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Crossing Boundaries in Culture and Communication

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Contents

Editori's Preface	4
Theories of Culture Ellie BOYADZHIEVA	6
Focus on Restrictive Adverbial <i>Pentru că</i> -Clauses Lorena DAVID.....	21
Terrorism and Violence in Jonathan Coe's <i>The Rotters' Club</i> Denisa DUMITRAȘCU	33
Cultural Resilience in the Context of Migration Cristina GELAN.....	41
Storytelling and Storytellers Georgiana-Monica IORGA	52
Exotismul și orientalismul Ana Mihaela ISTRATE.....	61
Spielfilme als Lernmittel zur Förderung interkultureller Kompetenz Michaela KOVÁČOVÁ	76
La notion de <i>vintage</i> en français et en tchèque Radka MUDROCHOVÁ.....	95
Neologismele internaționale Elena MUSEANU	105
Síntesis retórica en la teoría de la traducción Sorina Dora SIMION	111
The Islamic Veil from Cosmology to Identity Christian TĂMAȘ	121

Editor's Preface

“**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 others, from schools, universities or alternative areas of humanistic approach around this country and abroad.

The volume *Topics in Language Studies* represents a selection of papers from the 5th 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 / cultural studies and their related fields, providing opportunities for professional development and research.

The editor considers that the contributions included in this issue come in support of multiculturalism and linguistic diversity. To this end, let us briefly review the articles listed for our readers' consideration.

Ellie Boyadzieva's article debuts with an article which discusses the six basic theories of culture: Kluckhohn's theory of values, Hall's theory of intercultural communication, Hofstede's theory of cultures and organizations, Schwartz's theory of value orientations, Trompenaars and Turner's Model of National Culture Differences and House's GLOBAL (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Research) theory.

The second paper, proposed by Lorena David, puts forward a syntax-semantics mapping of Romanian restrictive adverbial clauses of reason introduced by *pentru că* 'because' within the framework of generative syntax and event semantics.

As the study of violence is nowadays an important research domain in itself in Cultural Studies, particularly in the sub-branch entitled Terrorism studies (which has developed even more, after the historical moment which came to be known as “9.11”), Denisa Dumitrașcu engages in an analysis of theories which apply to *The Rotters' Club*.

“Cultural Resilience in the Context of Migration” by Cristina Gelan aims at an analysis on the phenomenon of cross-cultural validation. This phenomenon is closely connected with the question of cultural identity and the possibility of acceptance of other cultures. Beyond the ethical perspective of such an approach, there are to be considered a number of sociological variables, such as ethnicity, culture, language, religion or spirituality, which play a key role in understanding the concept of cultural resilience.

In “Storytelling and Storytellers”, Georgiana-Monica Iorga tells the story of how ethnic and cultural identities might be considered mere social and anthropological concepts at the same time they are vital elements in order to keep together a group of people who share the same values and beliefs.

As the title clearly indicates, the paper proposed by Mihaela Istrate is an exegesis in Oriental art and literature, which brings forth those elements which have been considered exotic therein throughout the history of humanity and cultures.

Michaela Kováčová's contribution advocates for intercultural theatricality, an intercultural approach which has gradually been employed since the end of the 1980s, in which a wide range of methods and didactic hints for media use were developed to convey the target culture and to raise awareness of processes that influence intercultural interactions. The example of the melodrama "*Nirgendwo in Afrika*" (i.e. "Nowhere in Africa") shows how a film can support the mediation of central concepts of cultural knowledge (acculturation strategies, cultural shock, intercultural competence) and can train empathy.

The aim of the paper "La notion de *vintage* en français et en tchèque" is to present a comparative analysis of the *vintage* lexeme throughout its comprehension in the two languages, namely French and Czech. The term is present in dictionaries of both languages, but its presence and distribution are not univocal. While in the French language, the lexeme occupies an extended place (it is present in the majority of the dictionaries of general language), in the Czech language, it appears only in the dictionary of the neologisms and it is for the moment absent from other traditional general dictionaries as well as online dictionaries.

Elena Museanu's paper on international neologisms sheds light on the heavy influx of English terms, especially under the influence of the printed / online press. The generating elements of some linguistic deviations can be represented, on the one hand, by the level of English knowledge, lexical preciousness or the need for synchronization with the Western world materialized by imitation, and, on the other hand, by the recent penetration and the power of movement of the so-called Anglicisms.

By using the studies of Stefano Arduini, who studied the relationship between the fields of rhetoric and translation, Sorina Dora Simion offers suggestions on to put into practice the theoretical concepts proposed in his book and in the works of Antonio García Berrio, Tomás Albaladejo and Francisco Chico Rico. In addition, she also uses the resources and tools of interdiscursive analysis and cultural rhetoric, in order to analyze the translation process.

The closing contribution by Christian Tamaş, "The Islamic Veil from Cosmology to Identity", discusses a controversial cultural element and symbol - the veil - adopted by Islam as well, which came to be seen mainly as a mark of segregation between men and women.

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: cultural investigations into literature, media and arts which also allow complementary approaches in linguistics, rhetoric, sociology and so on.

Thanking all contributors, the editor welcomes your presence in this volume and invites you to be part of its future editions.

Theories of Culture

Ellie BOYADZHIEVA

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Abstract

The article discusses the six basic theories of culture: Kluckhohn's theory of values, Hall's theory of intercultural communication, Hofstede's theory of cultures and organizations, Schwartz's theory of value orientations, Trompenaars and Turner's Model of National Culture Differences and House's GLOBAL (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Research) theory. The basic aim is to describe the theories in order to elicit the parameters that most of them share. Every theory is then discussed from the viewpoint of its uniqueness and contribution to the global theory of culture. The shared cultural dimensions are then summarized with the ultimate goal to define the universal pivotal concepts that are central for the description of individual cultures as a basis for comparison of national cultures worldwide. Finally, an attempt is made to delineate those social spheres for which each of the existing cultural models is most suitable for further research.

Keywords

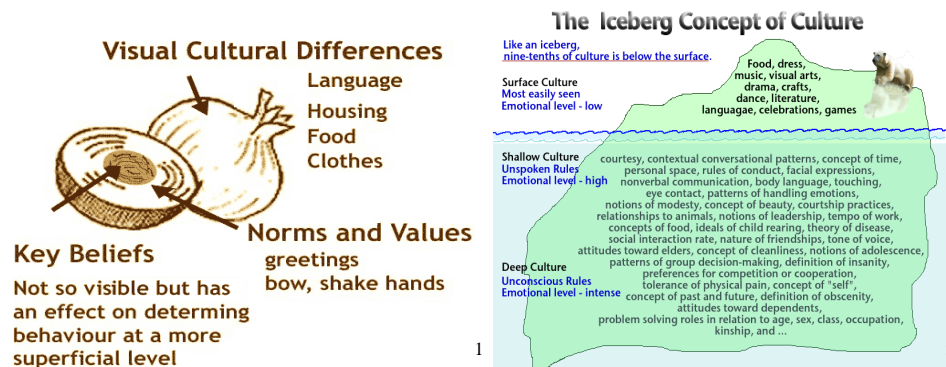
culture, cultural dimensions, national culture, cultural theories, values, value orientation

1. Introduction

Culture in general and national cultures in particular have been in the focus of interest for scholars in different scholarly areas for quite a long time. The beginnings of scholarly research could be traced back to the 20s of the 20th century with the works of E. Sapir (1921) and B. Whorf (1956) who were the first to seek how different languages reflect different mind-sets in different cultures. Since then the interest in the problems of how human behaviour, including language as verbal behaviour and body language, reflects the intrinsic beliefs and values characterizing different peoples, has been in the focus of interest of various scientific areas such as humanities, social studies and lately economics.

The period between the 50s and 90s encountered the emergence of several new theories of culture, often seemingly conflicting as their promoters approached the problem of culture from different perspectives, but commonly seeking for universal values whose combination could create a global framework through which national cultures can be described and compared. At present there are at least six major theories of culture which are simultaneously competing and overlapping creating a situation that has been described by Nardon and Steers as *culture theory jungle* (2009: 3). In a relatively chronological order they are Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Hall (1976), Hofstede (1980/1997/2010), Schwartz (1992), Trompenaars (1997), House and GLOBE (2004).

What unites all theories is that they base their parameters on the presumption that national cultures contain both visible and invisible features. This division is reflected in the two most widespread visualized metaphors of culture, the one of the onion and the one of the iceberg. The idea is that the visual (or audial) cultural features are observable and present the surface layers of a national culture, while the invisible ones are hidden deeply in it. These deep beliefs and values are the ones that regulate the behaviour of the individuals within a society. There is a strong correlation between the two metaphors implying that the deep beliefs influence the shared values and predetermine the visual behaviour.



An interesting observation is that as seen from the illustration above both metaphors interpret language as part of the visual culture, while body language is placed in the shallow layers of culture and is more directly than language related to cultural norms and values. This raises a lot of questions concerning the intrinsic relation between language and culture. However, the issue is too complicated to be presented even in brief due to the limited space of the article. That is why it will be put aside for now despite the fact that language is a central parameter in one of the theories discussed here.

Discussion

2. Harvard Values Project (1961)

One of the first published theories of culture was derived by anthropologists **F. R. Kluckhohn and F. L. Strodbeck (1961)**. The basic assumption underlying their theory known as Harvard Values Project is that all people all over the world and throughout ages have had to deal with the challenges of nature in order to survive as all people have to eat, dress, find shelter etc. An important contribution of their theory is that for the first time they made an attempt to find a principal basis for describing the variety of human cultures by introducing the notion of values as a result of seeking for different solutions to commonly shared problems that humanity faces. Kluckhohn and Strodbeck elicit five basic

¹ Available at: <http://www.arlt-lectures.com/onion-is-culture.gif>, retrieved April 2016.

² Available at: iceberg2Culture.gif, retrieved April 2016.

problems called value orientations, core values or concerns, to which cultures could respond in at least three ways, forming three groups where two present opposites and one takes a middle position between the two extremes.

Such a theoretical framework allows them to group human cultures in different sets and create the first global theory of culture. However, it needs mentioning that their study was based on a survey involving only five subcultures in the limited location of the American Southwest involving two Native American tribes, a Hispanic and a Mormon village, and a village of Anglo-American farmers. The narrow scope of the cultures involved definitely limits the empirical material on which their conclusions are drawn.

Based on the analysis of the answers to the first and foremost problem, namely **the relation between man and nature**, cultures are divided into three types where the extremes are **nature-dominating** cultures opposed to **nature-subordinate** cultures. The middle position is described as **harmony with nature** cultures.

The cultures that are dominant over nature act systematically toward adapting nature to their needs thus changing nature in order to survive. Everything from the discovery of the electricity power to the green revolution nowadays has resulted from having met this challenge. Nature-subjugated cultures, on the other hand, accept nature as it is and accommodate to the challenges it provides. Such cultures believe that people cannot really change nature and that life is largely determined by external forces, such as fate and genetics accepting the principle "what happens was meant to happen". The middle group of cultures believe that man should, in every way, live in harmony with nature allowing minor changes.

The second main concern is the **relationship between man and time** that reflects how past, present or future influence the decision making at present. Human cultures are divided into three groups where the main opposition is between **past** and **future cultures**, the middle position taken by **present cultures**. In past-oriented cultures people believe that the values they live by were drawn by history, they should learn from history in making decisions about the present and strive to continue past traditions into the future. On the contrary, the future-oriented cultures' basic belief is that a little sacrifice today will bring a better tomorrow. Planning and goal setting are important values as they make it possible for people to change and grow and make their dreams come true. Finally, present-oriented cultures believe that the present moment is everything while past and future are unimportant for the decision making.

The third value concerns the **relation between man and his actions** and reflects the human beliefs about the mode of activities man takes to achieve their appropriate goals. The two extremes are represented by the so-called **doing cultures** opposed to **being cultures**. In doing cultures people believe that if they work hard and apply themselves fully, their efforts will be rewarded. What a person accomplishes is a measure of the individual's worth, while in being cultures it is enough to just "be." It is not necessary to accomplish great things in life to feel your life has been worthwhile. It is important to note here that the authors mention that each culture may express all three possible responses at a particular section of

time. For example, it is common for Euro-Americans to have a "doing" orientation during the workweek but to have a "being" orientation at weekends.

A medium position take the becoming cultures where it is believed that the main purpose for being placed on this earth is for one's own inner development.

The fourth concern in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's model refers to the **relationship between man and society**. Cultures are divided into **individualistic** and **lineal (hierarchical)** with **collateral** cultures, which are placed in between the two extremes. Individualistic cultures believe that all people should have equal rights, and each should have complete control over one's own destiny. If a decision is to be made as a group, it should follow the principle "one person one vote." In lineal cultures it is believed that there is a natural order to relations where some people are born to lead, while others are predestined to be followers. In these cultures the decisions are believed to be bound to be made by the leaders. Collateral cultures assume that the best way a society should be organized is as a group, where everyone partakes and shares in the decision process and where it is important not to make important decisions alone.

The fifth value reflects human beliefs about **the essence of human nature**. The two extremes are represented by cultures that believe that human nature is **naturally good** on the one hand, opposed to the cultures that believe that humans are by nature **evil**. People in cultures sharing the trust in the good-nature of humans believe that people are born good and most are basically pretty good at heart during their lifetime. On the contrary, the evil-oriented cultures believe that most people are basically bad, they cannot be trusted and need to be controlled. The medium position takes the **mixed** type of cultures assuming that there are both evil people and good people in the world, and one has to check people out to find out which they are. They also share the common belief that man can be changed with the right guidance.

It is worth pointing out here that the problem of the nature of human being is unique and has never been touched upon in later theories although, or possibly because, it may be closely related to the type of dominant religious system in a society which has become quite a contentious and delicate issue for political correctness reasons especially in recent years.

The last and not very much discussed in the available literature concern of Kluckhohn is the **relation of man to space**. Space is divided into **here, there** and **far away** and the cultures are divided into **public space cultures** as opposed to **private space cultures**. **Mixed cultures** take the medium position.

3. Intercultural Communication Theory

In his pivotal book "Silent language" the founder of the intercultural communication theory Edward Hall stated: "Culture is communication and communication is culture" (Hall 1959: 186). He introduces six factors along the lines of which the classification of national cultures is considered: **high context cultures vs low context cultures; monochronic vs polychronic cultures; personal space variation (proxemics); fast vs slow messages; fast vs slow information flow** and last but not least, **action chains**.

Hall's survey included four different cultures from three continents: Germany and France, the USA and Japan which widens the diversity of the cultures to be considered bringing to a more reliable and relevant cultural parameters. Three of Hall's dimensions are still widely used to distinguish between the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of different cultures in intercultural communication practices and cross-cultural management training. These are the **high-context versus low-context cultures**, **proxemics** and **monochronic versus polychronic cultures**. The first two are directly related to the use of language and body language, while the third one relates to the common attitudes of a particular group of people to time. The other three dimensions, namely **fast vs slow messages**, **fast vs slow information flow** and **action chains** are in subtle correlation with verbal and non-verbal behaviour.

In **low context cultures** information is communicated explicitly and words tend to retain their basic meaning. Speech is generally characterized by lack of metaphors and use of figurative meaning of the words. The conversation usually follows a structure where the ideas are presented in compartments that have a clear structure and where the starting point is the general idea developed later by presenting specific details. A typical low-context culture example in English can be the opening of an essay, describing a house, e.g.: *A large semi-detached house with a garage, drive-way and a huge garden...*³

In high context cultures information is communicated implicitly, meaning that messages are placed within context. Context includes everything: history, social background, relationship, status etc. In high context cultures starting with the context is a dominant preference in human interaction. As the context may contain various elements the text is hardly separable into compartments, main points and details are amalgamated in one holistic picture. A typical example of expression in high context culture is the following opening of a high-context student's essay about a house: *There are many nice people in the house [...]. People eat together. When I come the lights are still on*⁴. One key feature of communication in high context cultures is, as words are not considered important, non-verbal communication is typically considered more significant than verbal.

Cultures are divided into **territorial** and **communal space** types according to the personal space (**proxemics**) dimension often measured in meters. Territorial cultures such as UK, US and Japan need more and clearly delineated personal space between themselves and others. In communal cultures the participants share their personal space with others as in Arab countries and Latin America, for example.

The distinction between **monochronic** and **polychronic** cultures is based on the general preference of people to perform one task at a time or many tasks simultaneously. In monochronic cultures such as US, Scandinavia etc., tasks are set in a certain order and fulfilled in order of importance, while in polychronic cultures

³ Example cited after Nunez, C., R. N.Mahdi and L. Pompa 2014: 26.

⁴ Ibid.:27

time is relative and multitasking is the usual way humans act in order to achieve their goals.

Hall's major contribution is that he is the only one who focuses on language use and body language and suggests that they are core parameters distinguishing one culture from another, while the rest of the theories do not deal with language, obviously considering it a side effect of other dimensions.

4. Theory of Cultures and Organizations

In the first version of Hofstede's Theory of cultures and organizations he states that "Culture is the collective programming of the mind, which distinguishes the members of one group [...] of people from another." (Hofstede, 1997: 5). The theory has developed on three stages since 1980 (Hofstede 1980). Initially the theory introduced four dimensions along which national cultures could be distinguished, namely **individualism**, **power distance**, **masculinity** and **uncertainty avoidance**. In 1991 as a result of a new research in collaboration with Michael Bond the fifth dimension, **time-orientation**, was added. Finally **indulgence** was included in 2010 as a sixth dimension thank to the contribution of the Bulgarian scholar Michael Minkov who has worked closely with Hofstede on his team.

On the initial stage Hofstede's theory was based on survey including 117 000 IBM employees in 50 countries located in three world regions. On the second stage other 23 countries were added, and on the third stage their number reached 93 from countries all over the world, which makes quite a representable sample of world cultures.

Every national culture is estimated along the six dimensions with individual scores where the highest is 100 and the lowest is 0. In this way an individualistic culture, for example, is supposed to be any that scores higher than 50 and is thus opposed to collectivist culture which is any one that scores lower than 50. This system based on scores is applied to every dimension. By creating comparative scales one has the opportunity to compare cultures systematically and in a more objective way. Such a statistical approach made Hofstede's theory the most popular theoretical framework at present that is widely used by different researchers such as anthropologists, ethnologists, linguists and cultural educators in business and management.

In **individualistic societies** people tend to prefer a loosely-knit social framework. Their self-image is defined in terms of "I". In collectivist societies, on the contrary, people are closely related with particular groups and prefer a "we" self-image. In individualist societies people are supposed to look after themselves and their direct family only, while in **collectivist societies** people belong to 'in-groups' that take care of them in exchange for loyalty, while others are recognized as belonging to 'out-of-the group'.

Power Distance expresses the attitude of a culture towards the existing social inequalities. In **low-power distance cultures** hierarchical organizations are accepted as normal. The ideal boss is a "good father" who supervises and helps you, he/she is highly visible and tells you what to do. However, they have to prove themselves in order to make people respect and accept their decisions. In **high**

power distance cultures it is believed that hierarchy reflects inherent social inequalities. Centralization is taken for granted and undisputable; subordinates expect to be told what to do; the ideal boss is a benevolent autocrat and his/her decisions cannot be refuted.

Uncertainty Avoidance relates to the way that a society deals with the fact that the future can never be known. This ambiguity brings with it anxiety whose degree varies across cultures.

In the societies characterized by **high uncertainty avoidance** there are rigid codes of belief and behaviour. In these cultures there is an emotional need for rules, even if the rules never seem to work. Time is money and people have an inner urge to be busy and work hard, precision and punctuality are the norm. As security is the basis of individual motivation, unorthodox behaviour and ideas are not tolerated and innovation is generally resisted.

On the contrary, cultures with **low uncertainty avoidance** index maintain a more relaxed attitude in which practice counts more than principles. Innovations are expected and tolerated as a way to success.

Masculinity relates to what motivates people: wanting to be the best or liking what you are doing. The former are defined as masculine cultures, and the latter as feminine cultures, respectively.

Masculine cultures are driven by competition and achievement. Success is defined by the winner and is demonstrated by status symbols like cars, impressive houses, clothes etc. People work hard to achieve a high living standard and are expected to “show their achievements”. Long working hours and dedication to work are a necessity. **Feminine cultures**, in contrast, tend to share dominant values such as well-being and caring for others. Quality of life is itself a sign of success and is more important than the standard of living. Standing out from the crowd is not admirable. The focus is on “working in order to live”. Incentives such as free time and flexibility are favoured.

Term Orientation relates to how a society maintains its links with its own past while dealing with the challenges of the present and future. **Long term orientation** characterizes normative societies preferring to maintain time-honoured traditions and norms and view societal change with suspicion. **Short term orientation** designates cultures that take a more pragmatic approach, they encourage thrift and efforts as a way to prepare for the future; they are able to adapt traditions easily to changed conditions, and show strong propensity to save and invest.

Indulgence is the extent to which people try to control their desires and impulses. Relatively weak control is called “indulgence” and relatively strong control is called “restraint”. **Indulgence cultures** show relatively free gratification of basic and natural human drives related to enjoying life, having fun and thus put much emphasis on leisure time. **Restraint countries** have a tendency to cynicism and pessimism and control the gratification of their desires. People’s actions are restrained by social norms and they feel that indulging themselves is somewhat wrong.

It needs mentioning here that one drawback of Hofstede's theory is that it is based solely on examination of corporate business relations. This to some extent limits the validity of the generalizations and the scores ascribed to every culture as they may be quite valid for the business world of a particular society, but may appear not to be applicable to the national culture as a whole.

5. Theory of Values Inventory

S. Schwartz's theory of Values inventory evolved shortly after the initial version of Hofstede's model. It was published fully in 2006 in an article summarizing his findings published partially between 1994 and 2004. His theory of national cultures is organized along "seven cultural value orientations that form three cultural value dimensions" (Schwartz 2006: 138).

The empirical data that validate his theory are collected from 73 countries and are based on a survey involving teachers and students. Despite the big number of the countries involved the limited choice of social groups to be studied may be seen as a shortcoming for the validity of the theory.

Schwartz warns that the prevailing cultural value orientations in his theory represent ideals and are derived "from a priori theorizing and then testing the fit of these orientations to empirical data" (ibid.).

The three value dimensions correspond to three critical societal problems that confront all societies. First, this is the nature of **the relation** or the boundaries **between the person and the group**; second, **how to guarantee that people behave in a responsible manner** that preserves the social fabric; and third, what regulates how people manage their **relations to the natural and social world**.

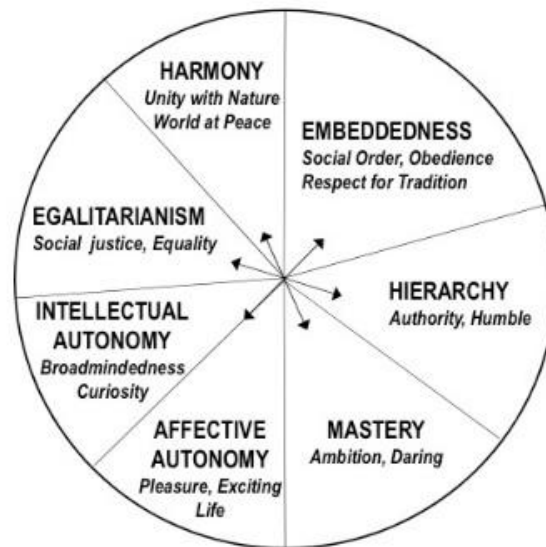
Along the lines of the first problem cultures are divided into the basic opposition between **autonomy** versus **embeddedness**. In **autonomous cultures** people feel free "to express their own preferences, feelings, ideas [...]" (ibid.: 140). They are conscious of their own uniqueness. Autonomy is further divided into two subtypes: affective and intellectual. **Affective autonomy** involves values such as exciting and varied way of life and pleasure, while **intellectual autonomy** relates to creativity, curiosity and out-of-the-box way of thinking. **Embeddedness** characterizes cultures where the individual is part of a group where all strive for common goals and avoid actions that may threaten the social stability and the solidarity among the group members. "Important values in such cultures are social order, respect for tradition, security, obedience, and wisdom." (ibid.)

The results of the survey related to the second problem divides national cultures into two polar types: **egalitarian** and **hierarchical**. In **egalitarian cultures** individuals see others as equals who share common interests as humans. Being morally equal individuals are believed to act for the benefit and the welfare of every other individual. The prevailing values in such societies are equality, social justice, responsibility and honesty. In **hierarchical cultures** social fabric is preserved by the common effort on the part of the individuals to coordinate their efforts within the group, to respect the welfare of the society and engage in productive activities to maintain it. This is achieved through existing hierarchies with unequal distribution of power where social roles are strictly ascribed for every

individual. The prevailing values in such cultures are social power, authority, humility, and wealth.

The third basic problem concerns the regulation of humans' behaviour toward other individuals and nature. Cultures are divided into two basic groups: cultures of **harmony** and cultures of **mastery**. **Harmony cultures** make efforts to understand the world around and to fit into it instead of changing or exploiting it. The most important values in such cultures include living in peace and protecting the environment. **Mastery cultures**, in contrast, strive to change the natural and societal environment in order to accomplish the individual's or the group's objectives. The prevailing values in mastery societies are competition, ambition and daring.

Compared to Hofstede's model, Schwartz's theory seems to be more generally-culture oriented. Thus it seems to be considered equally suitable for considering both social relations in a structured (business oriented) and unstructured (everyday relations) environment. Another advantage of his theory is that it escapes the overlapping between different dimensions that lead to one and the same behavioural cues. By admitting the lack of rigid delineation between the parameters he proposes a circular model, where the interdependent dimensions are adjacent while the polar ones are opposing (see the figure below). This gives more freedom of interpretation to researchers who chose his theory as a framework for investigation.



5

6. Trompenaars and Turner's Model of National Culture Differences

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's model (1997) was based on a survey involving over 8 500 managers of Shell in 43 countries and aimed at identifying

⁵ Available at: <https://auniversewithin.wordpress.com/tag/hofstede/>, retrieved May 2016.

both cultural values and personal relationships across cultures. As a result 7 cultural dimensions were isolated where cultures are described in polar oppositions. The first five dimensions reflect various relationships among people, the sixth one deals with the relation between people and time, and the seventh focuses on society's relationship with nature.

First, cultures are divided into such with high universalism opposed to cultures with high particularism. **Universalism** presupposes that the society believes that ideas and practices should be applied to every social sphere without modification, while **particularism** adopts the view that practices and ideas are subjugated to particular circumstances and should be changed according to them.

The second opposition is **individualism** versus **collectivism**. **Individualism** presupposes a focus on individual achievement and independence whereas **collectivism** is concerned by group achievement and welfare.

The third dimension relates to the extent to which individuals' social roles are categorized or incorporated. Cultures belong to either **specific** or **diffuse** types. In **specific cultures** a clear separation of the person's various roles is observed, while **diffuse cultures** are characterized by integration of the person's various roles. This dimension closely correlates with Hall's concept of space. Specific cultures allow wider public space and small private space for the individual, while in diffuse cultures the public and the private space equal.

The fourth dimension opposes **achievement** versus **ascription** cultures. It relates to how individuals gain social status and respect in their cultures. In **achievement cultures** the respect to the individual based on his/her earned accomplishments, while in **ascription cultures** respect and social status depend on the given or inherited status.

The fifth dimension relates to what the extent to which individuals feel free to express their emotions in public is. According to this dimension cultures are divided into **neutral** and **affective** (emotional). People in **neutral cultures** avoid showing emotions in public and tend to 'keep stiff upper lip', whereas people from **affective cultures** show and are encouraged to show their emotions openly, they often smile, laugh, curse and generally speak loudly in public.

The sixth dimension is related to **time orientation** and more precisely to time management. Cultures are divided into two groups: **past/present oriented** opposed to **future oriented**. **Past/present** oriented cultures tend to put emphasis on past victories and glory, while **future oriented cultures** focus on present planning in order to achieve future results.

The last seventh's dimension concerns the relationship of man and the environment. Cultures fall into two opposing groups: **inner-directed** and **outer-directed**. **Inner-directed cultures** tend to control environment, while **outer-directed** cultures prefer not interfering with environment and living in harmony with it. This last dimension almost fully correlates with Schwartz's opposition mastery vs harmony cultures.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's theory based on Hofstede's initial model and builds upon it. It may be seen as an attempt sophisticate Hofstede's cultural dimensions by involving some of Kluckhohn's, Schwartz's and Hall's

indices. However, the social sample seems to be limited and restricted within highly structured working environment.

7. House et al GLOBE Project

The project Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Research abbreviated GLOBE was also based on Hofstede's cultural dimensions of 1992 and devised by Professor Robert J. House (House et al 2004). The international survey involved 17,300 managers in 951 organizations in 62 world cultures. As a result of the survey nine cultural competencies were identified and the 62 countries were grouped in ten societal clusters or cultures, based on shared similarities including geographical location and climate conditions as the latter were claimed to be influential for the particular cultures' perception and behaviour.

As a result the following **cultural clusters** were identified: **Anglo Cultures, Arab Cultures, Confucian Asia cultures, Eastern Europe, Germanic Europe** subdivided into *Dutch-speaking and German-speaking*, **Latin America, Latin Europe, Nordic Europe, Southern Asia** and **Sub-Sahara Africa**.

The nine cultural competencies identified by GLOBE are **performance orientation, assertiveness orientation, future orientation, humane orientation, collectivism subdivided into institutional and in-group collectivism, gender egalitarianism, power distance and uncertainty avoidance**.

While several of these dimensions (or orientations) such as future orientation, uncertainty avoidance and power distance have been identified earlier, there are new unique parameters such as *gender egalitarianism* and *performance orientation* (Nardon and Steers 2009: 6). The distinction between *institutional and in-group collectivism* also seems to be fruitful for discriminating different types of individuals' behaviour depending on whether they act in public or in their private space. The three new dimensions may prove to be important distinctive features of particular national cultures.⁶

8. Constants and Variables in Cultural Theories: summary

Studying the different theories of culture and the various models of national cultures one observes a lot of similarities both in the terminology used and the definitions of the specific parameters presented by the different authors. What is more, even when different terms are used the ideas behind them are obviously based on conjoint concepts. Then the question arises: Is culture theory really a jungle? Or there are a number of commonly agreed concepts underlying every model? Are the differences mainly due to the perspectives from which each of the theoreticians approaches the problem of cultural modelling according to what practical needs they pursue or which facet of culture is in the main focus of their interest?

⁶ Finally, House and his team elicit six culturally related dimensions of implicit leadership which are put aside here as they are irrelevant for the goals of this paper. For more information see McDonald et al 2009; Hayes, P. 2011.

If one agrees with the latter, then it is both senseless and unnecessary to evaluate culture models or put them in order of importance according to their applicability to describing national cultures. One further warning is that none of these global theoretical models has ever claimed that it is able to capture the subtle specifics of a national culture. Another undeniable fact is that the theories that evolved as a result of financially-subsidized projects aim mainly at describing human behaviour in a structured environment. They derive their dimensions in order to bring to understanding different cultures whose main purpose is to find means to facilitate the communication in international business on a global scale. Finally, it needs pointing out that none of them have ever claimed to have made an attempt to explain the idiosyncratic behaviour of an individual within a given culture.

As seen from the description above there are several themes that recur in most of the theories: the place of the individual within the society, the societal structure, the relation between groups in the social structure, the means of control that society uses to keep it working, the relation between man and environment, and the attitudes of the society to time and space. First, the relation between the individual and the society, as well as the attitude to the environment are two parameters considered basic in five of the theories except in Hall's, which gives ground to suggest that they belong to the core cultural values. Second, the structure of the society dividing human cultures into hierarchical and non-hierarchical, is also found in all theories except in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's, which also makes it belonging to the core values of one global theory of culture. Finally, time orientation dividing cultures into past and future oriented ones exists in all theories except in Schwartz's. Then the basic oppositions that are delineated despite the different terms and some differences in their interpretation in the six theories seem to be **collective vs individual** cultures, **hierarchical vs non-hierarchical** cultures, **dominating vs non-dominating** the environment, and **past vs future** cultures.

In addition to these shared dimensions every theory introduces unique ones. Such is, for example, Hall's division between high and low context cultures as already mentioned. It is a major contribution to the theory of culture and effective tool to investigate how language reflects culture on the one hand, and how culture reflects language, on the other. As language is undoubtedly an intrinsic part of national culture, I believe that Hall's opposition between **high and low context** cultures should be added to the global model.

The geographical clusters introduced by GLOBE also seem to present a fruitful basis for further investigation of the relation between language and culture in different geographical and historically established locations. With these additions a general framework for comparing and contrasting national cultures can be devised based on the above-mentioned five basic oppositions and taking in consideration geographical (and religious) cultural clustering.

As already mentioned above the six theories of culture approach the problem from different perspectives and put emphasis on different elements. Thus each of them have advantages and disadvantages and should be chosen carefully depending on which facet of social life is to be investigated. Hofstede's, Trompenaars' and GLOBE's theories that are based on corporate behaviour seem

to be more suitable for studying human societies in the sphere of business relations, institutional and leadership management (Javidan and Dastmalchian 2009) . Schwartz's theory, which puts emphasis on societal development, may prove more efficient than the others if research is conducted in order to investigate major societal changes such as transformations from an autocratic and centralized type to a more democratic one, as is the case with Eastern Europe, for example. Interesting data concerning cultural changes are also found in Trompenaars' analysis, showing that despite Hofstede's claim that cultures are stable and do not undergo dramatical changes causing a shift from one type to another, Mexico has shifted from a typically collectivist to a relatively individualist culture due to its membership in NAFTA and participation in the global economy (Luthans and Jonathan 2012: 125-126).

A final note is, as already mentioned, none of the theories analyzed above touches upon the question of the relation between the cultural dimensions and the religion of a society or a group of societies sharing a religion. However, I believe that the universal dimensions are intrinsically related to the canons and the values rooted in the different religious ideologies, which makes future investigation along these lines noteworthy.

9. Conclusions

It needs mentioning that in the era of further globalization enhanced by the new waves of migration in various parts of the world it is extremely important to carry on with investigation of cultures in order to secure better understanding and to avoid cultural clash as much as possible. A thorough research of the relation between national identities and national cultures may shed light on the difficulties the world faces with the advanced political, social and demographic developments in Europe and the world. This may lead to reinterpretation of some traditional concepts such as acculturation, integration and even multiculturalism.

It seems that the classification of cultures based on individual's identities (not included here as it needs a separate study) dividing cultures in melting pot versus mosaic is somewhat outdated and it seems that the global tendency is to move towards a hodge-podge type of societies whose culture is a disorderly mixture (ibid.). As MacLachlan puts it: "We seek to mix up identities, perhaps ending up in a sort of spiced-up Irish stew." (MacLachlan, 2003: p. 33). The traditional acculturation is only one answer to clearing up the cultural differences but it does not work when international relations in different social spheres are involved and when "[...] borrowing and lending across porous cultural boundaries" observed in the distant 1988 by Rosaldo, is even more intense in the middle 20s of the 21st century (Rosaldo 1988:87). Russo, while discussing Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck value orientation model (VOM) emphasizes on another "most immediate, effective and fair" alternative: "to understand ourselves, to understand the "others," and then to explore the ways of "finding the middle ground" (Russo 2000: 165-177) in order to establish a stable foundation for mutual understanding and tolerance.

