, the status quo more than being, permanence more than becoming. (Noica, 1987:42).

These are all but semantic arguments, of some internal formations that covered or stressed what the pre-existent word *fire* left behind. This very monolithic unit *ființă-firei* comes to confirm the hypothesis of the construct within a given cultural background, not the borrowing. Let us take the example of the other Indo-European languages, in which *being* is an auxiliary construct of the verb *to be*, with a very narrow ontological perspective, a little bit far from *being as becoming* (Heidegger used *Sein*, a noun derivative from *sein* – [to be], translated into Romanian as *fire* [the status of existing], and not as *ființă* [being!]): Breton *boud*, Manx *beays*, *bee*, *bioys*, Welsh *bod*, Irish *beith*, Dutch (*humaan*)*wezwewen*, Sapanish, Portuguese *ser* (*humano*), French *être*, Italian. *essere*, Swedish *varelse*, Slovenian (*lúdská*) *bylost*, Bulgarian *съмествуванес*, Latvian *būtība*.

5.3 Isophone bh-, b-/f-. The Sanskrit term *brāṭr-* (brother) has many similar correspondents in European languages, such as Lat. *frater*, *-tris*, Germ. *Bruder*, Russ. *bratŭ*, Bret. *breur*, Eng. *brother*. Moreover, the Skt. *brāṭr-* derivate *brāṭṛtva* – brotherhood has correspondents in the present language, see Russ. *brat'sivo*. In Romanian, terms like brother begin only with certain groups of consonants, more frequently with groups composed by an occlusive or spirant consonant, followed by a lateral dental one, *l*, or a vibrant one, *r*. Therefore, the occlusive *b*, that can be replaced by the spirant *f*, due either to Latin influence (by direct borrowing), or to other phonetic rules that have influenced, in time, the Indo-European area.

The presence of the occlusive consonant in *udaka* languages is a characteristic of those languages. This rule is in the spirit of the phonetic tendency of minimum mouth opening in speaking, through the replacement of not voiced labio-velar fricative (opening I) by not voiced labial occlusive (opening 0), and through the replacement of the vowel from the toned syllable, with maximum opening, V (vowel *a*) by vowels with opening III

or IV in Celtic, Germanic, Baltic and Slavic languages, followed by the loss of the second vowel. In Slavic languages there exists a ‘remnant’ of the Old Indo-European languages, which consists in final occlusive consonant dipping, equivalent of vowel *r* in Sanskrit. This distinction between northern and southern languages was noticed early in the last century by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. In *Cours de linguistique générale*, Saussure (1967/1972:203), Saussure noted:

Certaines langues du Nord accumulent les consonnes, certaines langues du Midi font un plus large emploi des voyelles, d'où leur son harmonieux. Le climat et les conditions de la vie peuvent bien influencer sur la langue, mais le problème se complique dès qu'on entre dans le détail: ainsi à côté des idiomes scandinaves si chargés de consonnes, ceux des Lapons et des Finnois sont plus vocaliques que l'italien lui-même. On notera encore que l'accumulation des consonnes dans l'allemand actuel est, dans bien des cas, un fait tout récent, dû à des chutes de voyelles post toniques; que certains dialectes du Midi de la France répugnent moins que le français du Nord aux groupes consonantiques, que le serbe en présente autant que le russe moscovite etc.

Unfortunately, the issue of northern consonantism was not thoroughly analyzed, so that counterexamples of languages that are not Indo-Europeans (Sami, Finnish, and Estonian, for example) may not contradict the theory. Northern Indo-European languages, i.e. *udaka* languages, keep the consonant clusters feature. The southern counterexample of Serbian proves the rule, Serbs being a Slavic population, therefore belonging to *udaka* branch of Indo-European languages. Being *ap*, Romanian keep features specific to southern languages.

The presence of the term in Macedo-Romanian: *frate*, Megleno-Romanian: *frati*, and in Istro-Romanian: *fröte*, phonetically close to the Daco-Romanian term and to the Latin *frater*, but far from *fratrem* indicates its old character. The Latin influence is not excluded, yet, the imposition of a term that, according to Pușcariu, Candrea and Densușianu, must have evolved from the etymon *fratrem*, with its losing of *r*, through dissimilation, is hard to believe. Candrea and Densușianu take the accusative form *fratrem* into account, and argue that, by dissimilation, the form *fratem* resulted, and later on, it lost its final *-m*. (Candrea, Densușianu, 2006:128). We can regard the

problem in the light of two phenomena: the former, consisting of the drop of the final consonant of the Latin variant, in the event this word was borrowed from Latin, whereas in case of *fratrem*, the drop of *-m* is of “*Latium origin, but also Umbrian and Oscan*” (Ivănescu, 1980:122); the latter, consisting of the preservation of initial *b-*, in *udaka* languages, but also found in Sanskrit, the voiceless labiovelar spirant (*f*) coming probably from the voiced labiodentals spirant (*v*). The former phenomenon contradicts History, Latium people pre-existing Latins, the same as the Oscan-Umbrian tribes, presented in Vergil’s *Aeneid*, in other words, we could speak of an apheresis, not a syncope: *frater* < *frate*. In the latter instance, *b* > (*v* >) *f* indicates the same etymological trajectory, from East to West. This reasoning is also sustained by the presence of the word *barâdar* in Farsi (Modern Persian), which indicates a lack of alteration from an occlusive into a fricative to the East, although in an *ap* language. However, in this situation, etymology of other words is contradicted; for instance, the Romanian *bătrân* < Latin *veteranus*, Romanian *beșica* < Latin *vesica* etc. To solve the inconvenience, Candrea and Densușianu (2006:46) “invent” some terms by means of reconstruction, for example, **bessica*, thus explaining the presence of the voiced occlusive in Italian dialects from Erto, Muggia, Rovigno, Gombitelli, Versilia, Urbino, Canistro, San Fratello, Trieste, Modena, Parma, Piacenza, Arezzo, Sicilia, Corsica or Sardinia. Yet, the dialectal richness of nowadays Italy is not because of Latin, and it cannot be explained through it. The troublesome *bășică* (*beșică*) [English *bladder*] holds the merit of indicating another possible path, from *b* to *f*, through the voiceless labial occlusive, *p*, found in Albanian *pšikë*.

The two hypotheses send, due to the impossibility of the occlusive consonant to come from the fricative, to the conclusion that the Indo-European languages of Western Europe originate in the the Indo-European languages of the East (hypothesis proven by archaeology). At least, in case of the omnipresent word *frate* (we could not have found a more suitable example), the hypothesis of its eastern origin is validated.

5.4 Comparison of linguistic results and results obtained from archaeological/ anthropological research. South-East European area is considered the hearth of ancient European civilizations, by some anthropologists such as: Marija Gimbutas (1963; 1973; 1980; 1985 etc.), originator of the theory, ideologically associated with a particular feminist perspective on

archaeology/anthropology, and not with a pro-Balkan perspective, Leon E. Stover & Buce Kraig (1978), Bruce Kraig (1980), Miriam Robbins-Dexter (1984), Shan M.M. Winn (1995), Georg Feuerstein *et al.* (1995/2005:58-59), Calverley (2005), Joan Marler (2006), David W. Anthony (2010), Harald Harmann (2014) etc. A strong cultural block, with identity and own roots, consolidated in this area. This cultural block represented the basis of a thriving Neolithic civilization, simultaneously and fully equivalent with Mesopotamia and Anatolia civilizations and preceded, instead, the Sumerian one. During Old European Civilization period, as Marija Gimbutas (1989) called it, or Danube Civilization period, as was mentioned in André Martinet’s study (1994), before migrating Indo-European tribes enter this space, the writing was invented (see plates from Tărtăria and figurines engraved from Turdaș, pottery with inscriptions from Vinča, other household items with Linear engraved signs, discovered in Fafos, Kosovska Mitrovica, or Gradeshnitsa, near Vratsa) and urban settlements and adorned temples were built.

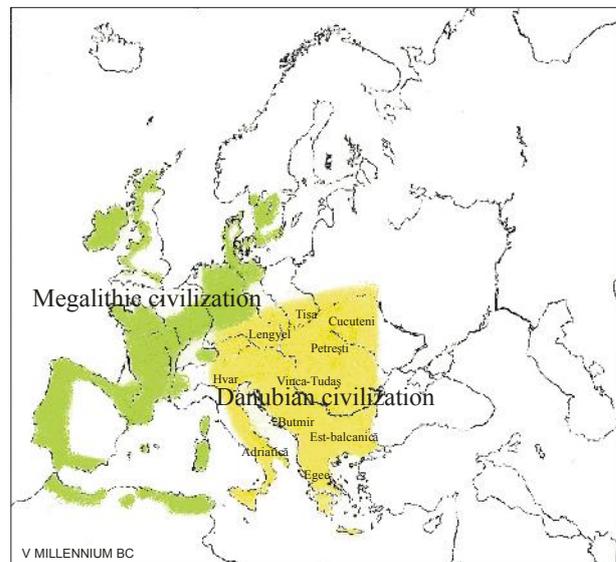


Figure 6. Megalithic and Danubian civilizations (Old Europe) before Indo-European invasion (Vth Millennium B.C.)

The first contact between Indo-European population and cultural complex Cucuteni occurred before 4000 B.C.. This contact resulted in mutual influence of both cultures, and not to the disintegration of any of them. Basically, in the second half of the fifth millennium B.C., between 4,300 and 4,200 B.C., occurred the largely dissolution of the Old European Civilization, as a result of the Kurgan population invasion in Danube basin, as Marija Gimbutas (1989) mentioned.

LANGUAGE PARTICULARITIES IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN AREA. ROLE OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPEAN CULTURAL CONTEXT

Despite the “disintegration” of urban and rural settlements, of disappearance of painted pottery, of the sanctuaries, frescoes, sculptures, symbols and writing, and of the appearance, in turn, of horses, fighting, weapons, and patriarchal structures, despite the fact that Europe became a mixture of cultures, Cucuteni culture located in the area of immediate contact with the Indo-Europeans, survived thanks to the compact nature of communities (about 1,000 homes in an area of 300-400 acres) and thanks to the mutual influence, to the simultaneous assimilation of both cultures elements. Karanovo culture disintegrated and was replaced by Cernavoda I complex; Vinča-Turdaş culture was pushed westwards (in present-day territory of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia and Hungary); Tiszapolgár group was forced to retreat to the hearth of Transylvania, towards Petreşti culture; Lengyel culture moved up to the territory of present Germany and Poland.

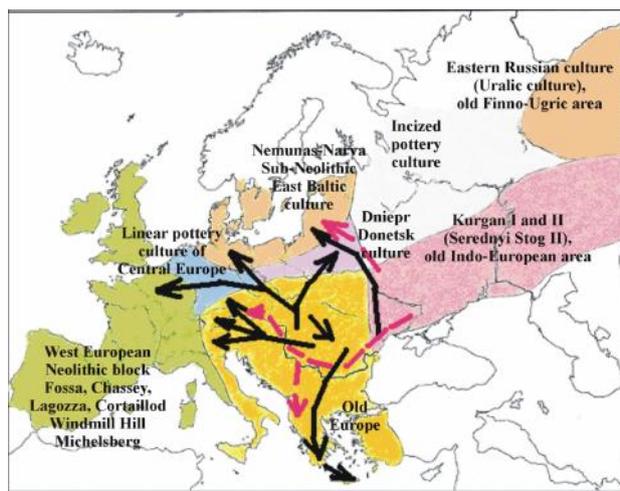


Figure 8. The effects of the first wave of Indo-European invasion (red arrows). Displacement of Old Europe cultures (black arrows)

The second Kurgan wave (3,400-3,200 B.C.) disintegrated all pre-Indo-European cultures, excepting Coţofeni culture and Baden hybrid complex. But within the 800 years between the two massive invasions, a cross-contamination between Indo-European and pre-Indo-European cultures took place. The territory of the present day Romania became Kurgan launch pad for Western Europe. Moreover, on this territory language, customs and religion practices are modelled.

In terms of reconstruction of a language, speaking of “linguistic ancestors”, we find the area of appearance and modeling of Western Indo-European languages, of the entire complex of languages and dialects in Europe, in a large

territory, strongly Indo-European influenced, with particular Danube Civilization elements included, which was inhabited by representatives of Old Europe cultures. Basically, the Carpathian mountain arch protected population from invasion, the massive part of Kurgan waves moving upstream along the Danube and or bypassing the Northern Carpathians. East-Balkan and Aegean cultures tightened to the South. Thus, two cores of symbiosis developed there: one, the Northern, inside the Carpathian arch, subject to continuous population/cultures movements, and another, on the South bank of the Danube, away from such influences. In these two areas, symbiosis between male pantheon of Indo-Europeans conquerors and female Old European pantheon of fertility and culture occurred. In the Southern nucleus, religious syncretism is directly linked to the Greek miracle:

On a souvent parlé du miracle grec. Même si nous prenons nos distances vis-à-vis d'un terme qui ne peut que bloquer la réflexion et freiner la recherche, nous pouvons y voir une façon un peu naïve de caractériser cet amalgame assez remarquable de puissance créatrice et de vigueur expansionnelle issu de la symbiose de la fécondité danubienne et de l'agressivité des nomades. (Martinet, 1986/1994:53).

On the one hand, in the north, the IIIrd Kurgan wave pushed Baden-Vučedor culture to Bosnia, Herzegovina, Adriatic Sea Islands, Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia. This “push” is due to successive movements of farmers’ cultures (of Old Europeans) Pecica and Nagyrév. On the other hand, Globular Amphora culture (from the lower basin of the Dniester) was pushed to the north and northeast (up in present Baltic States). In this context, the core of Nordic languages emerged a variety of idioms and cultures:

linguistic research has shown that, at some point in prehistory, there was a core of cultural and linguistic stage, that later developed a wide variety of idioms and Indo-European cultures. It was also shown that specific analogies of many Indo-European idioms are, perfectly clear, a detail too fine to be explained by a polygenetic theory or by intra-linguistic borrowings. (Thieme, *apud* Gimbutas, 1989:237).

The cradle of European civilization is therefore in the area marked by Balkan and Carpathian Mountains, and is more accurately defined by the middle and upper Danube. Since 7th millennium B.C., Danube population thrives in

this area, but further influence on the whole Europe was huge.

Les fouilles faites à date relativement récente dans les Balkans et dans le bassin du Danube permettent de mieux apercevoir les conditions dans lesquelles se sont produites les expansions indo-européennes vers le sud-ouest à partir des steppes de l'Eurasie. Dès le septième millénaire avant notre ère, se développèrent dans ce coin du monde, berceau du néolithique européen, une culture qui va être exposée, à partir du cinquième millénaire, aux incursions des nomades des kourganes et qui va reculer de ce fait vers les côtes de la mer Egée et la Crète pour céder finalement vers la fin du troisième sous la pression d'Indo-Européens, les Achéens, mais non sans avoir profondément marqué les envahisseurs. (Martinet, 1986/1994:52)

The Balkan linguistic unit, to which referred Trubetzkoy and Russo, is explained therefore. Moreover, the Greek miracle and linguistic similarities between the Scythians and Greeks could be explained. Do not forget that, while the first pressures in pushing Indo-European area eastwards appeared on the banks of Dniester, while the horse (warrior) civilization begun to dream to western fertile territories, inside the Carpathian arch and in the south bank of Danube writing already appeared.

On a longtemps pensé qu'au troisième millénaire avant notre ère, ce n'était que Mésopotamie et dans la vallée du Nil qu'on devait chercher les premières traces, par exemple dans le domaine de l'écriture, de ce qui devait déboucher sur la culture de l'Occident. En fait, on peut suivre chez les Dannubiens l'évolution d'un graphisme à partir de signes d'origine culturelle, qui mène, au quatrième millénaire, à ce qui paraît être un syllabaire, dont on peut se demander s'il ne serait pas à la source de ceux qu'on retrouve plus tard en Crète. (Martinet, 1986/1994:53-54)

5. CONCLUSIONS

We can affirm that there is a substratum unity of the current Balkan languages (pre-Indo-European and Indo-European/Thracian), over which, either a Latin or a Slavic stratum is superposed. Our supposition is based on the linguistic statistics initiative concerning form particularities of morphological units within the Indo-European languages, but mostly, it is a consequence of our results analysis and of comparison of the study results with other results

(historical, anthropological). These superposed substrata led to language particularities that displayed either a different character from the substratum, or, both characters. Taking into account the working hypotheses, our conclusions are as follows:

1. With regard to the first hypothesis, this is validated largely, except for some particularities related to the Dardic and Sinhalese-Maldivian, which do not belong to class *ap-*. For the others, different from the *centum-satem* distribution, where an Italic language, Romanian, is placed in the *satem* class, whereas the others are maintained in the *centum* class, the language distribution by *ap/udaka*, *as/bhu* isoglosses and by the isophone *bh-*, *b-/f-* commonly separates linguistic unities of the branch size (mention should be made that in the Indo-Iranian area, Anatolian and Balkan, there are both forms of the morphological units studied)

2. The second hypothesis is valid, too. Languages of the South-Eastern area determine either the situation on the same side of the isogloss (the mixed character *as/bhu*), or, despite the Slavic over-stratum influence (in case of *ap/udaka* isogloss and *bh-*, *b-/f-* isophone), they preserve some 'remains' of toponymic, hydronymic nature, respectively, some morphological and syntactical structures that send to the Thracian and pre-Indo-European substrata.

3. The third hypothesis is confirmed through the comparative analysis between linguistic research and archaeological and anthropological ones.

From a simplified, but not reductionist perspective, we can observe that our hypotheses have been largely confirmed. This study casts doubt on the most well known isogloss in the Indo-European language family, *centum-satem*, that is related to the different evolution of dorsal consonants, and which has some ideological Aryan (Indo-Germanic) arguments. A different perspective, that does not separate eastern and western Indo-European languages by an isogloss based on fricativization (namely *satemization*) of eastern I.E. languages, which really this is a process that characterizes the southern I.E. languages, is required to be taken into account. The main purpose of this paper was to question an isogloss that is applied to reconstructed (imagined) languages, to parents of current I.E. languages. The fact that it was possible to put into question the *centum-satem* isogloss with linguistic, historical, and anthropological arguments is a starting point for future studies.

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BIBLICAL NAMES FOR MILITARY WEAPONS IN MODERN HEBREW

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Abstract: *The military weapons of Israeli army includes a wide array arms, armored vehicles, tanks, artillery, plans, helicopters, missiles, and warships. Many of their names are from ancient origin, especially from Biblical Hebrew. During the process of the Hebrew language revival at the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century, the restorers of the language were aware of the inadequacy of its vocabulary as existing in classical texts. They looked upon their work as a means of closing the gap between Ancient Hebrew vocabulary and contemporary needs. In field of military vocabulary as in other fields of basic vocabulary were adapted Biblical or Mishnaic words, which no longer functioned in their original meaning in the generation of revival or were unknown before the revival. In this paper will be described some modern military weapons in their Biblical context and the process of their adaptation to the modern use. The following nouns will be described: gun (rove), revolver (ekdah), cannon (totaH), mortar (margema), mine (mokesh), shell, cannonball (pagaz), bombe (petzatza). Can it be said that at the time of establishment of the State of Israel and of IDF in 1948, Hebrew speech was already a complete fact, and the revival process was no longer a process of creation, but a process of expansion. The fact is that the military terminology, as other fields, were not fulfilled until the sixties of the 20th century and even later. For example, the term for "flight of airplanes" (matas) was created only in 1964.*

Keywords: *Hebrew, IDF, Biblical Weapons, Bible, Revival of Hebrew*

1. INTRODUCTION

The process of revival of the Hebrew language began at the end of the 19th century and did not end until the end of the 20th century. This revival of the Hebrew language is generally considered to be one of the outstanding sociolinguistic phenomena of modern times. Several serious scholars have even referred to it in terms of the miraculous (Tur Sinai, 1960:23). Hebrew had been an everyday spoken language of the Israelite, used for reading, writing as well, for over 1600 years from the 13th century BCE to the end of the 2nd century CE. About the year 200 CE, as one of the consequences of the failed Jewish revolts against Rome, the Hebrew language died as a spoken language and was replaced by the two international lingua francas of the time, Aramaic and Greek. From then until its reintroduction as a spoken language in Palestine in the 1880's, however, Hebrew was in no sense stagnant, for the Biblical and Rabbinical styles served both singularly and together in various combinations, in various times and places, as norms for further creative writing (Fellman, 1973).

The restorers of the language were aware of the designative inadequacy of its vocabulary as existing in the above classical texts. Even such words as newspaper, watch, kitchen, now part of

basic Hebrew, were unknown before the revival. For this reason they paid great attention to the problem "how to fill the gap," as they put it, and their efforts were directed towards planned innovation (Tene, 1969). They are seven major methods used in lexical codification in the Hebrew revival. The third method is "Drawing words from old sources and assigning them new meanings, as *Hashmal* 'electricity', *meHona* 'machine', *totaH* 'cannon' from Biblical Hebrew; *'itzumim* 'sanctions', *teqes* 'ceremony' from Mishnaic Hebrew". This presentation systematically examines some of the terms for Modern Hebrew weapons, which derive from Biblical Hebrew. It examines the etymology of each term and their instances in the whole corpus of the Hebrew Language during the ages. Semantic changes have occurred only concerning the nature of Modern war comparing to the Ancient warfare.

2. EQDAH 'REVOLVER'¹

The word *eqdaH* does go back to Bible, but it appears only one time in the book of Isaiah 55:12 "And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy

¹ The transcription in this paper is from Lexilogos, advised by IPA, <http://www.lexilogos.com/clavier/ivrit.htm>

gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones."² The meaning of this word is obscure. In Targum Jonathan³ is translated 'coal.' BDB (1906: 869) determines "perhaps fiery glow, sparkle." Is based on Jewish ancient interpretation: "Your gates will look in the burning light." In Hebrew, the full expression is *avney eqdaH*, meaning 'stones of *eqdaH*.' This interpretation refers to the meaning of the root of the word QDH. The meaning of this root in Biblical Hebrew is 'be kindled, kindle.' For example, "A fire is kindled in mine anger" (Deuteronomy 32:22). The Biblical word *qadaHat* 'fever', in Modern Hebrew 'malaria,' is from same root. This root exists in other Semitic languages, as Aramaic *qedaH* 'bore, kindle', and Arabic *qadaHa* 'strike fire'. The same root in Mishnaic Hebrew means 'to bore, perforate, and penetrate.' We find the verb for example in Mishna⁴, tractate Shabbat 12:1, "he who bores a hole ever so small." The grammatical formation here is a verb in the Qal derivation, but we find the root as well in *Hiphil* derivation *hiqdiaH* for two primary meanings: (1) to cut out, make an opening; and (2) to cause burning, to spoil a dish, a dye (Jastrow, 1903: 1314). This second sense of 'to cause burning' is derivative of course from the Biblical meaning of 'be kindled'. It is a very famous passage in Mishna, tractate Gittin ('divorce') 9:10: "If she spoiled a dish for him, he may divorce her." Of course, all is about not a meal, but a bad behavior. Another known phrase is in Talmud Bavli⁵, Tractate Berachot ('blessings') 17: b "that we may not have a son or a pupil that disgraces his education in public." The root of the word *eqdaH* in the Bible maybe has shifted in two meanings: always appears in Biblical Hebrew "be kindled", and in Mishnaic Hebrew means "to bore." The problem is that the second meaning does not exist in the Bible at all. In KJV above, the translation is 'carbuncles', based on Vulgata and Septuaginta translations. 'Carbuncles' is in sense of the Hebrew word translated as 'agates'.

Concerning the morphological pattern of the word, the addition of the consonant *Aleph* to the

root of QDH is due to that in Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew, the addition of the consonant /a/ is as the result that in Hebrew a word starts always with a consonant and not a vowel (except the *vav* 'and' in certain circumstances). This letter is a form of a prosthetic letter. To avoid harshness in pronunciation a helping sound, *Aleph* prosthetic with its vowel, is prefixed to some words, e.g., *ezroa* 'arm' from *zroa*, *etzb'a* 'a finger' (French *esprit* from *spiritus*, Arabic *usfur* "bird" from stem *safara*) (Gesenius, 1910:70, 235). In Hebrew, they are more prosthetic vowels and *Aleph* can be one of them (Shafir, 2014: 250).

The *eqdaH* word was unused for almost 3000 years, until Eliezer Ben Yehuda (1858-1922), the famous reviver of Spoken Hebrew, suggested in 1896 to use it for 'gun.' It was another expression used in this period based on another Biblical word (next chapter). He started to use it in his newspapers "*haTZevi*" and "*hashqafa*" for both 'gun' and 'revolver'. The spreading of the word started ten years later, first in newspapers, and later in the speech. The sense of 'revolver' became the sole meaning due to a very famous poem written by Itamar Ben Avi, Ben Yehuda's son, named "*haEqdaH*" 'The Revolver' in the end of the first decade of the 20th century. After years of love poems edited in "*haOr*" newspaper, he lost heart and published a poem in which he menaced to commit suicide.

3. ROVE 'GUN'

This word appears in a sole verse in Genesis 21:20 "And God was with the lad, and he grew. And he dwelt in the wilderness, and became, as he grew up, an archer." The ordinary compound for 'archer' in Biblical Hebrew is *dorchey qeshet*, meaning 'bow benders', and the signification of *dorchey* is 'tread' and *qeshet* is 'bow.' In this verse, the compound is *rove qashshat*, meaning 'one shooting the bow.' BDB (1906: 1916) derived it from *rove qeshet* and proposed to read *rome qeshet*. The root RMH one of the common roots for 'shoot, throw' in Biblical Hebrew (see 'mortar' below). On the other hand, the root RVH for 'shoot' does not exist in Biblical Hebrew and this is the unique item. The form of *rove* is a verb in active participle, being in Biblical Hebrew a noun. The problem is the second part of the compound *qashshat*. This compound is a phrase meaning '(he) shoots a bow.' The noun for 'bow' is *qeshet*, containing the same root of QSHT as *qashshat*, but being on a different base (Swarzwald, 1998: 268). They belong to two different ground-forms

² The English Biblical verses are from King James Version, unless indicated different.

³ It is the classical translation of the Bible to Aramaic called Targum Onkelos for the Tora portion and Targum Jonatan for Prophets and Writings portions.

⁴ Is the first major written redaction of the Jewish oral law tradition known as the "Oral Torah." It contains 6 orders and 63 tractates.

⁵ The Babylonian Talmud is one of the two Talmuds produced the Rabbinic Judaism and contains 37 tractates.

(patterns). The first is a dissyllabic with penultima accent, and is related to the *Segolates* ground-form *qetel*, taking two similar short vowels of /e/ (*segol*) (Gesenius, 1910: 228). The second is a noun with the middle consonant sharpened and belongs to the ground-form *qattal* with two long vowels of /a/ in both syllables. (Gesenius, 1910:233). This group denotes usually a professional, an artisan, e.g. *gannav* 'a thief', *dayyan* 'a judge', *tabbaH* 'a cook'. Therefore, the meaning of the compound cannot be as BDB translated "one shooting the bow", rather "an archer is shooting".

