# CROSSING BOUNDARIES IN CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

# ROMANIAN – AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

# CROSSING BOUNDARIES IN CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

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# Contents

# TRANSLATION STUDIES & TEACHING METHODOLOGY

*Editorial*

*"Crossing Boundaries in Culture and Communication"*, *the journal of the Department of Foreign Languages of the Romanian-American University in Bucharest, is a professional publication meant to bring together the preoccupations and contributions of those interested in human communication and cultural phenomena in the global context: foreign language educators, academic researchers, journalists and other specialists, from schools, universities or alternative areas of humanistic approach around this country and abroad.*

*The 10<sup>th</sup> international conference with the same name facilitated the issuing of this journal. The articles published here represent a selection of the Conference presentations; they reflect a variety of perspectives and innovative ideas on topics such as (applied) linguistics, translation studies, FLT, literary and cultural studies and their related fields, providing opportunities for professional development and research.*

*The editorial board considers that the personal contributions included in this issue as well as in the next ones, come in support of multilingualism and multiculturalism due to their variety of topics and linguistic diversity. This would be, in fact, the challenge we are faced with: to put forth a journal which, in spite of its heterogeneous blend, should serve the goal of gathering under its covers the results of the pursuits and concerns of those interested in the ongoing development of culture and in the interpersonal communication which have been subject to various mutations as an effect of an ever-changing globalized world.*

*This unity in diversity should be achieved by connections established within and among a variety of fields which often blend into each other, proving the interdisciplinarity of modern research: education, teaching, literature, media etc. which also allow complementary approaches in linguistics, rhetoric, sociology etc.*

*The present issue includes four sections: cultural studies, linguistics, literature, and foreign language teaching. All the contributions published here share their authors' ideas in what we hope to become a large cross-boundaries "forum" of communication, debate and mutual cultural interests.*

*As we don't want to reveal too much right from the beginning, and in the hope that we have stirred your curiosity, we are inviting you to discover the universe the authors have shaped and described, the view upon life that they are imagining, which might be considered, in fact, the overall desideratum of our Journal.*

*Thanking all contributors, the editorial board welcomes your presence in this volume and invites the interested ones to unravel the various topics which put forward the concerns and the findings of a challenging professional community.*

# ♦ LINGUISTICS ♦

# Alternancia temporal: subjuntivo imperfecto/presente con verbos y expresiones volitivos en relaciones de simultaneidad-posterioridad (en los nativos rumanos con un dominio del español de B2 y C1)

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**Resumen**

*El presente estudio analiza la alternancia temporal del subjuntivo imperfecto y presente con verbos y expresiones de voluntad en relaciones de simultaneidad-posterioridad en los nativos rumanos que tienen un nivel de español de B2 y C1. El estudio enfoca el tiempo usado por los usuarios de lengua participantes de nivel avanzado; su objetivo es, por tanto, comprobar la adquisición de los dos tiempos del modo subjuntivo en los hablantes que presentan un dominio alto tanto del español, como del rumano; más específicamente, determinar en qué medida se ha logrado el aprendizaje y en qué medida el valor semántico del verbo que exige su uso dentro de la clase de las expresiones volitivas influye el empleo correcto del subjuntivo. Los resultados no indican un dominio absoluto del uso del subjuntivo con verbos volitivos, pero sí el predominio de uso de los tiempos verbales normados por las gramáticas.*

**Palabras clave**

*subjuntivo, alternancia temporal, verbos volitivos, adquisición del modo*

## 1. Introducción

La presente investigación se propone investigar la alternancia temporal del subjuntivo imperfecto y presente con verbos y expresiones volitivos en relaciones de simultaneidad-posterioridad en los nativos rumanos con un dominio del español de B2 y C1.

El interés por el subjuntivo procede de la dificultad de uso de este modo y, además, de las controversias que ha generado a través de los años en el espacio hispanohablante pero especialmente en el campo de la enseñanza del español como segunda lengua.

Primeramente, se prsenta el estado de la cuestión – la adquisición del subjuntivo español –, después, el desarrollo del enfoque teórico sobre el bilingüismo visto como la capacidad de hablar fluentemente dos idiomas y la metodología empleada. Para estudiar el asunto mencionado, se ha elegido

un corpus compuesto por las respuestas de unos nativos rumanos hablantes de español a un test en la forma de un cuestionario en-línea que verificó sus conocimientos en materia del subjuntivo, reconocido como el más problemático modo y uno de los más profundizados temas gramaticales del idioma. Los datos fueron analizados y, al final, se ha probado si la hipótesis de trabajo formulada inicialmente fue validada o no por estos.

El estudio se centra en la elección del tiempo de los hablantes encuestados de nivel avanzado; se propone, pues, probar si la adquisición de los dos tiempos del subjuntivo se ha realizado propiciamente para los hablantes considerados bilingües en español y rumano (dominan ambos idiomas), y, si no, establecer en qué medida se ha conseguido el aprendizaje y en qué medida éste está influido por la carga semántica del verbo regente dentro de la categoría de las expresiones de voluntad. Por último, se ha hecho un paralelo entre el fenómeno descrito por el presente estudio, relacionado a la adquisición de segundas lenguas, y otro análisis lingüístico de los hablantes nativos de español de Hispanoamérica con el fin de demostrar que tal variación se nota aun en los nativos. Para finalizar apropiadamente, se han sacado las conclusiones de todos los datos presentadas a lo largo del trabajo.

En otras palabras, el proyecto de investigación analiza minuciosamente la alternancia del subjuntivo imperfecto y presente en los hablantes rumanos avanzados del español, intentando ofrecer una posible explicación para tal fenómeno, y, además, ayudar a un mejor entendimiento de los problemas con que se confrontan los rumanos al utilizar el subjuntivo en la lengua cervantina.

## 2. Estado de la cuestión

El modo subjuntivo representa uno de los más difíciles temas de la gramática del español como segunda lengua e incluso las personas que tienen un nivel avanzado de lengua cometen errores gramaticales de uso del subjuntivo. Sin embargo, el hecho de que los hablantes de idiomas románicos posean un "sistema verbal semejante" al español les facilita el proceso adquisitivo de este modo pues tienen una ventaja en comparación con otros aprendientes, no románicos (Gutiérrez Araus 2011: 87).

Tal como apunta Lacorte (2009: 63), "la adquisición del subjuntivo en español como L2 presenta retos importantes, no sólo por su morfología, sino también porque su uso depende de factores sintácticos, semánticos y pragmáticos sutiles y complejos". El lingüista añade a este tópico el hecho de que los más problemas en cuanto al uso apropiado del subjuntivo aparecen en el "habla espontánea", cuando la gente prefiere evitar los contextos que piden este modo, prefiriendo la coordinación a la subordinación o reemplazándolo con el indicativo, aunque esto no sea correcto desde el punto de vista gramatical. Además, en los niveles principiantes los alumnos a menudo ni siquiera observan o prestan atención a las formas verbales del subjuntivo que reciben en el "input". Se cree que estas dificultades con que se encuentran los aprendientes se producen parcialmente debido a que el subjuntivo no aporta un significado tan diferente del indicativo (las formas del subjuntivo tienen las mismas desinencias con las del indicativo, cambiando solamente la vocal temática), pues no es imprescindible fijarse en la forma verbal (y, por consiguiente, determinar a cuál de los dos modos pertenece) para entender el mensaje transmitido.

A continuación, la lingüista Gutiérrez Araus (2011) describe en su estudio los problemas fundamentales del subjuntivo con que se encuentran los aprendientes del español como segunda lengua. Como el tema del presente estudio es el subjuntivo, sería apropiado destacar también estos problemas con sujeción a su investigación.

Al principio, la autora hace la diferencia entre el concepto de "modo", la categoría verbal que se refiere al ángulo desde el cual el hablante mira a la acción, o sea que refleja su manera de ver la situación, y el concepto de "modalidad", que está relacionado con el tipo del enunciado; en español hay tres modalidades: aserción, interrogación y apelación. En cuanto al subjuntivo, este no puede aparecer en oraciones independientes interrogativas y, por contraste, los enunciados asertivos negativos favorecen el empleo del subjuntivo, dado que este modo expresa, entre otros, la negación de la certidumbre.

Existen dos categorías de factores que influyen en la elección del modo subjuntivo en el detrimento del indicativo o al revés: semánticos (marcadores de incerteza, temor, duda, orden etc. que exigen su uso) y sintácticos (este modo aparece con predominancia en oraciones

dependientes, aunque sí hay bastante casos cuando se utiliza en oraciones principales). En este último tipo de oraciones, las independientes, sólo se usa el subjuntivo si se trata del aspecto desiderativo o dubitativo. El primer aspecto muestra un deseo y las oraciones que encajan en esta categoría se introducen por pronombres relativos o por la conjunción "ojalá", mientras que las oraciones que poseen el rasgo dubitativo reflejan duda y van introducidas por los adverbios correspondientes, como "quizás", "posiblemente", "probablemente" etc. Una posible confusión que aparece en este último caso es que en todos estos contextos se puede emplear también el indicativo, si el hablante considera que la hipótesis se cumplirá, como en (1), pues no se trata de una norma lingüística universalmente aplicada, en esta manera generando confusión entre los hablantes no-nativos del español.

(1) Quizá no iré/vaya esta noche al cine. (Gutiérrez Araus, 2011: 96).

En el otro tipo de oraciones, las oraciones subordinadas, el indicativo está considerado el modo de la aserción, de la comunicación, y el subjuntivo, como ya se ha mencionado, el modo de la no-aserción (o bien se niega una afirmación o se expresa algo que no se considera ser asertivo, como voluntad, sentimientos, consejos etc.). Un gran problema planteado en esta área lingüística es que a veces, en español, el mismo verbo puede tener dos sentidos distintos, en función del modo verbal seleccionado en la oración dependiente. Por ejemplo, el verbo "sentir", que con el indicativo se refiere al experimentar una impresión (2a) y con el subjuntivo expresa lástima o descontento (2b); o los bien conocidos verbos *dicendi* (decir, comunicar, repetir, contestar, proponer etc.), que con el indicativo significan comunicación o aserción (3a) y con el subjuntivo hacen referencia a un orden o mandato (3b).

(2) a. Siento que está haciendo demasiado calor. (Gutiérrez Araus, 2011: 96)
b. Siento que esté haciendo demasiado calor. (Gutiérrez Araus, 2011: 97)

(3) a. Nos dijo que trabajábamos muy bien. (Gutiérrez Araus, 2011: 97)
b. Nos dijo que trabajáramos muy bien. (Gutiérrez Araus, 2011: 97)

Otra situación gramatical que podría plantear problemas es la de las subordinadas relativas, en las cuales si se usa el indicativo se trata de la especificidad del sustantivo regente y existe la preposición "a" como reforzador del hecho de que nos referimos a alguien/algo conocido (4a) y si se usa el subjuntivo se trata de un referente inespecífico (4b).

(4) a. Busco a un amigo que me ayuda. (Gutiérrez Araus, 2011: 97)
    b. Busco un amigo que me ayude. (Gutiérrez Araus, 2011: 98)

Y, por fin, el último caso problemático presentado por Gutiérrez Araus (2011: 98) en su libro tiene que ver con la conexión existente entre el subjuntivo y la temporalidad, porque el subjuntivo se emplea en la oración subordinada cuando, según la correspondencia temporal, expresa una acción posterior al momento de referencia, sea en el presente (cuando se usa el presente de subjuntivo) o en el pasado (cuando se usa el imperfecto de subjuntivo). El autor menciona además que es impropiamente llamar estas formas "presente" y, respectivamente, "imperfecto", porque ambas reflejan la idea de posterioridad, como en los ejemplos (5) y (6), y, aún más, el subjuntivo en sí abarca más un valor modal que uno temporal.

(5) Estaré durmiendo cuando llegues a casa. (Gutiérrez Araus, 2011: 98)

(6) Le mandó que se duchara cuando llegara a casa. (Gutiérrez Araus, 2011: 98)

Este último caso es el a que más atención se ha prestado al analizar las respuestas de los nativos rumanos, dado que la alternancia de los dos tiempos del subjuntivo tiene que ver con la correspondencia temporal, que falta en rumano, pero que está tan presente y estricta en español; por tanto, un rumano hablante de español tendrá dificultades al emplear debidamente los tiempos, dado que, en función del tiempo del verbo introductor (presente o pasado), se requieren formas verbales diferentes en las oraciones subordinadas.

## 3. Enfoque teórico

El enfoque teórico que representa la base del estudio está relacionado con el ámbito del bilingüismo, que es un campo destacado de la adquisición de lenguas. Según el *Diccionario de términos clave de ELE* compilado por el Instituto Cervantes (2008), el término se define como "la capacidad de un sujeto para comunicarse de forma independiente y alterna en dos lenguas." La entrada continúa por la mención muy importante de que hay varias aproximaciones al fenómeno, desde las que sólo clasifican como bilingües solamente a aquellas personas que tienen un dominio nativo de dos lenguas hasta las que incluyen cualquier persona "con algún conocimiento sobre una segunda lengua".

Pero, tal como apuntan S.M. Gass y L. Selinker (2008), los investigadores de ASL se centran en hablantes casi-nativos o en estudiantes avanzados de las lenguas, por su interés en los mecanismos involucrados en el proceso de aprendizaje, no tanto en los resultados finales. Por ende, esta investigación seguirá una perspectiva intermedia, apoyada por Weinreich (1952), que proporciona al bilingüismo la acepción de practicar dos lenguas de modo alternativo.

Sería apropiado añadir a la definición antemencionada la mención de que un hablante será considerado bilingüe no solo cuando está capaz de usar dos idiomas alternadamente, sino también cuando posee un dominio avanzado de dos lenguas a la vez. En definitiva, conforme a los dos estudios, hay numerosos contenidos nocionales que se conceden al concepto y, consiguientemente, diversos tipos de bilingües, desde los bilingües aditivos hasta compuestos, diagonales etc. De todos modos, la categoría que representa la área de competencia para los estudios de la ASL está compuesta por los *bilingües secuenciales*, que se refieren a aquellos individuos cuya segunda lengua se añade a cierto punto después de que la primera ha empezado a desarrollarse. Esta observación está estrechamente ligada con el hecho de que todos los informantes que participaron a la encuesta son bilingües secuenciales.

## 4. Metodología

El corpus contiene 55 respondientes, entre los cuales 23 (42%) tienen un nivel intermedio-alto del dominio del español y 32 (58%) poseen un nivel avanzado, según indica la Figura 1 (que ha sido realizado solo con fines demográficos, ya que los dos niveles se analizarán conjuntamente). Es relevante mencionar que el nivel representa una apreciación propia de cada participante. Se han elegido sólo los niveles superiores porque los otros no se han considerado relevantes para el análisis, puesto que el empleo del subjuntivo imperfecto en las subordinadas regidas por un verbo introductor en el pasado es una noción gramatical que se enseña empezando con el nivel B1. Por tanto, se ha apreciado que sólo los hablantes de niveles B2 y C1 podrían suministrar muestras de lengua que presenten una alternancia temporal analizable desde el punto de vista de la variación lingüística; los otros niveles no mostrarían sino diferentes fases de la adquisición del ELE, que sería asimismo muy interesante analizar, pero que no es el objeto del presente trabajo.
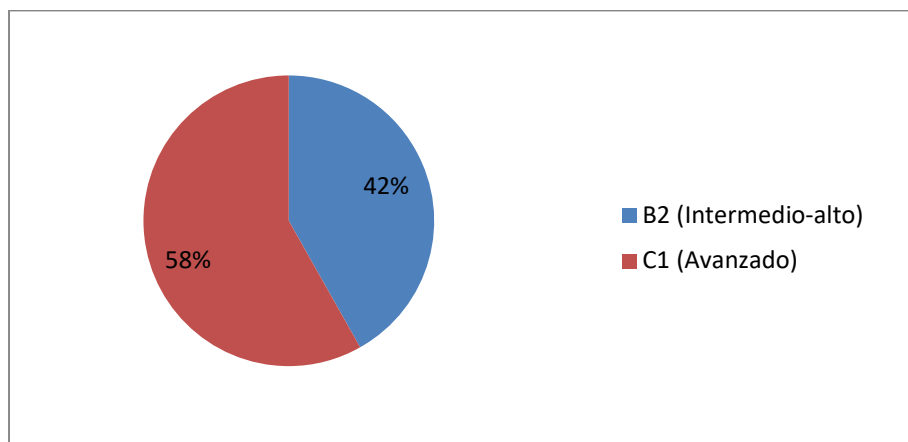


Figura 1. Nivel de dominio del español de los informantes

El test que ha hecho posible la recopilación de las oraciones incluidas en el corpus está formado por 12 oraciones que contienen contextos que rigen el uso de los tiempos presente o imperfecto de subjuntivo; en otras palabras, se comprueba la concordancia temporal en la relación de simultaneidad y posterioridad entre la oración principal y la

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subordinada (el tipo de subordinación utilizada es sustantiva de objeto directo en todos los casos). Sin embargo, lo que varía es el tipo de verbos y expresiones verbales que requieren el uso del subjuntivo. La clase elegida es la de verbos y expresiones volitivos, pero, para realizar la subdivisión dentro de esta categoría se ha adoptado la subclasificación de Lieberman (2007: 118-120), que los divide así: la primera subcategoría expresa deseos, preferencias y gustos; la segunda subclase incluye necesidad y obligación; la tercera subclase contiene pedidos, ruegos, súplicas; la cuarta, se refiere a consejos, sugerencias, recomendaciones; la quinta subclase incluye permiso y prohibición; y la sexta, órdenes y mandatos. Las oraciones de las categorías mencionadas, junto con el verbo prototípico elegido pueden ser consultadas en el anexo.

En cuanto a la técnica de recogida de datos, las oraciones se incluyeron en una encuesta en línea en Formularios de Google, que se difundió por correo electrónico y por las redes sociales.

En el siguiente apartado se analizarán y compararán las muestras de lengua de los 55 encuestados por categoría para determinar cuál influye con predominancia en el grado de alternancia de los dos tiempos del subjuntivo. No obstante, la cuestión esencial de la investigación es confirmar o infirmar **la hipótesis**, que se plantea a continuación: Teniendo en cuenta las informaciones presentadas en el estado de la cuestión y en el enfoque teórico, se espera que los hablantes avanzados de español usen casi exclusivamente el subjuntivo presente en contextos presentes y predominantemente el subjuntivo imperfecto en instancias pasadas. En cuanto al tipo de expresión regente, no se esperan diferencias notables entre las subcategorías existentes.

## 5. Análisis

La siguiente tabla presenta las frecuencias relativas del uso del subjuntivo presente e imperfecto por nativos rumanos con un dominio del español de B2 y C1 en contextos presentes (que requieren el empleo del subjuntivo presente) y pasados (que rigen el subjuntivo imperfecto, según la norma). Las variables dependientes en este caso son los dos tiempos verbales, mientras que las variables independientes de tipo extralingüístico son el nivel de dominio del español, puesta que solo se han tomado en

cuenta los hablantes considerados bilingües (factores como el sexo, la formación profesional o el lugar de proveniencia no son relevantes para el presente estudio) y de tipo intralingüístico son, en primer lugar, el contexto sintáctico, presente o pasado, y en segundo lugar el tipo de verbo regente, que representa el contexto léxico.

| Categoría/Tipo de verbos y expresiones introductores | Presente | | Pasado | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Deseos, preferencias y gustos<br>Verbo prototípico: querer | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto |
| | 98% | 2% | 26% | 74% |
| 2. Necesidad y obligación<br>Verbo prototípico: necesitar | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto |
| | 100% | 0% | 22% | 78% |
| 3. Pedidos, ruegos, súplicas<br>Verbo prototípico: rogar | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto |
| | 100% | 0% | 33% | 67% |
| 4. Consejos, sugerencias, recomendaciones<br>Verbo prototípico: aconsejar | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto |
| | 100% | 0% | 14% | 86% |
| 5. Permiso y prohibición<br>Verbo prototípico: permitir | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto |
| | 94% | 6% | 30% | 70% |
| 6. Órdenes y mandatos<br>Verbo prototípico: exigir | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto | Subjuntivo presente | Subjuntivo imperfecto |
| | 96% | 4% | 23% | 77% |

Tabla 1. Frecuencia relativa del presente e imperfecto del subjuntivo
en función de la clase semántica del verbo

Se observa un número alto de respuestas acertadas (de uso del subjuntivo presente) y una cantidad casi insignificante de empleos del imperfecto de subjuntivo en el contexto presente. Hay tres categorías (necesidad, pedidos y consejos) donde no aparece ningún caso del subjuntivo imperfecto, cosa explicable por el tiempo del verbo introductor. En el resto de los tipos de expresiones regentes (deseo, permiso y órdenes) se nota una frecuencia relativa de 2, 6 y respectivamente 4%. Para la concordancia en el pasado, los porcentajes no son tan altos para el subjuntivo imperfecto y, consecuentemente, hay diferencias menores entre los dos tiempos. Por tanto, los datos registrados en la tabla confirman la hipótesis de la investigación en cuanto al uso de los dos tiempos en función de los factores sintácticos.

A continuación, para facilitar la interpretación de los datos y, específicamente, el análisis de los factores semánticos tenidos en cuenta se han realizado dos diagramas, uno para cada tipo de contexto sintáctico, que se pueden consultar abajo (Figuras 2 y 3).

Leyenda: Categoría de verbos introductores: D = **Deseos, preferencias y gustos;** N = **Necesidad y obligación;** Ped = **Pédidos, ruegos, súplicas;** C = **Consejos, sugerencias, recomendaciones;** Per = **Permiso y prohibición;** Ó = **Órdenes y mandatos.**
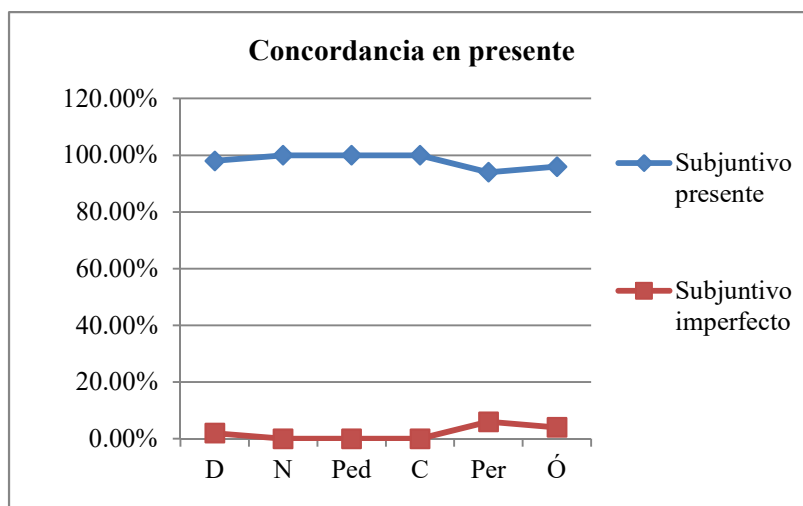


Figura 2. El uso de los dos tiempos en contextos presentes

El gráfico indica que el mayor grado de variación, o sea el mayor uso del imperfecto de subjuntivo cuando el verbo introductor está en presente, se encuentra en la categoría de permiso y prohibición, pero dado el hecho de que es el único verbo regente que está en futuro, tal frecuencia se podría explicar por la asociación errónea de este tiempo con una concordancia en pasado. Pero, asimismo, podría ser justificada por el valor semántico de permiso, que sugiere un mayor grado de implicación del sujeto (los padres) y que, por consiguiente, puede ser visto como más o menos realizable: el empleo del imperfecto en este caso significaría una acción menos probable. La siguiente categoría, con 4% empleos del subjuntivo imperfecto, es la de órdenes y mandatos, el verbo prototípico utilizado siendo "exigir". En este caso, la opción se podría explicar por la presencia de un verbo en pasado en la primera oración de la frase, la que introduce el contexto. Y el último tipo de expresiones introductoras donde aparece el subjuntivo imperfecto es el de deseos, justificable por el grado de probabilidad de que la acción cumpla percibido por el hablante.
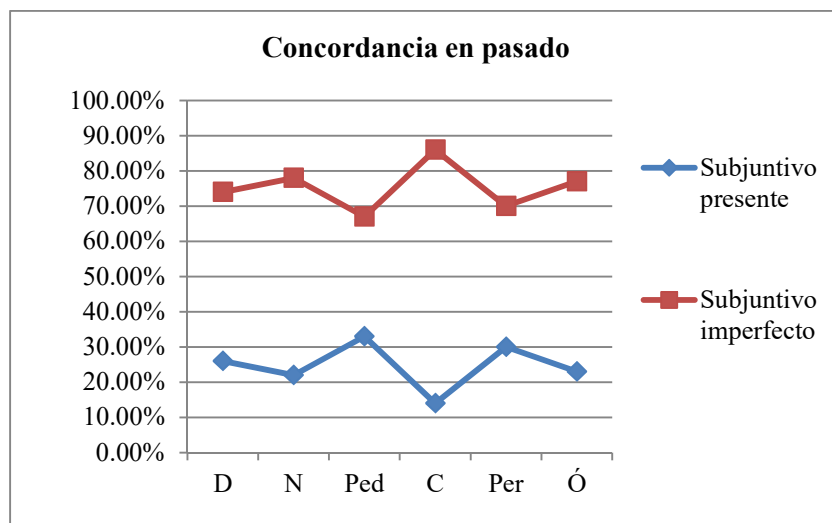


Figura 3. Gráfico mostrando el uso de los dos tiempos en contextos pasados

En comparación con el gráfico anterior, este muestra un grado visiblemente más alto de variación dada la mayor dificultad del subjuntivo imperfecto (tiempo que en rumano no existe) requerido por contextos pasados. La categoría con más empleos del imperfecto de subjuntivo es la

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de consejos (86%), con una diferencia notable de 8 y respectivamente 9% comparado con las siguientes categorías, las de necesidad y órdenes. Por otra parte, el tipo de verbos regentes con más usos del presente de subjuntivo es el de pedidos, probablemente por la presencia del adverbio temporal "siempre" que induce la idea de continuidad en el respondiente, aunque el contexto es pasado. Por lo tanto, el gráfico confirma parcialmente la hipótesis formulada en cuanto al tipo de contexto semántico, indicando una leve preferencia por la categoría de consejos en el pasado.

Tomando en cuenta el hecho de que el mayor porcentaje de subjuntivo presente en los contextos pasados no supera 33%, se puede afirmar que, en el caso de los hablantes rumanos, trata de un empleo del subjuntivo más cercano al español estándar en los niveles avanzados. Pero este fenómeno (la alternancia temporal, es decir el reemplazo del subjuntivo imperfecto por el subjuntivo presente) pasa aun en los hablantes nativos de español.

*La Nueva Gramática de la lengua española* (2009: 1846-1847) menciona que, de los grupos de *verbos de orientación prospectiva*, los volitivos son los que aceptan más fácilmente los complementos oracionales de simultaneidad. Continúa afirmando que, aunque ciertas fuentes gramaticales indican que el segundo verbo carece de carga temporal si el verbo introductor es un predicado de volición (y que puede generar, por tanto, solo la interpretación de posterioridad impuesta por el primer verbo), de hecho, el modo subjuntivo del verbo subordinado puede rendir distinciones temporales con esta categoría de verbos. El ejemplo provisto en la gramática para ilustrar esto es "¿Acaso preferirías que yo {esté ~ estuviera} todo el día sin hacer nada?". Sin embargo, esto es posible porque el verbo introductor expresa una preferencia presente, pero en el corpus discutido aquí hay también instancias de un contexto puramente pasado seguido por un verbo en el presente de subjuntivo y no el imperfecto, tal como se debía.

La misma aproximación al tema la tiene López García (1998, ap. Abderrahim, 2016: 16-17), que subraye el peso del elemento cognitivo en la elección temporal del subjuntivo y divide los verbos introductores en tres categorías, de las cuales la "locutiva y adlocutiva" es relevante aquí, que "se refieren a cogniciones prospectivas del hablante" y en las que "el presente de subjuntivo puede tener un verbo regente en pasado". Aún más, se

constata que predomina la forma del subjuntivo presente por poseer "más carácter volitivo" y por tener su origen en la "modalidad optativa", en comparación con el imperfecto de subjuntivo que origina en la "modalidad dubitativa".

Volviendo a la idea de que los hablantes nativos de español rompen con la correlación de tiempos y utilizan el presente de subjuntivo en vez del imperfecto, sería adecuado mencionar el estudio lingüístico de Michaela Simons (2009) sobre este aspecto lingüístico en el registro oral de Hispanoamérica, que intenta justificar el fenómeno analizando muestras de habla de CREA.

En cuanto a esta alternancia de los dos tiempos, Gili Gaya 1948 (ap. Simons, 2009) afirma que "La regla de la *concordancia temporum* dice que si el verbo principal está en el pasado, el subordinado debe estar también en pasado: *Le mandaron que estudiase*. Pero se dice igualmente *le mandaron que estudie*, refiriendo el acto de estudiar al presente o al futuro", implicando, por ende, que se trata de matices temporales diferentes, no solo de un fallo gramatical. Otros motivos identificados en el análisis de Simons son de índole semántico (para expresar actualidad) y retórico (para enfatizar una idea). La autora concluye afirmando que se trata de una realidad lingüística que no debe ser ignorada, aunque no cumple con las normas vigentes.

## 6. Conclusiones

Para concluir, podemos afirmar que los nativos rumanos hablantes de español considerados bilingües (de nivel B2 y C1) no poseen un dominio absoluto de la lengua en lo referente al modo subjuntivo con verbos volitivos, como generalización, y a los tiempos presente e imperfecto de subjuntivo particularmente, ya que el estudio ha verificado en concreto solo el saber del uso correcto de este modo aplicado a la correspondencia temporal del subjuntivo en las relaciones de simultaneidad en contextos presentes y pasados. Esta conclusión viene derivada de la alternancia de los dos modos presente en sus respuestas en el marco del cuestionario; de todos modos, emplean casi únicamente el subjuntivo presente en contextos presentes y predominantemente el subjuntivo imperfecto en instancias pasadas, tal como recomiendan las reglas normativas. En lo referente a las

subcategorías de las expresiones de voluntad, no se observa una preferencia destacada (solo en la correspondencia con el pasado se remarca un uso visiblemente más alto en la categoría de consejos). De resultas, la hipótesis de trabajo fue validada por el análisis realizado.

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**Anexo**

| Categoría/Tipo de verbos y expresiones introductores | Presente | Pasado |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Deseos, preferencias y gustos<br>Verbo prototípico: querer | Conforme con los últimos cambios, ella <u>quiere</u> que el Gobierno………. (adoptar) las medidas correspondientes. | Javier <u>quería</u> que su hermano………. (recibir) un nuevo portátil, porque el previo ya no funcionaba. |
| 2. Necesidad y obligación<br>Verbo prototípico: necesitar | <u>Necesito</u> que mis compañeros me………. (ayudar) cuanto antes con el proyecto, porque no lo puedo hacer sola. | Desde su punto de vista, no <u>necesitaba</u> que su hija lo……… (ayudar). |
| 3. Pedidos, ruegos, súplicas<br>Verbo prototípico: rogar | Me <u>ruega</u> que le……. (responder) pronto. | El señor Sánchez siempre me <u>rogaba</u> que le…….. (elaborar) los documentos necesarios. |
| 4. Consejos, sugerencias, recomendaciones<br>Verbo prototípico: aconsejar | Aunque no te gusta, te <u>aconsejo</u> que……… (seguir) esta carrera. | Una vez terminada la presentación de Sofía, él me <u>aconsejó</u> que………… (repetir) el discurso. |
| 5. Permiso y prohibición<br>Verbo prototípico: permitir | Tus padres nunca te <u>permitirán</u> que……. (salir) sola a esta hora de la noche. | Como nuestro primo llegó tarde en Salamanca ayer, le <u>permitimos</u> que……… (pasar) la noche en casa. |
| 6. Órdenes y mandatos<br>Verbo prototípico: exigir | Ahora que sé lo que hiciste, te <u>exijo</u> que me…….. (devolver) mis cosas. | Cuando fueron a visitar el Museo, la profesora les <u>exigió</u> que………. (respetar) el reglamento interior. |

# Sintagmas mixtos (español-inglés, rumano-inglés) de alta frecuencia en el sector de los viajes

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## Resumen

*Muchos de los términos empleados hoy en turismo son de origen inglés. A pesar de la existencia de conceptos equivalentes tanto en español, como también en rumano, hoy día se prefiere utilizar los anglicismos en todos los niveles de especialización. Esta preferencia por los anglicismos se traduce en la imagen de globalización, un rasgo que presenta el turismo en todos sus niveles y sectores, que no dificultan la descodificación del mensaje dada la existencia de explicaciones, términos o sintagmas equivalentes, todo ello facilitando el acceso al nivel especializado en turismo.*

## Palabras clave

*turismo, anglicismo, terminología turística, sintagmas especializados.*

El presente trabajo propone una investigación acerca del uso de los anglicismos dentro de la expresión sintagmática en rumano y en español. Nos centraremos en uno de los cuatro sectores de la industria turística, el de los viajes, para evidenciar la importancia que ocupan estos anglicismos en la expresión sintagmática del significado turístico. El sector de los viajes y del transporte presenta un número considerable de anglicismos dentro del léxico español (Medina López 1996: 28-29).

En este análisis sintagmático, el texto y el contexto ocupan un lugar central, el contexto siendo fundamental en las investigaciones lingüísticas y terminológicas por hacer la distinción entre término y palabra.

Para realizar la investigación se han analizado textos y contextos generales y especializados, extraídos de revistas y sitios especializados en turismo, como también publicaciones de carácter general.

Teniendo en cuenta el hecho de que los términos son autónomos solamente en las nomenclaturas científicas, en la lengua común se combinan con palabras, de este modo admitiendo variaciones semánticas.

El contexto, como factor de estabilidad y/o variación del significado, funciona como un filtro con doble propósito:

1. Para la actualización del uso de ciertos términos;
2. Para la desambiguación (el contexto ofrece estabilidad al significado).