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Focus on Restrictive Adverbial *Pentru că*-Clauses

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Abstract

*The paper proposes a syntax-semantics mapping of Romanian restrictive adverbial clauses of reason introduced by *pentru că* 'because' within the framework of generative syntax and event semantics (Davidson 1966/1967, Herburger 2000, Larson 2004, Kawamura 2007).*

*Restrictive *pentru că*-clauses are analyzed as focal structures on a par with standard focalized constituents, because they inherently express new information in a complex sentence when placed after the main clause, as well as on account of their possible association with focus sensitive items such as negation. Such elements always give rise to ambiguities when occurring in constructions containing a focalized constituent. More specifically, sentences containing negation and a focus are ambiguous between two readings: a focus-associated reading and a non-associated one. We show that in their non-epistemic/restrictive reading Romanian *pentru că*-clauses display the same type of ambiguity.*

Keywords

adverbial clauses of reason, information structure, focus, syntax-semantics mapping

1. Introduction

The paper aims at offering a syntax-semantics mapping of restrictive clauses of reason introduced by *pentru că* 'because' (see 1) within the framework of generative syntax and event semantics (Davidson 1966/1967, Herburger 2000, Larson 2004, Kawamura 2007).

- (1) Maria emigrează [**pentru că** regimul de la Bucuresti încurajează corupția].
Maria emigrates because regime.the from at Bucharest encourages corruption.the
'Maria emigrates because Bucharest's regime encourages corruption.'

Pentru că-clauses are analyzed as focal structures because they inherently express new information in a complex sentence when they are located to the right of the main clause, as well as on account of their behavior in the presence of focus sensitive items such as negation. It is well-

known that such elements always give rise to ambiguities when occurring in constructions containing a focused constituent. More specifically, sentences containing them are ambiguous between two readings: a focus-associated reading and a non-associated one.

The discussion is organized as follows: Section 2 shows that in their non-epistemic/restrictive reading *pentru că*-clauses are inherently focalized elements and that they sometimes behave like foci, associating with negation. Section 3 presents a syntax-semantics mapping of *pentru că*-clauses along the lines of Herburger (2000), Larson (2004) and Kawamura (2007). More specifically, adverbial clauses of reason and standard focalized constituents receive a uniform analysis. Section 4 summarizes the conclusions of the paper.

2. Focal status of restrictive *pentru că*-clauses

We begin by looking at the informational structure of a complex sentence containing a clause of reason headed by *pentru că*. We will show that in their non-epistemic/restrictive reading the meaning of *pentru că*-clauses can be defined in terms of discourse newness as they convey new information and pattern with foci in that they sometimes associate with focus sensitive elements such as negation.

For one thing, compare (1) and (2):

- (1) Maria emigrează [**pentru că** regimul de la Bucuresti încurajează corupția].
 Maria emigrates because regime.the from at Bucharest encourages corruption.the
 ‘Maria emigrates because Bucharest’s regime encourages corruption.’ (*restrictive pentru că-clause*/ “non-epistemic reading”)
- (2) Maria emigrează, [**pentru că** m-am întâlnit cu mama ei adineaori].
 Maria emigrates because REFL_{1.SG.ACC}-(I)have met with mum her just now
 ‘Maria emigrates, because I have just met her mother.’
 (*non-restrictive pentru că-clause*”epistemic reading”)⁷

In (1) the *pentru că*-clause conveys the underlying reason for Maria’s actions, while the *pentru că*-clause in (2) explains how the speaker came to know about Maria's actions. The two types of clauses are called “restrictive/non-epistemic” and “non-restrictive/epistemic reading”,

⁷ See Rutherford (1970) and Hooper and Thompson (1973) for English.

respectively and they can be shown to differ in terms of informational structure.

A first piece of evidence comes from *yes-no* questions. A *yes-no* question of the main clause always asks about the content of the restrictive *pentru că*-clause and never about the content of the non-restrictive *pentru că*-clause.

- (3) (Oare) Maria are de gând să emigreze [pentru că regimul de la Bucuresti încurajează din nou corupția] ? (*restrictive*)

(3) does not ask whether Maria emigrates or not. It asks whether the regime of Bucharest makes Maria emigrate. This indicates that the content of the subordinate clause represents the main assertion of the complex sentence. This is not the case in (4), where the *yes-no* question of the main clause asks about the content of the main clause.

- (4) Oare Maria are de gând să emigreze (?), [pentru că m-am întâlnit cu mama ei adineaori]. (*non restrictive*)

(4) asks whether whether Mary emigrates. The *pentru că*-clause now explains why the speaker asks this question about Maria. This suggests that the main clause is not presuppositional. What is more, the presupposition-main assertion split does not exist in (4).

In sum, the difference between (3) and (4) can be explained in terms of informational structure: the *pentru că*-clause in (3) expresses the main assertion of the complex sentence, while the information in the main clause represents the presupposition (see Hopper and Thompson 1973 for English).

- (5) Maria emigrează [pentru că regimul de la Bucuresti încurajează din nou corupția]. (*restrictive pentru că-clause*)
Presupposition: main-clause (*Maria emigrează*)
Main assertion: restrictive *pentru că*-clause
(*The cause is: the regime of Bucharest is encouraging corruption*)

Another argument for the focal status of *pentru că*-clauses comes from their behavior in the presence of focus sensitive items such as negation. It is well-known that negation gives rise to ambiguity when used in focal constructions. A sentence such as (6) is ambiguous between a bound (focus associated reading) and a free reading:

- (6) Ion **nu** a venit IERI la facultate.
Ion not has come yesterday to faculty

- a. Ion came to the faculty. It was **not** yesterday, but on some other day.(bound reading)
- b. Ion **didn't** come to the faculty. It happened yesterday. (free reading)

In (6) the bound reading is the most salient reading. In (6a) negation associates with the focalized constituent, while in (6b) negation associates with the TP.

As can be seen in (7) restrictive *pentru că*-constructions are also ambiguous when the predicate of the main clause is negated.⁸

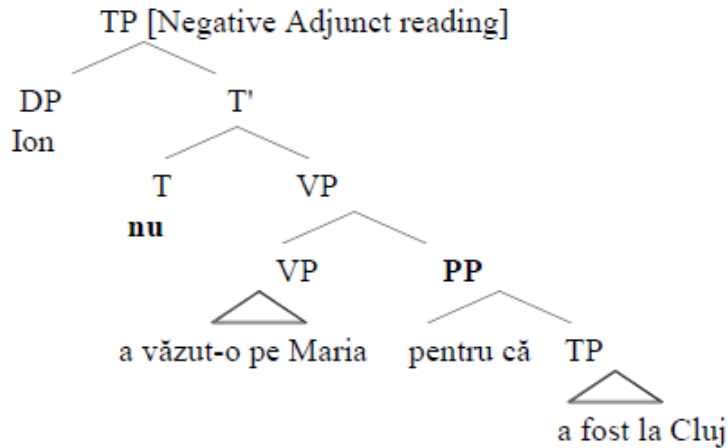
- (7) Ion **nu** a întâlnit-o pe Maria [**pentru că** a fost la Cluj].
 Ion not has met -CL_{3SG.F.ACC} PE Maria because (he) has been at Cluj
 ‘Ion didn’t meet Mary because he visited Cluj.’
 - i. Reading: focus-associated reading (*negative adjunction (NA) reading*)
 - (a) Ion nu a întâlnit-o pe Maria [**pentru că** a fost la Cluj].
 (Paraphrase: = A întâlnit-o pe Maria, dar nu pentru că a fost la Cluj.)
 Ion met Mary. The reason was not that he visited Cluj.
 - ii. Reading: free reading (*negative head (NH) reading*)
 - (b) Ion nu a întâlnit-o pe Maria [**pentru că** a fost la Cluj]
 (Paraphrase: = Ion nu a întâlnit-o pe Maria pentru că a fost la Cluj.)
 Ion didn't meet Maria. The reason was that he visited Cluj.

The same has been observed for English *because*-clauses by Johnston (1994) who refers to the first reading as the "negative adjunct (NA)" reading and to the second reading as the "negative head (NH)" reading. On the first reading Ion visited Cluj and Ion met Mary, but the reason for him meeting her was not the visit of the city, but some other reason. On the second reading, Ion visited Cluj and Ion did not meet Mary, the reason for this being that Ion visited the city of Cluj. While in the first case *nu* ‘not’ negates the cause expressed by the adverbial clause of reason, in the second case *nu* ‘not’ negates the VP of the main clause.

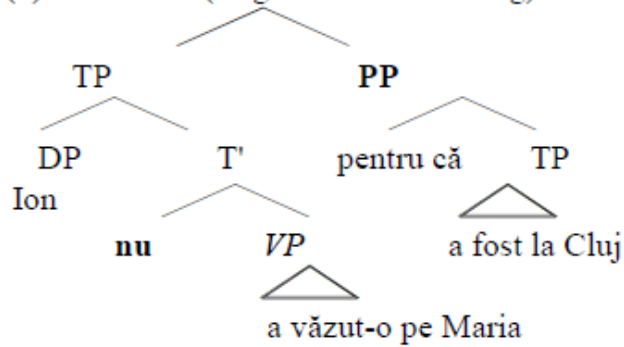
Under Johnston (1994)’s analysis the two readings result from different adjunction sites of the adverbial clause, VP and TP respectively, as illustrated in (8-9). (8) represents the structure of the negative adjunct-reading and (9) represents the structure of the negative head-reading.

⁸ The same has been observed for English with *because*-clauses (Linebarger (1987)

(8)



(9) TP (Negative Head reading)



On this view, *pentru că* is assumed to be an operator. In (8), we have adjunction of the clause of reason to VP. Since negation takes scope over the *pentru că*-clause, negation associates with the *pentru că* operator. In (9), the *pentru că*-clause is adjoined to TP. Since *pentru că* operator does not intervene between negation and the VP, negation takes scope over the VP.

However, this analysis becomes problematic when applied to temporal adverbial clauses. Assuming that temporal adverbial clauses have two possible adjoining sites (VP and TP) predicts that negated complex sentences containing temporal adverbial clauses display the same ambiguity in the presence of negation. Nonetheless, the negated complex sentence in (10) is not ambiguous in the presence of negation.⁹

⁹ Note that if a focalized element occurs in temporal adverbial clauses, they become ambiguous between the two readings as well.

- (10) Ion **nu** a întâlnit-o pe Maria [**când** a vizitat Clujul].
 Ion not has met-CL_{3SG.F.ACC} PE Maria when (he) has visited Cluj.the
 ‘Ion didn’t meet Mary when he visited Cluj.’

In (10) the negative phrase only negates the main clause predicate expressed by the verb phrase. It only says that Ion went to Cluj and during that time, he didn't meet Maria. Temporal adverbial clauses are inherently presuppositional, they do not express the main assertion of the sentence, unlike *pentru că*-clauses.¹⁰ This is apparent if we use a *yes-no* question. The answer to (11) refers to the contents of the main clause, indicating that the main clause represents the main assertion of the complex sentence.

- (11) Ion a întâlnit-o pe Maria [**când** a vizitat Clujul]?
 Ion has met-CL_{3SG.F.ACC} PE Maria when (he) has visited Cluj.the
 ‘Ion met Mary when he visited Cluj.’
 Presupposition: *când*-clause (Ion a vizitat Clujul)
 Main assertion: main clause (Ion a întâlnit-o pe Maria)

What is more, negation makes the sentence ambiguous only in the case of restrictive *pentru că*-clauses which express the main assertion of the complex sentence. Consider (12) containing a non-restrictive *pentru că*-clause. Here *nu* ‘not’ does not associate with the adverbial clause because it expresses a presupposition.

- (12) Maria nu emigrează, [pentru că m-am întâlnit cu mama ei adineaori].
 Maria emigrates because REFL_{1.SG.ACC}-(I) have met with mum her
 just now
 ‘Maria emigrates, because I have just met her mother.’ (*non-restrictive pentru că*-clause)
 Presupposition: *pentru că*-clause (M-am întâlnit cu mama ei adineaori)
 Main assertion: main clause (Maria emigrează,)

This shows that the *pentru că*-clauses are ambiguous just in case the adverbial *pentru că*-clause expresses the main assertion. Therefore, ambiguity of restrictive *pentru că*-clauses in a negative environment is due to its informational structure properties.

¹⁰ The same has been observed for English (Heinämäki 1978).

3. Mapping of restrictive *pentru că*-clauses from syntactic structure to logical representation

In what follows we propose a syntax-semantics mapping of restrictive *pentru că*-clauses along the lines of Herburger (2000) and Kawamura (2007). The latter argues that ambiguities with *because* constructions in the presence of focus sensitive elements such as negation and ambiguities with constructions containing a focalized constituent in the same environment can be explained uniformly. Note that the cartographic approach cannot account for the data in section 2 in a straightforward way (see Cinque 2002, Rizzi 2003, and Belletti 2004 for a general overview of the framework).

Our analysis relies on event semantics (Davidson 1966/1967, Parsons 1990 a.o). On this view, sentences are descriptions of events. In contrast with the traditional view according to which a sentence like (13a) is considered a predication in which the verb *visit* is a two-place predicate taking *Ion* and *Cluj* as its arguments - as shown in (13b), verbs are assumed to further decompose.

- (13) a. *Ion a vizitat Clujul.*
Ion has visited Cluj.the
'Ion visits Cluj.'
b. *visit (ion, cluj)*

The sentence '*Ion vizitează Clujul*' decomposes into an event of visiting where *Ion* is the visitor and *Cluj* is the visited entity as illustrated in (14).

- (14) *Visit (e) & Visitor(e,ion) & Visited(e,cluj)]*

Interestingly, on this view, all verbs are taken to be one-place predicates of events, regardless of whether they are syntactically unaccusative, intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. The arguments of the verb (e.g., *Ion* and *Cluj* in (12)) are linked to the verb only indirectly. They are participants in the event described by the verb (i.e., the visitor and visited entity are the event participants). These relations are standardly expressed by theta-roles, as in (15) (see Parsons 1990).

- (15) *Visit (e) & Agent (e,ion) & Theme(e, cluj)*

The arguments of the verbs are thus separated from the verb, they are treated as forming their own conjuncts.

What is of interest for our current discussion is the treatment of adverbial modifiers in event-based semantics. On this view, adverbial

modifiers are analyzed as direct predicates of events, just like verbs. Adverbs are considered predicates that apply to an event introduced by the verb. The empirical arguments underlying this proposal is that it can straightforwardly account for the main characteristics displayed by adverbial modifiers, namely entailment patterns¹¹, iteration and optionality.

A sentence such as (16a) containing the PP *cu mașina* “with the car” translates as (16b):

- (16) a. Ion a vizitat Clujul cu mașina.
 Ion has visited Cluj.the with car
 ‘Ion visited Cluj by car.’
 b. be (Visit(e) & Past(e) & Agent(e,ion) & Theme(e,cluj) & With-car(e))
 ``There was a visiting event whose agent was Ion, whose theme was Cluj, which was a visit by car.”

Davidson (1967) proposes that action sentences involve quantification over events (tense being ignored) as in (17)(cf. structured event quantification). A more often than not silent existential event quantifier is added to the relational structure of the predicate:

¹¹ Herburger (2000: 4) shows that a sentence such as (ia) entails all of (ib), (ic), and (id), while (ib) and (ic) entail (id).

- (i)
 a. Brutus stabbed Caesar in the back with a knife.
 b. Brutus stabbed Caesar in the back.
 c. Brutus stabbed Caesar with a knife.
 d. Brutus stabbed Caesar.

where “the longer conjunctions entail the shorter ones. If there was a stabbing where Brutus was the agent, Caesar was the theme, it was a stabbing in the back, and it was done with a knife, then it follows that there was a stabbing where Brutus was the agent, Caesar was the theme, this stabbing was a stabbing in the back; and so on.

- (ii)
 a. be (Stab(e) & Past(e) & Agent(e,brutus) & Theme(e,caesar) & In-the-back(e) & With-a-knife(e))
 ``There was a stabbing whose agent was Brutus, whose theme was Caesar, which was a stabbing in the back, and which was a stabbing with a knife.”
 b. be (Stab(e) & Past(e) & Agent(e,brutus) & Theme(e,caesar) & In-the-back(e))
 ``There was a stabbing whose agent was Brutus, whose theme was Caesar, and which was a stabbing in the back.”
 c. be (Stab(e) & Past(e) & Agent(e,brutus) & Theme(e,caesar) & With-a-knife(e))
 ``There was a stabbing whose agent was Brutus, whose theme was Caesar, and which was a stabbing with a knife.”
 d. be (Stab(e) & Agent(e,brutus) & Theme(e,caesar))
 ``There was a stabbing whose agent was Brutus and whose theme was Caesar.””

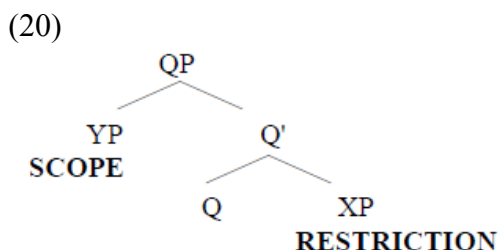
- (17) a. Ion a vizitat Clujul.
 b. $\exists e$ [visit (i, c, e)]
 (Davidsonian semantics)
 (“There is a visiting of Cluj by Mary.”)
 c. $\exists e$ [Visit (e) & Agent (e, ion) & Theme(e, cluj)]
 (Neo-davidsonian semantics)
 (“There is a visiting, and it is by Ion, and it is of Cluj”)

Returning to the interpretation of restrictive *pentru că*-clauses, we have to start from the observation that they express the focus in a complex sentence. Analyzing English *because* clauses, Larson (2004) proposes that the adverbial clause is to be interpreted in the scope of the event quantifier whose domain is restricted by the elements in the main clause. The logical representation of sentence in (18) is given in (19). The complex sentence in (18) containing the adverbial *pentru că*-clause expresses a causing event and the outcome event. In (19) some seeing event (e_1) and some visiting event (e_2) are related by a causal predicate *cause* expressed by *pentru că*.

- (18) Ion înlănit-o pe Maria [**pentru că** a vizitat Clujul]
- (19) [$\exists e_1$: C(e_1) & see (e_1) & Agent (e_1 , Ion) & Theme (e_1 , Maria)] [$\exists e_2$: C(e_2) & **cause** (e_1 , e_2)] visit (e_2) & Agent (e_2 , Ion) & Theme (e_2 , Cluj)
For some seeing event of Mary of Ion, its reason was some visiting event of Cluj by Ion.

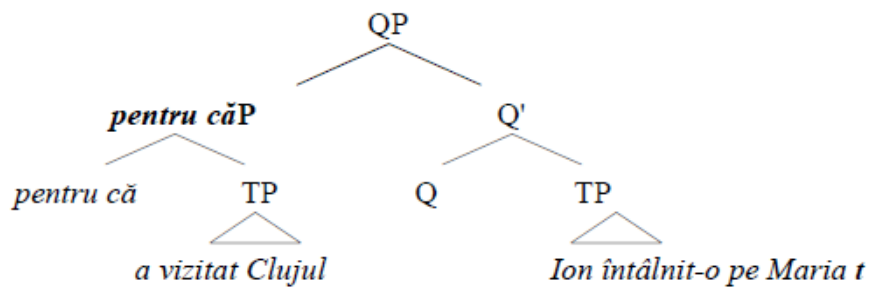
(18) shows that the elements in the main clause interpreted as presupposed are assigned to the restriction of the event quantifier, whereas the elements in the *pentru că*-clause, interpreted as the main assertion, occur in the scope of the event quantifier.

It is assumed that at LF the elements in Spec, QP are mapped to the scope and the elements in the complement of Q are mapped to the restriction of the event quantifier, as exemplified in (20).



Therefore, the syntactic representation in (21) shows that the restrictive *pentru-că* phrase appears in Spec, QP at LF and the elements in the main clause should appear as the complement of Q. For simplicity, we assume that the complement of *pentru-că* phrase selects a TP as its complement. The *pentru că*-phrase is base-generated TP-internally and moves to Spec, QP to satisfy the scope theta-role of the Q-head.

(21) Ion a văzut-o pe Maria [**pentru că** a vizitat Clujul]

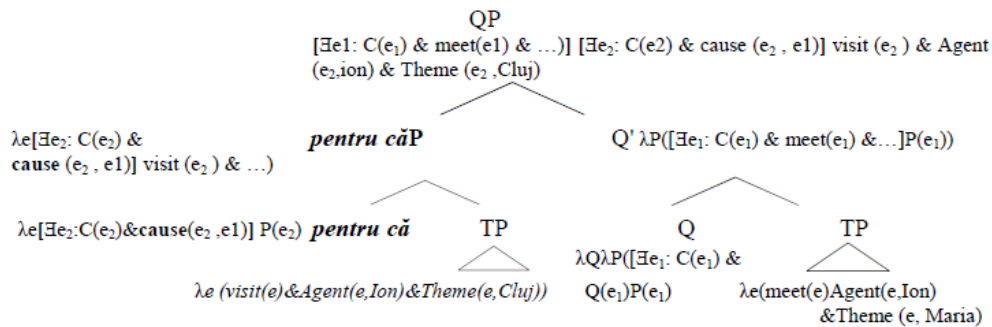


Just as the Foc-head introduces an additional event quantifier (see Herburger 2000), Kawamura (2007) proposes that the head introducing the clausal adverbial, in our case the *pentru că*-head introduces a new event quantifier having the semantic value in (22b). While the Foc-head also introduces the two place event predicate R, the *pentru că*-head introduces a two-place event predicate *cause*.

- (22) a. $[[\text{Foc}]] = \lambda P \lambda e ([\exists e_1 : C(e_1) \ \& \ \mathbf{R}(e_1, e)] P(e_1))$
 b. $[[\text{pentru că}]] = \lambda P \lambda e ([\exists e_1 : C(e_1) \ \& \ \mathbf{cause}(e_1, e)] P(e_1))$

Therefore, an adverbial clause headed by *pentru că* has the syntactic structure and the logical representation in (23):

- (23) Ion întâlnește-o pe Maria [**pentru că** a vizitat Clujul]
 $[\exists e_1 : C(e_1) \ \& \ \text{see}(e_1) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(e_1, \text{Ion}) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e_1, \text{Maria})] [\exists e_2 : C(e_2) \ \& \ \mathbf{cause}(e_2, e_1)] \text{visit}(e_2) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(e_2, \text{Ion}) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e_2, \text{Cluj})$



In sum, on the current proposal *pentru că*-phrases are treated on a par with focalized constituents.

4. Conclusions

The data coming from Romanian that we have presented in this paper has shown the following:

- 1) When placed after the main clause, Romanian restrictive *pentru că*-clauses are focal structures because they inherently express new information in a complex sentence, and because they sometimes associate with focus sensitive items such as negation – a property also displayed by focalized constituents. More specifically, in a negative environment, they become ambiguous between two readings: a focus-associated reading and a non-associated one.
- 2) Romanian restrictive *pentru că*-clauses, like their English counterparts, can receive a treatment on a par with standard focalized constituents, unlike temporal adverbial clauses in both languages, which are shown to be inherently presuppositional. We leave the complete description of Romanian adverbial clauses in terms of informational structure as well as their syntax-semantics mapping for further research.

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Terrorism and Violence in Jonathan Coe's 'The Rotters' Club'

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Abstract

As the study of violence is nowadays an important research domain in itself in Cultural Studies, particularly in the sub-branch entitled Terrorism studies (which has developed even more, after the historical moment which came to be known as "9.11"), I shall restrict my analysis in this paper to a discussion of theories which apply to The Rotters' Club. I shall refer to the texture of the relationship between power and violence (both terrorist violence and police violence), in the sense of violence which aims at destroying the order and integrity of a system and violence which aims at preserving the system. The second part of the paper focuses on racism in the novel.

The paper shall analyse Coe's novel by means of the inter-disciplinary methodological tools provided by Literary and Cultural Studies, combined with concepts from Political Theory and Sociology.

Keywords

violence, power, terror, racism, subversion

1. Introduction

One of the most influential theoretical supports on this theme is Walter Benjamin's essay *Critique of Violence* (1996) in which he discusses terrorist violence, relating it in a complex and paradoxical way, to the law. This essay has had a particularly strong impact on Post-Structuralism both through the manner of constructing the argument¹² (which is reminiscent of Foucault) and through its relevance for the study of power.

The essay constitutes a long and elaborate answer to the debates surrounding the "distinction between legitimate and illegitimate violence" (Benjamin 1996: 238). As Benjamin explains, the state tries to establish a "monopoly on violence", exercising what comes to be labelled as "legitimate violence". The implication is that "the law sees violence in the hands of individuals as a danger undermining the legal system" (Benjamin 1996: 238). He distinguishes between *law-making* and *law-preserving violence*, and in his views,

¹² Through a method which Post-Structuralism later used extensively, Walter Benjamin created a "genealogy of violence", just as Foucault created the "genealogies" and "archaeologies" of power. He starts by analysing under what circumstances can a certain action be considered "violence", and for this, he relates this "natural force or capacity" with the justness of its goals. (Benjamin: 1996)

the modern institution of the police, combines these two functions, as it often intervenes “for security reasons”, “outside the parameters of the law”. (Benjamin 1996: 243).

2. Terrorism and Violence

Early on in *The Rotters' Club*, the narrator introduces us abruptly in the atmosphere of the Birmingham pub bombings in 1974, and into the violence that marked the 1970s, in a country that has been reputed for so many decades for its stability and for its moderate, consensual politics. However, it is for this very reason that this episode has an important role in marking (among several other episodes I shall be discussing in the present subchapter) the disintegration of the *social-democratic consensus* and the values and beliefs which supported it. Coe's choice of scenes seems to suggest that this is the only way in which one can discuss violence as it is always abrupt, as it always breaks, disrupts, causes turmoil and changes the order of things.

The sociologist Malcolm Waters made the distinction between the vision according to which “society was held together by agreement between its members on shared norms” (Waters 1994: 217), supported by what he calls the “consensus theorists¹³” and the vision according to which “society was riven by intractable cleavages and had to be held together by coercion”, supported by the “so-called conflict theorists” (Waters 1994: 217).

Officially, Britain has accommodated *consensus* both ideologically/theoretically and in practice, and Bill's own beliefs, as the main “ideologue” of the novel, reflect this tendency. Bill's own evolution as a character and his role in the trade union are meant to support this “consensus” view.

However, Coe subverts the universality of this principle. He proves that society is a lot more heterogeneous than initially thought, and does not function for the unique purpose of supporting official politics. History itself has been marked by several moments of violence (and the novel is quite descriptive regarding these aspects) which got “out of control”, in this way inclining the balance in the direction of “conflict theorists”, when discussing the relation between power and the state.

Through a dramatic “causality chain” which has been remarked about *What A Carve Up!* by several critics we have indicated before¹⁴ and which is a general characteristic of Coe's writing, the smallest detail decides a character's life, in this case, literally. In *The Rotters' Club*, Malcolm, a young student, in his early twenties, has a long hesitation about the restaurant he should pick for the special evening in which he wants to propose to his girlfriend, Lois Trotter. He is persuaded by his unconventional, anarchist friend, who is known only by his

¹³ Malcolm Waters refers to “*consensus*” in its most inclusive acceptance, with no intended connection to the British social-democratic *consensus* which dominated political life in Britain from World War II to the late 1970s.

¹⁴ See, for instance: Tew (2004: 48), Thurschwell (2006:29), Head (2002: 47).

nickname, Rolled-Up Reg, to take her to “The Tavern in the Town”. Unfortunately, this is one of the pubs targeted, and the bomb goes off, exactly when Malcolm, ring box in hand, is about to propose. Nick Bentley, the only critic who dedicates¹⁵ a line to this episode comments along the moral-ethical line: “Coe evokes the sense of outrage the event caused in Birmingham at the time, as well as the backlash against innocent Irish people then settled in England”. (Bentley 2008: 6)

My own interpretation only partly agrees with Bentley and goes more along Saul Newman’s and Walter Benjamin’s theses, with one important observation. The narrative technique mirrors the individual-moral reaction and the social-ideological reaction. Coe simply “suspends” the plotline at that stage, the same way as the lives of the characters get “suspended”, never to be recovered to the same extent, again. The effects of terrorism, and their transposition at narrative level are paralleled not only by Sophie, the narrator, but by the omniscient narrator’s voice as well.

Three curtailed narratives, then. Three stories, with no connection between them except that they had been truncated, savagely, when their opening chapters had barely been written. All in the same few days. The same fatal few days. What days those had been, for unfinished stories. (Coe 2001: 226)

Unlike the characters’ lives, the reader can “recover” the events of that evening and their horrible consequences, throughout the novel, and in the sequel, *The Closed Circle*. The violence displayed is, as Saul Newman put it “arbitrary and excessive” (Newman 2005: 103) and I would say the novel goes further than evoking “the sense of outrage.” (Bentley 2008: 6) The act of terrorism affects the lives of all the people present or people connected to them, and, as we shall see, even the ones who do not have any direct connection to the event as such. Among the victims, Malcolm is decapitated and Lois needs almost a decade to recover from the shock, in a special psychiatric asylum.

In his anthology, Nick Bentley explains that the context of the IRA’s pub bombings in the 1970s has been a reaction to the *Bloody Sunday*, which happened on the 30th of January 1972, when the British Army opened fire on a “mostly peaceful demonstration of Irish Catholics in the Bogside area of Derry, resulting in the death of fourteen people” (Bentley 2008: 6). Although the critic certainly does not attempt to justify the actions along an irrelevant, puerile “who-started-it-first” argument, his comments and explanations make us aware of an important aspect. Thus, for a certain community, a violent reaction, which is the response to a violent action, will always seem perfectly justified, from a certain number of points of view, under the form of the “justice” that is being done after some unfair, undeserved event which the respective community has suffered.

Walter Benjamin’s position I have referred to earlier, should be placed in connection with Giorgio Agamben’s theory on *terrorism*. In the article “*Security*

¹⁵ As indicated before, I refer to materials published until January 2011, when the thesis was written.

and Terror”, available on-line under the section *Theory and Event* (2001)¹⁶, Agamben states that the danger of the contemporary “security paradigm” is that “Security reasoning entails an essential risk. A state which has security as its only task and source of legitimacy is a fragile organism; it can always be provoked by terrorism to turn itself *terroristic*.” (Agamben 2001, my italics).

Coe’s political fiction seems perfectly convergent with Agamben’s statements. *The Rotters’ Club* makes no reference to the *Bloody Sunday*, on the contrary, it condemns violence, which always appears absurd, arbitrary and which always “disturbs” the existent system, and implicitly, the balance of power relations. As the people affected can never take revenge on the ones directly responsible for these horrible events, the “reaction” is often as absurd and as “terroristic” (to use Agamben’s term) as the one it opposes. From this point of view, I fully agree with Bentley that the novel presents the “backlash against innocent Irish people then settled in England”. (Bentley 2008: 6).

The people do not wait for the reaction of the state, even in this protective, “pastoral power” representation which the welfare state was associated with. In this case, the state obviously failed to protect them from such events in the first place, as a consequence, “citizens” will take matters in their own hands. If resistance to protective power, initially meant defending the system and negotiating small benefits within it, in the face of this blind, arbitrary, destructive force, “resistance” will turn into a similar reaction, based on the same foundation.

In order to understand the true extent of the social response which followed and how innocent people paid for this blind manifestation of violence, we will have to go to the sequel, *The Closed Circle*, to the scenes in which Claire becomes the focaliser and re-constructs what happened. Thus, a first victim of this absurd and horrid retaliation is an innocent young Irish worker who is trapped and killed in what “seemed like an accident” by some of the extreme right-wing movement sympathisers who organise a plot in which his body is crushed by an extremely heavy piece of machinery. The second one is Miriam Newman, the fancy trade union secretary and Bill’s lover, who is killed because she happened to witness the young Irishman’s murder. The sequel reveals not only the arbitrariness of the retaliation, but also the fact that, in the end, it is absolutely useless and it generates more new wrongs than it helps solve previous ones. The collateral victims of retaliation are not only the physical victims, but many more, who are affectively connected to them, as the entire lives of their family members get ruined, and become set on finding impossible answers to the big questions: “why” and “what happened?”. Claire’s (Miriam’s sister) life is actually constructed around this question, a perpetual search for an elusive answer.

¹⁶ Giorgio Agamben’s complete article “Security and Terror” was consulted on-line under the section *Theory and Event* at: http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/theory_and_event/v005/5.4agamben.html, Volume 5, Issue 4, 2001; E-ISSN: 1092-311X, DOI: 10.1353/tae.2001.0030, or at: <http://www.why-war.com/news/sources/theoryandevent/>.

What is more, it will not only strike against the Irish, but it will extend on all forms of “otherness”, not only ethnical, but also racial. The expression “anti-Irish sentiment” appears in *The Rotters’ Club* in such an explicit way only once, when Harding, the extreme-right wing teenager ironizes the letter to the college magazine, in which Doug Anderton, highlighted its manifestations of “firebomb attacks, lynchings and unprovoked assaults on Irish citizens” and classifies them as a “disgrace”. (Coe: 2001: 235) This clash between the two teenagers indicates in itself the two sides in the ideological battle, which co-exist in society: pro and against. Doug suggests that the attacks were unprovoked, although this is not said in such a direct way, as the critic Nick Bentley does.

The following subsection analyses Racism in *The Rotters’ Club* as one of the most aggressive manifestations of fragmentarian ideological discourses in the 1970s in Britain.

3. Racism

During the 1970s, the British society had to face one more social and political situation which challenged the already delicate power balance, besides the dismantling of the consensus and the welfare state and, as a consequence, the reduction of the benefits citizens had grown accustomed to. This was the unprecedented flow of immigration from the former colonies. *The Rotters’ Club* reflects the way this event affected the balance of social and political power relations, and how it was even attempted to be used for gathering political capital.

Just as in the case of the embrace of socialism of a certain part of society (working classes mainly, but as the novel shows, not exclusively – the cameo of Mr. Nutall, the director of King William’s College, is a perfect example of a socialist intellectual) in the 1970s, this battle is fought both at “*ideological*” level and at *social* level.

What Bill and the people he represents do not realise is that, if within a society racism has found its insidious paths, it is very rarely the case that it can be fought through *reason*, the ideological filter on which Bill has founded almost all his political opinions. As we shall see, his mix of socialist and Enlightenment ideas fail when confronted with the socially fragmentarian realities of his time. The mainstream political discourse, which has been that of liberalism, comes under attack in a number of ways.

One of the forms of attacking the liberal dominant discourse is represented by the extreme right pieces of communication presented in *The Rotters’ Club*, under the form of pamphlets, brochures, flyers and pseudo-scientific articles printed on doubtful “wall journals”. Nazi pamphlets are posted in high numbers around the shop floor of the Longbridge plant. The novel strongly undermines the legitimacy of such views and the possibility of being considered coherent ideological views (in any of the acceptations of the term that Robert Leach has mentioned and which I referred to in the Introduction) by rendering them preposterous, the exact opposite of what they intend to be – common-sense principles supported by “scientific” fact.

An interesting phenomenon which sometimes occurs in Coe’s political fiction is the “*subversion*” of the *subversion*, and thus the *reinstalling* of the

“norm”. In *The Rotters’ Club* what the texts of the racist pamphlets attempt to demonstrate, among others, in an embarrassing, pseudo-scientific way, is the inferiority of the black race. The omniscient author, however, renders their arguments ridiculous, destroying any attempt at credibility.

Neither Heath nor Wilson nor Thorpe has the will to stop the tide of coloured immigration into this country. All are slaves to the liberal establishment way of thinking. These people do not just tolerate the black man, they think he is actually superior to the true-born Englishman.

1. The black man is not as intelligent as the white man. His brain is genetically not so well developed. Therefore, how can he do the same job of work?

2. The black man is lazier than the white man. Ask yourselves, why the British Empire conquered the Africans and Indians, and not the other way around? Because the white races are superior in industry and intelligence. Historical **FACT**. (Coe 2001: 38, capitals and bold in the original)

As this paragraph shows, refined or ridiculous ethnical hatred propaganda alike work along the same lines, targeting everything which stands in its way. In this case, although the principles of liberalism included some undeniable positive aspects, such as tolerance, they will come under attack simply because they are, by now, part of the “establishment”. Any political view which calls itself “progressive”, whether morally justified or outrageous, needs to define itself against what has become the “norm”, the dominant discourse.