In the modern era, the word *rove* was in use by the writers of *haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment movement⁶, in the form of *qne rove* 'a barrel of a shooter'. This is an example of the clumsy and unwieldy phrases to which the novelist was compelled to resort time and time again in order to express their ideas via an adequate linguistic medium (Patterson, 1962:318). A simple example is *more shaot* 'to show the hours'; it is used to designate a 'watch' or 'clock'; the term for "newspaper" is *nichtav 'iti* 'a timely letter'.

Eliezer Ben-Yehuda rejected those compound nouns being foreign to Hebrew and influenced by German on Hebrew. The first Modern Hebrew word for which Ben Yehuda could claim authorship was *millon* 'dictionary'. He suggested it in 1 January 1880 in a letter to "Maggid Mishne," a Hebrew journal published in Germany. In this letter, he rejected the current term *sefer millim*, a clumsy literal translation of the German *Wörterbuch*. He was fearful of the influence of German on Hebrew – compound words, he insisted, were foreign to Hebrew. In this specific case he suggested use of a suffix *on*, expressing the concept of a place or "a thing comprising the concept rendered in the noun." Thus from *millā* 'word' plus *on*, he created the common *millon* 'dictionary,' which immediately gained currency. The transformation of two- or three-word expressions into single words became an important feature in the development of Modern Hebrew (Sivan, 1969: 38-39). Thus, at least more than fifty two-word expressions have given way to one-word expressions. Only a few of the one-word expressions are old words, which underwent semantic changes (Sivan, 1980: 33, 35). Such is the one-word *rove* from the two-word expression *qne rove*. Ben Yehuda published on 11 December 1896 in his newspaper "*haTZevi*," a long article rejecting the use of the two-word *qne rove*. He

suggested a few suggestions, but rejected David Yellin's (1864- 1941)⁷ suggestion to use only *rove*. A year later, he suggested *eqdaH* for a 'gun.' It was only a few years later that the word *rove* was used only for 'gun,' and *eqdaH* only for 'revolver.'

4. *TOTAH* 'CANNON'

The word *totaH* appears in the Bible once in the book of Job 41:29: "Darts are counted as stubble: he laugheth at the shaking of a spear"; In ASV⁸ the translation is "Clubs are counted as stubble: He laugheth at the rushing of the javelin." In the original Hebrew version of the Old Testament, the verse is 21 and not 29. The KJV translated *totaH* to 'dart,' and ASV version of the Old Testament translated it to 'club.' BDB translation is "name of a weapon, perhaps club, mace (or dart, javelin)" (BDB, 1906: 450). The Jewish classical interpretation is "a sort of weapon." One of the most famous interpreters, RaLBaG⁹, explained in his Biblical interpretation as "a weapon that fired stones."

The origin of this word is a bit mysterious. Outside of the word *totaH*, the root YTH does not exist in Hebrew. This root is found in Arabic WTH, meaning "beat with a club, chastise." From this root derives in Arabic the word *mittaHa* 'club.' In this case the ground-form is *taqtal*, a very unusual noun pattern in Hebrew. Another option is that the root is TTH, and the Hebrew word is a loan word from the Assyrian *tartaHu* 'club, javelin' (BDB, 1906:450). In this case, the ground-form is *qotal*, more usual than the precedent.

The word was not used in Mishnaic Hebrew. Only centuries later, the *payytanim*¹⁰ liked it and insert it in their poems. In a *piyyut* from Spain around the year 1000 CE "*sliHot leta'ani*" 'a penitential song for fast-days' we find the verse "in front of me a *totaH* shoots arrows of a bow." In the modern era, the word entered into common lexicon for 'cannon' in the middle of the nineteenth century, in Hebrew newspapers and by *haskala* writers. The form was again a compound two-word noun *kley totaH* 'tool of cannon.' The first to skip *kley* and to use one-word expression *totaH* was the

⁷ One of the foremost pedagogues and cultural leaders of Palestine, and one of the most eminent revivers of Hebrew.

⁸ The American Standard Version of the Holy Bible.

⁹ Gersonides (Levi ben Gershon, acronym RaLBaG, 1288-1344) was a philosopher, Talmudist, mathematician and astronomer in France.

¹⁰ The authors of the Jewish liturgical poems known as a *piyyut*.

⁶ Was among the European Jews in the 18th-19th centuries.

eminent writer *Mendele Mocher Sefarim*¹¹ in 1862. The two-word expression continues to be used until the second decade of the twentieth century.

5. MARGEMA 'MORTAR

The word *margema* appears once in the Old Testament in the book of Proverbs 26:8 "As he that bindeth a stone in a sling, so [is] he that giveth honour to a fool." KJV and ASV both translated *margema* to 'sling.' The same definition is given by BDB (1906: 920), which adds the Hebrew original version is *tzror even* 'stone-heap,' and not 'stone'. The early mortars fired stone shots very high seeing used in siege warfare. This weapon was perhaps a big slingshot, which fired a stone-heap in one shoot. This verse refers to pagan custom of throwing stones on some idols, and compares the shooter to a foul. The Rabbinical interpretation refers it to the Roman *Mercurius* and the Hellenic *Hermes*, in English 'Mercury', idol-worship. He was reported as becoming extremely popular among the nations the Roman Empire conquered, inclusive Judaea. The Jews used to throw stones at *Mercurius* statues over the ways, to owe their loathe to this cult. The Mishna says that even to throw a stone in this sense is a symbol of paganism.

The root RGM in the sense of 'stone, kill by stoning' exists in many Semitic languages, e.g., Arabic *rag'lama* 'throw stones at, revile, curse,' Aramaic *regam* 'stone,' Ethiopian 'curse'. The Biblical synonym root is SQL (BDB, 1906: 920).

The fossilized term *margema* entered the Modern Hebrew in the middle of the 19th century, after an absence of 2500 years. In 1866 was used by the famous writer *Mendele Mocher Sefarim* in a translation from German of a bioscience book "The History of the Nature", referring to the ancient sense "they used a *margema* to throw stones." The term entered the public consciousness during the Second World War. In 1942 entered the press and appeared in the newspaper "*haTZofe*" in a list of German army weapons.

5. PETZATZA 'BOMBE'

We can affirm that there is a substratum unity This word is a new one, but his root is Biblical Hebrew. Is used only as a verb in a few occasions, "[Is] not my word like as a fire? saith the lord; and

like a hammer [that] breaketh the rock in pieces?" (Jeremiah 23:29). The verb in Hebrew version is *yefotetz* which is a *po'lel* pattern Imperfect singular masculine, meaning 'hammer which shatters rock' (BDB, 1906:828). A second item is in book of Habakkuk 3:6 "He stood, and measured the earth: he beheld, and drove asunder the nations; and the everlasting mountains were scattered, the perpetual hills did bow: his ways are everlasting." Here the verb translated by KJV 'scattered' is Hebrew *vayitpotzetzu*, a *hitpo'lel* pattern Imperfect plural masculine, meaning of course 'scatter.'

The root PTZTZ 'break' is found in other Semitic languages as Arabic *fad'd'a* 'break, break asunder,' Nabatean same sense, Syriac 'crush.

The root was unused in Mishnaic Hebrew, and a noun is first recorded in the late Middle Age, in a *piyyut* from the 9th century in the form of *petzetz*, a masculine noun, in the sense of 'fragment, splinter.' This is a masculine noun and its plural form is *petzatzim*. Ben Yehuda coined the word *petzatza*, a feminine noun, in Aube of the 20th century, and published it in 1904 the distinguished writer and journalist Nahum Sokolov in his newspaper "*haTZefira*". The word is modeled after the pattern *qetala*. In his dictionary, he gave two meanings: 'bomb' and 'mine.' During a few decades, both words have been used to designate both meanings, despite the word for 'mine' exists in the Bible *moqesh* and was already in use in this period.

6. MOQESH 'MINE'

This word *moqesh* has a rather straightforward etymology. Isaiah 8:14 is a good example for it "And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem." In the Hebrew text they are two synonyms *paH* and *moqesh*, translated in KJV 'gin' and 'snare.' In Biblical Hebrew, they are many synonyms for 'trap, snare, and gin.' The definition of BDB (1906: 430) is "a bait or lure in a fowler's net, fig. snare," according to verse as Proverbs 12:13 "The wicked is snared by the transgression of [his] lips; but the just shall come out of trouble."

The root is YQSH in the sense of "lay bait or lure, lay snares"; two similar roots with the same meaning are in Biblical Hebrew NQSH and QUSH. The root YQSH is found in the form of verbs in different conjugations, as *yaqoshti*, Qal perfect, in Jeremiah 50:24 "I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon."

¹¹ Shalom Abramovich, known as Mendele Mocher Sefarim (1836-1917), was a Russian Jewish author, one of the founders of modern Hebrew literature and one of the most important revivers of the Modern Hebrew Language.

The word was used during all the periods in his Biblical sense, as well in the Modern Era, starting from the *haskala* authors in Middle of the 18th century. The word *moqesh* is first recorded as a weapon in newspapers in 1892. The term was used in both senses of 'mine' and 'bomb.'

7. PAGAZ 'CANNONBALL'

The word *pagaz* comes to us not from the Bible, but from the classical translation of the Bible to Aramaic, the Targum. The word appears in a very difficult verse in Ezekiel 26:9 "And he shall set engines of war against the walls, and with his axes he shall break down the towers." The "engines of war" in the KJV is in the original Hebrew version written in two unusual words *umHi qavolo*, meaning 'a hit in front of him.' The Jewish interpretation is usually "an engine to throw stones." The translation of Targum Jonatan is *umHat pegozohi* and in some versions of the translation is *umHat pegoshohi*, meaning 'a hit of some kind of weapon.' Jastrow (1903: 1132) defines the word *pagoz* "battering projectile." Kohut (1889: 290) defines it 'a big stone to be stoned' and he is adding in German 'grosser Wurfstein.' The word *pagosh* and his variant *pagoz* exist in Mishnaic Hebrew in Mishna, tractate Kelim (tools) 16:8 in the compound *bet haPagošot* and a variant of *bet haPagozot*, in the sense of 'quiver for arrows.' Therefore, in Mishnaic Hebrew the meaning is 'arrow.' In Semitic Languages can be a phonological alternation between the sibilant consonants /s/, /ʃ/, and /z/, and as a result both forms exist *pagosh* and *pagoz*. The meaning of the word is 'arrow' and 'stone,' in Hebrew and Aramaic. In Ben Yehuda Dictionary (1952: 4810-4811) we find the Syriac word *pagasha* in the sense of 'stone,' and the translation of *pagoz* into 'slingshot.'

The word was not in use since the Mishnaic period in the second century CE until the 11th century when it appears in some *piyyutim*. In one of them from the south of France appears *pagoz* in the sense of 'stone', "your stones will shatter the town as a broken clay pottery." The modern pattern *pagaz* was coined by Alexander Kohut in his dictionary (Kohut, 1889: 290) for 'stones.'

Only in 1939, we find the modern military use of 'shell,' in a brochure edited by *hahagana*¹²

military organization "Infantry Section Leading." In the Hebrew translation, they are footnotes with new coined Hebrew terms. On page 34, the second note is "*pagaz* – shell (in English) – a big bomb to shoot from a cannon or a mortar." The word entered the press in 1940. The full use was completed during the Independence War in 1948.

8. CONCLUSION

All the weapons, which were coined from Biblical weapons, are long-range weapons, not short-range, not protective armor, and not chariots. All those weapons remained in their original ancient meaning. In antiquity, long-range weapons were intended to inflict casualties on the enemy from afar by means of stones or arrows (Gonen, 1975: 41). In Modern era, they do not use any more for munitions. Therefore, those missile weapons are not current anymore and they were free to be coined as modern artillery weapons. This process transformed the ancient 'dart' into a modern 'cannon,' the ancient 'sling' into a modern 'mortar,' the ancient 'trap' into a modern 'mine.' Generally, most of the modern military terminology in IDF is from Biblical and Mishnaic non-military origin, e.g., *matos* 'aircraft,' *masoq* 'helicopter,' *matzneah* 'parachute,' *leyyaret* 'to intercept missiles or rockets,' *qatzin* 'officer,' *tiron* 'recruit,' *tzo'er* 'cadet,' *milu'im* 'reserve force,' *taHmoshet* 'munition.' Most of ranges, units, and most verbs for warfare operations are from Biblical and Mishnaic origin.

On the other hand, one of the main problems of the revival of Hebrew was how to adapt it to the expression of the needs of a modern society (Tene, 1969:8). In the decade of 1880, Hebrew, daily papers began to appear. These journals introduced into the language many lexical and syntactic means of expressing contemporary political ideas and trends of thought, and altogether shaped a Hebrew style, which was less aesthetically oriented and more direct and forceful. In this process, Hebrew was prepared for the role of a State language in Israel (Rabin, 1969: 34). One of the most important institutions of a State is the army. From the first Jewish Palestinian forces in the British army during the First World War, the target was to use in those units the Hebrew Language only. The IDF fulfilled this target with a big success after his establishment in 1948.

¹² "Hahagana" organization was the main defense force of the Jewish community in Palestine during the time of the British Mandate until 1948.

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PROPERTIES OF IDENTITY ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

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Abstract: This paper discusses a group of nominal modifiers referred to as Functional Adjectives. The paper concentrates on one subset of functional adjectives, i.e. the English identity adjectives *same*, *different* and *other*, based on the literature. Thus, *same* and *different* belong to a functional category degree rather than the lexical category adjective while the unique properties of *other* are attributed to a more determiner-like functional category in the DP. The paper finds further evidence to support this approach in the syntax and semantics of Romanian constructions with *diferit*, *același*, and *alt*.

Keywords: functional adjectives, identity adjectives, similarity predicates, comparative adjective constructions, degree functional category, determiner functional category

1. THE EMPIRICAL FACTS

The empirical domain of this paper is a group of nominal modifiers referred to as FUNCTIONAL ADJECTIVES, such as *same*, *other*, *first*, *last*, *mere*, *utter*, *main*, and *entire*. These adjectives are grammatically distinct from prototypical adjectives like *large* or *beautiful*. We make a description of one subset of functional adjectives: the English/Romanian IDENTITY ADJECTIVES *same*, *different*, and *other/același*, *diferit* and *alt*. We try to account for the need for a syntax of identity adjectives. The empirical facts described point to a central proposal stating that *same* and *different* belong to the functional category Degree rather than the lexical category Adjective, while *other* has properties attributed to a more determiner-like functional category in the DP.

Applying a contrastive descriptive approach to the Romanian counterparts of this group of identity adjectives we found facts which provide support for the idea that identity adjectives are functional as they behave in a similar way to demonstratives. Romanian has a demonstrative adjective indicating identity *același*. *Diferit* and *alt* behave syntactically in a similar way to *different* and *other*, i.e. *diferit* can be described as belonging to a functional category Degree while *alt* has properties attributed to a more determiner like functional category in DP.

2. SOME SEMANTIC CONSIDERATIONS

Considering the literature referring to the meanings of the English *different* and *the same*, we can interpret them as expressing relations of non-

identity and identity between individuals (cf. Heim, 1985, Carlson, 1987, Moltmann, 1992, Beck 2000).

- (1) a. Every student read a different book.
b. The same salesman sold me these two magazine subscriptions.

In examples (1a.-b.), *different* and *same* occur NP-internally, and their interpretation depends upon a plural or distributive NP occurring elsewhere in the sentence. Thus (1a.) can be paraphrased as “Every student read a book that is different from the book that every other student read”. It is simply assumed that *different* expresses non-identity, while *same* expresses identity, and that these are relations that hold amongst individuals. Such a view is nevertheless open to problems. The adjectives *same* and *different* can have scalar uses alongside with similarity uses as shown by the facts we will present below, referring to scalarity and similarity denotations.

The first problem is that the relations of (non-) identity between individuals cannot hold to varying degrees, but those expressed by *different* and *the same* can (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). (2a) and (3) show that both *different* and *the same* readily occur with degree modifiers; (2b) shows that *different* also appears in comparative constructions.

- (2) a. My new car is {a bit, quite, very, really} different from my previous one.
b. Jack and Diane turned out to be more different than I had expected.
- (3) Frozen fish is {almost, nearly, just about, not quite, roughly} the same as fresh fish.

Such examples require that *different* and *the same* be given scalar denotations. The second problem is that *different* and *the same* have logical relations with similarity predicates. If we consider *different* and *alike*, for example, it is generally true that a sentence of the form *a and b are more different than c and d* is logically equivalent to the sentence *c and d are more alike than a and b*. In Romanian also, both *diferit* and *același* can be interpreted either as non-identity or similarity behaving like their English counterparts. To express similarity, Romanian uses *asemănător/la fel*. *Diferit* and *asemănător/la fel* can occur with degree modifiers and they establish logical relations with similarity predicates as shown in the examples:

- (4) Mașina mea e un pic/ foarte/destul de diferită de a ta.
 [My car is a little/very/rather different from yours]
 Mașina mea este diferită de a ta.
 [My car is different from yours]
 Mașina mea este asemănătoare cu a ta.
 [My car is similar to yours]

Acelasi usually does not appear with degree modifiers but there may appear situations when it does, like in (5) which can be paraphrased as “Dacia Logan and Renault Logan are both cars, and they share almost all relevant properties.”:

- (5) Dacia Logan și Renault Logan sunt aproape aceeași mașina.
 [Dacia Logan and Renault Logan are almost the same car]

As their associated paraphrases make clear, these examples are concerned with the amount of similarity or difference that exists between the relevant individuals, and thus involve the similarity predicate uses of *diferit* and *același* studied here.

3. FUNCTIONAL ADJECTIVES

Following Oxford (2010) we claim that functional adjectives should be recognized as grammatically distinct from prototypical adjectives. Although the English modifiers (*same, other, first, last*) are normally labeled as adjectives, their grammatical properties differ from those of prototypical adjectives. As we shall see hereafter they are grammatically similar to their Romanian counterparts. Taken together, these facts suggest that we are looking at the same category in both languages, but that this category is distinct from that of prototypical adjectives.

The table below summarizes some of the major differences between the two classes of English adjectives, referred to as “lexical” and “functional” adjectives.

Table 1. Lexical vs Functional adjectives (*apud* Oxford, 2010:5)

LEXICAL ADJECTIVES (<i>large, happy, beautiful</i>)	FUNCTIONAL ADJECTIVES (<i>same, other, first, last</i>)
Take adverbial degree modifiers <i>the really large house</i>	No adverbial degree modifiers <i>*the really same/other/first house</i>
Have comparative and superlative forms <i>the larger / more palatial house</i> <i>the largest / most palatial house</i>	No comparative or superlative forms <i>*the samer / more same house</i> <i>*the samest / most same house</i>
Strongly marked before a numeral <i>#the large three house</i> (cf. <i>the three large houses</i>)	Unmarked before a numeral <i>the same/other/first three houses</i>
Rich lexical/encyclopedic content	Simple lexical content
Open class	Closed class(es)

The term “functional adjectives” has antecedents in the work of Kayne (2005:13), who includes “functional adjectives like *other, same, good*” in his list of functional elements that are plausibly related to syntax, and Cinque (2005:327), who mentions *same* and *other* as “functional adjectives” in passing, observing that they should be added to his DP hierarchy. The differences noted in the table above provide the necessary grounds for recognizing functional adjectives as a distinct group of nominal function words, with properties similar to demonstratives or quantifiers. As we shall see further in this paper this claim holds true cross-linguistically as we document that these adjectives form a distinct class, i.e. the class of functional adjectives in Romanian, too.

The literature on adjectives observes that not all adjectives have the full range of prototypical adjectival behavior: certain adjectives can function attributively but not predicatively (e.g. Bolinger, 1967; Quirk *et al.*, 1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002). Oxford (2010) proposes a list of “defective adjectives” in (6) combining such “attributive-only” adjectives with the functional adjectives discussed above. The rough classification suggested here is for descriptive convenience only—the development of a grammatically and

semantically adequate classification requiring further work.

- (6) a. Identity adjectives: *same, other*
 b. Ordinal adjectives: *next, last, previous, subsequent, preceding, further*
 c. Degree adjectives: *utter, sheer, outright*
 d. Significance adjectives: *main, chief, principal, mere*
 e. Extent adjectives: *entire, whole*
 f. Temporal adjectives: *future, then*

Some of the classes in (6) may qualify as functional categories, like the identity adjectives, others may instead be lexical adjectives whose grammatical limitations follow from semantic factors, as Bolinger (1967) proposes. For the moment it is clear that the term functional adjective is a cover term rather than a coherent grammatical category. Further research is needed to indicate, in a documented way, which adjectives fully classify as functional adjectives, as most of the classes in (6) behave in their own unique way. Consequently, each of the classes in (6) merits its own investigation to be thoroughly conducted elsewhere

4. IDENTITY ADJECTIVES – A CASE STUDY

The present paper aims at describing the properties of the English/Romanian identity adjectives. Identity adjectives have been researched by various authors who have approached the issue from the point of view of formal semantics on the one hand or functional grammar on the other hand. Carlson (1987), Moltmann (1992), Beck (2000), Alrenga (2005, 2006, 2009), and Brasoveanu (2008) have examined the semantics of *same, different, and/or other* from various angles. Their research concerned with matters such as the distinction between identity and similarity, the nature of identity, and the orientation of the comparison—whether it is sentence-internal, as in *Mary and John met different men [from each other]*, or sentence-external, as in *Mary and John met different men [from Sue]*. Alrenga (2009) emphasizes in his study that *same* and *different* encode both similarity and identity (their identity function being primarily recognized). Turning from formal semantics to functional grammar, identity adjectives have been studied extensively by Breban (Breban, 2003; Breban and Davidse, 2003; Davidse *et al.*, 2008). These studies are built on the idea that all adjectives in the semantic field

of similarity and difference occupy a continuum of grammaticalization, with fully lexical adjectives at the starting point and referential “postdeterminers” at the endpoint. Based on a statistical corpus study, Breban and Davidse (2003) quoted by Oxford (2010:9) establish the grammaticalization rates summarized in (7), which reflect the proportion of referential, i.e. functional, versus lexical uses of each adjective.

- (7) Grammaticalization of adjectives of similarity and difference
 a. Fully grammaticalized: *other, same*
 b. Largely grammaticalized: *comparable*
 c. Majority of occurrences are grammaticalized: *equal, similar, further, different*
 d. Minority of occurrences are grammaticalized: *additional, identical, related*

Even if statistics is the source for these varying stages of grammaticality, they play a role in the syntax of identity adjectives, as we are going to see that some identity adjectives resemble more degree phrases while others present the features of determiner phrases.

5. PROPERTIES OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN IDENTITY ADJECTIVES – A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

We present some of the general properties of identity adjectives in English and Romanian starting from Oxford’s (2010) six descriptive generalizations regarding identity adjectives. These generalizations are based on material from Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002). Based on the analysis of these properties we strengthen the conclusion that *same, different, and other* along with their Romanian counterparts *același, diferit* and *alt* have extensive similarities with comparative and superlative adjective constructions.

5.1 Generalization 1: *identity adjectives have the same word order as comparative and superlative adjective forms*

English. As shown in (8), *same, different, and other* can either follow or precede a numeral. The different orderings appear to correlate with differences in semantic scope, as discussed by Breban and Davidse (2003:245).

- (8) a. (i) We saw those three **same** men yesterday.
 (ii) We saw those **same** three men yesterday.
 b. (i) Choose three **different** cards.
 (ii) Choose a **different** three cards.

- c. (i) The three **other** vehicles were damaged.
 (ii) The **other** three vehicles were damaged.

In contrast, absolute (i.e. non-comparative) adjectives do not share this ordering flexibility. In pre-numeral position, an absolute adjective is possible, but quite strongly marked:

- (9) a. The three **large** vehicles were damaged.
 b. #The **large** three vehicles were damaged.

However, if the adjective is inflected in the comparative form, it gains the same flexibility of order that the identity adjectives have:

- (10) a. The three **larger/largest** vehicles were damaged.
 b. The **larger/largest** three vehicles were damaged.

In this respect, then, identity adjectives are more like comparative adjectives than absolute adjectives, despite not being morphologically marked as comparative.

Romanian. In Romanian we have the following:

- (11) a. I-am văzut pe **aceiași** trei oameni ieri
 [I saw the same three people yesterday]
 b. *I-am văzut pe trei **aceiași** oameni
 [I saw the three same people]
 c. Allege trei cărți **diferite**
 [Choose three books different]
 d. *Alege trei **diferite** cărți
 [Choose three different books]
 e. ?Trei **alte** mașini au fost avariate
 [Three other cars were damaged]
 f. **Alte** trei mașini au fost avariate
 [Other three cars were damaged]

We notice that unlike English, Romanian does not have great flexibility in the way it orders these adjectives. In Romanian position is more strict and we notice that *același* can only appear in prenominal position whereas *diferit* can only appear postnominally. *Alt* is flexible as it can either precede or follow the cardinal, though the order cardinal *alt* noun is ruled by different scope readings. The same word order can apply in the case of prototypical adjectives realized as simple prototypical adjectives, comparatives and superlatives as shown in (12 a-g):

- (12) a. Cele trei vehicule **mari** au fost avariate.
 [Those three vehicles big were damaged]
 b. *Cele trei **mari** vehicule au fost avariate.
 [Those three big vehicles were damaged]
 c. Cele trei vehicule **mai mari** au fost avariate.
 [Those three vehicles more_{COMPARATIVE} big were damaged]

- d. *Cele trei **mai mari** vehicule au fost avariate.
 [Those three more_{COMPARATIVE} big vehicles were damaged]
 e. Cele trei vehicule **cele mai mari** au fost avariate.
 [Those three vehicles the most_{SUPERLATIVE} big were damaged]
 f. **Cele mai mari** trei vehicule au fost avariate.
 [The most_{SUPERLATIVE} big three vehicles were damaged]
 g. Cele trei **cele mai mari** vehicule au fost avariate.
 [Those three the most_{SUPERLATIVE} big vehicles were damaged]

Examples (12 a-b) show that simple prototypical adjectives cannot move in prenominal position in the context of cardinals. The same holds for examples (12 c-d) involving the comparative, the only possible movement can appear when using superlatives as shown by examples (12 e-g) where the superlative can appear prenominally either before the cardinal or between the cardinal and the noun.

Conclusion. Comparing the ordering patterns that appear in English and Romanian we notice that identity adjectives pattern like comparatives and superlatives in both languages even though not consistently. This fact can be discussed in detail if the syntax of identity adjectives is to be contrasted with the syntax of comparatives and superlatives, but this is to be discussed elsewhere in detail.

5.2 Generalization 2: *Same and different can occur with comparative clauses; other does not occur with comparative clauses.* *Same* can occur with a comparative *as*-clause, just like an equative *as*-comparative:

- (13) a. Sue gave the **same** answer [**as I expected**].
 b. Sue gave **as good** an answer [**as I expected**].