El contexto se define como "parte a unui enunţ care precedă şi/sau urmează unitatea lingvistică supusă analizei şi care îi condiţionează prezenţa, forma sau funcţia"[1] (DŞL 2005: 138). "El contexto es la categoría lingüística que cumple dos funciones básicas en la comunicación: (a) fijar el significado de una unidad lingüística; y (b) convertir a una o más oraciones en un enunciado." (Alcaraz Varo 1997: 145)

Los contextos más cercanos se actualizan bajo la forma de las colocaciones, fraseología o coocurrencias. En cualquier léxico especializado, el contexto es muy importante para identificar el significado especializado de una unidad simple o compleja, contemplado las posibilidades combinatorias que presentan los términos. En el campo del turismo, hay sintagmas considerados fijos (oferta turística, cadena hotelera, casa grande[2], etc.) y también sintagmas libres (flujo turístico, transporte turístico, afluencia turística, etc.)

El turismo, como actividad preferida de la sociedad actual, "fenómeno social, cultural y económico que supone el desplazamiento de personas a países o lugares fuera de su entorno habitual por motivos personales, profesionales o de negocios"[3] y "conjunto de técnicas y actividades encaminadas a atraer y satisfacer las necesidades y motivaciones de los turistas en sus desplazamientos vacacionales. Por extensión, organización de los medios conducentes a facilitar estos viajes" (DTUR 1998: 369), es una industria muy importante, generadora de satisfacciones

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[1]"Parte de un enunciado que antecede y/o sigue a la unidad lingüística analizada y que condiciona su presencia, forma o función" (*n. t.*).

[2]"Casa grande" se considera sintagma fijo especializado en terminología turística. "Artículo 70. Pazos y otras edificaciones singulares. Son *pazos*, *casas grandes*, *casas rectorales* y demás edificaciones singulares aquellas construcciones que, por sus singulares características y antigüedad, están sujetas a la normativa de patrimonio cultural de Galicia y a los catálogos de edificios singulares a proteger por el planeamiento urbanístico municipal y proporcionan el servicio de alojamiento turístico y eventualmente otros servicios complementarios." (LEY 7/2011, del 27 de octubre, del Turismo de Galicia).

[3] https://www.unwto.org/es/glosario-terminos-turisticos [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

relacionadas con la necesidad humana de viajar, conocer, divertirse y recuperarse.

Centrándonos en todos estos aspectos, desde el punto de vista de su terminología y de los campos semánticos implicados, el turismo se divide en cuatro grandes sectores: el alojamiento, el viaje, la restauración y las actividades de ocio (DTTO 2006: V). Como lenguaje heterogéneo, el lenguaje empleado en turismo utiliza términos de varios campos de especialidad: el arte, la gastronomía, la economía, etc.

Tal como se ha indicado al principio, nos centraremos en el análisis de los sintagmas mixtos que emplean anglicismos y se circunscriben al sector de los viajes. Los anglicismos tienen una densidad muy alta de uso en la terminología turística por ser el inglés la lengua con mayor influencia en el mundo y como lengua de comunicación. Su empleo extensivo hace más accesibles las informaciones para todos los usuarios dado el amplio uso del turismo en la sociedad contemporánea y su carácter internacional y globalizante.

Los anglicismos, muy frecuentes y densos en la terminología turística, se presentan bajo dos modalidades: préstamo integral (sin modificación, extranjerismo o barbarismo): *check-in*, *charter*, *handling*, *ticketing*, etc., o a través de un proceso de adaptación gráfica, fónica y morfológica a las reglas de la lengua de llegada: (esp.) "chárter", etc.; (rum.) „stewardesă", etc. Estas modalidades se emplean, por un lado, para apoyar a la unificación del lenguaje a través del inglés, y, por otro lado, "al plurilingüismo internacional", que trata de imponer el uso de las lenguas propias (Cabré 1993: 66, Contreras 2006: 68).

En la terminología turística el significado especializado se presenta a través de expresiones simples y complejas. Hay una presencia numerosa de expresiones sintagmáticas donde los términos en inglés juegan un papel muy importante para ilustrar y justificar el significado turístico. Hemos dividido estos sintagmas en dos categorías, en función de la forma. La primera categoría contiene sintagmas totalmente en inglés, y la segunda engloba los sintagmas mixtos, que combinan elementos del inglés y de las lenguas analizadas. Los ejemplos presentados a continuación se han extraído de diccionarios especializados de turismo, de documentos especializados y de amplia difusión e identifican una amplia tipología de sintagmas

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relacionados con el sector de los viajes (tipos de viajes, de tarifas, de servicios turísticos que implican transporte, documentos de viaje, etc.)

**1**. Sintagmas totalmente en inglés que se utilizan, a veces, en paralelo con los sintagmas en la lengua meta. Tras el análisis se ha visto que en rumano la frecuencia de uso de estos sintagmas en inglés es mayor que en español: *early booking*, *late booking*, *blind booking*, *booking window, light ticketing*, *business class*, *boarding card/pass*, *no show*, *empty legs*, *back to back*, *connecting flight*, *frequent flyer*, *open jaw*, *low cost*, *inclusive tour*, *rail inclusive tour*, *rail-route*, *independent tour*, *escorted tour*, *guided tour*, *city break*, *short haul*, *long haul*[4], *last minute*, *round trip*, *check in*, *fam-trip*, *free sale*, *jet lag*, *one way*, *stand-by*, *split charter*, *fly-cruise*, *fly-drive*, *package tour*, *park and ride*, *ground handling*, etc.

> "Pese a los cambios, lo que quieren los británicos es "tomar el sol y disfrutar de sus vacaciones tradicionales" y el consejero asegura que "los *city breaks* seguirán teniendo un papel importante y se producirá un incremento de los viajes que tengan que ver con turismo de naturaleza y turismo activo"." *Hosteltur* [España] No. 301, Marzo de 2021, pág. 21); "Uno de los aspectos que más está cambiando es la posibilidad de poder realizar un cobro en caso de incumplimiento de condiciones de la reserva: *no show*, cancelación fuera de plazo, etc."[5]: "En cuanto al uso, este tipo de movilidad urbana -en concreto el modelo *round trip*, que consiste en recoger un coche o furgoneta en un parking, donde se devuelve al finalizar el uso- se percibe como muy útil para hacer turismo (61,1%) y para los planes de ocio en la ciudad y en el entorno más cercano (42,2%)."[6] ;"Para este público, Germanwings ofrece la *blind booking*, "un producto muy innovador, diseñado específicamente para esta generación". El usuario sólo elige el momento en el que quiere volar y la temática de su escapada (compras, naturaleza, fiesta, gay-

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[4] Viaje de larga distancia (DTTO 2006: 231).
[5] https://www.hosteltur.com/144991_guia-practica-para-incorporar-una-pasarela-de-pagos-a-la-venta-directa.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].
[6] https://www.hosteltur.com/126400_el-60-de-los-espanoles-cree-que-el-coche-propio-sera-desplazado-en-10-anos.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

friendly, metrópoli o cultura) y Germanwings decide el destino."[7]; "En cuanto a retos, "el más grande es que es nuevo, que estamos haciendo cosas que nadie ha hecho antes, hay otras aerolíneas que están operando en el _low cost long haul_, pero nuestra fórmula es diferente, estamos moviendo el campo hacia un nuevo nivel e integrando tecnología y procesos que nunca antes se habían usados juntos"."[8]

"Vicepreşedintele […], a declarat pentru NewsIn că operatorul aerian nu poate să aibă _interline ticketing_ (înţelegere comercială între companii aeriene individuale pentru a transporta pasagerii care călătoresc pe rute care necesită mai mulţi operatori aerieni) cu toate companiile, iar preşedintele Comisiei IATA (Asociaţia Internaţională a Transportatorilor Aerieni) din cadrul ANAT, […] vede rezolvarea problemei în aproximativ doi ani."[9]; "Nu mai există programarea concediului din timp. Acum, organizez totul _last minute_ – nu rezerv decât cu câteva zile înainte."[10]; "Într-un _city break_ la Roma nu vei apuca să vezi mare parte din oraş, pentru că este uriaş, iar lucruri de făcut şi de văzut sunt mai peste tot."[11]; "În contextul epidemiologic actual din ţara noastră, românii sunt tot mai deschişi spre călătorii şi aleg cu precădere ţări care au depăşit deja cu repercusiuni minime valul patru al pandemiei şi care în prezent au foarte puţine restricţii pentru persoanele care deţin certificatul verde. Totodată, se observă o uşoară creştere a _booking window_, adică numărul de zile dintre rezervare şi plecarea propriu-zisă, de la 16 la 19 zile, ceea ce indică un optimism mai pronunţat decât în urmă cu ceva luni, dar nu putem vorbi încă de vacanţe planificare din timp.

[7]https://www.hosteltur.com/121580_millennials-target-estrategico-industria-aerea.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].
[8] https://www.hosteltur.com/109148_la-nueva-era-de-la-low-cost-en-la-que-el-cliente-es-aun-mas-el-rey.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].
[9]http://www.ziare.com/economie/stiri-economice/problemele-cauzate-de-biletele-electronice-vor-disparea-in-doi-ani-327604 [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].
[10] https://www.natgeo.ro/articole/36868-concediu-pandemie-corina-matei [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].
[11] https://www.natgeo.ro/ng-traveler/ng-traveler-ng-traveler/25017-city-break-la-roma-trei-idei-obiective-turistice-care-te-vor-inspira [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

Înainte de pandemie, vacanțele chiar și de tip _city break_ se rezervau în medie cu 28 de zile în avans."[12]

**2**. Sintagmas mixtos, que hemos dividido en:

**a.1.** Términos en inglés utilizados en sintagmas con determinantes españoles: _ticketing_ aéreo, _overbooking_ aéreo, _handling_ de aeronaves, _handling_ de carga, _handling_ de pasajeros, _handling_ de equipajes, _handling_ de rampa, _hub_ aéreo, _voucher_ aéreo, _voucher_ turístico, _check-in_ aéreo, _check-in_ virtual, _check-in_ electrónico, etc.

> "Aunque el _overbooking_ aéreo puede ser exasperante para el pasajero, esta práctica comercial (legal en la UE) se produce porque incrementa los beneficios de las aerolíneas."[13]; "Los saudíes también desean convertir Yeda en un _hub_ aéreo internacional al tiempo que financian la expansión de la aerolínea nacional saudí."[14]: "Las medidas de Ámsterdam contra el _overbooking_ turístico."[15]; "En 1994, Joel R. Goheen patentó el billete electrónico para las aerolíneas y 10 años después, la IATA (asociación mundial de aerolíneas) exigió a sus miembros que dejaran de emitir tarjetas de embarque en papel antes de 2008, el mismo año en que empezaron a extenderse los sistemas de autoservicio para el _check-in_ electrónico en los aeropuertos."[16]

**a.2.** Términos en inglés utilizados en sintagmas con determinantes rumanos: _ticketing_ aerian, _voucher_ turistic, _voucher_ de vacanţă, _booking_ aerian, _boarding_ prioritar, _hub_ aerian, _handling_ aeroportuar, _handling_ pasageri, _planning_ turistic, _check-in_ virtual, _check-in_ prioritar, etc.

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[12]https://www.mediafax.ro/social/studiu-tarile-in-care-vor-sa-calatoreasca-romanii-au-legatura-cu-restrictiile-pentru-vaccinati-20325238 [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

[13]https://www.hosteltur.com/128361_overbooking-los-hoteles-ya-pueden-copiar-a-las-aerolineas.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

[14] https://www.hosteltur.com/147765_arabia-saudi-sale-de-compras.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

[15] https://www.tendenciashoy.com/ocio/las-medidas-de-amsterdam-contra_19770_102.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

[16] https://viajar.elperiodico.com/viajeros/20-cambios-forma-movernos-vivir-500-numeros-viajar [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

"Carpatair a reuşit să dezvolte la Timişoara cel mai performant _hub_
_aerian_ din România"[17]; "Dacă ai bagaje la cală, _check-inul_ prioritar
îți pune la dispoziție un birou dedicat pentru _check-in_ unde poți
preda bagajele simplu și rapid."[18]; "Opțional - Serviciul Wizz
Priority (_check in_ prioritar, _boarding_ prioritar, 1 bagaj de maximum
10 kg și 55 x 40 x 23 cm) cu un cost de la 15 EUR/ pers/sens, în
funcție de disponibilitate."[19]

Estos tipos de sintagmas gozan de una posición favorable debido a
su estructura (los determinantes: turístico, aéreo, aeronave, pasajero, etc.
circunscriben de manera exacta su utilización y adecuación al sector), como
también por la gran frecuencia de uso y su inclusión en los diccionarios,
tanto generales, como también especializados.

**b.1.** Sintagmas donde los términos en español se combinan con
determinantes en inglés: agente de _ticketing_, agencia de _ticketing_, servicios
de _handling_, compañía de _handling_, empresa de _handling_, agente de
_handling_, aerolínea _low-cost_, pasajero _low-cost_, servicios _low-cost_, reserva
_low-cost_, vuelo _low-cost_, turismo _low-cost_, vuelo _open jaw_, vuelo _empty leg_,
billete _open jaw_, circuito _last minute_, vuelo _last minute_, viaje _last minute_,
pasajero _last minute_, reserva _last minute_, paquete _last minute_, crucero _last
minute_, turismo de _city break_, turismo de _short break_, turismo de _shopping_,
turismo _single_, turismo de _leisure_, turismo de _wellness_, turista de _leisure_,
paquete de _trekking_, ruta de _trekking_, turista _backpacker_, etc.

"En el caso del aeródromo mallorquín, se aumentará de dos a tres el
número de _agentes de handling_."[20]; "Las leyes de desregulación del
espacio aéreo aplicadas a principios de los noventa extendieron por

[17] http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-7808806-.htm?nomobile [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].
[18] https://zbordirect.com/blog/priority-boarding-la-zborurile-wizz-air-si-ryanair [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].
[19] https://catalinatravel.ro/produse-detalii.php?cod=YBLJ [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].
[20] https://www.tendenciashoy.com/transportes/los-candidatos-al-handling-de-aena-presentan-armas-por-los-principales-aeropuertos_9099_102.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

todo el mundo el modelo de precios y servicios *low-cost* creado inicialmente por aerolíneas estadounidenses."[21]; "Para los hoteles y para las compañías aéreas, las reservas *leisure* representan cerca del 80% del total, frente a un 20% que corresponde a los viajeros de negocios." (*Hosteltur* [España] No. 303, Octubre de 2021, pág. 34); "En cuanto a las tarifas, han observado que las aerolíneas sí que están intentando ser relativamente agresivas en lotes de precios, ofertas *flash* y descuentos, mucha promoción aprovechando cualquier excusa -Navidad, San Valentín-, además con billetes muy flexibles, de comprarlo hoy y poder hacer cambios hasta final de año con bonos canjeables…" (*Hosteltur* [España] No. 301, Marzo de 2021, portada); "El Grupo Lufthansa extiende su plazo de *rebooking*."[22]; "Los clientes *frequent flyer* tendrán acceso a los beneficios de ambas aerolíneas y los pasajeros de élite, tanto a las salas Delta Sky Club como Virgin Atlantic Clubhouse."[23]

**b.2.** Sintagmas formados por términos en rumano, que se combinan con determinantes en inglés: cursă *charter*, pachet *early booking*, rezervare *early booking*, sejur *early booking*, agenţie de *ticketing*, agent de *ticketing*, croazieră *last minute*, pachet *last minute*, ofertă *last minute*, vacanţă *all inclusive*, destinaţie de *city break*, vacanţă *city break*, sejur *low-cost*, vacanţă *low-cost*, cursă *low-cost*, zbor *low-cost*, turism *low-cost*, turist de *incoming*, turism de *incoming*, turism (de) *leisure*, turist (de) *leisure*, staţiune de *leisure*, turism de *shopping*, turism de *outgoing*, sejur de *shopping*, industria de *travel*, călătorie *backpacking*, aranjament *fly and drive*, zbor *code-share*, formalităţi de *check-in*, etc.

> "Pentru zborurile *code-share* operate de companiile partenere, precum și pentru zborurile TAROM operate de la aeroporturile externe, ora de închidere a formalităților poate varia în funcție de

[21] https://viajar.elperiodico.com/viajeros/20-cambios-forma-movernos-vivir-500-numeros-viajar [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

[22] https://www.hosteltur.com/136817_el-grupo-lufthansa-extiende-su-plazo-de-rebooking.html [Consultado el 27 de octubre de 2021].

[23] https://www.hosteltur.com/122170_delta-compra-49-virgin-atlantic-crearan-joint-venture.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

reglementările locale." [24] ; "Pentru toate zborurile noastre, formalitățile de *check-in* se deschid cu 2 ore înainte de ora de plecare și se închid cu 45 de minute înainte de ora de plecare. Vă rugăm să aveți în vedere că ora de deschidere și închidere a formalităților de *check-in* poate varia în funcție de facilitățile aeroportuare."[25]; "Însă Turcia este mai mult decât plaje superbe, bazaruri pline de suveniruri și restaurante cu mâncare delicioasă. Este o țară cu adevărat complexă, cu o cultură bogată și care îți oferă o mulțime de aventuri de neuitat. Iar după ce ai consultat câteva oferte *last minute* în Turcia și ți-ai făcut rezervare la un hotel, probabil vrei să știi cum poți să te distrezi și altfel, iar noi ți-am pregătit un articol în care îți vom descrie tocmai asta."[26]

Acerca de los sintagmas presentados, a veces se ofrecen explicaciones[27] (sin algún criterio identificable) para hacer más accesibles los términos especializados para los lectores medios, tanto en los textos especializados, como también en los de amplia difusión. Otras veces, las informaciones fluyen de manera natural junto con los anglicismos.

Tal como se ha visto, la influencia del inglés en español y en rumano se muestra muy evidente, presente y funcional en el lenguaje del turismo. El condicionamiento conceptual-semántico de estos términos dentro de las realidades del ámbito turístico en español y en rumano representa otro factor importante que condiciona su utilización y la implantación de estos términos puede realizarse también por la relación texto – diccionario.

Su uso extensivo en textos de amplia difusión no entorpece la correcta descodificación por parte de los no especialistas. Este uso ha

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[24]https://www.tarom.ro/informatii-pasageri/despre-calatorie/informatii-despre-imbarcare.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

[25]https://www.tarom.ro/informatii-pasageri/despre-calatorie/informatii-despre-imbarcare.html [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

[26] https://www.natgeo.ro/ng-traveler/32183-5-lucruri-neobisnuite-pe-care-sa-le-faci-turcia [Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2021].

[27]"El cupo para el colectivo de tierra se divide entre la dirección Técnica (165 trabajadores), Servicios Centrales (240) y Servicios Aeroportuarios (310), de los que 260 son de *Hándling* (asistencia en tierra) y 50 de Carga." https://www.hosteltur.com/1239 79_destruccion-infraestructuras-ere-iberia-huelga-aplazada.html [Consultado el 19 de noviembre de 2021]; "[…] Vueling ha ampliado de tres a cuatro los turnos del servicio de asistencia en tierra o *handling*, lo que le permitirá actuar con mayor agilidad en caso de que algún vuelo llegue con retraso por la noche" https://www.hosteltur.com/117066_vueling-garantiza-cataluna-fin-semana-opera-normalidad.html [Consultado el 19 de noviembre de 2021].

ocasionado su aclimatación lingüística, lo que se traduce en una frecuencia variable de uso en textos de diferentes niveles de especialización. Los diccionarios especializados ayudan a la correcta descodificación, aunque no incluyen todos los términos ingleses utilizados actualmente en turismo.

Cuantitativamente, la influencia del inglés en el lenguaje turístico es bastante amplia, sobre todo en los textos periodísticos. A pesar de que hay términos equivalentes en las lenguas de llegada (la frecuencia es mayor en español), se nota una preferencia por utilizar los términos en inglés por conformarse al criterio de la universalidad. El rumano se muestra más flexible en adoptar los extranjerismos, tanto en los diccionarios, como también en los textos, a diferencia del español, que resulta menos flexible a nivel de los diccionarios, pero bastante permisivo en los textos, donde la frecuencia y densidad de términos ingleses es considerable en la terminología turística.

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# The Influence of the Consonants of the Međimurje Dialect on the Pronunciation in the Croatian Standard Language

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## Abstract

*This paper discusses the problems that native speakers of the Međimurje dialect face when they speak the Croatian standard language. These speakers are Kajkavians. Kajkavians are speakers of one of the three major dialects of the Croatian language (the other two being Štokavians and Čajkavians). Among other things, the authors describe the problems of correct pronunciation of the palatal affricates č and ć, the tendency of Kajkavians to devoice consonants at the end of words, the softening of some consonants before front vowels, dropping of consonants in consonant clusters, etc. The authors also give some practical recipes for teachers teaching Croatian as a mother tongue in primary schools to help them teach their students to acquire correct pronunciation of consonants in the Croatian standard language. They also claim that the familiarity of the students with the differences between the consonants in the local speech of the Kajkavian dialect and the standard Croatian language might help them to learn foreign languages.*

## Keywords

*consonants, local speeches, Kajkavian dialect, Croatian standard language, teaching pronunciation, relationship between dialect and the standard, method of differential language teaching*

## 1. Introduction

The authors of this paper deal with the problems that Croatian native speakers of the Međimurje dialect face whenever they try to learn to speak the Croatian standard language. All the examples of consonants and consonant clusters in this paper will be given from the regional dialect of Međimurje, more particularly from the speech of Prelog. That particular speech and the dialect of Međimurje belong to Kajkavian dialects. The other major Kajkavian dialects include Samobor dialect, Varaždin-Ludbreg

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dialect, Bednja-Zagorje dialect and Upper Sutlan dialect. Kajkavian dialects are one of the three major dialects of the Croatian language, the other two being Štokavian and Čajkavian (see Fig. 1 below).
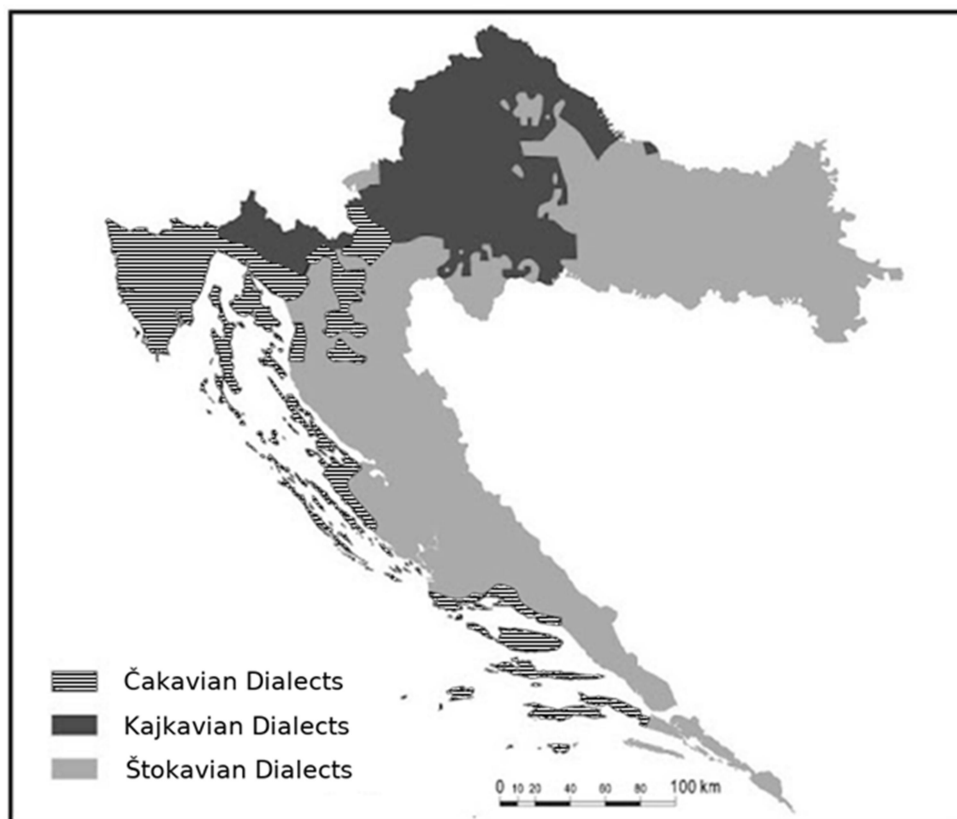


Fig. 1: Prevalence of the regional dialects in Croatia

The town of Prelog, the speech of which was taken as an example of Kajkavian dialect, is the second largest town of the three towns in the county of Međimurje. Its population is about 8000. By nationality they are almost all Croats and all of them speak Kajkavian at home and many of them switch to standard where the standard norm is required.

## 2. Croatian Dialects

The names of the terms used to refer to these three groups of dialects stem from the three different interrogative pronouns that are used in the

three groups of dialects for the pronoun *what*. However, it should be borne in mind that the three groups of dialects do not only differ in their use of lexis, but that differences also exist in phonology, morphology and syntax and that the mutual intelligibility between Kajkavian and Štokavian, on which the standard Croatian is based, and between Kajkavian and Čajkavian and Čajkavian and Štokavian can be pretty low. Certain Kajkavian dialects use the interrogative pronoun *ča*, the one that is usually used in Čakavian and some Čakavian dialects) use the pronoun *kaj*. The Kajkavian dialect is spoken north of the River Kupa, in the capital of Zagreb, Varaždin and Bjelovar-Križevci counties, then in one part of Gorski Kotar and in the Međimurje County. Outside the borders of Croatia, the Kajkavian dialect is spoken in some parts of Slovakia (Hrvatski Grob) and Hungary (Hungarian Pomurje region, Umok, Vedešin: (Bartolić 1999, Blažeka 2008a, Blažeka, Nyomarkáy., Rácz 2009, Legac 2015).). These are all places where the Kajkavians took refuge during the Ottoman conquests. There are also Kajkavian enclaves in overseas countries: two such centres are best known: Kansas City in the United States, (its western suburb of Strawberry Hill at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers – they are mostly Croats from the Gorski Kotar region; they arrived in the USA in the late 19th century) and Mildura in Australia (a vineyard settlement in the interior of Australia: the northwestern part of the state of Victoria - they are mostly from the eastern part of flat area of the Međimurje County; they emigrated before the Second World War). Additionally, there are countless other Kajkavian micro-communities with emigrants from Croatia who formed them overseas after the Second World War.

It should also be noted that the Kajkavian dialects bear similarities with the Slovenian dialects of Prekmurje and the dialects of the Slovenian Styria region (Blažeka 2003b). Zvonimir Junković (1972) irrefutably proved that the Kajkavian dialect belonged to the Pannonian group of the Western South Slavic language (which according to him would also include the Prlekija, Prekmurje and some West Styrian dialects, unlike other Slovene dialects which according to Junković belonged to the Alpine group of West South Slavic) as well as that the Kajkavian dialect genetically belongs to the Croatian language. Moreover, he believes that some of today's Slavic dialects (Prlekija, Prekomurje and some Styrian dialects) developed from Kajkavian. These speeches do not know about the old Slovene accent

changes - the progressive shift of the circumflex, the lengthening of the last short syllable and the abolition of unstressed lengths.

The most important criterion for him is that there was no shortening of the Proto-Slavic acute in the Alpine group. Slovene Prekomurje dialects as well as other Slovene Pannonian dialects (*the speeches of the Pannonian base*) are affected in vocalism by a phenomenon that is characteristic not only of Kajkavian but of most of the Croatian language, and that is that it is etymologically equated with the front nasal *ę*. Pannonian Slovene dialects were not affected by the general Slovene lengthening of stressed non-last syllables. In the Prlekija dialect in the adjective declension they have o-type suffixes (*dobroga*, *dobromu* ...), and the semivowel was equated with the etymological e and the frontal nasal *ę*, as in western Međimurje. Along with the spread of Kajkavian in the north, the question of the relationship between the West Slavic and South Slavic language groups also arises. Namely, before the arrival of the Hungarians in Pannonia, there was a continuous linguistic continuity and it is not clear where the border between the two language groups was. Popović (1960) believes that the language of the Slavs in today's Hungary belonged to the South Slavic language community. Today's Central Slovak dialect has a lot of very important South Slavic features (change of *tl*, *dl* to *t*, *d*: h.s. *šilo* / č. *šidlo*, h.s. *salo* / č. *sadlo*; transition of ʒ' to *za* and not to *dz*, shortening of acute vowels, development of secondary vowel in l-participle , the use of the suffixes -*ovce* and -*ince* in toponyms according to the West Slavic -*ovice* ...). After the interruption of the Slavic linguistic continuum in Pannonia and the separation of the Central Slovak dialects from their South Slavic motherland, these dialects were exposed to the influence of the West Slavic majority area and developed further in its direction.

Kajkavian has also been used as a literary language since the 16th century. Juraj Habdelić is considered to be the father of the Croatian Kajkavian literature. It was used by many leading Croatian literary authors in the 20th after Štokavian had become the standard norm of the Croatian language including Miroslav Krleža, Fran Galović, Ivan Goran Kovačić and many others. The first printed book in Kajkavian was Ivan (Ivanuš) Pergošić's Decretum. It was printed in a printing house in the village of Nedelišće which is situated in Međimurje, the dialect of which we are referring to in this paper, in 1574 (Bartolić, Pergošić, 2003)

Čakavian dialects spread mainly along the Adriatic coast and on the Adriatic islands, and in Lika and Pokuplje they penetrate quite deep into the mainland. The Čakavian region includes all the islands from Krk and Cres to Lastovo and Korčula (the island of Mljet is the first Štokavian island). On the mainland, it is spoken on the Istrian peninsula, except for the Montenegrin village of Peroj north of Pula and to some extent the Štokavian-Čakavian settlements south of Pula all the way to Premantura. The Croatian Littoral region joins Istria, where the Čakavian coastal belt extends to Novi, with the hinterland gradually narrowing. Along the coast from Vinodol to Privlaka, northwest of Zadar there are the Štokavian Ikavian settlements, along with two Čakavian oases - the town of Senj and the almost Štokavian Novigrad. The coast from Privlaka to the mouth of the Cetina is mostly Čakavian, but Chakavian dialects are limited to a narrow strip by the sea, somewhat wider only in the Split area, but they are interrupted in several places by individual Ikavian Štokavian settlements. The western half of the Pelješac Peninsula also belongs to the Čakavian dialect, but the coastal dialects and those on Pelješac are also exposed to a strong Štokavian influence. The other most important area of the Čajkavian dialect is the mainland Čajkavian area in the interior. A narrow and intermittent Čajkavian belt leads from the hinterland of the Croatian coast to the upper coarses of the Dobra and Mrežnica rivers, and from there one branch extends to the vicinity of Karlovac, and the other descends from Oštarije via Brinje to the Gacka Valley. There is also a small isolated Čajkavian group around Jurkovo Selo in Žumberak. All these Čajkavian dialects are strongly influenced by the neighboring Kajkavian dialects (e.g. in Pokuplje) or the Štokavian settlements (in Lika). Outside Croatia, the majority of Croatian dialects are Čakavian in Burgenland in Austria as well as in the neighboring Slovak and Hungarian settlements.

Štokavian is used in the rest of the country and is spoken by the Croats in the neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina where they are one of the three constituent nations and is also used by the members of the Croatian minority living in southern parts of Hungary. Before the migrations in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Štokavian dialect was divided into the West Štokavian dialect, which bordered with the Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects and the East Štokavian dialect, which stretched from the area of the Western Štokavian to the area of the Torlak dialect. The differences between them

have been gradually lost since the 15th century, when Neo-Štokavian innovations took place - Neo-Štokavian pulling the accent backwards, i.e. towards the beginning of the word, replacing the final vowel *l* with the vowel *o (-l> -o)* at the end of the syllable, second jotation, loss of the sound h , extension of suffix –*a* in the genitive of the plural of nouns and the unification of suffixes in plural cases that originated from the area around the River Neretva.

Unlike the Čakavian and Kajkavian, which lost territory, the Štokavian dialect spread during the Ottoman wars. The deserted Čakavian and Kajkavian territories were inhabited by Štokavian settlers, on the one hand by the speakers of Croatian Štokavian, and on the other by non-Croatian (Serbian) speakers. The former settled mostly in Dalmatia, the latter mostly in central Croatia and in the *Vojna krajina* (English term *Military Frontier*; German term *Militärgrenze*).

Sometimes it is difficult to say for a Croatian speech whether it belongs to the Čajkavian dialect, the Štokavian dialect or the Kajkavian dialect, due to the intertwining features of most Croatian dialects, so for example the South Čajkavian dialect is closer to the West Štokavian dialect (Bosnian-Dalmatian) than are these two dialects with other Štokavian dialects. On the other hand, the Middle Čakavian dialect has a large part of Kajkavian features, especially in the area from Ozalj to Ogulin, so it is difficult to say whether it is a Kajkavian or a Čakavian dialect, whereas the Chakavian dialects of Lika and Gacka have many Štokavian features.

**3. The Introduction of Dialects into the Syllabus of the School Subject Croatian**

Four decades ago Stjepko Težak published his book entitled Differential Grammar and the Teaching of Literary Standard Language (Težak 1978) which laid the foundations for the development of differential grammars for all the Croatian dialects. However, since then there have not been too many individuals who have tried to cope with this difficult task and official implementation of materials dealing with differential grammar as a step in teaching standard language into syllabuses of an elective university course for prospective teachers of Croatian as a mother tongue has never been realized (Blažeka 2003a).