Somewhere else in the novel, a leaflet of the Association of British People, a “far-right offshoot, more cranky and less organised even than the National Front” (Coe 2001: 37) gets one step further, from the level of de-humanising the object of racial hatred to instigating the locals to refuse to work with them, this time on ethnical grounds. Graphically, the message appears in the novel as written “by hand”.

IRA Bastards killed 12 people
On Manchester bus yesterday
Refuse to work with
Irish Bastards Murderers (Coe 2001: 37)

Although, as I have already mentioned, it was long debated whether it deserves the term of “ideology” (Kershaw:1993, Leach: 2002), it is difficult to contest the social impact of racist or xenophobic ideas at the level of certain strata of society, even in the context of a society which has always called itself open and tolerant. Thus, even if Racism cannot be included in the category of ideologies which Schwarzmantel has called “old”, “traditional” or “established” ideologies of modernity, and it fails Leach’s classification in terms of “intellectual sophistication” of founding ideas, it meets Leach’s criteria in terms of action-

orientation. As Leach explains, in contemporary Britain “overt racism has been long-excluded from elite political discourse” (Leach 2002: 119) and mainstream politicians repudiate racism in all its forms, insisting on “inclusion” politics.

Which is not to say that if political discourse excludes Racism, it does not exist as a force manifested in society, with different degrees of intensity. Coe decides to start from the most severe forms of social manifestation of Racism, which in extreme forms can lead to murder (as in the case of the young Irish worker, after the pub bombings) and goes decreasingly, to the least intense ones.

In this context, one can explain the role of the Trotters’ holiday episode in Denmark in the ideological economy of the novel. Apparently, the “story within story” device looks like an abrupt break in the plotline of the novel, with no other purpose but to explain how Paul Trotter created a bond with Rolf, the little German boy whom he saved from the whirlpool in which the two Danish boys have lured him. However, if we consider the ideological perspective, this episode gets new meanings. It becomes clear both from the author’s perspective and from that of the focaliser – in this case Benjamin Trotter – which represents another reassertion of the ontological stand I have presented at the beginning of the present chapter: “*here-and-now-it-is-better-than-then-and-there*”. The story of the attempted destruction of an entire ethnicity and the international implications of the destructions caused by Hitler’s Third Reich seems a *dystopian* extreme which could never become a possibility in the anti-totalitarian context of Britain. Marie’s family story is the story of the tragic outcomes of xenophobia, anti-Semitism and racism, which during the Third Reich became state ideology and affected, for ever, the story of millions of families throughout Europe, not only in Germany but also in the occupied countries. The text also offers a hint that even in those times *resistance* to an absurd dominant discourse was possible, both personally and politically. Marie praises, briefly, the courage of the Danish people, who have helped save many Jewish families, as well as the protective policy of the King of Sweden, towards all fugitives. However, these are marked in the text as exceptions, as a profound contrast to the contemporary Post-modern subject/individual.

If an overwhelming mix of confusion and political indifference or downright political impotence often dominates the Post-modern subject/individual, in Marie’s family case, during World War II, the feeling of insignificance and impotence appears thoroughly justified. However, this context is meant to delimit itself through a binary-oppositional relation with respect to the British situation. Marie’s story, or rather the story of the persecution of her family, leaves the listeners of her story (the Trotters and their German friends) feeling insignificant in the face of “historical forces over which one has no control”. This is one of Coe’s most effective narrative devices of triggering empathy from the implied reader, as one can even imagine the emotional scars of people left „uprooted, in a word, swept away by forces over which you can have no possible control, historical forces ... You can never recover from something like that, never reconcile yourself to it.” (Coe 2001:123)

Just like Saul Bellow in his earlier prose (particularly *Dangling Man*, *The Victim* and *Herzog*), Coe suggests the central characters of his novels can never be considered the “true” victims, in the classical acceptation of the term. This episode

suggests that the true victims, the ones who cannot make their voice heard in the balance of power, belong to another time or place.

3. Conclusions

From all the elements presented in this paper, it follows a very important conclusion, which is valid for all of Coe's main characters (and, particularly for his intellectuals): their place in society and in its power networks, and the way they negotiate it, is, up to a large extent, their own choice, as a difference with the "true" victims who, with the exception of this episode, are depicted very briefly, in cameo-like scenes.

This doesn't mean that racist excesses do not exist in *The Rotters' Club*, but they are presented both in "ideological" form and in their social outbursts as serious, dangerous, yet isolated cases, the product of a very specific and limited context, which can never get to the level of state doctrine. As long as the "establishment" officially puts forward liberal-democratic views, there is hope that this situation will be avoided. In order to achieve this goal of inclusion and tolerance, the role of the ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) is vital – out of which by far, the most obvious in the 1970s is education. Whether it also proves effective, this is a completely different matter, which Coe's other political novels come to install and subvert, at the same time.

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On-line resources:

- http://muse.jhu.edu/login?uri=/journals/theory_and_event/v005/5.4agamben.html
- <http://www.egs.edu/faculty/giorgio-agamben/articles/on-security-and-terror>

Cultural Resilience in the Context of Migration

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Abstract

As a result of the globalization process and in the context of extent that has got the phenomenon of migration, the interactions between people belonging to different cultures and civilizations are becoming more and more numerous. These differences involve the risk of some animosity or some conflictual relationships that can be dimmed by a form of intercultural communication, involving mutual recognition of values, traditions, worldviews and existence, which means we are talking about a form of cultural plurality. The paper that we propose aims an analysis on the phenomenon of cross-cultural validation. This phenomenon is closely connected with the question of cultural identity and the possibility of acceptance of other cultures. Beyond the ethical perspective of such an approach, to consider a number of sociological variables, such as ethnicity, culture, language, religion or spirituality, which plays a key role in understanding the concept of cultural resilience.

Keywords

migration, cultural plurality, cross-cultural validation, cultural identity, cultural resilience

1. Otherness and cultural resilience

The concept of *resilience* originates from French word *résilience*, which is derived from the Latin word *resilio* and signifies *jump back up and after an impact with an obstacle*. The first sense of the term we meet in physics, it appears the sense of *ownership metals resistance to shock and return to its original state*. Later the term has acquired multiple connotations in areas such as economics, computer science, biology, politics and psychology.

Al Siebert defines resilience as a human ability. Al. Siebert explains the concept of *resilience* as the capacity of a person to recover from life experiences overwhelming. Thus, *being resilient* means: the ability to successfully cope with continuous changes and major; the ability to retention health and energy in situations of constant pressure; the ability to rapid restoration capability after failures; ability to overcome adversity; ability to find a new way to work and live when the old one is no longer possible; or the ability to do all this without acting in a manner destructive or dysfunctional.

Beyond the psychological implications of the concept, the meaning that I want to retrieve the paper is closely connected with the idea of culture and the implications that their determinations of a culture or other influences relationships. Thus, we must take into account the concept of *cultural resilience*, understood as the capacity of the individual to recover cultural identity after a strong stress caused by various causes, such as various types of discrimination, wars, natural

disasters or political persecution. In this context and in the context of cases facing Europe, this paper will provide an analysis of the migration issue closely related to the idea of cultural resilience.

When we consider the phenomenon of migration is necessary to distinguish between *emigrants* and *immigrants*. If the emigrant is a person who leaves his home to settle permanently in another country, the immigrant is a person who entered the country of destination and which is established there. In this context, a person resilient is the person who has the ability to successfully cope with problematic situations, such as ongoing changes and major, constant pressure, setbacks, adversity and lack of tolerance, change in lifestyle, without acting in her destructive or dysfunctional manner by mastering emotions and negative emotions (ire, sadness, anger, disappointment, loss) without being overwhelmed by them.

In this context we talk about a cultural resilience of immigrant. Thus, migration from areas affected by war, political persecution or natural disasters have multiple follow, and people who have faced such situations developing a greater degree of adaptability or less where enterprises must integrate another society. The opportunities relatively limited of social and economic integration for migrants offered by the receiving countries, destabilizing the economy of destination countries, actions of transnational organized crime and terrorism, xenophobic and racial hatred or violence are most important to highlight of the consequences that can cause the phenomenon migration, some of them being felt predominantly of the migrant or refugee, other of the citizens of the countries of destination. These consequences are the result of cultural and civilizational differences between individuals and the possibilities of perception of *otherness*. In this regard, S. Huntington in "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order" believes that the fact that the real conflict is one that arises between cultures and civilizations, this being actually the last phase of evolution conflicts in the modern world (Huntington 1998).

Huntington argued that the post-Cold War world, the most important distinctions between people are not ideological, political or economic, but also cultural. So, while the nation states remain the main unit of analysis in international affairs, their behavior will not be decisively influenced of the pursuit of power and wealth, as it might seem at first glance, but of the preferences and cultural similarities and differences. For the purpose of Huntington civilization is the broadest level of recognition that a person can be identified, one that refers to values, social norms and institutions that manage a society. The main cultures, such as: Western, Eastern Orthodox or Islamic in their current power struggle with faith, based and religious dogma, acute conflicts between countries and cultures.

Or, currently in Europe, migration brings with it changes in the values an in the cultural perceptions caused by experiences of migration. Thus, migration practices reported to the idea of cultural resilience, can transform into behavioral repertoires of reference that guides and motivates choices social actors, creating a "culture of migration" (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, Taylor 1993: 431- 466). The most important features that should embrace a culture of migration

target: imports resulting from migration, the valuation of migration, patterns of adaptation and assumption of changes involved of the migration practices and their positive valuation.

In a sociological approach the effects of migration should be examined from three perspectives: the effects of migration on the country of origin, on the population of the country of destination and on the migrants themselves. Migration focuses around his ample social phenomena, which is why the phenomenon is of great importance both to the security of the country of destination and origin, and so to the security of human individuals involved in this phenomenon. When we refer to the issue of security must, however, understand that "migration can be both cause of security problems as a consequence of their" (Sarcinschi 2008: 11).

2. The phenomenon of migration in a globalized world

The intersection of migration with political, military and cultural power causes global or regional models showing problems in terms of adaptability: of the migrant in the destination country and of the citizens of the country of destination regarding the acceptance of migrants. Thus, structuring and layering global social relationships and social transactions is generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and exercise of power (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, Perraton 2004: 51-52).

Mobility flows, which get the large scale in the past two years causes changes both in destination countries and in the originating. Among them one is very important and this being the subject of this paper: the issue of admission of immigrants. This problem is analyzed in terms of the implications it brings to install populations of other cultural traditions and political rights in a particular space. This phenomenon challenge the process of national integration and determines policy makers to lead a policy that control and mitigate the forms of differentiation introduced inevitably by foreign populations placed permanently in a country. These measures may cause social unrest and disrupt into society receipt the regime of subjecting the natives. In this context, resilience is the ability of both the migrants and the receiving community members. For both migrants and the receiving community have an identity based on ethnic-cultural-national symbiosis, which differentiate and exclude and can lead to identity crisis. On the one hand, community members welcoming want the policies aimed at receiving migrants should not change markedly their lifestyle and does not affect them significantly, on the other hand, migrants, marked by their ethnic, cultural and national identity, they want to be integrated and to be respected the fundamental rights and freedoms, as they perceive them through the differentiations that customizes its own way of thinking and living.

Multi-ethnicity, living together in the same territory of several people from different countries of origin, is one of the phenomena associated with globalization. Many countries on the European continent have gained, while a multiethnic character, in that they incorporated gradually communities of non-European immigrants, and especially unassimilable. Thus, under the impact of migration, the nation-state autonomy was redefined. The very concepts of *citizenship* and *national*

identity have acquired new connotations in the context in which it is promoted increasingly more idea of multiculturalism (Sinescu & Trofin 2009: 14). Western European states, including communities of non-European immigrants, is characterized by a diverse multiethnic. Multiethnic diversity not just restricted to the boundaries of Western Europe. Japan, for instance, for the first time includes significant communities of foreigners and America returning to unprecedented levels of foreign population of peak migration time from pre-war years. As a result, the ability of the advanced capitalist countries to control their borders and to monitor population is no longer appropriate to the requirements. International cooperation fails to facilitate these requirements. Moreover, the notion of "citizenship" and "national identity" are renegotiated in response to contemporary patterns of global migration and cultural globalization.

Currently, migration is one of the most sensitive issues on the European agenda, with implications that brings humanitarian and the challenges they bring of EU policies and of the management of the European space. "Alongside the serious security situation in the eastern neighborhood, this challenge will demonstrate the extent of European solidarity and commitment in defending the principles and values of the European Union" (Sămărtinean 2015).

Migration can be voluntary or involuntary. We are talking about voluntary migration in the context in which a person or a group of people are turning to other countries than their own, seeking better opportunities in terms of economic, a professional superior environment or roadways wider family, culture or religion. On the other hand, involuntary migration or forced migration occurs in a context where some people want to escape to the horrors of war, the consequences of natural disasters or political persecution. In this respect, we talk about two categories of migrants, namely *refugees* and *asylum seekers*. The refugees are people leaving the country of origin because of persecution or fear they will be persecuted on grounds of race, nationality, religion, membership in a particular social or political group¹⁷. Asylum seekers are people who have left their home country and who have applied for recognition as refugees in another country and expects a decision in this regard. Most of the countries of origin for refugees and asylum seekers are those with oppressive political regimes or social and economic problems that affect the security of individuals. The fleeing of the chronic discrimination, however, is not always a reason for granting refugee status. International rules require states whose borders they come refugee to accept them. War refugees or those who have abandoned their homes in natural disasters are housed in specially designated camps until they can return to places of origin. Sometimes their stay in the country where they took refuge can take a long time. As it concerns political refugees, they may be granted asylum in state chosen by them (Sinescu & Trofin, 2009: 16).

If we relate to involuntary migration, one of the issues that are attractive is linked to security area where the refugees found. Environmental issues and

¹⁷ Under the UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (1967).

humanitarian disasters arising from military conflicts generates vulnerabilities and migration of a large number of people in war-affected areas to other non-conflict areas may follow as well: destabilization of the economy of the country of destination, facilitating actions of transnational organized crime and terrorism, emergence of feelings of xenophobia and racial hatred or violence (Sarcinschi 2008: 5).

One of the consequences of globalization is ample movements of the human forces, goods and capital in the international arena. We talk about migration. Although this seems to manifest since antiquity - in all major cities and empires of antiquity lived people coming from places very remote from each other, currently this phenomenon occurs with surprising intensity and in specific forms of the current international context. The phenomenon of migration which has seen great amplitude in recent, has become a topic of public and economic analysis also shed while representing a point of interest for entrepreneurs visionaries and decision makers.

United Nations Population Fund, the lead UN agency for delivering a world where every pregnancy is wanted, every child birth is safe and every young person's potential is fulfilled, that started working in 1969, believes that international migration is motivated one of the following:

- Searching for a better life for the individual and his family;
- Income disparities between different areas and within the same region;
- Migration policies of the countries of origin and destination;
- Political conflicts that drives migration across the border and movements within the same country;
- Environmental degradation, including the loss of farmland, forests and grasslands (so-called "refugees of the environment");
- Searching for a better paid job through migration of intellectuals from developing countries to fill gaps labor industrialized countries - so-called "exodus of professionals" (International Migration: Human Rights and Dialogue, 2006).

Migration affects both those who migrate and natives geographical space in which immigrants are found. Consequences of migration can be economic, social and psychological. Encompassing various demographic phenomena, migration movements involving voluntary or involuntary, both peaceful as aggressive. Thus, in countries receiving migrant it may cause serious social conflicts, which may even lead to the emergence of extremist ideologies. It should be noted that "not only political conflicts causes of refugee flows, but also refugees can create political conflicts" (Sarcinschi 2008: 24). Thus, on the one hand, through refugee status of individuals, the country of destination recognizes that the home country has a political regime that practice persecution and oppression, which causes tension between the two actors. On the other hand, refugees can create security concerns in countries of destination through hiring the opposition movement against governments of originating country or even transnational terrorist networks (Sarcinschi 2008: 24). Also, massive refugee flows can damage the environment by building camps lacking the necessary health infrastructure (Sarcinschi 2008: 25). Or, the presence of refugees affecting environmental resources through massive deforestation, soil erosion, destruction of wildlife,

biodiversity depletion, water contamination, excessive land cultivation (Toepfer 2005: 1).

3. Migration, social identity and resilience

The phenomenon of migration has an impact on social identity of individuals, whether citizens of the country of destination, be they immigrants. Social identity refers to "the concept of the individual's own ego in terms of features of the social category of belonging, makes his ego interchangeably with ego of other members of the in-group's and distinct from ego members outgroup in terms of stereotypes" (Sarcinschi 2008: 26). Belonging to a particular social category determines attitudes and involves behavioral aspects, closely related to *psychosocial representation of the other*. Among these are: ethnocentrism, bias favoring the in-group's and its cohesion, intergroup competition, discrimination, stereotyping, prejudice, behavioral uniformity, conformity. Illustrative of this is a survey conducted in 2002 among Muslims in the UK, which revealed that a 41% of respondents who were aged under 35 and one-third of respondents over 35, stated that " they feel only Muslims and not feel British and Muslim" (Sinescu & Trofin 2009: 17).

There are situations where migration and refugee flows are generated by ethnic conflict and ethnic cleansing policies seeking cultural homogeneity achieve a given territory or dominance by a particular ethnic minority. On the other hand, there are situations in which a stream of immigrants is often represented as a potential threat to the culture of the country of destination and a challenge to basic values and its cultural and linguistic habits. An example of this can be considered the former Yugoslavia, whose teasing spawned several refugee flows to neighboring countries, including representatives of the Roma community (ethnic minority which is centuries into poverty and social discrimination) and Bosnian and Albanians (who have become a factor of instability, whereas among them there were also members of groups of organized crime) (Sinescu & Trofin 2009: 17).

Within the context of the implications that migration generates both the inhabitants of the country of destination and the people who immigrate, one of the main problems is that of retaining the attention is about the security environment. Some specialized analysis carried out lately highlighted that respect citizens' rights and freedoms promoted by Western societies, was an issue long speculated that threaten the democratic system of values (Stoica 2009: 52-53). The proselytism that anarchist or terrorist groups carried him among refugees can generate serious security problems in the countries of destination. Limited opportunities for social and economic integration offered to refugees in destination countries, lack a sense of belonging to, the feeling of humiliation and the inability to adapt in a society perceived as foreign, they all lead to the birth of forms of radicalism. These forms can manifest in different aspects, among the most serious of them being the acts of terrorism committed against civilians. Free movement makes trafficking in chemical, biological or nuclear weapons to be easy.

The belief in "the miracle of faith" is sometimes the engine that leads refugees who can't adapt to the society which has received. An illustrative example

in this regard is the case of Muslim immigrants, who, having benefited from various programs of assimilation thought of European societies, Christian majority to which they have immigrated, contrary to expectations, they staged action radicals, who have endorsed citizens mainly civilians. It thus appears that the assimilationist actions and gestures contributed to the widening of Islamic radicalization. Terrorist forms of manifestation of Muslim groups in Western Europe based on resentment of Muslims against Western, whom they consider responsible for personal failures. Such we talk about the psychological and religious Islamic terrorism. For Islamic fundamentalists, they recruit the mostly followers of the middle class, presenting to them as defenders of interpreting traditional "holy books" against "re-interpretation of metaphorical, symbolic, social, functional that aim to transform religion in order to be better assimilated modern spirit " (Frunză 2003: 134). The leaders of these groups are good psychologists and they have a great persuasive force by the community and managed through simple messages to manipulate those from disadvantaged social categories or have a poor education.

Within the context of terrorist events that have marked the European area, the European Council adopted a strategy to combat terrorism which sets the framework for preventing radicalization and recruitment, to protect citizens and infrastructure, pursuing and investigating terrorists and to respond better to limit the consequences of terrorist attacks.

In 2015, Europe was faced with a siege of Muslim migrants. About 160,000 migrants arrived to September the mainland have made serious issues regarding Euro-Atlantic security and stability, taking into account that Muslims asylum seekers would learn and jihadists. In the face of this siege, the European Union adopted the strategy division of migrants, setting mandatory quotas for numbers and almost every country. But not all EU countries have agreed to receive immigrants. For example, mandatory quotas of refugees have been refused in September 2015 by President of Romania, Klaus Iohannis.

According to a report published by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in the middle of 2015, the 160,000 refugees were only *the preface to an era of refugees*. It was estimated that about 400,000 refugees are expected to arrive in Europe after they cross the Mediterranean by the end of 2015, while another 450,000 would come to Europe in 2016. The influx of refugees from Africa and the Middle East due to the wars of Syria and Libya are the subject of extensive geopolitical debate, that questions around ideas: is this influx of immigrants an historical accident that catches the European Union in an unprepared situation or there is an invasion programmed and packaged in emotional handling aiming to strike at the foundations of the European Union.

The proposal of European Commission in terms of managing the refugee crisis has divided Europe, still reeling from the economic and financial crisis of recent years and experiencing a crisis linked to the security of its external borders, in close connection with fundamental rights which it assumed internationally on receiving refugees from North Africa. Several states have declared against the number of refugees set by the European Commission, although others argued that it is right to respect the decisions of the European Commission. Beyond the refugee

quotas proposed for each country, a number of proposals on how to integrate immigrants has aroused controversy in the European Union countries. For example, the President of European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker urging that immigrants have the right to work during the processing of their asylum applications, to be able to apply for refugee status and the European Union to engage in the resolution of the conflict in Syria and Iraq. In a resolution voted by the European Parliament, there was talk of bringing of some amendments to the Visa Code of the European Union and MEPs demanded proper implementation of the Common European Asylum System, to ensure that consistent standards and human applies in the European Union. Moreover, there was talk about sanctions on the countries that do not correctly apply the EU asylum policy.

Another important aspect to be taken into consideration when we talking about waves of migrants are the safety of the destination areas, for any humanitarian crisis that requires human mass movements raises a security issue. Waves of immigrants who came through Spain, Italy and Greece have seriously considered the ability to protect the external borders of the European Union. The tracks of immigrants who came from Morocco to Spain, from Libya and North Africa to Italy or the route Syria - Turkey - Greece showed weaknesses on the ability to record and fingerprint refugees, as required by asylum policy. However, three countries - Spain, Italy and Greece - are all members of Schengen and time has proved that they had problems for years regarding the application of Community law. In this respect, at one time, under pressure from waves of refugees, there were even concerns that the inability of some Member States to control migration could be ask de question to temporarily suspend the Schengen Agreement and to restore the internal border controls.

In October 2015, the Serbian President Tomislav Nikolic in the annual session of the UN General Assembly in New York launch a call to organize an international forum on the refugee crisis, which he it qualifies as the biggest current challenge: "the humanitarian disaster facing the world today is just a consequence of the crisis shaking Syria for four years in the absence of adequate response from the international community" (Nikolic 2015).

During 11 - 12 November 2015, at the Mediterranean Conference Centre, in Valletta held an international summit to discuss issues related to migration with African countries and other key-countries concerned. The European Union was represented by Donald Tusk, the President of European Council and by Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of European Commission. The summit brought together heads of state and government of EU and Africa in an effort to strengthen cooperation on migration and to tackle the challenges and opportunities arising from this issue. The conference was based on cooperation processes between Europe and Africa, especially the Rabat Process and the Khartoum Process that regarding migration and the EU-Africa dialogue on migration and mobility.

The debate around the issue of migration conducted revealed that migration is a shared responsibility of countries of origin, transit and destination. In this context, the EU and Africa have acted in a spirit of partnership to find common solutions to challenges of mutual interest. Thus, the leaders who participated in the

summit adopted a political declaration and a plan of action refers to: addressing the root causes of irregular migration and forced displacement; enhancing cooperation on legal migration and mobility; strengthening the protection of migrants and asylum seekers; preventing and combating illegal migration, the introduction of illegal migrants and human trafficking; closer collaboration to improve cooperation on return, readmission and reintegration (Valletta Summit on Migration 2015). It was agreed also on a list of 16 concrete actions to be implemented by the end of 2016 on this issue. It was also officially launched the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa for stability and to address the root causes of irregular migration and displacement of people in Africa, which will provide additional funding to support the implementation of the action plan.

If the first reaction of the European Union on the wave of African migrants has been to try their integration in EU, test accompanied by a series of measures hasty that the EU take in haste, after the EU decided to address the problem refugees differently, namely: either to send backtracked, unless they are the victims of conflicts that their life-threatening, or to "discourage" their arrival in EU. Measures have been taken to discourage the wave of migrants coming to Europe had to consider allocating extra money for the development of African states. In this regard, the President of European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, announced the launch of emergency of Emergency Trust Fund of the European Union to tackle the root causes of illegal migration from Africa. This Fund consisted of 1.8 billion euros, a sum that came from the EU budget and contributions from the Member States and other donors (such as Norway and Switzerland).

At the EU - Africa summit held in Malta were raised disagreements between the EU and the African Union, which appeared in the issue of returns and relapsed. In this context, the European Union undertook with more funds allocated to the African Union, the condition being that migrants to stay at home. This was in the context in which there were estimates of the European Commission regarding migration, that by 2017, about three million refugees and migrants could arrive in Europe.

The main causes that have determined the migrations crisis in two years remaining the conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa. Thus, the war in Syria has turned 4.9 million people into refugees and 6.6 million were resettled within the borders. In Iraq, the bombing led resettlement in other areas of the country of 4.4 million people and more than 250,000 have become refugees. Yemen's civil war, which began in March 2015 led to the displacement within the borders of 25 million people, and the violence in Libya have forced half a million people to abandon their homes. According to the UN report (2016), more than half of the refugees come from just three countries: Syria (4.9 million people), Afghanistan (2.7 million people) and Somalia (1.1 million people). Other 5.2 million people are registered with UNRWA, the UN agency in charge specially of Palestinian refugees. The figures of the study shows that in Colombia, where armed conflict has existed for decades, recorded the highest number of refugees resettled within the borders of the country (6.9 million people). This state is followed by Syria, with 6.6 million personnel and Iraq with 4.4 million people.

4. Conclusion

Migration is an international phenomenon that influenced and in turn influences all dimensions of security. The study is an analysis made, in particular the psychosocial dimension of security. In this regard, an important role goes to the representation that the citizens of the destination country forms about immigrants, asylum seekers or refugees, largely because it determines the action taken or against their, respective the attitudes towards them. Attitudes can create tensions, crises and even conflicts between both parties, contributing to the developmental of a particular psychosocial environment determined by economic, social, political, military and even green aspects. In this context, the question that arises is adapting to psychosocial climate created, both of the immigrant and citizen of the country of destination. The degree of adaptability is based, on the one hand to the ability to be resilient to each individual in a position to deal with problematic situations of adaptability, and on the other hand the level of cultural resilience that we encounter in the country of destination. Cultural resilience of the immigrant should have the right foundation the recognition of cultural plurality, accepting every cultural identities and cross-cultural validation.

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Storytelling and Storytellers

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Abstract

Ethnic and cultural identities might be considered mere social and anthropological concepts with which scholars work throughout their research activity. I believe that the history of the two ethnic groups chosen for this research paper confirms and at the same time proves that they are vital elements in order to keep together a group of people who share the same values and beliefs. In the same work we find a brief description of ethnic identity features and examples. Therefore we find out that, frequently, an ethnic group is a distinct category of the population in a larger society characterized by a different culture. Distinct ethnic and cultural groups were known even 2500 years ago and researchers consider that ethnic groups might be the consequence of migrations of whole societies (or partial), military conquest or changes of political boundaries. Among the features that characterize ethnic groups we note the control of a territory where the future generations may perpetuate the initial heritage. We find also another case: different ethnic groups occupy the same area but use different resources.

Keywords

storytelling, storytellers, ethnic groups, cultural groups

This When Penny Petrone describes the Indian literature, she makes distinction between literate cultures, represented by written texts and word, namely the ancient oral traditions. Later on we shall find that we cannot speak about differences in terms of more important and less important, more interesting and less interesting or more well-grounded and less well-grounded. The presumption that written texts are more reliable and worthy to be taken into account against oral literatures turns out to be a false one. Both types of literature dwell, to a certain extent, on the same matters: the Genesis, religious approaches, war issues, the relation between man and nature, the relation between man and Divinity. We have considered appropriate to treat this subject separately in this work because in both our novels we find the motif of storytelling: in *Halfbreed* we meet Cheecum, Maria Campbell's grandmother, who often told her stories of the Rebellion and of the Halfbreed people, while in *Medicine River*, Lionel is one of the elders on the reserve and he travels abroad in order to tell stories about their life in reserve but also their past.

Maria Campbell describes herself as a storyteller, in spite of the fact that she is the writer of four books and co-author of a play. *Halfbreed* (1973) was her first publication, an autobiography that describes the situation of the contemporary

Métis. *Little Badger and the Fire Spirit* (1977), *Riel's People* (1978) and *People of the Buffalo* (1978) were written in answer to needs expressed by her grandchildren. *The Book of Jessica* (1989) includes the play she co-authored with Linda Griffiths and documents the difficulties of cross-cultural projects. She helps run the Gabriel Crossings Foundation, a native arts school dedicated to the preservation of traditional culture and to the arts.

Thomas King's short stories and poems, which began to appear in journals in Canada and the United States, reflect his dual heritage (his mother is of Greek and German descent and his father Cherokee). The subject matter and the style of his stories and poems remember two categories: Western, modernist short stories about adult relationships and native, orally derived stories about the Trickster. His first novel, *Medicine River* (1990) is interesting because of the way it combines a modern setting with characters not too far removed from the character types of Trickster stories. *Medicine River* is a moral story about individuals in a community and the ways he interacts with it.

At this point of the paper I should provide a brief description of Storyteller who turned out to be not only a skilled entertainer, but was also an historian, a teacher and a healer as well. Stories could not be told just anytime – each group had their specific time (for instance, some were winter stories, others were told only in the summer or spring). Stories are precious to all Aboriginal people, but to the Halfbreed they are the greatest inheritance of all. Very often it is compared to Land, and we are familiar to their view about land: you can't give away because it doesn't belong to you. Land represents the Mother. No one has the right to tell a story that is not his/her own and if they do this thing it is only if the story had been given to them or if the story was purchased by way of trade. Even then, the storyteller must begin the story by telling how he/she came by it and the name of the original creator. The storyteller who had been given the story could not pass it on to anyone else without the permission or prior consent. Before the European's arrival to Canada and for a long period after this arrival, the natives of Canada had an oral literature that had been transmitted from generation to generation. It is characterized by storytelling and public ceremony which involves oration and song. Indian peoples do not have a common literary heritage because tribal literatures are specific to each of the five cultural groups in Canada (Eastern Woodlands, Plains, Palteau, sub-Arctic and Northwest Coast where more than fifty languages are spoken. Such an oral culture reflect a great diversity in their histories and literatures.

In her work *Native Literature in Canada. From the Oral Tradition to the Present*. Penny Petrone sustains that the culture inherited by any group of people is more accurately determined by its language and that an advanced and complex society is a society whose members share the same languages. Indian languages have a complex structure and are used with great precision. For a better comprehension we will refer to the nineteenth-century Ojibway, George Copway, the first Canadian Indian who published a book in English and who quoted the scholars who studied the Indian languages: "every word has its appropriate meaning, and with additional syllables give additional force to the meanest of most word" (quoted in Petrone 1990:9). In ancient oral traditions the *word* has a great

importance, either it is spoken, intoned, or sung. To the spoken word is attributed the power to change the physical world through language. Words are considered to possess the power to change reality. "They are life, substance, reality. The word lived before earth, sun or moon came into existence" (Petronne 1990, 10). The history of a people was carried in the spoken word. Europeans who had contact with Indians were very surprised to find that such a people who knew nothing about wheel and writing knew the power of the word. Native people from Canada have created a vast and diversified body of oral narratives. Each linguistic group has its own features regarding the regional ecologies, values, customs, religious and philosophical beliefs. Many narratives were considered private property in some tribes, or in societies within the tribe (for example, the Midewewin Society of the Ojibway) and were owned by a particular person or family. This meant that only a limited number of persons, usually the initiated elders, knew them. Therefore, only they had the right to tell or to perform the associated rituals. Such restricted access to certain knowledge ensured their power and authority. There were cases in which many stories were lost because there were no successors left to remember them. Nevertheless, there were many stories which could be heard by everyone and which were not necessarily associated with rituals and ceremonies. According to the same author, Penny Petronne, such stories were ordinary and they were told for entertainment or instruction.

Storytelling and storytellers are not simply ancient cultural elements of Indian and Halfbreed national identity. At the contrary, they are currently existing in Canadian cultural space. We have chosen the most representative examples of organization which focus their activity on preserving the art of storytelling:

A. Storytellers of Canada/Raconteurs Du Canada is the National organization for maintaining and practicing oral traditions in Canada. Membership includes a coordinator, local representatives and local storytelling groups who encourage membership.

According to their mission statement the purpose of this organization is "to function as national representative for those involved in maintaining and practicing the oral tradition of storytelling across the country. It is dedicated to furthering the art of storytelling and bringing the diverse peoples of Canada together through story". Among its aims: to promote, support and contribute to the growth of storytellers' work, and to ensure the continuing development of the art of storytelling as an integral aspect of Canadian culture. Furthermore we shall expose its objectives and services which Storytellers can use according to their website:

1. "To promote and further develop storytelling as an art form by providing services to members and to the general public.
2. To facilitate communication among storytellers nationwide and to develop links with storytelling groups and organizations internationally.

3. To encourage the participation of all the peoples of Canada by promoting storytelling as a common root of our differing cultures”.

- ”Advocates for the art form of storytelling;
- Advocates for storytelling groups and individual tellers;
- Provides opportunities for education, training, and professional development;
- Promotes communication between storytelling groups and storytellers;
- Maintains a website;
- Provides a directory of members;
- Provides conferences and meeting opportunities;
- Provides a newsletter;
- Develops and maintains a principal contact with other national gatherings and professional associations”.

Another organization we consider worthy of our attention is

B. The Storytellers School Of Toronto/Storytelling Toronto” which sponsors the annual festival in Toronto, offers courses in Storytelling, publishes a journal titled *Appleseed Quarterly*, a newsletter titled *Pippin* and supports storytelling projects”. Storytelling Toronto describes itself as “a registered, non-profit charitable organization that supports creative work in the art of storytelling. The School publishes *Pippin* (our newsletter); offers courses; promotes and subsidizes the work of storytellers in education; and produces the Toronto Festival of Storytelling” (<http://www.storytellingtoronto.org/>). Their activity is focused on inspiring, encouraging and supporting the art of storytelling for listeners, tellers and for those who have not heard. The objectives noted are:

- ”To teach courses in the art of storytelling;
- To promote and celebrate artistic excellence in the art of storytelling;
- To actively develop programs such as professional development workshops for use in schools, libraries, and cultural groups;
- To serve as a referral centre for performing storytellers;
- To sponsor festivals and storytelling events;
- To promote the collection and telling of stories in rural and urban Canadian society;
- To serve as a major North American centre of resources for storytellers;
- To be the centre of a community of those interested in storytelling”.

I have decided to emphasize the importance of the ancient activity of storytelling and the status of storytellers because it is obviously that currently it is a frequent element in the Native culture (worthy to be integrated in literature and in

national schemes which promote the preservation of cultural heritage) and it proves to be associated with the longevity of these ethnic groups.

In Maria Campbell's same novel we find more than the White/Native cultural clash, we also meet the Indian/Halfbreed difference, thus hybridity becoming a third space defined by Homi Bhabha like the space between "the cutting edge of translation and negotiation that carries the burden of the meaning of culture" (quoted in Bottez 2004: 229). The complex archetypal mechanism that brings about hybridization is "The Other". As we will see in the following quotation the wish to be the other is met on both sides. We do not witness only the wish of the colonized to be the Other, and to enjoy his rights and benefits but also to the colonizer's attraction to something new and unfamiliar. "This was common in our area: the White men were crazy about our women and the White women, although they were not as open forward about it, were the same about men" (94).