Different can occur with a *than*-clause, just like a non-equative comparative:

- (14) a. Sue gave a **different** answer [**than I expected**].
 b. Sue gave a **better/more thorough** answer [**than I expected**].

In contrast, *other* does not take a comparative clause:

- (15) *Sue gave **another** answer [**than I expected**].

In spite of the fact that *other* cannot take a *than*-clause, the string *other than* can appear in syntactic contexts like the ones in (16):

- (16) a. I need to speak with someone [**other than** John].
 b. [**Other than** these two chips], the finish is flawless.

Taking into account such examples Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1145) suggest that *other than* is actually a compound preposition similar in meaning to *besides*, and that it fossilizes an earlier state of affairs in which *other*, like *different*, could indeed select a *than*-clause. As evidence of this earlier stage, they provide an example from 1656:

- (17) Neyther is the church reformed in our dayes, **another** church **than** that...deformed in the dayes of our fore-fathers.

Based on the example in (17) they conclude that most probably in the past, the grammatical properties of *other* were closer to those of present-day *different*.

Romanian. In Romanian *același*, *diferit* and *alt* can all co-occur with comparative phrases. This fact makes Romanian identity adjectives grammaticalize to a lesser degree than in English.

- (18) a. Mi-a dat **același** răspuns **ca** al tău.
[He gave the same answer as yours]
b. Mi-a dat un răspuns **diferit de** al tău.
[He gave me an answer different from yours]
c. Are un **alt** răspuns **decât** al tău/față de al tău.
[He has another answer than yours]

Conclusion. English examples prove the functionality of the *same*, *different* and *other* adjectives, while the Romanian data point to a lexical rather than functional explanation.

5.3 Generalization 3: *Same* is obligatorily definite

English. Herdan and Sharvit (2006) state that *same* must be accompanied by the definite article as shown in (19).

- (19) a. Both cars are produced in **the same** kind of facility.
b. *Both cars are produced in **a same** facility / in **same** facilities.

In this respect, *same* is similar to superlative forms, which are usually accompanied by *the*, as indicated in (20).

- (20) a. Mary is **the best** student.
b. #Mary is **a best** student.

However, they note that given an appropriate context, an indefinite superlative can become acceptable. For example, (20b) improves if we imagine a convention attended by the best student from each school. In contrast, this does not appear to be possible for *same*, regardless of the context. For example, the intended meaning of (19a) above

is clear, and can be paraphrased with *identical*, but (19b) remains fully unacceptable.

Romanian. In Romanian *același* cannot take any article. Its position is always prenominal but unlike adjectives that can only appear prenominally, it can get neither the definite nor the indefinite article. Moreover, it appears in the higher position in DP which points to a more determiner like nature of *același*.

- (21) **Același** aspect este avut în vedere.
[The same aspect is taken into consideration]
***Un același** aspect este avut în vedere.
[A same aspect is taken into consideration]

Alt is also always prenominal as shown in (22 a-b) and it can get the indefinite article as in (22 c)

- (22) a. **Alt** aspect este avut în vedere.
[Other aspect is taken into consideration]
b. ***Aspect alt** este avut în vedere.
[Aspect other is taken into consideration]
c. **Un alt** aspect trebuie avut în vedere
[Another aspect should be taken into consideration]

The problem appears when we discuss the definite article. Prenominal adjectives get the definite article like in (23 a). *Alt* becomes a pronoun when it gets the definite article like (23 b) shows.

- (23) a. frumoasa fată
[girl|THE beautiful]
b. ***Altul** aspect trebuie avut în vedere.
[The other aspect must be taken into consideration]

Conclusion. This fact points to a more determiner like nature of *alt* which is thus similar in behavior with *același*. They thus prove to be members of the same class of functional adjectives, i.e. identity adjectives, which must be syntactically positioned higher in the DP as they have determiner like features.

5.4 Generalization 4: *Same* and *different* take different degree modifiers; *other* takes none

English. As shown in (24 a-b) *same* takes the same degree modifiers as equative comparatives:

- (24) a. Mary's answers were **just/exactly** the same as I expected.
b. Mary's answers were **just/exactly** as good as I expected.

Same can also take the same degree modifiers as superlatives as shown in (25 a-b):

- (25) a. John had the **absolute** same problem as I did.
 b. Yesterday was the **absolute** most beautiful day of the year.

It is evident from the examples above that the grammatical categories associated with the modifiers of *same* are in opposition: an adjective can be comparative or superlative, but not both (**as biggest as*). Unless we make the curious proposal that *same* is grammatically both comparative and superlative, the overlap in its modification options suggests that the availability of degree modifiers is based on semantic properties of the lexical item rather than its grammatical features. In contrast to *same*, *different* takes the same degree modifiers as *non-equative comparatives*, as shown in (26 a-b).

- (26) a. Sue gave a **far/much/way** different answer than I expected.
 b. Sue gave a **far/much/way** more thorough answer than I expected.

Unlike other functional adjectives, *different* can also take adverbial degree modifiers such as *extremely* or *remarkably*. However, such cases involve the interpretation of *different* as a true lexical adjective, not a functional adjective. Although the meaning of *other* is similar to that of *different*, it cannot take the same degree modifiers, as shown in (27). In fact, it appears that *other* does not take degree modifiers at all, having only the functional interpretation and determiner like features.

- (27) *John came up with a **far/much/way** other solution.

Moreover, Oxford (2010) brings additional diachronic evidence, as found in OED, to prove that in the past *other* could be modified by *quite* and *far* as shown by the examples in (28 a-c).

- (28) a. I thought it was fine to be a Gentlewoman indeed, for I had **quite other** Notions of a Gentlewoman now. (published 1722)
 b. **Far other** scene her thoughts recall. (published 1808)
 c. This Italian poetry is in a world **far other** from ours of to-day. (published 1879)

This is further evidence that the properties of *other* were once similar to those of present day *different* and it also shows the consistency of the class of identity adjectives.

Romanian. In Romanian, *același* can take degree modifiers like *chiar/cam/exact/precis* and

similar to the English cases these degree modifiers appear also in equative comparatives:

- (29) Nu mi-a dat **chiar același** răspuns cum m-am așteptat.
 [He did not give me quite the same answer as I expected]
 Mi-a dat **exact același** răspuns cum m-am așteptat.
 [He gave me exactly the same answer as I expected]

Diferit can appear in comparative and superlative constructions and also with degree phrases that are common for non-equative comparatives as well.

- (30) a. Are un mers **mai diferit** decât al tău.
 [He has a walk more different than yours]
 b. **Cel mai diferit** răspuns a venit de la el.
 [The most different answer came from him]
 c. Are un mers **mult mai diferit** decât al tău.
 [He has a much more different walk than yours]
 d. O analiză **extrem de diferită** a constituit surpriza conferinței.
 [An extremely different analysis surprised the conference]

Even *alt* can appear with degree expressions, but it seems to be accidental and whenever the article is involved *chiar* is outside the DP as shown in (31 a)

- (31) a. Mi-a dat **chiar un alt** răspuns.
 [He gave even another answer]
 b. Mi-a dat **chiar alt** răspuns.
 [He gave even other answer]

Conclusion. So far we can conclude that the modifiers of *same* pattern with both equative comparatives and superlatives while those of *different* pattern with non-equative comparatives. *Other* apparently, diachronically behaved like *different*, but no longer takes any degree modifiers at all. *Același* and *diferit* appear with degree modifiers while generally speaking *alt* does not take degree modifiers thus being similar in behavior with *other*, both having features that define them as determiner like elements.

5.5 Generalization 5: *Same and different can be predicative; other cannot*

English. The ability to function predicatively is shared with lexical adjectives.

- (32) a. These two keys are **the same**.
 b. These two keys are **different**.
 c. *These two keys are **other**.

When appearing in predicative position *same* is obligatorily accompanied by *the* in a pattern

similar with the pattern for predicative superlatives:

(33) These two keys are **the best**.

Romanian. In Romanian *același, diferit* can both be predicative. *Alt* cannot be predicative; if *alt* gets the definite article it can be predicative but in this case it has the features of a pronoun rather than an adjective. Further discussion should differentiate between the pronouns and the adjectives *același* and *alt* when used predicatively, as such predicative uses are in fact occupied by the respective pronouns not adjectives, marked by the presence of co-referentiality, which in the case of *alt* is marked by the presence of the definite article *altul*. Again, this is a discussion to be detailed elsewhere.

(34) Răspunsul este **același**.
 [The answer is the same]
 Răspunsul este **diferit**.
 [The answer is different]
 *Răspunsul este **alt**.
 [The answer is other]
 Răspunsul este **altul**.
 [The answer is the other]

Conclusion. The predicative use of this group of adjectives points clearly both in English and Romanian to the different properties of *alt* and *other* which indicates that their syntax is different from *same*, *different* and *același, diferit*. The pronominal properties indicate that they belong to the category of determiners rather than lexical adjectives.

5.6 Generalization 6: “*Lexical comparatives*” and *grammatical comparatives*; *superlative forms are impossible for functional adjectives*

English. In addition to *same, different, and other*, there is another class of adjectives, exemplified in (35), whose meanings also have a comparative component.

(35) *similar, comparable, identical, akin, distinct, separate, superior, inferior*

However, unlike *same/different*, the *similar/distinct* set does not share the hallmark grammatical property of a comparative construction—the ability to take a comparative clause:

(36) a. *Sue’s answers were **distinct** [CP than I expected].
 Sue’s answers were **different/better** [CP than I expected]
 b. *Sue’s answers were **similar** [CP as I expected].

Sue’s answers were **the same/as good** [CP as I expected]

Rather, the *similar/distinct* set must express the standard of comparison using a PP:

(37) a. Sue’s answers were **distinct** [PP from John’s / from what I expected].
 b. Sue’s answers were **similar** [PP to John’s / to what I expected].

Based on this difference, the conclusion is that unlike comparative adjective forms and identity adjectives, the *similar/distinct* adjectives are not grammatically comparative. Instead, comparison is simply a component of their lexical meaning—they lexically select a certain type of PP, just as many other adjectives do:

(38) a. Lexical comparatives: *distinct/separate (from), similar/identical (to), superior/inferior (to)*
 b. Other adjectives: *curious (about), fond (of), smitten (with), responsible (for), angry (at), rich (in), keen (on)*

From the above data we can notice that although *different* patterns with functional *same* in that it can take a comparative clause, it also patterns with lexical *distinct* in that it can take a *from*-PP:

(39) a. Sue gave a **different** answer [CP **than** I expected].
 b. Sue gave a **different** answer [PP **from** what I expected].

This behavior suggests that *different* could be considered a “split category”: we have the lexical *different*, which selects a *from*-PP, and the functional *different*, which selects a *than*-clause. As evidence for such a split, recall that functional adjectives, unlike lexical adjectives, do not have comparative forms:

(40) **samer*/**more same*, **otherer*/**more other*

If there are indeed two versions of *different*, we would expect the comparative form *more different* to be possible with lexical *different from*, but not with functional *different than*. An example of lexical *more different from* is given in (41) below.

(41) Lexical “*different*”: comparative is possible
 Sue is **more different** [PP **from** what I expected]
 [CP **than** I was prepared for].

This is an unwieldy but grammatical sentence which states that Sue is different from what I expected, and that the extent of the difference is

greater than I was prepared for. In (42), the same example is recast using functional *more different than*. Although the intended meaning is the same, the sentence is ungrammatical.

- (42) Functional “*different*”: comparative is not possible
 *Sue is **more different** [CP **than** I expected] [CP **than** I was prepared for].

It seems, then, that while lexical *different* has a comparative form, functional *different* does not—exactly what the proposed analysis predicts. Similar evidence comes from superlative forms, which are also impossible for functional adjectives (**samest/*most same, *otherest/*most other*) defined as such by the presence of the *from* PP. As shown in (43 a-b), lexical *most different from* is possible, while functional *most different than* is not.

- (43) a. John gave the **most different** answer [PP **from** what I expected].
 b. *John gave the **most different** answer [CP **than** I expected].

The evidence from comparatives and superlatives therefore supports the proposal that English has both lexical and functional versions of *different*.

Romanian. In Romanian *diferit* behaves more vaguely. It is lexical as it has comparative and superlative forms which appear in the context of prepositional comparative phrases. Only the comparative forms of *diferit* can be both lexical and functional as shown by the examples in (44).

- (44) Un răspuns **mai diferit** [CP **decât** am așteptat]./
 FUNCTIONAL
 [An answer more different than I expected]
 Un răspuns **mai diferit** [PP **de** al tău nu se
 poate]./ LEXICAL
 [An answer different from yours is not possible]

In superlatives we only have the lexical *diferit* not the functional one as shown in (45 a-c). the superlative *cel mai diferit* can appear only in the context of prepositional comparative phrases.

- (45) a. **Cel mai diferit** răspuns [PP **din** câte am primit]./
 LEXICAL
 [The most different answer from the ones I received]
 b. Mi-a dat **cel mai diferit** răspuns [PP **față de**
 toate celelalte]./ LEXICAL
 [He gave me the most different answer with respect to all the others]
 c. *Am primit **cel mai diferit** răspuns [CP **decât**
 m-am așteptat].
 [I received the most different answer than I expected]

6. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE PROPERTIES OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN IDENTITY ADJECTIVES

Same, different, and other share a striking syntactic property: their word order is like that of comparative adjective forms rather than absolute forms. A closer look at their co-occurrence properties reveals extensive similarities between *same* and equative comparatives (as well as superlatives) and between *different* and non-equative comparatives. *Other*, in contrast, lacks many of the properties in question altogether. The grammatical distinctness of the identity adjectives is made especially clear by the existence of a set of “lexical comparatives”—lexical adjectives which have comparative meanings, but which cannot engage in the same grammatical patterns as comparative forms and identity adjectives. Closer examination reveals that *different* has both lexical and functional versions.

In Romanian *același* can behave like demonstratives while *alt* pronominalizes when getting the definite article and *diferit* has mainly lexical versions.

In both languages *same, different* and *other / același, diferit* and *alt* have extensive similarities with comparative adjective constructions.

The class of identity adjectives is best understood in the framework of functional grammar as they occupy a continuum of grammaticalization between fully lexical adjectives and functional adjectives. Thus some identity adjectives resemble more degree phrases while others have the features of determiner phrases. This could explain the properties they share with comparatives and the fact that despite being adnominal modifiers, these items are more functional than prototypical lexical adjectives. Some of the adjectives discussed i.e. *other* for English and *același* and *alt* for Romanian, have properties that make them seem less like an adjective and more like a determiner.

Examining the syntax of this set of words could lead to some interesting results regarding functional adjectives as a possible well defined class of adjectives.

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KNOWING, BEING AND DOING – TOWARDS THE INTERCULTURAL APPROACH IN ELT

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Abstract: *Intercultural language education has redefined the agenda of modern languages all over the world. It has also begun to impact on English Language Teaching. An intercultural approach prioritizes the need for a critical, multicultural curriculum, which actively educates and facilitates the construction of learners' personal and social identities in the process of developing their language skills. Its major influences in ELT refer to intercultural competencies, academic and social benefits of intercultural learning, the use of ethnographic research to implement ELT, issues in adapting curriculum to situational learning needs, and designing tasks in an intercultural classroom. The aim of the present paper is to prove that the development of intercultural skills in foreign language teaching becomes more effective through careful instruction and the gradual process of raising learners' awareness of multiplicity of perspectives. By handling a selection of language tasks students can experience diversity and will eventually analyze their behaviour in order to adjust their language roles to new circumstances. The materials designed for proper intercultural training included essays, projects and portfolios.*

Keywords: *intercultural approach, intercultural competence, skills, knowledge, essays, projects, portfolios*

1. INTRODUCTION

Intercultural language education has redefined the agenda of modern languages all over the world. It has also begun to impact on English Language Teaching. An intercultural approach prioritizes the need for a critical, multicultural curriculum, which actively educates and facilitates the construction of learners' personal and social identities in the process of developing their language skills. Its major influences in ELT refer to intercultural competencies, academic and social benefits of intercultural learning, the use of ethnographic research to implement ELT, issues in adapting curriculum to situational learning needs, and designing tasks in an intercultural classroom (Holmes and O'Neill, 2012). The intercultural curriculum utilizes ethnographic methods and critical thinking to develop culturally contextualized knowledge. It motivates learners by making topics and activities more complex, thereby challenging them to build higher levels of intercultural competencies. Needless to say that the so-called *five savoirs* provide a framework for developing analytical, reflective and critical thinking skills as they are supposed to help English language learners acquire and negotiate intercultural experiences in new social environments and position their social identities through critical analyses and self-reflection.

2. KNOWING, BEING AND DOING

The purpose of this article is therefore to discuss what is necessary for a learner to become an intercultural speaker. It also investigates what activities foreign language teachers need to integrate into their practices so as to direct their teaching more towards the development of intercultural communicative competence. The model which might be proposed to clarify the intercultural approach in ELT is composed of 'knowing', 'being' and 'doing' of our learners. 'Knowing' is defined in terms of learners' knowledge which they bring to an interaction. 'Being' is understood as being skillful in interpreting, relating, discovering meanings and behaviours. Finally, 'doing' has to be perceived as an exemplification of attitudes among learners, which are exhibited towards other interlocutors.

Guilherme (2002) implicates that the knowledge learners have at their disposal in an interaction consists of two layers: knowledge about social groups and their cultures in their own country, and similar knowledge of the interlocutor's country (more or less refined and present in some degree) on the one hand and knowledge of the processes of interaction, on the other hand. It involves the following:

1. historical and contemporary relationships between one's own and one's interlocutor's country;

2. the types of cause and process of misunderstanding between interlocutors of different cultural origins;

3. the national definitions of geographical space in one's country and how these are perceived from the perspective of other countries;

4. the processes and institutions of socialization in one's own country and one's interlocutor's country;

5. social distinctions and their principal markers, in one's own country and one's interlocutor's;

6. institutions, and perceptions of them, which impinge on daily life within one's own and one's interlocutor's country and which conduct and influence relationships between them;

7. the national memory of one's own country and one's interlocutor's country and how they are perceived;

8. the processes of social interaction in one's interlocutor's country.

Within skills, as Sercu (2001) stresses, it is imperative to distinguish those of interpreting and relating, and of discovery and interaction, to be acquired through experience and reflection with or without the intervention of teachers. The skills of interpreting and relating draw upon existing knowledge. They are defined as abilities allowing us to interpret documents or events from another culture, in order to explain and relate them to the ones typical of our own culture. The objectives are the following:

1. identify ethnocentric perspectives in documents or events and explain their origins;

2. identify areas of misunderstanding and dysfunction in an interaction and explain them in terms of each of the cultural systems present;

3. mediate between conflicting interpretations of phenomena.

The skills of discovery are perceived as abilities to recognize significant phenomena in a foreign environment and to elicit their meanings and their relationship to other phenomena. The skills of interaction help us to manage the constraints of time, mutual perceptions and attitudes. Thanks to their presence interlocutors acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and operate it together with attitudes under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction. The objectives include:

1. identify significant references within and across cultures and elicit their significance;

2. identify similar and dissimilar processes of interaction and negotiate an appropriate use of them in specific circumstances;

3. use in real-time an appropriate combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes to interact with interlocutors from a different country and culture, taking into consideration the extent of difference;

4. identify contemporary and past relationship between one's own and the other culture and country;

5. use in real-time knowledge, skills and attitudes for mediation between interlocutors of one's own and a foreign culture.

Lubecka (2003:46) recognizes the attitudes observed among speakers, which according to her observation, vary across interactions. The distinctive feature refers to cultural meanings, beliefs and behaviours exhibited by certain social groups. The most desirable attitudes typical of intercultural speakers are curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about our own and other cultures. The objectives are the following:

1. willingness to seek out or take up opportunities to engage with otherness in a relationship of equality;

2. interest in discovering other perspectives on interpretation of familiar and unfamiliar phenomena both in one's own and in other cultures and cultural practices;

3. readiness to experience the different stages of adaptation to an interaction with another culture;

4. readiness to engage with the conventions and rites of verbal and non-verbal communication and interaction.

3. INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE AS A PREREQUISITE OF INTERCULTURAL APPROACH IN ELT

Many researchers postulate that the aim of the intercultural approach in language teaching is to develop intercultural communicative competence since it is vital for language instructors to create an efficient intercultural speaker who would exhibit certain skills, competences and knowledge (Risager, 1998; Byram and Fleming, 1998; Kramsch, 1998). The most comprehensive model of what intercultural communicative competence is comprised was presented by Chen and Starosta (2000:6-7). It integrates the following three features: awareness, adroitness and sensitivity. Each dimension consists of a set of components. For example, intercultural awareness is the cognitive dimension of intercultural communicative competence, which concerns a person's ability to understand similarities and differences of other cultures. It includes self-

awareness and cultural awareness. Intercultural sensitivity, being the affective dimension, refers to the emotional desire of a person to acknowledge, appreciate and accept cultural differences. Six components, such as: self-esteem, self-monitoring, empathy, open-mindedness, non-judgementalness and social relaxation are involved in the dimension. Ultimately, intercultural adroitness as a behavioural dimension, is understood as an individual's ability to reach communication goals while interacting with people from other cultures. It consists of four elements, namely: message skills, appropriate self-disclosure, behavioural flexibility and interaction management.

In foreign language instruction, teachers should focus on subjective culture which includes beliefs, values, assumptions and patterns without which it is not possible to understand the impact of it on communication (Bennett 2004:64-65). These are the most difficult aspects to be taught and learnt as they account in particular for the speaker's intercultural awareness to be clearly distinguished from intercultural know-how. Whereas intercultural awareness refers generally to the learner's awareness of him-/herself as a member of a global community, intercultural skills and know-how refer rather to the individual's way of dealing with cultural differences.

Furthermore, both knowledge and skills develop in students a special kind of sensitivity manifested as their own need to sustain certain self-conceptions and self-image, their degree of anxiety and their avoidance tendencies engendered by strangers. The role of the teacher consists in making students understand who they are, reinforcing their self-confidence and overcoming their anxiety (Gudykunst and Kim, 2002: 338). When communicators are threatened, they often become defensive and can no longer think clearly or access the knowledge and skills needed to communicate effectively. Their sensitivity experienced as anxiety hinders their ability to gather information that could reduce uncertainty and their sense of alienation from other cultural groups. All the factors decrease their motivation to communicate further and make them avoid intercultural interactions in the future (Brislin 1999:152).

4. INTERCULTURAL APPROACH IN ELT

The intercultural dimension in ELT aims to develop learners as intercultural speakers or mediators who are able to engage with complexity

and multiple identities and to avoid the stereotyping which accompanies perceiving someone through a single identity (Byram *et al.*, 2004). It is based on perceiving the interlocutor as an individual whose qualities are to be discovered, rather than a representative of an external identity. The intercultural dimension is concerned with: 1) helping learners to understand how intercultural interaction takes place, 2) how social identities are part of all interaction, 3) how their perceptions of other people and other people's perceptions of them influence the success of communication, 4) how they can find out for themselves more about the people they are communicating with.

Intercultural training in language education requires the application of three different approaches: experiential learning, ethnographic approach and comparative approach. According to Kohonen (2001) experiential learning is an educational orientation which aims at integrating theoretical and practical elements of learning for a whole person approach, emphasizing the significance of experience for learning. The approach is well-known in various settings of informal learning, such as internships in business and service organizations, work and study assignments, clinical experience, international exchange and volunteer programmes, etc. However, the principles and practices can be used both in formal learning (institutional) contexts and in informal learning. Experiential learning techniques include a rich variety of interactive practices whereby the participants have opportunities to learn from their own and each others' experiences, being actively and personally engaged in the process:

- personal journals, diaries
- portfolios, projects
- reflective personal essays and thought questions
- role plays, drama activities
- games and simulations
- personal stories and case studies
- visualizations and imaginative activities
- empathy-taking activities
- discussions and reflection in cooperative groups.

The ethnographic approach concentrates on observation and description of behaviours among representatives of a particular culture. From the point of view of ELT the most interesting aspect to be investigated refers to human communication. Corbett (2003) points out that a communicated meaning is constantly negotiated and constructed

by the participants of an interaction embedded within a context. It does not depend on the intentions communicated by a speaker. The role of ethnographic methods in foreign language teaching was indicated by Damen (1987:53). The supporters of the intercultural approach are positive about the possibility of using ethnography in integrated culture and language teaching and developing mediating competences. A learner who is showing ethnographic skills can:

1. use their own experiences;
2. observe culture phenomena;
3. be a participant-observer of their own and the other's culture;
4. question in order to obtain information about culture;
5. search for the most useful sources of information;
6. take notes during field trips;
7. collect, analyze, present, evaluate and distinguish qualitative from quantitative data;
8. restrain from assessing the other's culture.

Zawadzka (2004) and Pulverness (1999) notice that learning about the other's culture provokes comparisons with our own culture. Thus we tend to understand and compare new phenomena with the application of categories employed by our language and culture community. The comparative approach should be applied in teaching only with the presence of a teacher who will be responsible for preserving an objective glance at the new phenomena so as not to falsify the newly-learned reality. Unfortunately, comparing two cultures does not lead to the development of intercultural awareness and empathy. Byram and Zarate (1997) claim that only critical cultural awareness achieved through the critical analysis of cultural phenomena and their deconstruction contributes to general education and development among learners. Constant comparative analysis remains undoubtedly a crucial element of action conducted by intercultural mediators. The comparative approach in teaching culture helps to:

1. make learners reflect on how their own language, linguistic and cultural identity are perceived by others;
2. analyze stereotypes and distinguish individual traits;
3. discuss tolerance, xenophobia, acculturation and sustaining one's identity;
4. activate previously gained knowledge and experience;
5. distance from one's own cultural norms;
6. shape one's curiosity and critical attitude instead of developing prejudices.

By emphasizing the role of the comparative approach in intercultural training, Kramsch (1998) recommends various tasks, which require accepting worldviews different than one's own. Similarly, analyzing things from a different perspective allows learners to compare those aspects of their culture, which they are unaware of. To fulfill the expectations of the comparative approach, they need to engage their knowledge and experience indispensable for making comparisons. As a result students will be able to strengthen their cultural identity (Bandura, 2007:78).

5. INTERCULTURAL CLASSROOM – SELECTED ACTIVITIES

The aim of the present paper is to prove that the development of intercultural skills in foreign language teaching becomes more effective through careful instruction and the gradual process of raising learners' awareness of multiplicity of perspectives. The study was conducted at university level among adult learners of English. By handling a selection of language tasks students experienced diversity and analyzed their behaviour in order to adjust their language roles to new circumstances. The activities designed for proper intercultural training included essays, portfolios and projects. All the classroom practices enabled the learners to improve their linguistic abilities, become more competent language users and develop proper attitudes necessary for efficient intercultural communication exchanges.

