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LIMBĂ
L A N G U A G E
LANGUE

Difficulties in Processing the Acquired Language Knowledge to Adults

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ABSTRACT

Encouraging adults to learn a foreign language (English in our case) may be considered a challenge not only for the person involved in the acquisition process but also for the one that performs the teaching act. It is a complex process since adults' expectations are higher than children's; they generally believe that their mental abilities, the maturity and the seriousness specific to the age would make them acquire everything that they are taught easier and faster. They are anxious to make proof of immediate improvement in the use of the language and, in case they don't feel a relevant progress from the very beginning, they are discouraged and tend to consider the study of a new language an impossible and uninteresting act. Their main difficulty is not certainly related to remembering the grammar rules, the vocabulary items and other structures taught in class but it has to do with the ability to process them in various situations, different from the patterns in which they were used during the course. The main idea is that they are not willing to use the creative spontaneity, courage and facility that generally characterise children's communication. They are hindered by various personal misconceptions and fears. This is an essential issue that I intend to develop and thoroughly analyse in the present paper.

KEYWORDS: *processing, vocabulary, adults, abilities, effective communication*

Adults' learning needs

There are many reasons that determine adults to start learning a foreign language. Some of them perceive it as a sort of hobby, an interesting and enjoyable way of spending their free time while others consider it a necessary and indispensable task they have to fulfil in order to get a better job, to be promoted or, in some cases to maintain their present job; other simply want to be in touch with the current technology and, as English is widely used in these situations, adults feel the need to acquire and develop the necessary language skills which are vital for their virtual communication. However, whether English is studied by pleasure or by obligation, the teacher has to find the right way to turn the teaching process into an enjoyable act that stimulates different adults with different needs and motivations.

At the very first sight, it doesn't seem to be so complicated. After all, every teaching act involves a constant effort from the part of the teacher to transform the subject that he/she teaches in a pleasant and stimulating performance (act). But, in the case

of adults the acquisition of a foreign language is not part of their compulsory daily tasks (as it is in the case of schoolchildren); it is an additional effort and challenge to their everyday work. Therefore, the English teacher should focus more on the selection of materials (which should be in accordance with the adults' main purpose for studying the language) and on identifying the proper means to turn the lesson into an attractive extra work activity that teaches them a lot without making them feel stressed or uncomfortable. Moreover, the teacher should have in view the length of time that the adult intends to study English in order to use it. While some adults don't set an exact limit to the length of time they want to learn the language, others are pressed by certain job circumstances or other situations to develop their fluency in English in quite a short period of time; in this case, there is a sort of pressure that the learner may feel and a fear of not being able to accomplish the target they were imposed or that set from the very beginning. It is essential for the teacher to have in view all these aspects before proceeding to the teaching process itself. Ronald Carter and David Nunan bring all these points into discussion in their book entitled "The Cambridge Guide to Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages":

> The key defining feature of ESP is that its teaching and materials are founded on the results of needs analysis. The first question when starting preparation for teaching an ESP course is almost always: What do students need to do with English? Which of the skills do they need to master and how well? Which genres do they need to master, either for comprehension or production purposes? (...) However, in ESP, one can be more precise about learners' needs; their needs are defined by learning or occupational situation in which English plays a key role (...) in contrast, for students not immediately using English, or about to use it, needs are much more general.
>
> (Carter & Nunan, 2001: 131)

It's not easy to choose the right English books to be used; besides learners' needs, the teacher should set his/her correct language level on the basis of a placement test and these are not obviously all the matters to be taken into account. However once the English teacher decided what to do in class, he/she should not stick exactly to a book. Additional exercises or fun like activities are useful in developing skills or abilities that learners may not master really well. Some students need more practice of the listening skills while others may feel reluctant to speak. Decoding the message of a reading passage or formulating written paragraphs may be difficult as well. Lately, it has been widely spread among methodologists the idea that the basic four skills of the language (reading, listening, speaking and writing) are easier to acquire if used in proper contexts, derived from everyday situations.