Since the fourth quarter of the 20th century Croatian teachers attending their in-service training courses and linguists attending scientific conferences have regularly heard the motto: *Introduce Kajkavian dialect into our schools!* This motto has been uttered by many ardent lovers of the Kajkavian dialect, but exceedingly rarely come explanations of what they really mean when using this motto and even less often do they give any concrete proposals for elaboration of the methodology of such teaching in Croatian primary schools. When the same motto is further linked to quixotic dreams of "standardizing the Kajkavian language". Such Kajkavian loving undefined, unrealistic initiatives and slogans can sometimes do more harm than good. (Blažeka 2008.b)

The authors of this paper aim to present a kind of a proposal for the methodology of that part of Croatian language teaching in which students are introduced to the language of their local county. Lessons of that kind always constitute an obligatory part of the curriculum for primary schools (Ministry of Education 2019), as the preservation of the local speech and dialect is one of the learning outcomes. It should be immediately noted that becoming familiar with the language system of the local county is of secondary importance here, and the primary goal is to acquire broader linguistic skills, which would certainly result in better usage of the standard language and in the spread of the language culture. After being exposed to such classes, students would begin to understand language as a system. This is the first step towards striving for language perfectionism, which is a prerequisite for becoming motivated to acquire the norm of the Croatian standard language in an exemplary manner. In his design of the earlier mentioned differential grammar, Dr. Stjepko Težak points out the eminent Italian linguist Giacomo Devoto, who doubts the importance of early horizontal bilingualism and emphasizes the importance of vertical bilingualism. Težak thus emphasized the possibility of vertical bilingualism which makes it possible for its users to create a true linguistic *flair* in the student, giving him a more accurate perception of grammatical facts and making it easier for the student to learn other languages by preparing the student for that kind of learning. (Težak 1978: 2)

More than thirty years ago, an eminent Croatian dialectologist, Mijo Lončarić recognized the source of problems for Kajkavian native speakers in using the Croatian standard. He (Lončarić 1990: 33) described the

problem with the following question: "How will a child who begins to learn a standard language express himself – if the child does not yet know that language and is not allowed to use the dialect?" He continued by identifying the second source of the problem in the school practice with a similar question: "How will that child learn to speak if the child's each and every word is being corrected?"

Additionaly, Lončarić points out that "a positive attitude towards the dialect is demanded by the didactic principle of proceeding from closer to further concepts as well as by the didactic principle for proceeding from the familiar to the unfamiliar concepts" (ibidem). But times have drastically changed since then and the number of present day students that are completely unfamiliar with the standard language at the beginning of their school education is getting smaller and smaller. The authors dare to say that for most primary school students in Croatia the relations of closer and further concepts as well as the relations of familiar and unfamiliar facts, where the dialect is considered as something closer and familiar, have changed in favor of the standard language.

Such a change of relations will be taken into account by the authors of this paper in their proposal of principles for the method of differential language teaching suggested in this paper. Although times have changed, the vast majority of its population as their household language uses Kajkavian in the Međimurje County. In order to become prosperous and educated citizens in today's competitive society, children from the Međimurje County will have to learn proper standard Croatian and they will among other things have to master the proper pronunciation of the Croatian standard consonants. Instead of being interrupted all the time when trying to speak the standard Croatian, primary school teachers will have to make this task easier for them. We hope that the recipes provided by the authors of this article will be helpful to them.

In this paper, the authors will not discuss practical issues as whether or not all the teachers teaching Croatian in primary schools would be able to conduct such classes because this kind of teaching requires very solid dialectolog(e knowledge that can only be fully acquired in specialized postgraduate study programmes.

This paper will also not deal with the question of where the required number of experts could be found to design such teaching: namely, one

person incorporated in an instructor would have to combine an excellent dialectologist and an excellent methodologist that would know how to implement the principles of diversity in teaching so that teaching would be appropriate for the student and that the teaching would at the same time be based on the results of the research of scientific dialectology. We must not forget that encouraging students to compare language system of their local speech and language system of the standard language could be very difficult if teaching is at its beginning. It would be too demanding as most students at that age find it difficult to recognize and accurately describe grammatical categories.

## 4. Consonants

Proper pronunciation of the standard consonants can be ensured only if the speakers of the above-mentioned speeches become fully aware of the basic characteristic features of the consonants of their local speeches as early as in their primary school age, whereby the emphasis should be focused on the articulation of consonants that cause most problems to them. (Blažeka 2008a)

Luckily, there is not so much mispronunciation of consonants in the standard by the Kajkavian speakers as there is mispronunciation of vowels in the standard. The reason lies in the fact that the two consonant systems (the Kajkavian consonant system and the Standard Croatian consonant system) are not too different, and native speakers of Kajkavian dialects can easily be familiarized with all the differences. The differences between Kajkavian vocals and the vocals in the standard Croatian have already been described and the methods for proper acquisition of the vocals in the standard Croatian by native speakers of Kajkavian dialects. (Blažeka 2011)

However, native speakers of Kajkavian dialects do make mistakes in the pronunciation of consonants in the standard Croatian. The major problems are the following: problems of correct pronunciation of the palatal affricates /č/ and /ć/, the tendency of Kajkavians to devoice consonants at the end of words, the softening of some consonants before front vowels and dropping of consonants in consonant clusters. Explanations of all these differences in the two language systems and all the major problems and the differences should be practically presented by the teacher. Having been

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provided with proper descriptions and explanations of the problems, students should be given practice in pronunciation of the consonants that cause major problems. The authors of this paper refer to this method as the Method of Differential Language Teaching of the Native Speech and the Standard Language.

When it comes to the pronunciation of native speakers of the Kajkavian dialect in the Croatian standard, then the issue of correct pronunciation of the palatal affricates /č/ and /ć/ is of key importance. /č/ and /ć/ pose enormous problems to people from Međimurje whenever they are expected to use the Croatian standard language, regardless of the fact whether it is aural or written use. When pronouncing it, they do not differentiate them according to their voice quality, i.e. they do not differentiate the opposition between strident and non-strident. (Besides Croatian and other related South-Slavic languages: Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin), this opposition exists only in Polish. In addition to the regular explanation of palatalization (when /k/, /g/ and /h/ become /č/, /ž/ and /š/ before /i/ and /e/) and iotation (when /c/, /k/ and /t/ followed by /j/ become /č/ that are given also to the speakers of Štokavian and Čakavian whose problems in realization of these two phonemes are much smaller, native speakers of Kajkavian should be given the following three recipes which should enable them for auxiliary ways of recognizing the positions of the occurrence of /č/ and /ć) :

a) connecting /k/, /c/ and /dž/ with /č/ as well as connecting /t/ and /đ/ with /ć/ (*platit*i (engl. *to pay*) – *plaća* (engl. *salary*), *plakati* (engl. *to cry, to week, to sob*) – *plačem* (engl. *am crying, cry* [1ˢᵗ person of the Croatian present tense]), *svjedočit*i (engl. *to testify* – *svjedodžba* (engl. *testimonial, certificate*) , *stric* (engl.)– *striče* (engl. uncle [vocative case]), *smeđ* (engl. *brown*) – *smećkast* (engl. brownish)

b) learning the suffixes that contain these affricates, and not only their forms but also their meaning *(-čić, -ić, -ič,* -če...), e.g. that the first and the second suffix here in this row have diminutive meaning

c) compiling a small dictionary of more frequent words in which the average language expert cannot by making use of the a) or b) recognize which affricate he or she is dealing with, e.g. *kuća*

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(engl. *house*) , *slučaj* (engl. *case*, *incident*, *instance*), *žuč*. (engl. *gal*l, *bile*)

However, it should be noted here that teachers of English as a foreign language can be happy that their students from the Kajkavian regions can properly pronounce the English affricate / tʃ/, as it is very close to the Kajkavian affricate. That the familiarity of a person with Kajkavian can help students learn English was first noted by Rudolf Filipović (1954) in his textbook in phonetics and phonology for prospective teachers of English. The textbook appeared during the first way of introduction of English as a foreign language into schools after the Yugoslav communist president Josip Broz Tito broke up his tight relations with the Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin's Soviet Union, so that Russian was no longer the only foreign language taught to everybody.

The cause of the second group of problems of native speakers of Kajkavian in speaking standard Croatian is their devoicing of consonants at the end of words. In the use of standard Croatian, Kajkavians often devoice consonants at the end of words [Bok (engl. a farewell greeting *bye* or *flank* or *side*), vrak (engl. devil), mras (engl. *frost*), *met* (engl. *honey),* *rop* (engl. *slave*), *puš* (engl. *snail*)]. In the standard Croatian they would be [Bog, vrag, mraz, med, rob, puž,]

Since the */v/* also acts as a voiced consonant with the voiced pair */f/* in Kajkavian speeches at the end of words and in front of obstrunts, such pronunciation is often heard also in the pronunciation of native speakers of Kajkavian from the Međimurje County when speaking standard Croatian [krf, krif, olofka, ofčar, Zdrafko]; in standard they are pronounced with the voiced counterpart [krv, kriv, olovka, ovčar, Zdravko, (engl. blood, guilty, pencil, shephard, Zdravko as a male name)].

The root of the third major problem in the pronunciation of consonants in the standard Croatian by native Kajkavian speakers is the change of the liquid /l/ to /lj/ in front of the /u/ or the front vowels. This is a regular occurrence in the speech of Prelog, but not in the standard language and Kajkavians tend to copy it into their use of standard Croatian, so we can often hear the following wrong pronunciations in the standard: [*ljip*a, *ljimun, ljuk, and gljuhi*]. In the standard they would be [*lipa, limun, luk, gluh*] (engl. *linden, lemon, onion, deaf*)

The fourth occurrence of mispronunciation in the standard by Kajkavians is their dropping of consonants in consonant clusters. Native speakers of Kajkavian tend to drop consonants when speaking standard Croatian in lexemes like *kraljevstvo*, (engl. *kingdom*) [*kraljestvo*], *svrbež* (engl. *itching*) [srbeš], so they are realized like [kraljestvo], [srbeš].

In the lexeme [srbeš] in addition to the dropping of the /v/, we also witness the devoicing of /ž/

The fifth problem is the change of /nj/ to /j/. This is a pretty often occurrence in many Kajkavian dialects, but the only transfer of this feature to the standard was heard by the first author of this article in the n-participles, e.g. /*nahrajen*/ instead of /*nahranjen*/ (engl. *fed[*past participle of the verb *to feed]*), /pokujen/, instead of /pokunjen/ (engl. *crest-fallen*)

Depalatalization of /nj/ to /n/ following /k/ and /g/ is more common, but lexemes of that kind are extremely rare, e.g. the noun knjiga (engl. book) is realized as [*kniga*], gnjida (engl. nit) is realized as [*gnida*].

Last but not least on the list of problems associated with the pronunciation of Kajkavians when speaking standard Croatian is their simplification of consonant sets in adjectives. In adjectives ending in *-čji* and *-žji* these sets are simplified to *či,* thus e.g. *čovječji* (engl. *human*) becomes *čv'či* and *Božji* (engl. *God's*), becomes *B'ọži, vr'žji* (engl. devil's, devilish) becomes *vr'ži.*

## 5. Conclusions

When students have become familiarized with the differences between the consonants in the local speech and the consonants in the Croatian standard language, they will become aware with the fact that they differ from those in the standard. Subsequently they will know where the mistakes are typically made and they will pay more attention to the articulation of consonants whenever using standard Croatian and thus most of the mistakes will probably be avoided.

Additionally, this knowledge will not only help them to master proper pronunciation of the Croatian standard, but will also be helpful in their acquisition of English as a foreign language, because the English /tʃ/ is closer to the Kajkavian affricate than any of the two Croatian phonemes /č/ and /ć/.

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# Termenii economici între comunicarea obişnuită şi cea specializată

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### Rezumat

*Terminologia ecomică reprezintă un subsistem eterogen al limbii sub aspect funcţional, ceea ce a făcut interesantă studierea acesteia prin perspectiva prezentării fenomenelor lingvistice care se manifestă mai activ în faza actuală a limbii. Cercetarea unor texte româneşti din presa actuală de circulaţie mai largă arată o frecvenţă remarcabilă a termenilor economici. Mass media este o sursă obiectivă pentru determinarea termenilor de interes actual în concurenţă cu cei deja asimilaţi, majoritatea de origine romanică. Interesează modalităţile de utilizare ale acestor termeni în limba română, de la cei care nu sunt supuşi niciunei adaptări (formale) şi, mai ales, care sunt modalităţile de a face accesibil sensul specializat.*

### Cuvinte cheie

*terminologia economică, limbaj specializat, limbaj comun, anglicism*

## 1. Introducere

Terminologia economică poate fi apreciată astăzi ca un amestec greu de separat între limbajul propriu ştiinţei economice şi cel împrumutat, între limbajul ştiinţific şi cel comun.

Limbajul economic poate fi cercetat sub mai multe forme: un limbaj specializat, consacrat in manuale, dictionare si lexicoane. Limbajul specializat are o anumita rigiditate, fiind practic un limbaj inchis.

Limbajul specializat economic care apare în dicţionare, manuale si texte de specialitate oferă definiţii ale termenilor economici, ale conceptelor de bază şi ale principiilor funcţionării economiei. Termenii economici foarte cunosuţi ca *cerere, oferta, piaţă, preţ, capital, bani, cost, salariu, profit, consum, investiţie, inflatie,* etc. sunt adesea perimaţi pentru a explica contexte noi ale unui domeniu de cercetare complex, cum este cel al economiei.

Terminologia economică nu reușește întotdeauna în mod eficient să explice situatiile economice noi, acest lucru determinându-i pe economiști să apeleze la împrumuturi lingvistice din alte domenii sau din alte limbi. Creșterea împrumuturilor englezești este constituită de o serie de condiții specifice epocii actuale, caracterizată de globalizare sau mondializare. Multitudinea de informații care ajung la publicul larg prin diferite medii (prin internet, televiziune, telefonie, etc.) și prezența tot mai activă a tehnologiei digitale în viața cotidiană au impus necesitatea cercetării de față. De aceea, au fost inventariate și exemplificate cuvinte, sensuri, sintagme stabile intrate din limbi străine, mai cu seamă din engleză, sau create relativ recent în română. Precizăm încă de la început că limba e într-o continuă schimbare, apar cuvinte noi la tot pasul, sunt foarte cunoscute unor categorii mai largi sau mai restrânse de vorbitori și utilizate pentru un timp. Analiza de față încearcă să remarce dinamica vocabularului în perioada actuală când lexicul limbii române cunoaște importante acumulări de cuvinte care desemnează noi realități.

## 2. Caracteristicele terminologiei economice in mass-media

Comunicarea între specialiști din diverse domenii este favorizată de împrumuturile neologice din lexicul specializat. Acești termeni sunt foarte rar utilizați de vorbitori obișnuiți care nu aparțin sferei profesionale respective. În lexicul comun întâlnim doar anumiți termeni specializați, care datorită utilizărilor excesive devin accesibili și nespecialiștilor.

Suprapunerea dintre limba comună și limbajele specializate duce la crearea unei arii în care termenii sau unitățile lexicale migrează într-un sens și în celălalt sau, succesiv, în ambele sensuri. Foarte mulți termeni împrumutați din vocabularul uzual au fost redefiniți pentru a fi reintegrați într-un domeniu specializat caracterizat de introducerea neologismelor terminologice.

Limbajul economic se caracterizează printr-o exprimare clară și concisă, care definește cu acuratețe conceptele, și se caracterizează printr-o terminologie proprie, denotativă și monosemantică.

Terminologia economică actuală se îndepărtează vizibil de sursa romanică, ducându-se către cea anglo-americană. Influența engleză în lexical comun si specializat și problemele de adaptare ale termenilor

englezeşti au fost analizate de specialişti. (vezi Stoichiţoiu-Ichim 2001b şi Ciobanu 2004)

În cercetarea de faţă vom face câteva observaţii cantitative, mai ales prin raportare la termenii economici de sursă romanică, deja asimilaţi în limba română. Se constată că există mai multe grade de adaptare formală şi explicarea sensului specializat variază de la parafrazări stricte la determinări cantitative mai vagi.

Limba română a fost invadată de anglicisme de foarte mulţi ani, iar principala sursă responsabilă de acest aflux este, mai cu seamă, presa noastră scrisă şi audio-vizuală. Din acest motiv, dicţionarele limbii române nu pot să ţină pasul cu ritmul accelerat de îmbogăţire cu anglicisme, utile sau nu, a lexicului românesc.

Iată si câteva contexte ilustrative:

„Scăderea masivă a indicilor bursieri a avut loc pe fondul unui avans exploziv al volatilităţii. Indicele VIX de la CBOE (*Chicago Board Options Exchange*) a crescut într-o singură zi cu 44%, până la aproape 23 de puncte, cel mai ridicat nivel din februarie 2018.

O contribuţie semnificativă la declinul accentuat al pieţelor şi explozia volatilităţii au avut, probabil, tranzacţiile care se bazează tot mai mult pe inteligenţa artificială şi ML (*machine learning*). Bloomberg a scris recent despre extinderea fenomenului, în ciuda avertismentelor experţilor." (bursa.ro, octombrie 2018)

„Jack Ma, preşedintele executiv al gigantului chinez de *e-commerce* Alibaba, se va retrage din funcţie în termen de un an a anunţat compania, conform News.ro. ... Ma va rămâne director în *board-ul* Alibaba până la adunarea generală a acţionarilor din 2020. Acesta anunţat că vrea să revină în domeniul educaţiei." (bursa.ro, septembrie 2018)

„Începând de sâmbătă, UE a introdus taxe *anti-dumping* între 17,6 şi 96,5 euro pe tonă. Iniţial, Comisia Europeană a propus stabilirea unui preţ minim pe tonă de 472,27 euro, dar şi-a revizuit propunerea deoarece nu a obţinut sprijinul tuturor statelor membre UE." (bursa.ro, octombrie 2017)

„Volumul creditelor performante, ajustat la cursul de schimb, a crescut cu 17% de la an la an, susținut de o creștere robustă a creditelor de tip imobiliar, din partea IMM-urilor și a unei dinamici pozitive a segmentului *corporate*. Segmentul corporativ a fost principalul motor al creșterii, cu un avans de 14% față de 2018. Segmentul *retail* a contribuit la creștere cu un plus de 16% față de anul precedent." (bursa.ro, octombrie 2019)

„Potrivit raportului, UiPath pregătește un plan numit „*Project Dawn*", în cadrul căruia își propune să reducă rapid costurile prin restructurări masive.

La finalul lunii octombrie, *startup-ul* care este considerat a fi cel mai dinamic jucător din piața soluțiilor de automatizare de tip Robotic Process Automation (RPA)" (zf.ro, noiembrie 2019)

„În luna octombrie am ajuns la un număr de 200 de angajați și vom continua să creștem. Oferim foarte multe oportunități de angajare, atât pe infrastructură, pe partea de *software development* cât și pe partea de *project management*." (zf.ro, octombrie 2019)

Se poate constata caracterul internațional al acestor termeni, motiv pentru care se preferă folosirea lor în formă originară, tocmai pentru a fi un instrument facil de comunicare între specialiști și nu numai. Anglicismele pun probleme de adaptare grafică și fonică. Utilizarea în procesul de comunicare a acestor termeni răspunde unor necesități de expresie culturale, sociale și funcționale. Ne referim la apariția unor realități extralingvistice noi, determinate de progresul umanității și la necesitatea existenței în limbă a unor termeni care să desemneze aceste realități noi cu care ne confruntăm.

Anglicismele reprezintă atât împrumuturi din engleza britanică, cât și din cea americană, care, din diverse motive, sunt „în curs de adaptare" (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006: 29). De aceea nu pot fi încadrate nici în categoria *împrumuturilor complet asimilate*, nici în acelor neasimilate, numite *xenisme* sau *străinisme* (ibidem: 28). Analiza termenilor economici de origine englezească realizată de noi este utilă pentru a decide perspectivele influenței limbii engleze în vocabularul românesc și, mai ales, în cel economic, chiar dacă, probabil multe dintre acestea nu vor rămâne în limbă

deoarece nu satisfac condiţiile de asimilare impuse de limba noastră. În dicţionarele generale sau specializate nu se regăsesc toţi aceşti termeni care circulă frecvent în presă, fapt ce demonstreaza ca unii dintre aceştia au depăşit graniţele strictei specializări, intrând în limba comună. Afluxul de xenisme, „avansarea în direcţia derivării lexicale sau a alunecărilor semantice sunt tendinţe confirmate de presa ultimilor ani, cu potenţial productiv deschis" (Stoichiţoiu-Ichim 2007: 67).

Actualizarea terminologiei de afaceri în limbajul cotidian promovat de *mass media* a surprins fenomene în plină dinamică în faza contemporană a limbii, concretizate în special în activizarea utilizării unor termeni dintr-un limbaj de specialitate în vocabularul limbii comune şi invers. Prezentăm şi câteva contexte din mass media:

„Joi, *board-ul* de supervizare al companiei germane a anuntat amanarea adunarii speciale a actionarilor, programata pentru 9 noiembrie, deoarece investigatia lansata de firma de avocatura Jones Day "va dura cel putin cateva luni" si nu va putea fi finalizata pana la data programata initial, transmit AP si Reuters." (ziare.com, octombrie 2015)

„Astfel, Consiliul de Administraţie al SFG a anunţat numirea provizorie a lui Lucian Hoanca în calitate de administrator al societăţii, membru ne-executiv în *board*, începând cu data de 25 octombrie, până la data la care Adunarea Generală a Acţionarilor va alege un membru în CA, scrie News.ro." (bursa.ro, octombrie 2018)

„*Boardul* executiv al Fondului Monetar International (FMI) va discuta, vineri, solicitarea Romaniei de incheiere a unui nou acord de tip *stand-by*, potrivit calendarului publicat pe site-ul FMI." (ziare.com, septembrie 2013)

„Facebook şi Twitter au decis miercuri să limiteze distribuirea unui articol din ziarul New York Post care susţine că are dovezi potrivit cărora în perioada în care era vicepreşedinte, Joe Biden s-a întâlnit cu un consilier al unei companii ucrainene de energie în *board-ul* căreia se afla fiul său, Hunter Biden." (libertatea.ro, octombrie 2020)

„Aflat la conducerea producătorului auto italo-american din 2004, Marchionne a salvat Fiat de la faliment şi a supervizat fuziunea cu Chrysler. Printre *brandurile* Fiat-Chrysler se află şi Jeep, Ram, Dodge, Alfa Romeo şi Maserati." (bursa.ro, iulie 2018)

„Mega-dosarul "Droguri pentru vedete" se îndreaptă spre final. *Dealerii* care aveau printre clienți nume grele din showbiz s-au ales cu ani grei de pușcărie, în primă instanță." (cancan.ro, august 2020)

### 3. Concluzii

Globalizarea favorizează implantarea neologismelor, cu avantaje în comunicare, care contribuie la o îmbogăţire lexicală. Cercetarea de faţă a prezentat dinamica vocabularului în perioada actuală când lexicul limbii române cunoaşte importante acumulări de cuvinte care desemnează noi realităţi (tehnice, financiare, economice, sociale, culturale etc.).

Limba română a fost invadată de anglicisme de foarte mulți ani, iar principala sursă responsabilă de acest aflux este, mai cu seamă, presa noastră scrisă şi audio-vizuală. Din acest motiv, dicţionarele limbii române nu pot să ţină pasul cu ritmul accelerat de îmbogăţire cu anglicisme, utile sau nu, a lexicului românesc. Prin urmare, opţiunea noastră se îndreaptă către utilizarea ponderată a neologismelor, generată doar de situaţii în care apariţia lor se impune prin monosemantism, concizie și acuratețe, nu de preţiozitatea lexicală a acestora ori de dorinţa de a ne sincroniza cu „moda" lingvistică actuală. Justificarea extralingvistică este precisă ţinând seama de noile realităţi tehnice, financiare, economice, sociale, culturale etc. Majoritatea acestor realităţi au un caracter internaţional, ceea ce contribuie la circulaţia lor în mai multe limbi, favorizând o comunicare adecvată şi rapidă. Tendinţa de internaţionalizare a lexicului românesc va permite menţinerea în segmentul activ al limbii a unora dintre aceşti termeni, mai ales datorită faptului că valoarea lor este denotativă, fiind strict asociată cu realitatea extralingvistică pe care o reprezintă.

**Surse**

http://www.ziare.com/
http://www.cancan.ro
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# ♦ CULTURAL STUDIES & LITERATURE ♦

# Perceptual and conceptual reference point constructions in cinematographic shots

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## Abstract

*In Cognitive Grammar, the concept of **reference point** (R) designates the conception of one entity invoked in order to establish "mental contact" with another. The reference point access is a manner of mental scanning of a series of discrete elements in order to find a final element embedded in this chain. In film, we can dissociate between **perceptual reference point** (pRP) and **conceptual reference point** (cRP). The pRP can be perceptually present in long takes that, after the editing cut, focus on a metonymic element of a scene in order to track to another section of the scene. The paper analyses several pRP and cRP constructions in film sequences and conceptual phenomena involving metonymy. Diegetic metonymy is compared to symbolic metonymy, which ultimately leads to metaphoric construals. We can also establish metonymic categories used as pivots between semantic domains and metonymies that profile unbounded qualities similar to mass nouns.*

## Keywords:

## 1. Introduction. Perceptual and conceptual reference points

The notion designates the conception of one entity invoked in order to establish a "mental contact" with another, the target (T) in a dominion (D). The reference point access is a manner of mental scanning of a series of discrete elements in order to find a final element embedded in this chain (**Figure** 1).

"A reference point relation consists in the mental progression from a **reference point** (R) to a **target** (T) accessed through it. The set of entities accessible via R (each a potential target) constitute its **dominion** (D)." (Langacker 2008: 504).

Some verbal expressions adjoin two nominals in a compound (Langacker 2009b: 53). For example, in the *fishing pole* compound the noun *fishing* is a reference point that targets what type of pole is profiled. The reference point source is a categorizing element and the target is profiled. The noun *fishing* "designates a particular kind of activity, evoking an encyclopedic array of supporting knowledge, one facet of which pertains to the equipment employed […] by evoking this body of knowledge, its dominion, the noun *fishing* provides mental access to a certain kind of pole, which is thus a target" (53).[1]

The grammatical pattern of the construction is the base for the conceptual construction. The compound
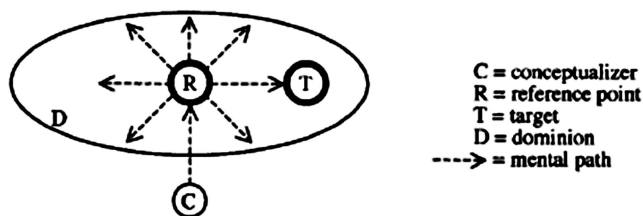


Figure 1 (Langacker 2008: 84).

construction imposes this organization as a central aspect of its meaning. It specifies "the profile of the first noun corresponds to the reference point, that the profile of the second noun corresponds to the target, and that the target is profiled by the composite expression. Thus a *fishing pole* is a kind of pole (not a kind of fishing), a *mosquito net* is a kind of net (not an insect), etc." (53). Moreover, in possessive constructions the reference point relationship is their schematic semantic value (55) (**Figure** 2).

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[1] Other examples are "*fishing pole, mosquito net, baseball glove, bicycle seat, axe handle, window shade, jar lid, book cover, fingernail, trout stream, pencil sharpener, tree root, movie theater, tomato worm, checkbook, rose petal, mailman, arrowhead, sheep dog, wine bottle, elephant table, chimney squirrel, airplane diaper*" (Langacker 2009b: 53)

The reference point is often equated with the possessor on an entity (e.g., *the boy's shoe; Jeff's uncle; the cat's paw; their lice; the baby's diaper; my train; Sally's job; our problem; her enthusiasm; its location; your candidate; the city's destruction*") (84). From a general

Figure 2 (Langacker 2009b: 54)
(Langacker 2009: 47).

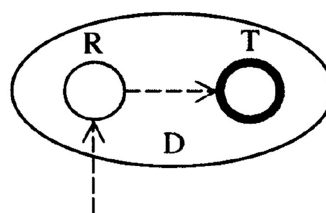perspective, the possessor functions as a reference point and the possessed as its target (84). Possessive constructions have the reference point relationship as their schematic semantic value, i.e., the reference point is the possessor; the dominion is the area of access of the possessor and the target is the possessed. The relationship of possession is based on prototypical domains of knowledge (descriptive systems or situated conceptualizations) like ownership, kinship, and part-whole relationships. Ownership is the central prototype of the relationship of possession. Typically, mentally accessing a person affords the access to the array of objects the person controls (*Zelda's skirt*). The relationship of control of the possessed (T) is physical, social, or experiential (2009: 84-85; 2008: 84).

In **perceptual** phenomena, in order to find some other entity, we direct our attention to the salient element considered the point of reference.

*Do you see that boat out there in the lake? There's a duck swimming right next to it.*

In the **conceptual** realm, we direct our attention to one conceived entity for locating another that is mentally accessible in relation to it (2008: 84).

*Do you remember that surgeon we met at the party? His wife just filed for divorce.*

The essential semantic value of the reference point relationship resides in the dynamic mental act of scanning unfolding in the processing time. A temporal sequence, which contains two phases of focused awareness, is implied in the "asymmetrical" conceptualizing act (84). The reference point and the target are salient, each at a stage of processing. Once

focused, the target can be apprehended as a new reference point for a new target. We scan in chains of successive reference points. For instance, we have chains of possessives, e.g., *Harry's cousin's lawyer's therapist,* or chains of successive locations (as specified in the nested locative construction), e.g., *upstairs, in the bedroom, in the closet, on the shelf* (2008: 85).

This brings us to filmic images. In this case, we have to dissociate between **perceptual reference point** (pRP) and **conceptual reference point** (cRP). The head of an expression is the conceptual reference point.

## 2. The grounding reference point construction

The pRP can be perceptually present in long takes. Often, after the editing cut, the camera points to a metonymic element of a scene in order to track to another section of the scene. In these cases, the camera points to an arbitrary reference point in a diegesis (R) before framing a target (T), e.g., a character or a dramatic relevant scene. The camera situates a thing or a process relative to a ground (alike to demonstratives or articles). Grounding is a means meant to coordinate in a discourse the mental reference to things and events (Langacker 2009: 86). This manner of introducing the focus of the cinematic construction is a way of grounding the profiled entity (T). The entity occupies a location in diegesis and has a prominence in a conceptual domain. The tracking movement entails the attentional focus of the viewer. It creates the expectancy to discover the target of the shot. It postpones the perceptual profiling and intensifies the tension inherent in the absence of a perceptual elaboration of the target.

In sum, the camera traveling from an arbitrary object (R) that evokes a dominion (D) – a type of scene – to the target perceptually profiled (T) is based on the schematic reference point construction. The temporal elongation of the path of mental access generates an affective
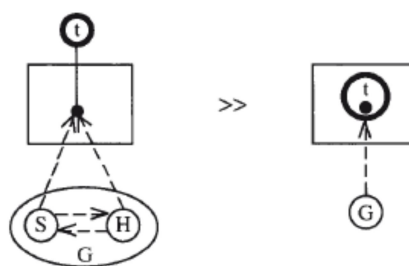


Figure 3 (Langacker 2009: 87).

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"crescendo" of intensity (i.e., suspense). The viewer is absorbed in this dynamic unfolding of the mechanism of control. The perceptual reference point construction instantiates the control cycle development. The agent of the control cycle (A) is the reference point (R). This dynamic gradual disclosure is instantiated as a sensorimotor simulation (i.e., in terms of the epistemic and emotional domains of interaction) of the control cycle's tension and the action phases. In summary, the grounding reference point construction: (1) grounds the conceptualization of the target; (2) allows mental coordination; (3) elicits attention by giving perceptual saliency to the tension phase of the control cycle, and (4) creates affective intensity and epistemic striving.

Grounding the focal entity (T) or pointing to an instance of this entity in a location triggers the evocation of a map allowing the viewer to situate the entity designated in spatial coordinates and provides a path of mental access linking the perceptual reference point, the dominion evoked and the entity-target.[2] The dynamic **perceptual reference point** (pRP) construction gives, for a moment, **primary focal prominence** to the point of reference (R) that "anchors" a spatial domain of search (Langacker 2009: 89). Once the target (T) is perceptually profiled, it gains prominence and becomes, in its turn, the primary focus of the construction (**Figure** 3).

In terms of the **conceptual reference point** construction, the situation is reversed and the focal prominence is shifted to the target. The main focused entity, i.e., the perceptual target, becomes the conceptual reference point (R) that has a domain of control in which the perceptual point of reference is, now, the conceptual target (T) and gains prominence. The arbitrary object profiled at the beginning of the shot is an element belonging to the dominion of the entity. In other words, the perceptual locative construction allows the construction of a conceptualization of a control schema where the entity targeted has an area of control in which the perceptual reference point is located. The cRP is equated with an active controller with "physical, social, and/ or experiential access" to the pRP.

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[2] This construction can be equated to the locative expressions that identify a region where an entity can be found by invoking a reference object. The reference object functions as a spatial landmark, with respect to which the expression specifies a domain of search. The relationship profiled is that of T occupying a location accessible via R. T is thus the trajector, and R the landmark (Langacker 2009: 99).

The dominion is to be interpreted in experiential terms. This case is also based on the circular coupling of the control cycle. The perceptual R controls and gives mental access to T via the domain of instantiation, D. The perceptual reference point construction instantiates the asymmetrical connection inherent in the control cycle. In the conceptual reference point construction the T controls in a reversed control cycle the perceptual R via the domain of instantiation.

Some construals give supplementary conceptual emphasis on the perceptual control that R exercises on T. This takes place in scenes where the settings have a conceptual salience.[3] By reanalysis, the profile of the relationship of T being located with respect to R shifts to the relationship of R controlling (providing mental access to T). For instance, in a proximal but not perfect example like *the table has a book on it*, the *table* is no more a spatial reference and is used in order to highlight possession. The focal prominence of T is shifted to R. In this second construal R is the trajector (**Figure** 4). Hence, the spatial role is extended to a possessive use.