For the purpose of understanding how the model of "knowing", "being" and "doing" functions, it seems vital to analyze the chosen activities seen as indispensable in creating an intercultural speaker. Because through essays students can demonstrate their understanding of cultural phenomena, they are viewed as the most reliable technique or activity meant to broaden their knowledge and check their language competence. Under certain circumstances they can also be treated as a record of individual's intercultural experiences, qualifications and specific competences. It goes without saying that thanks to planning, reviewing and reflecting on their own learning, learners will give an account of linguistic and cultural experiences gained in and outside formal education. Byram (2000: 12-13) enumerates the following advantages of essays in the process of development of effective intercultural speakers: (1) interest in other people's way of life; (2) ability to change perspective; (3)

ability to cope with living in a different culture; (4) knowledge about another country and culture.

On the other hand, one of the many effective means of checking learners' skills is the project work. A project is usually regarded to be a long-term task undertaken by learners outside school in which they have to collect information, organize it, draw conclusions and later present their findings in class. As noted by Klimowicz (2004:35) projects are ideal in the intercultural approach as they conform to the principles of learner autonomy, affective and intellectual stimulation of a learner and are interdisciplinary. The topic of the project is chosen under the teacher's guidance while the rest of the work is done either individually or in small groups. As Komorowska (2005: 156) states, school projects help to train and assess the skills of searching for specific information, comparing and contrasting information originating from different sources, differentiating facts from opinions, interpreting retrieved data, formulating and justifying critical judgments, the skills of linguistically accurate project presentation, and the skills of coherent and cohesive project presentation.

Bandura (2009:187) adds that projects are the most suitable form of developing the learner's ethnographic skills, which are an important aspect of the intercultural approach. Through becoming a participant-observer of native and foreign culture, a student learns how to use their own experience, observe cultural practices, find out new information about the culture studied, specify the most reliable sources of information, gather, analyze, present, assess and distinguish qualitative and quantitative data, consciously participate in native and foreign culture, and refrain from judgmental statements.

Finally, the portfolio, considered as most useful by Byram (1997) and Lázár *et al.* (2007), is the tool for the development and observation of learners' attitudes through involving them in the process of collection, analysis and presentation of information on a selected topic. A portfolio can include the recording of interviews conducted by the learner in a foreign language accompanied by their commentary and reports of their intercultural contacts. It creates the possibility of new ways of assessing the learners' language and intercultural competencies. As a result, it encourages the lifelong learning of foreign languages, increases the learner's awareness of their competence and promotes intercultural learning. Thus, it is also viewed as a means of support in the development

of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism. The idea of adapting portfolios is reported to be very beneficial among language teachers and learners as it contributes positively to the growth in the learners' self-esteem, and by focusing on their abilities they have a stronger feeling of success. A change was also observed in the teachers' approaches to their learners. In place of focusing on their shortcomings, the teachers concentrated more on what the learners can do, i.e. on their competencies. The learners' parents also provided a positive feedback on the use of portfolios since they felt better-informed of their children's progress.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In the current intercultural approach, the emphasis has been clearly shifted towards reflecting on the personal, emotional and social elements inherent in authentic communication. Whereas communicative competence related primarily to the individual's knowledge and skills in communicative situations, intercultural competence also focuses on the learner's personal identity, social abilities and attitudes such as respect for cultural and individual diversity. It further emphasizes the importance of a reflective awareness of language use and cultural elements in intercultural settings. Therefore, it should be argued that the frame of 'knowing', 'being' and 'doing' is a concept suggesting the necessity to integrate the required skills, knowledge and competences for the purpose of developing successful intercultural encounters. As intercultural communication is a question of attitudes and emotions, becoming an intercultural language user highlights the central role of the affective elements in foreign language education. It entails an element of personal growth as a human being and a language user – all indispensable and ubiquitous under certain circumstances.

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Asian Perspectives

LOOKING IN: REFLECTIONS OF OWN AND OTHER CULTURE IN THE LEARNING JOURNAL

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Abstract: *This study provides extracts from the students' learning journals and discusses themes which emerged in student learning journals in the areas of reflection of the two languages and cultures, considerations of the target reader and critical reflection of one's own translation. The data shows that the learning journal in the translation classroom provides ample room for reflection of source and target culture, opening up doors for intercultural discussion and contemplation. Undergraduate students at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul, South Korea were asked to submit a final project for their Korean into English translation class. Students could choose between two texts which both contained culture-specific lexis. They were to work on the text as a group of two or three. The complete process from start to finish was to be recorded in a learning journal, with dates included. The completed project was to include a schedule plan for the project, translation drafts and the learning journal detailing the complete process. Results suggest a close relationship between the translation of CSL and intercultural competence (Byram, 2000) and the role of the learning journal in eliciting students' reflection on aspects related to considerations of source and target text cultures.*

Keywords: *reflection, own culture, other culture, translation, learning journal, culture-specific lexis*

1. INTRODUCTION

Reflection is a form of mental processing that is used to fulfill a purpose or to achieve some anticipated outcome. It is applied to relatively complicated or unstructured ideas for which there is not an obvious solution and is largely based on the further processing of knowledge and understanding and possibly emotions that we already possess (Moon, 1999). The learning journal has been applied to various fields, and Using a reflective learning journal can promote students' critical and reflective thinking (Li, 1998). An advantage of the learning journal is that it can draw students' attention to the process of translation (Li, 1998). A study based on postgraduate students of translation and interpreting studies in South Korea found that through the journal, students were able to analyze, review, set goals and recognize change and development. The learning journal fulfilled its purpose of providing room for students to reflect upon their own work and progress, and through reflection they were able to work towards their development as translators (Lee, 2014). This study looks at learning journal excerpts from students' studying a Korean into English translation class at a university in Seoul, and focuses on their contemplations of the translation of culture-

specific words contained within the source text. The translation of culture-specific lexis (CSL) requires communicative and intercultural awareness. Working with two or more languages and cultures, translators need to have such awareness and furthermore, be able to draw on existing knowledge and resources to effectively communicate between the source and target text cultures.

This study provides extracts from the students' learning journals and discusses themes which emerged in student learning journals in the areas of reflection of the two languages and cultures, considerations of the target reader and critical reflection of one's own translation. The data shows that the learning journal in the translation classroom provides ample room for reflection of source and target culture, opening up doors for intercultural discussion and contemplation.

2. MAIN TEXT

2.1 Background to the study. The relationship between translation and globalization has been an area attracting profound interest in recent years (cf. Cronin, 2003, 2006; Ho, 2008). There is no doubt that there is an important link between intercultural competence and translator competence. Learners

dealing with translation (i.e. translation studies students) are often working with one L2 or more, and as such the 'language learners' discussed here naturally includes translation studies students or translator trainees.

The discussion of translation competence is not new and has been widely discussed in translation studies and translator training (Adab, 2000; Alves and Goncalves, 2007; Campbell, 1998; Colina, 2003; Kelly, 2005; PACTE group, 2003, 2011; Presas, 2000; Pym, 2003; Schäffner and Adab, 2000; Way, 2008). The definition of translator competence is far from straightforward, and various models of translator competence have been presented in translator training research (cf. Gile, 2009; Kelly, 1998, 2002, 2005; Neubert, 1994, 2000; PACTE, 2003). It is defined by Kelly as the macro-competence which constitutes the set of skills, knowledge and attitudes which professional translators use (Kelly, 2005), and her model includes communicative and textual competence in at least two languages; cultural competence; subject area competence; instrumental and professional competence; psycho-physiological or attitudinal competence; interpersonal competence and strategic competence. Among these many competences, cultural competence and communicative competence in at least two languages is particularly relevant to today's translating studies student and L2 learner.

Considering today's globalised world, it can be said that communicative competence is a particularly important required quality for translators. As Hatim and Mason (1990) point out, the translator's communicative competence is attuned to what is communicatively appropriate in both source language (SL) and target language (TL) communities (Hatim and Mason, 1990:33). Therefore, as L2 learners who are also translating studies students working with the culture of two languages, it is especially important to be communicatively competent. This is directly related to intercultural competence, which is the

ability to ensure a shared understanding by people of different social identities, and their ability to interact with people as complex human beings with multiple identities and their own individuality (Byram *et al.*, 2002:10).

The translation of culture-specific lexis is one task which requires mediation between languages and cultures and the abilities to meet the objectives outlined in Byram's ICC model (1997). As pointed out by Kelly (1998), translation decisions taken

often serve to reinforce and perpetuate stereotypical constructions of the source culture, thus preventing, rather than furthering, intercultural understanding. As such, the way such culture-specific lexis is handled is an important factor in the translation process as it directly affects the finished translation product and can either hinder or aid intercultural communication.

Culture-specific lexis refers to items in a text which are deemed to be unique to a particular culture, and may pose problems for translation from the source text (ST) into target text (TT). These items are a challenging area for translation as the way these are dealt with directly affects the finished product – potential problems could be, for example, what Venuti (1998) calls the 'foreignization', when the characteristics of a text unique to the source text culture are preserved as much as possible at the sake of readability, or on the opposite side, 'domestication' of a text. A problem translators face is the question of how to deal with cultural aspects which are contained in a source text, and finding the most appropriate way to successfully convey these in the target text. Culture-specific lexis can include those culture references which may be part of a culture's daily life, within the society of which that culture's members share a set of values, beliefs, ideas and knowledge, and which they have direct access to.

2.2 Research Question. The following question is investigated in this paper: What considerations of the source and target text cultures can be observed in the learning journals of students learning Korean into English translation, particularly in relation to the translation of culture-specific lexis (CSL)?

2.3 Methodology. The students were undergraduates at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul, where one of the authors was employed as a faculty member. The university is well-known for its teaching in foreign language subjects. The students were taking an Introduction to Korean into English Translation class, which was one semester (16 weeks) long. Although they were all taking the same class, the students' majors were different, with students majoring in English interpreting and translation, English linguistics, business studies, management and such. During the semester, students had practice translating texts from Korean into English, and the topic for the text to be translated was different each week, according to the syllabus. Topics included society, culture and tourism, business and such. Students also had assignments every week: they would translate a

text which was based on that week's topic, and submit a first draft. In the following week there would be a group presentation based on that week's assignment text, and students were able to share any difficulties encountered and hear others' opinions. Following the presentation, students worked in small groups and had either peer editing or self editing sessions which were followed by group discussions. During the discussions they would talk about their own and other student's first drafts. After that day's class, students would then submit a revised version of their first draft, along with a learning journal entry.

Towards the end of the semester, students were asked to submit a final project. Two texts based on topics already covered during the semester were provided, and students could choose between the two, either Culture and Tourism or Society. They were to work on the text as a group of two or three. The complete process from start to finish was to be recorded in a learning journal, with dates included. The completed project was to include a schedule plan for the project, translation drafts and the learning journal detailing the complete process.

The translation brief for the Culture and Tourism topic text stated the following: You have been asked to translate the following for the national tourism office. The text is the opening chapter of a book for promotional use. The Society topic text had the following instructions: you have been asked to translate the following for a UK-based government organization which is interested in the social trends in Asian countries.

The culture and tourism text provided for the final project was a text the teacher had translated herself previously. The text was chosen for its storytelling style, and also because of its 'Koreanness'. Although the actual words used in the text were not so difficult, there was the challenge of how to translate words which were specific to Korean culture to a target audience of tourists or potential visitors to Korea. The society text was from a news article, and as such had a very different tone to the culture and tourism text. While the style itself may have been more straightforward, there were some words which were challenging for the students to translate. Two such different texts were chosen with the students' varied disciplines in mind.

No particular emphasis was made on the CSL contained within the texts for the final project; however, students had encountered and dealt with CSL in previous translation texts over the course of the semester.

The learning journal for the students in South Korea contained the following suggested questions: 1) How do your drafts differ? What changes were made, and for what reasons? Give details. 2) Describe the translation process and give details (e.g. background information research, editing etc. 3) Any problems or difficulties encountered. They were also encouraged to write about any other points which came to mind.

The learning journal excerpts were then thematically analysed using the software Nvivo and the CSL-related entries extracted for further analysis.

2.4 Findings and Discussion. This section presents excerpts from the data to answer the research question proposed in this paper. The excerpts are presented in their original form to preserve the students' voices, although the romanization and translation for the Korean have been added. The students are referred to by numbers to preserve anonymity.

2.4.1 Reflection of the source and target text cultures

We had to discuss whether there is exact counterpart English word for *seywel* 'time'. There were a lot of translated results for this word, including 'history', 'time', 'the trace of time', 'the stream of time', and even 'seywel' as it is pronounced. Bill voiced optimism using the word 'seywel', but Mina and I thought it is a bit weird, because, although the *seywel* 'time' has special mixed feelings to Korean, it is not a universal concept of all people. (Student 10)

Reflection on both languages and cultures is found in the data. The above excerpt shows how the students considered the CSL '*seywel*'. The word can mean 'time' on a basic level, but when heard by Korean L1 speakers, it carries a meaning which surpasses 'time' at a denotative level, and contains connotations which relate to 'years', 'history' and the 'passing of time'. As such, it poses a challenge for the translator; as the student mentions here, which word to use is a dilemma as the word "has special mixed feelings" for Koreans, the connotations may not translate to the target reader - L1 speakers of a different language, from a different culture.

The excerpt below also shows similar contemplation from the student:

Also I was not sure that foreigners are familiar with markets and if the word market means the same things as *sicang* 'market' or not. I thought about translating both *sicang* 'market' and *centhongsicang*

'traditional market' to traditional market, but it might be too different from the source text and I could not know for sure if the 'writer considered *sicang* 'market' and *centhongsicang* 'traditional market' as the same thing or not. So at the end, I decided to follow the source text. (Student 2)

The excerpt shows how the student is considering the two cultures, source and text, in the translation of the CSL *sicang* 'market' and *centhongsicang* 'traditional market'. She is also wondering whether the English word 'market' means the same thing as the Korean equivalent. The student regards *sicang* and *centhongsicang* to be the same thing, as they both refer to an open, uncovered market, but she mentions how she was unsure whether she can use the same word 'market' to cover the two.

The excerpts in this section show how translation tasks involving culture-specific words enabled the students to consider both source and target cultures, and whether the translation of a word which may be culture-specific can convey any connotations it may carry.

2.4.2 Thinking about the Target Reader. The translation of CSL also enables students to think about the target reader and decide how to translate for the target reader accordingly. This can be seen in the following excerpts.

The text itself was not that hard but culture specific items like *centhongsicang* 'traditional market' or *seywel* 'time' made it harder because the target readers were foreigners. (Student 2)

The data shows the student's concern for the target reader. Although short, the excerpt shows how CSL enabled the student to think about the target readers; it is explicitly mentioned that, because such words are culture-specific, they made the translation task more challenging as the target readers were foreigners.

Student 2's excerpt from the previous section also shows contemplation of the target reader. The student mentions that while Koreans may know that the words refer to the same thing, she is not sure whether target readers from a different culture would understand that they refer to the same thing:

What made me worried was that all Koreans know that both are the same place but foreigners would not know that. Also I was not sure that foreigners are familiar with markets and if the word market means the same things as *sicang* 'market' or not. (Student 2)

In the excerpt below, the same student shows awareness of the translation brief (which stated the text was for the opening chapter of a tourism promotion book, and decides to leave the *hangul* (Korean characters) in the translated text:

However, I thought since the translated text is for foreigners who are going to visit Korea, I wanted them to know how they can write *caylaysiaicang* 'open market' in Korean. I thought even if they do not know how to write it, having Korean letters with them would help them to find the way to traditional markets when they actually come to Korea and travel around. Therefore, in the third draft, I put *caylaysiaicang* 'open market' in Korean. (Student 2)

As this section shows, the learning journal provided a space for students to reflect on their translation of CSL in relation to the target reader. As they were given a translation brief which specified the target reader, they were able to explore and investigate how to render words containing culture-specificity.

2.4.3 Critical Reflection of One's Own Translation. Finally, the translation of CSL also allows students scope to reflect critically on their own translations, as can be seen in the excerpts in this section.

In the source text, I do not know why but it seemed like *sicang* 'market' and *centhongsicang* 'traditional market' is kind of separated and it made me think a lot. (Student 2)

Excerpt 3 shows how the student considers the two words 'market' and 'traditional market'. The student feels the words are referred to separately i.e. as in not both simply meaning 'market' and as such mentions how this made her think a lot about the meanings of the words during their translation.

Below, the student considers the differences in nuance between two source text words, *paykswu* 'unemployed: informal' and *siloepca* 'unemployed'. Although on a basic denotative level, the words both refer to 'unemployed person/people', they differ in that the former is more colloquial and informal and the latter the standard word:

In fact, even the first word, *sasilsang paykswu* 'real unemployed' was really hard to translate. Because there is a difference nuance between *paykswu* 'unemployed: informal' and *siloepca* 'unemployed'. (Student 5)

The student considers his translations during the revision process. He mentions how in the first draft he had simply translated word for word, and proceeds to contemplate the meaning of *seywel*, 'time':

But the real change was about 'time' and 'memory'. In the first draft, I just wrote that local markets are different because they have people's 'time.' It was just word-to-word translation. But when it comes to the concept of 'time.' The markets should have the exact time people experienced. But even the markets change. People would see something special in the local market, but it's not the same thing they had. They're not 'the things' but evocative images. They're similar things. Under this context, I thought it's even wrong to say it has just 'time'.

Literally, *seywel* 'time', can be translated to 'time' and that was what I did in the first draft. However, we all thought that it is a little different from just 'time' because it contains the meaning of time that has past and trace of that time. Translating to 'trace of time' was the best choice I could think of even though I was completely satisfied with it because I could not think of better way and could not find parallel texts for *seywel* 'time'. (Student 9)

The student considers deeply the meaning of '*seywel*', which he translated into 'time' in his first draft. However, as the project proceeded he thought more and more about this word, and with his peers also agreed that it was not the same as simply the word 'time', although at denotative level they may be equivalent. Hence, in his later version he opts for a different translation of the word: 'trace of time', although he mentions he is not fully satisfied with this: it is difficult for him to find a target text word which conveys the connotations '*seywel*' carries.

This section has shown how the translation of CSL enabled students to critically reflect upon their own translations and to ponder the words in source texts to explore suitable ways to convey the connotations into the target text.

3. CONCLUSION & ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This paper has presented excerpts from the end-of-semester projects of undergraduate students studying Korean into English translation. It has attempted to explore how the translation of CSL and the recording of their thoughts in a learning journal enabled students to ponder and explore the way they translated, particularly in relation to reflections of the source and target text cultures

and the target reader. It is hoped this paper has opened up doors for the contemplation of using culture-specific lexis in translation tasks and the reflective learning journal to build on and develop students' intercultural awareness.

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The author takes full responsibility for the contents and scientific correctness of the paper.

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THINKING ABOUT THE TARGET READER: USING CULTURE-SPECIFIC LEXIS FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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Abstract: *This paper looks at the considerations of the target reader in translation tasks involving culture-specific lexis. Part of a series of studies investigating the translation of such lexis, this paper draws on findings from a pilot study which was conducted on five students learning Korean into English translation. The students were given pre-tasks which required translating a text containing CSL. A taught session which placed emphasis on optimal relevance in translation (Gutt, 2000), and the translation of implicit information (Gutt, 2006) was then held. A post-translation task then followed. Pre and post-interviews were also conducted. Recorded data was transcribed and coded using NVivo software. When a translator translates a text, they have an imagined or implied target reader for whom they are translating the text for. The TT (target text) is similar to a type of reported speech in which the translator reports a message from the source text, forming communicative interaction between one author and the readership. Results show a significant difference in consideration of the target reader in Sessions 1 and 3, which indicates that it is highly likely such considerations were reinforced during Session 2, the taught session, which enabled the students to contemplate optimal relevance in translation and the translation of implicit information. Presenting qualitative excerpts from the data, the current paper aims to highlight the important role translation of culture-specific lexis can play in developing learners' considerations of target reader, which in turn can develop their intercultural awareness and communication skills.*

Keywords: *culture-specific lexis, target reader, intercultural communication, relevance in translation*

1. INTRODUCTION

When a translator translates a text, they have an imagined or implied target reader for whom they are translating the text for. The TT (target text) is a type of reported speech in which the translator reports a message from the source text, forming communicative interaction between one author and the readership. Two participants of this exchange have the role of implied author and implied reader, and these two intratextual participants in the interaction of the ST may also be transferred to the TT and take on the roles of implied author and implied ST reader (Assis Rosa, 2006). The translation of culture-specific lexis, which is rich in connotations and ubiquitous in our everyday lives, requires communicative interaction between the translator and intended target reader. The translation of words which are specific to a culture is a challenge for all translators, and requires knowledge of any connotations the words may contain. The translator will then need the ability to communicate such words and connotations into the target text. Translators need to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and

language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership (Newmark, 1988). In this communicative interaction, translators need to consider how to convey culture-specific lexis in an optimally relevant way.

This paper looks at the considerations of the target reader in translation tasks involving culture-specific lexis. Part of a series of studies investigating the translation of such lexis, this paper draws on findings from a pilot study which was conducted on five students learning Korean into English translation. The students were given pre-tasks which required translating a text containing CSL. A taught session which placed emphasis on optimal relevance in translation (Gutt, 2000), and the translation of implicit information (Gutt, 2006) was then held. A post-translation task then followed. Pre and post-interviews were also conducted. Recorded data was transcribed and coded using NVivo software. The study will present qualitative excerpts from the data.

2. MAIN TEXT

2.1 Background to the study. Intercultural competence in language learning is an area

attracting substantial interest and attention (see for example, Sinicrope *et al.*, 2003 and Daryai-Hansen *et al.*, 2012). Byram and Risager suggest that the competence learners need for successful intercultural communication is

one which enables them to bring the two cultures and cultural identities present in the interaction into a relationship of communication (Byram & Risager 1999:65).

Byram and Risager believe that culture-oriented language-teaching methodology aims to enable the learner to become “a mediator between cultures”, which is essential from a communicative point of view since “it is the mediation which allows for effective communication” (Byram & Risager, 1999:58). The ability to enable language learners to become mediators between cultures can also be achieved through translation, particularly the translation of words which specifically require cultural knowledge of both source and target text languages.

In order to be interculturally competent, one first needs to have an intercultural awareness. According to Baker (2011), intercultural awareness (ICA) is defined as

a conscious understanding of the role culturally based forms, practices and frames of reference can have in intercultural communication, and an ability to put these conceptions into practice in a flexible and context specific manner in real time communication. (Baker 2011:202).

Therefore, to summarize, learner who are “interculturally aware” or “interculturally competent” are those who are able to draw upon their knowledge to communicate and interact across cultural boundaries while being conscious of how culture-derived aspects can influence such communication.

The relationship between translation and globalization has been an area attracting profound interest in recent years (cf. Cronin, 2003, 2006; Ho, 2008). There is no doubt that there is an important link between intercultural competence and translator competence. Learners dealing with translation (i.e. translation studies students) are often working with one L2 or more, and as such the ‘language learners’ discussed here naturally includes translation studies students or translator trainees.

The discussion of translation competence is not new and has been widely discussed in translation

studies and translator training (Adab, 2000; Alves & Goncalves, 2007; Campbell, 1998; Colina, 2003; Kelly, 2005; PACTE group, 2003, 2011; Presas, 2000; Pym, 2003; Schäffner and Adab, 2000; Way, 2008). The definition of translator competence is far from straightforward, and various models of translator competence have been presented in translator training research (cf. Gile, 2009; Kelly, 1998, 2002, 2005; Neubert, 1994, 2000; PACTE, 2003). It is defined by Kelly as the macro-competence which constitutes the set of skills, knowledge and attitudes which professional translators use (Kelly, 2005), and her model includes communicative and textual competence in at least two languages; cultural competence; subject area competence; instrumental and professional competence; psycho-physiological or attitudinal competence; interpersonal competence and strategic competence. Among these many competences, cultural competence and communicative competence in at least two languages is particularly relevant to today’s translating studies student and L2 learner.

As Hatim and Mason (1990) point out, the translator’s communicative competence is attuned to what is communicatively appropriate in both source language (SL) and target language (TL) communities (Hatim and Mason, 1990:33). Therefore, as L2 learners who are also translating studies students working with the culture of two languages, it is especially important to be communicatively competent. This is directly related to intercultural competence, which is the

ability to ensure a shared understanding by people of different social identities, and their ability to interact with people as complex human beings with multiple identities and their own individuality (Byram *et al.*, 2002:10).

One area which would enable insight to translators’ mediating roles in translation would be culture-specific lexis (CSL). Cultural references (CRs), or culture-specific items (CSIs), are items in a text which are deemed to be unique to a particular culture, and may pose problems for translation from the source text (ST) into the target text (TT). These items are a challenging area for translation as the way these are dealt with directly affects the finished product – potential problems could be for example, what Venuti (1998) calls the ‘foreignization’, when the characteristics of a text unique to the source text culture are preserved as much as possible at the sake of readability, or on the opposite side, ‘domestication’ of a text. A

THINKING ABOUT THE TARGET READER: USING CULTURE-SPECIFIC LEXIS FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

problem translators face is the question of how to deal with cultural aspects which are contained in a source text, and finding the most appropriate way to successfully convey these in the target text.

When a translator translates a text, they have an imagined or implied target reader for whom they are translating the text for. The notion of such a target reader, according to Assis Rosa, is important for translation studies as it will “motivate or constrain the translation process and product (Assis Rosa, 2006:104).

Furthermore Assis Rosa looks at the target text from the perspective of communicative interaction: the TT is a type of reported speech in which the translator reports a message from the source text, forming communicative interaction between one author and the readership. Two participants of this exchange have the role of implied author and implied reader, and these two intratextual participants in the interaction of the ST may also be transferred to the TT and take on the roles of implied author and implied ST reader (Assis Rosa, 2006). The translation of culture-specific lexis, which is rich in connotations, will emphasize communicative interaction between the translator and intended target reader by drawing on Gutt's (2000) relevance-theoretic account of translation, with an emphasis on ‘communication’ and ‘context’. The translation brief will state a target audience and purpose of the text, which will be different for each translation task, to enable exploration of learners’ negotiating and mediating of culture-specific lexis in the texts.

2.2 Research Question. The following question is investigated in this paper: What considerations of target reader were demonstrated in translation tasks involving culture-specific lexis?

2.3 Methodology. The pilot study was conducted on five BA, MA and MPhil students from a Readings in Korean Literature class at SOAS, University of London. The pilot study participants were of differing nationalities: British, German, Norwegian and South Korean. While they were all familiar with Korean culture and were all studying Korean studies-related courses, they were from different courses and were a combination of BA, MA and MPhil students. The L2 speakers of Korean had varying proficiency levels in Korean, although they were all advanced enough to be taking the classes, Readings in Korean Literature (BA and MA), which involved translating Korean literary texts into English every week. Korean news articles about education in South Korea were selected for the study. As all the participants were

from different majors and courses, I wanted to use a text based on a topic they could all relate to. While the text contained culture-specific lexis, no deliberate emphasis was made on these parts of the text. The text for the individual pre and post tasks was from *The Dong-A Ilbo*, a South Korean newspaper, and included various culture-specific lexis related to education, such as “prestigious university”, “In Seoul (universities)” and “SKY”, as well as geographical terms e.g. “Kangnam”. For the group sessions, parts of the text from a *Kyunghyang Shinmun* news article was selected. Again, the article contained various culture-specific lexis related to education, such as “In Seoul (universities)” and “SKY”. The two texts were selected for their similarity in content and CSL content.