Decoding the meaning of instant messages

In the case of vocabulary, useful commonly met conversations are interesting and stimulate the adult to acquire and remember better new words and set phrases. Lists of antonyms, synonyms and all kinds of word enumerations improve the acquisition process. Still, in time, some words are remembered, others are forgotten. In other

cases although the adult knows the meaning of a word, he/she may not be sure if it is properly used in another situation different from the one in which he/she was presented. Learning words, remembering and using them are complex issues that give rise to a large number of questions and debates.

> Central to research into vocabulary learning are key questions concerning how words are learned. Teachers help learners with vocabulary directly or "explicitly" by means of word lists, paired translation equivalents and in variously related semantic sets. They also help learners by more indirect or "implicit" means, such as exposure to words in the context of reading real texts. Over many years a key question asked by teachers and researchers is "What does it mean to learn a word?" A definition of learning a word depends crucially on what we mean by a word on how a word is remembered over what period of time and in what circumstances it can be recalled and whether learning a word also means that it is always retained".
>
> (Carter & Nunan, 2001: 42)

It is impossible for the teacher to present all the situations or set phrases in which a word may be used. Therefore, he/she should encourage students to be "flexible" and adapt their vocabulary knowledge to each particular situation they come across. Learning by heart new words is pointless if students cannot cope with them in different contexts. Several months ago, I had to teach a business course to the employees of a well-known international company which produces cars. There were mainly managers that had been previously trained in the use of the English language and needed to improve since they had to deal with many foreigners from different countries. One of the course attendants told me about a situation he had to go through while discussing with a Belgium colleague. It was something of the kind:

> The Romanian employee: "Did you send the email with the <u>proper</u> sketch to the new English manager?"
> The Belgium colleague: "No, I didn't. I preferred to hand it to him. Have you met him in person?"
> The Romanian employee: "No, I'm sorry. I haven't had the occasion so far".
> The Belgium colleague: "Oh, he's such a <u>proper</u> gentleman!"
> The Romanian employee: "I can't understand. What do you mean?"

The meaning of the first word "proper" is "appropriateness" or "suitability" while the second is intended to describe a person that follows the conventions of the social behaviour. Being accustomed only with the first use of the word, the Romanian employee couldn't grasp the sense of the other sentence. Thus, the acquisition of vocabulary items cannot be reduced only to retaining them in fixed set phrases or situations. It is a much more complex matter that has to do with the teacher's attitude in class and the students' participation. Better said, the teaching process should rely on the learner, not on the teacher. The learner has to be stimulated to be independent in performing the communicative tasks.

> When teaching is learner centered, the role of the teacher changes (…). Learner-centered teachers are guides, facilitators and designers of learning experiences. They are

> no longer the main perform, the one with the most lines, or the one working harder than everyone else to make it all happen. The action in the learner-centered classroom features the students. Teaching action expedites learning. This includes the careful design of experiences, activities and assignments through which the students encounter the content.
>
> (Weimer, 2002: XVIII)

Generally, English teachers tend to give too much attention to the language skills they possess instead of directing their efforts towards learning. This is because there is a general belief that the learning process is the obvious result of a good teaching. This is only partially true. We cannot assume that an effective teacher will always "produce" well-prepared students. Students have their own duties they must fulfil and play an essential role in achieving a successful acquisition of the language.

> The learning outcomes of teaching cannot be assumed or taken for granted. (...) Being learner centered focuses squarely on learning what the student is learning, how the student is leaning, the conditions under which the student is learning, whether the student is retaining and applying the learning (...). This learner-centered orientation accepts, cultivates and builds on the ultimate responsibility students have for learning. Teachers cannot do it for students. They may set the stage, so to speak, and help out during rehearsals, but then it is up to students to perform.
>
> (Weimer, 2002: XI-XVI)

In other words, adults have to bring their own personal substantial contribution to the acquisition process. They have to be willing to involve themselves in various ways by allowing some time for personal study, by achieving the tasks required during the course, by being ready to overcome some inner obstacles that generally hinder them such as: "I can understand the lines of the conversation but I cannot reproduce them"; "I am no longer young so I don't think I'll be able to learn English", "I have tried to study English before, by myself and I think it's a really difficult language", "I don't have the courage to speak...I'm sure I'll make a lot of mistakes and I'll make a fool of myself", etc. Adults need constant encouragement to overcome such misconceptions; a foreign language can be learned at any age and the progress is made step by step, not all of a sudden. They have to be patient and not to wait for an overnight miracle. Nothing can be done if all of these aspects are not discussed and removed since they can seriously affect the teaching process.