We have to point out that this conceptual "extension" in which R gains conceptual prominence can be construed metaphorically or metonymically. In a metaphoric reading, a
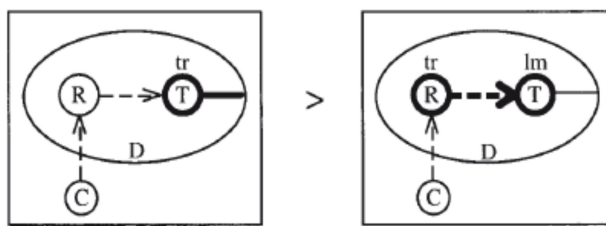
Figure 4. (Langacker 2009: 108) T*he house is in Jerry's garden* (location of T) vs. *Jerry has a house* (R is controlling T)

location within a spatial region anchored by an R landmark "constitutes the source domain, projected metaphorically onto the target domain of something being within a possessor's sphere of control" (Langacker 2009: 106). In metaphor, the locative terms of the spatial coordinates can be topologically mapped on other domains of instantiations. Likewise, the metonymic "interpretation hinges on the correlation between spatial

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[3] "it is simply a matter of shifting the profile from the relationship of T being located with respect to R, to the associated relationship of R controlling (providing mental access to) T. This implies (and perhaps is even instigated by) a shift in primary focal prominence from T to R. R is then the trajector, coded as grammatical subject, leaving T as landmark. A shift in profile is simply metonymy, an utterly ubiquitous linguistic phenomenon" (Langacker 2009: 107-108).

proximity and the possibility of access or control: it is generally by virtue of something being close to us spatially that we are able to use it or experience it" (106). It is a case of "strengthening of pragmatic inference" (106)

### 3. Cinematic perceptual and conceptual reference point constructions

Let us discuss a brief illustration of those points. In **Figure** 5 (a) a technical device profiled from a neutral angle is lying on a desk. In shot (b) Nicolas Tesla is looking down at the object. In shot (c) the object is framed from a relatively high angle. The spatial domain and the viewing act (the image pole) is the R that affords perceptual access to the T (object pole/ primary focus). T is located in the region of perceptual access. At a second stage, perceptual capture (pRP) is interpreted as conceptual capture (cRP). The R is reanalyzed as the primary focus of the conceptual construction.



(a)          (b)

(c)          (d)
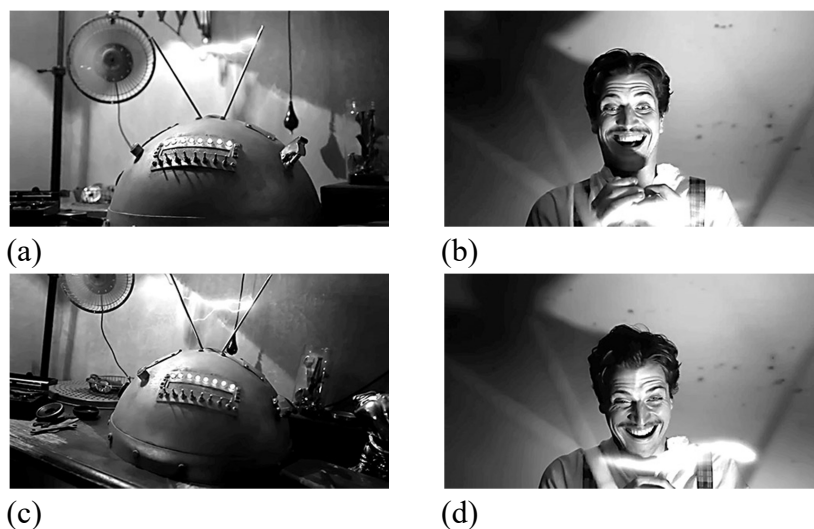
Figure 5. *Room 88* (Mike Booth, 2015).

In shot (d) and, now, in a re-interpretation of the previous input (b), the framing is mirroring the vantage point of the object via the low angle framing. Shot (b) instantiates the situation where the perceptual point of reference (R) is the object and its target (T) is Tesla looking down.[4] The low

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[4] A similar framing is used by Haneke in the final sequence of *The Seventh Continent* (Michael Haneke, 1998) where a television set stares in a shot/ counter-shot at George.

angle qualifies spatially the viewing act. Shot (b) instantiates a perceptual act operated from down to up. The pRP (e.g., the object) gives us access to the human agent who has a conceptual domain of physical and mental access. However, since the profiling of the shot (the low angle) is virtual, it can be attributed either to the object or to Tesla. In other words, the connection drawn between the two elements allows a reversal of the direction of the conceptualization.[5] Therefore, in shot (b) the human is the cRP (R), and the object is the target (T). The low angle is, in the first instance, a pRP (R) to Tesla (T), profiled as the primary focus of the visual construction, and, in the second phase, it is an attribute of the human target reanalyzed as the cRP (R). The viewer doesn't see the "view attached to an object that looks at a human" anymore but will construe a conceptualization where the human gazes in amazement at the object. The shot (b) gives access to the mental state of the human that includes the object of wonder as one of the entities belonging to his dominion.

In other type of shots, R and T are profiled in the same frame. For instance, an element in the foreground (R) gives perceptual and physical access to the focused target (T) included in the control area of the objects belonging to a scene-context



Figure 6. *Land of Mine* (Zandvliet Martin, 2015).

or dominion (D). In a shot from *Land of Mine* (Zandvliet Martin, 2015), some grass leaves that give access to the countryside scene in which the character is in are depicted in the perceptual foreground (**Figure** 6).

The path of mental access involves three associated reference point constructions.

First, the grass leaves (R) – as an active zone or a spatial landmark - allows the profiling/ identification of a context-dominion (D), e.g., the countryside scenery, which is also the target of the conceptualization (T).

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[5] Later in the film the entity behind the POV of the object will be fleshed out as a series of characters that invade the room where Tesla is. The object is a time machine and the presence of the characters is the effect of time travel facilitated by the device. A metaphorical reading is grounded here on the mapping of the dynamic relationship of the viewing act. The metaphor would be something like "the future looks at you" or the "technical wonders concern you".

Second, the setting (D) thus evoked (e.g., the countryside) contains, in its area of control or search, an animate entity (T) expressed perceptually as a delimited region. The animate entity located perceptually *in* the landscape (D) is the human character (T). The domain of spatial search (D) - the countryside – and the reference object (R) are coextensive. The character is perceptually elaborated as the T of the pRP construction and is the primary focus of the conceptual compound.

Third, the character perceptually profiled as (T) is also a cRP which allows mental access to the grass leaves associated to his dominion of control (D), e.g., the natural landscape of the countryside. In other words, the young boy profiled is an (R) to the countryside and the entities being located inside it are (T) (e.g., the grass leaves and he). Perceptual access is metaphorically interpreted as mental access and possession. The character perceptually profiled is reanalyzed in a metaphoric construal. Therefore, he is conceived as something located within a conceptual sphere of control belonging to a possessor coextensive with his *own* subjectivity. Otherwise stated, we see the way the character conceives himself, and the spatial location (R/D) is "subjectified". For instance, Terrence Malick's *To the Wonder* (Terrence Malick, 2012) intensely exploits this subjectification of the object pole, e.g., the landscape in which the characters evolve.[6] The metaphoric construal in which location in a spatial region anchored by a landmark is the source domain projected onto the target domain of something being in the area of control of a possessor (Langacker 2009: 106). The process is reinforced by a metonymic interpretation: "by virtue of something being close to us spatially that we are able to use it or experience it" (Langacker 2009: 106).

### 4. Metonymy

Some conceptual phenomena involve dynamic reference point relationships like **metonymy** in which "an expression's usual referent

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[6] In cognitive grammar subjetification is the process in which "an **objectively** construed relationship fades away, leaving behind a **subjectively** construed relationship that was **immanent** in it (inherent in its conception)" (Langacker 2009: 107). See also Langacker where "mental operations inherent in experiences of a certain kind are used in abstraction from their content and applied to other circumstances" (2008: 536-537).

provides mental access to the entity it is actually construed as designating" (Langacker 2008: 504). Mentioning one entity is thus a way of mentally accessing some other entity within the conceptual complex evoked.

A verbal expression often singles out the profile of an entity put in focus as a trajector or landmark of a profiled relationship.

For example, the nominal profile *David* in *David blinked*. Directing attention to the entity "activates or makes accessible an array of associated entities, which constitute the reference point's dominion" (Langacker 2009b: 52) (**Figure** 7) In this case, the reference point is fused with the profile of the expression. The task consists



Figure 7. (Langacker 2008: 504; Figure 14.1).

of finding a target that can serve as an **active zone** for participating in the profiled relationship. In the *David blinked* example the active zone is his *eyelids* (52).
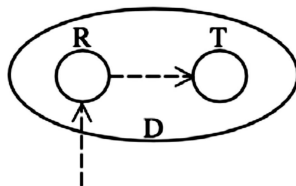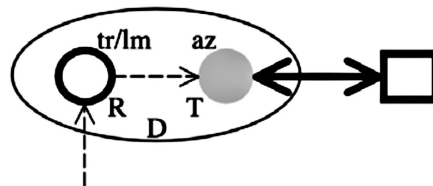


Figure 8. (Langacker 2009b: 53).

With respect to a profiled relationship, the **active zone** is the aspect – a subpart of or a component associated – that most directly participates in the profiled relationship (Langacker 2008: 331) (**Figure** 8). The active zone is a pRP for the entity profiled as target of the conception. This is a **perceptual reference point construction**. The pRP is a local perceptual manifestation of the attentional control cycle, and the cRP point is a manifestation of capture/ integration of the focused component in a global conceptualization.

In this framework, grammar is metonymic. Grammar – i.e., symbolic units of different degrees of schematicity - provides mental access to elements with the "potential to be connected in specific ways" (Langacker 2009: 41). [7] By exploiting "general knowledge"/ encyclopedic cultural knowledge – i.e., situated conceptualizations or descriptive systems - we are able to make sense of expressions. For instance, in a verbal context like "*the soup is at the restaurant's door*", *the soup* is a reference point for *the client* in the situated conceptualization of a *restaurant*. The diegetic *restaurant* situation is now conceived as a global **conceptual reference point** necessary for the binding of the two components. The scene of the restaurant is a global situation, which contains several schematic components (e.g., soup, client, chef, waiter, tableware, etc.). When I refer to a *client* in a restaurant situation as „the *soup* that sits near the door", I apply a metonymic use of the profiled active zone, the soup dish. The "soup" is part of the descriptive system "things that are in a restaurant" and a type of [FOOD]. A mental representation of the situated conceptualization is build using a pointer (reference point), i.e., a referential "stand for", located inside the descriptive system of the *restaurant*. In the metonymic use, at a **local level** a shift in profile takes place inside a global situated conceptualization that establishes the connection "affording mental access" between the local active zone (the *soup*) – a local pRP - and the non-perceptually profiled reference point (the *client*) – a local cRP (Langacker 2013: 69). Both components function as pRPs to the higher **global level** cRP of the *restaurant* situation. Locally, the reference entity profiled, e.g., the *soup*, is a placeholder or a pointer in working memory for a specific instantiation of one internal part of the situated conceptualization, e.g., the *client*.[8] In metonymy, the reference point is categorized through the profile of the target. The metonymical target, the *client* entity profiled, is used as a schema for the category. The active zone/ reference point (*the soup*) benefits of the role of the target entity (*the client*) in the situated conceptualization (*a*

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[7] "Metaphorically speaking, explicit linguistic coding gets us into the right neighborhood, but from there we have to find the right address by other means." (Langacker 2009: 41).
[8] See Zwaan (2015: 3) and Zwaan (2014).

*restaurant event*).[9] We can say that the *soup* is a process-internal modifier that elaborates in more detail an aspect of the *client* entity. At the **global level**, the restaurant situation represents a goal-concept that defines a common categorizing role for the source and the target of the metonymy. The particular use of the *soup* in the restaurant situation evokes the goal-concept of [THINGS THAT ARE BEHAVING IN A RESTAURANT] and displaces the element from profiling a type of [FOOD] to a kind of [CLIENT]. The goal-concept evoked by the event of behaving in a restaurant diminishes the salience of [FOOD], and enforces the categorizing salience of the [CLIENT] (**Figure** 9). The local cRP relationship (the *client* --> the *soup*) mirrors the global cRP relationship (the *restaurant* --> the *soup* and the *client*).

In film, the metonymic shot singles out the **active zone** of an entity profiled as a landmark or trajector in a relationship (**Figure** 9). For example, a short scene from *Breathless* (Jean-Luc Godard,
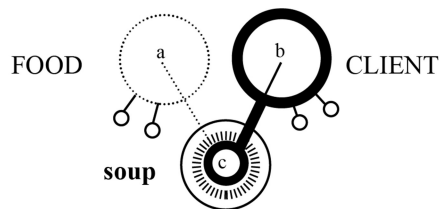


Figure 9.

1960) shows the event of "kill". The protagonist kills with a gun the policeman that is chasing him. Each shot is a local metonymic cut of an object belonging to the global event profiled, i.e., "the protagonist is killing a policeman" (**Figure** 10).  Shots (a) – a policeman comes into the setting of the protagonist - and (h) – the policeman is hit by the bullet - display the boundaries of the event. The extreme long shot and the long shot cue a bracket-like boundary. The rest of the sequence is designed in a crescendo-like fashion; from a medium long shot (b), medium shot (c) to two close-ups (d) and (e) and extreme close-ups (f) and (g).

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[9] Regarding the metonymy, see also Tuggy (2007: 104-105), Langacker (2008: 250), Langacker (2009: 107), Peirsman & Geeraerts (2006), Ruiz de Mendoza (2014a) and Ruiz de Mendoza (2014b).

(a)　　　　　　　　　(b)　　　　　　　　　(c)

(d)　　　　　　　　　(e)　　　　　　　　　(f)

(g)　　　　　　　　　(h)
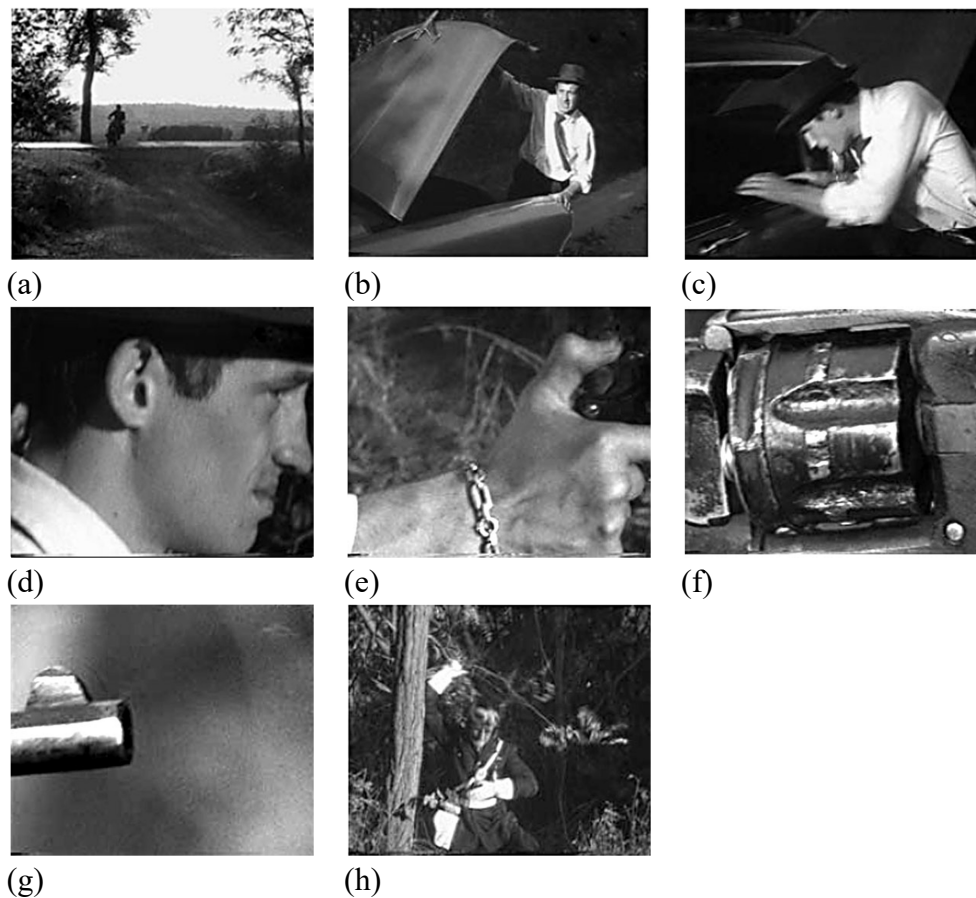
Figure 10. *Breathless* (Jean-Luc Godard, 1960) (See Kovacs 2008: 133; Figure 17).

The **active zone** is a pRP that gives access to the overall diegetic scene, which is the target. **Metonymy** consists of mentioning or focusing the attention on one entity as a way of mentally accessing another entity in the conceptual domain evoked (Langacker 2008: 504). The cRP is the target domain accessed. The pRP is categorized through the mapping of the features from the profile of the target accessed (i.e., *a killing situation in which the protagonist shots a gun at a policeman*). Locally, the *nozzle* of the gun singled in a close shot stands for "the *character* points his gun at the policeman".

Globally, the target domain is a situated conceptualization, which connects under a goal-concept various information about the components involved: e.g., the agents, the appropriate behavior, the setting, the event

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sequence, the properties and relations of objects, and the introspective information (interoceptions and mentalizing). The sequence of shots is, in a bottom-up fashion, a local series of pRP that instantiate the unfolding (a sequential scanning) of an attentional process of control. Each shot modulates the attentional focus on the situation; from a larger scope to an immediate scope of awareness. The situation evoked is, in terms of a cRP, a field of control (D) that exerts in a top-down fashion a global constraint on each shot-sample. The field of control provides a bridge that binds the juxtaposed shots in a seamless flow. Each shot draws attention to an aspect of the overall scene and generates a modal tension based on the lack of perceptual control on the whole situation.

Analytical shots contain a minimal suspense based upon the partial capture of a situation. In short, in an initial phase, a pRP construction allows access to a diegetic target embedded in the dominion of the situated conceptualization. In a second phase the situated conceptualization evoked, by pattern inference, allows the categorization of the pRP in terms of the accessed target.

The situated conceptualization is a now a cRP. The first trajectory is a bottom-up one and the second is based on a top-down mechanism. The categorizing schematic scene activates the prediction and the bottom-up element(s) instantiate the prediction error counter flow of information. The situation controls by top-down prediction but is continuously challenged by the prediction error correction bottom-up from each shot. We see here a case of bidirectional way of control. This is another manifestation of the circular coupling of conceptual constructions. The pRP and the cRP are connected in a circular loop.

## 5. The scene and its observers

Starting with some shots extracted from *The Great Beauty* (Paolo Sorrentino, 2013), we can construe two conceptual trajectories (See the analysis in Jullier 2015: 85) (**Figure** 11). Starting from the same pRP, we have access either to the cRP of the protagonist depicted, Toni, or to the CRP of an external observer of the scene. Let us see the **first** construal (e.g., pRP → character-target). In both shots, (a) and (b), the pRP is the image pole construed objectively. In shot (a) the cRP is Toni: we see a "blurred" state of mind of a man through his own "mind's eyes". The character's

perspective on the situation is obscured by some blurred bars that veil the future that is in front of him or his surroundings are blurred because he is focused on his own mental state. The image pole elaborates the perspective the character on his future. The state of mind of the character is one of uncertainty. The observer of the scene has in front of him an interdictive point of access due to the presence of the diegetic vertical bars; he is "distanced" or in a *there* position. The future that is in *front* of the character is uncertain, and thus more "distant". The character and the narrator are distant observers of a future state of affairs.

In shot (b) the cRP is still Toni. Toni is seen as a clear focused object by a viewer entity situated in the *here* of the diegetic scene. In this shot, we feel that the attention schema belongs to a proximal observer that is focused from a close range on Toni but loses the optical grasp on the surroundings. The proximal observer-narrator and the character can be fused in one entity. The past, which is *behind,* is more closely related to the memories of the character; more "proximal", but, due to the present confused state of mind, it looks more unclear. The state of mind of the character is an instance of "melancholia". In the **second** construal, the cRP is the viewer of the image pole (e.g., pRP → viewer-target). In shot (a) the image pole elaborates the appearance of a "distant" witness and in (b) a close observer of the character, e.g., a "friend".

The image pole is the pRP to different cRPs. For instance, in a shot from *Triumph of the Will* (Leni Riefenstahl, 1935) the film viewer can focus on the führer's depiction in the center of the frame and ignore the entity that views the scene from a lower position or construct the opposite construal and focus on the observer and ignore the profiled political leader (**Figure** 12).

In the first construal (a) the cRP is the führer. Hitler is unattainable, a distant ruler situated in a top position and in the center of the frame. The leader is just a minuscule



(a)
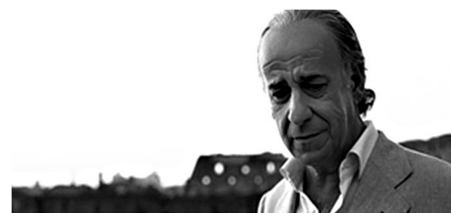


(b)

Figure 11. *The Great Beauty* (Paolo Sorrentino, 2013) (Jullier 2015: 85).

component element inserted in the huge propaganda machinery made out of oversized dark shapes. He is depicted as the pinnacle of the composition. From a position of head autonomous (*the worshipped **fuehrer***) the conceptual construction shifts toward the attribution of the profile of the image to the head element; the features of the image pRP construal are attributed to the object attended, i.e., (a) the film viewer sees *an **unattainable** fuehrer*. However, the film viewer can adopt a different position and attribute the perceptual construal of the image as qualia of the diegetic observer involved in the scene of the admiration, i.e., a self-performing the attending act. In this instance (b), the viewing agent is an anonymous entity occupying a low position, which has only a partial view over the high-situated political figure. In this second construal (b) the viewing experience is the cRP. The emotional categorizing can be simulated as positive adoration or negative fear or probably as a mixture of the two, i.e., (b) the film viewer sees ***the way** an anonymous observer from the crowd conceives the fuehrer*.

In the (a) construal, the subject viewer is conceived as maximally subjective (transparent) and the object attended is maximally objective. The features of the image (shape, dimension, texture, movement) are pRP to an allocentric view of



Figure 12. *Triumph of the Will* (Leni Riefenstahl, 1935).

the object attended. These features are represented and mapped at an external object location. The features are represented relative to the object. The people-viewer is in the background of the conception. In the (b) construal, the subject viewer is conceived as a more objective entity to be attended in its own right. The diegetic grounding of the viewing act is foregrounded. The features of the image are pRPs to an egocentric view. The visual features are represented relative to the viewer.[10] However, in this construal the whole attending/ viewing situation is apprehended from a second grounding, an extradiegetic one. This time the second viewer is in the background of the conception and the observer-experiencer of the diegetic grounding is mediated by a maximally objective construal. The diegetic situation of attending is embedded in a second allocentric view.

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[10] See Hawkins et al. (2017).

Note that in (a) the people and the fuehrer are constructed in a composition that requires different levels of conception. The conceptual construction profiles Hitler as the head of the composite: *Hitler is seen by the people*. At a lower level, *the people* elaborates the schematic landmark of the head relationship of *seeing* taking place between the trajector/ subject (*Hitler*) and the landmark/ object (*the people*). At a higher level, *Hitler* stands as an autonomous head profile and the local composite *is seen by the people* is the dependent modifier. Similarly, in (b) *the people* is the head of the conception that elaborates the trajector of the *see* relationship. Now, at a lower level, *Hitler* is the landmark or the object complement of the expression: *the people see Hitler*. At a higher level, the manner of seeing Hitler, i.e., the image pole qualia of the *seeing Hitler*, represents a modifier. The two construals are in a circular loop. Hitler looks the way the people conceive him and the people perceive Hitler the way he looks.

Similarly, in **Figure** 13 the image can be understood in two different ways. The skewed face can be the effect of a distorted image pole construed objectively (e.g., a *distorting* mirror reflecting a normal face) or the reflection of a warped face (e.g., a normal mirror reflecting a *distorted* face). In **Figure** 14 the second shot can be understood either as an elaboration of the confused state of mind of the character either or as a blurred landscape.



Figure 13. *The Last Laugh* (F.W. Murnau, 1924).

Figure 14. *La Fille de l'eau* (Jean Renoir, 1925) (See Bordwell and Thompson 2003: 93).

In **Figure** 15, we can focus on the experiencer, i.e., Saul confronting a blurred diegetic universe.

The blurred features of the image are attributed to the diegetic objects seen by Saul. As an alternative, we can focus on the way the character sees the world surrounding him and, therefore, the features of the image are attributed to a way of seeing the world belonging to Saul. The character is a cRP to the viewing situation. The features of the image are pRP to the elaboration of his conceptualizing of the



Figure 15. *Son of Saul* (Laszlo Nemes, 2015).

situation. In other words, the blurring of the image maps a perceptual space that expresses the conceptual content of the character, i.e., his mental state.

In this shot, we have mixed cues. The character and the setting depicted are jointly the object pole of an extradiegetic viewing relationship. A narrator depicts the character as seen from behind. At the same time, we can construe Saul as identical with the extradiegetic narrator. The whole image is a subjective one, a mental POV of Saul. We could say that Saul is an object and a subject but at two different levels of grounding. In a dissociative disorder-like state of mind, Saul sees himself from an external point of view as detached from himself and, consequently, he doesn't have a clear access to the world but to a distorted/ blurred image. The defocalized image is a pRP to the mental state of the character.

The shot can be construed in three different manners:

1. The image depicts Saul in a shallow diegetic space (as seen from an extradiegetic narrator). The blurring is a cue grounded in the extradiegetic narration. The character is *in* a shallow world.

2. The image depicts the blurred POV of a character *and* is at the same time a focused extradiegetic depiction of the character. The cinematic narrator and Saul are dissociated. Saul *sees* the world as shallow and avoids seeing the world around him in a clear manner.

3. The image is a momentary extradiegetic POV of Saul himself that depicts from an external vantage point his position in the setting. The character's self splits in two and assumes two

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conceptual roles. Saul sees, with a clear focus, his position in a world that is shallow (i.e., the object pole is grounded on an extradiegetic ground) and simultaneously he projects a veil of shallowness upon the world he is in (i.e., the object pole is grounded on a diegetic ground). Saul adopts an out-of-body position towards the world he is in *as if* his real self were the extradiegetic narrator situated outside the scene. He thus sees himself from a non-implied position and he contemplates himself as another. In an out-of-body experience, his self is not where his body is.

The shot illustrates what embodied simulation claims. A similar structure guides the representations of one's own actions and emotions in actually experiencing a situation *and* the corresponding representations involved when one observes someone else performing or experiencing emotion in a situation.

## 6. Diegetic and symbolic metonymy lead to metaphor
## 6.1. The diegetic metonymy

The metonym is a reference point to the descriptive system that it evokes. The metonymic reference point constructions admit degrees of abstraction. The "nozzle" and the "barrel" of the gun in the sequence from *Breathless* (Jean-Luc Godard, 1960) are metonyms of the "human" playing a role in an event. The profiled object evokes the human body domain as its **immediate scope**, i.e., "the portion directly relevant for a particular purpose" brought thus to the "onstage region" of awareness (Langacker 2008: 63; 133). This is what we can call a **diegetic metonymy**. The source of the metonymy is a reference point to a diegetic entity profiled in the situation or scene. The target thus identified categorizes the source in a situated conceptualization.

Metonymy brings in discursive sequences new and/ or relevant information. The conceptualization of a situation represents a base substrate upon which perceptual stimuli can focus attentional resources. [11] The metonymic conceptualization is an elaboration of the substrate. The perceived divergence of the metonym versus its base is based on an

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[11] See Carroll and Seeley (2013).

operation of comparison. As Langacker claims, "the registration of their divergence constitutes the elaboration relating it to the second" and is a matter of augmentation. The added content – the "differential" – is perceptually expressed (Langacker 2016: 410).

A metonymy can simultaneously evoke several descriptive systems. For instance, in *Psycho* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1960), after murdering Marion, Norman would dedicate a long time to the meticulous sweeping of the bloodstains left by the murder on the bathroom floor (**Figure** 16). The metonymy keeps two concurrent event types active, e.g., the domestic activity of *sweeping* the floor and the *hiding* away of the marks of a killing. Both situations share a single profile: *the mop cleaning of the bathroom*. Based on this correspondence, the viewer can apply a metaphoric construal and understand the killing action as a kind of domestic activity: KILLING IS A DOMESTIC ACTIVITY. [12] The persistent profiling of the cleaning action in *Psycho* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1960) - **Figure** 16 (a) and (b) - confers to the metonymic mop the role of a **pivot**. The cleaning instrument belongs to the domestic activities, *and* to the killing events, e.g., it is the final stage of concealing evidence. The correspondence between the objects profiled in the alternate domains of activity allows a metaphoric

(a)

(b)

Figure 16. *Psycho* (Alfred Hithcock, 1960).

construal. Since in this episode the killing is more prominent, the metaphoric construal would be DOMESTIC LIFE IS CONCEALMENT OF TERRIBLE DEEDS. In this way, for Hitchcock, domestic life is an instantiation of the category of horrible or threatening things. But, as we already noted, the metaphor is bidirectional, e.g., DANGEROUS THINGS ARE DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES. Killing is another mundane activity included in the larger domain of domestic events. Spies are grandmas as in *The Lady Vanishes* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1936) or the murder weapon is a

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[12] The metaphor is bidirectional. The domestic activity is a kind of hiding the traces left by an ignominious act (e.g., sweeping the dust under the carpet).

frozen leg of a lamb that the police officers consume at the crime scene in *Lamb to the Slaughter* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1958).

Metonymic construals can be combined in new constructed conceptualizations. In the sequence from *Alphaville* (Jean-Luc Godard, 1965) that we previously commented, the protagonist, Lemmy Caution, witnesses, at the pool of a hotel, the execution of a group of revolutionaries. The survivors of the firing squad are drowned by a group of water sports ballerinas. The sentenced to death involved in the events evoke the concepts of "revolutionary group" and "revolutionary action" and the aquatic ballerinas are metonyms of "sports" and "ballet" (**Figure** 17). Each metonym shot stands for the whole diegetic situation: "the execution of a group of revolutionaries" and an "aquatic choreography". A diegetic metonymic interpretation profiles the group's entity (revolutionaries/ aquatic ballerinas) and the activity they perform (shouting revolutionary lines and being killed, and performing an aquatic dance and killing). The metonymic construal of agents and the correspondent conceptualized situation is a diegetic metonymy, i.e., the sentenced to death ← the execution of a group of revolutionaries and the aquatic ballerina ← ballet/ sport. In this case, an **extradiegetic narrator** grounds the expression.
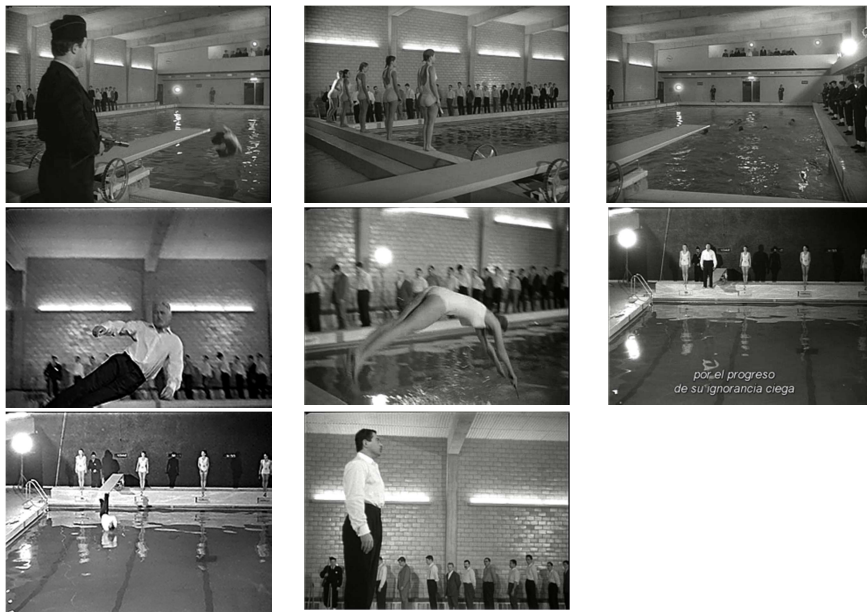


Figure 17. *Alphaville* (Jean-Luc Godard, 1965).

Otherwise stated, the immediate scope of the profiled component is correlated with the conceptual domain invoked. A goal-concept and a narrator constrain the scope of the conception and, consequently, its immediate scope of conception.

## 6.2. The symbolic metonymy

In the mentioned scene from *Alphaville* each situated conceptualization, e.g., the execution event and the aquatic ballet, is a token of the abstract concepts of "revolution" and "entertainment industry". The whole scene is a constructed blend that combines elements from the two concepts in one single composition. Each abstract concept evokes further on the descriptive systems of "anti-capitalism" and "capitalism". In short, the descriptive system of "capitalism" sanctions as tokens both situations. The concept of "capitalism" holds a population of prototypical instances like the entertainment of sport, the leisure hotels, and anti-capitalist militant movement. The source of the metonymy is the blended situation of execution-aquatic ballet and the target is the abstract concept that blends the "anti-capitalism" and "entertainment" in "capitalism". The immediate scope of the metonymy is shifted in order to cover the profiled global situation and not a component of the background situation.

In this second metonymic elaboration – a **symbolic metonymy** – a **discursive narrator** is constructed in order to pinpoint the origin of an assertion made from outside the discourse.[13] The discursive topic is the "capitalism" conceived as a blend of "revolution" and "entertainment industry". The symbolic metonymy is included in a second speech act grounded in a communicative act located outside the fiction. A degree of abstraction is achieved. Each conceptualized situation, as a whole, is in a metonymic relationship with the correspondent abstract concept, i.e., the execution ← revolution, and ballet/sport ← entertainment industry. The top-down mechanism categorizes the instances profiled by each shot. The source of the metonymy is now a global situation that is a second-degree reference point to a discourse about "capitalism". The profiled entity is a reference point to the set of statements about the depicted situation.

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[13] See about topic in Langacker (2008: 513-516).

Categorization is done this time from an extrafictional ground.[14] The goal-concept of "capitalism" binds together situated instances.

### 6.3. The metaphoric construal

The abstract metonymic targets of the *Alphaville* scene are coupled in a subject - object relationship that is evoked by the *killing* event, i.e., "the entertainment industry *kills* the revolution". Due to the activation of the action schema: *X kills Y*, a change of the direction of the reference point trajectory can take place. At the discursive level of the conceptual construction, the constituents change their role. The targets of the symbolic metonymy "entertainment" and "revolution" are bound by a "killing" action schema. They are the component elements of a **metaphoric** construal. The discursive topic of "capitalism" is the source domain that categorizes the target abstract concept of CAPITALISM. The source blend of the metaphoric construal is "the entertainment *kills* the revolution". The metaphor is translatable as "CAPITALISM IS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ENTERTAINMENT". The counter-revolution component is obtained from a metaphoric reading of the "killing" which is attributed to two abstract concepts that evoke the correspondent descriptive systems: i.e., ballerinas → choreography → entertainment industry → capitalism and sentenced to death → revolutionary group → revolution → anti-capitalism. The target of the metaphor is conceived through the profile of the source component.