Cultural identities are the "unstable points of identification . . . which are made, within the discourses of history and culture" (quoted in Richard L.W. Clarke). In order to understand its formation Hall explains the model of Caribbean identity. The "black Caribbean identities could be seen as "framed by two axes or vectors, simultaneously operative: the vector of similarity or continuity [the first model of identity]; and the vector of difference and rupture" (quoted in Richard L.W. Clarke). Paradoxically, what is shared by the colonized individuals is "precisely the experience of a profound discontinuity" (quoted in Richard L.W. Clarke). The Native oral cultures reflect the great diversity of their histories and literatures. Canada's Indian peoples do not share a common literary heritage precisely because of the existence of the five cultural groups which have their specific languages. In spite of this diversity, the unifying element from the point of view of rediscovered ethnic identity is the colonizer's arrival and the discontinuity triggered by this event.

Taking into account the notions of both displacement and deferral which discuss the Caribbean ethnicity, Stuart Hall implies that the Caribbean is neither an isolated and autonomous place which exists in a social and historical vacuum nor is the past separable from the present. On the contrary, the Caribbean society as we know it today is a dynamic entity due to its relation to other socio-historical entities whose inhabitants migrated to and came to form the region. Therefore, we may find the same explanation for the Halfbreed society which similarly to the Caribbean one is the result of a dynamic process and of two entities which interacted, at a certain point in the history, through colonization, dislocation and assimilation. In the case of the Native peoples we may preserve only a part of Hall's assertion namely that they represent one of the two entities which interacted in a particular moment but their formation as an ethnic group is not produced by this clash of civilization. Hall admits the irreversibility of history and of the colonizers' influence on the colonized. He also states that a continuous collision with the colonizer is not favourable for the colonized because it turns out to be frozen "into some timeless zone of primitive and unchanging past" . Maria Campbell argues the reason which stands at the basis of this novel" (...) and if I

was to know peace I would have to search within myself. That is when I decided to write about my life. (...) I write this for all of you, to tell you what it is like to be a Halfbreed woman in our country. I want to tell you about the joys and sorrows, the oppressing poverty, the frustrations and the dreams" (2). Her novel is not an offence brought to the Whites nor a means to bring to life some sort of guilt for Halfbreeds' harsh life and dramatic moments. This is a way of reconciliation and of accepting the past, since it turns out to be irreversible.

Writing with reference to Jamaica, Hall states that an "Afro-Caribbean identity became historically available" (quoted in Richard L.W. Clarke) to Caribbean only in the 1970's through an "indigenous cultural revolution", through the "impact on popular life of the post-colonial revolution, the civil rights struggles, the culture of Rastafarianism and the music of reggae" (quoted in Richard L.W. Clarke). These and related factors made possible or became the "metaphors, the figures or signifiers of a new construction of 'Jamaican-ness'" (quoted in Richard L.W. Clarke). From this point of view, Africa "'has acquired an imaginative or figurative value that we can name and feel'. Our belongingness to it constitutes what Benedict Anderson calls an 'imaginary community'" (quoted in Richard L.W. Clarke). What make an ethnic group to be aware of his need to declare its identity and cultural heritage are precisely the moments which involve the constraint to reaffirm their common values, history and mindset, briefly to reaffirm their cohesion. Such moments can be revolutions, riots, rebellions and civil rights struggles. These moments endanger the unity of an ethnic group which until then it might not have felt the desire to express its identity. Once it is aware of the oppressions and the peril of being annihilated as ethnicity, it resorts to a variety of methods to preserve itself: violence or cultural movements.

Maria Campbell's exposition of her life is in fact the cause of her people, a political manifesto of an aboriginal culture which is called by Foucault as a "field of struggle". It represents a political manifesto because it gives voice to an oppressed minority in a world of imperial powers. This minority resorted to a form of resisting cultural, political and economic oppression and of communicating their needs after 1971 when Multiculturalism became official policy in Canada.

Native art had also the role to supplement their income and paid for food, clothing and other necessary things. It was an efficient way which helped them to buy food many times especially when the price of fur was down. While creating the so called Indian stuff, in fact they were passing on cultural traditions and sharing knowledge. They were, as an old Marxist said to me one day when we were talking about the "radicals and revolutionaries." Among the artists we should mention the poet, Pauline Johnson, who lived between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In both novels, the main characters use introspection in order to rediscover themselves and to set up relations with the members of the community. Once they know themselves, they acknowledge where they come from, what is the history of their ancestors, what are their principles and values, briefly once they arrived to their cultural identity they may become spokesmen of their community. Introspection is also used by the authors in order to

build a bridge between their characters and readers. As characters rediscover their inner self, they are joined by readers.

According to Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy introspection is, as the term is used in contemporary philosophy, a means of learning about a person's own current, or past, mental states or processes. It is important to mention that there a number of other methods through which one can learn about his own mind in the same way one can learn about others' minds; such methods consist of "reading psychology texts, by observing facial expressions (in a mirror), by examining readouts of brain activity, by noting patterns of past behaviour". In the same source we find that the process of introspection can dwell on consciousness, emotion, free will, personal identity, thought, belief and imaginary perceptions. These are all elements that can be found in our novels and indeed they are analyzed from an introspective point of view. For a process to be considered as "introspective" it must meet the following conditions. Chiefly, *the mentality condition*: introspection is a process that usually generates knowledge, judgments, or beliefs about *mental* events, states, or processes, and not about events outside one's mind. From this perspective, it is different from sensory processes that normally offer information about outward or the non-mental aspects and events of the individual's body.

What makes *Halfbreed* an important and distinctive novel is that a simple autobiography speaks about the larger issues of discrimination, poverty, and oppression faced by the Métis and the difficulties and harsh life of Métis women in particular. Her autobiography is in fact, as Jack McClelland called it, a biography with purpose because Maria Campbell's story is not merely a personal one, but also gives voice to the Métis as a whole and to Métis women, in particular. As the author narrates her life she analyzes historic events such as the rebellion led by Louis Riel, states like the one of outcast and rejection by Whites and Natives, processes like the one of dislocation and land confiscation by Land Improvement District authorities and feelings like her and her family's when they were ill-treated by the White community and when they felt shame and no pride for being Halfbreed or of despair when their leaders are corrupted with political positions in order to stop their future rebellions.

The introspection helps the author to create communication with her readers and to deliver them a better understanding of the Postmodern Canada: "I hurt inside when I think of those people. You sometimes see that generation today: the crippled, bent old grandfathers and grandmothers on town and city skid rows; you find them in the bush waiting to die; or baby-sitting grandchildren while the parents are drunk. And there are some who even after a hundred years continue to struggle for equality and justice for their people. The road for them is never-ending and full of frustrations and heart-break". The lack of confidence dominates the old generations as well as the new ones. While grandfathers hope to die, the family fathers drink and neglect their families. In this context, poverty, violence and rejection urge Halfbreeds to accept their status and the reality.

Jim Douglas (Douglas & McIntyre of the Vancouver publishing house.)

asserted about *Halfbreed* the following: "It is not an angry book, but it will make you angry; not a bitter book but it will shame you: not a humorous [sic] book but it will make you smile. It has a happy ending but there is no happiness for her people. And she writes it for her people, particularly for the young girls. For their sake she will let herself be publicised...". *Halfbreed* is considered to a book about reconciliation with the past, with sufferings and harsh life they had to endure. In order to achieve reconciliation, Campbell considers appropriate to admit the truth, to accept it and to become the voice of her people. Finally, her last mission is to help the members of her community understand that they have to regain their pride, to learn to consider themselves important members of Canada and to rediscover their ethnic identity and cultural heritage.

We consider *Medicine River* as well as *Halfbreed* is as a case study of race and ethnic relations in Canada and of relation between a person within a familiar and yet a new community. Will Sampson, the main character chronicles the lives of a group of contemporary First Nations people in Western Canada. The story is recounted by the protagonist in a conversational fashion, with frequent flashbacks to earlier moments of his life. In his novel, *Medicine River*, Thomas King creates the story of a little community which reflects the whole Native nation. Will's return is used as a pretext to show the Native community of a little town which seems to be dynamic and colourful in its daily life.

The author uses introspection in order to make the non-native readers understand and perceive better the lives of the First Nations as a whole through the agency of a small scale community. In the same novel we find references both to the past of First Nations and to the present times. Thus, we meet Lionel, the representative character of an old generation with its principles and values, Marta Oldcrow known as marriage doctor because "that was what she fixed better" , Floyd's grandmother and her dead son, "a real good storyteller" who "always had a funny story to tell. He travelled all over the place and always came back with a good story". Characters like Joe Bigbear, Harlen's brother about whom Harlen asserts that "Joe's okay, Will. We're just different" and Louise reflect the propensity of the community, particularly of the new generations like Louise and of those persons who spent a lot of time outside of the community like Joe Bigbear to adjust to different principles, such as individual independence.

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Exotismul și Orientalismul

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Rezumat

De-a lungul timpului exoticul a fost confundat cu frumosul, urâtul, grotescul, tragicul, sublimul sau comicul, deci i-au fost atribuite mai multe categorii estetice, definind mai multe tipuri de trăiri artistice, specifice anumitor etape din istoria literară și artistică. Nu este mai puțin adevărat faptul că, printr-o confuzie asupra conceptului estetic, termenul face referire la un peisaj, operă literară, sau artistică, religie sau ritual aparținând unor spații îndepărtate.

Secolul romantic este prin excelență exotic, deoarece acum au loc cele mai multe călătorii în orient. Primii orientaliști sunt învățații secolului al XIX-lea, care încep să traducă literatura orientului, bazându-se pe supoziția că o adevărată cucerire colonială trebuie neapărat să aibă vaste cunoștințe despre respectivele teritorii și oameni. Ideea unei cunoașteri, echivalentă cu puterea, a devenit un simbol al culturii europene. Învățând despre Orient, europenii au ajuns să dețină puterea totală asupra acestor locuri. Oriental a devenit: cercetatul, văzutul, observatul, obiectul de studiu al unei întregi generații. Pe de altă parte, Orientul a avut o funcție estetică experimentală, o încercare de găsire a unor alternative viabile la tendințele poetice ale epocilor anterioare.

Cuvinte cheie

exotism, orientalism, perspectiva istorică și geografică.

1. Introducere

Exotismul a suscitat de-a lungul timpului atenția cercetătorilor în domeniul literaturii universal. Privit din perspectivă geografică, este evident faptul că exotismul a reprezentat o fascinație pentru diferitele epoci literare și artistice dar, după cum afirmă Ștefan Augustin Doinaș, „nu distanța materială dintre două repere geografice, ci prăpastia ideală dintre două moduri de a fi sau de a apare conferă atributul exotic. Ceea ce ne fascinează, ne uluiește și ne atrage nu se află dincolo de limita vederii, cât mai ales dincolo de posibilitățile cunoașterii, ale înțelegerii noastre obișnuite. Africa, Asia sau America sunt fascinante pentru un european, nu pentru că sunt departe, ci pentru că îi sunt necunoscute, străni chiar; pentru că sunt *altceva* decât universul său familiar, geografic sau cultural” (Ștefan Augustin Doinaș 1973: 101).

Tzvetan Todorov, atunci când vorbește despre exotic, pleacă de la existența unui paradox constitutiv: cunoașterea este incompatibilă cu exotismul, dar necunoașterea este la rândul ei ireconciliabilă cu elogiul celorlalți; or aceasta este exact ceea ce ar vrea să fie exotismul, un elogiu în necunoaștere. (Todorov 1999: 364)

Exotismul, adesea confundat cu orientalismul, ar putea fi definit ca o tendință a culturii și în special a literaturii secolului al XIX-lea, un altfel de spațiu geografic, situat în afara granițelor vizibile ale societății, ce s-a format ca rezultat al Revoluției Franceze (considerată un etalon politic pentru întreaga Europă) și al revoluției tehnologiei, care a marcat evoluția societății moderne. *Proiectul exotic*, așa cum îl numește Chris Bongie în studiul său intitulat *Exotic Nostalgia: Conrad and the New Imperialism* are ca scop central recuperarea valorilor culturale pierdute odată cu dezvoltarea societății post-revoluționare. Această mișcare va continua pe întreg parcursul secolului al XIX-lea, pentru ca în ultima parte să fie dominată de un pesimism desăvârșit: „Acea fază acută de expansiune teritorială, supranumită Noul Imperialism și de cele mai multe ori asociată cu lupta pentru dobândirea Africii, marchează punctul critic final al exotismului: cum poate cineva să se dea la o parte din fața unui proces global și aparent ireversibil?” (Bongie 1995: 270)

Literatura cu tematică exotică este doar un pretext pentru explorarea unui spațiu îndepărtat, amplificată fiind atât de tendințele expansioniste ale marilor puteri europene, dar și de artă, care se inspiră din ce în ce mai mult din teritoriile exotice (Magreb, India, Levant). În același timp putem vorbi despre exotismul literar ca o posibilitate de explorare a unor sentimente, emoții, amintiri care au avut un puternic impact asupra spectatorului.



William J. Müller - *The Moscheea Mahmudiya*, c. 1838

Acuarela lui William James Müller este o dovadă a interesului general al societății occidentale pentru elementul inedit. În acest caz avem de-a face cu un exotism de peisaj, lucrarea fiind compusă prin suprapunerea structurilor arhitecturale specifice lumii arabe (locuințe tradiționale arabe, cu decoruri

ornamentale la ferestre, turnul de minaretă, tunele înguste, care transpun privitorul într-o lume încărcată de mister). Din punctul de vedere al paletii cromatice Müller folosește tonuri pastelate, prin combinația de ocru, portocaliu și roșu, reprezentând spațiul exotic asemenea unui deșert al simțurilor.

„(...) Exotismul unei cărți sau al unui tablou este viu în măsura în care tot ceea ce e străin, diferit și straniu, rămâne, pe mai departe, ca atare: la fel de străin, la fel de diferit, la fel de straniu. Lipsa de familiaritate cu datele unor alte meridiane sau timpuri, impresia puternică de a te afla în fața unei alte lumi care îți se oferă ca un adevărat antipod al lumii în care trăiești – iată halo-ul care se menține intact în orice operă pătrunsă de exotism.”(Șt. Augustin Doinaș 1973: 103)

2. Contextul social-politic al apariției exotismului literar și plastic

Contextul social politic este extrem de important pentru trasarea granițelor temporale și spațiale ale exotismului.

La sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea însă, interesul europenilor asupra Imperiului Otoman devine din ce în ce mai mare, atât din punct de vedere diplomatic și militar, dar mai ales comercial. În secolul al XVII-lea Imperiul Otoman supunea aproape întreaga zonă a Balcanilor, cu excepția principatului Muntenegru, care reușise să își păstreze independența. Turcii asediaseră de două ori Viena, o dată în 1529, iar a doua oară în 1683.

Foarte interesat este faptul că din punct de vedere cultural, Europa nu a fost interesată aproape deloc de cultura Imperiului Otoman, iar acest lucru este sugerat și de lipsa unor catedre, care să studieze cultura și civilizația acestui Imperiu, în universitățile din Europa occidentală. Singurele interese în zonă au fost cele comerciale, începând cu a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea, când Jean-Baptiste Colbert, primul ministru francez din timpul lui Louis XIV, manifestă un interes special în dezvoltarea relațiilor comerciale în Levant. În 1671 se înființează la Marsilia o Companie Levantină, implicată în achiziționarea bumbacului din porturile palestinene și libaneze. Se poate remarca deasemenea o puternică prezență comercială în portul Alexandria, iar de-a lungul secolului al XVIII-lea se pune problema unei ocupații franceze în Egipt.

Compania Levantină franceză se afla în competiție directă cu Societatea levantină britanică, ce își avea sediul în orașul Alep, situat în nordul Siriei, aflat la intersecția celor mai importante rute comerciale ale epocii, cu India, Damasc, și ca rută de acces pe *drumul mătăsii*. La începutul secolului al XVIII-lea Compania Levantină britanică se afla în plin declin, pe măsură ce Compania Indiilor de Răsărit devenea din ce în ce mai prosperă. Rivalitatea între englezi și francezi scindează continentul European, culminând cu Războiul de șapte ani (1756-1763) când cele două puteri își dispută drepturile comerciale în fostul Imperiu Mughal din India. În 1761, în ultima perioadă a războiului de șapte ani, Franța este înfrântă decisiv, Compania Britanică a Indiilor de Răsărit devenind cea mai puternică forță din zonă. Se dezvoltă astfel un deosebit interes de comunicare cu localnicii,

Compania extinzându-și interesele în pregătirea angajaților în studiul limbii arabe, oferind chiar și stimulente financiare celor care reușeau să treacă examenele de limbă. Cu toate acestea Marea Britanie rămâne tributară intereselor financiare, care le surclasează pe cele culturale, astfel că nu putem vorbi despre un studiu asupra limbii, gramaticii sau literaturii persane (persana fiind limba de curte în India) până la Sir William Jones (1746-1794). Acesta este cunoscut pentru teoria sa privind existența unei relații între limbile indo-europene, fondator în 1784 al Societății Asiatice din Calcuta, precum și autorul primelor traduceri în limba engleză a unor opere importante ale literaturii indiene.

În timp ce francezii își concentrau interesul comercial în Mediterana de est, iar englezii își consolidau Imperiul, cunoscut sub numele de *British Raj*, în India, olandezii colonizau insula Java și Sumatra, iar rușii se extindeau în zona Caucazului, în detrimentul Imperiului Otoman.

3. Contextul cultural al apariției exotismului în literatura și arta europeană

Pe plan cultural, dintre toate aceste puteri politice ale lumii, Franța este singura țară în care se remarcă apariția unor lucrări serioase, fie traduceri de texte din limba arabă, persană, sanscrită, dar mai ales studii critice sau enciclopedii. În privința studiilor exotice, publicarea enciclopediei intitulate *Bibliothèque orientale* a lui Barthélémy d'Herbelot reprezintă o piatră de temelie pentru conștientizarea, de către publicul larg francez, a literaturii și istoriei arabe, persane, sau turce. În același timp, publicarea versiunii franceze a celei *O mie și una de nopți* de către Antoine Galland, secretar al Ambasadei Franței la Constantinopol, a stârnit interesul pentru exotismul literar. Lucrarea a apărut în douăsprezece volume mici între 1704 și 1717, care au fost imediat traduse și în engleză sub titlul *Arabian Nights*, circulând în cel puțin treizeci de ediții în engleză și franceză, numai în secolul al XVIII-lea. Popularitatea lor aproape imediată l-a încurajat pe Petits de la Croix să publice în 1707 *Poveștile turcești și Povești persane sau O mie și una de zile* între anii 1710-1712. Ambele ediții au fost imediat traduse și în limba engleză, fapt care dovedește circulația fenomenului oriental pe ambele maluri ale Canalului Mânecii cu aceeași intensitate. Acestea au pus în mișcare imaginația scriitorilor și a publicului occidental. Mai presus de toate, prin structura lor - povestea în ramă incluzând mai multe povești în cadrul aceleiași povești - au atras atenția scriitorilor epocii; permițându-le contemporanilor să adauge culoare și varietate poveștilor lor, punând bazele unui nou gen literar în Occident, romanul.

Galland și-a gândit lucrarea nu numai ca pe un simplu exercițiu literar, dar și o lucrare de instruire a cititorului asupra vieții orientale, și după cum însuși autorul afirma în prefața la primul volum, plăcerea lecturii acestor povești înseamnă și a învăța „despre obiceiuri și moravuri ale orientalilor, ceremonii, atât păgâne cât și mahomedane, deoarece aceste lucruri sunt mai bine descrise de aceste

povești, decât din descrierile scriitorilor și ale călătorilor” pe acele tărâmuri exotice.

La începutul secolului al XIX-lea Orientul devine un subiect de interes nu numai din punct de vedere politic, dar și cultural. Vorbim despre câteva evenimente istorice care au polarizat interesul europenilor pentru Orient: este vorba despre Revoluția Franceză, campaniile Napoleoniene în Egipt și Războiul anglo-turc (1807-1808), dintre care de departe cel mai important îl constituie intervenția franceză în nordul Africii.

La Paris se înființează în 1795 *Ecole spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*, condusă de Louis Mathieu Langlès și mai târziu de Silvestre de Sacy. Cu toate acestea, nu trebuie acordată prea multă greutate termenului „vivantes” deoarece, după cum vom observa, cercetătorii epocii nu sunt interesați în mod special de evoluția limbilor vorbite în Orient.

Cu toate că pe termen lung s-au pus bazele unei noi științe, în epocă acest domeniu de studiu a stârnit pasiuni și rivalități. O foarte lungă perioadă de timp nu a existat o coeziune mondială în privința orientalismului. Primul congres a avut loc la Paris abia în 1873. Mai mult decât atât, în secolul al XIX-lea, societățile de orientalistă nu reprezentau adjuvanții unui sistem academic. Cea mai mare parte a articolelor publicate în revistele de specialitate erau texte orientale însoțite de traduceri lor. Însă nu aveau nimic din procedeele de analiză și sinteză întâlnite astăzi în studiile riguroase și bine documentate. Societățile de orientalistă, la fel ca multe alte societăți ale secolului al XIX-lea, erau dominate de bărbați; femeia făcându-și apariția în orientalism abia în secolul XX.

În 1770, baronul François de Tott este trimis de Ministerul de Externe francez, aparent într-o inspecție asupra pozițiilor franceze în Mediterana orientală, de fapt, pentru a cerceta punctele tari și punctele slabe ale Imperiului Otoman la momentul respectiv. Concluzia acestuia, expusă într-un memorandum înaintat la Paris în 1779, se referă la necesitatea unei invazii franceze în Egipt. De fapt, proiectul de cucerire a Egiptului a fost susținut de comercianții francezi, care considerau nordul Africii o piață sigură pentru produsele lor. Pe de altă parte, Napoleon Bonaparte, care studiase planurile de campanie ale lui Alexandru cel Mare, visa să utilizeze Egiptul ca pe o bază militară pentru cucerirea Constantinopolului și a Indiei. Nu trebuie uitat și faptul că Napoleon Bonaparte citise lucrarea lui Volney, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*, publicată în 1787, precum și mai cunoscuta operă a lui Volney, *Les Ruines, ou méditations sur les révolutions des empires* (1791), care se deschide cu o meditație asupra ruinelor Palmirei, din estul Siriei. După cum afirma și profesorul Dan Grigorescu în *Povestea artelor surori*, campaniile lui Napoleon „deschid orizontul spre civilizația Mediteranei orientale” (Grigorescu 2001: 208). Bonaparte ia cu el în Egipt o impresionantă echipă de oameni de știință, mare parte dintre ei savanți în domeniul ingineriei civile. El înființează la Cairo un Institut de egiptologie, împărțit în patru secțiuni: matematică, fizică, economie politică și ultima, dedicată literaturii și artei. În

această ultimă secțiune putem include toate demersurile de înființare a șantierelor arheologice, precum și cele de catalogare și mutare a capodoperelor civilizațiilor antice în Europa.

În lucrarea sa, intitulată *Eseu asupra exotismului – O estetică a diversității*, Victor Segalen, în ciuda unor contradicții interne, repetiții și puncte de vedere nesuținute cu argumente veridice, își expune un punct de vedere critic asupra contemporanilor săi, calați numai pe dezvoltarea capacităților expansioniste, de care dorește să se disocieze în mod clar. În același timp el face distincția între punctul său de vedere asupra exotismului, și ceea ce el numește „pseudo-exot”, sau pseudo-exoticul, oferind ca exemple pe Pierre Loti, celebru la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea, dar cu rădăcini mult mai adânci, care ajung până la George Sand sau Alphonse de Lamartine. Segalen consideră că scriitorii romantici au avut tendința de a mistifica relația lor cu natura, care în viziunea scriitorului francez reprezintă prototipul primordial al exotismului. Pe de altă parte, apariția termenului *diversitate* în titlul eseului său, nu se referă atât la posibilitatea de a lua în considerare existența unui multiculturalism, ci mai degrabă aduce în discuție problema coexistenței diferențelor de clasă, cultură sau genuri literare.

Orientalismul reprezintă unul dintre cele mai importante domenii de studiu ale teoreticienilor postmoderniști, de la sfârșitul secolului XX. De aceea termenul a fost pus în discuție de mai multe ori, aducându-se argumente și contra-argumente, care să confirme sau să infirme teoriile lui Edward Said. Pentru Said, orientalistul poate fi „oricine predă, scrie sau studiază Orientul – iar aceasta se aplică fie antropologului, sociologului, istoricului sau filosofului” (Said 1999: 4).

Școlile postsaidiene, reprezentate printre alții de Richard King sau James Clifford, au încercat să clarifice unele confuzii de direcție, să depășească linia foucauldiană fundamentalistă, militând pentru intersidisciplinaritate, oferind concepții alternative, pe care Said nu le-a putut delimita foarte clar. Lucrarea lui Said omite să menționeze importanța mare a școlii germane de orientalistă, în afara celei franceze, britanice și americane. Sheldon Pollock, profesor de sanscrită la Universitatea Columbia, unul dintre teoreticienii care au adus un plus de inovație în teoriile lor, accentuează rolul puternic al orientalismului german, care a dus la apariția teoriei purității rasei ariene, împingând Europa spre un lung și dureros proces de purificare rasială.

Printre cercetătorii care s-au opus punctului de vedere enunțat de Said putem menționa pe Robert Irwin, Ulrike Freitag sau James Brown. Cercetătorul Robert Irwin, în studiul intitulat *Dangerous Knowledge – Orientalism and its Discontents* afirmă că lucrarea sa a apărut ca urmare a nevoii de exprimare a unui punct de vedere contradictoriu celui al lui Said. El susține că în esență, Said definește Orientalismul drept „un discurs hegemonic al imperialismului, un discurs care constrânge scrisul și gândirea occidentală asupra Orientului, și în special asupra Islamului și a lumii arabe în general. Într-un fel el a legitimat

penetrarea și apropierea teritoriilor arabe de către occidentali. Deși Said nu este consecvent în privința începuturilor Orientalismului, în esență el susține că mișcarea își are originile în opera învățaților francezi și englezi, de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea.

În studiul intitulat *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, al lui Norman Daniel, cercetător pe care însuși Said îl citează în lucrarea sa, se poate observa că dominantă ideologică atât a musulmanilor cât și a creștinilor avea în vedere mai degrabă asemănările decât deosebirile „dogmatice, liturgice și morale ale celor două religii” (Daniel 1975: 13) și că nu era un lucru anormal ca un conducător creștin să întemeieze alianțe politice cu musulmanii, sau pentru un musulman să ceară ajutor politic unui conducător european, făcând abstracție de cultură sau religie (Daniel 1975: 51-62).

Discursul lui Daniel oferă nenumărate exemple de astfel de colaborări între creștini occidentali și musulmani, în care compatibilitatea între cele două religii este solid argumentată. Adevăratul pericol pentru europeni l-au constituit otomanii, mongolii și membrii clanului Seljuk, după cum spune el, iar conflictele reale nu au fost cele între religii, așa cum au încercat să dovedească cercetătorii cruciadelor, ci mai degrabă înclăștările între puterile mondiale. Nu trebuie uitate în acest sens traumele provocate anterior de greci, romani, bizantini, și mai recent de popoarele germanice.

Edward Said deasemenea insistă asupra limitării orientalismului la studiul occidental asupra islamului. El consideră că orientalismul occidental nu a fost niciodată un studiu asupra Orientului bazat numai pe cercetarea elementelor culturale: "Yet never has there been such a thing as pure, or unconditional, Orient; similarly, never has there been a nonmaterial form of Orientalism, much less something so innocent as an 'idea' of the Orient." (Said 1999: 23).

Pentru a putea înțelege complexitatea discursului exotic, în care se vor desfășura cele mai multe dintre poemele cu tematică orientală a poezilor englezi și francezi, acesta trebuie privit nu numai prin prisma teoriei lui Edward Said, referitoare la puterea de dominație occidentală asupra Orientului, ci și ca o confruntare de idei, într-un context european mai larg. Studiul exotismului oriental s-a aflat încă de la început sub puternicul impact naționalist al puterilor europene, care își revendicau fiecare dominația asupra acelor teritorii, din care Said îi exclude pe germani. El își justifică opțiunea bazându-se pe un citat din Peter J. Manning, care afirmă că în Germania, nimic nu se apropie de dominația anglo-franceză, pe care cele două state au manifestat-o în teritoriile ocupate: India, Levant sau nordul Africii (Manning 1980).

Romanticii nu „descoperă” Orientul, după cum spunea cercetătorul Mircea Anghelescu, ci îl adaptează nevoii de noutate, într-o epocă dominată de sentimente exacerbate și de contraste, de o istorie zbuciumată și măcinată de războaie și revoluții. Se ajunge la o saturare a opiniei publice cu informații legate de Orient.

Când Victor Hugo își publica *Orientalele* (1829), iar Lamartine călătorea în Egipt, Siria și la Constantinopol, Orientul deja era un subiect îndelung exploatat de literatură. Și mă refer aici nu numai la literatura de specialitate, axată pe cercetări în domeniu, traduceri ale unor opere celebre ale Asiei, compilații de texte orientale, reviste de specialitate, dar și la jurnalele de călătorie, precum și la adaptarea și imitarea unor texte preexistente. Traducerea celor *O mie și una de nopți* de către Antoine Galland sau deschiderea în Europa a ambasadelor unor țări orientale, aduc în prim plan note de călătorie, relatări despre obiceiuri, costume, limbă. Putem menționa astfel *Scrisorile persane* ale lui Montesquieu (1721), *A Continuation of Letters written by a Turkish spy* (1718) a lui Daniel Defoe, *Candide* a lui Voltaire, etc.

Se știe foarte puține lucruri despre sistemul inter-relațional al culturilor. Cu toate acestea putem distinge factorii implicați în remodelarea proceselor cognitive ale artistului. În primul rând trebuie avute în vedere circumstanțele în care operează influențele artistice. Stilurile circulă și uneori evenimentele sociale sau forțele care le impulsionează nu au nimic în comun cu arta. Influența maură asupra artei franceze, de exemplu, este rezultatul direct al evenimentului social - politic, adoptat sub presiunea momentului și a forței de dominare spirituală exercitată de o singură figură politică, Napoleon Bonaparte.

4. Confluente între literatura și arta exotică

Stilul este un mijloc de comunicare atât de puternic, încât criticii de artă ar fi tentați să interpreteze apariția unor forme similare în diferite colțuri ale lumii drept dovezi ale unui contact direct și mult mai profund decât cel care a avut loc în realitate. Aptitudinile artistice și tehnicile de lucru au posibilitate de propagare la distanță, fără a lăsa urme ale trecerii prin diferite locuri ale lumii. Ceramica pictată din neoliticul chinez, de exemplu, e posibil să fi fost influențată de cea mesopotamiană, deoarece în ambele cazuri sunt întrebuințate motive decorative, care la rândul lor apăruseră mult mai devreme, în Orientul Mijlociu. Dar cele două culturi menționate anterior nu aveau cunoștință una de existența celeilalte, fiind separate și de triburile de nomazi care, în mod aparent, nu se ocupau cu ceramica pictată. Deci nu este nevoie să presupunem un contact direct între Mesopotamia și China preistorică, deoarece cultura este un organism viu, care acționează ca un "purtător", fără a fi afectat în sine.

În multe cazuri transmiterea elementului artistic intervine ca răspuns la o nevoie specifică și conștientă. Poate fi vorba despre o necesitate profundă, cum este cazul artei budiste în Asia de Est, sau poate lua forme mult mai lipsite de însemnătate, cum este plictiseala, sau gustul pentru noutate.

Cu toate acestea, opera de artă, deși produsul unei situații culturale, este rezultatul procesului creativ al unui individ, iar confluentele între est și vest se produce de fapt în conștiința artistului. Dar ce guvernează această opțiune, de a

accepta sau transforma un model cultural, sau de a integra în procesul creativ un anumit motiv sau simbol cultural? Răspunsul este în parte unul istoric, dar în același timp alegerea are la bază modul în care artistul “vede”, iar acesta este rezultatul tradiției și pregătirii, la rândul lor factori istorici.

După cum afirmă și Ernst Hans Gombrich în *Artă și iluzie*, artistul vede și pictează ceea ce a învățat să vadă și să picteze. Dincolo de acest punct, alegerile artistului sunt determinate de presiunea exercitată asupra lui, de o anumită comandă care îi este făcută, dar nu în ultimul rând de relațiile interumane și experiențele personale.

Confruntarea între arta orientală și cea occidentală pleacă de la premisa existenței unor diferențe majore între cele două lumi și numai atunci când vom realiza cât de mari sunt diferențele între cele două, vom reuși să înțelegem procesul artistic. De-a lungul timpului au existat mai multe tentative de descriere a acestor diferențe între modul de expresie și conceptele celor două lumi, cum este cazul lui Herman Northrop Frye, *The Meeting of East and West*. Orientul, afirmă Northrop, sălășuiește într-un “undifferentiated aesthetic continuum”; occidentul într-un “differentiated logical continuum”; în Orient predomină componenta estetică, în Occident cea teoretică. Putem aduce în discuție mai multe aspecte, însă diferențele între cele două lumi sunt suficient de izbitoare încât să înțelegem resorturile care i-au împins pe artiști, de-a lungul timpului, să preia diferite teme și motive din Orient, pentru a construi opere de artă cu totul noi în epocă.

Pentru poeți și pictori, ca și pentru publicul lor, Orientul reprezenta un capriciu, o fantezie romantică a tinerilor lipsiți de griji sau ocupație. După atâtea claruri de lună sau nopți tumultuoase, intră în scenă Orientul, un tărâm al fabulației, al „poeziei pure”, lipsit de gravitație, un loc al nimănui și de oriunde care devine un decor de operă literară și de artă. Lumina, deja prezentă în *turcheriile* secolului al XVIII-lea era favorabilă picturii. Acuarela, cu suportul ei fragil și încărcat de efecte delicate era *regina exotismului*, a călătoriilor, uneori cu efecte benefice și asupra picturii în ulei. Orientul era un tărâm mistic, despre care se știau prea puține lucruri, poate ceva mai mult decât ceea ce afirmase Gustave Flaubert, că „femeile orientale sunt baiadere”, sau că Damascul este doar „un loc unde se fac săbii bune”. Orientul întâlnit în poezie și pictură reprezintă frivolitate pură, ceva plin de farmec și atracție feminină indescifrabilă, care de-a lungul timpului a atras generații întregi de artiști.

Cu toate acestea nimic nu poate explica amplitudinea fenomenului oriental, care devine o forță în arta occidentală a secolului al XIX-lea. Fascinația pentru orient nu era nouă. Pictorii au fost de-a lungul timpului extrem de receptivi la opulența și straniețea orientală, pe care o vădesc prin atracția pentru scenele biblice și istoria antică.

Dar nu este oare Orientul un simbol al necunoscutului, acel univers „altfel”, pe care toți artiștii, și în special pictorii, își doresc să îl descifreze? Este

aproape imposibil să explicăm în cuvinte amplitudinea și intensitatea fenomenului oriental, care și-a pus amprenta asupra secolului al XIX-lea în cultura europeană.

Arta lui Rembrandt a influențat atât de mult Orientalismul, ca mișcare artistică, încât de la el putem vorbi despre un întreg curent oriental. Contactul cu negustorii olandezi, primii fondatori ai Companiei Indiilor de Răsărit, precum și apropierea de colonia de evrei din Amsterdam, de la care a împrumutat un întreg repertoriu de forme și personaje exotice au atârnat mai puțin în balanță decât propria căutare, dorința de schimbare într-un spațiu și timp diferit și decorat în culori și lumini speciale.