The study consisted of three sessions. Session 1 consisted of a pre-task and interview. For the pre-task, participants were asked to translate a part of the text from Korean into English while thinking aloud. As the participants were not familiar with thinking-aloud, practice time was given before starting the translation on various sentences from other texts. After all the participants had done the individual translation task and interview, the taught sessions were scheduled according to participants’ available times. Originally, I had intended to schedule a two-hour taught session which all five participants could attend together. However, due to timetable differences in the end this was not possible. Therefore, I arranged two separate sessions, one with three participants and one with two.

The session looked at the notions of ‘communication’ and ‘context’, derived from Gutt's (2000) relevance theoretic approach to translation. The first part of the session highlighted the background, touching upon first the relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986), and ‘communication’ and ‘context’. Next, implicit information in translation was discussed. Examples were given for both the relevance theory and the translation of implicit information. Emphasis was placed on optimal relevance in translation. Discussion was held regarding the issues of communicating implicit information in translation and contextual relevance when communicating from source text to target text. Participants were then given time to discuss which each other the question “Thinking of the issues of ‘communication’ and ‘contextual relevance’, discussed today, to what extent should implicit information be made explicit?” Such discussion enabled the participants to share their ideas and

also enabled me to check their understanding. While implicit information in translation was discussed, intentional emphasis was made not on CSL itself, but rather the implicit information contained within texts. The discussion did, however, lead naturally to focus on CSL and students were able to express their thoughts on such lexis together.

Once participants had had sufficient time to discuss and express their opinions, they were asked to individually translate a Korean sentence into English, writing the translation onto paper. The sentence contained CSL. When they had finished, one of the participants was asked to read the group their translation, and we discussed what the students thought of the translation. Originally, I had considered doing the “demonstration” myself, but as I was taking on the role of a “teacher” for the taught sessions, I did not want the participants to feel constrained or obliged to follow a certain method or choice of translation. Another discussion then took place, based on the questions: 1) How did you translate the sentence? 2) Would you translate the sentence differently after the demonstration and discussion? This enabled the participants to think more about the way they translated, based on what had been covered and discussed in the session up to that point.

Participants were then given a second small translation task, which was another Korean sentence containing CSL, taken from the same article. When they had all finished, we then talked again about how they had rendered the sentence this time. The discussions enabled the participants to express their own opinions about the topics discussed and share their translations, as well as hear other participants’ views and translations. Post translation tasks and interviews were then scheduled and carried out individually. These also involved a think-aloud translation task in the Korean into English direction, and an interview. Both the texts for translation used for the pre and post tasks specified the same target reader, a British academic magazine.

2.4 Findings and Discussion. This section presents qualitative excerpts from the pre and post interview data in order to investigate the proposed research question. Due to space constraints, this paper will present excerpts from of the participants, Anita and Lucy (pseudonyms).

2.4.1 Anita’s Pre-interview and Task. Excerpt 1 shows how Anita had limited considerations of the target reader during the translation pre-task.

[P: participant R: researcher]

P: Erm...well the feeling about the original articles was that it was pretty dense, so I tried to make it, the English version efficient. And I didn’t use any particularly difficult words, because I think it’s a newspaper article so it should reach out to everyone.

R: So you didn’t use any difficult words, you said?

P: No.

R: Did you notice that it’s for a British academic magazine?

P: No.

R: No? Okay.

P: Hmm... then I would have phrased it differently.

R: In what way, for example?

P: Vocabulary. Hmm. (Anita, Pre-interview)

Even though a translation brief was given in the translation task, Anita did not seem to have registered this, and as such did not consider the target reader much during the task; her considerations of the target text were limited to text style.

2.4.2 Anita’s Post-interview and task

And... there was the question of how to translate ‘SKY’ universities. Considering this is an academic magazine, so it could contain, personally I think it should contain some facts. And so I should not omit it. However in English the sentence gets really long, because I chose to add the top three universities, which is not mentioned in the Korean text.

Okay I was thinking of the target audience, and I didn’t really adjust the language that much because it’s rather straightforward I think, the Korean text. So just kept that tone, but...er...I was, I made sure to add the information. The three universities referred to as ‘SKY’, and then adding the universities to make sure that...let’s say this is an argument that the original writer wants to present. I wanted to keep that argument. (Anita, Post-interview)

As the excerpt from her post interview and task show, although her considerations of the target text seemed to have been limited to text style, in her post interview and task she shows a significant change in considerations of the target reader during the process of translation. She explicitly mentions the reasons for her translation decisions, considering the fact that the translated text was for an academic magazine, and also explicitly stating that she was ‘thinking of the target audience’.

2.4.3 Lucy’s Pre-interview and Task

P: Erm...here I just put ‘kangnamphalhakkwun’ as ‘eight school districts in Kangnam’, and for ‘sowi sukhai myengmwuntay’ [so-called prestigious universities so I’d like to put some small information at the bottom for ‘SKY’, for example

adding explanation about it being the first letters, the acronym of Seoul, Korea and Yonsei university, and the most famous universities.

R: Why do you think it's important to do that?

P: Because if I read the translation 'prestigious universities called SKY', if I'm a foreigner I would not be able to understand what 'SKY' means so I think it's needed. (Lucy, Pre-Interview)

Lucy's pre-interview shows how she showed considerations of the target reader in her translation pre-task. However, her contemplations seem to be limited to whether the reader is 'Korean' or 'foreign'.

2.4.4 Lucy's Post interview and Task

As we talked about during the second session British people are, might be familiar with prestigious universities so I didn't put much information. I just put "SKY is an acronym of top 3 universities in Korea, Seoul National University, Korea University and Yonsei University" but other than that I didn't make other information explicit. (Lucy, Post-interview)

As the excerpt above shows, Lucy shows changes in her translation decision as a direct result of the taught session. She considers the relevance of the information to be communicated and conveyed. As the UK has the concept of 'Oxbridge', she feels that additional information is unnecessary and decides to simply list the names of the university which the CSL 'SKY' stands for.

In the next excerpt, Lucy also explicitly mentions her considering the target reader:

P: Last time I think I should have, I should have made some information explicit but I couldn't. I just translated directly last time and this time I think hmm...I didn't make many sentences explicit but for the parts that it is needed I think I tried to do it.

R: And why did you do that?

P: To help the target audience understand more. (Lucy, Post-interview)

It is interesting to note that while in the pre-interview Lucy had mentioned wanting to add extra information about 'SKY' being the "most famous universities". Following the taught session she thought about the relevance of the information to the British reader, and decided that such additional information would not be needed as "British people might be familiar with prestigious universities".

As the excerpts show, there were considerable changes in the considerations of the target reader

made by the participants. The learners were able to apply what was discussed in the second taught session, which focused on communication and contextual relevance, to their translations. By contemplating the relevance of the information to the target reader, the participants were able to make translation decisions while aiming for effective communication between the source and target text cultures.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The data presented in this paper have highlighted how translation tasks involving the translation of CSL develops and reinforces considerations of the target reader. Through the translation tasks, participants were able to demonstrate considerations of the target reader in a more insightful, in-depth manner. By considering the connotations contained within CSL and how best to communicate these to the target audience, the learners made translation decisions which they believed to be the best choice for the intended target reader.

Although it has its limitations in that the study was of a small scale, it is hoped the paper serves as evidence for the potential role the translation of culture-specific lexis can play in forming and developing learners' considerations of the target reader, in turn developing their intercultural awareness and competence.

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DISCOURSE OF CRITICAL THEORY IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Abstract: *The endeavour of critical theory is to endorse self-reflexive examinations of the experiences we have and the ways in which we make sense of ourselves, our cultures, and the world. Critical theory refuses to identify freedom with any fixed forms of thought or institutional arrangements. It focuses scrutiny on the effects of power on the differential ability of actors to control their own circumstances. The theory goes beyond that theoretical contribution to provide momentum for realistic political action in challenging, resisting, and disrupting existing relations of power. Thinking about the theories of International Relations (IR), critical theorists also raised questions concerning how rationalists (both neo-realists and neo-liberals) IR serve the interests of dominant elites. Therefore we must re-imagine critical theory in international relations because it is ultimately concerned with what is possible to know, given that the ontological status of neither the subject, nor the object of theory, can be taken for granted. Critical theorists elucidate how international relations among states make possible (and tend to conceal) the unfairness of a global capitalist system. They are interested in the relation between freedom and power. One part of this paper will critically address how Karl Marx's critique of ideology is linked with immanent critique and how it assists us in re-imagining critical thinking in conjunction with international relations in the contemporary era. Further, the paper will critically analyze how Jurgen Habermas and critical theory stand explicitly in the line of development, reaction and counter-reaction to the philosophy of Hegel and Karl Marx.*

Keywords: *critique, self-reflexive, Habermas, Marx, capitalism*

1. WHY CRITICAL THEORY

The genesis of the Frankfurt School emerged in the 1920s and early 1930s, during an era of extremely complex intellectual activity in Germany. The school developed what is called critical theory (what makes it critical is self-awareness as a theory), and reflected a synthesis of various traditions of modern theories including historical materialism, German idealism, psychoanalysis and modernism. Critical theorists are influenced intellectually by Karl Marx; many critical theorists drew from his analysis of human inequality and his normative goal of eliminating exploitation. Critical theorists were deeply influenced by Marx's argument that

men make their history, but they do make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past (*apud* Linklater, 1990:22).

The initial group of theorists continues to exercise important influence on modern-day

theorists and their ideas concerning social change, conflict and identity. Besides this, there was also the imprint of classical Greek thought on democracy and autonomy to be considered, as well as the thoughts of Friedrich Nietzsche and Max Weber. The notions of dialectics, domination, exploitation, legitimating and contradiction are central in the arsenal of critical theory. When Karl Marx argued that *philosophers have only interpreted the world: the point is to alter it*, this, in a nutshell, is the commitment to emancipatory social science that is defended by the Frankfurt school.

What all critical theorists have in common is that they share a concern with emancipatory politics-bringing about fundamental changes for the least advantaged groups within societies by removing hierarchical social structures. The school constitutes one of the major intellectual traditions of the 20th century and has been centrally important for political theory, philosophy, literary criticism, aesthetics, history of art and ideas, media studies, sociology, cultural studies and international relations. It is still an imperative philosophical and political perspective which

refers an intellectual tradition that characterizes an epistemological priority to the notion of critique. It raises questions concerning the social construction of knowledge. Raymond Geuss (1981) in his book *The Idea of Critical Theory: Habermas and the Frankfurt School* argues, “the major goal of the school is the criticism of positivism and the rehabilitation of ‘reflection’ as a category of valid knowledge” (1981:2). It is a very comprehensive theory made with emancipatory and enlightenment intent. The very heart of the critical theory of society is its criticism of ideology. Just the theory recognises that it is itself a product of society, but at the same time it tries to distance itself from society, in an attempt to comprehend and alter it. It tries to comprehend the central features of contemporary societies by understanding its historical and social development and tracing contradiction in the present which may open up the possibility transcending contemporary society; it is built in pathologies and forms of domination. By doing so, it scrutinizes the existing social order and the boundaries of knowledge. To engage in critical theory is to perform a theoretical and a political act (Griffiths, O’ Callaghan, 2002:59).

Max Horkheimer, one of the founders of this school, saw its mission as one of investigating the relationship between reason and authority. He argued that the theory proposed not only to eliminate one or other abuses, but to analyze the underlying social structures which result in these abuses with the intention of overcoming them (1972:206). Critical theory interconnected series of particular insights bound together by its “inherent interest in the transcendence of class domination” (*apud* Therborn, 1970:68). His essay on “Traditional and Critical Theory” anticipated the basic themes in the most recent critique of realism. He tried to describe the division between traditional and critical theories. Traditional theory (positivism) was distinguished from critical theory by endeavours to explain regularities and social laws. The major aim of critical theory was to comprehend how these ‘socially-created’ restraints upon the freedom of human subjects could be diminished and if plausible, eradicated (Horkheimer, 1972). Horkheimer argued that positivism represented an instrumental theory, “that makes peace, in principle with every kind of superstition” (Horkheimer, 1972:38). Initially, Horkheimer believed that the work of the Institute could contribute to developing a degree of critical social consciousness latent in the masses (Held, 1980:38) and, in so doing, assist to turn the means

of production and technological development towards emancipatory rather than exploitative ends.

By challenging *bourgeois scientific thought*, critical thinking is therefore, for Horkheimer, a form of “transformative activity” (Horkheimer, 1972:232). The key object of Adorno and Horkheimer’s analysis is ‘enlightenment’. As distinct from the common usage, the concept of ‘enlightenment’ has, for Adorno and Horkheimer, a very specific meaning that only partially relates to the likes of Descartes and Kant (Edkins, Vaughan-Williams, 2009:12). Horkheimer’s critique of positivism was predicated on two objectives: first, to critique instrumental logic and reason as a foundation of manipulation that had become quiet within the holistic procedure of historical materialism and second, to assess the historical divergence between science and philosophy by situating the emergence of instrumental reason within this divergence. For him the social task of critical theory was to link the revitalisation of subjective reason with the actualising autonomy of critical theory (Roach, 2010), to show how subjective reason could, in this sense regain, “all spontaneity, productivity, power to discover and assert new kinds of content” (Horkheimer, 1996:55). In *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno presented the pessimistic view about the project of enlightenment as a whole and the possibilities for transformation in the contemporary perspective. They contested with Kant and the positivity of the project of enlightenment.

The question arises why we are dealing with critical theory? The basic logic behind it is that it offers us a key set of insights into the changing dynamics of dogmatism and authoritarian political structures. However, the intended aim of critical theory is not a chilly description but a radical transformation of the social world of advanced capitalism that will bring freedom for all from such constraints. For critical theorists, science, culture, and technology are ideological forces that distort consciousness and, thus, prevent the individuals from recognizing and gratifying their true human interests. The theory introduced many of the ideas that have produced debates about postmodernism and postmodernity (see especially the work of Fredric Jameson 1990, 1991, 1998), but there have not been sufficient changes to the modern world for it to be safe to declare the arrival of postmodern social formations (Dante, 2003: 3).

It is in the work of Max Horkheimer & Theodor Adorno (1972), Herbert Marcuse (1972), Walter Benjamin, Erich Fromm, Jurgen Habermas

(1971), Lukacs and Gramsci (1971) that critical theory obtained a renewed strength and in which the term critical theory came to be used as the emblem of a philosophy which questions modern social and political life through a method of 'immanent critique'. It provides a comprehensive and extensive critique of many of the main concerns that one might encounter in the contemporary era. The concept of 'immanent critique' refers to the method of critiquing a concept, theory or situation by critically evaluating it on its own terms, highlighting the contradictions inherent within it. The method *immanent critique* is seen as a tool of enlightenment, is used to critique enlightenment itself and illustrate that "social freedom is inseparable from enlightened thought" but that enlightenment simultaneously surrounds the seed of its own problem (Horkheimer, Adorno, 1972:xiii).

Critique refers to a type of theory first developed by Marx. The critique of ideology by Marx is linked with immanent critique. The notion that is most important is to judge societies by the terms they use to defend themselves. The main alternative is to criticise society by appealing to moral standards that are said to be inherent in the human reason or human nature. Marx had himself learned from Kant and Hegel. It seeks not to refute other theories, but to establish the limits of their validity, by depicting that they unwittingly reflect a social reality which is itself a distorted and estranged and impoverished version of what it could become. Traditional theory presupposes a contemplative stance vis-a-vis an autonomous, pre-given reality which it can interpret, not transform. On the other hand, Marxist theory styles itself as the understanding of reality which is also the necessary of self-consciousness of an element in that reality working toward its transformation. In technical terms, at the heart of the theory was the aspect of subjectivity i.e., 'social change conceived as the potential act of identifiable human agents' conscious of their historical mission to liberate all of society from the thrall of class domination (Leiss, 1974).

Critical theory is also a dialectical thinking. The concern with empiricism and positivism is that they have the capability or ability to describe but not understand. The difficulty with interpretative social sciences is that these disciplines have the competence to comprehend but not to critique the limits or boundaries of understanding. It is this dialectical movement which gives rise to the need for critical theory to shift the bases of both empirical and interpretative knowledge (Hoffman,

1987). If critical social theory offers us a logical opportunity for comprehending social alteration, then the term dialectics can be seen as the medium for strategy in our understanding, along this chance. In modern social critical theory, dialectics serves as a scientific and holistic method of analysis (Roach, 2008). This method is more inspired by and derived from the writings of Kant, Hegel, Marx and recently Habermas.

2. FROM CRITICAL THEORY TO CRITICAL IR THEORY

International Relations as an academic discipline has moved through a series of debates. It is the study of the origins and consequences (both normative and empirical) of a world divided among states. It is a very broad discipline, including a multiplicity of sub-fields such as comparative politics, foreign policy analysis, historical sociology, international political economy and history, strategic studies and military affairs, ethics, and international political theory. It has been undergoing constant changes and modifications. Many of the conceptual contributions of critical theory perspective have received critical attention in IR theory debates and these are still ongoing.

Since the 1980s, critical theory has been present within international relations. The major reason for the emergence of a critical-theoretical approach to world politics is only one manifestation of the emergent salience of Marxism in the study of international relations. The recent critical turn in international theory has been profoundly influenced by the Frankfurt School's critique of mainstream sociology. Its significance is illustrated by Cox's distinction between 'problem-solving' and 'critical' theories of international relations (Linklater, 1990). The earlier proponents of critical IR theory were mainly concerned to rebut the major argument of realism (Linklater, 2007). There are four general positions that could claim to be examples of critical theory in the context of international relations. First, there is neo-Gramscian work on global political economy and international politics, most notably exemplified by the work of Robert W. Cox. Second, there is normative and explanatory theory, such as that of Andrew Linklater, which draws on the work of the Frankfurt School and of Jurgen Habermas in particular. Third, there is postmodernist work, such as that of Richard Ashley (1988), R. B. J. Walker (1993), Ashley and Walker (1990), James Der

Derian (1987), Der Derian and Shapiro (1989) – that draws on a range of postmodernist and poststructuralist philosophers, of which Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault are the most notable. Fourth, there is the feminist work, such as that of Jean Elshtain (1987), Cynthia Enloe (1990), Christine Sylvester (1994), Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland (1991), and Ann Tickner (1992) which draws on a very wide range of traditions (including Marxism, the Frankfurt School, and postmodernism). All these diverse perceptions are of the same motto since they are involved with the critical aspect. They share certain features that have particular theoretical and practical consequences (see also Hutchings, 2001).

The mainstream IR scholarship remains essentially conservative, connected with the maintenance of state power. Critical IR seeks explicitly to expose the historical structures of international power and develop knowledge that might contribute to the progressive and emancipatory transformation of world order (Jones, 2001). The theory is best understood as a constellation of different approaches rather than an approach, all seeking to illuminate the question of emancipation in world politics (Ibid). It is a kind of theory that allows comprehending ‘how social structures come into being and how they may be changed’. In this sense, it is a type of theory for those who are concerned with the alteration of the society, as it is largely including those whose ambitions and interests are not served by global structures as they are – the excluded, the powerless and the unheard (Murphy, 2001: 70-71). For critical IR theory, as Richard Devetak has recently noted,

emancipation can be understood as the establishment of a community which allows and protects the development of universal autonomy... The question [thus] arises as to how...to reconstruct world politics so as to extend to the entire species a rational, just and democratic organization of politics (Devetak, 1996:169).

The development of critical theory within IR has had two sources, internal and external. Internally, the development of critical theory was driven by a reaction to the re-articulation of realism in Kenneth Waltz’s seminal contribution *Theory of International Politics* (1979). As externally, there was the expansion of critical theory perspectives independent of the theoretical developments within international relations that were then used to critique neo-realism from a “point already arrived at”, with Cox being the best example. Both drew from the development of

critical theory and saw this as providing the basis for an attack on the epistemological foundations of the discipline (Roach, 2008).

Critical theory is a *Para-Marxist* movement. It refers to a set of Marxists-inspired critical analyses of international theory and practice. Critical international theory observes an intimate connection between cognitive processes and social life. It rejects the positivists’ distinction between fact and value, subject and object dichotomy. There is ongoing a gap in critical IR studies between the tradition of critical theory and critical IR theory and to encourage IR scholars, practitioners and students to see a global realm as a new context for applying and engaging dialectic to understand social change (ibid). The theory might be distinguished from a “traditional” theory according to an explicit practical purpose: a theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation, “to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them” (Horkheimer, 1972:244). It has resided primarily in the space of criticism and scrutinises, rather than facilitating a journey through the realms of concrete imagination and utopia (Torres, 1999: 688).

Mark Hoffman’s essay, *Critical Theory and the Inter-paradigm Debate* (1987), signifies one of the first efforts to locate critical theory in the IR domain. His major argument is that critical theory remains limited in some respects, while it represents an emerging paradigm of IR theory. After Hoffman, Andrew Linklater, in his essay *The Question of the Next Stage in International Relations Theory* (1992) argued that the emancipatory assignment needed to be situated within IR theory, or structured in terms of the immanent modes of inclusion and exclusion in international relations. His questions of inclusion and exclusion are central to IR. He advocates a kind of community of human kind (Griffiths, O’Callaghan, 2002:60). Linklater is the most incisive critical IR theorist inscription in the tradition of the ‘Frankfurt School’. Linklater’s work has much in common with Robert Cox’s. In one of his seminal book *Beyond Realism and Marxism*, Linklater argues that analysis in international relations that is restricted to interstate relations fails to recognize the role of sub-and trans-state political and economic forces in conditioning the possibilities of international politics (Linklater, 1990:1-7). Like Cox again, Linklater seeks to bring history into the ahistorical assumptions of traditional international relations theory and to challenge the claim to impartiality in its methodological and theoretical framework. However, in Linklater’s case there is a

specific alternative of the challenge to the fact/value and politics/morality differences that are constitutive of classical idealism and realism. Whereas Cox works with the notion of hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourses, Linklater draws on Habermas's discourse ethics and theory of historical development to identify the potential of modern states to transcend the major reason of the state system reflected by realism (Linklater, 1990:163-164; 1992:35-36).

He formulates three modes of critical IR theory: normative, sociological and praxeological. The normative and sociological domains, for instance, refer to the individuals, groups, and states, shared moral commitments to international justice and freedom, and to the historical and social structures of the international system, respectively. The third domain, praxeological, refers to human governance, and how actions of individuals are being directed towards the cosmopolitan ideals of justice, freedom, and equality (Linklater, 2007). Central to these three modes is the idea that open-ended dialogue between and among citizens validates the chances for reasoned harmony at the global level (Roach, 2010:80). In brief, he outlined that critical theory has four main achievements. These are as follows:

- a) Critical international theory takes concerns with the methodology of 'positivism' (as critical theorists of all stripes tend to refer to the supposedly logical mainstream of IR theory).
- b) It contests the idea that the existing structures of the social world are immutable and 'examines the prospects for greater freedom immanent within existing social relations'.
- c) It ascertains from and overcomes the flaws intrinsic in Marxism by emphasising forms of social learning (drawing on Habermas' reconstruction of historical materialism) and opening up new possibilities for constructing an 'historical sociology with an emancipatory purpose'.
- d) Linklater suggests that critical theory, "judges social arrangements by their capacity to embrace open dialogue with all others and envisages new forms of political community which break with unjustified exclusion (...). Critical theory (...) envisages the use of an unconstrained discourse to determine the moral significance of national boundaries and to examine the possibility of post-sovereign forms of national life (1996: 279-80, 2007: 45-46) The theory maintains with the faith of the project of enlightenment and 'defends its universalism by advancing the ideal of open discourse not only between fellow citizens but between all members of the human race' (Roach, 2010:59).

Thinking about theories of IR, a critical theorist might also raise questions concerning how rationalists (both neo-realists and neo-liberals) IR serves the interests of dominant elites. These two provide salient insights regarding the relationship of power to international institutions and the role institutions, particularly regimes, have in overcoming political market failures. The theory is attacked by both right and left, as well as positivists. Critical IR theorists, working out of the IR discipline, also stress the idea of evolving justice. As Max Neufeld in his seminal work *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory* (1995) argues, formulating a critical IR theory requires a self-reflexive normative theory to move beyond positivism and postmodernist relativism.

A fundamental way in which existing critical theory re-opens assumptions that have grounded our political thought has been by questioning the starting point of thinking politically. One of the traditional questions of politics has been how we can live together, or in other words, how individuals with a range of backgrounds, beliefs and interests can or do co-exist, peacefully or otherwise. What forms of organisation, institutional or social, promote what forms of co-existence? (Edkins, Vaughan-Williams, 2009:2). Political theorists are paying growing attention to international politics. Specifically, some scholars working on what they call 'deliberative democracy' have sought to use Habermas' ideas of a public sphere and discourse ethics to show how world politics could be more democratic and deliberative (Dryzek, 2000; Bohman, 2007). Critical theory must re-imagine in international relations because it is ultimately concerned with what is possible to know, given that the ontological status of neither the subject nor the object of theory can be taken for granted. Habermas (and those scholars in international relations who have been inspired by him) aims for progression towards the realisation of human potential by trying to find a way to overcome differences through rational consensus based on rational argument.

3. JURGEN HABERMAS AND THE GROUNDING OF CRITICAL THEORY

Jurgen Habermas, German philosopher and sociologist, has had a wide and significant impact on the understanding of social change and social conflict. He is regarded as the leading 'second generation' critical theorist. He provides what has often been seen as the theoretically "strongest" attempt to inquire into the relations of critical

theory to epistemology and philosophical anthropology (Lacapra, 1977:237). His writing comprises a body of literature virtually incomparable throughout the social sciences and humanities, constituting a sustained and systematic defence of the cognitive and normative ideals of the Enlightenment (MacKendrick, 2008). Habermas is often considered as one of the most difficult to comprehend of the critical theorists. One of the reasons that Habermas's theory has emerged as a promising basis of empirical critical theory is that it links non-coercive discourse with the possibilities of reaching mutual indulgence on concerns. In international relations, this notion has found expression in Habermasian-inspired theorists' attempts to situate Habermas in the rationalist/constructivist debate on norms (Roach, 2010). The focus of his work remained broadly faithful to his intellectual origins to the Frankfurt School with the desire to develop a critical theory of society with emancipatory goal. It is evident in his first major work *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), as well as taking centre stage in more recent publications such as *The Inclusion of the Other* (1998) and *The Post-National Constellation* (2001). Habermas outlines his general theoretical framework,

There are three categories of processes of inquiry for which a specific connection between logical-methodological rules and knowledge-constitutive interests can be demonstrated. This demonstration is the task of a critical philosophy of science that escapes the snares of positivism. The approach of the empirical-analytic sciences incorporates a technical cognitive interest; that of the historical-hermeneutic sciences incorporates a practical one; and the approach of critically oriented sciences incorporates the emancipatory cognitive interests that were at the root of traditional theories (1971:308).