For example, in the following sentences a metaphoric reading is applied in (b) and (c). In (a) *the sour soup* is the metonymic source for the target of the conceptualization. The *sour soup* metonym provides a point of

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[14] The symbolic metonymy pertains to the topic conceptual constructions where the proposition of an expression fits in the body of knowledge evoked by the topic nominal. The nominal is the reference point, the dominion is the body of knowledge associated and the proposition is the target, "as one element in the reference point's dominion" (Langacker 2009: 48). For Barsalou abstract concepts such as "convince" refer to "an entire situation, not just part of one, such as the entire situated representation represents them […] in other words, words, abstract concepts like *convince* are relational structures that integrate many different concepts in a situated conceptualization". Therefore "many situated conceptualizations are associated with a given concept, reflecting the variety of situations in which it is experienced […] rather than the category having a conceptual core, a set of situated exemplars represents it that exhibit family resemblance and radial structure, accompanied by limited abstractions" (Barsalou et al 2011: 1107).

reference to *the client* entity. In (b) *the sour soup* is the metaphoric source that provides a background for the conceptualization of *the client*. In (c) the metaphoric construal profiles the client as a kind of *sour soup*.

a) *The sour soup is at the table near the window* (the sour soup ← the client)
b) *The client at the table near the window is a sour soup*
c) *The sour soup is at a the table near the window* (the client ← the sour soup)

## 6.4. Unbounded and pivot metonymies

In the approach defended by Reilly et al. (2016) – the *Dynamic Multilevel Reactivation Framework* - semantic memory is construed out of the interaction between multiple cortical hubs. The model tries to combine the view that representations are grounded in somatic states linked to perception, emotion, and introspection (proprioceptive, interoceptive and perceptual information), and a level of "symbolic" system that can perform combinatorial amodal operations on constituent features. These operations take place in "convergence zones" or hubs. These convergence zones display cognitive functions like crossmodal integration, pattern association, cognitive abstraction, calculus of similarity relations, and symbol formation (2016: 1004). The representation of an object concept (as patterns of cortical activation) is variable as a function of modality and task cues. Focusing on different modal qualities of an object engages different cortical areas. As a function of task context, the representation of a concept differs. A word with high motor salience like *kick* activates motor cortex *only* under congruent contexts (e.g., *kick* the football), but not in metaphorical contexts (e.g., *kick* the bucket). Damasio (Damasio and Damasio 1994; Damasio 1989) proposes that semantic representations are, at the level of "convergence zones", "unrefined" and are enriched via the retroactivation of the sensorimotor system through simulation processes. The degree and specificity of enrichment processes are modulated by contextual demands. Reilly and collaborators propose that a system of low level hubs process heteromodal feature binding (via simulation, binding, pattern recognition, and pattern completion). These hubs aggregate information from "quasi-

modular sensorimotor spoke systems (e.g., vision, motor, audition systems). These bounded representations that result are further processed by high-order hubs that conduct non-linear symbolic representations. Conceptual knowledge is abstracted, and perceptual and linguistic information converge. Amodal representations are unrefined and need sensorimotor simulations in order to gain conscious access. The degree of sensorimotor reactivation depends on the unique demands of the task at hand.

Metonymy elaborates a particular conceptual construction that is processed as a simulation at the low-level hubs conceptual representations. Reenactments of these integrations are controlled by high-level hubs via the schematic patterns of amodal operations.

Typically, metonymy evokes a particular situation in which it is integrated. But metonymy can "lose" the connection and become a substrate in itself. Or, by gradual abstraction, it can shift from being categorized as an instance of a conceptual domain (metonymy) to being the source that controls by pattern completion another conceptual domain (metaphor). Many sources of modality-specific information about concepts converge, and are bound in coarse grained representations that are subject to symbolic manipulation. High-level hubs that contain schematic information (summaries) operate a kind of binding of cognitive dimensions. Reilly et al. propose that cognitive dimensions include "color, odor, motion, sound, emotion, social interaction, morality, time, space, quantity, polarity (e.g., positive/ negative feelings), and valence" (2016: 1009). In this framework, "every word has measureable salience within each of these domains and that all of the domains considered together constitute a topographic space where word meanings are distributed" (1009). The meanings of words (concrete and abstract) are modeled in a single semantic space.[15]

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[15] Two studies are relevant to the discussion. In Crutch et al. (2013) the researchers propose a list of attributes that characterize abstract concepts which include "social interaction, morality, executive function, quantity, time, space, and polarity". The conceptualization of abstract concepts depends on several cognitive domains that contribute to the formation and organization of abstract conceptual knowledge: social and linguistic information, introspection (affect, emotion, and morality), executive function (emotional factors, planning, selection executive flexibility, strategizing), quantity (as profiled by quantifiers like "many" and "few"), time (e.g., "past," "present," "future," "brief," "lengthy"), space dimension, and overall polarity (i.e., positive, neutral, negative). The proposal is that abstract words have "semantic attributes" analogous to the features displayed by concrete conceptual knowledge. The study of Troche et al. (2014) continues the direction and,

"For example, the meaning of an abstract concept such as TRUST can potentially be decomposed into a high-dimensional space factoring a range of variables (e.g., arousal, perceptual salience, emotion) analogous to the method of decomposing concrete concepts into a perceptual feature space" (Reilly et al. 2016: 1010).

Therefore, if we extrapolate this perspective to metaphoric construals, the influence exerted by the categorizing source (that operates as a modifier) is a kind of modulation or intensification/ reduction of the salience of one or another component dimension.

The ellipsis generated by metonymic profiling sometimes creates ambiguity of attribution. A profiled fragment can belong to different things. The metonym evokes sometimes different descriptive systems simultaneously. A particular shot can exploit a long lapse of uncertainty of attribution. A metonym is the **pivot** component that gives shape to the bridge that links different concepts. The metonym is a shared component. The viewer has to adopt a wait-and-see strategy before deciding on the winning descriptive system. This cinematographic situation based on a temporary uncertainty elicits anxiety, and fear emotions. The mechanism can be summarized as the appearance of a new conceptual domain *within* the boundaries of the present one. A moment of incertitude and hesitation is usually exploited by the temporal prolongation of the cinematic shot. The metonymical source is the same but its reevaluation can change the whole dominion of the concept.

Sometimes the source metonym, which, normally, is a part of the target, is equated with a whole entity (he becomes the target), and subsequently, as a new reference point, invokes a different conceptual domain. The phase transition is associated with fear, associated with uncertainty and loss of control. Langacker compares the phenomenon with a "zooming in" (Langacker 1999: 227-228). Imagine that "perceiving a

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besides recognizing the important role played by anchoring the abstract word meaning in emotion, measured word's salience on 12 dimensions: Sensation, Action; Thought; Emotion; Social Interaction; Time; Space; Quantity; Polarity; Morality; Ease of Modifying; and Ease of Teaching. The main point of these studies is that they map in a *single* continuous topography words meanings without using the dichotomy of abstract vs. concrete or imageable vs. non-imageable.

certain well-known configuration of head, legs, body, tail, and udder, we can easily recognize a cow". Imagine now that you approach the cow, and at some moment the contours of the cow overflow the limits of your visual field, so that you actually see is "an undifferentiated mass of cowhide" (222). For instance, imperfectivization of verbs with *–ing* excludes the endpoint of the process and imposes a holistic, summary construal. The time slices of the process are conceptualized as "representative internal states" of the perfective process, e.g., *run* becomes *running*.

For instance, we have illustrious examples of body parts that gain autonomy. The voice is among the most audience impressive element. The metonym detaches itself from its dominion. For example, in *Dead of night* (Alberto Cavalcanti, 1945) the *puppet* of a ventriloquist gathers autonomy and controls his host body - **Figure** 18 (c). The character suffers a loss of control and one part of his self becomes a new encompassing self that overrides his agency. Typical relationships of possession are deconstructed from within.

(a) *The testament of Dr. Mabuse* (Fritz Lang, 1933).

(b) *The testament of Dr. Mabuse* (Fritz Lang, 1933).

(c) *Dead of night* (Alberto Cavalcanti, 1945).

(d) *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (Stanley Kubrick, 1964).

(e) *Duel* (Steven Spielberg, 1971).

Figure 18.

The *hand* in *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (Stanley Kubrick, 1964) also overrides the domain of control of the agent - **Figure** 18 (d).[16] Profiling can be used to render salient the instrument of an agent. The *truck* from *Duel* (Steven Spielberg, 1971) is a metonym for an entity that drives – **Figure** 18 (e). By avoiding the depiction the driver, Spielberg's narrative gives prominence to one element associated with it and allows the instrument to elaborate autonomously the features of the agent. Autonomous *voices* in *The testament of Dr. Mabuse* (Fritz Lang, 1933) - **Figure** 18 (a) and (b) -, *The Great Dictator* (Charlie Chaplin, 1940), HAL 9000 in *2001: A Space Odyssey* (Stanley Kubrick, 1968) or *The Wizard of Oz* (Victor Fleming and George Cukor, 1939) cue a metaphoric construal. The film viewer can map the elaboration of a detached and powerful voice as an instantiation of the concept of POWER. What typically is in the subordinate position of the possessed element becomes a possessor that exerts influence. The whole situation in which the possessed part or instrument becomes the possessor will be mapped on the target conception.

A shift of a profile can occur in one single domain. The "viewing frame" of the conceptualization changes the scope of coverage of the accessed conceptual domain. The boundaries of the focused metonym override the boundaries of the entity it is initially part of. The "onstage region" of the profiled element is foregrounded and substitutes the domain it belongs to (Langacker 2008: 62-65). Simultaneously, this kind of foregrounding blurs the access to the possessive entity. The metonym gains a kind of conceptual autonomy and since it is no more limited as a part in a whole, i.e., the whole does not constrain its bounded scope anymore. The metonym is construed as a "mass noun" (Langacker 2008: 128 sq). Its referent is amorphous and not inherently limited. A **mass noun** does not have a boundary in its immediate scope of conceptualization, and is distinguished as a profile in a qualitative domain (133). A typical mass noun designates a "substance identified by various qualities" (140).

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[16] The metaphor "lend a hand" is a conceptual construal based on a metonym. The entity profiled evokes the domain of manipulation and control of things situated in the "manipulatory area" of the agent (See Gallagher 2017: 180). The hand conceptualization is the source for the target conception of support for an action. In the Anarchic Hand Syndrome (AHS) the hand literally performs actions not controlled by the owner of the hand (Gallagher 2017: 186).

A mass noun is not construed as profiling a thing bounded within the immediate scope in the domain of instantiation (132). A thing is bounded when there is "some limit to the set of constitutive elements" (136). Bounding is effected based on contrast with the surroundings, internal configuration that can be scanned for a definite span, and on function (137). Bounding rests on functional conceptual construction. Concurrently, for a mass noun there is no bounding in its immediate scope. The expression's profile – its specific locus of attention - is confined to the region of the immediate scope, which is conceived as unbounded. Intrinsically, unbounded things are abstract referents. In this sense, these abstract concepts are based on construals that give salience to the unboundness quality of the domain of instantiation (a basic domain). Mass nouns impose construal of homogeneity by the "focusing of very general similarities, including a common function" (141). The entities profiled are construed as unbounded homogeneous substances in a **quality domain** or **quality space** (144).[17] Identification of an instance of a mass does not require "bounding, any particular shape, or even spatial contiguity" (142). A particular substance is characterized by "a typical range of values with respect to each of these dimensions […] these values delimit a bounded region in quality space" serving to distinguish it from other substances (144).

The profiled patches of blood in *The Conversation* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1974), and in *The Shining* (Stanley Kubrick, 1980) are substances identified by their qualities: viscosity, fluidity, movement - **Figure** 19 (a) and (b). The



(a) *The Conversation* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1974).



(b) *The Shining* (Stanley Kubrick, 1980)

Figure 19.

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[17] Homogeneity depends on the lack of intrinsic bounding which leads to the properties of **contractibility** ("any portion of a mass of a given type is itself a valid instance of that type"), and **expansibility** ("the mass obtained by combining any two instances of a given type is also a valid instance of that type") (Langacker 2008:141-142).

mass described is homogenous and lacks bounding, and leads to indefinite expansibility. There is an important shift of conceptual domain. The blood profiled in both films is part of the physical conceptual domain of body. By gaining an independent status, the domain of instantiation becomes the quality space of values. The initial characterization of a thing with shape and boundary is inhibited, and now the characterization is just a particular region (a range of values) in an abstract quality space. The quality space is color (characterized only by the quality of the visual impression elicited) and emotion qualia.[18]

Abstractness is defined by emotion, and, here, the anxiety generated by the graphic abstract expanse that represents a category in itself.[19] It is important to note that the perceptual instantiation is bounded in the physical domain of instantiation but, in the abstract construal, the conceptual instance is a kind or a region in the quality space/ domain of instantiation defining that substance qualitatively. The categorization of the visual stimuli is not elaborated as an instance in physical space but as a distinct instance of a substance in a quality space. The abstract concept profiles a token or a subpart of the "region defining that substance qualitatively" (145). Red profiles a region in the qualitative space of color. Nevertheless, it can be as well a region in the qualitative space of violence. A metaphoric construal can bind the domains of color and violence as in VIOLENCE IS RED. The prototype metaphor - based on a diegetic metonym (e.g., blood ← body) - is VIOLENCE IS BLOOD.

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[18] See Kousta et al. (2011) about the emotion that plays a central role in the representation of abstract concepts.

[19] Zizek draws a list of metonyms that represent instances of anxious re-categorizations in *The Pervert's Guide to Cinema* (Fiennes Sophie, 2006).

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# Emergency Remote Teaching Experiences during Covid-19 in the Netherlands – Positive Aspects and Outcomes

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***Abstract***

*This paper, finalised in June 2021 is an attempt to analyse more than a year of teaching online, filtered through the author's personal experiences with 3 Dutch universities of applied sciences and the Romanian-American University. The main examples come from the author's personal experience, but also from observing the classes of several colleagues who taught English and Business Communication. The paper explores practical solutions, class dynamics (and various contributing factors) by drawing on and comparing the author's direct experience with some of the results of quantitative and qualitative research performed between March 2020 and May 2021 worldwide, with a particular focus on positive aspects and techniques that created an overall productive class experience, in an unprecedented global emergency remote teaching context.*

## 1. Introduction

At the time when the complex effects of the Covid-19 crisis made their impact felt and encapsulated completely the higher education domain (March 2020), the author of this article was teaching English and communication techniques at the University of Applied Sciences of Zeeland, to students across several domains, such as: engineering, social work, business and nursing, to an audience formed mainly of native Dutch-speaking students. As the lock-down was announced (initially) for two weeks, there was a sense of urgency for mastering different ICT techniques, as all lessons moved, from a completely class-based setting, with real-life interactions, to an entirely online experience.

By November 2020, my online teaching experience spread to include two Dutch universities, where I was teaching part-time (Wittenborg University of Applied Sciences of Amsterdam and Hanze University of Groningen, both for an international student base) and the Romanian-American University of Bucharest (Romanian students who were studying Business communication in English and foreign students interested in learning Romanian language and civilization). In an unprecedented, rapidly moving context, I was giving lessons at 3 universities from two different countries, online, to students who re-located back to their home countries all over the world, while I was based in the Netherlands.

The present article aims to compare my teaching experience and reflections with the main findings of various quantitative and qualitative-based research performed across the globe in 2020. The article will look at a double perspective, both the teachers' and how students have perceived this period and the success factors.

As an ethical consideration, the remarks contained in this article will be anonymized. The paper will focus on the meeting points of this unique teaching experience across different cultures, with students following the courses online, from their home countries, in literally, all major continents, some of them with staggering time differences compared to the official Dutch time. Although some of the challenges will briefly be mentioned, the paper focuses on aspects and techniques, which have worked well, yielding positive academic results and creating a sense of community, engagement and willingness to contribute.

## 2. Positive class dynamics and teaching techniques

In a study published in September 2020, Spoel et al tried to analyze teachers' perceptions versus the actual reality of teaching online. Thus, during the Covid-19 Pandemic, 200 Dutch teachers responded to the survey (out of whom 40% worked in higher education), which mainly focused on the use of technology[1] during the pandemic.

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[1] Thus, according to Spoel et al (2020), "Twenty-five per cent or participants incorporated ICT in 11%-25% of their lessons, 28,5% claimed to use technology in 26%-50% of their lessons, and the remaining 29,5% claimed they used some sort of technology in over 50% of their lessons."

According to their findings, 25% of their respondents mentioned on the positive side that, being forced to teach all courses online, lead to an increase in professional teachers' ICT skills, but on the negative side, that it diminished class interaction (Spoel et al, 2020).

As in the Netherlands ICT was largely used in higher education even before the crisis, I would argue that technology was only partially conductive to successful online lessons as a lot depended on the nature and the didactic techniques used across different subjects.

In the case of English and business communication (which constituted the vast majority of my lessons), besides the theoretical explanations, the rest of the activity in class, in the case of universities of applied sciences, consists of very practical tasks (both individual and group tasks) including (but not limited to): presentations, negotiations, report writing and literature reviews.

Thus, an important first element implemented by different universities was the extensive use of a diversity of tools (to name just a few: Learn, Teams, Zoom, Panopto, Blue Button, Black Board) meant to support the teaching process. If before the Pandemic, such tools were mainly used by the lecturer, during key moments in the lessons, and predominantly in the introductory course, explanations of theory, models and assignments, after March 2020 the situation changed. All materials had to be readily available, before class time, and students had to come to the courses on time and aware of the location of different materials on the virtual learning environment, roles in the team, task division and planning of the activities across different weeks.

Students have been expected, more than ever before, to come to the virtual class fully prepared, even take initiative themselves, rather than expecting handouts with activities from the teacher.

As could be imagined, class dynamics have shifted as well, some of the key elements indicated by all students and teachers being interaction, motivation and involvement.

Most researchers point out to the negative or challenging aspects (Linh & Trang, 2020; Baltà-Salvador, 2021; Dube, 2020; Pakpour & Griffiths, 2020), however, in my experience, involvement and motivation vary profoundly from one group of students to another. Just to give an example, as early on as March 2020, the engineering groups I was working

with, managed to keep the planning, group structure as established before and adapted relatively easily, as they were used to technology even before the crisis, experience which differs greatly with  the study by Tang et al. (2020) specifically focusing on engineering students, pointing out decreased communication with their teachers during the pandemics, with more than 70% of their respondents complaining about this aspect.

Furthermore, at an individual level, it all depended on complex personal characteristics and level of motivation of each individual student, the investigation of which goes far beyond the scope of this article. While many students and teachers alike, experience this exclusive online teaching process as a very difficult and challenging time, in which most of their regular research has been delayed due to lack of responsiveness, some positive outcomes have been observed, as well.

In my classes for 15 months, the majority of students who wanted to actively participate in the classes had the possibility to do so, in a series of individual activities, as well as in group work, even in the context of reduced visibility, due to technical reasons (such as students' cameras not working, losing internet connectivity partially or totally via Teams, or for instance, not being able to see more than 4 students at the time on the online teaching platform Black Board). Additionally, students who managed to keep their motivation also kept their contributions to the lessons and to class projects, and as Spoel et al (2020) remark, "interaction was also reported as an unexpected positive experience, in the situation where introvert students were more present compared to a regular classroom context."

It would be impossible not to remark the importance of the technical support which each university managed to offer to both lecturers and students, also the ICT training offered to different members of the teaching staff, and each of the faculty's capacity of adjusting to what Hodges et al. (2020) refer to as *Emergency Remote Teaching (ERT)*. According to these authors, this past year saw unprecedented, "grand experiment" scale, quick solutions to a global, pressing educational crisis in which entire faculty staff had to move online, become professional in "in such a narrow preparation window" by using methods and the support of teams that "typically support a small pool of faculty interested in teaching online" (Hodges et al., 2020).

In their article, Hodges et al. (2020) draw attention to the temptation "to compare online learning to face-to-face instruction" which in their

opinion should not be a matter of comparison to begin with, defending the thesis that "online learning carries a stigma of being lower quality than face-to-face learning, despite research showing otherwise."

However, beyond the facilitating capabilities provided by technical means, a key role in establishing a positive class environment was the support and encouragement offered to students by lecturers, academic counselors and advisors, in an effort of creating a sense of community and belonging among online learners. In a study by Gillett-Swan published as early as 2017, quoted by Ezra et al (2021) several barriers were noted as faced by the isolated online learner, among them:

> "inhibited group work related to an inability to draw upon non-verbal cues and body language; challenges involving the creation of a sense of community among online learners; teachers' inability to see students, causing them to overlook students' needs; limitations of specific software that slow down interaction, add to time limitations, increase frustration and hamper sense of community; and insufficient technical competency among students and teachers, making simple tasks complex." Gillett-Swan (2017), quoted in Ezra et al (2021).

While these limitations still hold true, in some cases, different solutions were possible, and proved efficient. Thus, instead of focusing on the negative aspect, I built my discourse on creating a sense of belonging and inclusion by constantly reminding my students that everyone worldwide is in the same situation, that everyone is facing these limitations and challenges, and that "we are all in this together". Most students have reacted positively to such a discourse, and I have noticed a lot of mature, very responsible reactions. Just to give an example, many class and group representatives moved into a more pro-active role, successfully attempting to keep their group members motivated, make sure roles were properly and equally divided and that, within the description of these roles, tasks were delivered on time. In other words, there was a feeling of co-sharing the responsibility, from an increased maturity perspective, in which lectures and research success was not seen as mainly the teacher's responsibility. It is worth mentioning, at this point, that I have been approached from a solution-based perspective, by group representatives, in the groups I was coaching across different study years, in many occasions where difficulties

aroused, for instance, regarding inequalities of input and effort among team members.

Among different techniques used in our virtual classes, *SCRUM for education* proved to be a very efficient team management tool that has enhanced team efficiency, time division and results. If before implementing it, students sometimes complained about key members having to give more input than others, in group reports and projects, while they have all been rewarded with the same grade, after using it, class feedback regarding these problematic issues has improved. Every group had a SCRUM master (who was appointed based on qualities and personal characteristics), a representative who made sure team members had an equal input, that the team divided their task equally, as much as possible, and that, within the group, the tasks were divided based on the talents of the students, not imposed by the teacher. The teacher acted as a "product owner", monitoring team progress by having weekly coaching sessions with each team. The sessions were initiated by the SCRUM master, by presenting an online scrum board (called a "Trello") and the main ideas regarding an update on the progress on what has been covered, from the points suggested at the beginning of the project, what remains to be done, suggestions for improvements, how different members are handling their tasks, and whether the input is equal or if there are difficult team dynamics. Team members had a chance to express their opinion, as well, in this way difficulties were addressed as they appeared, instead of having them accumulating until the end of the project, when the lecturer's intervention would not have served very much. Among its many advantages, the method also prevented de-motivated students needing to be dragged along and having the same final grade as the hard-working team members, due to the fact that, early on in the process, there was the possibility of removing members from the team, after two warnings had been formally issued.

Moving on to the next important point, as already indicated in the quotation inspired by the work of Gillett-Swan (2017), there can be no denying that non-verbal cues have been, indeed, an important aspect that had to be overcome, and I argue, with a key role in communication-related assessments and exams. As the combination between body language, tone, pitching, use of voice modulation, pacing and gestures create a huge difference in any negotiation, or debate or even while pitching for a

potential client, or applying for a job, creative solutions for testing these skills had to be found. Thus, one of the suggestions was to record the exams, and have more than two assessors, grading the exam from different perspectives, for instance, one from a content-related input, and the other one regarding communication techniques (accuracy, vocabulary, range, verbal and non-verbal techniques, and structure of discourse). In order to efficiently address the issue, I advised my students to film their recordings from an angle in which they could show more gestures, posture and body language than simply by positioning their cameras in such a way as to show just the facial expressions. In consultation with colleagues, we decided to adjust the grading of the points for eye contact, for instance, while still giving the students plenty of useful advice how they could have used verbal and non-verbal cues for an increased communicational impact on the target audience. Notions of *ethos, logos* and *pathos* were very thoroughly taught, explained and exemplified, in order to help students structure their discourse by using reason, credibility and empathy.

Students' feedback reflected positively on the encouragement, and all the measures and adjustments created for a successful *Emergency Remote Teaching* experience. Some of students even expressed their gratitude, in an unprecedented manner, at the end of my regular classes both for the content (and the adjustments made, such as: extra materials, asynchronous activities, tutorial videos that supported the teaching which made it possible for the classes to be moved online, flipped classroom) but also for the teacher's encouragement, feedback and positive attitude.

Considering the fact that the entire world of higher education had lived this abrupt migration, from one day to another, from teaching in real-life classes to exclusive online education, despite the difficulties of creating a community of learners, I have experienced an increased level of maturity and responsibility with most of the students. More than ever, students became aware of the increased efforts we were making, and seemed to be inspired to better plan ahead.

Having noted that, it would, of course, be naïve not to note that there have been students who tried to profit from the situation, or to blame their results on the Pandemic. Luckily, they were a minority, and analysing this aspect goes beyond the scope of this paper, as they have been thoroughly dealt with, by other researchers.

Last but not least, despite some students indicating the contrary (observations, which also go beyond the scope of the present article), I have actually had the pleasure of supervising internships and co-assessing graduation papers which reported positively on the entire process. There is no denying that even the successful students experienced many difficulties of contacting company representatives or finding online respondents for their surveys, interviews and questionnaires. However, the ones who kept their focus and their motivation, managed to deliver high quality reports, as their persistent, well-organised approach yielded the desired outcomes. Considering the perspective of the business world, company supervisors actually appreciated the dedication and commitment of the students that managed to constantly learn and improve, plan their activities well and meet their deadlines, without invoking excuses and asking for repeated delays approvals. It was, for all parties involved, a learning moment, one in which we all discovered how to appreciate and reward efforts, where they have been made.

### 3. Conclusions and final thoughts

Among the complex aspects higher education had to face in the abrupt migration from real-life, class-based teaching, to online lessons, for more than a year, the present paper has attempted to look into some positive unexpected developments, filtered through personal teaching experience, and class observations. To this personal experience, references to findings of prestigious researchers have been included.

Despite negative aspects and challenges that have made spontaneous class dynamics harder and more complex than real class interactions, and which have been thoroughly investigated by different researchers (previously quoted in this paper), this emergency remote teaching context has managed to bring lecturers and students together, in an unprecedented solidarity moment, in which imagination, creativity and motivation have been tested on an everyday basis.

On the one hand, lecturers had to rapidly enhance their use of ICT, online teaching and multimedia creation skills, in order to be able to manifest support for their students at an increased pace.

On the other hand, students had to learn, in their turn, to be more proactive, to better plan ahead, become better organized, split their roles in group-related projects and monitor their progress in a more effective way, divide their tasks and learn how to contact companies and respondents in a pro-active way. In terms of interaction, although it was usually a matter of concern, it depended, to a large extent, on personal characteristics (out of which personal motivation played a key role), perceptions and overall commitment to the academic career, however, as indicated in the study conducted by Spoel et al (2020) some introvert students reported feeling less social pressure, and thus, more at ease to respond to questions and engage in class activities.

In my experience, a key success factor was to aim at creating an atmosphere of inclusion and community, in which everyone understood that "we are all in this together" and implicitly all parties should show maturity and support for a successful organization, implementation and management of all academic activities.

It would be interesting, for further research, to analyse the upcoming developments, depending on whether skills rapidly learned and/or improved during the Pandemic (such as the use of technology during classes, creative solutions, asynchronous activities) will continue after the academic world will go back to the much-awaited-for "normality" of real-class teaching.

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# Le parcours spirituel dans l'œuvre de Georges Bernanos.
## En quête de la sainteté

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### Abstract

*Georges Bernanos (1888-1948) alongside Léon Bloy, Charles Péguy, Paul Claudel, François Mauriac or Julien Green, is one of the writers to whom 20th-century literature owes its prestige. His literary path mirrors his life experience and his deep faith. We might assert that Georges Bernanos' works are the expression of his spirituality.*

*The present paper aims to highlight the spiritual journey reflected in the works of Georges Bernanos, starting from the literary context of early 20$^{th}$ century, as his writings, and especially his novels, are not only the account of the inward tribulations of people who lead their dramatic existence „under the sun of Satan", but also assume a stance towards the spiritual problems of France and the Occidental civilization.*

*The paper dwells mainly on Bernanos' two major works: Under the Sun of Satan (Sous Le Soleil De Satan) – his first novel, which brought him to the attention of the public and literary criticism – and The Diary of a Country Priest (Journal d'un Curé de campagne) – his best-known writing, which the French Academy awarded the Grand Prix du Roman in the year 1936. The other works of the French author are also mentioned, as they contributed to creating a spiritual universe marked by the constant confrontation between good and evil, God and Satan. The paper approaches the main themes in the works of the Catholic author, rooted in the sin vs. grace dialectics and the notion of saintliness, as well as the character of the saint.*

*Finally, the present essay discusses the peculiarities of George Bernanos' works, the characteristics due to which he stands out among other writers, be they his contemporaries or not, and the contribution he brought to the history of literature.*

*The novelist of saintliness, as Bernanos has been dubbed, is one of the most prominent figures of modern literature, due to the veracity of his writing and the force of his descriptions. He is known especially for his strong portrayal of the evil and the description of human soul's fight.*

### Keywords

*Bernanos, novel, spiritual journey, sanity, faith, ambivalent*

### 1. Le contexte socioculturel des années 1920

Dans le contexte littéraire du début du XXème siècle, l'œuvre de Georges Bernanos (1888-1948) apparaît comme une réponse qu'il offre à la société au milieu de laquelle il vit et à ses défis, en tant qu'écrivain et homme de foi. Ses écrits, surtout les romans, ne sont pas seulement le récit de quelques aventures intérieures des certains hommes qui mènent leur existence dramatique « sous le ciel de Satan », mais aussi une prise de position devant les problèmes spirituels de la France et de la civilisation occidentale. Après une analyse dans le contexte socioculturel des années 1920, on comprend mieux l'œuvre de Bernanos, l'impact que la philosophie l'a eu sur la société de son temps et les influences réciproques.

Au début du XIXème siècle, la France était marquée d'une extension évidente de la laïcité, et la philosophie connaissait un fort développement, par la contribution de quelques noms importants dans le domaine, comme par exemple : Bergson ou Blondel. Comme courant, on s'imposait la spiritualité catholique et de nombreux auteurs catholiques exprimaient leur sensibilité chrétienne dans leurs propres écrits. Il s'agit de Léon Bloy ou des écrivains convertis : Paul Claudel, Jacques Maritain, Raïsa Maritain, Charles Péguy, Julien Green, Gabriel Marcel etc. En conséquent, le milieu intellectuel des années '20 était un contexte exigent, et l'apparition d'une œuvre catholique devait impressionner de manière égale, le monde littéraire, par sa qualité particulière. Dans cette situation, Bernanos vit et accomplit les exigences des critiques littéraires sensibles aux problèmes spirituels, son premier roman- *Sous le Soleil de Satan*, 1926 –étant accueilli plein d'enthousiasme par les critiques hostiles ou indifférents envers le christianisme, et aussi par les lecteurs.

Aussi comme son prédécesseur- l'écrivain français Léon Bloy, qu'il découvre pendant sa convalescence à Vernon et dont la pensée a une influence profonde sur lui - Bernanos est un visionnaire pour qui le monde surnaturel ne représente pas une inconnue. C'est un auteur doué de l'esprit et de l'humanité, qui déteste le matérialisme ou le compromis. Sa sincérité véhémente est plus évidente dans ses créations publicistes comme le pamphlet politique *La grande peur des bien-pensants* (1931) – une polémique concernant le matérialisme de la classe moyenne ou *Les grands cimetières sous la lune* (1938) – une attaque dure contre les excès fascistes

de la Guerre Civile Espagnole (1937-1939) et contre les dignitaires de l'église, qui ont soutenu ces excès. *Les grands cimetières sous la lune* a provoqué de nombreuses discutions intenses, dans les conditions dans lesquelles Bernanos a attaqué les catholiques qui ont favorisé Franco pendant la Guerre Civile espagnole. C'est peut être une des raisons pour lesquelles l'auteur déclare : « l'expérience espagnole est probablement l'événement capital de ma vie»[1]

Bernanos n'a jamais été prêtre, mais il est considéré un des écrivains catholiques plus authentiques de son temps. Il a cru forcément que ce qui va finir la guerre et va sauver le monde ce ne sont pas les progrès technologiques ou les partis politiques, mais l'innocence de l'héroïsme. A la différence de beaucoup d'autres écrivains contemporains, Bernanos a été un adepte du mouvement de droit de l'Action Française et de la monarchie.

« Je me disais donc que le monde est dévoré par l'ennui. Naturellement, il faut un peu réfléchir pour se rendre compte, ça ne se saisit pas tout de suite. C'est une espèce de poussière. Vous allez et venez sans la voir, vous la respirez, vous la mangez, vous la buvez, et elle est si fine, si ténue qu'elle ne craque même pas sous la dent. Mais que vous vous arrêtiez une seconde, la voilà qui recouvre votre visage, vos mains. Vous devez vous agiter sans cesse pour secouer cette pluie de cendres. Alors, le monde s'agite beaucoup. »[2]

## 2. L'antagonisme de Bernanos

En parcourant la biographie de l'écrivain français, on se rend compte que l'homme Bernanos a été un homme plein de contradictions, à caractère rebelle et passionné, sa prédisposition pour l'antagonisme se manifestant aussi dans son activité d'écrivain. Une des périodes les plus marquantes, en ce sens, est celle comprise entre les années 1930 et 1932, quand il a été un auteur d'éditoriales pour la revue *Le Figaro*. Son catholicisme ardent était en contradiction avec ses convictions régalistes quand *l'Action française*, pour laquelle il avait écrit pendant sa vie estudiantine, a été condamnée par Vatican. Ainsi que, en 1932, il a rompu toute sorte de liaison avec le

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[1] Milner, Max, *Exil, errance et marginalité dans l'œuvre de Georges Bernanos*, Paris, France, Presses Sorbonne nouvelle, 2004, p. 129
[2] Bernanos, Georges**,** *Journal d'un curé de campagne,* Paris, Plon, 1936, p. 45

mouvement et son chef, Charles Maurras - le héros de sa jeunesse - qu'il considère maintenant le principal symbole du collapse de France. Cette décision douloureuse a marqué une des plus accablante crises de Bernanos, et quand Maurras a été élu membre de l'Académie Française, en 1938, Bernanos l'a dénoncé dans *Scandale de la vérité* (1939).