Another tendency that adults often have is the fact that although they are used to memorize a large quantity of information and they can remember vocabulary items or grammar rules easier than children, they find it really difficult to transfer their language knowledge to practice. The personal fears and misconceptions that I have already mentioned previously sometimes stops them from reaching their goal. Moreover,

> Some people think that (at least with behaviourist psychology) that one size fits all for learning; give the same to all students and they will learn equally- at least that is how it should go, but we teachers know a different reality, one that shows that each student

> reacts in a different manner to what is in a text, (...) in contrast, (...) socio-cognitive psychology stresses that people learn by chunking new information with existing knowledge and that meaning plays a key role in forming those chunks. In other words, leaning cannot take place in isolation from what learners already know about a topic and meaning provides a purpose for that learning because it enables deeper thinking to take place.
>
> (Farell & Jacobs, 2010: 58)

Expanding thinking skills in class is perhaps one of the most difficult problems English teachers confront with. It is not easy to make an adult think in a foreign language he/she hasn't used before or has used (but not always in the good way) and develop his/her particular abilities to adapt to each particular situation by using the information taught in the course. I really believe that this is the aim that should be attained and the teacher can bring much of his contribution to realize it. Still, we don/t have to forget that this achievement cannot be done unless the adult involved doesn't take the trouble to work well enough in order to become a successful communicator in English:

> Among the many strategies that our students need to acquire and use to succeed in our classes are those that involve going beyond the information given and utilizing and building their Thinking Skills (Paul & Elder, 2006). Critical thinking for teachers of second or foreign languages generally means education language students to think about their thinking, and then to decide if it needs improvement (...) "critical and creative thinking" (...) can be learned while at the same time recognizing the uniqueness of individual students.
>
> (Tomlinson, 2008: 87)

Teaching adults is a complex issue. The English teacher has to weigh their needs, to understand their fears, to adapt his/her materials according to their intentions, to enforce their thinking spontaneity in the use of the language in new contexts besides the ones they were familiarised with in the course, to stimulate independent oral and written communication, to create an enjoyable atmosphere by involving them in games like activities that disconnect adults from the stress of being in touch with a foreign language, etc. Elsa Auerbach provides some "guiding principles" derived from her own experience related to teaching English as a foreign language.

> · Start with learners' needs and interests.
> · Involve learners in determining the content of instruction.
> · Focus on meaning, not mechanics.
> · Contextualize work on form (connect form to function and meaning).
> · Center instruction around themes drawn from learners' social reality.
> · Encourage dialogue and critical analysis of social realities.
> · Use a variety of participatory tools to explore themes.
> · Move toward action outside the classroom.
> · Involve students in evaluation.
>
> (Auerbach, 1996: 77)

All in all, the English teacher should bear in mind that each adult is a special individual and should be treated as such. Therefore, flexibility is essential both on the side of the teacher who has to be ready to adjust the course to the needs of the adult learner and on the side of the adult who has to be willing to learn and ready to change his/her attitude towards the acquisition of a foreign language, if this is not the appropriate one.

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Foreign language tandem learning. Principles, Strategies, Applicability

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ABSTRACT

This article belongs to the domain of foreign language teaching, i.e., learning/practicing a foreign language, in this case Romanian/French, by the technique of bringing into contact two people. Tandem or self-directed learning of languages in pairs in secondary contexts can be defined as a form of open learning, where people of different mother tongues work in pairs. This learning method does not replace language courses, but meets a need that every human being open to new may feel. The motivation of those involved is various: discovering partner's person and culture, improving language knowledge, mutual exchange of knowledge/information from favourite areas etc. The two principles underlying learning strategy are: the principle of reciprocity and autonomy. Although emerged in the European area in the second half of the 60s, tandem appears not to take root in the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic area. This paper aims to present this type of activity, to examine how it works as objectively as possible in Cluj academic environment, to provide some useful strategies, to inventory the problems that occurred.