Mult mai exotice, deși lipsite de consistență și profunzime sunt *turcheriile* care devin la modă în secolul al XVIII-lea; o adevărată vogă ce scoate la lumină sultanii lui François Boucher și pașalele lui Jean-Honoré Fragonard, precum și *Scrisorile persane* ale lui Montesquieu (1721) sau *Răpirea din Serai* a lui Mozart (1782).

Jean-Etienne Liotard și Jean-Baptiste van Mour au trăit în Turcia secolului al XVIII-lea oferind imagini mult mai autentice ale acelor locuri. Cu toate acestea, abia în secolul al XIX-lea, când Europa s-a implicat mult mai activ din punct de vedere politic în Orientul Apropiat și când mijloacele de transport s-au îmbunătățit simțitor, artiștii occidentali au început să călătorească, devenind foarte interesați de detalii despre această lume încă virgină. Orientalismul a devenit astfel un domeniu în care secolul al XIX-lea s-a specializat.



Rembrandt R. van Rijn *An Oriental*, 1635

„Orientalismul în artă este numai una din direcțiile exotismului, nu-i decât un reflex palid al interesului pentru existența popoarelor îndepărtate și al interesului științific pentru istoria lor” (Sever 1973: 120).

Deși aceste opere propun o variantă destul de improbabilă a Orientului, călătoriile artiștilor occidentali la Constantinopol le vor lărgi dicționarul figurilor de stil și catalogul imagistic. Printre acești „pictori ai Bosforului”, studiați la începutul secolului XX de diplomatul francez Auguste Boppe, se numără Jean-Etienne Liotard, care realizează unele dintre cele mai convingătoare lucrări, inclusiv portrete de femei în haine tradiționale arabe. Cu toate acestea, nu trebuie subestimat impactul artiștilor mai puțin cunoscuți în epocă, precum Louis-François Cassas, Jean-Baptiste Hilaire sau Antoine-Ignace Melling, ale căror lucrări, servile genului de pictură de călătorie, câștigă teren în epocile imediat următoare.

În pictură, mai mult decât oriunde, acest tărâm, uneori numit Orient, alteori Răsărit sau Est, devine un punct de convergență al tuturor școlilor occidentale. Italia, centru artistic al Europei, inaugurează preocuparea pentru orient, prin Gentile Bellini, care în 1480 execută un portret al Sultanului Mehmed II la Constantinopol.



Gentile Bellini, *Sultan Mehmed II*, 1480

Țările germane rămân în urmă, deși dominația bavareză din Grecia, precum și cercetările arheologice ale lui Karl Richard Lepsius în Egipt, deschid apetitul pentru un nou domeniu de studiu, care va atinge punctul de maximă înflorire după salonul retrospectiv de artă islamică, de la München, din 1910. Deși înainte de Războiul Civil fuseseră puțini americani care se aventuraseră pe tărâm oriental, după 1865 ei joacă un rol important, în ciuda faptului că sunt în continuare influențați de francezi.

Devine foarte clar că cei mai importanți reprezentanți ai mișcării orientale au fost englezii și francezii, satisfăcând în parte dorința de expansiune colonială. „Problema orientală”, care derivă din confruntarea Imperiului Otoman, aflat în decădere, cu națiunile europene rivale, reprezintă miezul problemei și punctul de plecare în același timp. S-a manifestat în timpul campaniilor din Egipt, pe tot parcursul războiului de Independență a Greciei, odată cu stabilirea relațiilor între Muhammad Ali Pașa și Europa, toate acestea punându-și amprenta asupra producțiilor artistice ale epocii.

Rolul Franței a fost unul crucial, în primul rând pentru că aici Orientalismul se manifestă o lungă perioadă de timp, fiind inaugurat, după încheierea campaniei napoleoniene în Egipt, de discipolii lui Jacques-Louis David și fiind revigorat de Henri Matisse la începutul secolului XX, atunci când mișcarea orientalistă se mută în Marea Britanie. Orientul, și mă refer aici la Egipt în mod special, a servit de-a lungul timpului drept escală în lungile călătorii spre India. Franța însă, ca urmare a contactului direct, a menținut relațiile privilegiate cu lumea arabă. Nu este întâmplător faptul că școala provençală condusă de Emile Loubon a scos la iveală un număr atât de mare de artiști, reporteri de teren, justificând astfel expoziția din 1975, care le este dedicată în exclusivitate.

În secolul al XIX-lea această deschidere spre est își găsește forma de exprimare în înregistrările vizuale realizate *pe viu* de un număr foarte mare de artiști. Flaubert afirma că, în linii mari, un orientalist este „un călător îndârjit”. Și într-adevăr, nu putem vorbi despre orientalism fără un jurnal de călătorie, chiar dacă – în cazul unora dintre artiști – sunt doar călătorii idealizate, întreprinse dintr-un confortabil fotoliu de atelier.

Imperiul Otoman, din Turcia până în Egipt, și până în Principatele danubiene, Africa de Nord și Persia cuprinde un *Orient* mai mult cultural decât geografic, un amestec interesant între Levant (țările care delimitează coastele de est ale Mediteranei) și Magreb (țările din nord-vestul Africii). Explorarea acestor teritorii a pus bazele unei mișcări orientate pe observarea naturii umane și înconjurătoare, distingându-se astfel de așa numitele „turcherii”, ale epocilor anterioare, și creând o punte de legătură cu noul tip de expediție inițiativă. Grecia, considerată în jurul anului 1820 o parte integrantă a Orientului, începe să fie un punct de atracție pentru artiști după ce Sinaiul devine accesibil publicului larg. Expedițiile le oferă pictorilor nu numai subiectul, dar necesită implicarea totală și un adevărat sacrificiu, care își va lăsa amprenta asupra creației artistice a unei întregi generații. Aceste expediții au făcut posibilă ruperea de vechile stereotipuri artistice, eliberând sinele artistic de sub tirania muzeelor europene (așa după cum afirmă John Ruskin, referindu-se la John Frederick Lewis), permițând accesul la un nou tip de percepție, pe care uneori nici măcar artistul însuși nu o sesizează, astfel că avem de-a face cu o metamorfozare naturală a eului artistic.

Criticii de artă au studiat complexul fenomen orientalist mai bine de o jumătate de secol. O evaluare preliminară a fost ocazionată de aniversarea a 100 de ani de la ocuparea Algeriei de către francezi. În 1930, Jean Alazard, custodele nou înființatului Musée des Beaux-Arts, publică lucrarea *L'Orient et la peinture française au XIXe siècle (Orientul și pictura franceză a secolului al XIX-lea)*, o

serioasă lucrare, bine documentată, care a rămas de-a lungul timpului un punct de referință în literatura de specialitate. Această lucrare a fost urmată la scurt timp de cea a lui Jean-Marie Carré: *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Egypte* (1932), un studiu al fenomenului oriental, privit dintr-un unghi de vedere mai literar.

Din acest moment, artiștii secolului al XIX-lea, care au reprezentat în pictură Orientul, au fost considerați martori orbi ai dominației imperialiste. Teoria a fost emisă de cercetătoarea Linda Nochlin în anii '80, care aplică la studiul istoriei artelor teoria emisă de Edward Said în 1978, scoțând la lumină acea latură urâtă a lumii occidentale, precum și teoria potrivit căreia Orientul este doar „o creație a Occidentului”.

Pentru mult timp, chiar și după încheierea secolului romantic, tot ceea ce era diferit reprezenta un adevărat virus amenințător pentru lumea europeană. Gerardo Mosquera, în studiul *The Marco Polo Syndrome* vorbește despre *eurocentrism*, acea boală a europenilor de a refuza dialogul inter-cultural, de a accepta puncte de vedere diferite, de a realiza un compromis artistic. Niciodată nu au promovat vreun artist aparținând unei alte culturi, în încercarea de a realiza o punte de legătură între cele două lumi. Totul a fost prezentat doar din perspectiva europeană, nelăsând loc niciunui comentariu sau punct de vedere diferit. Eroarea romanticilor este aceea de a fi considerat arta lor ca fiind opera supremă, de cea mai mare valoare în epocă, la care totul trebuie să se raporteze. Fără să își dea seama ei au preluat și și-au însușit clișee aparținând altor culturi.

Noțiunea de *eurocentrism* este relativ recentă, primele referiri apărând în secolul al XVIII-lea, pentru ca termenul să înceapă a fi studiat intens abia la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea. Mosquera oferă o sugestivă explicație a termenului astfel: „eurocentrismul este singurul etnocentrism, universalizat ca urmare a dominației teritoriale din partea unei metaculturi, și bazându-se pe o transformare traumatizantă a lumii sub impactul proceselor economice, sociale și politice, canalizate într-o anumită parte a lumii. Ca urmare, foarte multe elemente ale acestei metaculturi încetează a mai fi *etnice* și se internaționalizează, devenind părți componente ale unei lumi modelate după cea occidentală” (Mosquera 1985:219). Cu alte cuvinte, cercetătorul reafirmă capcana în care artiștii romantici ne-au prins, aceea de a încuraja ideea de monocultură.

Ei transpun pe suprafața de lucru o lume total diferită, dar pe care și-o asumă ca fiind a lor. Faptul că fenomenul se suprapune peste problema dominației teritoriale și a impunerii autorității politice a europenilor asupra nou colonizatorilor teritorii face aproape imposibilă comunicarea în două sensuri. Implicarea interculturală presupune acceptarea elementului altfel, ca o tentativă de a înțelege și de a îmbogăți propria experiență cu elementul de diversitate. Dar aceasta ar presupune și procedeu invers, al colonizatului care își varsă experiența personală asupra lumii occidentale. Lucru care nici în epoca romantică, și nici mai târziu, nu a avut loc. Abia în secolul XX cercetătorii încep să își pună serios problema dialogului cultural, al compromisului și al acceptării diferitelor puncte de vedere care să vindece eurocentrismul, și să ne facă să vedem dincolo de granițele teritoriale. ”Despite all its noble aspirations and achievements, we should acknowledge that the culture of modernity... has also been always (but not excusevly) a culture of interior and exterior imperialism.”(Huysen 1988: 239).

Toate expozițiile și lucrările publicate începând cu acest moment devin o bază de reflecție. Putem menționa în acest sens expoziția organizată de David Rosenthal la New York în 1982, urmată de expoziția londoneză din 1984, cea de la Dublin din 1988 și Berlin în 1989. Toate expozițiile au lărgit aria de cunoștințe, adâncind în același timp înțelegerea fenomenului, așa cum au făcut-o și studiile concentrate pe reliefarea contribuțiilor specifice fiecărei națiuni (Kenneth Bendiner asupra artei engleze, Gerald Ackerman asupra lui Jean-Léon Gérôme). În același timp, lucrările criticilor literari s-au concentrat pe evidențierea experiențelor de teren ale pictorilor și scriitorilor din epoca romantică. Abordarea lor mult mai abstractă este de fapt o invitație pentru studierea orientalismului pictural dintr-un unghi de vedere diferit de cel anterior, foarte convențional.

Unul dintre artiștii care s-au aflat în Egipt pe tot parcursul campaniei întreprinse de Napoleon Bonaparte în 1798 a fost Dominique-Vivant Denon, ale cărui schițe au început a fi publicate imediat după debarcarea la Alexandria, și care au jucat un rol important nu numai în epocă, ci pe tot parcursul secolului al XIX-lea.



Dominique Vivant-Denon - *Femme égyptienne dans le harem-les cheveux épars*, 1802

5. Concluzii

Romanticii, puternic dominați de *spleen*, pornesc în călătorii de cunoaștere și redescoperire a sinelui, spațiul local nemaifiindu-le suficient. „Dincolo de orizont” înseamnă de fapt Orientul, Italia, sau orice spațiu aparte, pitoresc și ezoteric uneori.

Romantismul a fost o mișcare europeană; o manieră radicală de a privi arta, literatura, societatea și elementul politic, care a pus un accent nou pe libertate

personală, individualism și imaginație. A reprezentat o dărâmare a tuturor barierelor impuse anterior între artă și viață, proză și poezie, muzică și cuvinte, cuvinte și imagini. Studiul asupra exotismului în secolul romantic, își concentrează atenția asupra interdependenței între literatură și artele vizuale în Europa, în perioada 1800-1840, când relația între scriitori și artiști s-a aflat într-o simbioză totală.

În această perioadă influența literaturii asupra picturii și procedeul invers joacă un rol esențial. Astfel se poate explica rolul pe care Ossian, Byron sau Walter Scott l-au jucat în dezvoltarea și perfecționarea imaginii picturale în Franța romantică, la fel de mult cum doamna de Staël sau Victor Hugo s-au erijat în coordonatori ai gândirii romantice franceze.

Periplul literar și artistic pe care îl vom întreprinde de-a lungul acestei lucrări, nu face altceva decât să aducă la lumină opere de artă, texte literare inedite, mai cunoscute sau mai puțin cunoscute, dedicate unui teritoriu fascinant, din Levant și până în Algeria, care a dus la formarea unui curent de gândire și exprimare artistică de o mare intensitate intelectuală. Vom avea de-a face, în mod evident, cu perspectiva occidentală asupra lumii exotice, pe care exploratorul romantic, avid de cunoaștere, încearcă să o atingă, să își formeze o impresie, chiar dacă pe alocuri eronată asupra acestei lumi, dar care a reprezentat o adevărată fascinație până în epoca modernă.

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Spielfilme als Lernmittel zur Förderung interkultureller Kompetenz¹⁸

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Abstrakt

In der Fremdsprachendidaktik setzt sich der interkulturelle Ansatz seit Ende der 80er Jahre allmählich durch, in dessen Rahmen man eine breite Palette von Methoden und didaktischen Hinweisen für den Medieneinsatz zur Vermittlung der Zielkultur und Bewusstwerdung von Prozessen, die interkulturelle Interaktionen beeinflussen, entwickelte. Zu den Medien, die ein Potential für die Vermittlung bzw. Förderung interkultureller Kompetenz aufweisen, zählen auch Spielfilme. Durch die Visualisierung von Geschehensabläufen werden die Lerner häufig intensiver emotional angesprochen als es mithilfe der Textarbeit erreichbar ist. Neben dem Faktenwissen über das Zielland vermitteln die Filme auch Handlungsrationitäten und weltanschaulichen Interpretationen dortiger Einwohner. Ein besonderes Potential haben die Filme, die speziell interkulturelle Begegnungen, Migration und Akkulturation zum Thema haben.

Am Beispiel des Melodrams "Nirgendwo in Afrika" wird gezeigt, wie ein Film die Vermittlung zentraler Begriffe des kulturallgemeinen Wissens (Akkulturationsstrategien, Kulturschock, interkulturelle Kompetenz) unterstützt und die Empathie schulen kann.

Schlüsselwörter

Spielfilm, interkulturelle Kommunikation, interkulturelle Kompetenz, Migration, Akkulturation, Fremdsprachendidaktik

1. Einführung

Globalisierung und Migration sind Bestandteile unseres Alltags geworden. In der letzten Zeit nehmen unsere Heimatländer kleinere oder größere Zahl der Migranten auf, aber nicht nur die Fremden kommen zu uns. Auch wir suchen Kontakt mit dem Fremden auf – ob in der Arbeit oder in der Freizeit. Viele Mitbürger, v.a. junge Menschen, nutzen den Vorteil des freien Personenverkehrs in der EU und arbeiten oder studieren im Ausland. Auch diejenigen die zu Hause bleiben, arbeiten oft in internationalen Teams mit Kollegen aus aller Herren Ländern zusammen. Bikulturelle Freundschaften, Partnerschaften und die Mehrsprachigkeit gehören zur Alltagsrealität nicht nur im Leben einer globalen Elite, sondern beeinflussen immer mehr Menschen. In diesem Zusammenhang

¹⁸ Der Beitrag entstand im Rahmen des Projekts KEGA 051UK-4/2016 *Prehĺbenie vyučovania kultúry a umenia v študijnom programe "nemecký jazyk a literatúra" prostredníctvom blended-learningu/Förderung von Kultur und Kunst im Studienprogramm "Deutsche Sprache und Literatur" durch Blended Learning*

spricht man über interkulturelle Kompetenz (IKK) als eine Schlüsselkompetenz des 21. Jahrhunderts.

Der Vorliegende Beitrag setzt sich zum Ziel, die Möglichkeiten der Förderung der IKK mittels Didaktisierung von Spielfilmen mit geeigneter Thematik aufzuzeigen. Da sich der Beitrag primär an Fremdsprachenlehrer wendet, wird zuerst die Stellung der IKK als einer Zielkompetenz im Fremdsprachenunterricht diskutiert und danach das sozialwissenschaftliche dreidimensionale Modell der IKK dargestellt. Im dritten Abschnitt wird das Potential der Spielfilme für die Entwicklung einzelner Teilkompetenzen der IKK erörtert und die Kriterien der Filmauswahl beschrieben. An diese theoretische Untermauerung knüpft im letzten Teil ein Didaktisierungsvorschlag für den Film *Nirgendwo in Afrika* an.

2. Etablierung des Konzepts IKK in der Fremdsprachendidaktik

Die heute selbstverständliche Integration von Kulturinhalten in den Fremdsprachenunterricht, war in der Vergangenheit eher eine Seltenheit und schränkte sich nur auf bestimmte Aspekte ein. Man ging zwar davon aus, dass zum Sprachenlernen auch Kennenlernen der Kultur des Ziellandes/der Zielländer gehört, jedoch wurde Kultur auf die *Hochkultur* im Sinne von Kunst, Literatur, Geschichte und Beitrag des jeweiligen Landes zum "Zivilisationsfortschritt der Menschheit" reduziert.

Erst nach der kommunikativen Wende in den 1970er-Jahren hat sich die Auffassung der Kultur im Fremdsprachenunterricht erweitert und sich dem anthropologischen Kulturbegriff genähert. Unter Kultur verstehen Anthropologen alle Lebensäußerungen, nicht nur die sog. Hochkultur. Ihre Aufmerksamkeit schenken sie nicht nur Artefakten der Kultur; sondern auch Praktiken sowie Normen und Werten, die das Handeln der Angehörigen der jeweiligen Kultur steuern. Im Fremdsprachenunterricht verengte man aber diesen Blick und konzentrierte sich auf nur auf *sichtbare Elemente der Alltagskultur* – Artefakte und Praktiken z. B. in der Gastronomie, im Schulalltag, bei Festen, vermittelte die Sprachroutinen in Dienstleistungssektor u. Ä. Die Vermittlung dieser Informationen sollte eine problemlose Orientierung in der Welt der Zielsprache ermöglichen und der Bewältigung von "Grundfunktionen menschlichen Daseins" (Storch 1999: 286) dienen. Ein weiterer Unterschied im Vergleich zur Kulturanthropologie bestand in der Vereinfachung und Darlegung der Zielkultur als homogen.

Durch gesellschaftliche Änderungen seit 1990er-Jahren (Anstieg von beruflicher, aber auch erzwungener Mobilität (Migranten) und insbesondere durch die Entstehung globaler wirtschaftlicher Verflechtungen, kam der interkulturelle Kontakt auf die Tagesordnung vieler Menschen. Dabei merkten die Betroffenen schnell, dass sie weder mit Kenntnissen über die Hochkultur ihrer fremdsprachigen Kommunikationspartner noch mit oberflächlichem Wissen in der kommunikativen Landeskunde, das sich am Bedarf von Touristen orientiert, weiterkommen – denn um interkulturell angemessen zu agieren, ist mehr notwendig. Für die Fremdsprachendidaktik bedeutete es einen Paradigmenwechsel. Sie hat sich von dem Ideal der perfekten Beherrschung der Zielsprache auf dem Niveau "highly

educated native speaker” (Byram 1989: 10) verabschiedet und stattdessen gelernt, in den Fremdsprachenlernenden eher potentielle kulturelle Mittler zu sehen. Der Pate dieses Konzepts, Michael Byram, nannte das neue Ziel der Fremdsprachendidaktik “*interculture speaker*” (Byram 1997). Im Gemeinsamen europäischen Referenzrahmen fanden seine Gedanken in den Konzepten des Weltwissens, des sozio-kulturellen Wissens, der interkulturellen Bewusstseins und der interkulturellen Fertigkeiten (Coste et al 2001: 105-106) seinen Niederschlag. Die beiden Wissensarten betreffen Inhalte der kognitiven Landeskunde, Kulturspezifika des Landes oder die Länder, in dem oder in denen die Sprache gesprochen wird. *Das interkulturelle Bewusstsein* bezieht sich auf das Wissen über kulturelle Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen der Welt des Herkunftslandes und der Zielkultur(en) und knüpft an das Weltwissen und das soziokulturelle Wissen der Lernenden an. *Die interkulturellen Fertigkeiten* umfassen laut GER:

- Die Fähigkeit, die Ausgangskultur und die fremde Kultur miteinander in Beziehung zu setzen;
- Kulturelle Sensibilität und die Fähigkeit, eine Reihe verschiedener Strategien für den Kontakt mit Angehöriger anderer Kulturen zu identifizieren und zu verwenden
- Die Fähigkeit als kultureller Mittler zwischen der eigenen und der fremden Kultur zu agieren und wirksam mit interkulturellen Missverständnissen und Konfliktsituationen umzugehen
- Die Fähigkeit, stereotype Beziehungen zu überwinden.

(Coste et al 2001: 106)

Parallel dazu entstand in der Psychologie, in den Sozial- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften ein weitreichendes *dreidimensionales Konzept der interkulturellen Kompetenz (IKK)*, das neben der “Mittler-Fertigkeiten”, die nur ein Teil der verhaltensbezogenen Dimension sind, noch die sog. affektive Dimension und kognitive Dimension umfasst.

Die affektive Dimension fokussiert auf Einstellungen, Emotionen, Intentionen, Bedürfnisse und Motivationen, die für einen positiven Verlauf interkultureller Interaktionen und für weiteres interkulturelles Lernen nötig sind. Konkret werden der affektiven Dimension oft Offenheit, Unvoreingenommenheit, Neugier und Entdeckungsgeist, verbunden mit dem Respekt vor dem Fremden (Deardorff 2006: 241ff., Byram 1997: 34ff.) sowie die Bereitschaft, eigene kulturelle Orientierungsmuster zu hinterfragen, zugeordnet (Byram 1997: 34ff). Bolten fügt in Anlehnung an Gertsen noch Ambiguitätstoleranz,¹⁹ Flexibilität, Empathie und Rollendistanz sowie geringen Ethnozentrismus²⁰ hinzu (Bolten 2003: 374). Da diese Dimension Motivationen und Einstellungen deckt, ist sie

¹⁹ Fähigkeit, das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen unvereinbaren Gegensätzen und Mehrdeutigkeiten „auszuhalten“ (Neuner 2003: 423).

²⁰ Einstellung, die „in den Mittelpunkt das eigene soziale Kollektiv stellt und dieses gegenüber anderen, fremden Kollektiven als höherwertig, überlegen interpretiert (Hillmann, 1994: 202).

wesentlich für das Ankurbeln interkulturellen Lernens (IKL). Zugleich ist sie aber nur schwer mit gängigen didaktischen Methoden und Mittel beeinflussbar, weil die Einstellungen relativ fest sind und tief verankert sind. Nur etwa 20%-33% der interkulturellen Trainings erreichen diesbezüglich signifikant positive Effekte (Kováčová 2010: 184-189).

Die kognitive Dimension umfasst das Verständnis des Kulturphänomens, das Wissen über eigene und fremde Orientierungsmuster, wobei ihre Dynamik ebenso wie ihre eigenartige Logik akzeptiert werden. Weitere Komponenten der kognitiven Dimension sind das Verstehen der Besonderheiten interkultureller Kommunikationsprozesse, Reflexionsfähigkeit und Metakommunikationsfähigkeit (Bolten 2003: 374), die helfen, sich mit Ängsten vor dem Fremden konstruktiv auseinanderzusetzen. Ebenso wichtig ist es die Wurzeln dieser Ängste zu kennen. Byram (1997: 51ff.) sowie Morawietz und Reichel (2016: 6) sprechen in diesem Zusammenhang vom Wissen über die historischen Beziehungen zwischen Eigen- und Fremdkultur und deren Projektion im kollektiven Gedächtnis.²¹ Die kognitive Dimension lässt sich relativ effektiv durch pädagogische Instruktion modellieren und die Lernfortschritte sind am einfachsten zu messen (Kováčová 2010: 184-194).

Die dritte – *verhaltensbezogene* – *Dimension* schließt Fertigkeiten ein, die eine erfolgreiche Performance in interkulturellen Situationen ermöglichen. Dazu zählen Sprachkompetenzen, die Fähigkeit, kulturelle Phänomene in den alltäglichen Interaktionen und Artefakten zu entdecken (skill of discovery), die Fähigkeit, zu beobachten sowie das Beobachtete unter Nutzung kulturellen Wissens adäquat zu analysieren und zu interpretieren. Ferner werden soziale Kompetenzen wie Interaktionsmanagement, die Fähigkeit, Beziehungen und Vertrauen zu fremdkulturellen Interaktionspartnern aufzubauen, Kommunikationsfähigkeit Problemlösungskompetenz, Konfliktlösungskompetenz und von anderen Fähigkeiten eine angemessene Art sich selbst zu präsentieren (Self Disclosure) sowie die Fähigkeit zur kritischen Beurteilung der Eigen- und Fremdkultur (Bolten 2003: 374, Deardorff 2006: 241ff., Wiseman 2002, 211f., Byram 1997: 53f.) der verhaltensbezogenen Dimension zugerechnet. Die Förderung dieser Dimension wurde bei den Evaluationen interkultureller Trainings relativ selten gemessen, positive Effekte wurden besonders beim Einsatz erfahrungsorientierter Methoden (Rollenspiele, Simulationsspiele etc.) und in kombinierten kognitiv-erfahrungsorientierten Trainings erhoben (Kováčová 2010: 184-194).

²¹ Die beiden letztgenannten Autoren (Morawietz und Reichel 2016: 5) weisen in ihrem Konzept der IKK auf eine enge Verwobenheit aller Dimensionen bei der Dominanz der Kognition hin, indem sie die IKK als Mitdenken, Kennenlernen und Bemühung um Verstehen der legitimen Interessen des “Anderen”, des “Fremden” und derer Integration in das eigene Weltbild charakterisieren. “Nur in einer beständigen Auseinandersetzung mit dem “Fremden” und damit auch mit den eigenen sich verändernden lebendigen Werten und Normen, dem ständigen Bemühen um ein Verstehen (vor dem Bewerten) dessen, was “befremdet”, kann wirklicher Respekt entstehen. Ein Respekt, der nachhaltiger und gleichberechtigter ist, als nur eine dulddende Toleranz es vermag.” (Morawietz und Reichel 2016: 5)

Inwieweit aber die Förderung aller Komponenten der IKK das Ziel des Fremdsprachenunterrichts (FSU) sein kann, ist ein Thema didaktischer Diskussion. So lehnt Juliane House (1996) Schulung der affektiven Komponenten der IKK innerhalb des FSU ab und empfiehlt stattdessen, sich auf die genuine Aufgabe des FSU – auf die Sprachvermittlung zu konzentrieren. Innerhalb kann aber auf die sprachbezogenen Kulturunterschiede zwischen der Mutter- und Fremdsprache (komparative Semantik) bzw. sich auf die Differenzen im kommunikativen Verhalten in beiden Sprachen (kulturspezifischer Ausdruck von Illokutionen als Teil der komparativen Pragmatik etc.) hingewiesen werden. Im Gegensatz dazu plädieren z.B. Ulrike Kaunzner (2008: 16-25) oder Jörg Roche (2005: 220-240) für die Öffnung des FSU für gesellschaftlich-politische Themen. Diese Öffnung kann auf der Sekundarstufe in Landeskundeeinheiten erfolgen; im tertiären Bildungsbereich führt sie zur Entstehung neuer Studiengänge (German Studies) und Fächer innerhalb des Germanistikstudiums.

3. Spielfilm als Medium zur Förderung der IKK

Spielfilme avancieren zu einem anerkannten Lernmittel in interkulturellen Trainings (Fowler und Blohm 2004: 53-55) wie auch im FSU (Brandi 2001, Henseler et al. 2011, Welke und Faistauer 2015). Ihre Attraktivität ergibt zu einem dadurch, dass die Filmrezeption primär mit der Freizeit und nicht mit dem Lernen assoziiert wird. Diese Einstellung stellt jedoch eine Herausforderung für die Lehrkräfte dar, die im Unterricht den gewöhnlichen passiven Filmkonsum verhindern müssen und stattdessen den Lernenden das Medium Film als anregendes Lernmittel vorstellen sollen.

Zum anderen machen die Kombination von Bild und Ton und die Nachahmung der Realität die Filme sehr attraktiv. Dadurch wirkt die Filmnarration anschaulich und einprägend. Eine spannende Handlung und Entwicklung der Protagonisten fordern Emotionen der Lerner mehr heraus, als es gewöhnlich in den Vorlesungen durch Lektüre von Sachtexten möglich ist. Für die *Förderung der IKK* heißt es, dass *mittels Filme neben der kognitiven auch die affektive Dimension und indirekt auch die verhaltensbezogene Teilkompetenzen modelliert werden können.*

Die Funktion der Filme bei der Förderung der IKK kann man mit einer Fenster-Metapher gut beschreiben. Filme dienen als Fenster zur Welt aber auch als Fenster zum Selbst. Sie bieten einen *Einblick in die fremde Realität*, stellen *lebensnahe Situationen* dar, inszenieren menschliche Beziehungen, zeigen Verhaltensmuster, Konflikte sowie Lösungsansätze in einer konkreten kulturellen und sozialen Umgebung. Durch geeignete Aufgaben können die Lernenden dann auf Kulturunterschiede zwischen ihrem Milieu und der Filmwelt aufmerksam gemacht werden. Filme können also für die Vermittlung *kulturspezifischen Wissens* in bestimmten Kontexten eingesetzt werden (Fowler und Blohm 2004: 54, Henseler et al. 2011: 8).

Ebenso wie ein Fenster einen Blick nicht nur nach draußen, sondern auch einen Blick nach innen ermöglicht, können im Sinne des schülerzentrierten Unterrichts Aufgaben erstellt werden, in denen die Lernenden nicht nur über den

jeweiligen Film, sondern auch über sich selbst sprechen, ihre Einstellungen und Wertorientierung artikulieren (Henseler et al. 2011: 9), denn die *Reflexion der eigenen Orientierungsmuster* ist für die Entwicklung der IKK ebenso wichtig, wie die Beschäftigung mit dem Fremden.

Werden die individuellen Orientierungsmuster im Heimatland der Lernenden diskutiert, werden sich die Lernenden mit einer Vielfalt der Ansichten auseinandersetzen müssen. Dadurch erfahren sie die *Heterogenität der eigenen Heimatkultur*; es wird ihnen bewusst, dass es auch innerhalb einer "Landeskultur" verschiedene Lebensentwürfe und Wertpräferenzen gibt, die nebeneinander existieren können. Geht man einen Schritt weiter und kreiert man Aufgaben, in denen die Lerner ihre Ansichten mit Sichtweisen ihrer Eltern vergleichen sollen, wird ihnen *Dynamik kultureller Systeme* deutlich gemacht. Im weiteren Unterrichtsverlauf sollen Lehrpersonen dafür sorgen, dass beide diese Erkenntnisse auf die Zielkultur übertragen werden, um die Bildung von starren, vereinfachten Bildern des Fremden (Stereotypen) zu vermeiden.

Ein besonderes interkulturelles Potential weisen die Filme mit der Migrationsthematik auf. Im deutschen Kino tauchten sie Ende der 90-er Jahre und verstärkt seit dem Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts auf (Holzwarth 2013). Sie decken praktisch alle Filmgenres von Drama bis zur Komödie ab. Sie liefern Beispiele für *individuelle Akkulturationsgeschichten und Strategien für die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Fremden*, zeigen die Pluralität der Migrationserfahrungen, schneiden oft auch das Thema der Mehrsprachigkeit und Switchen zwischen verschiedenen Kulturen und Sprachen an. Ferner laden sie zur Diskussion über die Bedeutung von Vorurteilen und Stereotypen im Alltag und narrativen Formaten ein (Holzwarth 2008: 11). Diese Aspekte fördern der *Verstehen der Besonderheiten interkultureller Kommunikationsprozesse und die Reflexionsfähigkeit*.

Ein besonderer Vorteil von Spielfilmen liegt darin, dass sie nicht primär als Lernmedien für interkulturelle Trainings entwickelt wurden, weswegen sie weniger die Gefahr des "Kulturifizierung" (Weichelmann 2010: 331) in sich bergen, also die Steuerfunktion von Kultur wird in ihnen nicht überbetont. In didaktischen Filmen oder Fallstudien, die für interkulturelle Trainings besonders konstruiert wurden, lauert die Gefahr, dass der Faktor Kultur zu stark in Fokus gesetzt wird und andere Faktoren wie Person des Protagonisten mit seinen Charaktermerkmalen und Situation ausgeblendet werden. Die Menschen können dann als "kulturelle Maschinen" erscheinen, die vollständig von kulturellen Mustern determiniert sind. In den Spielfilmen sind hingegen die Protagonisten mehreren Einflussfaktoren ausgesetzt. Kultur ist nur ein Faktor unter vielen, der ihr Handeln (mit)steuert. Darüber hinaus erscheint sie eher versteckt, was unserem alltäglichen Wahrnehmen ähnlicher ist.

Der "Kulturifizierung" wird auch durch Darstellung allgemein menschlicher Themen und Erfahrungsmuster vorgebeugt, die in Filmen unterschiedlicher Provenienz aufgegriffen werden (z.B. Abgrenzung gegenüber den Eltern, Suche nach Identität, Liebe, Bedürfnis nach Liebe und Anerkennung etc. Holzwarth 2008: 11).

Auch wenn Filme Aufschluss über fremdkulturelle Wirklichkeit geben können, muss man stets zu beachten, dass sie *Kunstprodukte* sind. Das heißt, "sie

bilden nicht die Wirklichkeit ab, sondern liefern durch die Selektion dessen, was dargestellt wird, sowie die Art und Weise, wie das Geschehen dargestellt wird einen bestimmten Blick auf die Wirklichkeit" (Surkamp 2010: 63). Um bei der Fenster-Metapher zu bleiben, das Fensterglas kann unterschiedliche Farben und Qualität haben. Sie hängen vom Geschmack und der Intention des Regisseurs ab, die durch den sozialen und zeitlichen Rahmen der Filmentstehung mitgeprägt sind. Lernende wenn erst dann kulturkompetente Filmrezipienten, wenn sie über die Konstruiertheit, Ausschnittshaftigkeit und Perspektivität jedes Films wissen (Henseler et al. 2011: 20). Alle bisher besprochenen Aspekte beziehen sich auf die kognitive Dimension der IKK.

Von der affektiven Dimension können Spielfilme zur Entfaltung von Neugier, Ambiguitätstoleranz, Offenheit und Empathie beitragen. In den Filmen, die interkulturell orientierte Filmdidaktik nutzt, wird oft Neues, am ersten Blick Unverständliches oder sogar Abscheu Erregendes gezeigt. Es verlangt von den Zuschauern *Ambiguitätstoleranz*, diese uneindeutigen, unangenehmen Szenen in der Hoffnung auszuhalten, dass die Gründe und Motive für das seltsame Verhalten der Protagonisten durch die weitere Filmsequenzen erklärt werden. Das Filmverstehen setzt einen offenen Rezipienten voraus, der die Motive und eigene Logik der Figuren nachzuvollziehen versucht und die Machart des Films akzeptiert.