Sur son premier roman, *Sous le soleil de Satan*, l'auteur explique lors d'une entrevue accordée à Frédéric Lefèvre, en 1926, qu'il a voulu créer un saint exceptionnel dans la personne du curé Donissan, le héros de son roman; la même année, Bernanos paraît nier sa propre déclaration, en soutenant, avec la même ferveur, devant le philosophe et éditeur renommé Jacques Maritain que *mon saint n'est pas un saint*. Cette ambiguïté est, peut-être, explicable, en tenant compte de la vénération de Bernanos pour Maritain et de ses sérieuses réticences qu'il avait au sujet de principes théologiques de l'auteur et surtout à sa théologie qu'il implique dans le traitement de Donissan.

La circonspection de Maritain est liée en général, du fait que Bernanos paraît permettre au mal une ascendance exagérée et implicitement scandaleuse. Il paraît que le distinct adepte de la doctrine de Tomas d'Aquino n'était pas le seul qui trouvait coupable notre auteur de l'hérésie manichéiste -comme affirmait le fils de Bernanos, Jean Loup, un des curés de cette époque qui ont interdit à ses paroissiens ce roman, en le considérant satanique.

C'était la première, mais pas la dernière, fois que Bernanos a attiré l'opprobre des autorités cléricales. En 1936, quelques épîtres et aussi quelques prélats se sont assemblés pour s'efforcer à introduire *Les grands cimetières sous la lune* dans la liste des livres interdits aux catholiques.

Une vision d'ensemble sur les huit romans écrits par Georges Bernanos relève une grande variété de caractères: le saint qui semblait contredire l'intention de son créateur, en mourant en anonymat ; le curé indigné du roman *La Joie* (1929) et *L'Imposture* (1927), dont le rire diabolique ridiculise le crucifix et les adolescents occultes, des mêmes romans, enlevés et assassinés par la famille du chauffeur ; les dépendants de drogues, les fournisseurs du désespoir du *Un mauvais rêve* (1935); l'anonyme curé-journaliste du roman *Le Journal d'un curé de campagne* (1936), qui offre la joie à ceux qui l'entourent, mais qui vit dans une pénombre spirituelle et émotionnelle ou bien le magistrat Monsieur Ouine

(1943), dont le corps tuberculeux respire difficilement la dégradation de la civilisation occidentale. Quelle vision unit ces personnages ?

Une réponse moins compliquée est celle que l'élément unificateur est donné par le catholicisme de l'auteur-créateur. L'observation, bien que vraie, n'était pas assez facilement digérée par les remarquables hommes catholiques contemporains à Bernanos. Les critiques adressées à ses œuvres par les intellectuels et les écrivains de son temps ont été violentes et douloureuses, surtout parce que la plupart de ces critiques étaient les représentants d'une intense et totale foi religieuse orthodoxe. Malgré tout, "Bernanos est profondément chrétien. Son nom est souvent associé à Céline, Malraux ou même Artaud ou Beckett et moins aux écrivains catholiques de son époque, parce que Bernanos va tout d'abord aux confins des malheurs des hommes, pour retrouver la continuité profonde du rythme de la crucifixion qui est sa vie. Le malheur des hommes, affirme-t-il est le merveilleux de l'univers."[3]

Pour Bernanos, écrire des romans signifie d'abord raconter, relater une série d'événements, qui répondent à une chronologie et qui se déroulent entre un commencement et un dénouement : les huit romans obéissent à cette définition et prennent tant de soin pour la fin, que, dans tous les romans, les personnages aient un destin dramatique - un ou plusieurs de ces personnages finissent en agonie, mort ou suicide.

En pensant à son caractère contradictoire, l'unité entre homme, chrétien et écrivain, dont Bernanos fait preuve durant toute sa vie, peut paraître surprenante. "Le prophétisme civique, propre à l'écrivain français, représente la continuité naturelle et nécessaire de sa littérature. Ses romans - *Sous le soleil du Satan, L'Imposture, le Journal d'un curé de campagne, Monsieur Ouine*- se passent en premier plan sur la scène de la confrontation entre le bien et le mal- un mal qui dépasse le pouvoir fragile de l'homme."[4]
Pour Bernanos, la foi reste toujours le don de Dieu. Enracinée dans son enfance, la foi catholique n'est pas une simple obéissance conventionnelle de certaines normes morales, mais c'est la vie vécue, concrétisée dans le refus de tout compromis et hypocrisie, dans la haine envers le mensonge et

[3] Aaras, Hans, *Littérature et sacerdoce : essai sur Journal d'un curé de campagne de Bernanos*, Paris, Lettres modernes: Minard [distributor], 1984, p. 91
[4] Raicu, Lucian. *Scrisoare din Paris: Memoria lui Bernanos*, en: "România Literară", http://www.romlit.ro/memoria_lui_bernanos

la médiocrité. Le jeune Bernanos écrivait à Lagrange en 1905 : « La vie, même celle couronnée de gloire, est une chose vide et fade, insipide, quand Dieu n'y est présent."[5]

Seulement une telle ferveur religieuse peut expliquer la violence avec laquelle Bernanos a manifesté l'aversion envers les républicains ou l'intensité avec laquelle ses personnages se consument lors du combat contre le mal. On peut affirmer, sans avoir la peur de s'être trompé, *que le parcours spirituel littéraire de Bernanos est marqué par sa propre expérience de vie et par la passion démontrée dans chacun de ses crédos.* Son antagonisme constitue l'axe d'un champ de force dont les modalités peuvent être analysées, soit dans une perspective *synchronique* (paradigmatique), soit comme un déroulement *diachronique* (syntagmatique). Bernanos oscille entre deux pôles : de l'être et de sa négation, entre présence et absence, entre bien et mal, entre amour et sa négation. Le monde qu'il crée est traversé en permanence de l'aspiration vers la paix, qui n'est pas de Dieu, mais qui peut paraître plus profonde que celle-ci - la paix du néant. Ce désir avec tout ce qu'il promet ou possède est une illusion et un mensonge-Bernanos l'appelle Satan- et se montre sous tous les déguisements, sa séduction la plus dangereuse étant celle du désespoir, du renoncement, de l'abandon. L'espace intérieur des personnages de Bernanos présente deux rapports de forces fondamentales : l'être qui attire l'homme par l'amour et le non-être qui le fascine par la promesse illusoire de la paix illimitée du néant. L'homme se trouve ainsi dans un double rapport : d'attraction et de répulsion. En ce sens-là, l'image que le curé d'Ambricourt peint dans *Le journal d'un curé de campagne,* est révélatrice. "Le monde du péché résiste à la grâce, comme l'image d'un paysage qui se reflète dans les vagues d'une eau noire et profonde."[6]

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[5] Robinson Tobin, Michael. *Georges Bernanos: the theological source of his art*, p. 17, http://books.google.ro/books?id=9E85xLrSZd0C&pg=PA5&lpg=PA5&dq=George+Berna nos+Jacques+Maritain+my+saint+is+not+really+a+saint&source=bl&ots=Fg-h62b2uz&sig=ODk_gX9cSeJ3Wt-Nf2DTQ98Nvhc&hl=ro&ei=vO2rToOOJ8_P4QT4r4T0Dg&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=res ult&resnum=1&ved=0CBkQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false

[6] Bernanos, Georges. *Journal d'un curé de campagne*, Paris, Librairie Plon, 1926, p. 223

Une réflexion se définit, tout d'abord, par son caractère illusoire et l'eau noire ajoute des connotations de la mort, pour souligner le péril que le monde du péché cache. L'image qui se reflète est un inversement de la réalité réfléchie, une sorte de similarité contraire -ce qui peut créer l'illusion de la grâce. Dans la topographie intérieure de Bernanos il y a une pression : on monte vers l'être et on descend vers le néant. L'amour va en contre-courant, monte en aval, suit le cours de l'eau, jusqu'à ce qu'on découvre, que, à un certain niveau, le contraire est aussi vrai. Ce jeu de force est, par conséquent, d'une grande complexité, et les formes qu'il revêt sont présentes dans un nombre infini de nuances. Dans la perspective actuelle, synchronique, l'effort général, parait celui de distinguer, d'annuler le conflit entre ces deux forces antagoniques, cet effort, se manifestant en trois modes, plus ou moins déguisées, mais qui se distinguent suffisamment pour avoir une valeur heuristique. Le premier mode est l'indifférence qui attenue le conflit par une sorte d'ignorance tacite, silencieuse, réciproque, et qui, en réalité, se manifeste par la perte de l'être qui stagne et se dissout.

L'indifférence est le mieux représentée par la foule immense de médiocres, les imbéciles fameux, qui selon d'Ambricourt, n'auront jamais la plus vague idée sur l'héroïsme surnaturel sans lequel il n'y a pas de vie intérieure. Le deuxième aperçu vise l'élimination du conflit par l'extermination de l'autrui. Dans ce cas-là, la seule pureté est la mort. Cette solution se reflète dans la pensée de Monsieur Ouine qui affirme que la vie est un état de corruption morale, les hommes ne peuvent pas en sortir, sauf qu'en se protégeant envers eux, c'est-à-dire, envers la vie, ce qui les amène à la mort. Le troisième aperçu est la révolte qui prend la forme du suicide, de sa propre extermination. Elle représente une protestation inutile contre les impuretés de la vie, un orgueil trompé par sa propre ombre. Toutes ces formes : l'indifférence, l'extermination de l'autrui et l'extermination personnelle couvrent la même attitude stérile, privée de toute imagination, qui donnent à l'espace de Bernanos un retour autour d'une illusion, qui introduit la rupture et la discontinuité, qui annule le temps et arrête l'histoire. Pour que l'espace ait un déroulement temporel et une histoire, on a besoin des êtres qui ne se laissent pas fascinés de l'ennemi et qui sont suffisamment maîtres de soi pour l'utiliser en leur faveur. Ceux sont les acteurs des œuvres de Bernanos -les saints-héros- qui, quoique peu

traditionnels qu'ils soient, réussissent à résoudre le conflit entre ces deux forces antagoniques et à vaincre le mal.

Par exemple, on peut évoquer l'épisode du *Journal d'un curé de campagne*, quand la comtesse, pétrifiée à cause des problèmes avec lesquels sa famille se confronte (une fille désobéissante et pleine d'arrogance, un mari qui la trompe), mais surtout à cause de la mort de son fils, qu'elle ne comprend pas et accuse Dieu pour ce malheur, arrive à ouvrir son cœur à la grâce, juste au moment où son âme était en enfer. Ça se passe à la suite d'une discussion intense avec le curé de campagne, qui essaie à ouvrir dans son âme une brèche par laquelle la lumière divine peut pénétrer. Peu après, la comtesse dit avec étonnement : "Il me semblait qu'une main mystérieuse ait fait une brèche dans je ne sais pas quel mur invisible et la paix inondât de tous les côtés- son niveau s'élevait majestueusement- une paix inconnue sur la terre, la douce paix des morts, comme une eau profonde."[7] Mais la même eau profonde, cette fois-ci, qui n'est troublée par aucune illusion, tranquille et pleine de grâce.

Ainsi, dans une perspective diachronique, dans la lutte entre les deux forces antagoniques, représentées par le Bien et le Mal, l'homme est toujours *menacé* par la grâce surnaturelle avec un réflexe, capable de réaliser une vraie *métamorphose* de l'être humain. Presque tous les protagonistes des romans de Bernanos finissent misérablement, en désolation complète. Il s'agit du dépouillement complet de l'être selon le modèle du Christ. Seulement en souffrant, l'homme peut dépasser l'état de son propre péché et peut arriver à la perfection qui se manifeste par la communion avec Dieu et avec les hommes ; l'homme s'ouvre entièrement devant le plan de l'amour.

### 3. Les saints de Bernanos et l'idée de sainteté

Par l'exemple de ses saints, Bernanos a cherché donner une réponse à l'homme préoccupé des questions existentielles et déraciné des valeurs de la foi, qui expérimente l'angoisse, l'ennui, le dégoût ou le néant. Ces saints vivent eux-aussi la même existence, avec les mêmes expériences, à

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[7] Bernanos, Georges, *Journal d'un curé de campagne,* Paris, Plon, 1936, p.162

l'exception du fait qu'ils osent à faire, aidés par la grâce, un pas, en passant au-delà de l'illusion, en assumant les limites de la condition humaine et en s'approchant du Christ. Comme Lui, ils sont capables à découvrir le don de la rédemption.

*Sous le soleil De Satan* et *Le Journal d'un curé de campagne* représentent deux des plus remarquables romans pour la manière complexe par laquelle l'écrivain français présente les valeurs religieuses. L'essai de l'auteur de faire dévoiler les âmes des deux curés- héros dans ces deux romans, ne peut pas être contesté. "Bien sûr, de plusieurs points de vue, *Le Journal d'un curé de campagne,* peut être considéré semblable au roman *Sous le soleil du Satan* : les deux racontent la manière dont un jeune curé, récemment ordonné prêtre, se réveille au milieu des souffrances des hommes de sa paroisse, pendant qu'il vit sa propre expérience dans l'agitation personnelle de l'âme. Les événements extérieurs et les descriptions détaillées des personnages, jouent un rôle secondaire dans les deux romans, ils sont importants seulement dans la mesure dans laquelle ils ont un impact sur les aventures spirituelles des jeunes curés."[8]

Le père Donissan, le premier héros surnaturel de Bernanos, est le personnage principal du roman *Sous le soleil du Satan*, celui qui a fait explosion sur la scène de la littérature française des années '20, en rendant la célébrité à son auteur. Donissan anticipe ainsi, de plusieurs sortes, les autres personnages qui peuplent le monde littéraire de Bernanos. Il est tourmenté, dérangé et intense, en aspirant vers la réconciliation ineffable qui va venir plus tard. Il est un saint imparfait. N'oublions pas que *Sous le soleil de Satan* est aussi le premier produit de la guerre mondiale et des conséquences politiques de celle-ci. Pour Bernanos, la guerre a signifié le fond sur lequel le mystère du mal s'est élucidé totalement. Le spectacle des millions de morts est resté au-dessus de toute spéculation rationnelle et a conseillé l'écrivain français à continuer, comme il l'avait affirmé, et à s'ériger en témoin de l'intention du mal, de la nature personnelle de celui-ci ou de la profondeur de sa malice - brièvement en témoin du Satan même. En même temps, dans l'entrevue accordée à Frédérique Lefèvre en 1926,

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[8] Dorschell, Mary Frances, *Mentors and proteges: spiritual evolution in Georges Bernanos' Under Satan's Sun and The Diary of a Country Priest,* http://findarticles.com/p/articles/ mi_hb049/is_1_52/ai_n28969094/

Bernanos a déclaré que le roman est une protestation contre le dépouillement de l'idéologie démocrate d'après la guerre.

Dans les romans de Bernanos, **l'aventure mystique** de la sainteté se veut être couverte par l'intermède d'un personnage commun, le saint, qui cesse d'être le maître de soi-même, pour paraître comme un surhumain, une créature soumise au transcendent. Donissan, Chevance, Chantal de Clergerie et le curé d'Ambricourt se ressemblent d'une manière surprenante, l'auteur désire "partager son intuition sur la sainteté."[9] Le point le plus élevé du don de soi est atteint par le saint dans la souffrance et la mort pour les autres : on arrive ainsi à la forme la plus grande de communion avec Dieu. La souffrance est certainement la substance du cœur divin"[10], mais aussi „ ce que Dieu demande à ses amis privilégiés, ce que Lui- même a offert."[11] Seules les âmes qui prouvent des sentiments comme : le bonheur et la souffrance sont vivantes, capables à recevoir et à donner, et surtout à donner, s'offrir elles-mêmes à Dieu ou au Satan.

La souffrance est pour Bernanos un signe de la vie authentique, ainsi comme l'ennui est la passion, la souffrance de ceux qui n'ont pas de foi. Au début de son journal, le curé d'Ambricourt note : "Ma paroisse est dévorée par…l'ennui- voilà le mot convenable. Comme les autres paroisses aussi ! L'ennui dévore les paroissiens sous nos yeux, sans qu'on puisse faire quelque chose. Peut-être un jour cet ennui contagieux va gagner et on découvrira en nous le cancer. On peut vivre comme ça beaucoup de temps."[12]

L'ennui est le cancer de l'âme et la souffrance qui l'accompagne, démontre que l'organisme réagit. Les sédatifs, auxquels les hommes recourent à cause de leur lâcheté, ne font qu'engourdir les sens et apporter l'oubli. La morphine a la même utilisation contre les souffrances morales des personnages de Bernanos- le curé d'Ambricourt surprend docteur Laville quand celui-ci faisait sa piqûre : "avec celle-ci, mon chéri, tu peux te

[9] Estève, Michel, *Le Christ, les symboles christiques et l'Incarnation dans l'œuvre de Bernanos*, Lille, Atelier reprod. th. Univ. Lille 3, 1982, p. 85

[10] Bernanos, Georges, *La joie*, Paris, Librairie Plon, 1977, p. 152

[11] Bernanos, Georges, *Interview with Frédéric Lefèvre*, en : " Les Nouvelles littéraires", 17 April 1926, p.7

[12] Bernanos, Georges, *Journal d'un curé de campagne,* Paris : Plon, 1936, p. 88

manquer du bon Dieu"[13], affirmait-il d'un ton provocant et désespéré, en montrant au curé qu'il cherche l'oubli, parce que son âme est plus malade que le corps. Mais Laville n'a pas peur de mort- car elle lui apparaît comme une libération, il craint de la souffrance qui précède la mort et de l'ennui qui apparaît au moment de l'attente. Cette comparaison de l'ennui à la maladie dévoratrice, semblable au cancer, n'est pas du tout une figure de style, mais une *correspondance* dans le sens baudelairien du mot. Les maladies du corps ont pour Bernanos un sens surnaturel et, d'une manière générale, tout ce qui se passe sur la terre est le signe obscur et incomplet de ce qui se passe au le ciel.

Dans une lettre adressée à Robert Vallery-Radot, le 17 décembre 1926, l'auteur français explique le symbole du cancer : "Dieu me tente de nouveau. Mon pauvre père est atteint par une tumeur ignoble, qui me semblait toujours, plus que tout autre mal, la figuration du Satan, le symbole de sa monstrueuse fécondité dans les âmes. Il a un cancer au foie."[14] Bien qu'il y ait un rapprochement entre Baudelaire et Bernanos, le premier ne constitue pas un modèle ou une source d'inspiration pour le romancier de la sainteté. Même si tous les deux ont eu une expérience spirituelle similaire, celle de Bernanos est infiniment plus profonde que celle d'auteur des *Fleurs du Mal*. Ainsi, l'enfer du poète paraît un décor en carton en comparaison à l'enfer du romancier.

La définition que Bernanos donne à l'enfer est exprimée le mieux par le curé d'Ambricourt dans son Journal : "L'enfer est quand on n'aime pas."[15]

C'est par conséquent, l'absence de l'amour, négation totale, la mort absolue, mais pas la mort physique, qui ne peut pas être un (re)naissance à la vie éternelle, mais la mort de l'âme. L'œuvre de Bernanos est hantée de cadavres vivants. La plupart d'eux – des saints bernanosiens- accomplissent les devoirs religieux, font du bien à ceux de leur entourage, prennent une attitude édificatrice, mais leur âme est morte, s'ils en ont une. Un prêtre donne comme sujet de réflexion à Pernichon, journaliste catholique dans le

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[13] Idem, *op. cit.*, p. 90

[14] Donnard, Jean-Hervé, *Trois écrivains devant Dieu : Claudel, Mauriac, Bernanos,* Paris, Société d'Edition d'Enseignement Supérieur, 1966, p. 89

[15] Bernanos, Georges, *op. cit.*, p. 136

roman *L'Imposture*, en le demandant : vous vous croyez vivant ? *votre vie intérieure, mon enfant, porte le signe moins….*"[16]

Bernanos considère méchant celui qui n'accorde pas au surnaturel l'importance méritée. Le Mal, le péché dans sa racine, est le refus du surnaturel, en temps que le bien est son adhésion complète, parce que, seulement en Dieu l'amour de soi et l'amour des autres est possible ; à ceux qui n'ont pas de foi, Bernanos les dévoile le combat féroce entre le bien et le mal, un combat spirituel aussi violent comme le combat de l'homme. Satan est présent en nous et en dehors de nous, donc il faut lui résister aux mains et au cœur. Le Prince des Ténèbres possède le pouvoir et la ruse. Mais Dieu accorde toujours à l'homme tenté dans sa chair et dans son esprit les moyens pour résister."[17]

Le romancier français rejette la théorie de Cornelius Jansen sur la prédestination et soutient que la force de vaincre existe en chacun de nous, à condition qu'on en croie et qu'on puisse la rendre active par volonté et prière. On la trouve aussi, en dehors de nous, dans la personne des saints authentiques, dont deux occupent une place importante dans notre pensée et aussi dans l'œuvre de Bernanos : Jean Baptiste Marie Vianney, connu sous le nom de Curé d'Ars et Sainte Térèse de Lisieux. Cependant l'auteur n'a pas eu l'intention de faire d'un saint le héros d'une œuvre d'imagination, en le considérant un sacrilège, il n'a jamais écrit une hagiographie, mais on peut la retrouver facilement à travers les traits dans les personnages bernanosiens. Ainsi, l'abbé Donissan se ressemble beaucoup à Jean Baptiste Vianney, un prêtre humble dépourvu des moyens intellectuels très élevés, un mystique qui repousse les agressions du Satan, un confesseur remarquable, dont la réputation s'étend loin au-delà des limites de sa paroisse ; et Chantal de Clergerie, cultive aussi comme la carmélite de Lisieux, l'esprit de l'enfance, et son âme est illuminée de joie, malgré qu'elle traverse l'épreuve du doute.

### 4. Conclusions

George Bernanos est une des figures les plus importantes de la littérature moderne, connu pour la véridicité de ses écrits et pour la force de

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[16] Bernanos, Georges, *L'Imposture*, Paris, Plon, 1974, p. 203
[17] Donnard, Jean-Hervé, *op. cit.*, p. 92

ses descriptions. Il est connu surtout pour le portrait plein d'énergie qu'il attribue au mal et pour la description du combat entre l'âme et la force de celui-ci. L'écrivain français déclarait à un journaliste : "J'ai vu le Mal, tel que je vous vois, dès mon enfance. Je l'ai affronté en toute modestie jusqu'à maintenant, en l'abreuvant d'injures devant l'iniquité, dont les crimes représentent mon énergie dans la vie."[18]

Ce qui caractérise l'écrivain catholique est sa conviction intime et profonde par laquelle il accomplit l'acte de sa création littéraire. Dans ses écrits, il se trouve préoccupé d'un christianisme encadré en espace et temps, en gardant toujours le sens de l'équilibre. Il propose avec fermeté la dimension religieuse de l'existence humaine, comme théâtre de la confrontation permanente entre Dieu et Satan. Dans la littérature moderne, Bernanos est considéré le romancier de la sainteté à la différence de François Mauriac, qui est connu comme le romancier du péché. Ainsi, bien que ses romans décrivent les erreurs du cœur humain, descendant jusqu'aux profondeurs de son infamie, il parle du péché seulement par rapport à la sainteté et à la grâce.

Georges Bernanos fait partie, à coté de Léon Bloy, Charles Péguy, Paul Claudel, François Mauriac ou Julien Green, du groupe d'écrivains qui ont fait briller la littérature du XXème et reste dans l'histoire de la littérature un de plus lucide visionnaire de son temps et comme affirmait Max Milner : "Sa mémoire est une mémoire vivante et en pleine action. Ce n'est pas parce qu'il a écrit quelques uns des plus beaux romans de la littérature française – romans grâce auxquels des milliers de lecteurs, chrétiens ou non, de tout le monde, comprennent le vrai sens de l'existence humaine, sous les aspects les plus sombres, et aussi sous les aspects les plus claires – mais aussi parce qu'il a réagi devant l'actualité dramatique des deux guerres et de deux époques d'après-guerre, en défendant avec ardeur et surtout prophétique ces valeurs dont le prix on n'a pas encore pu le mesurer… ses personnages ne sont jamais exponentiels pour une idéologie quelconque, mais ils s'assument le risque du destin ( avec une ambivalence perceptible dès le premier roman) dans une société et dans un monde malades, dont il illumine les maux par les souffrances mêmes, par leurs sentiments, ou par leur

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[18] Bernanos, Georges, *Interview with Frédéric Lefèvre.*, en: "Les Nouvelles littéraires'', 17 April 1926, p. 8-9

manière héroïque de sortir en premier plan, comme des victimes expiatoires de certaines forces qui dépassent la mesure de l'homme."[19]

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[19] Milner, Max, *Bernanos et le monde moderne,* Lille, Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1989, p. 256

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**♦ TRANSLATION STUDIES & TEACHING METHODOLOGY ♦**

# The Teaching of Spanish as a Second Language and Spanish for Specific Purposes: Sociolinguistic and Variationist Perspectives

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*Abstract:*

*Since the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language makes us feel in constant change as the dynamics in our globalized world are also in constant change, we can have the same, even more enhanced, feeling when it comes to the teaching / learning of Spanish for specific purposes, because the same evolution in research makes this subjacent teaching context an exciting task. We already know that the teaching / learning of a language, according to J. Sánchez Lobato and I. Santos Gallargo (2004: 11) is a "processual, complex and multidisciplinary" phenomenon, but we want to investigate whether we could consider specialty language learning under the same principles.*

*This article's cornerstone is that teaching Spanish for specific purposes is a type of teaching with great potential. We rely on the fact that the needs of current learners have evolved, that is, they have more practical objectives for language learning as it can ease or even upgrade their professional situation. Moreover, in the case of Spanish students from the world of social sciences, economics, or even construction and engineering, they want their knowledge of language and specialized vocabulary in Spanish to singularize them, acting therefore as a differentiator from their fellows.*

*Consequently, their becoming specialists in Spanish for architecture and construction is a means to an end, driven by a professional development motivation, with a significant linguistic counterpart.*

*Keywords:*

*SSP (Spanish for Specific Purposes), Second Language Acquisition, Teaching Spanish as a Foreign Language, Sociolinguistics, Linguistic Variation.*

## 1. Introduction

This paper deals with the topic of teaching Spanish as a second language, in the context of Spanish for specific purposes, taking as a starting point the contributions that sociolinguistics and linguistic variation offer. Likewise, we propose an approach to the theme of variation seen as a general and inherent characteristic of all languages.

Every linguistic community is perceived as a diversified and broad unit which is under the influence of social interaction, that is, of the social groups that exist and are formed in any community and, naturally, of the functions that these groups perform. The variationist component in this case has a key role in the development of the cultural and national identity of each speaking community, specifying its social structure.

The approach used is a practical one, which includes the perspective of teaching a foreign language in general, and of teaching Spanish for specific purposes, in particular, as we place ourselves in the context of globalization. We will try to explain how and why Spanish varies today and how this phenomenon affects its teaching. Moreover, we will try to offer a key in which it is possible to understand how the variationist phenomenon helps a speaker of Spanish as a second language to understand and approach this culture.

## 2. The process of language change across all morphological levels. On the intrinsic diversity of the Spanish language

A language is a living entity, in a process of perpetual movement, change and adaptation. Those who enliven it are the very speakers through whom the language perpetuates. Therefore, we can say that languages do not exist as rigid entities.

In the opinion of some linguists, the Spanish language tends towards homogenization, being a "soft language", even at the lexical level (Moreno Fernández, 2000; Demonte Barreto, 2001). The unity of the Spanish language is determined by a large number of people who use it in order to communicate independently of the distinctions that may be encountered at different levels. It is precisely these differences that make up the variety or diversity.

The Spanish language is spread over a geographical domain of an impressive extension, which was subject to the circumstances that history has been providing over the years, in each region. In this way, the Spanish language manifests itself through different dialect or geolectal varieties. It is difficult to achieve a specific form that Spanish adopts in each of its varieties. This is due to the fact that the life experience of the speakers does not usually facilitate or enable occasions to know all the realities and forms

of the language first-hand. In addition, knowing these varieties through study is possible only through a specialization to which a very restricted group of students dedicate themselves.

Quantitative descriptions of a language, whether it is Spanish or any other language, must take into account the most outstanding characteristics of the language, both internal and external. Language constantly mutates, but it does not mutate in the direction speakers consciously choose, because differently from what some people say, language is not a social construct, but it's a cognitive function: the architecture of its various elements obey to mechanisms that are beyond the conscious control of the speakers.

Nevertheless, the mechanism of language change affects the various subsystems of the language-system differently. What some people generally project to the whole system is actually the mechanism of change of lexicon, which is only one of the various subsystems. Lexicon is extremely permeable to the social factors that characterize a particular society/ group of speakers and, most importantly, it's the only subsystem in which the decisions of the speakers can immediately affect the structure of the subsystem. That's the reason why, following social changes, words that were commonly used in books, newspapers etcetera have become slurs that no decent person would dare to use anymore. This typology of changes can happen in very short periods of time and extend to a whole group of speakers if there are the right sociolinguistic conditions (such as an education system and an apparatus of means of information that promote these new uses).

The situation is very different for the phonological and morphological subsystems. We will address the two subsystems together, since they are closely interwoven as regard the mechanism of language change. In the case of phonological and morphological changes, there are two different kinds of sources of change, which are independent from the socio-linguistic factors (social-linguistic factors determine however the "success" of a particular kind of change, as we will state below). The first typology of source for linguistic change is represented by the so-called internal causes; for instance, all the small adjustments in the movements of the organs of speech which generally tend towards the simplification of the sounds in terms of coarticulative effort as regards phonology, and analogical change as regards the morphological change. The relationship between the

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various internal causes is very complex, even paradoxical to a certain extent, as phonological change is regular but produces irregularities, while analogical change is irregular but produces regularities (the so-called Sturtevant's paradox).

However, phonological change and morphological change are in general regulated by the "economy principle" (which is not a conscious mechanism), that is, the speakers tend to simplify as much as possible the system in terms of communicative effort, but at the same time there is an opposite tendency contrasting the movement toward simplification, represented by the necessity within the system of maintaining some distinct categories (phonological, morphological, syntactical) for the sake of a successful communication, which would fail if the phonological changes were unrestricted. The loss of the neuter gender in Romance languages was a combination of these two different orders of phonological and morphological changes. It was a process that probably took many years (at least decades) and happened without the speakers being aware of it.

The second most important source for phonological and morphological change is represented by external causes, i.e. language contact. More specifically, phonological and morphological changes occur if the speakers of a language take some phonological and morphological elements from a target language which they speak fluently (so it occurs only in very intense borrowing scenarios) or more commonly when a group of adult speakers shift (for historical or socio-political reasons) to another target language. This process of shift is characterized by imperfect learning and, thus, structural features of the substratum language get reproduced in the target language. If the shifting group of speakers is sufficiently big, the innovative features will be adopted by the whole group of the speakers of the language (even by those that were not originally shifting). It has been claimed (correctly, in our opinion) that actually every process of language change, to a certain degree, involves a component of language-contact: the two groups of speakers in contact are not necessarily represented by speakers of two different languages, but they could be also speakers of two different diastratic of diatopic varieties of the same language. So, the successful diffusion of a particular innovative feature generated through internal causes in one of the diastratic or diatopic groups would, in any case,

require specific socio-linguistic conditions in order to be adopted by the whole community of speakers.

As we have already said, the intrinsic character of the historical language of Spanish is free from any doubt, and, consequently, it meets the properties of any other language of this type. Within a historical language, the dissimilarities are distributed in three fundamental dimensions: diastratic, diatopic or diaphasic (Grande Alija, 2000: 393). The process known as linguistic variation represents, in effect, the use of the language subjected to the action of the following main factors: sociocultural, time, geographic and situational. When using a language, no speaker does it in the same way, but varies according to time, the type of communication produced and, of course, depending on the situational circumstances.

### 3. The varieties of Spanish and their consequent teaching

One of the most important questions that every student and teacher who wants to teach any foreign language has to ask themselves is: what variety will you use as a guiding model to work with students?

Given the above, we consider that, since there is more than one educated norm of Spanish, something more than the standard language, or the so-called "neutral Spanish", must be taught in the *Español como Lengua Extranjera 1 (hereinafter, ELE)* classroom. Since we cannot focus on a single educated norm of Spanish and leave out the rest, it would be normal to focus on the needs of the students. Therefore, it is usual that they need to communicate in various of the educated norms that there are, as regards their needs.

Moreno Fernández (2010: 89) stated about the teaching of a language that it needs a model to guide the educational process:

> "When the language to be taught - and which the learners must reach - presents a mosaic of varieties as wide as the one we have just exposed for the Spanish language, the need for the model increases, to the same extent that the decision process in this regard. In the case of the Spanish language, the requirement of the model has been partially satisfied since the 18th century by an institution that has monopolized the

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[1] Spanish as a Foreign Language

concept of 'correction' and that has guided the decisions that, in relation to varieties, have been taken both for the teaching of Spanish as a first language, and for its teaching as a foreign language and second language. We are referring to the Royal Spanish Academy"[2].

This same conflict can be transferred when developing teaching materials that meet a few standards of excellence. Therefore, it is normal to wonder what the appropriate criteria for the choice are, and from there, for the treatment of Spanish varieties in the ELE field.

Andión Herrero (2008: 11) proposes a formula that responds to scientific criteria on what variety we should choose when creating and establishing the model for students in the classroom: "STANDARD + PREFERRED VARIETY + PERIPHERAL VARIETY".