KEYWORDS: *tandem, the principle of autonomy, the principle reciprocity, working methods*

Context

This research was possible due to the international project *Tandem, bilinguisme et construction des savoirs disciplinaires – une approche du FLE/FOS en contact avec les langues de l'ECO* [Tandem, bilingualism and construction of disciplinary knowledge − an approach of French as a foreign language or French with specific objectives in contact with the languages of Central and Eastern Europe] funded by the French University Agency (AUF – Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie), initiated and coordinated by Lecturer PhD Aurora Băgiag, held at the "Iuliu-Haţieganu" University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Cluj-Napoca, Romania, in the period 2012-2014 (partner universities: "Babeş-Bolyai" University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania, "Matej Bel" University of Slovakia, University of Geneva, University of Luxemburg).

Argument. Structure

Cultural diversity is not a recent phenomenon in the European area, but as we are witnessing a growing mobility, fundamental principles and values are required to be (re-)emphasized and (re-)analyzed on the one hand, and on the other hand, it is required to bring about new strategies favourable to cultural exchange[1]. To live together peacefully, Thorbjørn Jagland, the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, says that there should be created areas where intercultural dialogue can occur[2]. A large number of political actions promoting intercultural dialogue are intended to educate citizens in a democratic spirit. Therefore, education system is a solid brick, made to consolidate the whole process. In this huge mechanism, the didactics of foreign languages is one of the areas with major responsibilities. Learning a foreign language broadens perspectives; it contributes to tearing down ethnocentric walls and destroys identity stereotypes. *"Language learning helps learners to avoid thinking in stereotypes of the other, to develop their curiosity and openness to otherness and to discover other cultures. It also helps them realize that the interaction between people of different social identity and culture is enriching."*[3] (General Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 7 May 2008). Foreign language teaching and learning process carried out either in a formal environment − school, university, cultural centres − or in an informal environment such as youth associations, volunteering, extracurricular activities, etc. "enjoys" a special attention from the part of the European Council which encourages and supports these types of initiatives. "The Council of Europe has encouraged Member States to promote non-formal education and to encourage the commitment and contribution of young people to the founding values of intercultural dialogue."[4]

For these reasons, we thought important to present a cultural intercultural dialogue held in Cluj-Napoca, at the "Iuliu Haţieganu", University of Medicine and Pharmacy, Romania, as part of the international project Tandem, bilingualism and construction of disciplinary knowledge − an approach of FLE/FOS in contact with the languages of the ECO (2012-2014). The intercultural context chosen in this research is learning a foreign language as part of the working method called tandem or self-directed learning in secondary contexts. The two confronted cultures were Romanian and French.

We were interested how intercultural dialogue of a group of French medical students ("Iuliu Haţieganu" Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy of Cluj-Napoca, Romania), brought face to face with a heterogeneous group of Romanian students (from various faculties: Chemistry, Environmental Protection, Sociology, etc.) of "Babes-Bolyai" University of Cluj-Napoca, Romania is achieved. Our research shall be structured in two parts. The first part will include clarifications concerning the terminology used; we shall focus on the history of this method and its path in European countries. In the second part, we shall show how we have applied this working technique, here, in Romania, in Cluj academic environment. Therefore, this article aims to present in a manner rather educational the technique of learning a foreign language according to the tandem method.

Part I: General overview

Term definition

After the *"father of learner autonomy"*, the French researcher Henri Holec (1979) has defined and conceptualized the terms of autonomy, self-directed learning; they represented a point of attraction for researches based on foreign language learning in self-directed contexts (Schmelter, 2006) being used increasingly frequently in debates on foreign language didactics in the last thirty years. The emergence of a number of debates is the outcome of various linguistic and socio-cultural factors, such as: the emergence of minority groups, the development of language sciences, the contribution of cognitive psychology, the advent of new technology, etc.[5]

Tandem is a form of open learning, with a high degree of autonomy, where people of different native languages work together. The motivations of those participating in tandem, according to the studies carried out[6], fall within three categories: a. discovery of the individual and partner's culture; b. language skills improvement and training; c. mutual exchange of opinions in various fields. Tandem is a concrete form of multiculturalism.