Die Schilderung konkreter Einzelschicksale und Verwendung spezifischer Darstellungstechniken (z.B. Close-Up-Einstellung) machen die Innenwelt der Protagonisten erfahrbar und fordern Emotionen der Rezipienten heraus. Dabei können die Zuschauer eine Stellung zwischen zwei Polen einnehmen. Sie können die Handlung distanziert betrachten, d. h. eine Art "Adlerperspektive" mit Weitblick wählen, oder sie können sich in (eine der) Filmfiguren einfühlen, wodurch ihre Empathie trainiert wird. Bei der *Empathie* handelt es sich um eine emotionale Identifizierung mit dem anderen, die durch Perspektivenübernahme ermöglicht wird. Ihre Voraussetzung ist das Wissen über Normen, Erwartungen und Bedürfnisse des Interaktionspartners. In interkulturellen Interaktionen heißt es "sich in die fremde Welt zu wagen, die anderen in ihren eigenen Kontexten verstehen zu lernen, die "Normalität des Fremden" zu erfassen" (Zeuner 1997: 6). Empathische Menschen sind meistens eher fähig, angemessen zu reagieren. Empathie ist also eine Eigenschaft, die affektive und kognitive Elemente verbindet und sich im Verhalten demonstriert.

Durch Spielfilme kann die verhaltensbezogene Dimension der IKK aber auch noch anders modelliert werden. Im Filmgeschehen *beobachten bzw. entdecken* die Lernenden *neue Handlungsweisen, Problemlösungen, und Kommunikationsmuster*. Akzeptieren die Zuschauer eine der Filmfiguren als Modell, hat die Figur bestimmte Eigenschaften, die für die Lernenden attraktiv sind, kann das Lernen am Modell erfolgen: Durch Beobachten erfahren die Lernenden welche Verhaltensweisen unter welchen Umständen in einem spezifischen kulturellen

Umfeld erwünscht sind und welche nicht. Dadurch wird ihr Verhaltensrepertoire tangiert,²² ihre Problemlösungs- und Konfliktlösungskompetenz geschult.

Von der *Fremdsprachenkompetenz* werden bei der Filmarbeit sowohl rezeptive als auch produktive Fertigkeiten gefördert. Zur Schulung der Sprachrezeption trägt bei, dass die Lernenden die Fremdsprache im Film kontextualisiert und beinahe in ihrer authentischen Form erleben. Für Lerner im Ausland, die ausschließlich von Nicht-Muttersprachlern unterrichtet werden, stellen die Schauspieler aus den im Zielland produzierten Filmen oft die einzigen authentischen Sprachvorbilder dar. Durch Filmdialoge können sie viel von verbalen aber auch non-verbalen und paralinguistischen Merkmalen der Kommunikation wie Mimik, Gestik und Körpersprache bzw. Intonation, Sprechtempo und Sprechpausen lernen. Auf dieses didaktische Potential der Spielfilme soll besonders hingewiesen werden, denn den paralinguistischen und nonverbalen Merkmalen der Kommunikation wird im Unterricht nur selten Aufmerksamkeit schenkt (Henseler et al. 2011: 9). Ferner wird durch Filme das Verstehen als komplexer Vorgang trainiert, bei dem durch mehrere Sinne erfasste Informationen, Situationsfaktoren und Erschließen vom Mitgemeinten aber nicht Gesagten kombiniert werden. Darin besteht ein eindeutiger Vorteil von Filmen im Vergleich zum klassischen schulischen Hörverstehen isolierter Texte vom Lehrbuch.

Da die didaktisch durchdachte Filmarbeit beim Sehen des Films nicht endet, sondern eine sprachliche wie auch inhaltliche Vorentlastung, bei der die Lernenden zur Sprachproduktion aufgefordert werden, sowie eine anschließende Diskussion über das Gesehene umfasst, werden beim Einsatz der Filme im FSU auch produktive kommunikative Kompetenzen gefördert. Surkamp (2010: 62) empfiehlt, nach dem Filmsehen die Lernenden zuerst nach ihren persönlichen Reaktionen und Stellungnahmen zu fragen. Danach kann eine gezielte Diskussion zu ausgewählten Aspekten des Films folgen.²³ Möglich sind aber auch andere Formen der Nacharbeitung, bei denen die Lernenden ihre Kreativität entfalten können. Sie können z. B. die Schlüsselszenen nachspielen, innere Monologe, in denen die Gedanken der Figuren versprachlicht werden, verfassen (Verquickung mit Empathie) (Surkamp 2010: 62), eine Filmfortsetzung entwerfen (Brandi 2001: 54), ein Tagebuch eines der Protagonisten schreiben oder einen Brief an ihn richten, in dem sie das Gesehene mit eigenen Erfahrungen und Plänen vergleichen und so über einen möglichen Transfer nachdenken.

²² Im Bezug auf die Modellierungseinflüsse wurden drei Wirkungstypen identifiziert: 1) Neuerwerb von Verhaltensweisen (Reproduktion von Verhaltensweisen eines Modells, die vorher noch nicht beherrscht wurden); 2) Hemmungseffekte (Reduktion der Häufigkeit vorigen Verhaltensweisen abhängig von der Beobachtung aversiver Verhaltensfolgen bei einem Modell); 3) Enthemmungseffekte (Steigerung der Häufigkeit vorher gedämmter Verhaltens durch Beobachtung, dass aversive Konsequenzen für dieses Verhalten nicht eintreten, bzw. dass das Modell positive Reaktion von seiner Umwelt erhält (Lukesch 2001 zit nach Wisniewski 2013:198)

²³ Brandi (2001: 15) rät explizit an, landeskundliche, sprachlich-inhaltliche, interkulturelle, nonverbale und filmische Aspekte zu trennen und einen deutlichen Fokus zu setzten.

4. Kriterien für die Filmauswahl

Der Film soll die Lernenden sprachlich und inhaltlich fordern aber nicht überfordern. Die Sprachkompetenz der Lernenden ist ebenso zu beachten wie ihre vorigen interkulturellen Erfahrungen und das Maß ihrer Aufgeschlossenheit für das Unbekannte. Filme als didaktische Mittel sollen zwar gewohnte Bilder und bekannte Seh- und Wahrnehmungsweisen aufbrechen und neue Denkanstöße geben (Henseler et al. 2011: 32), aber wenn eine Grenze überschritten wird, stößt der Film auf eine Ablehnung und wirkt kontraproduktiv.

Sollten Filme als Informationsträger zur Illustration theoretischer Konzepte interkultureller Kommunikation verwendet werden, bewährte es sich, den Film erst nach der Beschäftigung mit der Theorie zu zeigen und die Aufmerksamkeit der Lerner durch gezielte Aufgaben auf die durchgenommenen Aspekte zu lenken (selektives Sehen). Anders gesagt, um mit einem Film effektiv zu arbeiten, muss er an das Curriculum angebunden sein.

Bei der Wahl der Sprachversion ist das Sprachniveau der Zuschauer zu berücksichtigen. Sind die Lernenden nicht imstande, dem authentischen Sprechmaterial zu folgen, sollten sie durch Einschalten der Untertitel "Deutsch für Hörgeschädigte" unterstützt werden. Um das Filmverstehen zu sichern, kann auf die Möglichkeit des individuellen Filmkonsums außerhalb des Unterrichts mit wiederholtem Ansehen der Kernszenen hingewiesen oder auf eine andere Sprachversion des Films – in der Muttersprache oder auf Englisch – aufmerksam gemacht werden.

Neben diesen zwei wichtigsten Kriterien – inhaltlicher Angemessenheit und sprachlicher Verständlichkeit – müssen bei jeder Didaktisierung auch ganz pragmatische Kriterien wie Verfügbarkeit des Films und Zeitressourcen, die für die Filmarbeit zur Verfügung stehen, berücksichtigt werden.

5. Unterrichtsbeispiel: Nirgendwo in Afrika

5.1. Handlung

Bei diesem Film handelt es sich um ein Oscar-gekröntes Melodram der deutschen Regisseurin Caroline Link (2001), das das Schicksal jüdischer Migranten in Afrika während des zweiten Weltkriegs schildert. Der aufgeklärte Anwalt Walter Redlich erkennt die Nazi-Gefahr und flüchtet 1938 aus Breslau nach Kenia, wo er alleine eine schäbige Farm in einer einsamen, trockenen Gegend verwaltet. Nach sechs Monaten reisen seine Frau Jettel und die Tochter Regina nach. Jettel, gewohnt an den Lebensstandard der oberen Mittelschicht, kann sich nur schwer mit dem neuen Leben auf einer armen Farm abfinden. Die kleine vierjährige Regina öffnet sich hingegen schnell für Neues und befreundet sich sofort mit dem einheimischen Koch Owuor. Der Verlust von Heimat und Verwandten, Nutzlosigkeit der in der „alten Heimat“ erworbenen Kompetenzen und angeeigneten Rollen bedrohen die Ehe von Jettel und Walter. Es kommt zu einer schleppenden Ehekrise.

Darüber hinaus sind die Folgen des Krieges auch in Kenia, damals eine englische Kolonie, zu spüren, Durch eine Ironie des Schicksals werden die Redlichs als Deutsche, als Kriegsfeinde interniert. In der Gefangenschaft entdeckt

aber Jettel ihre innere Kraft und verwandelt sich in eine selbstbewusste Frau. Sie übernimmt dann die Leitung einer neuen Farm, während ihr Mann bei der britischen Armee dient. Regina beginnt wegen der Armut später eine englische Internatschule zu besuchen, gehört dort aber bald zu den besten Schülern. Die Ferien verbringt sie zu Hause auf der Farm, wo sie sich mit einem einheimischen Jungen aus dem Stamm Pokot befreundet. In diesen Szenen werden ihre erfolgreiche Integration sowie ihr Grenzgängertum gezeigt. Sie fühlt sich in der Welt der Kultur ihrer deutsch-jüdischen Eltern heimisch, im Schuljahr gehört sie zur Gruppe der jungen Engländer, die in Kenia Kolonialherren sind, kommuniziert aber ohne Probleme auch mit Einheimischen. Zugleich gerät sie in Situationen, wo sie zu spüren bekommt, dass sie weder der einen noch der anderen Kultur ganz gehört.

Nach dem Kriegsende bewirbt sich Walter für ein Amt als Richter in Deutschland; seine Frau und Regina möchten aber lieber in Kenia bleiben. Erst wenn die Familienmitglieder wieder eine gegenseitige Wertschätzung spüren, bringt es die Familie zusammen und die Redlichs kehren nach Deutschland zurück.

5.2. Didaktischer Rahmen

Die hier dargestellte Didaktisierung wurde mit ausländischen Studienanfängern in Deutschland ausprobiert, die größtenteils aus Polen (Wrocław/Breslau) stammten und einen Crashkurs interkultureller Kommunikation besuchten. Das Aufgabenset wurde aber auch im Kurs Interkulturelle Kommunikation für Studierende der Auslandsgermanistik eingesetzt. Die Teilnehmer beider Gruppen verfügten über ein Sprachniveau B2-C1.

Als *Lernziele* wurden festgelegt: Entwicklung der kognitiven Dimension der IKK, konkret des kulturalgemeinen Wissens. Von der affektiven Dimension sollte v.a. Empathie gefördert werden. Außerdem sollten die Kursteilnehmer zur Reflexion eigener Erfahrungen mit Fremden geführt werden und auf Herausforderungen eines Auslandsaufenthaltes vorbereitet werden.

In der Didaktisierung werden die Themen Migration und Akkulturation, Akkulturationsstrategien, die Akkulturation beeinflussende Faktoren; Kulturschock und seine Phasen und Manifestationen; IKK und ihre Teilkompetenzen; multiple kulturelle Identitäten, Verankerung und Prägung des Individuums durch mehrere Kollektive/Subkulturen, Stellung von Minderheiten behandelt.

Die *Lerninhalte* Akkulturation, Akkulturationsstrategien, Kulturschock, multiple kulturelle Identitäten wurden bereits vor dem Sehen des Films in einer Vorlesung vermittelt. Den Germanistikstudierenden standen außerdem Nachschlagwerke und Lehrbücher zur Verfügung, um sich mit den durchgenommenen Konzepten noch tiefer auseinanderzusetzen. Das Konzept IKK war für die Lerner ein neues Thema und sollte erst nach dem Sehen des Films erarbeitet werden.

5.3. Methoden und Aufgaben

Für die *pre-viewing phase* entstanden zwei Szenarios – ein eher kreatives, handlungsorientiertes und ein stärker kognitiv orientiertes. Sie können je nach Präferenzen der Lerner eingesetzt werden. Der kreative Einstieg erfolgt durch ein Afrika-Plakat. Die Lernenden werden aufgefordert, ein Plakat zum Thema Afrika

zu basteln, dabei Fotos aus Zeitschriften, Reisekatalogen, Kalendern oder Internet zu verwenden und eigene Assoziation zu dem Kontinent aufzuschreiben. Anschließend wird diskutiert, wie stark diese Bilder und Assoziationen nur ausgewählte Aspekte des Lebens fokussieren, wie lückenhaft und in Stereotypen verhaftet unser Wissen ist und wie stark unsere mentalen Bilder durch Medien (re)produziert und für eigene Zwecke genutzt werden (wilde Landschaft – Reiseprospekte, Armut – Caritas). In dem nächsten vorbereitenden Schritt sollen sich die Lernenden vorstellen, in einem afrikanischen Land ein paar Jahre leben zu müssen, wobei sie in dieser Zeit keine Chance haben, ihr Heimatland zu besuchen. Welche Herausforderungen müssten sie meistern? Was würden sie mitnehmen? Abschließend wird das Thema des Films die erzwungene Emigration nach Afrika während des zweiten Weltkriegs bekannt gemacht.

Eine andere Möglichkeit sich dem Film inhaltlich anzunähern und auf die Aktualität und Relevanz des Themas hinzuweisen erschließt sich durch Arbeit mit den heutigen Zeitungstexten über Migranten. Wer migriert heute? Aus welchen Gründen? Wie werden Migranten im Einwanderungsland wahrgenommen und aufgenommen? Welche Rolle spielt die ethnische Community beim Leben in der Fremde und bei der Integration? Falls mit ausländischen Studierenden oder Teilnehmern mit einer Auslandserfahrung gearbeitet wird, können die Fragen auch einen ganz konkreten Lernerbezug bekommen: Was hat Sie dazu bewegt, im Ausland zu studieren? Wollen Sie in ihrem jetzigen Gastland bleiben? Was meinen Sie, wie ändert sich dadurch ihr Leben? Welchen Herausforderungen werden Sie sich stellen müssen? Bzw. Unter welchen Umständen wären Sie bereit, ihre Heimat dauerhaft zu verlassen? Wahrscheinlich fallen dabei die Antworten “bei der Verfolgung” oder “im Krieg”, was einen Anlass bietet das Filmthema anzukünden und die Seh-Phase überzugehen.

Noch vor dem Filmstart sollten die Figuren kurz vorgestellt werden, weil die Analyse ihres Verhaltens das Kernstück der Filmarbeit darstellt. Aus diesem Grund bilden die Lernenden Gruppen, wobei jede Gruppe auf eine der drei Hauptfiguren (Walter Redlich, Jettel Redlich oder Regina Redlich) eingehen wird und dazu ein entsprechendes Arbeitsblatt ausgehändigt bekommt.

Die Seh-Phase wurde nur in Blockveranstaltungen im Plenum realisiert, in Standard-Kursen bekamen die Studierenden die DVD oder einen Link auf den Film im Netz und schauten sich diesen zu Hause an. Dazu erarbeiteten sie auch die Aufgaben, die die Beschreibung von für bestimmte theoretische Konzepte stehenden Handlungsweisen erfordern. Beim Sehen im Plenum wurde auf die entsprechenden Stellen hingewiesen und nach dem Zeigen eine kurze Pause gemacht, damit die Lerner ihre Notizen machen können.

Auch wenn in den Arbeitsblättern Beobachtungsaufgaben überwiegen, findet man in der Fachliteratur (Brandi 2001, Rabe 2011, Surkamp 2010) eine bunte Palette von *while-viewing activities*: Arbeit mit Standbildern, Unterbrechung des Films und Aufstellung von Hypothesen über den weiteren Filmverlauf, Arbeit mit der Bild-Ton-Schere, d. h. Zeigen eines Filmausschnittes ohne Ton, wobei die Lernenden über den Inhalt des Dialogs spekulieren sollen oder sogar die Sprechrolle einer Figur übernehmen. Im Film eignen sich dazu die Szenen, wo

Regina sich zum ersten Mal wagt, die Grenzen der Farm zu überschreiten, dabei schwarze Kinder kennen lernt und ein Antilope-Junge bekommt oder die Streitszene zwischen Walter und Jettel ebenso wie die Sequenz, in der Jettel und der einheimische Koch Owour gemeinsam den Mais entkörnen und sich dabei unterhalten. Möglich ist auch das gegenteilige Vorgehen, eine Sequenz nur zu hören, wobei das Hörverstehen geschult wird und die Lerner über den situationellen Rahmen, Emotionen der Protagonisten und ihren Ausdruck durch Gestik und Mimik nachdenken können. Wenn die Großgruppe geteilt wird und eine Gruppe nur hört, andere nur sieht und diese sich anschließend über ihre Hypothesen und Beobachtungen austauschen, wird eine Interaktivität hergestellt (Rabe 2011: 16)

Der Erfahrung nach, präferieren die meisten Gruppen den Film ungestört zu sehen. Eine Unterbrechung des Filmsehens durch *while-viewing activities* hat sich nur dann bewährt, wenn die Konzentration der Lernenden sinkt.

Wie bereits angedeutet wurde, stellt die Figurenanalyse das Kernstück dieser Didaktisierung vom *Nirgendwo in Afrika*. Zu den einzelnen Figuren wurden folgende Aufgaben gestellt:

Regina Redlich

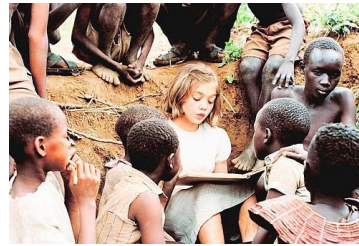
1. Wie hat die kleine Regina den Kulturwechsel erlebt?
2. Welches Bild ihrer Heimatkultur hat sie nach Afrika mitgenommen? Welche Erinnerungen an Deutschland blieben ihr im Kopf hängen?
3. Wie war ihre Akkulturationsstrategie in Afrika? Zeichnen Sie ihre Akkulturationskurve und beschreiben Sie den Verlauf ihrer Akkulturation.
4. Mit welchen Kulturen musste sich die Kleine auseinandersetzen? In welchen Mono- Multi- und Superkollektive hat sie sich integriert? Zeichnen Sie eine Skizze dazu (Modell: diverse Kulturkreise eines Individuums). Wie haben die einzelnen Kulturkreise sie beeinflusst?
5. Welche Eigenschaften und Einstellungen haben ihr die Akkulturation erleichtert? Folgende Standbilder aus dem Film können Sie an die Szenen erinnern, die in denen diese Eigenschaften und Einstellungen angedeutet werden.²⁴

²⁴ Abb.1: Regina wagt sich trotz Mutters Verbots Kontakt mit einheimischen Kindern aufzunehmen,

Abb. 2: Regina stellt Teile ihrer Kultur ihren neuen Kameraden vor – vertraut auf zwischenmenschliches Verstehen über Kulturen hinweg,

Abb. 3: Regina muss als Jüdin die Rolle der Außenseiterin in manchen Situationen akzeptieren. Sie meutert hier nicht dagegen, weil es in dem System kontraproduktiv wäre,

Abb. 4: Regina bringt dem einheimischen Jungen und seinem Vater Wertschätzung entgegen und im Gespräch über Poesie bildet sie eine Brücke zwischen der englischen Hochkultur der Kultur vom Stamm Pokot.



6. Welche Erfahrungen hat sie in Afrika gesammelt, die ihr im weiteren Leben helfen können? Beschreiben Sie diese Kompetenzen.
7. Wie stellen Sie sich die Reintegration von Regina in Deutschland vor? Wie könnten die Einheimischen einem bei der Integration helfen?

Walter Redlich

1. Mit welcher Einstellung flüchtete der Rechtsanwalt Walter Redlich nach Afrika? Wie könnte diese Einstellung und die Bedingungen seiner Flucht das Einleben in die neue Kultur beeinflussen?
2. Welche Beziehung entwickelte er zu der neuen Heimat? Welche Akkulturationsstrategie wählte er? Illustrieren Sie es mit den Beispielen aus dem Film.
3. Leben Sie sich in die Rolle Walter Redlichs ein. Mit welchen Anfangsschwierigkeiten musste er sich auseinandersetzen? Leben Sie sich in Situation von Walter ein und schreiben Sie in seinem Namen einen Brief an seinen Vater Max, in dem sie das Leben der Familie mit ihren schönen Seiten aber auch Schwierigkeiten beschreiben.
4. Kommen in Film Situationen vor, die Sie an Ihren Auslandsaufenthalt erinnern? Wenn ja, welche? Wie haben Sie problematische Situationen gemeistert?
5. Wie hat Walter, seine Frau Jettel wahrgenommen? Warum kam es zu einer Ehekrise? Was war der Schlüssel zu ihrer Überwindung?
6. Der Vater der Familie hat während seines Aufenthaltes interkulturelle Kompetenz entwickelt. Analysieren Sie dieses Phänomen. Aus welchen Komponenten besteht die interkulturelle Kompetenz? Wie haben sich diese Komponenten im Handeln von Walter Redlich gezeigt?

7. Trotz Folgen des katastrophalen Krieges hat sich Walter für eine Rückkehr nach Deutschland entschieden. Wie betrachten Sie seine Entscheidung? Wie würden Sie sich an seiner Stelle entscheiden? Warum? Falls Sie sich fürs Bleiben in Afrika entscheiden, entwerfen Sie ein alternatives Ende des Films.
8. Der Film, auch beschäftigt sich indirekt mit der Kriegsgeschichte in dem er das Schicksaal der jüdischen Flüchtlinge thematisiert. Wie werden der Krieg, bzw. andere kulturelle oder ethnische Konflikte in ihrem Land verarbeitet? Sind da noch stereotype Ressentiments gegenüber ehemaligen Feinden vorhanden? Wie wird damit umgegangen?

Jettel Redlich

1. Erinnern Sie sich an die Ausgangssituation von Jettel. Schreiben Sie in einen Eintrag in ihr Tagebuch, in dem Sie den Kulturschock beschreiben, den sie erlebte, als Sie nach Afrika kam. Wie haben die neue Umgebung, Walter und ihre neuen Aufgaben auf sie gewirkt? Erinnern Sie sich an den Satz "Es ist wunderschön, aber hier können wir doch nicht leben." Begründen Sie, warum die Gewöhnung an das Leben in Afrika für Jettel so schwer war.
2. Was sind/Was waren ihre Probleme am Anfang eines Studienaufenthalts im Ausland? Wie setzten Sie sich damit auseinander?
3. Für welche Akkulturationsstrategie entschied sich Jettel am Anfang. Illustrieren Sie ihre Annahme mit Szenenbeispielen aus dem Film.
4. Welche Beziehung hatte Jettel zu dem Koch? Wie hat sie Afrikaner wahrgenommen? Belegen Sie es mit Zitaten aus dem Film. (Wie zeigte es sich z.B. bei der Erziehung ihrer Tochter?) Folgende Bilder machen Sie auf die Schlüsselszenen aufmerksam:



5. Jettels ungenügende Anpassung machte auch ihrem Ehemann Sorgen. Wie hat er darauf reagiert? Welche Ratschläge hat er seiner Frau gegeben. Wie würden Sie die Frau beraten.
6. Verschiedene Einstellungen der Eheleute zu der neuen Heimat, haben sich auch in ihrer Beziehung widerspiegelt. Mit welchen Beziehungsschwierigkeiten mussten sie kämpfen?
7. Wie war die Einstellung zum neuen Land bei Jettel am Ende? Was hat die Wende wohl verursacht? Worin bestand ihr Lernerfolg?
8. Zeichnen Sie eine Akkulturationskurve von Jettel, an der Sie die Akkulturationsphasen beschreiben. Machen Sie es in Form eines Posters, das Sie dann den Kommilitonen präsentieren.

In der nächsten Sitzung bzw. in der *post-viewing phase* kommen zunächst die Lernenden mit ihren persönlichen Reaktionen und Stellungnahmen zu Wort. Sie äußern sich dazu, was ihnen gefiel, was nicht, welche Szenen sie ansprachen, was sie überraschte etc.

Nach diesem einführenden Rezeptionsgespräch, in dem der Film global beurteilt wird, kann man zu einer strukturierten Analyse anhand der Arbeitsblätter übergehen. Da sich einige Fragen zu den Hauptprotagonisten wiederholen und nur aus einer anderen Erfahrungsperspektive bearbeitet werden sollten, geht es in der *post-viewing phase* darum, die Beobachtungen und Interpretationen zu summieren, Pluralität der Migrationserfahrungen zu erkennen sowie theoretische Konzepte in ihrer Ganzheit zu sehen und kritisch zu würdigen.

Gleichzeitig soll der Erfahrungsaustausch über eigene Fremderfahrungen angeregt werden. Bei dieser Art der Diskussion ist wichtig, dass in der Lerngruppe eine Atmosphäre des Vertrauens herrscht. Diese wird leichter erzeugt, wenn sich auch die Lehrperson öffnet und über ihre eigenen Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse berichtet.

Der letzte didaktische Schritt soll einen Transfer anhand des Lernens am Modell stimulieren, wozu sich mehrere kreative Methoden anbieten. Die Lernenden können z.B. im Namen einer der Figuren einen Brief an sich schreiben, in dem sie geeignete gesehene Handlungsstrategien auf ihre Probleme übertragen. Um das Verfassen dieses Briefes zu erleichtern, ist es günstig, den Lernenden eine Vorlage anzubieten.²⁵ Ferner kann mit Zitaten aus dem Film gearbeitet werden, die

²⁵ Ein Beispiel für diese Vorlage:

Liebe/Leiber (Eigenname des Verfassers),
 ich schreibe Dir, weil ich weiß dass Dir (Benennung der problematischen Situation aus dem eigenen Leben) zu schaffen macht. Etwas Ähnliches habe ich auch in Afrika erlebt. Vielleicht kannst Du Dich erinnern, dass (eine analoge Situation aus dem Film und ihre Lösung nennen). Vielleicht könntest du auch(eine Lösungsstrategie für das eigene Problem ausarbeiten). Es wird nicht leicht sein und sich vielleicht nur langsam verändern, aber ich bin überzeugt, dass du es schaffst, weil du(eigene Kompetenzen und Ressourcen nennen). Ich drücke Dir die Daumen.
 Dein(e) Regina/Jettel/Walter

die Lerner auf ihre Lebenssituation beziehen und dazu kurze Essays schreiben oder passende Bilder machen. Hierzu eine kurze Auswahl:

Toleranz heißt ja nicht, dass alle Menschen gleich sind. Und wenn ich etwas hier gelernt habe, dann, wie kostbar diese Unterschiede sind. Unterschiede sind etwas Gutes, Regina. Und kluge Menschen würden dir dein Anderssein niemals vorwerfen.

Mutter zu Regina in einem Gespräch im Bett

Merkwürdig, wie manche Wörter hier an Bedeutung verlieren.

Walter und Jettel bei einem Spaziergang, als das Paar wieder zu sich gefunden hat.

Du wirst es in diesem Land weit bringen, du redest schon jetzt wie ein Neger.

Walter Süßkind zu Regina an einem Schabatt-Abend

Mach Dir ums Reginchen keine Sorgen, die hat's Massel vom Goj. (die hat einfach Glück)

Regina, nachdem sie von der Mutter vorm Kontakt mit Einheimischen gewarnt wurde

Ähnlich kann man auch mit Bildzitate arbeiten, zu denen die Lernenden analoge Fotos aus ihrer Lebenswelt schießen können. Kolečáni-Lenčová (2012: 81) bezeichnet ein ähnliches Verfahren als Spiegelbild und charakterisiert es als eine besondere Art der Identifikation. Der/die Lernende nimmt eine der dargestellten Figuren als sich selbst wahr und vergleicht sich mit ihr, bearbeitet das abgebildete Thema mit Bezug auf sich selbst.



5. Schlusswort

Obwohl in Spielfilmen hauptsächlich als ein Medium der Populärkultur gesehen wird, das der menschlichen Neugier und dem Bedürfnis nach Unterhaltung entgegenkommt, weisen die sie auch ein erhebliches Potential für die Vermittlung der IKK. Filme enthalten Botschaften, die etwas über die Kultur des dargestellten Landes aber auch des Produktionslandes aussagen. Bei allem Realismus sind sie aber Kunstformen, die den Zuschauer in eine fiktive Welt hineinziehen. Sie spiegeln die Realität nicht vollständig wider, sind aber Fenster, die einen künstlich konturierten Blick in fremde Welten ebenso wie in uns selbst anbieten. Durch Filmarbeit kann den Lernenden kulturspezifischen Wissens vermittelt werden, außerdem können Empathie, Perspektivenwechsel, Neugier auf das Fremde und Ambiguitätstoleranz geschult werden. Filme, in denen interkulturelle Interaktionen thematisiert werden, können über Besonderheiten interkultureller Kommunikationsprozesse, Wichtigkeit der kulturellen Identität und ihrer Bildung informieren. Durch die Filmarbeit kann sogar das Lernen am Modell initiiert werden und somit die verhaltensbezogene Dimension der IKK tangiert werden.

Trotz all diesen Potentials kann der Film das Lernen in realen interkulturellen Situationen nicht ersetzen. Der Reiz der Filme kann jedoch dazu genutzt werden, die Bereitschaft der Lerner zu erhöhen, sich auf interkulturelle Begegnungen einzulassen und das interkulturelle Lernen attraktiv zu machen.

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La notion de *vintage* en français et en tchèque

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Résumé

L'objectif de cette communication est de présenter une analyse comparative du lexème vintage dans l'ensemble de sa compréhension dans les deux langues avisées, le français et le tchèque. Le terme est présent dans des dictionnaires des deux langues, mais sa présence et sa diffusion ne sont pas univoques. Tandis que dans la langue française, le lexème vintage occupe une place étendue (il est présent dans la majorité des dictionnaires de langue générale), dans la langue tchèque, il n'apparaît que dans le dictionnaire des néologismes et il est pour l'instant absent des autres dictionnaires généraux traditionnels ainsi que des dictionnaires en ligne.

Son sens originel (champagne, vin millésimé) date de 1967 en français et est apparu plus tard en tchèque. Depuis, sa signification a évolué et de nos jours le vintage est devenu un phénomène omniprésent qui se rapporte surtout à la mode. Dans certains contextes, il remplace d'une manière peu adéquate le vocable rétro/retro. Ce dernier est né par troncature du mot rétrograde. Il est apparu en tant que nom masculin (1861), pour être utilisé dans la deuxième moitié du XX^e siècle en tant qu'adjectif désignant un retour en arrière, une imitation d'un style passé.

Mots-clés

Vintage, retro, anglicisme, français, tchèque, néologisme

1. Introduction

Le mot *vintage* connaît un grand succès ces dernières années. A la lecture de magazines ou de revues spécialisés dans la mode, la décoration, *etc.*, nous rencontrons vite « l'étiquette » magique, celle du *vintage* (*style vintage, décoration vintage, chaussures vintage*), qui accompagne les noms de vêtements, de créations, de mobilier, en bref, chaque produit peut posséder la notion de *vintage*. Cet emprunt fait même partie du livre intitulé *100 anglicismes à ne plus jamais utiliser* (Maillet, 2016 : 140), accompagné de remarques telles que « *vintage* est devenu terriblement "tendance" », « on qualifie de *vintage* un peu tout et n'importe quoi ».

Mais d'où vient ce terme ? Que désigne-t-il exactement et quelles sont sa représentation et sa diffusion dans les deux langues choisies pour notre communication, le français et le tchèque ?

2. *Vintage* : origine, généralités

Le vocable *vintage* est aujourd'hui perçu comme un anglicisme, même si ses origines sont liées à l'ancien français comme nous le constatons en consultant des dictionnaires généraux et étymologiques (v. infra).

Le *dictionnaire d'Oxford* [en ligne] le définit comme « l'année ou le lieu où un vin, en particulier un vin de haute qualité, a été produit » ou « un vin de haute qualité issu de la récolte d'un seul district identifié dans une bonne année ». Le dictionnaire étymologique en ligne *Etymonline* nous précise que le mot est apparu au début du XV^e siècle pour désigner « une récolte de raisins, le rendement en vin d'un vignoble ». Il s'agit d'un terme anglo-français (né au milieu du XIV^e siècle), du vieux français *vendage*, *vendange* « récolte du vin, rendement d'un vignoble », du latin *vindemia* « cueillette du raisin, rendement en raisin ». Plus tard, le sens est passé à « l'âge ou l'année d'un vin particulier » (1746), puis le terme est devenu un adjectif et a acquis la signification générale de « être d'un temps antérieur » (1883).

3. *Vintage* en français

Présence de *vintage* dans les dictionnaires

Le mot *vintage* est à chercher dans des dictionnaires de langue générale. *Le Petit Robert* (2014) le désigne comme un anglicisme, mot anglais « millésime ; époque », avec une apparition datée de 1967. Il s'agit d'un nom masculin prononcé de deux façons possibles [vɛ̃taʒ ; vintɛdʒ]. Son premier sens, celui de « porto, champagne millésimé » s'est élargi en 1989 pour parler de « vêtement, accessoire de mode qui date réellement de l'époque d'origine, qui n'est pas la copie moderne d'un ancien modèle ». Dans ce cas le terme est utilisé comme un adjectif invariable avec pour sens « d'époque ». Son dernier emploi est lié à la photographie : « photo dont le tirage est contemporain de la prise de vues » possédant également une recommandation officielle, celle de « tirage d'époque ».

Le dictionnaire *Larousse* (2016, 1208), quant à lui, propose trois définitions de *vintage* : 1) *vintage* [vɛ̃taʒ] (n. m., mot anglais, « millésimé »), « porto millésimé qui a vieilli au moins dix ans » ; 2) *vintage* [vɛ̃taʒ ou vintɛdʒ] (adj. inv.) « se dit d'un vêtement, d'un accessoire, etc., des décennies précédentes remis au goût du jour. » ; 3) *vintage* (n.m.) : « tendance de la mode qui fait appel à ce style de vêtements, d'accessoires. »

En ce qui concerne le dictionnaire plus conservateur *Le Trésor de la langue française*, il ne fait aucune référence à l'emploi actuel du terme étudié dans le sens « d'époque », « ancien », et ne mentionne que des données relatives à l'usage de *vintage* (n. m.) lié à la viticulture.

Pour ce qui est de l'encyclopédie gratuite en ligne *Wikipédia* [en ligne], elle mentionne les données présentées par les deux dictionnaires précédents et ajoute des précisions. Elle propose par exemple la prononciation d'origine anglaise [ˈvɪntɪdʒ]. Outre la signification liée à la production de vin de haute qualité ou à ce vin lui-même, *Wikipédia* souligne surtout son sens de *rétro* apparu dans les années

1980, en expliquant que *vintage*, contrairement à *rétro*, désigne « tout objet original et qui ne soit pas une imitation ». Les domaines dans lesquels nous pouvons rencontrer ce terme, hormis l'œnologie, l'habillement et la photographie déjà cités, sont :

- la musique : pour qualifier un genre rock'n'roll ou le meilleur « millésime » musical ;
- les instruments de musique : un instrument vintage est « un modèle original célèbre » ;
- l'automobile : « en carrosserie, le style vintage désigne les productions reprenant les codes des classiques de carrosseries des années 1950 et 1960 », une réutilisation et réinterprétation de ces codes « en y adjoignant des éléments plus modernes ».