The same author, in another linguistic study (Andion Herrero, 2007: 4), defines the second term of her formula as following:

"That geolect of the standard, weighted within the program of an EL2 / ELE course for which we are designing a linguistic model; it is the variety that we have decided to present as the main model for the production of apprentices "[3].

Therefore, we could consider it the variety that we take as a reference in situations in which the limitations of the standard force us to choose between one language sample and another in the teaching process. The question that naturally arises from this statement would be: How do we decide which is the most appropriate preferred variety? The author offers us

in response (Andion Herrero, 2008: 10) a series of guidelines that must be taken into account.

The first guidelines, according to Andión, are under the direct influence of the linguistic environment of the teaching itself. In other words, an essential factor to make a very important decision is to know if the student body is in a country that uses a certain variety, that is, a case of linguistic immersion, or if the teacher masters a specific geolect. We can also add to this other factors that this first guideline contains: either if the students themselves are interested in learning a specific variety, in which case we would have to adjust to the variety taken as a reference, or if, as the example given by the author, the student is in a situation of border proximity with a country that has a defined variant and with which there is a greater relationship and affinity.

The second criteria are conditioned by the type of course to be offered. The example given by the author comes from the framework of Spanish for specific purposes. For this reason, the second criteria respond to the specific objectives of the recipients and the teaching context that each course contemplates. As Andión mentions, if it is a Health and Medicine course, the Castilian or Caribbean variety could be preferred because, as we know, in the field of medicine and medical research, these two varieties are the most prestigious, taking into consideration the presence that both countries have in this area.

Let us now define the last term of the formula proposed by Andión, this being "peripheral varieties". As in the case previously presented, that of the preferred variety, the same author offers us a definition of the concept (2007: 5), which is: "geolects of the standard different from the preferred or central variety of the course". In other words, the traits that can be shown to students, which belong to other varieties, are called "peripheral variety." The usefulness of this can be seen reflected in several cases, quite specific, in which, after a comparison with another variety of the central variety, the teacher wants to enlarge the panorama of the student or improve the understanding of the central variety. In this way, the author points out, two very important achievements are achieved: the first is undoubtedly linguistic, but the second is the development of tolerance and respect for the multiculturalism of Spanish. A healthy cultural and linguistic immersion is also achieved.

However, related to this process, the author warns us about the over-saturation of the student with excessive information, which could have the opposite effect to that expected, which is to confuse them. For this reason, we must pay close attention when we decide to include traits of the peripheral variety in the course, so that it has the desired result.

For this same reason, Andión (2007: 6-7) highlights some requirements that the traits of the peripheral varieties must meet in order for them to be part of the linguistic corpus of a course:

a. To be sufficiently perceptible for the learner. Identifying the traits, rules and patterns should not involve special training, more for philologists than for language users, even if they are adoptive.

b. To be profitable, so that they deserve active or passive acquisition. That is, not knowing the trait can produce an obstacle in the communication – even if it is only comprehensive – of the language.

c. Have an area or territory of validity and use broad enough to justify that it is part of the input to which the apprentice will be subjected.

To conclude, we can say that Andión's formula provides convenient, usable and favorable criteria to be able to select the preferred variety that we should work with in the ELE classroom. However, we must not forget that, in the end, it is the teacher who has to select these criteria "adapting to his particular teaching situation. Situation that will be defined by the real context of teaching (place / community) and the expectations, the interests of the learners "(Andión, 2007: 2).

## 4. Spanish for Specific Purposes: Past and Present

If the above is the present of languages, it is necessary to go back to the origin to understand in greater depth the now of ELE and "Español para Fines Específicos"4 (hereinafter, EFE) teaching / learning in order to be able to grasp what their future will be like, what lies ahead.

Before going back to the past, we have to ask ourselves a series of questions to which we will answer as the conclusion of this historical journey. The questions that project us to the origins of the teaching / learning of Spanish are the following: When can we speak of conscious

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teaching / learning of ELE? When can we establish the emergence of EFE? Do ELE and EFE share the same origin and development?

To talk about the history of the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language it is compulsory to refer to the work of one the authors who have researched the most on the matter. We refer to A. Sánchez Pérez, whose work "*España y los españoles: aportaciones y preocupación en torno a la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera en los últimos cinco siglos*" published in the Acts of the I Asele in 1988 will serve as a wise guiding thread to find out these remote and unknown principles, on the other hand. Also, through the information provided by the text, we will see if the path traveled by ELE and EFE is shared, if we can speak of parallel paths; if, on the contrary, they have separate stories; or if, as a third possibility, at some point there is an intersection between both, that is, if, at a certain historical moment in the development of ELE teaching / learning, EFE teaching / learning appears.

Before starting with the historical journey, we have to advance two conclusions, which we share, which the author reaches after his research: firstly, and with the exception of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, there is a clear reference to works on the teaching of Spanish whose origin is not located in Spain but abroad, that is to say, both native and foreign authors who do not reside in Spain offer us the first texts on learning Spanish, in the words of the author himself "really it is outside Spain where events and data are given for a history of Spanish "(1988: 9); On the other hand, another reflection by A. Sánchez Pérez that surprises us, undoubtedly due to prejudices, is that the teaching of Spanish broadly speaking, since we will see that there is some exception, follows similar paths in its development to other languages as representative such as English or French. We point out, and it is important to make this appreciation, that the author always speaks in reference to the teaching of Spanish and that at no point does he speak of the teaching of Spanish for specific purposes. Nevertheless, the information he provides allows us to place it in time, that we could describe as the first awareness of the instrumental or utilitarian learning of Spanish.

Although with nuances, it can be said that everything begins with the publication of the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* of A. de Nebrija in 1492, that is, the origins date back to the end of the 15th century. This

grammar has two great virtues: the formalization of the Castilian language and the dissemination of Spanish. We reproduce below the words belonging to the prologue of the Grammar of Nebrija (1492) more because of the curiosity of the expression than because of its meaning: "*Y cierto assi es que todos los otros que tienen algún trato y conversación en España y necesidad de nuestra lengua, si no vienen desde niños a la deprender por uso, podrán la más aina saber por esta mi obra*".

It is really surprising that almost six centuries ago there were discussions of the "need" to learn Spanish for those people whose purpose is to learn Spanish for conversation or for "some deal", if we consider that the word *deal* refers to the instrumental learning of the language for commercial reasons –although we cannot affirm this categorically– ; and the origins, at least of the existence of EFE, but not of its teaching should be established with this grammar.

However, it will not be until the 16th century, specifically in 1555 and 1559, when we find the first texts dedicated to the conscious teaching of Spanish: we refer to the first two grammars intended for foreign students of Spanish, published in Leuven. As a virtue, we can point out that these are texts that are classified as "short and practical tools", but they also presuppose a continuity of the traditional methods of learning classical languages.

A step further is taken with the well-known texts for language learning that were given in Europe since the 13th century, texts known by the generic name of Vocabularies or colloquial dialogues, the first of which documented for Spanish dating from the year 1522. These texts responded more precisely to the everyday linguistic needs of their users in learning languages. At the end of the 16th century, the vocabularies that evolved into dialogues were totally common among travelers and merchants.

Although, as we said, these first materials are not published in Spain, we do have to highlight two native authors: J. de Luna and A. de Salazar. On the other hand, and together with these, we have to cite J. Minsheu as another recognized author of these popular dialogues. At this point, about the teaching of ELE, we have to reflect on the importance of the content of these dialogues because there is an intersection, that is, the third of the possibilities that we considered at the beginning of our presentation on the paths traveled by the two types of teaching analyzed in this section, between

teaching ELE and teaching EFE. In the work on the history of the teaching of Spanish, A. Sánchez Pérez presents these texts, the dialogue books, which share some of the characteristics of what we could openly call specific purposes, and their most relevant characteristics are: the content of commercial letters that respond to the needs of its users (in this case European merchants) and also that they are functional texts. Another author, M. Llobera Cànaves has no qualms about openly pointing to these popular little books of dialogues as the origin of EFE's teaching / learning, as it can be seen in the following lines:

> The first books for learning Spanish that we know had very precise aspects of teaching for specific purposes: the well-known anonymous dialogue books of the 16th century and more specifically that of John Minsheu illustrate the supposed communication needs of merchants and travellers who travel to Flanders, England or Spain (…). The fact that the learning of written expression corresponded to their professional concerns added what today we could call significance to their learning (2000: 2)[5].

In this line of chronologically situating the "practical interest" in learning Spanish, there is also D. Esteba Ramos (2005: 72) who, together with the recognition of the cultural interest that language learning has always implicitly had, considers that it is in this century, more specifically in the Golden Age, when a "second motivation for approaching Spanish" appears, a practical purpose, i.e. "the one that leads merchants, diplomats or travelers, among others, to become interested in Spanish because they must communicate with Spanish speakers in a certain context, professional in many cases ".

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[5] Own translation. Original text: "Los primeros libros para el aprendizaje del castellano que conocemos tenían aspectos muy precisos de enseñanza para fines específicos: los conocidos libros de diálogos anónimos del siglo XVI y más concretamente el de John Minsheu nos ilustran sobre las necesidades comunicativas supuestas de los comerciantes y viajeros que se desplazaban a Flandes, Inglaterra o España (…). El hecho de que el aprendizaje de la expresión escrita correspondiese a sus preocupaciones profesionales añadía lo que hoy podríamos llamar significatividad a su aprendizaje".

We think that it is possible to consider that these texts are, although in a very basic way, the origin of EFE due to the aforementioned characteristics, but we also have to emphasize that these are isolated events and that they have neither continuity nor historical evolution. As evident as in the teaching of Spanish in general, that is why we speak of an intersection of EFE in a more documented and precise development in the historical evolution of the teaching of ELE. It will not be until the end of the 20th century, in the wake of English for specific purposes, when we can speak openly about a development of specialty languages in Spanish.

After this clarification, and continuing with the development of the teaching of Spanish in the sixteenth century, for A. Sánchez Pérez, what he calls a "turnaround" with respect to the grammars published up to now and that followed in the footsteps of the classical grammars is the grammar of J. de Miranda from 1566. According to the author, the text of this grammar is written in Italian and for Italian students of Spanish, hence a contrastive approach between the Italian language and the Spanish language is noticed. This text stands out because it emphasizes the use that can be made of language.

In the seventeenth century, an unknown author stands out, who did not have major importance despite being a great innovator in the teaching of languages, since, through his work, he intended to teach Latin through graphic images, something that we would later see in the modern teaching of languages. What will be so used in later centuries has its precedent in this author who fell into oblivion.

During the 18th century, there were no great contributions to the teaching of Spanish for foreigners, and only the publication of the Grammar of the Royal Spanish Academy in 1771 stands out.

A first stage in the history of teaching / learning Spanish ends, in which we can already place the first manifestations of EFE, as well as the first manuals of Spanish for practical or instrumental purposes. D. M. Sáez Rivera (2009: 134) considers that it is the War of the Spanish Succession that is going to produce a "real avalanche, the last and most important, of materials for learning Spanish in modern Europe". And a second stage begins, in the 20th century, when we can already consider the emergence of EFE as we understand it today.

It was in the 19th century - especially from the second half of this century, which is called by the author as a stage of radical change - and in the 20th century when we can already state that the teaching of languages in general and the teaching of Spanish both in ELE and EFE is done in a systematic and conscious way. These stages are irretrievably linked to linguistics and the succession of movements that originated in it and that had, as has been widely studied, a clear influence on the methodology of language teaching. It is at this historical moment in the development of language teaching when one begins to talk about methods and, in this way, and as the author himself acknowledges, language teaching is associated with the methods used.

Specifically, the truth is that, although the teaching of Spanish continues to reflect the renovating movements that were taking place at European level, that is, teaching Spanish is not placed behind the teaching of other contemporary languages, we cannot say the same of the teaching of languages in the school system whose presence is already beginning to be implanted in other European countries, especially in Germany, and that Spain ignores. This leads to the institutional thrust of language learning being lost (perhaps this fact partly explains our deficiencies in language learning and the urgent promotion of language learning in school settings today).

We highlight, in this historical tour, the fact that the first manual written by Spaniards for the teaching of Spanish whose publication was made in 1949 and whose author was Martín Alonso is ignored by most of the teachers (native or not) dedicated to the teaching of Spanish as a second language.

All things considered, we want to reiterate, on the one hand, the importance of learning about the past of teaching Spanish, because it helps us understand the present and explains, looking back, when Spanish followed an evolution similar to other modern languages and at what moment it lost the opportunity to strengthen its teaching, especially due to the lack of interest in the dissemination of its learning by the Spaniards who resided in the country, although it was, as we have seen, the most important foreign production in these centuries. This historical journey also gives us clues about how we have to face the future and learn from past mistakes, be aware of the importance that the teaching / learning of Spanish is acquiring,

and especially teaching / learning with specific purposes, so that, after this taking of conscience, we are able to live up to a historical moment in language teaching / learning. On the other hand, once the history of the teaching of Spanish has been exposed, we can conclude that, at a certain moment, there is an intersection in that chronological line and what we could call the origin of the teaching of Spanish for specific purposes appears. At the same time, it has become clear that it cannot be said that ELE and EFE follow parallel paths, although in both types of education, as well as in language teaching in general, the 19th and 20th centuries represent a milestone in language teaching, especially for the contributions that were produced from the field of linguistics and that have marked the origin of the modern conception of language teaching / learning.

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**Digital Competences in the Acquisition of Romanian as a Foreign Language**

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*Abstract*

The study highlights the most important challenges encountered by the language *professors in teaching online, enumerating some of the most important tools available during an entire year of online teaching Romanian as a Foreign Language. It focuses particularly on the difficulties that international students had, while learning a completely new language, without any face-to-face interaction, stressing the most important online instruments, which could help us teach Romanian grammar and vocabulary.*

*The study highlights also the most important theoretical frameworks regarding intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, which can trigger the learning process, even in an exclusively online environment.*

*Very important is the change of mentalities, first at the level of the teachers, who can and should embrace the change, so that they can push the limits of teaching languages in the virtual space, in such a way that classes could be equally interesting and challenging for the learners.*

*A very important section of the article is dedicated to the study of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, in the case of international students learning Romanian as a foreign language, explaining the mechanisms that trigger language acquisition and offering examples of instruments that we have at hand, to help the language production.*

*The study also enumerates some of the most important models that focus on linguistic and social processes, which trigger foreign language acquisition, which can explain why in certain cases learners can learn a foreign language faster or experience a culture shock, due to the inappropriate cultural adaptation.*

*Keywords*

*Computer Mediated Communication, Romanian as a Foreign Language, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, linguistic processes, social processes.*

## 1. Online education and language teaching

Foreign language acquisition is usually part of a process that involves a lot of face-to-face interaction, with the focus on pronunciation,

many practical activities, and less theoretical lectures, allowing learners to engage in guided conversations that could help them in the language production. However, the academic year 2020-2021 meant a shift to the online education that did now allow any direct interaction between learners and teachers.

Yet, with the help of the tools that were made available, with the support of online training programs for the teachers, the process went smoothly, and with a few exceptions, the acquisition of language was made possible.

Along the present study, we will highlight the most important contextual elements used at our university to improve the language acquisition and production, among international students, and then we will discuss about the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of the students, that was influenced also by the intrinsic motivation of the teachers.

In the particular case of Romanian as a Foreign Language, where the activity takes place during a single academic year, and where the pressure for reaching the B1-B2 level on the international language framework is very high, the lack of direct interaction was a real impediment. For example, at the beginning of a new academic year, international students usually benefited from two weeks of accommodation classes, meant as an immersion into the new culture. Usually, this means visits to some of the most important museums in Bucharest, such as the *Village Museum*, *National Museum of History*, *National Museum of Arts*, or field trips to Sinaia, or Bran, where students can visit *Peleş Castle*, or *Bran Castle*. They are meant as very friendly moments when teachers and students have the chance to meet in a very informal context, allowing for a period of accommodation, before the effective beginning of the language classes.

Thus, everything started directly online, with abrupt teaching in a virtual space, international students being sometimes reticent to even turning on their computer cameras, that cannot allow any form of nonverbal communication, visual contact of guess of the state of mind of the students.

During the last couple of years, we have been engaged in research into the field of online teaching and toying with the idea of creating platforms for communication for language learning, but never before have we been forced to completely move online.

When we talk about teaching Romanian as a foreign language to groups of international students, we usually have a very high diversity of cultures, and sometimes it is very difficult because they are not accustomed to our teaching style, some other times they do not know the language support, which in our case is English. We usually have difficulties with students coming from African countries that have French as a national language and cannot cope with English as a language support.

There are huge cultural differences between students belonging to different religions, different education systems, and all these differences are evident at the level of the language acquisition. At the same time, the online connection cannot guarantee the intercultural communication, while success depends entirely on the successful approach from the teachers' parts and the students' determination to learn the respective language. Otherwise, students can be faced with a real cultural shock that sometimes takes a very long time to be managed by the students.

One of the questions that we ask ourselves as language teachers is why are there students that can easily reach bilingualism, while others remain virtual monolinguists? The answer is related to their social behavior, how introverted, or extroverted they are, how easily they can adapt to a new environment, culture, and country, how eager they are to be integrated into the new space.

Yet, specialists reached an important conclusion, that "second language learning is a social psychological phenomenon" and that there are geographical areas where "bilingualism is a common phenomenon because of ethnic and linguistic diversification in the countries". (Gardner, 1985, 2)

But an important aspect that we, as language teachers, should admit, is that the success in the acquisition of a new language is related to the attitude of the learners towards it. Because if the language to be learnt is not part of the cultural heritage of the learner, the most common situation of learners of Romanian as a foreign language, the attitudes will determine the success or failure.

For example, a student coming from a French speaking country will have better chances of achievement in language acquisition, due to the existence of a connection between languages that have the common Latin root. By comparison, a student coming from a Middle Eastern country, speaking Arabic, a language that has a totally different alphabet and where

the writing is from the right to the left compared to the other way round in Romanian, will have more difficulties of adaptation, integration, and mastery of language.

If the attitude is positive, the entire language learning process will be smooth, and students will be determined to continue.

Apart from attitude, motivation is a second component, "the extent to which an individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity". (Gardner, 1985, 10)

Later, we will discuss in detail the differences between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation that trigger achievement in language learning.

Achievement is another key element in foreign language acquisition, seen as the perfect combination between vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation and covering the four skills: reading, writing, listening, and speaking.

In fact, the final examination that follows the successful graduation of the foundation year of Romanian language is a complex test, comprising all four skills. Yet, modern language specialists suggest that a communicative approach to language learning, that is the ability of the individual to use language in oral, written, and non-verbal contexts, is a better way of seeing language acquisition.

According to Dorney and Otto, language acquisition is a chain of actions, starting from the objective, continuing with the intention, followed by goal achievement and progress, as a final stage.

There are different steps in language acquisition, the first one being related to the choice of the language to be learnt. In the case of Romanian as a foreign language, we can talk about young people who decide to move to Romania, to continue their studies in a new country, which sometimes is better than their home country, with higher living standards or higher opportunities for a career upon their return back home.

Most of my students enrolled in the program usually continue their studies in Romania by applying for a Medical School bachelor program, or specialization, either in English/ French or Romanian. However, they need Romanian from the first year of studies, as they interact in hospitals with patients who are usually elderly, do not speak foreign languages and want to be listened and helped.

## 2. Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation

Sometimes students are not prepared for a specific location or destination of their studies. For example, when international students apply for studies in different countries, but they are accepted in Romania, mentally they are not entirely prepared for our country, as a final destination.

That is the moment when they experience a culture shock, as they are not aware of the level of difficulty of Romanian language, they cannot place the country in a larger geographical frame and are not able to successfully cope with cultural stereotypes. In such situations, if they are not mentally strong, they can lose motivation, and loss of motivation is related to the level of difficulty of the language, grammatical structure, and pronunciation. Students with most difficulties usually come from Middle Eastern countries and are speakers of Arabic language, or Asian students (Chinese or Japanese) who face huge difficulties with pronunciation.

Pressure plays an important role in language learning, and particularly if we consider the fact that they have to reach a B2 level of language, in order to apply for studies in Romanian, the pressure is even higher.

Intrinsic motivation is the one that allows students to learn a language based on personal decision, without any external pressure. When pressure is really high, failure can appear. Noels, in his study, talks about different types of intrinsic motivation: on the one hand we can talk about motivation through knowledge, which helps the learner explore new realms and be able to improve himself or herself. A second type of intrinsic motivation is through accomplishment, which helps the individual reach certain goals. Last but not least, he talks about motivation through stimulation, which is a process, involving feelings, joy, and happiness of the job well done. (Noels, 2000, 59-60)

Progress in language learning becomes evident once linguistic challenges gradually increase, backed up by good results in the semester exams and followed by good accomplishments in the graduation exam, that offers a B1-B2 level certificate in Romanian.

But the context in which the educational process takes place is very important, and this aspect became very sensitive during the last academic

year, 2020-2021, when due to the pandemic, all classes have been moved online.

The lack of face-to-face interaction in class between teacher and students and students and students became an impediment in the most appropriate process of language acquisition.

Yet, online teaching was not completely new for us and notions such as CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning) or CMC (Computer Mediated Communication) represent the frameworks used by language teachers during the last couple of years. Backed up by the new platforms and interactive boards, that allow direct interaction in the virtual space, classes have been transformed into more interactive virtual environments, appropriate for the process of language acquisition.

However, the professor represents one of the most important sources of motivation for the student and stimulation, through grades, challenging tasks and interactive activities can trigger language acquisition.

Breakout rooms on Microsoft Teams represented an extremely useful tool for me. I used it during the communication classes, where I had the opportunity to split the class into smaller groups, made up of three or four students. Usually, I try to balance the groups, so that I don't have groups made up of very good students, or groups where the level is very low, so a balanced format is very important. During these activities they had either to describe pictures, or to come up with language production in the form of a dialog on a specific topic, or they had to prepare a presentation, either in the form of a video presentation or a PowerPoint presentation, describing customs, traditions, religious rituals, or they had to present a recipe or a traditional dish from a specific region of the world that they belong to.

This way, not only that the language skills are improved, but also communication skills and transfer of knowledge related to cultural background of each and every student. It is really important the relevance of the information, so that their cultural background could be highlighted, and a positive atmosphere could be created.

It is equally important for the teacher to produce relevant sources of language for their preoccupation. That is, if we have a majority of students that are interested in applying for medical studies, during the next academic year, then all grammar and vocabulary information should be centered

around the topic of medical studies. That is why I found extremely interesting materials published by our colleagues from the *Victor Babes* Medical School in Timisoara, textbook entitled *Vitamina*, where in a friendly and interactive manner, the authors introduce relevant grammatical structures, idioms used in the medical vocabulary and language specific for the hospital environment, such as dialogues specific for the doctor-patient conversations, examples of situations in a dentist's medical office, a pharmacy, etc. (Kohn, Boc-Sînmărghiţan, Şilindean, 2018)

Last but not least, professors should set achievable targets for each student, based on the progress made so far and the overall objectives that the students have. Thus, sometimes we have to adapt our teaching methods and even the curricula according to the needs of our students. It obviously had to be adapted for the online teaching. The traditional whiteboard was replaced by an interactive board, where students had the possibility to produce content on the tasks assigned by the teacher. We also had the opportunity to use other tools, such as quizzes, questionnaires, jigsaw puzzles, in other words very friendly instruments where exercising vocabulary is the key activity.

Motivational studies suggest that goal achievement is the secret to learning foreign languages. Thus, Lorenzo considers that there are different methods for achieving goals, which have to do with drill, error making and repetitive process of error correction:

> It is well-known that education is usually prone to formalization, repetition, control and the establishment of traditional routines that stunt experimentation and creativity. Experimentation and creativity, together with complexity and error-making, are however crucial language development factors, and without them having a part in the act of teaching, motivation was logically absent or at least descending. (Lorenzo, 2014, 141-142)

We, as teachers, are in charge of setting the goals for our students, by assessing their initial level, the intermediary level, after one semester, and pushing their limits, if necessary.

Modern techniques of teaching languages require a balance between focus on meaning and focus on form, so that they can develop on tandem.

That is why, among practitioners, there are professors who only use the language support at the beginning of the teaching process. Although I found it really difficult, as it took me four years to get accustomed to it, I realized while teaching online that the solution becomes very efficient, pushing their limits and requiring a set of nonverbal skills, to enhance communication. The more innovative the classes, the more efficient they are, and the attitudes towards the language will be changed. Of course, the fact that they are adults is an advantage, because usually foreign language learning among high school students is sometimes negatively impacted by their reluctance to learn, which means their intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is almost inexistent. Overall, the learning process is an extremely emotional experience, involving a lot of frustration, negative or positive attitudes, consistency, or inconsistency, depending on the impact the language has upon each student. Students belong to an academic community, which usually helps them adapt to the environment, helps them integrate and communicate, but unfortunately the last academic year was an anomaly. I myself, as a language teacher, and a cultural facilitator, did not have the chance to meet face to face with the entire group of students. We had at least half of the students that decided not to move to Romania, but attended classes form their home countries, by connecting online on the Microsoft Teams platform. The evidence showed the fact that the students that spent the foundation year of language in Romania were able to learn faster, even though they did not have many contacts with Romanians. Yet, the mere fact that they had to go shopping and order stuff, listening to people around them in the means of transport, or at the supermarket, opened the communication channels faster than in the case of the students that remained in their home countries.

### 3. Theories on the process of foreign language acquisition

The acquisition of any foreign language involves on the one hand the accumulation of vocabulary, grammatical structures, and pronunciation, all these three aspects being sometimes influenced by the native language, which can hamper or enhance the learning process of the new language.

On the other hand, there is a social process that is closely related to the cultural aspects. For example, how different the languages are, if they

belong to the same family of languages, as Romanian is a member of the family of Romanic languages, or they belong to different families of languages, if from a religious perspective the countries are at different poles, can help or negatively affect the process of acquisition. Because, at the end of the day, the whole process of learning a language is to help individuals function effectively in a new environment, to be able to study, work, socialize, make friends, overall to be able to become part of a new country and culture emotionally and socially. Sometimes these social and cultural aspects are more difficult to achieve, but they will be discussed in the next chapter, dedicated to the topic of culture and culture shock for international students.

Specialists have developed along the years different theoretical models and frameworks, that focus on the linguistic processes or the social processes. They are equally important, because it is due to them that we, as language teachers and cultural accommodators, can help learners of anew language adjust and function from a social perspective in the new country and culture.

Robert Gardner, in his study *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning* explains the fact that there are two types of processes involved in language learning: linguistic and social.

Among the linguistic processes, he considers that there are three important models, *the monitor model, the conscious reinforcement model, and the strategy model*, that have been developed along the years and are key for the present study.

***The monitor model*** is related more to the performance in the new language, than connected to the acquisition. It was developed by Stephen D. Krashen in 1980s and Gardner explains that "there are two independent language systems, one conscious and the other subconscious, and that both can be activated in any language use situation. The monitor itself is viewed as a *conscious grammar*, and often the two terms are linked or used interchangeably". (Gardner, 1985, 125)

According to this model, learners are always monitored by teachers, and in language situations learners are paying attention to form and not to content, continuously editing the language. But such a model requires a lot of time, and the monitor is not always present to help adjustments or

corrections. Grammatical rules are not so easily applied, particularly when we talk about the intensive course of languages.

On the other hand, this model works only when correctness of language is important for the user, but in the case of Romanian as a foreign language, this aspect appears almost at the end of the study program, when learners master the language at B1-B2 level.

Last but not least, the success of the monitor model depends on the learners, how important rules are for them, how much they can stick to the rules, and if they have a "correct mental representation of the rule to apply".

It is related to an extensive interaction in the new language, to the involvement of the teacher that can correct grammatical errors made by learners and through explicit presentation of grammatical rules. Yet, this model is somehow old fashioned because the new communicative methods of learning languages involve the creation of content without very much focus on form.

However, because I teach the practical course of Romanian Grammar and Vocabulary, I use the model a lot in my teaching, although, sometimes unconsciously, because for me the correct production of the grammatical structures is very important, and in a way, can lead the learner to the next level of learning and understanding the new language.

Krashen, the author of this theory, suggests that there are two types of language developments, "language acquisition" and "language learning". The first one is based on language interaction in the new language, and in a specific way, it is very similar to the process of language acquisition in the case of small children, involving interaction and contextual communication, while the second development, is based on the drill and error correction processes, guided by the teacher. This one is a rather conscious process of learning specific rules.

Although a rather old theory by now, developed back in 1981 by Krashen, it is very useful because it explains why the school environment, which represents a formal context, can help reach a proficient level in a foreign language, in a rather short term. The fact that the last academic year, the year 2020-2021 took place entirely online, without any face-to-face interaction in a formal context, resulted in a lower level of proficiency from the part of international students learning Romanian as a foreign language.

Secondly, Krashen suggests that his theory is an argument in favor of the idea that adults can learn faster and more efficiently a foreign language, because of the conscious involvement in the learning process.

A second important theory, also developed in the 1980s is called *the conscious reinforcement model*, created by J.B. Carroll, which is based on the learning theory, combined with the cognitive psychology theories.

This model focuses mainly on the factors that influence the individual's learning process once he/ she is faced with the new language.

The key word is *reinforcement*, which is understood as "an increment to an individual's perception of the appropriateness of the behavior to a specific context. It is knowledge of the world that is reinforced, not a particular response". (Gardner, 1985, 128)

According to this model, language learning begins once an individual feels the need to communicate in a specific context. Thus, he/ she decides upon the best response to a specific situation, relying on the knowledge in a specific language, non-verbal communication, mimics, gestures, kinesics, and proxemics, and with the help of the grammatical structures known until the respective moment. If the feedback is positive, then the desired goal is achieved.

There are two important consequences of the use of this model in the language production: on the one hand, if the individual receives a certain feedback, then the chances that the same process will be used in the future are higher, and secondly, "it leads to information about the nature of the language itself and the appropriateness of the response in certain contexts". (Gardner, 1985, 128)

The key aspect of this model is that it involves a very complex process of taking decisions, based on previous knowledge and response from the environment. The learners investigate the possibilities of finding a response from the environment, and if this response is visible, then the goal is achieved, and thus, the automation process is created. The stronger the habit of communicating is, the more interaction and language production will appear, without any attention paid to the form, but to the result. While Krashen's theory states the existence of a supervision, the teacher, the guide and control of communication, Carroll speaks about the existence of a "cognitive control center", that the "natural context" can be simulated in the

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class environment, drilled, and then reproduced in different language contexts.

The third model discussed by specialists, *the strategy model* was developed by Ellen Bialystok, and is made up of three levels: input, knowledge, and output.

Input is related to the amount of exposure to a foreign language, for example in the class, on television, in the streets, at the supermarket, from the readings and oral communication interactions.

The input allows the production of knowledge that is relevant for the learner that is "conscious knowledge about the language code (explicit knowledge) and intuitive automatic knowledge of the language (implicit linguistic knowledge)". (Gardner, 1985, 130)

The last component of the model is the output, that means a sort of response, which can be spontaneous or immediate, while the second one is deliberate and demands a long term to be uttered.

The theoretical models that focus on social processes are equally important, in the eyes of the specialists. Gardner argues that their importance is related more to the social factors that determine individuals to earn a foreign language, rather than to any linguistic structure, or the other way round, all those social impediments that prevent an individual from learning a language.

The *social psychological model*, postulated by W.E. Lambert, relies on the fact that from a psychological perspective, when a person can master a foreign language, then the self-esteem is highly raised. In turn, proficiency in the language is related to the level of interaction and socialization of the individual in the new language. It is also dependent on the behavioral characteristics of the individual, it involves cognitive factors, such as skills and intelligence, but also affective factors, such as motivation. In other words, once an adult embarks on a trip towards learning a foreign language, there are higher chances of reaching the level of proficiency if the individual is equipped with cognitive and affective skills.

Motivation is key, but there are also aspects, such as cultural adaptation to a new environment, availability for learning languages, as well as attitudes and orientation. In my career I have experienced many situations in which international students with a completely different cultural background from the Romanian one, although capable and intelligent, could

not find the inner trigger that could boost the language learning process, due to their inability to adapt to a cultural environment that has different norms and values, beliefs, and attitudes from the ones they were accustomed to in their home countries.

There is a distinction between the integrative orientation towards language learning and the instrumental orientation. According to Lambert, instrumental orientation refers to the practical aspects of learning a language. In other words, do learners need the new language in their future endeavors, such as enrolling with bachelor and master studies in the new language, or do they need the new language for a job or a career in the new country?

The integrative orientation "reflects a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other group". (Lambert, 1967, 98)

An example in this respect is my former student Soyoung, from South Korea, married to a French top management representative, relocated to Romania for job reasons, who decided to learn Romanian language because she wanted to open her own business here, a Korean cuisine restaurant, and because she admires Romanian culture, is fluent in French and easily finds language similarities or connections between the two Latin origin languages. In this case there is a real integrative orientation towards Romanian language and culture.

"For the serious student who, in time, really masters the foreign language, we saw the possibility of a conflict of identity or alienation (we use the term *anomie*) arising as he became skilled enough to become an accepted member of the new cultural group". (Lambert, 1967, 98)

What is suggested is the fact that if there is no real pressure of replacing the native language or culture with the new language, or the importance of the native culture and language is not reduced, then the individual has higher chances of gaining an additive bilingualism, helping him/ her to grow emotionally, and offering him/ her a set of social advantages.

***The acculturation model***, developed by J.H. Schumann in 1978, focuses on the process of learning a foreign language without any proficient training that is in the natural environment. He suggests that there are only two types of factors that influence the acquisition of a foreign language: social and affective factors. He defines acculturation as "the social and

psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group". (Schumann, 1978, 29)

There are numerous emotional variables that influence the acquisition of any new language, among which culture shock and language shock are the most important. If the learner is not equipped with the skills to cope with culture shock and the language seems more difficult than expected the pressure from the environment is too big and chances for adaptation are almost inexistent.

*The social context model* emphasizes the fact that language acquisition is doubled by the adoption of specific patterns of behavior of the local community. The theory, developed by R. Clement in 1980s has at its center the concept of motivation. There are also aspects, such as aptitude for languages, social skills, friendliness and openness towards foreign people and new settings.