The technical cognitive interest intends at control and is related with nomological sciences; the practical interest of the hermeneutic-historical sciences seeks at escalating mutual understanding and unhindered communication, while the emancipatory interest of critically oriented science aims at liberating human beings from the relation of force, unconscious restraints and dependence on the concept of powers (Bohman, 1999).

4. HABERMAS' DISCOURSE ON RATIONALITY

Habermas's idea of a 'radical critique of reason' is an explicit response to the pessimistic

appraisal of enlightenment thinking offered by Horkheimer and Adorno, his predecessors in the Frankfurt school of critical theory. He uses that idea to refute their celebrated work *Dialectics of Enlightenment*, which challenges cherished the liberal and Marxist hypothesis about enlightenment and progress and which links the virtually inescapable advance of instrumental rationality in capitalist societies to progressive worsening of human freedom (Fleming, 1997). He placed them in a skeptical filament of modernity stemming from Nietzsche and reaching forward into postmodernism and he situates the problem of a radical critique of reason within the internal development of the enlightenment tradition and Marxist ideology critique (Habermas, 1981).

Habermas argues that Horkheimer and Adorno were operating with a notion of instrumental reason, which properly identifies subject/object relations with their basis in propositional truth but is too restrictive to be applied to other types of relations. He argued that we need a concept of 'communicative reason', which focuses concentration on 'inter-subjective relations' and 'rightness claims'.

For Habermas, the notion of communicative reason could again put critical theory on the path of a more positive assessment of modernity's critical resources (Fleming, 1997). He considers that their *Dialectic of Enlightenment* indicated mistakes and concerns that were ultimately to lead postmodernists like Jacques Derrida and Michael Foucault to abandon all traces of the philosophy of enlightenment. He maintains that all these theorists, despite their diverse claims, get trapped in the 'paradoxes of self-referential critique' and those complications can be avoided through a conception of 'communicative reason' (Fleming, 1997).

His main objective in his book *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* is to strengthen universalist claims by making them immune to 'genealogical and deconstructionist critiques. Habermas begins his critique arguing that Horkheimer and Adorno joined with the nefarious writers of the bourgeoisie, Sade and Nietzsche, "to conceptualize the enlightenment's process of self-destruction" (Habermas, 1987:106). His critique can be summarised in three steps:

a) By placing 'ideology critique itself under suspicion', Horkheimer and Adorno in *Dialectics of Enlightenment* 'render critique independent in relation to its own foundations'. While doing so, they arrived at a totalising critique, invoking 'a

reason that is before reason', which is ultimately self-defeating (1987:116; 1981: 382)

b) This 'totalising critique is a performative contradiction', which is both unappreciative of the rational content of cultural modernity and an aestheticization of criticism itself (Habermas, 1987: 119).

c) The normative content of modernity goes unappreciated; Horkheimer and Adorno fail to provide at least one rational criterion intact for their explanation. The failure to do so leads to nowhere. Habermas notes that at this level of reflection ideology critique slides off into the groundless and the distinction between theory and practice is eschewed (1987:128).

He has consistently defended the projection of modernity and enlightenment tradition. His central claim was to the development of critical philosophy as social theory, achieved through a vigorous self-reflective account of the social character of all knowledge (Habermas, 1998). Habermas argues that the critical theory of society prompts critical reflection that exemplifies the relation between the anthropological interests of human beings and epistemological claims in the domains of technical knowledge (objectivity) and practical knowledge (politics and ethics) (see also MacKendrick, 2008:44).

Jurgen Habermas (1965) in his inaugural address, *Knowledge and Human Interests*, initiated a radical critique of knowledge, a project that was intended to have extensive implications for epistemology (theory of knowledge). Arguing that social sciences and sciences have become estranged from their legitimate tasks, he attempts to situate questions of epistemology within the realm of genuine human interests. The concept of knowledge free from human interests, Habermas argues, is an ideological residue of idealism, privileging an instrumental attitude toward all things at the expense of practical concerns and desires. He can be placed definitely within the critical theory tradition. A core objective of his work over the years has been to reconstruct historical materialism in order to reflect more accurately the concerns of the present day and the shifting sands of western politics and economics (Rockmore, 1989). For Habermas, Marxism provides complementary contribution toward a paradigm for a critical theory of society. He challenged all those who regarded Marxism as an objective, scientific theory of history. For him, Marxism is a hypothesis based on the evidence of history concerning ourselves, human beings as the potential makers of history. This meant that Marxism was a theory with a distinctive cognitive

status, for which Habermas coined the rather cumbersome phrase empirically falsifiable philosophy of history with practical intent. Marxism was neither an explanatory theory in the usual scientific sense, nor pure philosophical speculation, but something rather in between the two (see also Dews, 1999). Habermas' relationship to Marxism may perhaps best be described as one of the constructive critique. It embodies a qualified acceptance of historical materialism and the project of human emancipation (Outhwaite, 2009: 16). The major difference between Marx and himself, as Habermas views, centres on the "steering problem" of advanced capitalism (Habermas, 1971: 2).

Moving beyond what he sees to be the failures in Kant, Hegel, and Marx, Habermas hopes to recover from the legacy of the enlightenment the abandoned phases of reflection and thus revitalise the ideals found in the bourgeois emphasis on freedom, justice, and reason. The project can only be realised, Habermas claims, through the articulation of a comprehensive social theory (Habermas 1998:78). Habermas draws two forms of investigation that are provisionally paradigmatic for emancipatory fields of inquiry: *psychoanalysis and the critique of ideology*. The former deals with intra-psyche disturbances brought on by deformations in socialization and individuation from within, while the latter deals with structural and institutional bases of power affecting communicative patterns from without. In *On the Logic of the Social Sciences and Knowledge and Human Interests* psychoanalysis is read as a theory of linguistic analysis and as a radical version of the Marxian concept of ideology critique (McCarthy, 1978:56). According to Habermas, psychoanalysis is an exemplary discipline for critical theory because Freud was able to notice, scrutinize, and correct distortions in the linguistic medium; dreams provide an example of such distortions. For Habermas, psychoanalytic discourse promotes the fruitful union of both kinds of inquiry in the form of emancipatory praxis, the unity of theory and practice in self-reflection.

5. HABERMAS' CONTRIBUTION IN CRITICAL IR THEORY

Habermas has said very little directly about international relations and world politics. Habermas describes the development of a "global public sphere" and the gradual development of human rights and international law as a "cosmopolitan transformation of the state of nature among states into a legal order" (Habermas, 1998:

149). Diez and Steans (2005) argue that Habermas and other critical and post-structural theorists have been influential in the post-positivist turn in international relations theory.

Habermas developed his hermeneutical dialectic (inter-subjective interaction or communication action) and emphasized the intimate connection between knowledge and interests which is more influential in the contemporary era. It was Habermas who has been particularly influenced by students of IR. The theory provides us with a holistic deliberation approach to studying state authoritarianism, one which is comprised of the following four basic tenets.

a) It addresses the reflexive aspect of an individual's theory/ideas, or the inherent link between one's actions and values as well as ideological orientation. It opposes positivism, or the employment of deductive, inductive and empiricist methods to objectify social phenomena.

b) The theory focuses on the unpredictability of political structures. It demonstrates how political power and ideological controls can endorse the perception of the permanence of political and economic structures.

c) It is an open-ended interdisciplinary approach rooted in both ethical concerns and social and economic relations of production. The examples including Gramsci's writings on the dialectical interaction between civil society and the state, ethics and cultural concerns remain immanent to social progress and equality.

It is an integrative analysis of social reality. To sum these four tenets this theory is applicable and relevant to understanding the intricate interaction of practices, identities and institution at both the domestic and international level (*apud* Roach, 2008:16-17).

6. CONCLUSIONS

The primary aim of the emergence of critical IR theory is to expose the social and political tensions that have assisted to extend critical theory into the global sphere (regional integration and global forms of communication). The project of critical theory remains relevant for explaining and understanding contemporary problems in a number of ways. It rejects many of the tenets of positive science and makes more knowledge claims. It differs from the scientific theories in which it is irreducibly and resolutely normative as well as reflective rather than objectifying. Also, central to the critical theorists is engaging in a critique of

ideology. It can be seen as a retreat from revolutionary politics and from the field of political action, which attempts to build on Marx's critique but with a different strategy. William Leiss (1974) rightly argued that critical theory was conceived as an element in the ongoing self-clarification of Marxist theory and practice. It contributed profoundly to the study of IR. One of these contributions has been to heighten our awareness of the link between politics and knowledge. It raises questions concerning the social construction of knowledge and is attacked by both right and left as well as positivists. Another contribution made by critical theory is to rethink accounts of the modern state and political community. It remains both applicable and relevant to understanding the intricate communication of practices, identities and institutions at both the domestic and international levels.

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THE IMPACT AND EFFECTS OF AFGHAN MIGRATION IN THE CENTRAL ASIAN STATES

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Abstract: *Our paper intends to analyse the measures taken by Afghanistan’s neighbours (central Asian states) in the context of ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) withdrawal from Afghanistan, that is preventing and counteracting the threats to their frontier security generated by movements that cannot be controlled by the Afghan population. The policies and strategies initiated and implemented by multiple international and regional intergovernmental organisations, in accordance with the public international law instruments implemented with the purpose of protecting and assisting refugees, asylum seekers, or any other person in need for international protection, require thorough analysis of the convergence of common multilateral agreements, with a view to highlighting the mutations and evolutionary tendencies of the social and security processes in Central Asia.*

Keywords: *Afghanistan, International Security Assistance Force, Central Asia, mechanisms of international public law, Afghan refugees*

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, it has rarely happened for the Central-Asian region to become the center of power of any empire or influential state, this region being, in fact, divided, re-divided, conquered and periodically fragmented and representing more a battlefield for other powers. Its position among four historical centers of power, eloquent even today, has brought it both advantages and disadvantages, like access to trade routes and attack lines of all regional powers, or a permanent vulnerability, risking to be attacked from all directions, fact that would cause political fragmentation or a total vacuum of power due to the successive dominations.

Starting with the first decade of the XXI century, stability in Central-Asian region began to depend more and more on the situation that has developed in this region, with regards to the military and political conflict in Afghanistan, one of the most important international issue. This fact had as a consequence the activation of the Afghanistan's neighbors, states for which the regulation of the Afghan problem has a vital role.

2. CENTRAL ASIA – BETWEEN HISTORY AND PRESENT

Central Asia has represented for a long period of time an important geostrategic objective, for

superpowers or regional powers. Due to its geostrategic position, Central Asia has access to the most important Eurasian trade routes and to all regional powers. On the one hand, Russia continues to politically and military dominate this region, and China has an important role due to its investments in the oil and gas industries and take a stand in the region through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization - SCO (see details on Mihalache, 2012). On the other hand, “the United States, by its military presence in the region, is an important actor, but does not have such an extended relationship with Central-Asian states like its two geopolitical opponents, Russia and China” (Danilov, 2014).

Huge geographic space, approximately the size of the whole Western Europe, situated at the crossroad of more civilizations, Central Asia is one of the less known regions of the world, that has now caught the attention of the global great powers due to the significant flows of Afghan refugees that crossing the borders of this area and to the geopolitical changes arising from the crisis in Afghanistan. The five countries this region consists of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan - the “stans” of Central Asia, located in the middle of the Asian continent, “have together a total of 2 million km² and a population of about 60 million inhabitants, mostly Muslim” (Bădescu, 2014:16). After the disintegration of USSR, Central Asian states have

focused their efforts towards strengthening their statehood and assuming responsibilities that are specific to an independent state. In its more than two decades of independence, the states of this region, their societies and living conditions of the inhabitants and the 40 ethnic groups living in this space have experienced radical changes.

The biggest transformation is that these nations, for the first time in their history, have their own state and can take their own decisions about domestic and foreign policy evolutions. There are two types of states in Central Asia: powerful states in terms of territory, demography, economy and military (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan) and weaker states (Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan), between these two types of states being, at some point, moments of tension or hostility caused by the division of natural resources in general. Governments of Central-Asian states have dealt with “growing difficulties in order to maintain internal stability, to prevent conflict escalation between secularism and Islamic influence growth - a key issue represented by Afghan migration problem” (Bădescu, 2014:17). According to M. Kaylan (2008), “the natural resources of Central Asia, from Turkmenistan's natural gas to Kazakhstan's abundant oil, cannot reach the West free of Russia and Iran except through that narrow conduit in the Caucasus. Moscow's former colonies in Central Asia are Afghanistan's most desirable trading partners”.

Despite their common experiences, each of the five Central-Asian countries has some characteristics that can help make the difference between them. Kazakhstan - the largest country by territory, with a population of about 16 million, with rich oil and gas reserves, as well as with market reforms - has become some kind of regional power. It is the main exporter of cereals in the area, receiving approximately 80% of total investments in Central Asia and has held the presidency of the OSCE in 2010. Turkmenistan distinguishes itself by its rich resources, a country with a population of 5 million that has rich hydrocarbon resources, particularly gas, and country which benefits of the geostrategic advantage of being a coastal state at the Caspian Sea. On the other side are economically weak states - Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan - which had faced many internal conflicts. Tajikistan, state with a predominantly mountainous characteristics, has a population of about 7 million people, is currently facing poverty issues, as well as problems regarding the development of democracy and economy. It can be mentioned that on the territory

of this state are three Russian military bases, with their headquarters in the cities of Dushanbe, Kurgan-Tube and Kuliab. Kyrgyzstan, with a population of about 5.3 million, is a poor country, currently dealing with the lack of electricity and a harsh climate. Uzbekistan occupies an intermediate position. The country with the largest population in Central Asia, about 24 million, has a common border with the other four Central-Asian countries, “at whose borders are a significant Uzbek minority” (Bădescu, 2014:21).

3. CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CRISIS IN AFGHANISTAN

The most important factors that have a considerable influence in Afghanistan are the United States, NATO, EU, Pakistan, Iran, China, Russia, Central-Asian countries (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan), India. Since October 2001, the main methods used to influence the situation in Afghanistan are held by the Euro-Atlantic community. Before 2001 within the UN operated a contact group with concerns to the Afghan problem, which consisted of countries bordering Afghanistan (Iran, China, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan). In order to solve the Afghan problem it is necessary the participation of both this state's neighbouring countries and key regional actors, to form a contact group “7 + 5”, which requires the participation of seven states that share a border with Afghanistan - Tajikistan, India, China, Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and the participation of Russia, the US, NATO, SCO, and CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organization). Most member states of this cooperation format, that have influence over Afghanistan, are participants or observers in regional international organizations, especially in NATO, SCO, CSTO, Eurasian Economic Union. Traditional threats coming from Afghan soil - terrorism, religious extremism and drug trafficking - have a threatening character for the neighboring states (that are members of CSTO), fact that makes the current need for cooperation between NATO - CSTO regarding the stabilization of the Afghanistan problem, but here the issue of cooperation between the two organizations is complicated because of their many unresolved bilateral issues and especially because NATO's intentions not to recognize the CSTO area of responsibility. In this regard, NATO has taken over the responsibility of coordinating the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in the summer of 2003, in order to support the

Afghan government and people. At the same time, this commitment of NATO was a clear indicator of how the Alliance adapts to the security requirements of the XXI century. ISAF has extended towards the west of the country and is seen as an indispensable partner in the effort to maintain the security and stability of Afghanistan, through so-called Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs). In addition to fulfilling this core function,

ISAF troops have given assistance in reconstruction, disarmament of former militias, weapons storage and confidence-building measures (Carp, 2006).

The repercussions of the conflict in Afghanistan, especially in relation to drug trafficking, creates serious security risks for Central-Asian states. The boundaries of this region with Afghanistan are quite accessible, an open way to Russia and Europe for drug trafficking. In addition,

traffickers have increasingly gain more influence on state institutions, especially within the most fragile countries in the region, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan (Frunzuliță, 2013:208).

All five Central-Asian republics perceive security and stability in Afghanistan as vital to their own national security. Although the interests and concerns of these states differ in relation to Afghanistan, there are some common themes, threats and opportunities. The five Central-Asian countries share concerns about the threat of al-Qaeda organization, terrorism and, to a different extent, of drug trafficking. Tajikistan is more threatened by drug trafficking than other republics, due to its weak state administration. Also,

Tajikistan is more interested in and tied to the future of Afghanistan by the large number of Tajiks, over 27% of the population, living in this country (Frunzuliță, 2013).

To a different extent, the Central-Asian republics, with the exception of the “positive neutrality” (see details on Shikhmuradov, 2012) of Turkmenistan, support the efforts of the Coalition in Afghanistan, including through their participation in the Northern Distribution Network (RND), an important alternative supply route for ISAF. In the late years, about half the supplies for US forces and the International Coalition in Afghanistan is transferred by RND. Moreover, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan have provided ISAF troops with airfields and runways.

Partnership with the US and ISAF has been gradually realized and calibrated according to the relations with Russia, which maintains a strong influence in the region, particularly through its links with political and security institutions of the Central-Asian countries (Frunzuliță, 2013).

Until now, Kazakhstan has been the only state in the area that provided Afghanistan with direct assistance. Central-Asian republics participated in many regional initiatives concerning border security and respect of law and order, such as the Caspian Sea Initiative, as well as Border Security in Central Asia. Although they perceive in a different way the threat level of terrorism, al-Qaeda and the Talibans, Central-Asian republics are more concerned about a premature withdrawal of Coalition troops from Afghanistan and about the situation that will follow.

Thus, at the end of 2013, NATO had 84,000 troops in Afghanistan, of which 60,000 were Americans (Simion, 2014). During 2014, all the states participating in ISAF have taken the commitment to withdraw its troops from the Afghan territory, the mission being due to officially end at the end of last year. Due to the withdrawal of ISAF troops from Afghanistan in 2014, Central Asia faces now a period of potential political instability, because

Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan could be affected by a potential resurrection of Islamic radicalism (Bădescu, 2014:21).

Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, both two countries that had been governed a long period of time by authoritarian presidents, octogenarians, are vulnerable due to possible secession risks. Kyrgyzstan has not yet recovered after the two violent events of government crisis in the last decade.

All Central-Asian states are concerned about the potential insecurity that may result from the withdrawal of the ISAF mission from Afghanistan, which can lead to destabilization, with negative consequences, among which the most important are the expansion of radical Islamist ideas, the intensification of drug trafficking activities and refugees crisis. Despite these common concerns, there are many differences between the policies of Central-Asian states towards Afghanistan and between their visions about future international stabilization efforts in the region. On the eve of the military campaign in Afghanistan, led at first by the United States and then by NATO, the Central-Asian states had complex attitudes towards

Afghanistan. On the one hand, they were concerned about the potential spread of existing instability in Afghanistan, manifested by different actions of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) in Tajikistan in 1999 and in Kyrgyzstan in 2000. On the other hand, Turkmenistan - and, to some extent, Uzbekistan - sought to accommodate with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, trying, at the same time,

to gain economic benefits from the stabilization of the Afghan situation and from the construction of a gas pipeline to South Asian markets (Kassenova, 2014:3).

4. THE MAIN PROBLEM - AFGHAN REFUGEES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ISAF WITHDRAWAL

Policymakers and experts from Central Asia believe that the complete withdrawal of ISAF troops from Afghanistan will lead to a new stage of instability in this country. The Afghan government and Afghan military forces are unable to deal independently with Taliban insurgents. This fact will have direct consequences on each state that is part of Central Asia, at different intensities, depending on the level of exposure and vulnerability perceived by each state with regards to the security challenges arising from the situation in Afghanistan. In this context, according to Kassenova (2014:9), “it can be said that the most affected state will be Tajikistan and the safest state will be Kazakhstan”. Although there is a concern that an Afghan government influenced by Taliban will allow the creation of a network of training camps, support bases and points for the Central-Asian Islamic radicals, along Afghanistan's borders with Central-Asian countries (Kassenova, 2014), the current problem of states from Central Asia is the large number of Afghan refugees, who cross borders in search of political asylum and protection and security. So, we have shown in the figure below data regarding the number of Afghan refugees in Central-Asian countries in 2010.

According to the director of Afghan Refugees Association, “Ariana”, Asadullo Vadzhah (2010), the official number of refugees from Tajikistan amounts to 5,000 people. Kazakhstan recorded a total of 600 official refugees, and those from Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan were not officially registered yet (Afghanistan.ru, 2012). So, based on these reports and on the data in the figure above, one can say that the number of registered refugees in countries from Central Asia

is much lower than the actual number of refugees who are on their territory.



Fig.1 Afghan refugees

Almost all Afghan refugees consider Tajikistan as the best country for transit to countries that can provide them with social welfare. Experts believe that this fact is due to two main reasons: economic and psychological.

The vast majority of Afghan refugees are ethnic Tajik and of Sunni Muslim religion... Most of them have higher education, reasons for which locals treat them controversially (Menkouski, 2013:195).

There was a special UN program until 2007, whose main objective was to forward refugees from Tajikistan to another countries, but this was later canceled. In the same year, Tajik authorities tried to evict refugees from Dushanbe (where they came in search of a job) in border areas, where they were once registered. Refugees were allowed to live only in certain cities and regions. In 1990, for example,

Uzbekistan forced Afghan refugees to leave the country, with the result that, today, in this country, live only Afghan businessmen, who have special accreditation (Verhoturov, 2012).

Afghan refugees in Kazakhstan must demonstrate annually to the special committee that the war in their country have not finished. By law, refugee status in this country is limited to one year, and the new law “On Refugees” (2010) brought no change regarding the modification of the term (Nur, Kazakh News Agency, 2010).

5. THE EFFECTS OF THE REFUGEE WAVE FROM AFGHANISTAN INTO CENTRAL ASIA

As we have said above, the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan can generate different consequences on the security of Central-Asian states. Thus, various scenarios were developed on the development of the security environment of

those countries situated near the Afghan conflict zone. One of these possible scenarios of evolution states that the withdrawal of coalition troops will lead to a strengthened position of Talibans and to Taliban attacks on people who have links with coalition structures. A consequence of this fact will be the flow of refugees to neighboring countries from Central Asia - Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, thing that will cause pressure on their economies. The presence of refugees will increase the trade with illegal weapons, will intensify the drug trafficking activities and may increase the risk of religious and ethnic conflict in the Fergana Valley (risk to activate radical Islamists to consolidate their positions and the position of other Taliban groups, funded by Islamists in Afghanistan). The increased flow of refugees in countries from this region can be a threat on the one hand to the economic security of these countries of destination, and on the other hand, the refugees flow may hide people who will try to impose the Afghan scenario upon nations in Central Asia, which will represent to some extent the interests of terrorist groups from Afghanistan and the Middle East.

If the United States will actively cooperate with Uzbekistan, then they will be able to weaken the OSCE positions. While reducing the role of CSTO, will increase the role of SCO as an instrument of politico-military and economic interaction of China on Central Asia. The direct consequence of the withdrawal of coalition troops from Afghanistan will be the danger of the outbreak of local armed conflicts between states in the region. The situation in Central-Asian countries may thus follow the "Libyan scenario". Negative factors that may contribute to the outbreak of armed conflicts and social tensions can be represented by the collapse of infrastructure, corruption and drug trafficking.

The most sensitive countries in terms of security are Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and partly Uzbekistan (due to its intermediate terrorist organization of the Taliban Movement in Central Asia, operating on its territory). All these three countries have internal factors of instability, conditioned by ethnic, tribe and regional contradictions, but the conflict between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan on the distribution of water sources has an interstate character, and may led to a war. As a negative phenomenon it is possible the re-starting of a civil war in Tajikistan, that will attract fighters from neighbouring Afghanistan and mercenaries from the Middle East and Central Asia. In Turkmenistan will take place the integration of drug trafficking groups with

smuggling groups, which will create a favorable ground for destabilization.

Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan form a "triangle of conflict", because all three countries have the greatest demographic problems, but also in terms of economic and social situation. Local economies are not able to provide employment for the growing population and about half of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan GDPs and a fifth of the GDP of Uzbekistan is made on behalf of migrants (who due to loss of jobs can be a source of instability). Another important aspect is that in the context of the US military pressures on Iran, the latter can use the Shiite groups from Central-Asian countries to oppose to the American presence, all of which could have the result of weakening the role of Russia in the region.

The wave of refugees from Afghanistan may, directly or indirectly, represent a threat also to the prospects of enlargement of the Customs Union, where the weak links are Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, if they are included in the integration project. Moreover, according to an analysis performed by border guard chiefs from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan, made in August, 2014, the main problems caused by massive waves of Afghan refugees, following the withdrawal of ISAF troops in Afghanistan, are the intensification of drug trafficking and the threat of maintaining the infiltration of religious extremist and terrorist ideas. As a consequence, within the CSTO collective security council's meeting, on September 23, 2014, held in Sochi, was approved an agreement for establishing an interstate program on strengthening the Tadjiko-Afghan border. In this context, the head of the Russian General Staff, Army General Valery Gerasimov, said that not only Tajikistan will receive technical and military aid worth 200 million dollars (US), but also Kyrgyzstan - 1.1 billion dollars (US). Moreover, statements were made on the accession of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan to Russian-Kazakh system of anti-aircraft protection (see Сапарев, 2013).

6. CONCLUSIONS

Massive internal and external migration in the Central-Asian states will be an inevitable consequence of the withdrawal of coalition troops from Afghanistan. In this regard, there will be an increase in the flow of refugees and forced displacement from Afghanistan and from bordering areas of Central Asia. Taking into consideration the wave of economic crisis,

migrants from the Russian Federation will return to Central-Asian countries, which will result in an increase of pressure in the main social sphere.

The increased migration will be accompanied by the overall situation of instability and by survival conditions below the poverty line. Negative factors, generated by larger flows of Afghan refugees on the territory of Central-Asian states, which can help, in this context, to the emergence of conflicts, are represented by collapse of infrastructure, corruption and a virtual absence of social services. The most sensitive countries in terms of security are Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Furthermore, states will limit the level of finances for social insurance, which will have a negative impact on education. Increasing social tensions in countries of the region will be accompanied by a worse quality of life (access to education, healthcare, drinking water, population mortality, etc.).

In this context, it can be said that the withdrawal of the ISAF mission from Afghanistan can produce a more intensified state of instability not only on Afghan territory, but also on the territory of those countries situated in its vicinity, namely the Central-Asian states. Waves of Afghan refugees who will migrate on their territory will inevitably lead to a destabilization of security, through intensification of drug trafficking, human trafficking and illegal arms trade.