Authentic communication with a native speaker enables intercultural dialogue as an expression of modernity and modernization. On the other hand, self-directed learning of languages in pairs, if conducted in academic/school environment, aims at different forms of authority; therefore it is a direct relationship between traditional education and education focused on counselling and mutual support.

Short history

Learning through tandem was introduced around 1930, has undergone various stages and forms[7]. The concept of tandem began to take shape in the second half of the 60s in the German area around OFAJ, the Franco-German Youth Association (l'Office Franco-Allemand pour la Jeunesse). In the late 70s, the researcher Jürgen WOFF, supported by a group of teachers in Madrid, confronts some tourists with the natives of the host country; each participant intended to the language and culture of its tandem partner. Work was carried out outside school "restraints" with a working material (starting point) represented by some documents with suggestions – types of activities and useful tips from teachers.

This method witnesses a considerable development around the 80s (Garnier-Tardeu, 2006) when two-person teams of foreign students and local students are formed inside universities (Müller, Wertenschla & Wolff, 1989). In recent years, various tandems have been made to meet the various demands, needs and professional categories[8]. Due to technology development, tandem experienced the highest expansion in European countries. Therefore, there are several types of tandem: face to face tandem, Internet tandem (teletandem, e-tandem etc.), tandem by mail. This article shall focus on face to face tandem.

Principles

Tandem is based on two fundamental principles: the principle reciprocity and of autonomy. The principle of reciprocity requires the mutual support of the partners; the two are called to "take advantage" in a fair manner. The energy invested should be directly proportional to the energy received[9]. This does not mean that the two parties must brutally count the time when practicing the foreign language and compare it to that of the partner, but it's rather a mutual involvement that will lead to the success of every meeting. Another benefit of tandem, generated by principle of reciprocity, is to diminish inhibitions as both partners play at the same time the role of "student" and "teacher" leading to an attitude of empathy, tolerance and patience[10].

To talk about the principle autonomy within tandem, we think it is necessary to define the term. Autonomy, according to French didactics, is the ability to assume responsibility for own acts/things. In this context, while learning a language, autonomy is the ability to assume own learning process. This ability is not innate, but must be acquired, either naturally, or through a formal learning process in a systematic and reflecting manner[11]. Therefore, the principle of autonomy within tandem implies a responsibility of each participating member, in other words, each of the two partners is responsible for own learning process. In particular, it refers to the ability and at the same time, the freedom to choose when, where and what to study. In case of self-directed learning (like tandem), setting goals, monitoring progress, finding strategies and communication/comprehension techniques lie, first of all, with the individual working in pairs. On the other hand, autonomy is closely related to the degree of maturity. Each participant needs to know clearly his/her expectations from his/her partner and not only that, to ask him/her for these expectations explicitly (in case of face to face tandem, orally)[12].

Premises

The context in which tandem is carried out is closely related to the two principles outlined above. If tandem is not held in an institutional environment, the two have complete freedom in the selection of contents. If carried out in a "school" environment, in our case, a university – within a project that involves partnerships between universities – counsellors must take into account the fact that it requires a different approach than the one established in language courses. (Tandem is a type of interactive and voluntary activity, which, however, does not replace language courses). The smooth development of tandem depends on the compliance with the two principles: autonomy and reciprocity. Therefore, the two partners get sheets of intercultural exercises (designed by teachers/specialists in teaching foreign languages, which – indication should be made – is only a starting point, a guide) structured on the two principles of tandem. Once the goals have been established, the counsellor has suggested the material, expectations were communicated explicitly, and the two partners will find their own methods, techniques and communication strategies[13].