En ce qui concerne le dictionnaire *Wiktionnaire*, il définit l'adjectif *vintage* (1967) comme un « emprunt à l'anglais », dans le sens « daté d'une certaine époque ». Il contient donc la compréhension actuelle du terme.

Nous avons également consulté des dictionnaires plus spécialisés et nous nous permettons de présenter les indications fournies par le *Dictionnaire des anglicismes* de H. Goursau (2015) qui cite d'abord plusieurs termes concurrentiels de *vintage* : « ancien, millésimé, rétro, d'époque, d'une certaine époque, d'un style, de collection, ultra branché, archi-usité, de mode rétro ». Viennent ensuite des explications plus précises : « en œnologie le millésime ; vin de Porto, récolté les années exceptionnelles ; habits et vêtements anciens de collection ; vêtements anciens de créateurs renommés ; friperie ; objets d'art rares au charme insolite que le temps a fait prendre de la valeur ; pièces d'occasion datant au plus tard des années 1980 ».

Nous trouvons également un commentaire sur *vintage* dans la rubrique de l'Académie française (AF) intitulée *Néologismes & anglicismes* (cf. <http://www.academie-francaise.fr/vintage>, consulté le 18/6/2017). L'Académie rappelle l'origine de l'emprunt provenant de l'ancien français *vinetier*, « vigneron », dans le sens : « un porto d'une cuvée particulière ou d'un millésime particulier », et critique l'extension de sa signification d'origine pour qualifier tel ou tel objet qui « aurait pris de la valeur en vieillissant ». L'article se termine par un exemple « On dit / On ne dit pas » sous forme de tableau (cf. tableau n° 1) qui sert de recommandation pour remplacer le vocable *vintage* dans les communications quotidiennes.

Tableau n° 1 : Recommandations de l'AF pour remplacer le terme vintage

On dit	On ne dit pas
<i>Une voiture d'époque</i>	<i>Une voiture vintage</i>
<i>Un sac des années xxxx</i>	<i>Un sac vintage</i>

Les dictionnaires consultés appréhendent la compréhension de *vintage* de façon similaire. Les uns proposent des définitions simples avec pour sens « provenant d'une certaine époque », les autres détaillent son usage. En résumé, nous pouvons constater que le terme *vintage* peut être utilisé en français sous la forme d'un adjectif (invariable) ou d'un substantif. Son sens d'origine, daté de 1967 et lié à l'œnologie, a été élargi dans les années 90 à toute entité datée d'une certaine époque.

Cependant, il ne faut pas confondre le *vintage* avec le *rétro* comme le soulignent *Wikipédia* (v. supra) ou Gardet (2013 : 9) : « le *vintage* est une récupération authentique de l'ancien, retravaillé » tandis que l'objet *rétro* « peut, lui, n'être que dans l'imitation et neuf dans sa fabrication ».

Sylvie Barbier signale dans son *Dictionnaire impertinent de la mode* qu'il ne faut non plus confondre le *vintage* avec la friperie « qui vend juste des modèles un peu vieillots, pas forcément griffés, qui sentent le grenier. »

Pour pouvoir nous prononcer sur la présence, la circulation et la fréquence du mot *vintage* dans la vie quotidienne, nous allons étudier les occurrences du terme dans des contextes concrets tirés d'archives de presse, de *Google* et d'un corpus linguistique choisi.

***Vintage* en contexte et en usage**

Nous avons procédé à la recherche du mot *vintage* dans les archives du quotidien *Libération* (consulté le 3/5/2017). Depuis 1994 le mot présente 1994 954 entrées. En limitant la recherche à la dernière année écoulée, nous avons découvert 128 résultats, et pour les 6 derniers mois 74. Les archives du quotidien *20minutes* affichent 23 400 occurrences. En étudiant ces résultats, nous pouvons constater que le vocable *vintage* est utilisé dans la plupart des cas en tant qu'adjectif (invariable) dans le sens « daté d'une certaine époque ».

(1) « Bibelots, objets de collection, vêtements **vintage**... Emmaüs a lancé ce jeudi sa boutique en ligne, Label Emmaüs, où figurent entre 2.500 et 3.000 objets. Ils sont proposés "avec une gamme de prix assez diversifiée, à partir de 2-3 euros et parfois plus cher pour les objets rares qui peuvent intéresser les collectionneurs", a expliqué à l'AFP Thierry Kuhn, président d'Emmaüs France. »

Néanmoins, la forme plurielle est tout de même utilisée 90 fois dans les archives de *20minutes* :

(2) « Sa seule passion est apparemment futile. Elle a le chic pour chiner des pièces **vintages** rares et ultra-stylé dans les friperies. »

Vintage en tant que substantif de genre masculin (désignant généralement *la tendance vintage, le style*) est moins fréquent :

(3) « Vendre de l'ancien grâce aux modes de communication du présent : le **vintage** a trouvé son filon pour élargir son public. Parmi les exposants de la seconde édition du Wonder Vintage Market, à Paris samedi et dimanche derniers, se trouvaient de nombreux e-commerçants. »

Utilisé au féminin, il renvoie au composé « la vintage(-)mania » :

(4) « La **vintage** mania s'empare de Nice. Quand la "rétro glam attitude" tient salon. »

Dans le corpus linguistique *Araneum Francogallicum Maius* (AFM) créé et géré par le *Corpus national tchèque* (korpus.cz [en ligne]), *vintage* affiche 5 876 résultats ; il est le plus souvent employé en tant qu'adjectif. Lors de notre recherche dans le corpus AFM, nous avons découvert plusieurs composés : des maillots de football *rétro-vintage*, ce chypre *néo-vintage*, ce sera *le néo-vintage*, une tenue type *urbain-vintage*, un univers *fantastico-geek-vintage*, des costumes *quasi-vintage*, une campagne *romantico-vintage*, tendance *barroco-vintage (sic)*.

Pour ce qui est de sa présence sur *Google.fr*, nous comptons plus de 5 000 000 résultats (18/6/2017). Si nous limitons notre recherche à la dernière année, nous notons 431 000 références et pour le dernier mois 239 000. Il s'agit de nouveau d'un chiffre considérable qui prouve un usage *important* de l'emprunt *vintage*.

4. *Vintage* en tchèque

Dans la langue tchèque, le mot *vintage* n'est présent que dans le dictionnaire *Neomat* ([en ligne]) avec plusieurs exemples. Le premier provient de 1994 et son contexte renvoie à sa compréhension d'origine :

(5) „A moji přátelé říkávají, mám pro tebe dobrou **vintage**, dobrý ročník, už je to osm let staré [...]“

« Mes amis n'arrêtent pas à me dire, j'ai pour toi un bon **millésime/vintage**, une bonne année, il a déjà huit ans. »

Neomat cite le terme *vintage* sous forme de substantif ou d'adjectif, dans les deux cas invariables.

Il est très curieux que le mot ne contienne aucune mention sur *Wikipédie* et il est également absent du dictionnaire en ligne *Wikislovník* qui d'habitude comporte des lexèmes apparus récemment. Néanmoins, nous trouvons une courte définition dans le dictionnaire en ligne *ABZslovník* (dictionnaire des mots d'origine étrangère) : une expression anglaise qui est le plus souvent associée à un certain style, expression signifiant historique, classique, de qualité mais pas *rétro*.

Pourtant, il possède une certaine fréquence d'utilisation comme en témoignent les résultats révélés sur *Google.cz* : 965 000 entrées (consulté le

18/6/2017). Si on limite les recherches temporellement, dans la dernière année on compte 181 000 occurrences et dans le dernier mois 83 600. Même si les données affichées par *Google* ne sont qu'approximatives, elles nous fournissent tout de même une image de la fréquence et de la circulation de l'emprunt dans la langue tchèque.

Pour confirmer la tendance croissante de l'emploi du mot *vintage*, nous avons fait des recherches dans les archives du quotidien *Idnes.cz*. Il propose 194 résultats (la datation la plus lointaine est de 2004), dont 23 pour la dernière année. Dans la plupart des cas, le vocable est utilisé en tant qu'adjectif.

(6) „Jedním z nejlépe vybavených **vintage** sekáčů je Sommerladen, stojící nedaleko legendární kavárny The Barn. Nabízí zboží prémiové kvality, včetně značek jako je Prada či Hugo Boss. Majitelka obchodu Johanna Mattner se léta živila jako stylistka a mnoho kusů do své kolekce získává přímo od filmových hvězd a televizních celebrit, takže zde můžete narazit na zajímavé kousky „s příběhem“.“

« L'un des magasins d'occasions **vintage** le mieux équipés est celui de Sommerladen, situé près du légendaire café The Barn. Il propose des produits de première qualité, y compris des marques telles que Prada ou Hugo Boss. La propriétaire du magasin, Johanna Mattner, a travaillé pendant des années comme styliste et de nombreux vêtements de sa collection lui viennent directement de stars du cinéma et de célébrités de la télévision, de sorte que vous pouvez y trouver des vêtements intéressants "avec une histoire". »

En ce qui concerne le corpus SYN2015²⁶, ses données affichent presque les mêmes chiffres. Le corpus en question compte 159 résultats. Ces chiffres prouvent donc la présence du lexème dans le discours tchèque.

Dans le milieu tchèque, nous rencontrons d'autres orthographes, qui correspondent à la prononciation du mot en tchèque : *ventáž*, *vintáž*, ou encore *vintydž/vintidž*.

Même si le terme présente une circulation assez élevée dans le discours tchèque en ligne, son absence dans les dictionnaires tchèques reste surprenante. Pour comprendre cette absence, il faut premièrement expliquer que la langue tchèque préfère ses propres termes pour désigner un vin (Porto) millésimé comme « ročníkové víno », « archivní víno », (*vin de garde*) « archivní porto ». Deuxièmement, nous sommes persuadés que c'est l'expression *retro* (« rétro ») qui supplante la signification de *vintage* dans la communication courante. Les résultats affichés dans le dictionnaire *Databáze heslářů* (DH) en sont témoins. *Retro*, attesté dans le *Dictionnaire général de la langue tchèque* (faisant partie du DH), est défini comme étant une première partie de mots composés, avec pour signification : se

²⁶Corpus de la langue tchèque géré par le Corpus national tchèque (korpus.cz).

rapporant à une époque dans le passé ou à un lieu ou « une rétrospection, le fait de regarder en arrière dans le passé ».

D'où les composés relevés dans le dictionnaire *Neomat*, dans la plupart des cas des substantifs, par exemple (si nécessaire, les traductions en français sont ajoutées entre parenthèses) : *retro budík* (réveil), *retro design*, *retro efekt* (effet), *retro film*, *retro hračka* (jouet), *retro kolekce* (collection), *retro komedie* (comédie), *retro look*, *retro pop*, *retro píseň* (chanson), *retro soul*, *retro soundtrack*, *retro styl*, *retro série*, *retro vzpomínka* (souvenir), *retro zvuk* (son), *retro-design*, *retro-echo*, *retro-formace* (formation), *retroatmosféra* (atmosphère), *retroauto* (voiture), *retroautobus* (bus), *retroautomobil* (automobil), *retroavantgarda* (avantgarde), *retrobike* (vélo), *retroboom*, *retrobota* (chaussure), *retrobotaska* (basket : dans le sens de chaussure), *retrokemp* (camping). Nous observons également la formation des adjectifs : *retrobolševický* (bolchévique), *retro-futuristický* (futuristique), *retro-grafický* (graphique), *retro-láskyplný* (plein d'amour), *retro-soulový* (de soul), etc. ou des adverbes *retro-pamětnicky* (par des témoins d'époque), *retroolfaktivně* (de manière olfactive), etc.

En analysant la liste des mots composés, on relève la présence du mot-valise *retronaut*, composé de *retro* et *kosmonaut* (cosmonaute).

(7) „Pojem **retronaut** by skvěle seděl na cestovatele v čase a přesně tím se nakonec zabývá stejnojmenný rodinný podnik architektky Pavly Kosové, jejího manžela Miroslava a švagrové Anny. Trojice pražských třicátníků hledá křesla hlavně z padesátých až sedmdesátých let minulého století a dává jim nový kabát. Jejich hobby - showroom s křesly mají Kosovi...“

« Le terme **retronaut** pourrait parfaitement désigner un voyageur dans le temps, et c'est exactement cette activité qui est en fin de compte exercée par l'entreprise familiale du même nom représentée par l'architecte Pavla Kosová, son mari Miroslav et sa sœur Anna. Le trio de trentenaires de Prague recherche des fauteuils, des années cinquante à soixante-dix principalement, pour leur donner un nouvel aspect. Leur passe-temps – les Kos ont une salle d'exposition avec des fauteuils...»

La liste des composés contient au total un peu plus de 400 résultats.

5. Conclusions

Après avoir effectué nos recherches dans des corpus métalinguistiques, dans la presse et sur Internet, nous pouvons constater que la présence et la perception de *vintage* en français et en tchèque n'est pas univoque.

Premièrement, cet emprunt parfaitement enraciné dans le corpus métalinguistique français, commence seulement à apparaître dans les dictionnaires tchèques. Pour l'instant, nous ne notons sa présence que dans le dictionnaire *Neomat* (dictionnaire des néologismes) et il reste absent des dictionnaires de langue générale, même dans ceux en ligne. Dans ce contexte, il faut noter que le milieu français est plus sensible aux phénomènes repris de l'anglais, et ce depuis la parution du pamphlet pour la défense de la langue française rédigé par René Étiemble *Parlez-vous français ?* (1964), suivi par la loi Toubon destinée à la protection du patrimoine linguistique français. Chaque lexème et chaque

signification imités, adoptés, tirés de l'anglais sont tout de suite repérés et commentés par des linguistes, des journalistes ou d'autres autorités qui s'expriment au nom de la langue française. Une telle surveillance, qu'elle soit officielle (sous forme de loi) ou non, n'existe pas dans le milieu linguistique tchèque, ce qui peut s'expliquer par le parcours historique de la langue tchèque (p. ex. les barrières du régime communiste) ainsi que par sa limite territoriale, *etc.*

Deuxièmement, pour ce qui est de l'usage de *vintage* dans la presse et sur Internet, nous observons des chiffres plus élevés pour la langue française. Mais son emploi dans le milieu tchèque affiche également une hausse constante, surtout dans sa forme adjectivale.

Troisièmement, on trouve dans la langue tchèque un terme concurrentiel à *vintage*, celui de *retro*²⁷, utilisé exactement dans le même sens et affichant sur *Google.cz* 36 400 000 résultats (18/6/2017), contrairement aux références sur *Google.fr* indiquant un chiffre plus bas de 1 100 000. En revanche, nous remarquons une nuance sémantique dans la signification française : le *rétro* est plus dans l'imitation tandis que le *vintage* comporte une certaine authenticité par rapport à une époque donnée.

Enfin, il serait intéressant de revenir dans quelques années vers cette étude sur l'utilisation de *vintage*, pour mesurer son évolution et ses changements éventuels dans le temps. *Vintage* tombera-t-il dans l'oubli ? Entrera-t-il dans les dictionnaires généraux tchèques ? Sera-t-il complètement remplacé en tchèque par *retro* ou les comprendra-t-on comme deux termes de sens différent ? Seul l'avenir nous apportera des réponses.

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²⁷En tchèque, il y a même une émission de télé très populaire intitulée « Retro ». Elle présente différents phénomènes liés à l'ancien régime communiste en vigueur entre 1948 et 1989.

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Neologismele internaționale

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Rezumat

Receptarea și analiza neologismelor preluate din limba engleză, existente în presa actuală, nu s-a bucurat de o cercetare unitară. Explicații atât obiective, cât și subiective pot fi atribuite fluctuațiilor²⁸ semnificative, precum și multitudinii de forme ale aceluiași formații lexicale în textele jurnalistice actuale. Elementele generatoare ale unor deviații lingvistice pot fi reprezentate, pe de o parte, de nivelul cunoașterii englezei, de prețiozitatea la nivel lexical sau de nevoia sincronizării cu lumea occidentală materializată prin imitare, iar pe de altă parte, de pătrunderea recentă și de puterea de circulație limitată a anglicismelor. Este dificil de infirmat autoritatea cuvântului scris. Din această perspectivă, nu putem diminua contribuția presei, în mod prioritar, a celei scrise, la intelectualizarea, precum și la mondializarea vocabularului actual al limbii române.

Cuvinte cheie

neologism, dinamică, extralingvistic, massmedia, influența engleză

1. Introducere

Neologismele apar și rămân în limbă atunci când există necesități denominative, evidențiind disponibilitățile de înnoire ale fiecărei limbi. Lexicul, în general, și elementele nou create, în special, sunt constant legate de modul de gândire, de evoluția societății umane (progresul tehnic, globalizare, schimbările politice, sociale, aspectele culturale etc.). Astfel, se poate explica multiplicarea rapidă a neologismelor în epoca noastră.

Dat fiind faptul că neologismele reprezintă lexicul culturii noastre moderne și au contribuit, în mare măsură, la consolidarea caracterului romanic al limbii române, importanța acestora a fost deseori subliniată, iar numeroasele studii în domeniu își găsesc pe deplin justificarea.

Neologismele au intrat în atenția lexicologilor la începutul secolului al XIX-lea, cu toate că apariția lor este legată de începuturile literaturii românești. La acea vreme, preocuparea o constituiau sursele neologismelor, reprezentate de limba latină ori de limbile romanice înrudite.

Vocabularul oricărei limbi, aspect bine cunoscut, se află într-o permanentă dezvoltare și, în consecință, transformare, dinamica aceasta constituind o trăsătură

²⁸ Stoichițoiu Ichim 2006b, p. 96 -117.

a evoluției sale în sens vertical. În mod constant, apar noi elemente corespunzătoare necesităților lexicale ale vorbitorilor, în vreme ce alte unități, printr-o rară utilizare, sunt conduse spre periferia lexicului.

2. Neologisme internaționale

S-a evidențiat adesea importanța neologismelor, afirmându-se că acestea au contribuit atât la occidentalizarea și modernizarea limbii române, cât și la relatinizarea ei²⁹. Neologismele de proveniență latină și neolatină au determinat o reroromanizare³⁰ a limbii noastre, prin sporirea numărului de elemente lexicale de origine romanică și prin acoperirea golurilor produse de învechirea și eliminarea cuvintelor vechi, în locul cărora au fost introduse elemente lexicale alogene³¹.

Într-o limbă în evoluție se poate afirma că formațiile lexicale sau frazeologice noi dețin întotdeauna supremația numerică în comparație cu elementele eliminate. Lărgirea vocabularului cu noi unități lexicale reprezintă, de regulă, un câștig pentru o limbă oarecare, întrucât aceștia corespund nevoilor de comunicare a vorbitorilor din epoca respectivă.

S-a evidențiat adesea importanța neologismelor, afirmându-se că acestea au contribuit la occidentalizarea și modernizarea limbii române. Conceptul de neologism este, cu siguranță, unul de natură complexă și nu poate fi descris prin reducere la eticheta „noutate lexicală”. Sub aspect etimologic, conceptul de neologism include „orice cuvânt nou apărut într-o limbă oarecare, indiferent dacă acesta este un împrumut sau o creație internă a limbii respective obținută prin derivare, compunere etc”³².

Contactul dintre limbi³³ reprezintă un fenomen deosebit de important, întrucât urmarea sa o constituie suprapunerea limbilor, influențarea reciprocă a acestora, într-o măsură mai mare sau mai mică. Este dovedit faptul că nu există limbi izolate. Atunci când cercetările lingvistice nu se pot baza pe date de natură lingvistică, mărturiile arheologice vin să suplimenteze lipsa celor dintâi și arată că odată cu relațiile sociale limbile au interferat și ele.

Factori extralingvistici, precum amestecul de populație, coabitarea într-un anumit spațiu pentru o anumită perioadă de timp, raporturile de natură economică, politică, socială și culturală determină contactul dintre limbi. Aceleași fenomene

²⁹ Concept utilizat de Alexandru Graur într-un articol publicat mai întâi în ziarul „Adevărul” din 20 august 1930, și, ulterior, în volumul *Puțină gramatică* (I), București, Editura Academiei, 1987, pp. 34-35.

³⁰ Concept ce apare mai întâi la Sextil Pușcariu 1940, unde aprecia că scrierile autorilor noștri din trecut sunt caracterizate de un spirit tradiționalist și de sfială în folosirea neologismelor.

³¹ Hristea 2008, p. 169.

³² Hristea 2004, p. 23.

³³ Vezi, mai pe larg, Sala 1997, p. 40.

extralingvistice atribuie autoritate uneia dintre limbi, care se traduce prin preeminență politică, economică, numerică și, nu în ultimul rând, culturală. Bilingvismul are o pondere semnificativă în acest sens.

Contactul lingvistic se poate realiza atât între limbi similare, cât și între limbi complet deosebite structural sub aspect genetic, bazându-se pe natura raporturilor stabilite între comunitățile respective

Nu se poate contesta importanța împrumutului, motiv pentru care toate limbile apelează la acest procedeu pentru a desemna noi realități. Trebuie însă precizat faptul că nu orice limbă este la fel de receptivă în asimilarea de elemente alogene.

Uniformizarea spirituală este factorul principal care conduce la convergența limbilor în faza actuală. După cum se știe, Europa se orientează spre o unitate vizibilă atât la nivel structural, cât și la nivel lingvistic, ceea ce se materializează prin numeroase relații și influențe reciproce³⁴. Astăzi beneficiem de multe elemente lexicale comune în diferite limbi, cum este cazul lui *blog*, *e-mail*, *mesaj*, *radio*, *soft(ware)*, *telefon*, *televiziune*, *wireless* etc.

Apropierea dintre limbi este facilitată de multitudinea de cuvinte cu origine grecească sau/și latinească, o sursă fundamentală pentru internaționalisme.

Indiferent dacă, sub aspect formal sau semantic, există diferențe minimale între anumite elemente lexicale, interlocutorii par să înțeleagă cu ușurință fr. *combinaison*, it. *combinazione*, sp. *combinacion*, port. *combinacao*, germ. *kombination*, engl. *combination*, rus. *kombinațiia*; fr. *constitution*, it. *costituzione*, sp. *constitucion*, germ. *Konstitution*, engl. *constitution*, rus. *constituțiia* fr. *administration*, sp. *administracion*, it. *amministrazione*, port. *administracao*, germ. *Administration*, engl. *administration*, rus. *administrațiia*; fr. *astronaute*, it. *astronauta*, sp. *astronauta*, germ. *Astronaut*, engl. *astronaut*, rus. *astronavt*; fr. *information*, it. *informazione*, sp. *informacion*, germ. *Information*, engl. *information*, rus. *informațiia*; fr. *police*, it. *polizia*, sp. *policia*, germ. *Polizai*, engl. *police*, rus. *polițiia*; fr. *television*, it. *televisione*, sp. *television*, engl. *television*, germ. *Television*, engl. *television*, rus. *televiziia*.³⁵

Aspectele acestea îi determină pe unii cercetători să vadă în lexicul internațional fundamentul unei limbi internaționale.

Neologismele internaționale sunt unități lexicale care reprezintă modalități de comunicare internațională și există concomitent în trei limbi de circulație și civilizație, aparținând unor familii lingvistice diferite³⁶.

Din limba italiană au pătruns în română mai cu seamă elemente lexicale cu caracter internațional. Domeniile de distribuție ale acestor neologisme sunt:

³⁴ Sala, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

³⁵ Pentru alte exemple, vezi Hristea 1997, p 4.

³⁶ Hristea, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

muzical (*andante, crescendo, fortissimo, intermezzo, piano, pianissimo*), economic, bancar (*bancă, contabil, valută*) și gastronomic (*cannelloni, gorgonzola, mascarpone, tagliatele, machiatto*).

Clasificarea unităților lexicale apărute ca rezultat al contactului lingvistic se poate realiza ținându-se seama de o serie de criterii, între care supremația o deține puterea de diseminare. Astfel se poate vorbi despre:

- împrumuturi propriu-zise: sunt cele mai numeroase, cu grad de răspândire ridicat, întrucât se dovedesc a fi indispensabile pentru limbă; reprezintă o categorie de elemente asimilate fonetic, grafic, morfologic și semantic în sistemul limbii și normate în lucrări de tip lingvistic;
- împrumuturi considerate la modă într-un moment oarecare al unei limbi; pot fi numite de „lux” sau „peregrinisme”³⁷ deoarece sunt considerate inutile; ca urmare, gradul de răspândire al acestora este nesemnificativ;
- împrumuturi neasimilate, specifice anumitor domenii, dar care reprezintă o necesitate pentru limbă în încercarea de a denumi noile realități și performanțe.

Omogenitatea de cultură și civilizație se obține, la nivel lingvistic, prin neologisme, care reprezintă orientarea spre unitatea de limbă. Astfel, limbi internaționale, precum engleza, spaniola, franceza, cu toate că aparțin unor sisteme diferite, au în comun un număr semnificativ de cuvinte datorat indivizibilității de civilizație și cultură. Tendința spre unitatea de limbă se manifestă și în română. *Best-seller, brand, e-mail, e-book, flash-back, site, soft(ware), bluetooth, smartphone* etc. sunt cuvinte internaționale, care figurează și în lexicul românesc.

Schimbările aduse de această tendință generală în vocabularul nostru erau, de regulă, în vechime, rezultatul contactului direct dintre poporul român și alte comunități; în prezent acestea ajung în limbă în mod indirect ca urmare a unor necesități de tip cultural.

3. Neologisme de origine engleză utile și inutile

Mass-media românească a avut un impact decisiv asupra evoluției lexicului actual al limbii române, diseminând un limbaj în ultimii 20 de ani, un tipar lingvistic care a generat deseori implicații negative. Amprenta la nivel comunicațional asupra vorbitorilor a fost posibilă datorită puterii pe care o deține presa, știut fiind faptul că aceasta este a patra în ierarhia puterilor în stat. Importul de elemente lexicale alogene atât în limbajul cotidian, cât și în cel de specialitate, este una dintre consecințele asupra dinamicii limbii române actuale.

³⁷ Pentru o documentare pe larg, vezi Deroy 1956.

În privința **utilității** sau a **inutilității** neologismelor, scindarea acestora este legată de procesele lingvistice și mobilitatea acestora, nu reprezintă un aspect stabil în limbă, ci unul constant variabil, granița dintre împrumuturi de lux sau necesare nu poate fi trasată cu exactitate. Astfel, neologismul *manager* („specialist în management; persoană care însoțește (în turneu) un sportiv, o echipă sportivă (profesionistă) și care se ocupă de problemele financiare și organizatorice ale competițiilor”³⁸, „cel care conduce o antrepriză, care greează interesele unui sportiv sau ale unei echipe, care se ocupă cu organizarea și cu chestiunile financiare ale competițiilor; impresar.”³⁹), nu apare în DLR alături de *management*, („Activitatea și arta de a conduce; Ansamblul activităților de organizare, de conducere și de gestiune a întreprinderilor; Știința și tehnica organizării și conducerii unei întreprinderi”⁴⁰), *managerial* („referitor la conducerea (economică), la organizarea întreprinderilor; de manager”⁴¹), *manageriat* („funcția, îndeletnicirea de manager; impresariat”⁴²), cu toate că acești termeni au devenit deja internaționali, și-au dovedit utilitatea și apar înregistrați în dicționarele de tip lingvistic ale limbii române⁴³.

Împrumuturile pe care le regăsim în limbajele specializate își dovedesc pe deplin utilitatea, întrucât acestea acoperă un gol lexical prin denumirea noilor realități din diverse domenii⁴⁴.

Influența engleză în limba română, foarte pronunțată în perioada actuală și în limbile europene, se realizează atât prin preluarea masivă de elemente lexicale, cât și prin atribuirea de noi sensuri unor cuvinte din limba română sub influența termenilor englezești corespunzători.

4. Concluzii

Factorul decisiv în ceea ce privește impunerea sau respingerea unui neologism în limbă îl constituie frecvența utilizării a acestuia.

Caracterul internațional al elementelor lexicale englezești justifică afluența acestora în textele presei românești actuale. Neologismele internaționale desemnează noile realități, datorate dezvoltării științei, tehnicii și comunicațiilor

Pătrunderea elementelor lexicale prin împrumut, indiferent dacă acestea constituie termeni utili sau inutili, reprezintă un fenomen binevenit, întrucât contribuie la evoluția limbii, la varietatea exprimării. Engleza este și ea o limbă receptoare, cu toate că, astăzi, aceasta se dovedește a fi sursa principală a împrumuturilor în limbile europene.

³⁸ DEX, p.616, col. 2.

³⁹ MDN, p.574, col.1.

⁴⁰ DEXI, 1089, col. 1.

⁴¹ MDN, p. 574, col. 1.

⁴² MDN, p. 574, col. 1; nu este înregistrat în DEX și DEXI.

⁴³ Vezi MDN, p. 574, col 1, DEX, p. 614, col. 2, DEXI, p. 1089, col. 1.

⁴⁴ Deroy, 1956, p. 157.

Abrevieri

DEX = *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*, Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan - Alexandru Rosetti” al Academiei Române, București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 1998.

DEXI = *Dicționar explicativ ilustrat al limbii române*, (Coordonator științific: Eugenia Dima, Autori: Eugenia Dima, Doina Cobet, Laura Manea, Elena, Dănilă, Gabriela E. Dima, Andrei Dănilă, Luminița Botoșineanu), Editura: ARC și Gunivas, 2007.

MDN = *Marele dicționar de neologisme* (Ediția a X-a, revăzută, augmentată și actualizată), Florin Marcu, București, Editura Saeculum Vizual, 2008.

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Síntesis retórica en la teoría de la traducción

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Resumen

Utilizando los estudios de Stefano Arduini, que se dedicó al estudio de la relación entre estos dos campos, ofrecemos sugerencias para poner en práctica los conceptos teóricos propuestos en su libro y en los trabajos de Antonio García Berrio, Tomás Albaladejo y Francisco Chico Rico. Además, emplearemos, también, los recursos y las herramientas del análisis interdiscursivo y de la Retórica cultural, con el fin de analizar el proceso de traducción.

Palabras clave

retórica, general, teoría, traducción, análisis interdiscursivo

1. La Retórica General y la Traducción

En este artículo nos proponemos analizar las relaciones que se establecen entre la Retórica General, como teoría semiótica completa, así como la presupuestaron Antonio García Berrio, Tomás Albaladejo, Francisco Chico Rico, como Retórica textual, en clave pragmático-textual, al partir de una teoría de la expresividad que no se reduce al nivel elocutivo-formal, sino que abarca las fases u operaciones discursivas: *Intellectio*, *Inventio*, *Dispositio*, y no sólo estas operaciones creadoras del discurso, pero también las demás: *Memoria*, *Pronunciatio* o *Actio*.

Stefano Arduini, siguiendo el camino de la Nueva Retórica, se fija en la función constructora y formadora de las Figuras, las clasifica en unos cuantos Campos con el fin de reducir el número. Destaca los procesos en que se basa cada Figura y sobre todo pone de relieve el mecanismo universal del funcionamiento de las Figuras. Tal mecanismo constituye “unos universales expresivos que cada cultura adapta relativamente a las propias peculiaridades y diferencias, como sucede en el caso de la traducción.” (Arduini, 2000: 13) Las Figuras son fundamentales para orientar la manera misma de percibir el mundo porque no son meros elementos estructurales o superficiales, sino que son categorías más generales de la expresión, de modo que el texto es constructor de un horizonte y el discurso da un orden al mundo y el cuadro retórico supone la interdependencia entre mensaje, emisor y receptor. La lengua remite siempre a la cultura, ya que se basa en conceptos que son la manifestación del universo de una comunidad y las

culturas son configuraciones de modelos a los que se les asignan significados diversos. Además, las características culturales son importantes, como también son importantes las relaciones entre la lengua y la realidad que constituyen un sistema autopoiético. En este ámbito, la Retórica analiza las configuraciones universales que superan “los límites de las lenguas concretas y de los sistemas signícos particulares, para constituir una red estructurante más profunda.” (Arduini, 2000: 43)

Para poder enfocar el tema, hay que destacar que en la expresión se realiza esta unidad entre mundo y lenguaje y, retóricamente, la expresión se está organizando siguiendo los campos figurales, esquemas formales generales. Los conceptos más importantes que sirven aquí son: hecho retórico y Campo Retórico. El hecho retórico abarca el texto, el discurso retórico, el emisor, el destinatario, el referente, el contexto. El Campo Retórico incluye los hechos retóricos, tanto en la Sincronía como en la Diacronía, es la suma de los conocimientos, experiencias comunicativas adquiridas por las personas y la sociedad y por las culturas. Una cultura se respalda en este depósito de funciones y medios comunicativos formales, en este sustrato imprescindible para cualquier comunicación. El Campo Retórico resulta de la interacción de los hechos retóricos, sincrónica o diacrónicamente. A partir del Campo Retórico, la *Intellectio* estructura el modelo del mundo que permite la comunicación, si es común al emisor y al receptor. (Chico Rico, 1988) La producción y la comprensión del texto envían a un Campo Retórico que no es absolutamente el mismo, pero identifica una cultura, la delimita comunicativamente y se establece, de este modo, un diálogo, sea en el interior del Campo Retórico, sea entre los Campos Retórico diferentes. Esto es importante en la traducción e interpretación, cuando hay que reconstruir un Campo Retórico antiguo, si se trata de Diacronía, o un Campo Retórico de otra cultura, distinta, sea en la Diacronía, sea en la Sincronía. En estas reconstrucciones sucesivas de los Campos Retóricos se basa la traducción y la interpretación.

Una situación real se manifiesta a través de una mirada retórica y sólo la identificación de esta mirada nos permite comprender los horizontes de una cultura, ya que un texto se produce en el interior de un Campo Retórico y se puede interpretar dentro del mismo Campo Retórico o dentro de otro, en una relación dialógica entre culturas lejanas o cercanas en sentido histórico o en sentido antropológico. Un Campo Retórico define los límites comunicativos de una cultura, pero se le asocian Campos Retóricos más restringidos, es decir, en el Campo Retórico general se subsumen Campos Retóricos específicos. El Campo Retórico occidental abarca, por ejemplo, los Campos Retóricos subsiguientes, que son subconjuntos específicos del conjunto general, pero con particularidades o

exigencias comunicativas específicas que proceden de las exigencias comunicativas generales.

Para aproximar el concepto de Campo Retórico podemos mencionar el concepto de Umberto Eco: Enciclopedia que puede ser general o global, de la cultura general, o Enciclopedia local. La diferencia consiste en el hecho de que la Enciclopedia es un conjunto de unidades, conocimientos, saberes y el Campo Retórico atañe los procesos. El texto se produce en el ámbito del hecho retórico y este se puede activar sólo dentro de un Campo Retórico y el Campo Retórico hace posible la interpretación y traducción no arbitrarias. Así se puede distinguir la interpretación del texto del uso, como lo llama Umberto Eco, ya que la interpretación se basa en un conjunto de referencias que suponen movimientos retóricos. La interpretación o *misinterpretación*, en los términos de Derrida, significa reformular y en este contexto la traducción sería reescritura o una redefinición del ambiente retórico-comunicativo de una época en el campo propio.

La Retórica establece estos límites de la interpretación y es una teoría completa de la interpretación que no separa la producción de la comprensión, los medios de persuasión de su recepción (Arduini, 2000: 51). La interpretación se apoya en procesos de cooperación y mediación. El autor y el intérprete se sitúan en los Campos Retóricos activados sólo durante el acto comunicativo concreto. Las traducciones se fundan en el diálogo entre los Campos Retóricos: el Campo Retórico del momento en que se traduce o se interpreta y el Campo Retórico en el cual ha sido producido. Las interpretaciones diversas coinciden en sentido general y una posible lectura supone la activación de las potencialidades de los Campos Retóricos de partida y el de llegada.