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LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION: INDIA

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Abstract: *We use language to express our emotions and attitudes, to give our ideas and opinions, to complain, to gain acceptance or approval, and to receive and transmit information. Essentially, language is a means of cultural communication. There are different ways we can communicate. In this world, just about everyone--his/her intelligence, competence, social status, group membership, and the value system are often judged from the language through which one communicates. The tone, the speed of the speech, and the accent can evoke reactions not only in monolingual but more so in bilingual and multilingual societies, causing tensions and conflicts related to social identity and belonging. Language influences our thinking, feelings, and behaving. This paper discusses diverse socio- linguistic variants, such as, gender, race, ethnicity, class, caste, and religion with reference to Marathi, Hindi and India's diverse cultures. The paper also discusses extra-linguistic factors, including biological and evolutionary selves, individualism, collectivism and attitudes. Finally, the paper suggests some skills and strategies for successful cross-cultural communication, which are expected to help reduce cultural conflicts and ethnic tensions and promote peace.*

Keywords: *India, thinking system, language, culture, communication, Marathi language*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the modern world of globalization, urbanization, industrialization, technological development, resulting immigration patterns have meant diversity of people, languages, and cultures to an extent unknown before. Conversations occur in a language foreign to both speakers. Language is not only representative of culture, but part of culture, which is defined differently by scholars.

According to Edward Sapir,

Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols (Sapir, 1921:7).

An argument against this definition of language is that other species are known to have a system of communication. Morris (1946) described language as an arrangement of arbitrary symbols possessing an agreed-upon significance within a community, and these symbols can be used and understood in immediate contexts. This means meanings of utterances are embedded in socio-cultural traditions. Edwards (2009:53) combines these views and states that "languages differ from one another in the ways in which they assign meaning to sounds and symbols."

Furthermore, he notes that there are numerous language communities whose patterns of

communication are not mutually intelligible although the languages might belong to the same language family.

Language systems differ in basic structural arrangement conventionally agreed upon meanings and use for communicative purposes by the language community. Language serves not only as a tool of communication but also 'an emblem of groupness, a symbol, a psychological rallying-point' (Edwards, 2009:55). The language of daily use is also the language of ancestral and cultural heritage, a powerful underpinning of shared connotations; hence we are always translating and interpreting. Our ability to read between the lines depends upon a cultural continuity in which language is embedded and which is not open to all. Translating and interpreting depend on paralinguistic nonverbal cues of various kinds. According to Edwards (2009:55),

research has shown that in determining the truth of the message or utterance, we place more emphasis on the nonverbal accompaniments than we do on the actual utterance *per se*.

'Outsiders' who have learned a language for practical reasons may develop highly fluent command of a language but they may also find that certain deeper levels of communication remain closed to them. Those who grow up within a community may be able to participate fully in

interactions because they can make the necessary 'translations' (Edwards, 2009:55).

Complex and complicated interweaving of language and culture in pragmatic linguistic skills and more intangible associations carried out by language are not always apparent to native speakers within a majority-speech community. Given communicative and symbolic aspects of languages, the latter may be of more importance in the absence of the former in minority communities, which are undergoing adaptation and acculturation. So, the questions: "Who am I?" "Who are we?" "How are we perceived?" become important. These questions are not simply about social constructs, such as "Marathi speaker" or "Hindi speaker." Implicit is the questioning of values: What am I? or How am I? or Is my community valued? Behind these questions is the need for protection and preservation as well as the desire to live a respectable life. Everybody wants to be recognized and respected. Language is dialogical; conversation takes place between two parties. Communication depends on attitudes towards 'others' in terms of languages and cultures—individually and collectively.

In the following sections, communication issues are examined in the context of biological as well as social constructs, some relatively stable and some constantly changing.

2. LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

Language is inseparable from community. The very nature of language includes and excludes. This simultaneous inclusion/exclusion function is reflected in the Marathi pronoun 'āpan' meaning 'us' or simply 'you.' Indian boys in the U.S., although English monolinguals, occasionally interject a Hindi word into their speech (kyaa be? Kyo re?). In this case, language, even when minimally shared, points to a common basis/for identification. There is a particular quality in the nature of language: those who share the language (i.e., those who understand) are included in the relationship which is called "community," and those who do not are excluded. The U.S.A consists of various linguistic communities and has been making efforts to preserve immigrant languages. Immigrants feel the need to maintain cultural heritage through their children. These diverse linguistic communities who want to maintain cultural identity and languages are the means of communicating cultures. So diasporic children become somewhat confused with two cultural

heritages - American and the other of their parents. So the American children of two cultures constantly make efforts to define themselves. Of course, self-definitions are matters which go far beyond linguistic considerations.

3. LANGUAGE AND THOUGHT

Thought is much larger than language. Many problems are caused due to language limitation and the person's inability to know the language of communication fully and to express ideas accurately. For example,

I said to the secretary, "Can you do this for me?"
She replied, "Yes, I can but I do not want to because you did not ask me politely."

Miscommunication occurred because both Hindi and Marathi mark politeness on the verbal ending rather than by using separate words.

Marathi: tumhī mājhyāsāṭhi he karu śaktā?
Hindi: āp mereliye ye kar sakte?
'You for me this do can?'
'Can you do this for me?'

Speakers of Indian languages mark politeness on verbs but also express the possibility of some limitations, personal or professional. The meaning of the utterance transcends linguistic structures. This means people's minds/thoughts are larger than their languages.

4. WHAT IS CULTURE?

Every people has a culture, and no individual can live without it. Culture helps us manage our daily lives because we and other people we encounter attach similar meanings to the same things. Culture is defined differently by different scholars. According to E. B. Taylor, culture is a complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and other capabilities or habits acquired by members of a society (from O'Sullivan, 2004:2). O'Sullivan (2004:2) defines culture as 'the ways people agree to be'. Over periods of time groups of people (societies) reach agreements about how they will see the world, behave, interact with each other, judge each other, and organize themselves—in other words, how they will exist. We learn the agreements—the 'rules' as part of growing up. Since language and culture are related, we learn both language and culture together. However, our 'culture' is not necessarily the same as our 'nationality' and

ethnicity. Labels describing people can be problematic. Terms such as 'American', 'Australian', can refer to nationality and culture, but not to ethnicity. The term 'Indian' refers to all the three. So, the issue of identity is complex. People often engage redefining themselves or reasserting their identity (O'Sullivan, 2004:2).

5. LANGUAGE-CULTURE EVOLUTION

All species evolve. Languages being a part of speakers also evolve. Hence the historical development of any language is the evolutionary history of speakers and cultural traditions. In the process of historical development, people come in contact with others. This contact leads to social interaction, socio-linguistic borrowings and creation of pidgin and creole languages. This process has produced several dialects-languages of India and of the world. The interaction between the Mughals and the natives of India created Hindi, and Urdu.

5.1 Linguistic Development of Marathi. Marathi grammatical structures, which resemble Dravidian, did not result from simple borrowing, but from conversion. Both pidgin and creole are trade languages. Such a linguistic development would not have been possible without trade interaction between the two language groups, Maharashtrians (Aryans) and Dravidians.

A group of Aryans settled in Maharashtra as colonists or traders in the midst of a very much larger native population of Dravidians. Instead of becoming assimilated linguistically, the Aryans were able, because of commercial, cultural or military-political advantages, to impose their language as a lingua franca usually in a simplified and corrupted form. The development of Marathi as a quasi creole, or the language of trade, between Aryans and Dravidians indicates its complex character, which stands between North and South linguistically as well as culturally. There is no doubt that the influence of Dravidian, particularly of Telugu on Marathi grammar is significant. Generally, due to contact, languages borrow at the levels of phonology, morphology, and lexicon. Marathi seems to have gone further into the level of syntax (Junghare, 2009).

5.2 Diversity of Marathi Dialects and Cultures. In all cultures—even those that outwardly appear to be very homogeneous—there can be tremendous diversity. Marathi language and culture are not exceptions. There are four major dialects of Marathi: (1) Standard spoken around

Pune, (2) Vaidarbhi spoken around the city of Nagpur, (3) Varhadi, spoken around the city of Akola, and (4) the variant spoken in Marathwada, in and around the district of Parbhani.

Not only these dialects differ from each other, but their representative cultures also differ in traits, foods, customs, world-views and value systems. This diversity of dialects and cultures enhances groupism. People of Pune naturally form the standard Marathi speaking community, called 'puneri' after the 'puneri' dialect.

6. COMMUNICATION CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN CULTURE

Forms of language reflect not only social position and circumstance but also views of the way society is organized and positions within the social network. Sociolinguists who study intercultural communication classify cultures into three categories: (1) individualistic vs. collective, (2) direct messages vs. indirect messages, and (3) hierarchical vs. egalitarian (Myers-Scotton, 2006:178-179). We live in a relative world. Therefore all categorizations are bound to be relative. So, Indian culture must be understood in relative terms. In other words, these cultures will have both collective and individualistic traits, but one of these traits is likely to be dominant over the other.

6.1 Collectivism. Marathi, Hindi, Urdu and other languages of India are representative of traditional cultures which favor collectivism. Contacts with the West, English education, and economic independence have promoted individualism for the past twenty-five years. Yet, the majority of speakers remain relatively collective. Collectivism is reflected in linguistic, semantic and pragmatic structures. Consider the following Marathi examples: Use of Pronouns: Marathi has pronouns for both singular and plural. In addition, Marathi uses the inclusive pronoun 'āpaṅ,' which includes both the speaker and the addressee: You + I (or We). The pronoun 'āpaṅ' also means you (plural-polite).

6.2 Indirectness. Marathi, like other Indian languages, seems to use more indirect messages, which is reflected in (i) Topic- Prominent Construction, (ii) Agential/Passive construction, (iii) use of indirect pronouns, and (iv) written discourse.

(i) Topic Prominence: Western Indo-European Languages use Subject-Predicate structure, while Marathi uses Topic-Comment structure (Junghare, 1985).

English: *Flowers* are in the garden. (Subject-Predicate)

Marathi: *bāget phula āhet* (Topic-Comment)
'in the garden flowers are.'

(ii) Passive/Agential Construction:

Marathi: *rāmna te kām kela*
'by Ram that work done.'

Ram did that work/ the work is done by Ram.

(iii) The Use of Indirect Pronouns (or Dative case)

Marathi: *malā te pustak āvaḍla*
to me that book liked
'I liked that book.'

(iv) Written Discourse. Indirectness of message also occurs in writing, especially, when a speaker sends a message to the addressee. For example, in a letter, a request is made not at the beginning or at the end but in the middle of the letter, surrounded by various messages before and after.

6.3 India: Hierarchical Cultures. India is known for hierarchical caste and class systems. Marathi culture is no exception. Although class-classification is not so explicit in linguistic forms, caste is. Caste does not change; it is a given constant in the social order. Someone is born into a caste, and there is no caste mobility. However, socio-economic positions can change, including profession, financial status, political appointment, etc.

6.4 Linguistic suffixes as reflective of social factors. In addition to titles and specific terms of address, there also exist some socio-linguistic suffixes in Indo-Aryan languages which an addressor attaches to an addressee's name in certain situations to indicate attitude towards the addressee or the social relationship between the speakers (Junghare, 2009). For example, in Marathi, *rāv* and *panta* are honorific suffixes attached to men's names. The suffix *rāv*, derived from the Sanskrit word *rājā* "king," is generally attached to names of men belonging to the Kshatriya (ruler's) caste; *panta* is attached to names of Brahmins.

Caste does play a role in determining the honorific form chosen by the speaker.

The laboring (Shudra) caste has lower honorific forms associated with their members, while the highest Brahmin caste has the highest honorific forms associated with their members. The laboring (Shudra) caste contains the only addressees with the informal *tu* form, the fewest *tumhī* forms, and no *āpaṇ* forms. See the following table (from Junghare, 2007).

Table 1. Caste

Caste	Intimate/ Informal <i>tu</i>	Familiar <i>tumhī</i>	Formal/ Polite <i>āpaṇ</i>
Brahmin	0	6	4
Kshatriya	0	5	6
Vaisya	0	7	5
Shudra	3	6	3

6.4 Gender Marking in South Asian Languages. Gender has been considered to be one of many sources of linguistic variation. Sociolinguists Labov, 1972; Hymes, 1964; and Ervin-Tripp, 1972 have shown that communication systems are heterogeneous and multi-layered (from Junghare, 2003). Social class, region, ethnicity, age, occupation, and gender all affect speech; speakers may also shift speech styles depending on situation, topic, and roles.

Women's language has been studied using two approaches: the dominance approach and the difference approach. Researchers using the dominance approach emphasize how male dominance is enacted through linguistic practice (West and Zimmerman, 1983). The difference approach emphasizes different gendered subcultures. The difference in men's and women's language is interpreted as reflecting and maintaining gender-specific cultures (Humm, 1989).

Marking of gender or sex is prominent in Marathi. Sex-exclusive differences are found at the morphological level. A few sex-preferential differences occur at the phonetic, phonological and syntactic levels, but most occur at the communicative level or in conversations (Junghare, 2003).

The words *baghū* and *jarā* are markers of gentle persuasive requests, often used by women.

Marathi: *kitī veḷ jhālā uṭhā baghū* (Marathi woman speaking)

'How much time passed please get up please see'
Much time has passed, let us see if you can get up.

Marathi: *jarā bhājī pāhūn yā baghū* (Marathi woman speaking)

'a little vegetable having checked out please come let us see'

Let us see if you can check out the vegetable, just a little please.

Urban Marathi women's speech is distinctive from men's speech in that women use more particles, formal standard language or changed forms. Trudgill's (1972:179-195) explanation for this distinction is that women are more status conscious and want to compensate for their

subordination by signaling status linguistically, and this linguistic signaling will be particularly true of women who are not working and who lack social status. Women who have little status in society seek to acquire status through use of language.

7. LANGUAGE AND MESSAGE

The above section focused on the individuality of the speaker in relation to the addressee. This section deals with the message or the text of conversation.

7.1 Indian and South Asian Cultures: High Context. How do bilinguals carry on conversations? Edward Hall (1959/1976) differentiates cultures according to the type of messages sent. A high-context message is one in which most of the information being conveyed rests in the context of the interaction, i.e., the setting, topic and other situational factors. "Very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message (Hall, 1976:70)." The listener has to rely heavily on working out speaker's intentions.

In contrast, in a low-context message, words and phrases constitute the main message. If the listener can understand these words and phrases in combination, he or she can arrive at the main part of what the speaker intends to communicate. Almost always part of understanding an utterance requires the listener's power of interpretation in order to arrive at the speaker's intentions. Mutual assumptions provided by the context always matter to some extent. Marathi culture, being collective, stands at the high-context end of the continuum and pays more attention to the speaker's gender, class, caste and ethnicity rather than to the literal words of the message.

7.2 South Asia and the Western World: High-Low Contexts. Misunderstandings occur when high- and low- context individuals interact. Listeners from high-context cultures tend to interpret what others say as an expression of context; that is they find meaning in factors external to the speaker. Listeners from low-context cultures not only pay attention to the literal message but also base any interpretations of the speaker's "real" meaning of his/her personality.

There is a relationship between high- and low-context communication and individualistic and collective cultures. High-context cultures make a greater distinction between insiders and outsiders and perceive people as group members rather than individuals. No culture exists at either end of the high- and low-context continuum. Most

individualistic cultures prefer low-on text messages, and most collectivist cultures prefer high-context messages.

Relatively speaking, South Asian languages and their reflective cultures are more collective, indirect, and high context oriented as opposed to the Western cultures which are more individualistic, direct, and low-context oriented. In light of this analysis, it is easy to understand English expressions, such as, "What is in it for me?" "My father was not there for me," as opposed to South Asian expressions: "If I do this, I will be spoiling my family's name," and "I have to take care of him, he is my husband." Again, it is important to note that these expressions are simply relative to the context and should not serve as generalizations since all societies evolve over time and space.

8. DECONSTRUCTION OF LOW- AND HIGH-CONTEXT CULTURES

How do we understand or interpret the message? Interpretations of messages are based on three sets of constructs (Samovar and Porter, 1991): (1) belief/value/attitude systems, (2) world view, and (3) social organization.

8.1 Language and Religion in India. Religion includes beliefs, ideologies, values and attitudes. Religion has been linked to language since ancient times. In the Vedas as well as in the Bible, God is said to have first created speech. Each religion has its linguistic expressions and specific language for religious literature, collections of verses, parables, or mythical stories. Almost all religious literature speaks of love, truth, compassion, kindness and non-violence. Wars and conflicts over religion come from ignorance and fear of the 'other.' The 'other' means different from normative religion. Every religion is as valuable as another and provides an anchor for belonging to a specific culture and tradition.

There is an interplay of religion and language and the surrounding culture. Both language and religion serve as markers of group identity and spread across regions through contacts. Certain sacred languages acquire higher status. The Most obvious examples include Hebrew for Judaism, Arabic for Islam, Latin for Christianity, and Sanskrit for both Hinduism and Buddhism. The religious exclusivity of a certain language creates what George Steiner (1992, p. 300) called "enclosure and willed opaqueness" in certain sacred texts. An atmosphere of inclusiveness for

those practicing the religion in a given language engenders prestige for that religion. Also, any potential worshippers of that religion must learn the sacred language. It is pragmatic for one religion to adhere to a single language.

Every language presents a different viewpoint about the world. Therefore if religion is going to describe ethics, creation, existence, religious language has to be easily understood. On the contrary, there are plenty of debates on the original meaning and intent of passages in the Bible and even the Constitution. If we already have trouble understanding the text in one language, one can only imagine the complications that arise from translation. Every language group wants to claim that their language is the one that God speaks. These arguments are not only of historical interest but also represent language-religion identity discourse. The real conflicts do not depend on the nature of God and which language divinity speaks, but are embedded in competition and the desire for dominance.

8.2 Beliefs, Worldview, and Social Organization: Markers of Ethnicity. Beliefs are what is accepted as sources of knowledge (Bible, the Qu'ran, etc). People have certain beliefs about God, life on earth, after-life, ethics, and morality. Marathi and Hindi are marked by beliefs that are embedded in Hindu tradition. Core Hindu tradition has been maintained in the form of metaphors. Though new texts and pamphlets are created and though new poetry has emerged, the essence of the Hindu tradition has been maintained. History serves as the foundation. That is why Hinduism has been referred to in Sanskrit a *sanātana dharma* "the ideals which have continued from the past."

Unfortunately, Hinduism has been greatly misunderstood. The word "Hindu" is a mispronunciation of the name of the river "Sindhu" that is now in Pakistan. Originally, it meant "the way of life of the people living on the banks of the Sindhu river." In reality then, Hinduism is not a faith system, but rather a socio-cultural and philosophical system. It is complex and diverse in its philosophies of life, God/gods and practices. It is inclusive of pluralism, henotheism, monotheism and monism. Its philosophies include materialism, realism, conceptualism, nominalism, and naturalism. The concept of *Brahman* is comparable to the concept of *Allah*, the Absolute Reality, indefinable, incomprehensible, all-knowing, limitless, omnipresent and omnipotent. Similarly, Christ is comparable to Vishnu or Krishna. Hinduism is so

broad that it excludes nothing. In other words, one can be Hindu by believing in any god or no god. The Sanskrit word 'pujā' means 'honoring' which has been ignorantly interpreted as 'worshipping.' Hence the rituals of honoring sacred life in diverse forms have been understood as 'idol worship.' Outsiders have created diverse misperceptions of the Hindu tradition. One such example would be the caste system. Caste was brought to India by Greeks as a system of societal organization, which was founded on division of labor, comparable to professional guilds. It is true that the system has been abused over time and by people in power. Even then the broad and all-inclusive philosophy of Hinduism has made the majority of Indians tolerant. The conflict between Hindus and Muslims in India is not over religious ideology, or the concept of God or whether one goes to heaven after death or gets reborn. Conflict is primarily over territories, natural resources and dominance.

8.3 Marathi in the context of Hindu Culture.

Marathi has adopted normative values for making choices and reducing or eliminating conflicts. The concepts of *karma*, *dharma*, "duties and obligations," and moral laws form the core of Marathi culture. Marathi is reflective of polytheism, monotheism, and syncretic monism. Marathi speakers hold the view that the world is constituted of humans, animals, plants and microbes, and is part of 'one' divine principle. Hence, every existence is divine. In other words, creation is sacred, and every existence must be honored. Hence every house has a shrine for worshipping an individual form of deity.

Marathi social organization is based on the division of labor. Different professionals occupy different quarters. Human life is organized into four stages: pupil, householder, forest dweller (retiree) and ascetic. The goals of life include duty, livelihood, pleasure and liberation. Hinduism, being a system of ethics, provides various guiding paths for virtuous living: action, knowledge, devotion, and renunciation. The two important ethical rules are: nonviolence and the *Law of Karma*, which is translated into English, "As you sow, so you reap."

The world's coming into existence and going out of existence constitutes one day of the creation, which is divided into various units of time called 'yugas.' The circular concept of time has provided the foundation for the theory of 'reincarnation. Over all, Marathi is a much more open society with focus on action rather than on dogma. Such a society has been referred to as "orthoprax" as

opposed to “orthodox.” Because of the concept of time and the societal emphasis on action, Marathi, Hindi and other languages of India do not have markers for “present perfect,” or “past perfect,” like English for example:

Marathi: *mī khup kām kela*
 ‘I much work did.’
 ‘I worked a lot.’

The verb form *kela* simply expresses the fact that the work is finished, without paying any attention to when the work was done.

Marathi: *mi kām karat āhe.* (Present Progressive)
 “I work doing am”
 “I am doing the work.”

It also means “I have been doing the work.” The meaning becomes clear only in context. Besides diversity of sociolinguistic structures, various other elements constitute part of social interaction.

8.4 Elements for Social interaction: (1) Silence; (2) Appropriateness; (3) Politeness; (4) Requests; (5) Power differentials. Marathi speakers and speakers of other Indian languages generally like to converse. They compete to speak as a way of asserting themselves. There are no norms against interrupting others. Appropriate initial interactions include greetings: ‘*namaskār*’ and/or paying respect by bowing down, or placing the head on the feet. Formal words for ‘thanks’ and ‘apology’ are rarely used. However, Maharashtrians and Indians in general do recognize obligations. Maharashtrians show little interest in others. Maharashtrian society is an open society with cultural values of frankness. Compared to American society, Maharashtrians ask questions, make requests, and reveal personal information.

Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to politeness as meeting a person’s “face needs” for self respect. The concept of ‘positive face’ means meeting the need to have self-worth recognized. This calls for remembering the person’s name and the use of compliments to build solidarity. On the other hand, negative face includes the need not to be imposed on. Marathi is basically a positive politeness culture. There can be tensions maintaining the proper balance between positive and negative face. Paying positive attention can be seen as imposing, and attempts to avoid imposing can be viewed as ignoring. Speakers of Hebrew, Canadian French, Australian English and German make indirect requests (Blum-Kulka and House,

1989:123-54), but Marathi speakers make direct requests. Power differential is related to inequality. To what extent do Marathi speakers tolerate inequality? As in other Asian societies, Maharashtrians tolerate inequality in the family and at the work place.

9. MODERNITY, SELF PERCEPTION AND SELF DEFINITION

The twenty first century is a period of industrialization and globalization. People have been traveling across the world and/or migrating to different countries and creating new and mixed or hybrid identities. People perceive themselves as individuals--independent thinkers, and know how to survive in another culture independently. In the process of acculturation, they know how to negotiate and create individualistic cultures, which discard some traits of native tradition and adopt some new features of ‘other’ cultures.

Indians are no exceptions to the identity-creating process, as shown in following examples:

I am a walking contradiction. I am American and Indian. I am a Muslim with doubt as to whether God exists or not. The only thing about me that is not contradictory is that I am a woman and very proud to be one. My identity is very important to me because it is the tool I use to show the world who I am and what I believe in. (Person A)

My identity is a composite of many different parts: my religion, my cultural heritage, my language, my role in society that I play. My identity also changes depending on the focus. In the narrow sense, I am a sister. In the larger perspective, I am a human being on Earth. (Person B)

Identity matters to me even though it is a very fleeting concept since you will not be defined by the same qualities in different settings. For me, it is my personality which makes me *who I am*, more than labels like Indian, woman or teacher-student. To attain respect, I treat others with respect and attention and am polite and careful. (Person C)

The individualism of defining oneself can create various problems in communication due to differences between one’s self perception and ‘other’ people’s perceptions of that individual.

10. PREVENTIVE STEPS FOR THE AVOIDANCE OF COMMUNICATION CONFLICT

Conflicts usually arise from cultural differences, especially when the speaker and

addressee do not speak the same native language. Some of the steps mentioned by Myers-Scotton (2006, pp. 204-206) for the avoidance of potential conflicts in cross-cultural communication are:

- (1) Speak in order to clarify the problem.
- (2) Speaker and addressee need to cooperate and not compete.
- (3) There has to be common definition of the problem; try to understand the other person's position.
- (4) Both parties have to make it clear that they are interested in finding a solution.
- (5) To show the other person that he/she is valued, pay attention to the other person's positive face.
- (6) Both need to focus on similarities rather than differences.
- (7) People need to be aware of how the culture with whom they are in conflict differs from their own.
- (8) Individualists need to remember that collectivists see positive face (sense of self-respect and self-worth) as an extension of the group's status.

10.1 Do's and Don'ts for Collectivist and Individualist. Collectivists see actions as reflecting on the group. Individualists need to help collectivists maintain face. Individuals should try to deal with conflicts when they are small because collectivists view conflict as placing the group's image on the line. Individualists may want to use a third party to mediate the conflict. Individualists need to pay special attention to how collectivists use non-verbal communication and indirect messages. Avoidance is a favorite strategy of collectivists. If collectivists do not seem to want to deal with the problem, individualists may find that simply letting go of the conflict is the only reasonable course of action (Myers-Scotton, 2006:205).

Individualists tend to separate the person from the problem. Collectivists must focus on the issue. Collectivists must be more direct and assertive than they usually are (Myers-Scotton, 2006:205). The idea behind this indirectness is the avoidance of subject, object or agent due to the emphasis upon humility and non-assertion of 'ego,' evident in their Topic-Comment language structure (Junghare, 1985).

11. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The paper defined the nature of language in terms of structure, meaning, relationship to culture, communicative and symbolic functions and

differences from language to language. Problems of communication are due to subjectivity or attachment to mother tongue and culture and unawareness of other people's customs, ways, worldviews, and values. Though no one language or dialect is superior to another, everyone seems to think his language or dialect and culture are superior to others.

The paper examined the historical development of the Marathi language in order to explain the evolutionary process of the formation of hybrid identity—pidginization through language contact between the Aryan invaders and the native Dravidians. The paper analyzed Marathi speakers' culture and by extension Indian tradition in terms of its organizational structure, world-view, and socio-linguistic variants—gender, class, caste and religion. Analysis of Indian languages and cultures clearly indicated that problems of communication leading to conflicts are embedded in diverse cultural traits, including collectivism, indirectness of the message, high-context nature of the conversation (emphasis on extra-linguistic biological and social factors), world-view, and gender roles. Finally, the paper suggested some strategies for successful cross-cultural communication, which will lead to the elimination of potential conflicts.

Most conflicts which are perceived to be related to race, gender, ethnicity, nationality, class, caste, and religion can be reduced or minimized by becoming aware of other people's ways of living and using that knowledge in communicating. Understanding the following socio-linguistic guidelines may lead to conflict free conversations. The guidelines may not make better individuals but they will make better communicators.