"Individuals can be motivated by integrative feelings to learn the second language or by fear of assimilation to avoid learning the language. In this way, the social context is seen as an important factor in the language learning context". (Gardner, 1985, 139)

*The intergroup model* is the last model presented by Gardner in his research. This model was developed by Giles and Byrne in 1982 and focuses on foreign language acquisition in the case of linguistic minority groups.

It is true that in language acquisition there is the need to identify culturally with the new community, thus acquisition is made in a formal context, in class, with the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness.

What all the above presented theories have in common is the concept of motivation. People either need to communicate in the new language at work, in school, if they moved to a foreign country and want to be integrated faster from a cultural perspective, they want to associate emotionally with other people, or they simply want to improve their skills in learning a different language, which will increase their self-esteem.

Language acquisition implies a set of changes at the level of the individual, either mental/ intellectual changes of emotional changes, but they all have in common the concept of cultural adaptation, or even cultural integration. In case this aspect is not successfully tackled, culture shock can appear and negatively influence the life of a learner.

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# Globalización, internacionalización, localización en el marco de la traducción especializada

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### Resumen

*Mi principal responsabilidad, como Traductor-Intérprete Jurado, es transmitir significados diversos (referencial, pragmático, intralingüístico), significados que puedan permanecer todos en la traducción, con el objetivo de que las pérdidas semánticas sean mínimas. La condición obligatoria en este complejo proceso de creación es la justa delimitación de los diversos tipos de significados, precisamente para decidir cuáles de ellos son prioritarios en el contexto dado. En este sentido, el mayor grado de traducción, lo tiene el significado referencial (ya que la realidad objetiva coincide en mayor o menor medida). El significado pragmático, en menor medida, va sujeto a la transposición, ya que, aunque se describan las mismas realidades objetivas, la actitud de las distintas comunidades humanas hacia ellas también es diferente. Y finalmente, el significado intralingüístico posee el grado mínimo de transposición. De esta forma, para los textos económicos y legales, técnicos y científicos, la información se codifica principalmente de manera referencial, mientras que en los textos artísticos, el significado pragmático es el que tiene mayor importancia. En este orden de ideas, yo, como Traductor-Intérprete Jurado, me centraré en una investigación global de un sistema de relaciones y procedimientos entre globalización, internacionalización, localización, con el fin de difundir de forma óptima el significado referencial del texto fuente.*

### Palabras clave

*globalización, internacionalización, interpretación, localización, significado, traducción especializada.*

## 1. Introducción. La motivación y los objetivos de la investigación

Si pensamos en el sintagma de Globalización, Internacionalización, Localización en el marco de la traducción especializada, habrá que investigar detalladamente el triángulo trazado por Traducción, Adaptación, Localización. La práctica profesional de la traducción depende de la finalidad de la traducción y del sector al que se destina el producto

resultante del acto de traducción. El sector está representado por el espacio sociohistórico y el público objetivo. Por ejemplo, la traducción literaria y la traducción de anuncios difieren entre sí en cuanto al acto de traducción. Se puede considerar que el primero se lanza en un entorno que puede considerarse más homogéneo en cuanto a recepción y que puede descuidar algunas cuestiones culturales y de edad que caracterizan a la audiencia. El segundo se ve obligado a tener en cuenta las estratificaciones y categorías de género y edad, así como las consideraciones culturales locales. Los anuncios y textos que publicitan o promocionan servicios o productos no están realmente traducidos, sino adaptados y localizados lingüísticamente (modelados a partir del perfil de los destinatarios), integrando características culturales detectadas por analistas de marketing y traductores profesionales en el sector de actividad.

La localización, como práctica profesional, es un proceso que se suele realizar en proyectos digitales, traducción de sitios web, materiales de marketing y promoción de algunos productos, software y juegos virtuales, instrucciones de uso de diversos productos por ubicación, se adaptan su contenido y presentación a las percepciones y características conceptuales de la audiencia de destino para evitar errores en la presentación de información y presentarla de la manera más transparente posible a los destinatarios de una cultura distinta a la del idioma de origen. Los contenidos y productos desarrollados en un espacio cultural determinado geográficamente, como también lingüísticamente se adaptan para ser comercializados y utilizados en otro espacio cultural.

**2. El desarrollo del estudio: Globalización, internacionalización, localización en el marco de la traducción especializada**

El término localización se utiliza en esta investigación en un sentido más amplio, pero corresponde a su contenido, yendo más allá de la adaptación como estrategia de traducción y refiriéndose a la manipulación del contenido cultural a través de la traducción para que el receptor pueda recuperarlo sin esfuerzo. obstaculizar el proceso de lectura y comprensión profunda del texto traducido. Por ejemplo, en el caso de un texto fuente particular abordado, se tienen en cuenta varias características del mismo: si el texto es descriptivo, con el objetivo de presentar detalles arquitectónicos

acompañados de dibujos profesionales de monumentos arquitectónicos e información histórica, con apreciaciones y críticas del autor, publicado hace décadas, está destinado a una audiencia supuestamente relativamente conocedora de los acontecimientos históricos y de las personalidades a las que se hace referencia en el texto. Por estos motivos, se considera como condición obligatoria, necesaria y útil, la introducción en el producto resultante de la traducción de algunas aclaraciones para el lector rumano. Estos existirán en forma de notas al pie sintéticas o más amplias y explicaciones descriptivas en el cuerpo del texto y tendrán la función de localizar la traducción. En un proceso de localización, la consideración principal que se considera es aumentar el atractivo del producto resultante de la traducción al revelar un potencial turístico y cultural de la región que es el tema del texto fuente y el texto de destino. Es decir, se considera que el texto puede ser de interés para el lector rumano si puede proyectar a través de la lectura el conocimiento de los objetivos culturales descritos.

En lo que concierne el texto inicial, texto de origen y producto de traducción, texto de destino, texto traducido, con referencia al título, se puede decir que la traducción del título plantea varios problemas lingüísticos y culturales, resueltos mediante transposición, adaptación y localización. La segunda parte del título aparece en la edición fuente como subtítulo, no estando presente en la portada de la edición original. Por ejemplo, he aquí, a continuación, las etapas seguidas por un traductor para establecer una posible solución final:

a) cuando se trata de una traducción literal que sea aceptable: Los países de Las Américas - El lector rumano conoce el topónimo Las Américas, en plural, término que delimita la región geográfica formada por los países latinoamericanos;

b) la traducción del sintagma nominal las antiguas civilizaciones tiene en rumano cuatro soluciones, por preposición o posposición del adjetivo, con o sin artículo definido, sin mayores implicaciones estilísticas: las civilizaciones antiguas, las antiguas civilizaciones, civilizaciones antiguas, antiguas civilizaciones. La primera opción fue la variante de civilizaciones antiguas, con la transposición del adjetivo pospuesto y la eliminación del artículo definido, más natural y marcando la dependencia del adjetivo con el centro del sustantivo, sin resaltarlo por preposición. Esta

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variante parece satisfacer el desiderátum de marketing editorial del título;

c) la traducción del determinante sustantivo de Las Américas plantea algunas situaciones más difíciles. Es sintácticamente opaco en el texto fuente, porque puede interpretarse como un determinante genitivo, de las Américas, o como un determinante espacial, de América Latina (o de las Américas). Sin embargo, la interpretación espacial y residencial parece la más apropiada y se ajustará mediante otros procedimientos de adecuación;

d) la traducción por paráfrasis interlingüística es una forma de ajustar y adaptar la frase problemática y resolver la dificultad de mantener el plural en español, de Las Américas. La paráfrasis implica en este caso una extensión o expansión semántico-léxica, que consiste en explicar el plural agregando el adjetivo numeral dos, o en desambiguar el plural dividiendo en términos que nombran los dos referentes distintos, América del Sur y Central, la las variantes resultantes son: Ţările din cele două Americi: America de Sud şi America Centrală/ Ţările din America de Sud şi (din) America Centrală. Estas variantes tampoco cumplen con todos los criterios de aceptabilidad debido a la redundancia del término Las Américas en ambas formulaciones, lo que resulta en un título más largo y menos conveniente para fines de marketing;

e) la traducción óptima parece ser por paráfrasis interlingüística y cultural, con la transposición del sintagma nominal determinativo de Las Américas a través del adjetivo topónimo latinoamericano. Esta solución modificó la decisión inicial, incluida la opción de anteponer el antiguo adjetivo determinante y mantener el subtítulo original en una traducción cuasi literal. La variante resultante son Los países latinoamericanos, de América del Sur y de América Central. Con el pesar de oscurecer el contenido cultural del determinante nominal original de Las Américas, que nos hubiera gustado poder traducir a partir de las dos Américas, decidimos que el adjetivo rumano Latinoamerican cubre en gran medida el significado cultural permitiendo también la estructura original del título subtitulado. El título propuesto

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parece atractivo y honesto tanto en términos de traducción como de editorial.

En lo que se refiere, por ejemplo, a la transposición y paráfrasis de algunas estructuras lingüísticas, a un párrafo propuesto como traducción para los estudiantes, puede ser elegido por la relevancia cultural de un país o de un grupo regional, con una connotación turística en las rutas actuales. Por esta razón, el interés editorial en este párrafo puede aumentar. El comienzo del párrafo puede causar algunas dificultades en la traducción. Hay ciertas palabras que presentan una polisemia divergente, una bifurcación léxica, que puede llevar, siguiendo un enfoque menos cuidadoso por parte del estudiante, a una mala elección entre los equivalentes neológicos en rumano, proponiendo una determinada variante y no identificando correctamente la corresponsal léxico-semántica del término. La revisión de la traducción realizada de forma colaborativa (formador-estudiante) reveló la necesidad de una consulta detallada por parte del traductor del artículo del diccionario español correspondiente a la entrada lexicográfica. La identificación de la polisemia divergente proporciona pistas para los equivalentes rumanos apropiados mediante paráfrasis interlingüística o equivalente semántico (Cizur 2002: 39). Si bien el estudiante puede tener habilidades de traducción obvias, proponiendo en otras situaciones opciones notables para resolver equivalencias interlingüísticas, en algunas situaciones puede no mostrar la suficiente intuición para identificar la dificultad que se esconde bajo lo que se conoce en la terminología de la lexicología bilingüe como un falso amigo. Así, de hecho, puede faltar una etapa a menudo decisiva en el proceso de traducción, a saber: identificar la estructura divergente y / o problemática.

Otra situación es cuando un estudiante propone una traducción literal que pueda parecer deficiente; en este caso, la revisión colaborativa revelará que, en ausencia de conocimientos culturales, el estudiante no podrá interpretar la frase determinante en español como una aposición, siendo su construcción sintáctica opaca en español, idéntica a la determinación genitiva. Se interpretará como una justificación para mantener el determinante demostrativo en una variante incipiente; y una variante revisada propondrá como estructura equivalente una estructura resultante de la eliminación del determinante demostrativo y la concentración léxico-semántica, sin pérdida de contenido. Otra dificultad revela que, para mediar

referencias culturales, es necesaria una sobredocumentación de carácter enciclopédico para que el traductor determine con precisión el alcance referencial correspondiente a determinados términos, especialmente en situaciones de ambigüedad sintáctica. El trabajo de un traductor será evaluado de acuerdo con los siguientes criterios: la corrección de la traducción, la capacidad para usar términos correctamente, la capacidad para escribir con fluidez en el idioma de su elección (en otras palabras, consistencia en la traducción), la creatividad de las soluciones propuestas. La localización es una herramienta que permite llegar al público y a los mercados de cada país, permitiendo así la difusión de contenidos y la expansión del comercio global adaptando el mensaje y el producto a cada área de distribución. Es una razón importante por la cual hay que acudir a este procedimiento. Si nos referimos a la localización en videojuegos, se puede decir que esta sección incluye tanto los videojuegos como las aplicaciones o cualquier otro producto digital, ya que el objetivo es adaptar este producto a un nuevo mercado, diferente al mercado en el cual fue diseñado. Centrándonos en los videojuegos, el objetivo no es simplemente traducir la parte del menú, el diálogo de los personajes o simplemente el texto que aparece en pantalla, sino hacerlo comprensible y llegar a todos los fanáticos del mundo, como a todos los países y en este sentido, cada cultura es diferente y tiene diferentes requisitos. Cuando se trata de la localización de un videojuego, se deben considerar los aspectos más importantes de la localización en este sector: la localización técnica (adaptación y programación de software), la localización cultural y lingüística (traducción / adaptación de título, nombre, instrucciones y así por el estilo (Tămâianu-Morita 2001: 21). Para este último aspecto hay que tener en cuenta que, a la hora de poner en marcha la localización, hay que mostrar el videojuego al traductor. Yo, como traductora, tengo que contar con el contexto, el espacio específico y un glosario específico, si está disponible. Por otra parte, el cliente debe crear y proporcionar la orientación e instrucciones necesarias para obtener los mejores resultados y, por lo tanto, la localización para tener el éxito deseado.

En lo que concierne los topónimos y antropónimos: equivalencia, paráfrasis, cálculo, expansión textual y notas de traducción, se puede decir que uno de los desafíos de la traducción, a la luz de las consideraciones anteriores, es la decisión de equivalencia de nombres propios (topónimos,

antropónimos, nombres de atractivos turísticos, y así por el estilo). Se debatió la introducción en las notas a pie de página de la pronunciación en rumano de la mayoría de estos términos en español; una decisión relativamente uniforme es la introducción de notas de traducción de carácter informativo y / o descriptivo, con el fin de contextualizar el referente. Por ejemplo, las referencias en el texto de destino van acompañadas de notas, que amplían el texto de origen localizando las referencias. La equivalencia en términos rumanos más o menos establecidos se considera necesaria cuando los nombres propios tienen diferentes interpretaciones en los dos idiomas. En general, se puede hablar de las siguientes categorías de soluciones, utilizando:

1) el término en el idioma de origen, cuando no tiene equivalente en rumano;

2) el término equivalente en rumano, familiar para el lector rumano o como está presente en enciclopedias, diccionarios especializados, libros de texto académicos y escolares rumanos, acompañado del término original entre paréntesis, solo si está más formalmente distante del rumano;

3) calco lingüístico, marcado por el uso de comillas en el término rumano en equivalencia, que puede parecer opaco o ambiguo en el texto de destino (la preferencia por el calco se justifica tanto por la falta de un término correspondiente en rumano), como por la especialización relativa de un término español, cuyo significado correspondiente no aparece en diccionarios españoles famosos (la decisión de traducción es, sin embargo, discutible y puede ser reconsiderada, para no ver cuánto aparece ni siquiera en el subtítulo / leyenda del ilustración genérica de una introducción;

4) expansión lingüística con fines de localización referencial y ensordecedores en el caso de topónimos considerados menos conocidos por el lector rumano - una categoría especial de equivalencia, localización referencial es necesaria para la revisión de una traducción por una guía científica, basada en el conocimiento enciclopédico, y en general, se prefiere la variante local del nombre de una ciudad, ubicada en el espacio latinoamericano, y el mantenimiento entre paréntesis del equivalente hispano.

La localización significa, más allá de la traducción, adaptarse también a las realidades de otro país porque la localización se refiere a la adaptación del contenido a las particularidades culturales locales: la adaptación de los precios, el formato de la hora y la fecha, el uso de la hora local, la moneda apropiada y así por el estilo. La localización va más allá de la simple traducción e implica la comprensión del contexto, las costumbres, los detalles regionales, los dialectos e incluye también el proceso de traducción, pero tiene un propósito más amplio, hacer que el websitio (o producto) parezca haber sido creado específicamente para ese mercado, y no traído y traducido de otro mercado. No se puede hablar de la traducción y de la localización sin hablar de la internacionalización y de la globalización. La internacionalización se refiere a la programación del websitio de tal manera que esté preparado para funcionar en varios idiomas. Es un proceso técnico, que se refiere a la programación, que asegura que la plataforma podrá admitir variantes en varios idiomas, cumplirá con los estándares internacionales y así sucesivamente. La globalización es un proceso relacionado con la estrategia del producto e involucra todas las acciones necesarias para que un producto (o sitio web) opere en un mercado multinacional. La globalización también significa una decisión más sabia con respecto a la marca (Cizur 2002: 48).

Como para otorgar una moraleja a esta investigación dedicada a la Globalización, Internacionalización, Localización en el marco de la traducción especializada, yo, como traductora, puedo opinar que la localización en la traducción implica el proceso de traducir, adaptar y ajustar los textos de los videojuegos, webs, blogs y muchos otros productos y es una actividad que forma parte de la traducción, pero va más allá. Las características de cada proyecto o el uso de una plataforma de soporte de información especificarán sus propias pautas, además de adaptarse a la cultura de destino que hay que tener en cuenta. El objetivo de algunos profesionales del lenguaje es adaptar el contenido al nuevo mercado de destino y así garantizar una experiencia de usuario positiva desde el punto de vista lingüístico. Mientras que la traducción se centra en expresar en otro idioma lo que se ha escrito en el idioma de origen, en el sentido global, la localización es una mezcla de diferentes procesos entre los cuales se puede hallar la traducción. En otras palabras, la traducción es parte de la localización y actúa como puente entre las diferentes culturas que recibirán

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el mismo producto. Sin minimizar la importancia de una revisión del texto en su conjunto, esta investigación tiene como objetivo demostrar que una de las mayores dificultades que puede enfrentar un traductor novato es la equivalencia de topónimos y antropónimos, que requieren documentación fuente confiable y atractiva, en la medida en que sea posible, a los conocimientos enciclopédicos disponibles en el entorno intelectual en el que se forma el traductor/ estudiante.

## 3. Conclusiones

Esta investigación ha logrado varios objetivos: iniciar al traductor/ estudiante en la práctica de la traducción profesional colocándolo en situaciones similares a las profesionales, con el fin de concienciar sobre los problemas de gestión de la traducción (acto de traducción, dificultades, estrategias y soluciones concretas de traducción); el aprendizaje por parte del traductor/ estudiante de los imperativos de la creatividad, a través de la documentación, adaptación, localización y extensión del texto inicial para descomprimir las referencias y el contenido del texto fuente; la profesionalización del traductor/ estudiante a través de una experiencia de traducción relativamente especializada, anticipando su formación a través de un programa de maestría dedicado al estudio de la traducción, el discurso especializado y la terminología, pero también cuando vaya a optar por maestrías en sectores de actividad relacionados o diferentes; realización, durante el tiempo de trabajo individual del traductor/ estudiante, actividades propias de los programas de maestría especializada en traducción, con apoyo y asesoramiento científico y metodológico. La moraleja de la investigación otorgada a los estudios de traducción consiste en identificar algunas dificultades de traducción en el sector español-rumano/ rumano-español, de las posibles soluciones y en la elaboración de un material de estudio en el que se puedan identificar: un corpus de errores de traducción, unas posibles soluciones e varias interpretaciones internacionales.

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# Parametrii evaluativi în știrile despre căderea Afganistanului

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*Rezumat*

*În ultimii ani, discursul jurnalistic s-a confruntat cu o trecere de la relatarea obiectivă a subiectelor – marcată de folosirea unui limbaj de lemn, specific, în special, perioadei comuniste – la o relatare subiectivă, caracterizată de o diversitate stilistică și discursivă, ambele rezultate ale globalizării culturale. Deși încalcă normele jurnalismului obiectiv și ceea ce Coman (1999) numea funcții, efecte și roluri ale presei, exprimarea atitudinii și/sau poziției jurnalistului, cu privire la evenimentele descrise, confirmă hibridizarea genurilor jurnalistice și a raportului dintre emițător (jurnalistul) și receptorii săi (cititorii). În lucrarea de față, voi analiza parametrii evaluativi în știrile din presa românească privind retragerea aliaților NATO din Afganistan și, implicit, consecințele acestei retrageri asupra afganilor. Voi arăta că, în știrile referitoare la conflicte, în general, și la războiul din Afganistan, în particular, exprimarea opiniei jurnalistului cu privire la evenimentele relatate schimbă modul în care cititorii percep lumea.*

*Cuvinte cheie*

*pragmatica, parametri, evaluare, discurs, jurnalism.*

## 1. Introducere

Sistemul media românesc este marcat, în ultima perioadă, de un proces de hibridizare care are loc la mai multe niveluri. La nivel discursiv, hibridizarea este prezentă prin modificarea canalului de comunicare (trecerea de la presa scrisă la cea digitală), a poziției emițătorilor față de receptori (stabilirea unui „pact" între jurnalist și cititor, cel din urmă acceptând amestecul dintre genurile jurnalistice de informație și cele de divertisment), la nivelul instanțelor de discurs (jurnalistul își asumă rolul de critic și moralizator al societății), iar la nivel stilistic se observă amestecul registrelor stilistice consacrate și emergente. Toate aceste schimbări reprezintă rezultatul unei lupte mediatice pentru atragerea cât mai multor cititori, într-un sistem direct afectat de o lume în continuă schimbare.

Identificarea parametrilor evaluativi în știrile despre căderea Afganistanului în mâinile talibanilor și, implicit, retragerea aliaților de pe teritoriul afgan, este cu atât mai interesantă cu cât singurele informații pe care cititorii le-au putut obține cu privire la situația din Kabul, din luna august, au fost oferite de jurnaliști. Articolele din presă au devenit, astfel, singura legătură dintre cititori și un stat devastat de război. Deși situația de securitate din Afganistan s-a degradat treptat în ultimii 20 de ani, multe din aspectele acestui război fiind relatate în presa militară, evenimentele din acest an, în general, și luna august, în particular, au „luat prin surprindere" întreaga lume, tocmai din cauza modalității prezentării acestora de către jurnaliști. Voi analiza, astfel, o serie de știri apărute în presa românească în lunile august-septembrie 2021, momentul preluării controlului Afganistanului de către talibani, plecând de la cei șase parametri evaluativi propuși de Bednarek (2006).

## 2. Parametrii evaluativi în presa românească

Întâlnită în studiile de specialitate și ca „poziție"/eng. stance sau „opinie"/eng. appraisal, studierea *evaluării* este importantă întrucât, în discursurile contemporane, este aproape imposibil pentru oameni să vorbească din perspectivă obiectivă, fără să își exprime punctul de vedere într-o propoziție sau să emită judecăți de valoare. Tocmai această imposibilitate marchează importanța analizei parametrilor evaluativi din presa românească, întrucât modalitatea în care este interpretată și, apoi, prezentată lumea de către jurnaliști afectează în mod direct modul în care cititorii se raportează la aceasta.

De cele mai multe ori, poziționarea jurnalistului-subiect în raport cu obiectul enunțat este marcată prin utilizarea unui limbaj al emotivității, care are drept scop apelul la sentimentele cititorilor precum empatia, îngăduința sau mila.

*În această epocă a postmodernității interacționale, în care se extind mobilitatea și amestecul de forme culturale, conceptul de bază în practicile jurnalistice (și în asaltul normelor) este hibridarea conținuturilor mediatice – tot mai deschisă consumului emoțional, sensibil – în intersectarea informației cu divertismentul, a sferei publice cu cea privată, a posturii publicului de cetățean și consumator.* (Lazăr, 2008: 15)

*Evaluarea* este definită ca „expresie a atitudinii sau poziției scriitorului sau vorbitorului" cu privire la entitățile despre care vorbește (Thompson și Hunston, 2000: 5). Bednarek (2006) propune un set de valori sau *parametri evaluativi*, prin care vorbitorul (sau scriitorul) poate emite păreri despre lume ca fiind:

a. bună sau rea (parametrul emotivității);

b. importantă sau neimportantă (parametrul importanței);

c. așteptată sau neașteptată (parametrul așteptării);

d.comprehensibilă sau incomprehensibilă (parametrul comprehen-sibilității);

e. (im)posibilă sau (ne)necesară (parametrul posibilității/necesității);

f. adevărată sau falsă (parametrul seriozității).

Din corpusul analizat, am observat că cel mai întâlnit parametru este cel al *emotivității*, adesea fiind folosit printr-un limbaj marcat de termeni care fac apelul la emoții atât pozitive, precum mila sau empatia, cât și negative, precum furia, nemulțumirea sau dezgustul.

1. *Haos și panică* pe aeroportul din Kabul: oamenii vor *cu disperare* să plece.Talibanii au cucerit *cu ușurință* capitala afgană Kabul, au instaurat un nou guvern și au anunțat din palatul prezidențial că „războiul s-a încheiat". În acest timp, mii și mii de afgani au luat cu asalt aeroportul ca să părăsească țara. Consiliul de Securitate ONU se reunește astăzi de urgență. (antena3.ro, august 2021)

2. O nouă *zi de foc*, în Afganistan. Se cere evitarea spațiului aerian afgan. Biden a transmis un mesaj clar. (stirileprotv.ro, august 2021)

3. LIVE TEXT. *Masacru* la Kabul. Peste 100 de morți și 150 de răniți. Pentagonul avertizează: „Atacurile vor continua". Biden amenință: „Îi vom vâna". Cine este sinucigașul ISIS. (evz.ro, august 2021)

4. *Monștrii* din Afganistan! Talibanii au decapitat o jucătoare de volei și au postat fotografii pe rețelele de socializare. Moartea *îngrozitoare* a tinerei a devenit publică doar recent, deoarece insurgenții i-au amenințat familia să nu spună nimănui despre cele întâmplate. (libertatea.ro, august 2021)

5. *Răceală* între SUA și Germania, după retragerea *eșuată* din Afganistan. (dw.com, august 2021)

6. *Drama* unui bebeluș afgan dat unui militar american în timpul *haosului* de pe aeroportul din Kabul. *Nimeni nu știe* unde este acum copilul. (ziare.com, august 2021)

7. Scene *emoționante* pe aeroportul din Kabul. Soldații americani, nevoiți să aibă grijă de bebelușii aruncați peste gard de părinți disperați. (adevarul.ro, august 2021)

8. Imagini *tulburătoare* în Afganistan. O fetiță, trecută de un soldat peste zidul aeroportului din Kabul. (libertatea.ro, august 2021)

9. Scene *disperate* pe aeroportul din Kabul: Mamele afgane își aruncă copiii peste gardul de sârmă ghimpată, către soldații străini / Ofițer britanic: A fost îngrozitor. Toți am plâns azi-noapte. (hotnews.ro, august 2021)

În toate aceste exemple, jurnalistul prezintă evenimentele din Afganistan după ce acestea au trecut prin filtrul subiectivității sale. Astfel, imaginile din Kabul sunt „emoționante", „tulburătoare", sau „disperate", talibanii fiind prezentați drept „monștri". De asemenea, fiecare zi de evacuare a afganilor din teritoriul afgan este prezentată de către emițător drept o „zi de foc". Toate aceste opinii sunt, adesea, exprimate prin intermediul unor adjective și substantive evaluative. În 1-10, perspectiva asupra subiectelor relatate este una negativă.

Potrivit Bell (1991), există trei categorii de valori ale știrilor:

a. valori ale țintelor și evenimentelor știrilor;

b. valori ale procesului de creare a știrilor;

c. valori ale textelor știrilor.

În prima categorie, pe prima poziție, se află *negativitatea*. Astfel, subiecte precum moartea, dezastrele, accidentele, conflictele sau războaiele reprezintă un subiect important pentru jurnaliști, cel mai probabil din motive psihologice, întrucât cititorii pot experimenta satisfacție prin citirea unor articole care sunt „inaccesibile", care prezintă lucruri ilegale pe care nu le pot face. (Fowler, 1991)

Al doilea cel mai întâlnit parametru evaluativ este cel al *așteptării*. Prezența acestui parametru subliniază perspectiva jurnalistului cu privire la desfășurarea așteptată sau neașteptată a unui eveniment. Această perspectivă este transmisă cititorului prin intermediul folosirii unor adjective precum „surprinzător", „neașteptat" sau „obișnuit" sau a unor conectori pragmatici precum: „cu toate acestea", „deși" sau „contrar".

10. Un bebeluş afgan s-a născut la bordul unui avion american de evacuare. Numele *surprinzător* pe care l-a primit (stirileprotv.ro, august 2021)

11. Românca din Afganistan care refuză să se întoarcă în ţară. Motivul care stă la baza deciziei *surprinzătoare* (adevarul.ro, august 2021)

12. Cine nu se teme de talibani? Lumea *s-a obişnuit* cu ideea că talibanii conduc Afganistanul, cu restricţiile pe care le impun şi cu lipsa de încredere pe care o reprezintă acest regim. Dar asta nu înseamnă că talibanii îşi pot vedea liniştiţi de treabă, pentru că la rândul lor, sunt provocaţi de islamişti, care îi consideră prea moderaţi. (digi24.ro, septembrie 2021)

13. De ce nu a opus armata afgană rezistenţă talibanilor? În ceea ce priveşte efectivele, talibanii au aproximativ 80.000 de luptători, faţă de cei peste 300.000 de soldaţi din trupele fostului guvern afgan. *Cu toate acestea*, gruparea militantă a ocupat ţara în doar câteva săptămâni. (dw.com, septembrie 2021)

14. *Contrar* promisiunilor talibanilor, surse locale confirmă că inamicii grupului militant au fost reţinuţi sau arestaţi, iar jurnaliştii din ţară au fost bătuţi. Unor femei le-a fost refuzat dreptul de merge la muncă. (romania.europalibera.org)

15. Înregistrare cu momentul în care talibanii intră în Kabul. Ciocnirile dintre armata afgană şi talibani au avut loc în periferiile sudică şi nordică din Kabul, *deşi* un purtător de cuvânt al talibanilor a transmis că mujahedinii au fost instruiţi să nu i-a cu asalt oraşul.

*Parametrul comprehensibilităţii* presupune expunerea unei perspective clare/confuze asupra subiectului relatat. În (16), jurnalistul îşi exprimă confuzia cu privire la viitorul femeilor afgane sub controlul talibanilor. Astfel, acesta se detaşează de rolul de jurnalist care informează, asumându-şi rolul de critic.

16. O întreagă generaţie de femei din Afganistan, crescute cu drepturi şi libertăţi, a devenit acum vulnerabilă în faţa talibanilor, care au intrat în capitala Kabul, după ce au cucerit toate oraşele importante ale ţării. Pare o chestiune de timp până preiau complet controlul, ceea ce *ridică multe semne de întrebare* privind viitorul femeilor în această ţară. (libertatea.ro, 2021)

De multe ori, *parametrul comprehensibilităţii* apare alături de *parametrul seriozităţii*, care exprimă siguranţa/nesiguranţa jurnalistului cu

privire la anumite declarații sau fapte relatate. Acesta este marcat, de cele mai multe ori, la nivel textual, prin verbe precum „a susține", „a sugera", „a zvoni", „a părea".

17. Un lider al talibanilor, Gholam Ruhani, a fost eliberat din închisoarea Guantanamo în 2014. Potrivit datelor Departamentului de Stat consultate de Daily Mail, Ruhani a fost deținutul numărul 3 și a fost printre primii prizonieri închiși la Guantanamo, și a fost acolo între 2002 și 2007, adică cinci ani, nu aproape 8 cum *susține* talibanul.

18. *Se pare că* mulți lideri talibani înalți s-au refugiat în orașul pakistanez Quetta, de unde i-au îndrumat pe talibani. Dar existența a ceea ce a fost supranumit „Quetta Shura" a fost negată de Islamabad, capitala Pakistanului.

19. Atentatul cu bombă la aeroportul din Kabul *sugerează că* cea mai mare preocupare în materie de securitate în acest moment nu sunt talibanii, ci ISIS. În ochii organizației, înșiși talibanii sunt prea moderați. (dw.com, august 2021)

O altă modalitate prin care jurnalistul își subliniază perspectiva asupra subiectelor articolelor scrie este prin prezentarea acestora drept importante sau mai puțin importante în fața cititorilor. Astfel, *parametrul importanței* este adesea marcat la nivel textual prin adjective precum „important", „esențial", „major". Prin utilizarea acestor adjective, emițătorul manipulează ierarhia aspectelor importante ale știrii în interpretarea cititorului.

20. În cursul zilei de duminică, 15 august, talibanii au intrat în Capitala Kabul, ultimul oraș *important* care rămăsese sub controlul forțelor guvernamentale afgane. (fanatik.ro, august 2021)

21. Ministrul Apărării din UK, anunț *important* cu privire la situația din Afganistan: „Nu există această opțiune…" Oamenii preferă să moară decât să trăiască sub guvernarea talibanilor. (ziarulromanesc.net, august 2021)

*Parametrul im(posibilității) și necesității/lipsei de necesitate* marchează evaluarea jurnalistului cu privire la ce este (ne)necesar sau (im)posibil privind evenimentele prezentate. De cele mai multe ori, acesta este marcat prin verbe precum „a trebui", sau expresii verbale precum „a fi posibil/imposibil" sau „a fi necesar/neneceasar".

22. Drumul către Kandahar s-a dovedit a fi destul de dificil. Deși el și cu familia sa *ar fi trebuit* să ajungă acolo în aceeași azi, accesul către oraș le-a fost tăiat. (romania.europalibera.org, august 2021)

23. Talibanii susțin că, în prezent, controlează 85% din teritoriul afgan, însă această susținere este *imposibil* de verificat în mod independent și este contestată de guvernul de la Kabul. (antena3.ro, august 2021)

24. Reprezentanții italieni au spus că vor susține dorința lui Biden, însă în următoarele săptămâni *trebuie să se stabilească* un plan concis pentru apărarea granițelor UE. (romanialibera.ro, august 2021)

## 3. Concluzii

Așadar, în urma aplicării celor șase parametri evaluativi în știrile privind căderea Afganistanului, am observat că opinia jurnalistului cu privire la evenimentele relatate se realizează prin alegerea anumitor adjective, substantive sau verbe care, în cele din urmă, ajung să conducă interpretarea mesajului de către cititor către sensul dorit de emițător.

În articolele despre conflicte și războaie, cel mai des întâlniți parametri sunt cel al emotivității și cel al așteptării, întrucât, combinate, acestea reușesc să intensifice sentimentele provocate cititorilor. O importanță deosebită o are și parametrul importanței, deoarece acesta modifică atenția pe care cititorii o acordă unor știri în detrimentul altora. Toate aceste gânduri și păreri ale jurnaliștilor cu privire la o situație dată, marcate la nivel discursiv în aceste știri, demonstrează faptul că cititorii ajung să perceapă lumea, inițial, prin ochii emițătorilor și, apoi, să aplice propriul filtru al interpretării.

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