Lo más importante es el aspecto semántico, la relación entre extensión e intensión, y las estrategias o técnicas que operan en el plano semiótico-cognitivo, semántico-extensional, semántico-intensional y microestructural. La semejanza, la imitación, la analogía y la antítesis son estas técnicas o estrategias a las cuales se añaden tres técnicas de manipulación, supresión, adición y permutación. Las figuras y los tropos se basan en estas técnicas o estrategias y son muy importantes porque se puede leer e interpretar el mundo a través del lenguaje, lo que pone de manifiesto la relación entre mundo, lengua y cultura.

Al retomar la definición del Campo Retórico como depósito de medios antropológicos y expresivos universales unidos a una cultura que plasma el lenguaje, ponemos de relieve que la traducción es posible gracias a la dialéctica entre los Campos Retóricos y está remodelando el Campo Retórico de una cultura con el Campo Retórico de otra. Esta relación entre las dos culturas puede ser violenta o no. Los límites en los cuales se sitúa el texto, tanto en el proceso de su producción como en el de su recepción, los establecen la operación retórica de la *Intellectio*. Asimismo, el modelo de mundo se configura durante la misma

operación y las figuras desempeñan un papel fundamental en moldear las direcciones o las orientaciones de este mundo, son medios o claves universales que facilitan la mediación, la interpretación y traducción.

2. La traducción literaria

La traducción es tanto proceso como producto y establecer la relación óptima entre los Campos Retóricos es lo más importante durante este proceso para obtenerse un resultado de calidad. Como afirma García Yebra la esencia de la teoría de la traducción “es decir todo lo que dice el original, no decir nada que el original no diga, y decirlo todo con la corrección y naturalidad que permite la lengua a la que se traduce” (García Yebra, 1994: 430).

La práctica de la traducción ha precedido a cualquier intento de teorizar. Numerosos traductores han reflexionado con el fin de convertir en postulados técnicos su práctica cotidiana. García Yebra dice que, desde el comienzo de la traducción hace más de tres milenios, sólo disponían, para orientarse, de los testimonios de otros traductores. Desde que los antiguos traductores hacían sus reflexiones teóricas hasta hoy día, se ha puesto de manifiesto la importancia de combinar teoría y práctica.

Las formulaciones teóricas sobre la traducción no pueden presentar reglas estrictas, dada la base práctica de esta actividad. Sin embargo, en los últimos años han proliferado los tratados de traducción, y han creado una nueva disciplina cuya finalidad parece consistir en sistematizar el proceso de traducción y suministrar los principios y normas que guían las elecciones de toda traducción. Cierta reflexión sobre el complejo arte de traducir puede ser de gran ayuda para el traductor, aunque tampoco podemos esperar que resuelva el problema de la traducción que siempre tiene carácter práctico.

La actividad de la traducción literaria es un conjunto de procedimientos en el que intervienen elementos teóricos, lingüísticos y de creación literaria. El traductor de este tipo de texto tiene que familiarizarse con los artificios retóricos traducibles y con las dificultades que ofrece el discurso literario, así como con los métodos, estrategias y técnicas para resolverlos. Dominar este campo, ya que se trata de Campos Retóricos que facilitan la mediación.

La traducción literaria pertenece a una de las tres grandes áreas del campo de la traducción. El traductor literario busca evitar a toda costa que la obra se sienta como una traducción. Sin embargo, existe inevitablemente una distancia entre la obra y su versión en otra lengua. Se tratará en esta investigación de descifrar el ordenamiento de ciertos elementos que intervienen a lo largo del proceso de la traducción literaria (es decir, tocamos una vez más el mencionado ya Campo Retórico: saber literario, comprensión del contexto cultural, competencia

lingüística, conocimientos teóricos sobre traducción, para que la distancia en la traducción literaria sea más o menos visible, e implique posiciones singulares del sujeto traductor según la utilización de los elementos mencionados).

Comprendiendo el movimiento de pensamiento y de sensibilidad que se produce cuando se pasa de una lengua a otra y haciendo visible cómo este pasaje se hace a través de vínculos y conexiones de sentido que son posibles, no sólo a partir de una competencia lingüística sino que sobre todo por la manera como el traductor se involucra en ese proceso de transferencia de un Campo Retórico de partida a un Campo Retórico de llegada, esperamos poder discernir las exigencias, en términos de saber literario y de comprensión del contexto cultural, que lleven a la buena realización de una traducción.

Los conceptos y los términos utilizados en la Retórica General convergen con las aserciones de otros investigadores y el trazo de unión lo representa el enfoque pragmático-comunicativo. Según George T. Bell un traductor tiene que respetar los estándares de la textualidad, los siete parámetros: la cohesión al nivel de las oraciones; la coherencia, al nivel de las afirmaciones; la intencionalidad; el nivel de aceptabilidad; el carácter informativo; la relevancia y la intertextualidad. Como acto de habla, todo texto se basa en el principio de la cooperación y en las normas de la cantidad, de la cualidad, de la relevancia y de la manera. También, refiriéndose al proceso de la traducción, Bell destaca tres tipos de procesamiento, en el nivel sensorial –bottom-up– desde abajo hacia arriba, en el nivel conceptual –top-down– desde arriba hacia abajo, e interactivo que supone tanto bottom-up como top-down. Al mismo tiempo, representando el proceso de la traducción, Bell habla de los cinco demonios que siempre hay que estar presentes: los demonios de la imagen, los demonios de los rasgos, los demonios cognitivos, el demonio que decide y el demonio vigilante. Pero en la práctica de la traducción, se emplean más las máximas de Paul Grice (1975): de la cantidad, de la calidad, de la relevancia, de la manera. Las normas del comportamiento traductológico son normas profesionales éticas, comunicativas, relacional-lingüísticas (la relación entre los dos textos). Las ideas universales pueden ser en afirmativa o negativa, pero, en cuanto a la prosa literaria, todas estas normas universales tienen en cuenta las realidades del texto épico, respetando el ritmo del íncipit y del final. Al reorganizar el discurso (la denominada normalización o racionalización del discurso), se pueden perder los matices del texto original o informaciones, y se puede acabar con el arte del prosista, dada la importancia del íncipit y del final en el género épico. Hay que respetar la heterogeneidad del texto en prosa, la multitud informe de las voces de un texto épico, ya que a causa de la tendencia hacia la homogeneidad inherente a una traducción se pierde, también, del relieve artístico de la obra (las técnicas de simplificar, explicitar, nivelar). Hay que respetar el registro estilístico del texto, puesto que la tendencia general es de sobrepasar el ideal libresco de la

narración bien hecha, es decir, “ennoblecere” el estilo, el léxico del texto original, retoricar, esto produciéndose en detrimento de la traducción, como también convirtiendo en estético, el término neutro reemplazándose por un término “marcado”, una metáfora. Tampoco se emplea el registro familiar, la lengua hablada en exceso, el culto de la “mancha de color”; y no hay que “sacralizar” la palabra, destruyendo de este modo la semántica por simetrías elegantes. Al no respetar las redes semánticas del texto original, se destruye el sistema de redundancias del original y resulta una traducción “que anexa”. Los mismos resultados negativos se consiguen al no respetar el juego denotativo/connotativo. La desambiguación, la uniformización, la homogeneización, la aclaración, la explicación dañan a la traducción, y hace falta traducir la confusión, no modificar, deformar y destruir las arborescencias sintácticas, porque los efectos son negativos (el deterioro del ritmo, su transformación en algo lineal, ordenado, sin relieve estilístico). “Las derivas” del traductor conducen a la producción de un discurso clásico, “realista”, que se sobrepone encima del texto original, siendo sólo “el proyecto” del traductor, no la traducción. Las causas pueden ser clichés que funcionan, como el cliché regional, el mito de la lengua castiza, o el cliché universal de la estética del discurso “hermoso”.

Hemos hablado sobre el estrecho vínculo entre lengua, mundo y cultura, así que la dimensión cultural y la relación entre las culturas, entre los Campos Retóricos implicados. Pero toda cultura es básicamente multicultural. Es decir, se ha ido formando, y se sigue formando, a partir de los contactos entre distintas comunidades que aportan sus modos de pensar, sentir y actuar. Evidentemente, los intercambios culturales no tendrán las mismas características y efectos. A partir de estos contactos, se produce el mestizaje cultural, la hibridación cultural... Una cultura evoluciona a través del contacto con otras culturas. Pero los contactos entre culturas pueden tener características muy diversas. Mientras que el concepto “pluricultural” o “multicultural” sirve para caracterizar una situación, la interculturalidad describe una relación entre culturas. Aunque, de hecho, hablar de relación intercultural es una redundancia, quizás necesaria, porque la interculturalidad implica, por definición, interacción. No hay culturas mejores y ni peores. Cada cultura puede tener formas de pensar, sentir y actuar en las que determinados grupos se encuentren en una situación de discriminación. Esto significa, también, que la única forma de comprender correctamente a las culturas es interpretar sus manifestaciones de acuerdo con sus propios criterios culturales. Aunque esto no debe suponer eliminar nuestro juicio crítico, sí supone, inicialmente, dejarlo en suspenso hasta que no hayamos entendido la complejidad simbólica de muchas de las prácticas culturales. Se trata de intentar moderar un

inevitable etnocentrismo que lleva a interpretar las prácticas culturales ajenas a partir de los criterios de la cultura del interpretante.

Según el doctor en Ciencias de la información y autor del libro *Comunicación Intercultural*, Miguel Rodrigo Alsina, se acepta que el antropólogo Edward T. Hall fue quien utilizó el término de interculturalidad, por primera vez, en 1959. Aunque es un concepto reciente, muchos investigadores de la comunicación, la cultura, la antropología, la sociología y el marketing, entre otros, se han interesado por su definición, aplicación y desarrollo, ya que su principal característica (y ésta la diferencia de conceptos como el multiculturalismo y el pluralismo) es su intención directa de promover el diálogo y la relación entre culturas y no solamente su reconocimiento social. Por ejemplo, en el volumen de los cuentos de Gabriel García Márquez, se notan las inhabilidades en establecer las equivalencias idóneas. La interculturalidad reside en la coexistencia de dos culturas distintas: la de los conquistadores españoles y la de los indios; es la sustancia misma del realismo mágico en la mezcla de las creencias antiguas y del rigor del catolicismo, y, por supuesto, en los temas y en las metáforas, además en la tradición arraigada del cuento o de la historia, de la leyenda. La traducción de *sería nombrado alcalde del mundo* (Márquez: 11) como *va fi numit* (Márquez 1978) es inaceptable, la diferencia explicándose a causa del sistema político español y rumano, ya que un alcalde no puede ser nombrado, sino elegido. También el título de *Sumo Pontífice* (Márquez:12) aparece, dada la época de la dictadura comunista, como *Papei*. El sintagma *palmas benditas*, traducida primeramente del mismo modo al rumano en las dos versiones (*ramurile sfințite*) se transforma después en *sălciiile binecuvântate* a causa de la influencia de la cultura rumana y de las costumbres autóctonas del domingo del Pentecostés, porque en Rumanía este domingo las ramas son de sauce y no palmas. Además, las equivalencias de los nombres propios tienen o no que ver con las variantes rumanas, porque en rumano Ezequiel es Iezechiel y no Ezequiel, Jacob no es Jacob, sino Iacob.

En cuanto a la *intraducibilidad cultural*, los problemas planteados por la transferencia de los diferentes códigos culturales son más complejos. Cuando las lenguas que el traductor debe poner en contacto son el vehículo de expresión de sistemas sociales y culturales muy alejados entre sí, los problemas de transferencia cultural pueden ser notables, sobre todo si entre el texto y la traducción han transcurrido muchos años. Claro está que entre lenguas más próximas las distancias son menores y la traducción es más accesible, porque existe una zona común, es decir, un conjunto de conocimientos, creencias, costumbres compartidas. De todas maneras, dice que en el caso de un elemento transferible por su pertenencia a una cultura ajena y sin equivalentes en la cultura de llegada, la dificultad se puede solventar con mayor facilidad que cuando hay mayor coincidencia cultural, gracias al mayor margen de maniobra cultural que tienen los textos que en esta ocasión no

se encuentran limitados por aspectos formales del idioma. En otras ocasiones, la aparente intraducibilidad cultural viene motivada por una falta de conocimiento del contexto cultural de la lengua de partida y de la de llegada por parte del traductor. En cuanto a la intraducibilidad cultural, los problemas planteados por la transferencia de los diferentes códigos culturales son complejos. Cuando las lenguas que el traductor debe poner en contacto son el vehículo de expresión de sistemas sociales y culturales muy alejados entre sí, los problemas de transferencia cultural pueden ser notables, sobre todo si entre el texto y la traducción han transcurrido muchos años. Entre lenguas más próximas las distancias son menores, y la traducción es más accesible, porque existe una zona común, es decir, un conjunto de conocimientos, creencias y costumbres compartidas. De todas maneras, en el caso de un elemento transferible por su pertenencia a una cultura ajena y sin equivalentes en la cultura de llegada, la dificultad se puede solventar con mayor facilidad que cuando hay mayor coincidencia cultural, gracias al mayor margen de maniobra cultural que tienen los textos que en esta ocasión no se encuentran limitados por aspectos formales del idioma. En otras ocasiones, la aparente intraducibilidad cultural viene motivada por una falta de conocimiento del contexto cultural de la lengua de partida y de la lengua de llegada por parte del traductor.

El efecto de equivalencia es el que garantiza la viabilidad del acto traductor, ya que permite llevar a cabo una manipulación y redistribución de la materia textual sin que por ello se pierda lo esencial de su contenido y tampoco sus características. Todos los teóricos de la traducción utilizan, de un modo u otro, la noción de equivalencia como un postulado teórico básico para definir la noción de traducción y como el objeto esencial que debe perseguir ésta.

Las equivalencias léxicas-semánticas se pueden clasificar como inaceptables o en una jerarquía de valores, demostrándose la superioridad de una traducción sobre otra, y sin ante pronunciarme, la segunda versión tiene unas equivalencias más propias y exactas en comparación con la primera, pero la adición, sea si se trata de explicitar, sea para conferir relieve estilístico a la traducción, o la sustracción u omisión funcionan en los casos de las equivalencias diferentes. De este modo, se pueden invocar la subjetividad del traductor, el dominio de las dos lenguas, la adecuación a los registros estilísticos, etc.

3. Conclusiones

La Retórica General propone conceptos abarcadores como hecho retórico y Campo Retórico y se fija en todas las operaciones retóricas, utilizando la herencia de la Antigua Retórica y las nuevas herramientas de las Ciencias del Lenguaje para solventar los problemas relacionados con el discurso, con su interpretación y

traducción. Pero podemos afirmar que en la práctica de la traducción funciona la intuición del traductor, y que hay dimensiones del texto literario que no caben en la imaginación de los traductores o simplemente no funciona esta conexión durante el proceso penoso de cualquier traducción, porque aún no se ha encontrado la perfección. La traducción sigue siendo un proceso muy complejo. La traducción es un proceso interpretativo y comunicativo que consiste en la reformulación de un texto con los medios de otra lengua, que se desarrolla en un contexto social concreto, y tiene una finalidad determinada. Es acto de comunicación, operación textual y actividad cognitiva, y el traductor lleva a cabo un complejo proceso mental para traducir, porque se trata de interpretar y, después, volver a expresar y comunicar. La remodelación de un Campo Retórico de una cultura en el Campo Retórico de otra cultura es un proceso que implica mucho más que el nivel lingüístico y es un proceso en el que el traductor se implica, interpreta, reinterpreta, realiza una posible lectura y una transposición en los límites establecidos por el texto, el discurso, sin superarlos, haciendo intuitivamente la diferencia entre interpretación y uso.

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The Islamic Veil from Cosmology to Identity

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Abstract

Mentioned in the Code of Hammurabi (king of Babylon between 1792-1750 B.C.) and later in Assyria in the tablets of Tiglath-Pileser I (king between 1115-1077 B.C.), and present afterward within other cultures neighboring the Middle East, the veil, adopted by Islam as well, came to be seen mainly as a mark of segregation between men and women.

But the veil's symbolism goes far beyond, if we take into account that its cosmological function was that of separating the realm of God from the realm of man, the sacred from the profane, the harām from the halāl. Besides the natural, social, and religious reasons which determined its use within Islam, during the past century the veil and, by extension, the Islamic dress, began to acquire strong political connotations motivated by strong identity feelings, marking the status of the Islamic man as essentially Other, and becoming a political radical insignia of segregation between the world of Islam and the rest of the world.

Keywords

Islam, veil, fundamentalism, identity, segregation

1. Introduction

Mentioned for the first time in Babylon and Assyria and present afterward within other cultures neighboring the Middle East, the veil, adopted by Islam as well and apparently directly influenced by the similar practices of Byzantium and of the Sassanian Persia, is commonly seen by the Western culture as mere mark of segregation between men and women, as a token of gender inequality.

But the veil's symbolism goes far beyond, if we take into account that its cosmological function was that of separating the realm of God from the realm of man, the sacred from the profane, the forbidden from the allowed⁴⁵.

As in other cultures and civilizations of the world stretching from India and China to the territories of ancient Mesopotamia and Greece, in Arabia too the veil used to assume a cosmological function, as well as a natural and a social one.

The cosmological function implied: a) the separation between sacred and profane, and b) the protection against the destructive manifestations of sacred. The

45 From the etymological point of view, the idea of veil in Arabic is expressed by the triconsonantal root *ḥajaba* which means: "to shelter", "to cover", "to seclude", "to hide", "to conceal", "to make invisible", from which derives the substantive *ḥijāb* meaning, besides "veil", "cover", "curtain", "screen", "partition", "barrier".

natural function concerned the protection against the natural elements (sun, wind, sand, rain) while the social function was build around the idea of respect and social stratification. Related to women the veil represented: a) a token of respectability; b) a sign of the marital status^{46, and} c) a way of protection against unwanted or unlawful sexual relationships⁴⁷.

Influenced by its neighbors and, above all, basing itself on the Qur'an, Islam developed a particular culture of the veil, transforming an item of clothing into a guarantor of moral behavior in its society built by and around the word of God, which maybe it couldn't regulate otherwise. How did the veil appear in Islam, what determined its use until today within Muslim communities and why did it become a symbol of resistance of a culture of the world towards the other cultures of the world, these are some questions to which this article, without any pretension of exhaustiveness, will try to give an answer.

2. The veil in pre-Islamic Arabia

Pre-Islamic Arabia was characterized by a particular social and political situation as it was populated by different nomadic tribes engaged in endless conflicts caused by “the perpetual partnership of hunger” (Miquel 1994: 35) and united only by the language of poetry understood as a common basis of cultural achievement. Thus, the main pre-Islamic sources which give an idea about the diversity of the Arabian tribes or clans, about their customs and social relations are the literary creations. According to these sources it seems that several tribes were dominated by women, perhaps a reminiscence of matriarchy, who enjoyed privileged social⁴⁸ or even political positions. If we take into account a statement attributed to ‘Aisha, prophet Muhammad's wife (*see* Watt 1956: 378-379) some women even practised polyandry, a custom still present among the Tuareg tribes of Sahara. During the so-called epoch of “barbarity” (*jahiliyya*)

[...] women were priests, soothsayers, prophets, participants in warfare, and nurses on the battlefield. They were fearlessly outspoken, defiant critics of men, authors of satirical verse aimed at formidable male opponents; keepers in some unclear capacity, of the keys of the holiest shrine in Mecca; rebels and leaders of rebellions that included men; individuals who initiated and terminated marriages at will, protested the limits Islam imposed on that freedom, and mingled freely with the men of their society until Islam banned interaction (Ahmed *cited in* Rhouni 2010: 232).

46 In Babylon, according to the *Code of Hammurabi* all married women had to wear veils in public as a token of their respectability. Later, in Assyria, the prostitutes, slaves, concubines, and common women were not allowed to wear a veil in public as it was considered a mark of social status.

47 In pre-Islamic Arabia a woman could end the relationships with a man by lowering a veil across the mouth of the tent.

48 The first wife of the prophet Muhammad, Khadija, was a respected merchant in Mecca.

In pre-Islamic Arabia the veil didn't have any special connotations different from those inherited from the ancient cultures and traditions which influenced the Arabian Peninsula.

Commonly the veil was worn either by women and men as a means of protection against the harsh natural conditions which marked their everyday life. In other circumstances it seems that it was used by the married women but only by those who had a certain rank and wanted to mark thus their social status. Men used it too in order to keep away the evil-eye (al-Guindi 1999) or when they wanted to show someone a particular respect⁴⁹.

Even if the veil didn't have any assumed cosmological meanings, it contained a general idea of segregation between what was good and what was bad or between what was allowed or prohibited, an idea that will acquire special connotations in Islam.

3. The veil in Islam

In Islam, besides its natural functions as a means of protection against natural elements, the veil acquired or maintained the following symbolic acceptations:

a) metaphysical:

- separation between good and evil
- separation between God and man

b) physical:

- seclusion from the outside world
- separation between sacred and profane.

3.1 Qur'anic acceptations

In the Qur'an the veil has two types of acceptations, one cosmological, another social.

In the first case in the Qur'an the veil (curtain, seclusion) is referred to as:

a) a separation between the servants of good and the servants of evil:

And the dwellers of the Garden cry unto the dwellers of the Fire: We have found that which our Lord promised us (to be) the Truth. Have ye (too) found that which your Lord promised the Truth? They say: yea, verily. And a crier in between them crieth: The curse of God is on evil doers. (*The Qur'an*, 7:44)

Between them is a veil. And on the Heights are men who know them all by their marks. And they call unto the dwellers of the Garden: Peace be unto you! They enter it not although they hope (to enter). (*Ibid.*, 7:46)

b) a separation between the world of God and the world of man:

And it was not (vouchsafed) to any mortal that God should speak to him unless (it be) by revelation or from behind a veil, or that He sendeth a messenger to reveal what He will by His leave. Lo! He is Exalted, Wise. (*Ibid.*, 42: 51)

49 The Tuareg males still wear it from the age of puberty in all circumstances, even when sleeping.

And he said: Lo! I have preferred the good things (of the world) to the remembrance of my Lord; till they were taken out of sight behind the curtain. (*Ibid.*, 38: 32)

And make mention of Mary in the Scripture, when she had withdrawn from her people to a chamber looking East, / And had chosen seclusion from them. Then We sent unto her Our spirit and it assumed for her the likeness of a perfect man. (*Ibid.*, 19: 16-17)

c) a separation between understanding and misunderstanding or between belief and unbelief:

Of them are some who listen unto thee, but We have placed upon their hearts veils, lest thy should understand, and in their ears a deafness. If they saw every token they would not believe therein; to the point that, when they come unto thee to argue with thee, the disbelievers say: This is naught else than fables of the men of old. (*Ibid.*, 6: 25)

And We placed upon their hearts veils lest they should understand it, and in their ears a deafness; and when thou makest mention of thy Lord alone in the Qur'an, they turn their backs in aversion. (*Ibid.*, 17: 46)

d) a barrier between the transmitted word of God and the word of man:

And they say: Our hearts are protected from that unto which thou (O, Muhammad) callest us , and in our ears there is a deafness, and between us and thee there is a veil. Act, then. Lo! we also shall be acting. (*Ibid.*, 41: 5)

e) a barrier between truth and falsehood:

God hath sealed their hearing and their hearts, and on their eyes there is a covering. Theirs will be an awful doom. (*Ibid.*, 2: 7)

From the moral/social point of view the veil is mentioned in the Qur'an only as a proof of women's modesty and 2) as a separation between what was considered forbidden (*ḥarām*) and what was seen as allowed (*ḥalāl*⁵⁰):

And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be modest, and to display of their adornment only that which is apparent, and to draw their veils over their bosoms, and not to reveal their adornment save to their own husbands or fathers or husbands' fathers, or their sons or their husbands' sons, or their brothers or their brothers' sons or sisters' sons, or their women, or their slaves, or male attendants who lack vigor, or children who know naught of women's nakedness. And let them not stamp their feet so as to reveal what they hide of their adornment. And turn unto God together, O, believers, in order that ye may succeed. (*Ibid.*, 24: 31)

O, ye who believe! Enter not the dwellings of the Prophet for a meal without waiting for the proper time, unless permission be granted you. But if you are invited, enter, and, when, your meal is ended, then disperse. Linger not for

50 In Arabic *ḥarām* and *ḥalāl* mean as well “sacred” and “profane”.

conversation. Lo! that would cause annoyance to the Prophet, and he would be shy of (asking) you (to go); but God is not shy of the truth. And when ye ask of them (the wives of the Prophet) anything, ask it of them from behind a curtain. That is purer for your hearts and for their hearts. And it is not for you to cause annoyance to the messenger of God, nor that ye should ever marry his wives after him. Lo! that in God's sight would be an enormity. (*Ibid.*, 33: 53)

3.2 The veil in legalistic Islam

Even if in the Qur'an the veil is mostly referred to from the perspective of its cosmological acceptations, in Sunni legalistic Islam, the social and moral aspects prevailed over the elements of cosmological symbolism.

The common acceptance, favored by the Sunni scholars, of the veil as a garment meant to protect women against men and men against women is based on the two Qur'anic passages cited above (24: 31 and 33: 53) to which adds the following one:

O Prophet! Tell thy wives and thy daughters and the women of the believers to draw their cloaks close round them (when they go abroad). That will be better, that so they may be recognized and not annoyed. God is ever Forgiving, Merciful. (The Qur'an 33: 59)

The interpretation of these passages was put into relation with *zinā'* (fornication, adultery) which was considered one of the most serious moral disorders of the *jahiliyya*. In this respect and in the light of the Qur'an, women were held responsible for the moral corruption of society taking into account that men according to the Edenic paradigm could easily fall into temptation:

Narrated Ibn 'Abbaas: I did not see anything so resembling minor sins as what Abu Hurairah narrated from the Prophet who said, "God has written for the son of Adam his inevitable share of adultery whether he is aware of it or not. The adultery of the eye is the looking (at something which is sinful to look at), and the adultery of the tongue is to utter (what it is unlawful to utter), and the inner self wishes and longings for (adultery) and the private parts turn that into reality or refrain from submitting to the temptation" (Al-Bukhārī 1997: 324)

Nevertheless, in early Islam, the veil did not represent a special topic in the juridical debates which were trying to configure the Islamic Law, as it was not seen as a part of the Islamic religious compulsory obligations considered directly commanded by God. On the other hand, according to Mernissi (1991), the wearing of the veil, understood as a specific way of clothing meant to differentiate Muslim from non-Muslim women as well as free women from slaves, was seen as an obligation *per se*.

The wearing of the veil by women became a matter of debate only during the medieval Islam but the Schools of Jurisprudence failed to reach a legal consensus on the matter as the views of the four Islamic schools of law differed.

There were two currents of opinion, the first arguing that women should cover completely in public leaving uncovered only their faces and hands and the

second, that they should completely cover leaving uncovered only the eyes. The debate became more vivid after the introduction in Islam of the *fitna*⁵¹ doctrine, following the Great Schism between the Sunnis and the Shi'ites, and this because of the polysemantic character of the word.

Thus, the term *fitna*, understood both as “temptation” and “discord” was put into relation with the concept of *awra*, meaning in Arabic, among other things, “defectiveness”, “faultiness”, “weakness”, but also “pudendum” and “genitals”. The subtle conclusion of this was that the sexual attraction exercised by women “weakened” men and, therefore, was susceptible of generating major social disruptions. This was the reason for which – although *fitna* doesn't appear in the Qur'an in relation to sex as a possible cause for disorder within the Muslim community, nor it refers to veiling as a means of preventing such disorders –, the majority of Muslim medieval scholars used the term in order to back their views concerning the necessity of imposing on women the wearing of the veil⁵² (see El Fadl 2001: 233). They argued that, otherwise, the sexual temptations exercised by women outside marriage could have induced a major social disorder preventing people in general, men in particular, from performing their religious or social duties and making them return to the habits of the *jahiliyya*. To this opinion regarding women as main reason of temptation contributed the image of Eve portrayed in the Islamic tradition, as in the Judeo-Christian one, as temptress of Adam. In this respect the Shafi'i jurist Ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (1233-1277) wrote:

Since God made men desire women, and desire looking at them, and enjoying them, women are like the devil in that they seduce men towards the commission of evil, while making evil look attractive. We deduct from this that women should not go out in the midst of men except for a necessity. (El Fadl 2001: 237)

Taking into account the topic concerning female nudity mentioned in the Qur'an and the sexual temptation women exercise on men, the sole element debated by the Muslim jurists was how and to which extent women had to cover their bodies, namely whether they were allowed or not to appear in public with their hands and faces uncovered, a matter on which the opinions of the four Islamic jurisprudential schools differ. The adepts of the Hanafi and Maliki schools chose a less conservative way unlike the Shafi'i and the Hanbali schools who have been privileging until today a rigid or even extremely rigid approach.

For the Malikis, the face and hands of a woman could not be considered as “tempting” parts of the body, therefore women were not obliged to cover them.

51 In Arabic, this term has the following meanings: “temptation”, “trial”, “charm”, “attractiveness”, “enchantment”, “captivation”, “temptation”, “infatuation”, “riot”, “discord”, “dissension”, “civil strife”.

52 The necessity of veiling applies to men too, according to the Islamic Law. Men are forbidden to wear tight or sexually provocative clothes. They are obliged as well to have the area between the navel and the knees covered in front of everybody except their wives. They are not allowed to wear in public clothes similar to those worn by women, nor silk or gold and their way of dressing should be a proof of modesty.

Nevertheless, although they ruled this lack of obligation they opined that face covering was a recommendable thing.

The Hanafis adopted an ambiguous position. On the one hand they opined that a woman's face cannot be considered as “tempting”, but on the other hand they ruled that face covering was compulsory as a woman could not tell whether she was looked at with sexual desire or not. Therefore they ruled that women had to cover their faces in public or in front of men not belonging to their family.

The adepts of the Shafi'i school opined that the face covering in the presence of stranger men was recommendable, but that it became compulsory only when men did not lower their eyes in the presence of a woman or if the face of the respective woman was susceptible of exercising a great sexual attraction on men.

The Hanbalis went far beyond these acceptations and produced two types of legal opinions in relation to the entire female body. According to the first opinion the entire female body was “tempting”, except the face and hands. Thus, face covering was not considered compulsory. A second current of interpretation opined that the face, hands and even the fingers and fingernails of a woman were “tempting” so a woman had to completely cover her body in public.

In spite of all debates, the prescriptions concerning the veil were more or less influenced by many local practices which generated many interpretations referring to the form of the veil and to what exactly it had to cover, as the Muslim legalistic scholars were not so much preoccupied by the veil in itself but by the prevention of any disorderly sexual relation among the members of the Muslim community.

However, according to these legal views, in Islam there are several types of veils, headscarves, and dresses which cover entirely more or less partially the bodies of women: the *hijāb*, the *niqāb*, the *burqa*, the *chador*, the *al-amira*, the *shayla*, the *khimar* etc. The *niqāb* and the *burqa* are the most restrictive of all and are promoted by the rigid Hanbali tradition.

3.3 The veil in mystical Islam

Unlike the Sunnis, the Sufis approached the veil and veiling in a rather different manner, because for them the cosmological dimension of the veil was more important than its moral and social functions. For them unveiling seemed more important than veiling as they strove to remove the barriers between God and man, so that the human being could regain by inner purification its original status of Perfection and Completeness (*al-insān al-kāmil*), a status which makes men and women equal in the eyes of God.

They too based their conceptions on the Qur'an:

(And unto the evil doer it is said): Thou wast in heedlessness of this. Now We have removed from thee thy covering, and piercing is thy sight this day. (The Qur'an, 50: 22)

The threatened Hour is nigh. / None beside God can disclose it (*Ibid.*, 53: 57-58)

For the Sufis the veil was a barrier that prevented human beings from knowing themselves in order to be able to attain the union with God. Thus the veil

transcended the literalistic interpretations of the Sunnis leaving behind its segregationist dimension and becoming an invitation addressed to mankind to remove it by faith and knowledge of God. For the Sufis, the veil is the world which deforms the inner reality of any human being, a veil that through good deeds and inner introspection and purification could be removed, by God's will.

Therefore, they did not try to impose any veils. On the contrary they strove to eliminate the veils covering hearts, eyes and ears as stated by the Qur'an, this being for them the sole possibility of reaching the ultimate Truth.

The so-called Divine Essence is considered by the Muslim mystics as a veiled reality, which rarely reveals its beauty and when it does, it reveals it only to those who deserve to see, as the worldly passions and desires of man veil the inner eye of the intellect and prevent it from seeing the Truth. Thus, in consonance with the Qur'an, the Sufis consider that the veil does not cover the Divine Essence but the eyes which strive to see it.

Even if they accept the necessity of veiling established by the Islamic Law as a token of modesty, respectability and as a sign of belonging to the Muslim community, they generally consider that all human beings, both females and males, have walked since the beginning the same path of reunion with the Source of Being. Thus, for them there cannot be a gender segregation, as Adam, the primordial Human Being, contained both genders within its nature. Therefore, the Sufis consider that the role played by women in society and their rights should be equal to those of men.

4. Modern evolutions

Considered as either a regulator of the moral aspects of the Muslim community life, or a metaphysical barrier between the realm of God and the realm of man, beginning with the colonial era the veil started to change its meanings, becoming more a political symbol than a social/religious and metaphysical concept, as it extended its primary acceptations to a new one that referred to the veil and, by extension, to the entire Muslim traditional dress as a token of resistance towards any foreign influence considered dangerous for the inner and outer structure of Islam as religion and way of life.

As the national costume became almost absent [...] reaction to its absence began with the Islamic dress, the beard and the *jilbāb*⁵³ as forms of reclaiming Arabo-Islamic identity [...]. The more Westernization took hold in lifestyles, the more attachment to national or Islamic dress increased as a reaction against it as has happened in the Islamic revolution in Iran and in the contemporary Islamic groups in Egypt. So did attachment to the Prophet's natural medicine as a reaction against modern medicine, and to Quranic sciences in response to modern sciences." (Hanafi *apud* Sadiki 2004: 125)

Seen mainly as a symbol of traditional Islam, the veil, increasingly politicized during the last decades, acquired several new connotations which

53 Traditional long dress worn in the Arab countries.

transformed it in:

- a) a mark of Islamic identity;
- b) a mark of the refusal to assimilate to other cultures where the Muslim diaspora lives;
- c) a mark of the separation between Islam and the rest of the world.
- d) a mark of separation between Muslim fundamentalists/traditionalists and modernists.

5. Conclusions

Unlike the fundamentalist/traditionalist Islam, be it moderate or radical, which manifests more or less acute tendencies of intolerance towards other ideas and conceptions different from its own, the contemporary modernist Islam, still majoritarian, tries to accord its own values to whom it is attached in different degrees, with the values of modernity, trying to understand them not only from the point of view of a technical and scientific utilitarianism.

But even if they do not agree with the fundamentalist/traditionalist views regarding the Other, this doesn't mean that the modernist Muslims blindly accept the Occidental views sometimes pushed to the edge of absurd.

Caught in the middle between a dictatorship imposed in the name of God and another one imposed in the name of man for whom God doesn't represent too much, these Muslims remain in a limbo because for them "modernism" doesn't necessarily mean "secularism".

Thus although the Muslim veil is affirmed as an ethnic insignia mainly in the fundamentalist/traditionalist milieus, while in many Muslim countries which are not dominated by the fundamentalist ideology it remains a matter of custom and tradition, in the light of the recent global evolutions which violently oppose Islamic fundamentalism to the rest of the world, and of the reactions generated by it which tend to affect many non-fundamentalist Muslim communities, the importance of the Muslim veil seems to expand its meaning marking the status of the Islamic man as essentially Other and contributing to the segregation or self-segregation of Islam from the rest of the world.

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