- (1) All languages are equal. No language is superior to other.
- (2) No culture is better or superior to another.
- (3) No culture is perfect. All cultures develop according to need in the context of time and space.
- (4) Race, gender, ethnicity, class, caste, religion and nationality are socio-linguistic constructs. People have the ability to transcend or deconstruct these constructs.
- (5) Value of life and dignity of humanity is what matters.
- (6) People are most concerned with how they are treated.
- (7) Peaceful co-existence lies in recognition of and respect for individuals.

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NO WORDS IN AFGHAN WORLD. CASE STUDY OF AFGHANS' NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

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Abstract: *The knowledge and application of certain skills related to nonverbal communication have become very important for the military environment nowadays, especially due to the increasing number of troops deployed in unfamiliar cultural environments such as the Afghan theater of operations. Therefore, knowing how to interact with the local, prideful and conservative population can be an indisputable advantage. The paper approaches certain aspects of nonverbal behavior as a way of transmitting messages or attitudes within the Afghan culture. After defining specific subdivisions and concepts of the nonverbal communication (such as proxemics, kinesics, oculosics, haptics, vocalics, olfactics, chronemics etc.) the paper also includes a case study, relevant for any combatant or civilian that may further be deployed to the untamed Afghanistan.*

Keywords: *nonverbal communication, military, Afghan culture, theater of operations*

1. INTRODUCTION

The international environment changes that occurred during the last decades meant involvement of unprecedentedly large number of personnel in missions outside their comfort zones, outside their cultural environments where they've been raised and forced not simply to accomplish their tasks, but to perform at high standards in new and unfamiliar environments. From former Yugoslavia to the, so called, Third World countries in Africa and from the war on drugs in South America to the war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan, military and civilian personnel are faced with new challenges by interacting with the local populations and often find themselves in awkward, unwanted, not to mention dangerous situations because of their lack of training and knowledge from the locals' culture and customs point of view.

Being immersed into an unfamiliar context, where everything from travelling, attitudes towards women and time to dress code, food, accommodation and ideas about hygiene are something one is unacquainted to and if you add, above all these, the feeling of loneliness and the fear of being hurt, you may understand why someone may feel confused about the cultural shock he needs to face out. In many cases, another one may find himself in the situation of not

knowing how to interact with the local population and, sometimes just respectfully bowing your head to an elder means "I don't know your language or your culture, but I respect you and I want to learn". By getting to know more about a certain culture peels away the unknown. The hesitancy in approaching inhabitants who are very dissimilar will be diminished. If you're not trained to face the new environment, the only chance for survival is adaptation or, in other words, learning on the way as fast as possible.

This paper aims to provide a brief analysis of the nonverbal interactions within the Afghan culture and its contrasts with Western cultures as it is of critical importance to understand that Afghan cultural background influences their view of the world. A complete understanding of the Afghan national culture is fundamental for performing in an effective manner in this area. The final goal is to provide a useful guide that can be used by both military and civilian personnel that may be deployed and work in this unfamiliar, yet amazingly rich culture. We'll explore the cultural differences, from the nonverbal behavior point of view, that affect all personnel deployed in Afghanistan in the way they think, act and relate to each other. However, do not look this paper as covering all issues in this field. It is intended only as an introduction to the topic. It provides a basic understanding of a rich culture with a powerful and

living history. A further, more extended, research on this subject will prove itself more than useful in training personnel for facing the cultural challenges, because only when

shows full acceptance and enjoyment of the host culture [...] the individual has passed through culture shock, to become truly intercultural (McLaren, 1998:12).

2. BRIEF OVERVIEW OF AFGHANISTAN

Ahmad Shah Durrani (1722 - 1772), that in 1747 unified all Pashtun tribes is considered the founding father of the state of Afghanistan. During the shadow fights between the Russian and the Britain empires in the 19th century, fearing the expansionist tactics of the first one, Afghanistan was occupied by the British in the late 1830s. They regain their independence on 19th of August 1919, when the British Empire recognized the independent state of Afghanistan; therefore this day is now celebrated as the National Day.

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 in order to support the unstable Afghan communist regime and withdrew in 1989 under the ruthless pressure of the Mujahidin rebels. A series of civil wars occurred, that finally ended up with an install of a Taliban regime in 1996 to end the country's civil war. After the 11th of September 2001 terrorist attacks, Northern Alliance took action and toppled over the Taliban regime for sheltering Osama bin Laden. In December 2004, Hamid Karzai became the first democratically elected president of Afghanistan and the National Assembly was inaugurated the following December. Karzai was re-elected in August 2009 for a second term. Since the 29th of September 2014 Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai is the President of Afghanistan.

The landlocked country of Afghanistan is situated in the Southern Asia, it has an area of approximately 650.000 sq km and neighbors with Pakistan (2.430 km border) in east and south, Iran (936 km border) in west, Turkmenistan (744 km border) and Uzbekistan (for 137 km) in the north and in the far north-east with China (76 km border). Climate is arid to semiarid, with cold winters and very hot summers. The total population is approximately 32 million (in July 2014). Official languages are Dari (spoken by 50% of population) and Pashto (spoken by 35% of the population). Capital of the country is the city of Kabul, situated at 1.800 m altitude, with a population of approximately 4.436.000 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Time difference is

UTC + 4,5 hours (Bucharest + 2,5 hours – daylight saving time). From the religion point of view, Afghans are 99% Muslims and they follow the five pillars of Islam: (1) The testimony of faith (*Shahada*): the declaration of faith that “there is no god, but Allah and Mohammed is Allah’s messenger”, that every Muslim has to say it with conviction during his prayers; (2) Prayer (*Salat*) – Muslims are expected to pray five times a day; (3) Support of the needy (*Zakat*) – Muslims are expected to share the wealth they have received from Allah. Sharing 2,5% off all assets is customary; (4) Fasting the month of Ramadan (*Sawm*) – Ramadan is a time for physical discipline and spiritual reflection. Muslims fast from dawn until sunset, abstaining from food, drink, smoking and sexual relations; (5) The pilgrimage to Makkah (*Hajj*) - is an obligation once in a lifetime for all Muslims who are physically and financially able to perform it. An individual who completed the pilgrimage may be called *Hajji*. A person who has not completed the *Hajj* should never be called *Hajji*, as this way of calling may be understood as sarcasm and is a deep humiliation and shame to the man who has been unable to fulfill this sacred obligation due to poverty.

Implementing the six dimensions of culture laid down by Hofstede in 2010, on to the Afghan culture, the results are far from unexpected. Afghan society is a high power society as members do not seem themselves as equals, but followers of the judgements of the decision makers in power. It is vital to determine the power agent of a community whether this is the local *mullah*, tribal elder, politician or businessman. The overall meetings and negotiations’ efficiency will be improved by frontally dealing with those in power. From the second dimension perspective, Afghanistan is a collective society where supreme fidelity is given to one’s family above all other social groups. Family is the main source of an Afghan’s identity and the primary factor in decision-making. The next Afghans identity levels are embodied by their affiliation to their village, tribe and nation/ethnicity. The individual himself is the least important link in such a collective society. Touching down the third dimension we conclude that Afghan society is a masculine one, where women play a subordinate role. Even if in big cities women have a job and work outside the house, men are in control of the financial affairs of the house. On the other hand, in the rural area the women’s duty is to stay home, raise the children, cook and clean. It’s a matter of honor for an Afghan male to be the sole financial support for his

family, to provide them food, clothes and fulfill any other needs. Concerning the fourth dimension, Afghan society prefers high uncertainty avoidance. They promote tribal rules and religious values to standardize their day by day life. Also superstitions play an important role. Such examples are: when someone in the family dies, women do not wash their clothes for three days or sweeping the house at night is a sin. The fifth dimension reveals that Afghan society is a short term orientated one, where respect for tradition and immediate stability are important. Indulgent versus restraint dimension of a culture brings to light that in Afghanistan individual happiness and individual control are not important. Being a restraint culture, positive emotions are less freely expressed and freedom and leisure are not given the same importance as in indulgent societies.

From cultural perspective, Afghans, especially those in the rural areas, will appear rearwards and uncivilized. But their rich culture can be tracked back for thousands of years. Nobody will be able to change these ancient cultural values. So it's needed to understand their culture, accept it without laying down judgments, and work out how to handle it so as to accomplish one's tasks. A tribal moral fundament originated by their inimitable social code is called *Pashtunwali* (literally, "the Way of the Pashtun"). Afghan society, particularly the rural one, is highlighted by *Pashtunwali*. The leading components are honor (*Nang*) and revenge (*Badal*) for dishonor. A man who misplaces his honor is a castaway. Several circumstances could bring about dishonor, from the trivial to the criminal. Leader amongst others are seeing or talking to one's women, violating his home, or interfering with his property. Honor must be regained by revenge. There are no temporal restrictions in *Pashtunwali* and no feeling that time heals all wounds. One famous Pashtun proverb says that "I took my revenge after 100 years, and I only regret that I acted in haste". *Pashtunwali* is neither a drafted code, nor something that can be comfortably laid down into a written message even by the Afghans. It is best illustrated as a mixture of rules, conventionally apprehended social values and behavioral prototypes. But it would be a dangerous blunder to brush it off as it links up to an overestimated sense of honor, belief in tribal governance and tribal law and greatly recognized guidelines for admissible conduct. Traditionally, Afghans consider loyalty, dignity, rivalry, generosity, courage, pride, revenge, collectivism, hospitality and honor among their most valued national features.

3. AFGHAN NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION PATTERNS

Communication may adopt two configurations: verbal, when information is transmitted using the articulate language (oral or written), that is characteristic to human beings and nonverbal achieved through "individual's behavior components and physical appearance, but also through cognition and exploitation of space and time" (Lesenciuc, 2010:28). First studies using the term of nonverbal communication were issued around the middle years of the past century. Psychiatrist Jurgen Ruesch and photographer Weldon Kees came first in using this term in a book title (*Nonverbal Communication: Notes on the Visual Perception of Human Relations*, 1956).

In any type of meeting, especially like those occurring in Afghanistan, that are intercultural or interethnic, the appropriate interpretation of the interlocutor's verbal and nonverbal behavior is the foundation of all negotiations. But, "nonverbal communication must always be read in context" (Hall, 1976:81). Without a context it is impossible to decode the message and find out its true meaning. This brings us to the point where it is possible to discuss about the afghan culture as a high context one, where

message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is [...] explicit, transmitted part of the message (Hall, 1976:91).

3.1 Kinesics or the study of body movements. The term of kinesics comes from the Greek word *kīnēs (is)* that indicated movement and it was used for the first time by the American anthropologist Ray L. Birdwhistell (1918 - 1994) in his book *Introduction to Kinesics* (1952). The term acceptance was of

body movements study related to nonverbal aspects of the interpersonal communication" (Jolly, 2000:133, *apud* Chelcea *et al.*, 2008:47).

Another researcher that mentions the term was Adam Kenton in *International Encyclopedia of Communications* (vol. 2, 1989:380, *apud* Chelcea, 2008:47) with the meaning of "body movements study in face-to-face interactions". Body movement is a complex phenomenon that encodes many messages in Afghan culture. From greeting someone to dining etiquettes and to moving around an Afghan while praying, they all prove to be kinesics characteristics that one must take into

account. Greeting someone placing the right hand over the heart is a sign of respect and it means that the greeting is sincere and comes from the heart. Big mistakes can occur from Westerners part if they are not aware of the importance of the head and the feet movements in Afghan culture. Pointing the soles of the feet towards someone is a sign of disrespect because Afghans consider that the soles of the feet or shoes are dirty, nearest to the ground, nearer to the devil and the farthest part of the body from Allah. In the presence of Afghans one must be carefully not to raise or cross the legs in such way that the sole of his feet faces others in the room. It is an offence for an Afghan person to come in touch with the sole of your foot or shoe.

Taking into account that Muslims touch the ground with their head only when they are praying, forcing an Afghan to touch the ground with his head (when making him a prisoner for an example) is an insult and one will find a certain enemy in that individual in the future. You'll often see Afghans holding their hands in front of their faces in order to ask for divine support. In Afghan culture, always use the right hand for hand shake, drinking, passing something to another person, eating and, generally speaking, for activities performed in public spaces. Using the left hand can throw shame onto an Afghan since they consider the left hand being dirty, used only for hygiene after using the toilet. Also, during discussions, Afghans are quite permissive with hand gestures. Vulgar Western gestures are recognized and everyone must avoid using them. On the other hand, the Western sign of OK with a thumb up is considered an offense and it is equivalent to the use of the middle finger in the Western cultures. Also, the OK-sign that shapes a circle by using the thumb and the index finger, usually has the meaning that the person you are addressing to is worthless and of no value at all. Many Afghans have learned the significance of these gestures and accept their meanings given by the Western countries, but some interpret them in the traditional manner. Since you don't know to whom you are talking to it is advisable to avoid using these gestures at all.

3.2 Proxemics or perception and using of personal space. The concept of space is used by social and human sciences to mark both a physical reality and to highlight some psychic and social features. The term of *proxemics* is associated to Edward T. Hall that used it for the first time in his study *Proxemics - the study of man's spatial relations and boundaries* (1963).

Locals will usually interfere in the normal conversational comfort zone of an Westerner since they are accustomed to talk to each other at close distances, if the discussion does not occur during an official meeting where places are already set around a negotiations table. Related to the four distance zones framed by E. T. Hall, we can get to the conclusion that conversations in the Afghan culture occur within the *intimate distance-far phase* (fifteen to forty five centimeters).

At intimate distance, the presence of the other person is unmistakable and may at times be overwhelming because of the greatly stepped-up sensory inputs. Sight (often distorted), olfaction, heat from the other person's body, sound, smell, and feel of the breath all combine to signal unmistakable involvement with another body. (Hall, 1966:116)

Being deployed, or should I say plunged, into that unfamiliar culture I often found myself in the situation of instinctively moving one step back, in a defensive position being uncomfortably dragged into discussions by an Afghan local. But, as a collective society, it's not uncommon for them to act in that manner and avoiding the approaching may transmit them the message that you fear them or that they smell bad. However, personal space should be taken into account when talking to an Afghan woman in order for the Westerner's behavior not to be interpreted as dishonoring that woman.

3.3 Facial expressions. The well-known book, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872) by Charles Darwin, marked the research beginning on facial expressions. In 1938, the American psychiatrist Otto Klineberg denied the theory of universality for emotions' facial expressions advancing the assumption of cultural distinctiveness. Twenty three years later, Paul Ekman brings back into picture the theory of facial expressions universality founding its idea on his experimental researches. Multiple facial expressions are universal and their meaning is the same in Afghanistan as well as in Western cultures. For an example a genuine or a fake smile or the grimace on the face of an individual in pain or in anger it's the same in Afghanistan as it is in Romania or anywhere else. However, it is a terrible weakness among the Afghans not to control your emotions. If you ever show anger or other emotions in Afghanistan, your effectiveness in that culture is over. They will never respect you anymore, because they will consider that you are weak, therefore you can no longer be trusted or

respected. Thus, emotions must be kept for oneself at all times.

3.4 Oculistics or eye contact. Eye contact is critical in personal interrelations because of the feedback provided to communication partner. Eye contact brings up reciprocity in human relations. Georg Siemmel considered that an individual

reveal himself in the look that he offers to other. [...] Through our eyes we cannot receive without offering at the same time (*apud* Chelcea, 2008:75).

D.K. Orban advocates that

through eyes [...] we offer the feeling of deep thinking, confusion or lack of attention. We reveal our emotions of fear, anger and sadness. We cannot realize how many concealed messages are revealed through eye contact (*apud* Chelcea, 2008:79).

In the Afghan society eye contact between men of the same age is acceptable. Talking to an Afghan male and staring at his woman is a deep offense to that man. It may look difficult, for Westerners avoiding this blunder, especially if the woman is wearing the traditional costume (*burka*) that covers her from head to toe, because it's something new to him that stirs his curiosity.

Still, he must abstain himself to bring such a shame to his Afghan male interlocutor. In the Islamic faith, while eye contact between males is allowed, when it comes to members of the opposite sex, the situation changes unless the parties are legitimate spouses or family members. After the initial eye contact, men lower their gaze when speaking with women. Any prolonged eye contact with the opposite sex is considered highly inappropriate and a sign of disrespect.

Eye contact with an elder is permitted as long as it is not extended for a long period of time. It is best to look an elder in the eyes only occasionally so as not to make him feel challenged. When greeting an elder or a woman, the best option is to respectfully bow your head and avoid eye contact as a sign of respect.

3.5 Haptics or epidermal touching

Our skin layer is critical showing to what race or culture do we belong, what is our social status, self esteem, health, age etc. (Chelcea, 2008:75).

Being a collective society, Afghanistan is also a contact culture where body touch is allowed both in private and public areas. It is not unusual to see two Afghan males walking on the street hand in hand as this gesture is a sign of deep friendship and not a sign of homosexuality as may be interpreted

in Western countries. However, these public touches are allowed for men only. Any signs of affection between a woman and a man will be avoided in public. Traditionally, you will not see Afghan males and females walking on the street hand in hand or kissing each other in public spaces. Such behavior is considered unacceptable in Muslim societies.

The handshake is an everyday gesture especially when arriving and leaving. Handshake is used to greet Afghan males. As mentioned above, it's also common to place your hand over the heart after the handshake and bow your head as a sign of respect. Males do not shake hands with women as it's not allowed to touch a woman. However, during meetings women expect to shake hands with other women. Beside the hand shake, kissing on both cheeks or making mock gestures symbolizing kissing, is widely spread among Afghans males, especially if they are or pretend to be friends. As a matter of fact, this kissing on both cheeks gesture was the foundation for planning the assassination of the former President of Afghanistan, Burhanuddin Rabbani. While hosting a peace meeting in his house in Kabul, he welcomed a Taliban delegate, that was, in fact, a suicide bomber with explosive concealed in his turban. He triggered the bomb when kissing Mr. Rabbani, apparently as a greeting gesture.

3.6 Vocalics or paralinguistic (voice characteristics). The first American linguist and anthropologist who published a study concerning the personality characteristics by studying the way of speaking was Edward Sapir (1884-1939) in his study *Speech as a personality trait* (1927). In the vocalics area of interest there may be included: a) voice's phonic characteristic: tone, intensity, accent, quality; b) laugh, crying, respiration; c) instinctively repeating sound, often proving anxiety or agitation; d) articulating words and voice's tone; e) speech rhythm, speed and time structuring (Chelcea, 2008:91). Inner equilibrium, calm and a peaceful heart are highly appreciated in Afghan culture. Being impertinent or raising your voice, as well as showing anger, especially in the presence of others, is considered rude and impolite. Being blamed or rebuked in front of others is considered dishonoring and shameful. And bringing shame to an Afghan is dangerous and sometimes has led to deadly consequences. Furthermore, being too emotional is considered a sign of weakness. Afghans value an individual that speaks in a clear, moderate voice.

Since there is no privacy, as we know it, in the Afghan society it's easy to understand why they're

using other means. Their way to be alone is to stop talking. An Afghan who shuts himself off in this manner is not insinuating that something is wrong, only that he wants to be alone with his own thoughts and does not want to be interrupted.

Some Afghan may be uneducated, proving insufficient understanding for different matters. Nevertheless, where Afghans are inadequately prepared in formal education, they compensate for in sensitivity and perception. Afghans are piercing observers and highly aware. Remember that they have survived for centuries through their intelligence, wisdom, sharp eyes and local knowledge. Humility, good posture and a conversational tone of voice are all important in dealing with Afghans.

3.7 Olfactics or olfactory signals. Olfaction is a signal used since time immemorial. Chemical signals, in E.O. Wilson opinion have both advantages - increased energetic efficiency, bypassing obstacles, may be transmitted in total darkness - and disadvantages - slow transmission, intensity fade out (*apud* Chelcea, 2008:97). Olfactory communication has a critical role in choosing the partner, as well as setting in place the relation between mother and child.

Olfaction takes up an important role in the Afghan life. It's an adjusting instrument for distances between people as Afghans usually and knowingly smell people when they discuss to each other, considering that good smells bring a good state for the entire inner being and admitting that smell and a good spirit are associated. For an Afghan, to smell a friend is a suitable gesture as they judge that it is critical to smell nice in order to build or preserve a human relationship. They will not behave in a blushful manner about telling other when they don't like the way other smells. For an Afghan male it is important how his future wife smells. If he is not yet convinced about the girl he may get married with, he may ask to smell her and she may be dismissed unless she smells nice.

In Afghan culture, olfaction may also help one distinguish among the ones that want to relate and those who don't. Therefore, bad smell may also suggest one's consciously decision of not willing to relate with others.

3.8 Chronemics or the perception and significance of using time. "Time talks. It speaks more plainly than words" (Hall, 1959:23). Understanding that human impressions and attitudes concerning the time factor are culturally influenced, we must pay attention to chronemics - the study of time across cultures. *Chronemics* is a linguistic notion framed by Edward T. Hall and it

refers to the study of how one is referring to time (the way is apprehended, structured and used).

Time is the foundation of every culture and all activities are structured around it. Understanding the difference between monochronic and polichronic time is critical. (*apud* Chelcea, 2008:101).

I often witnessed other coalition colleagues that were striving to change and to adapt their behavior to people who kept them waiting. They did not understand that the way of perceiving time differs from culture to culture.

Afghans are in that landscape for centuries. They have time on their part. In Afghan culture personal relations and the effort spent to build them play a more important role than time. They view time as something flexible and concentrate more on people and relationships. For an example, at the beginning of a meeting greetings are important and can go on for some time. Afghans think the Westerners way of "getting right down to business" is impolite. "Time is money" it's a saying that doesn't fit in at all in Afghan culture. If we're playing with sayings for a little amusement, a more fitted one would be "what's with the rush", because while the coalition members feel controlled by the clock and constrained to be on time, the Afghans feel that the clock is conceived for their comfort and should be used as an indication of general and not specific time. An Afghan might simply say, "I will meet you after the sunset".

While Western cultures perceive time as linear, moving inevitably forward from the past to the future and behavior of their members may be described as formal and precise, Afghans, generally, place far less emphasis on an exact adherence to precise timing. So, taking into account all above stated, one must be flexible and quickly adjust his schedule when dealing with Afghans, because they are usually behind the clock or not show up at all.

3.9 Artifacts. Affiliation of an individual to a specific gender (male/female), age class, social or economic category, to a specific profession is also given by artifacts: clothes, jewelries, hair cut etc. In Afghan culture the way they dress is one of the most significant elements. Wool and cotton are commonly used to fabric clothing.

Common throughout the country is the *peerhan-toonban*, worn by men and women. *Peerhan* refers to a loose-fitting, slipover shirt that extends to the knees; the *toonban* is a pair of baggy pants tied with

a drawstring. [...] Afghans, will wear vests, sweaters, and overcoats over a *peerhan* (Hafizullah, 2005:145).

Religious leaders wear turbans on regular basis. Even if in the cities, women changed their dress code into a modern one, they must follow the traditional way of having their entire body covered. In the rural area women, especially the young and the married ones, wear very colorful clothes to be more attractive for their future or actual husbands. On the other hand, the old women and the widows, wear very modest clothing in dark colors. Many women wear *burka*, a veil that covers the entire body and face, with a mesh window or grille across the eyes so as to see out. It is common in Afghan villages for women to buy the dress material and sew their own clothes, but also to take it to the local female tailor. Sometimes the same material is used for the children's clothes so that it's easy to recognize whom they belong to. The most expensive fabrics are worn by the women of high status and newly married women.

One of the most wide-spread piece of clothing among both Afghan males and members of the coalition is the *shemagh* scarf, even if it's not a component of the usual military equipment. Worn by men of all ages, whether on the head or around the shoulders the *shemagh* gained its popularity due to its plethora of uses. It may be used either for protection from sunburn during summer or cold during winter or as face cover to defend one's skin and breath from dust, sand, bugs, dust storms. It may be used even for first aid in some cases to stop bleedings. An overall characteristic of the Afghan clothing is the emphasis on utility/feasibility.

3.10 Territory and personal space

Literally thousands of experiences teach us unconsciously that space communicates. Yet this fact would probably never have been brought to the level of consciousness if it had not been realized that space is organized differently in each culture (Hall, 1959:190).

Even if many Afghans cannot afford big houses while living in this vast, open space environment, they still dream of having plenty of space within their homes. The feeling of overwhelming is experienced by Westerners entering an Afghan house belonging to people in the upper middle class that can afford spacious buildings. This is also because being a collective culture with people profoundly engaged with each other, Afghans avoid as much as possible partitioning a house. Organizing their houses in such a manner, the

entire family lives with the feeling of protection from the outside world.

As a guest in an Afghan house one must wait to be told where to sit, as positioning is not randomly done. The highest important guest in the room is typically placed as far as possible from the door. Placing a guest as far away from the door as possible is a way of honoring him. Children, who are at the lowest level in the Afghan society, are usually placed closer to the door and the elders, who are the most respected people in a group, are always seated farther from the door.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Being a cross-culture territory, Afghanistan is defined by a mixture of traditions where the emphasis is on hierarchy, paternalism and mastery. In today's challenging world, understanding and responding to culturally justified behaviors are critically important to be successful in this territory. In Afghan culture skepticism is the most common feeling that becomes perceptible in local population's attitude when interacting with a non-native due to many years of war. First and foremost, human connections are of paramount significance. Afghans have been a part of that landscape and ruled that harsh corner of the world for more than a thousand years and they will not change during a lifetime. Setting human relations is the only way anything gets done. One must put in a lot of effort in order to build them. No Afghan is going to be touched by military ranks or by physical size. They will either cooperate or not, particularly taking into account whether they see you as a respectful and trustworthy man.

It will take time and effort, but shaping a long-term relationship with the locals, good neighborly references with the Afghans within a specific area could mean an increased security for you and for those who come after you. Little has changed over the centuries for Afghans living in homes of mud and straw, without electricity, running water, schools, clinics or roads. Suspicious with outsiders, the majority remain not simply resistant to outside influence and societal change, but violently opposed to it. Cross-cultural experiences continue to teach lessons long after they happened. While finding oneself within an intercultural context, things happen so fast and in an overwhelming way, that basically there is little or no time to internalize and to reflect upon what you see, hear or think. When everything is back to normal, you're back to a familiar context and think back over the experience, undoubtedly covered signals will be

revealed or assessments and assumptions will prove incorrect.

The authors don't claim that this paper exhausts the approached subject of matter. It's more like a starting point for a further, more intimate research in order to provide a complete image, a guide of good practices useful for those who are to be deployed or for those that feel a call for looking deeper into the culture of a collectivity with many hidden messages transmitted mostly when they use no words. As any other high context cultures, Afghans encode an abundance of meanings that pass them through nonverbal communication. Decoding and correctly interpreting them prove to be an irrefutable advantage because what other better way to approach a stranger rather than confirming him that you are, more or less, familiar with his culture?

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