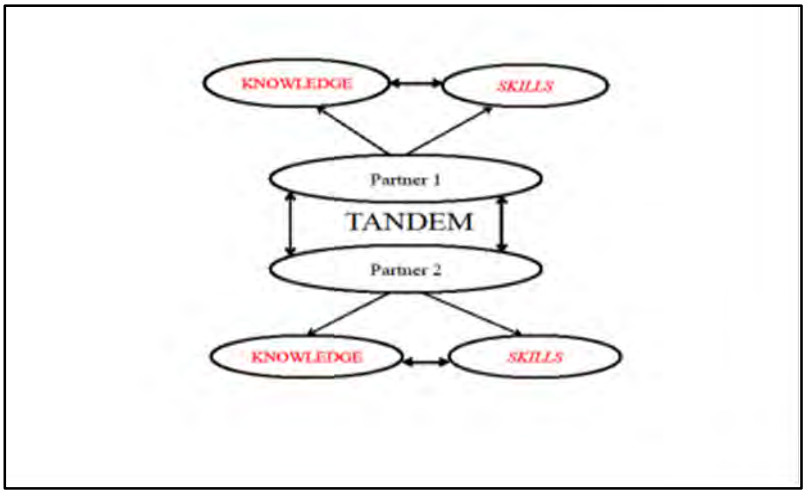

Fig. 1. Communication in tandem (Schmelter, 2006: 199)

Part II: Tandem in Cluj university environment

The second part of our study will be structured on the pattern: question and answer. We chose this type of presentation for reasons of brevity and clarity. Answers to questions is a summary of read references and personal observations resulting from organizing counselling sessions, analysis of portfolio received, feedback from the students.

1. Why tandem in Cluj-Napoca?

Answer: Firstly, because Cluj is a cosmopolitan city with intense cultural exchanges fostered by the presence of large numbers of foreign students. One example can be very conclusive. Within "Iuliu Haţieganu" University of Medicine and Pharmacy, according to university website, there are 2208 foreign students and 6386 Romanian students enrolled in the academic year 2013-2014[19]. Therefore, the aforementioned international project favouring intercultural dialogue, language skills improvement and training and mutual exchange of views in different fields (specially, the medical field) has been initiated in the Department of Modern Languages Applied to Medicine.

2. For whom is tandem intended? Even for beginners?

Answer: tandem is for all those who are open to new. In terms of level of language proficiency, specialized literature believes that beginners should not be oriented towards this type of activity (Brammets & Kleppin, 2002: 95). On the other hand, in case of self-directed learning, we believe that we must take into account the maturity of those eager to learn. In this case, there are people who can work effectively in pairs even if they have poor knowledge of that respective language. In the academic year 2013-2014, I coordinated pairs of French-speaking medical students (General Medicine, Dentistry) with A1/A2 language level and Romanian medical/philolo-

gist/chemists/ historians/sociologists students, A2/B1 level. The results exceeded expectations. The clarification that we believe is required to be made is: the success of dialogue is mainly due to students' motivation and concerns/affinities/training. Should we take a single example, medical students, French and Romanian, with a beginner language level, in the first year of study, have participated in several specialized courses of their partners (in Romanian, respectively, in French). As a result of a questionnaire that we administered – targeting specialized language comprehension – most students said they understood about 40-60% of the entire course. Comprehension was due to: students' knowledge in the special field, the similarity of the two languages (French / Romanian), the teaching material (power point), but also teacher's mimics and gestures. In this perfect universe consisting of two people who communicate and help each other, the question that arises is:

3. What is the role of the counsellor?[15]

*Answe*r[16]: First, the counsellor is proposing this activity, brings students into contact and supervises the entire process. Counsellor is a welcomed outsider («extérieur bienveillant») who helps students accept their failures and successes. He is the one who provides the conceptual elements, provides methodological information (which will allow partners to develop working techniques), documents underlying learning, possible activities, supports learning process from the psychological point of view[17]. He can not always solve problems, but it can pull a signal and provide support in overcoming the obstacles that may arise.

4. Can tandem partner substitute the teacher?

Answer: No. Following the advice of several pairs (about 40), I noticed that quite often, tandem partners fail to provide satisfactory answers regarding grammar rules. Students with A1, A2 language level explicitly require clarification of grammar issues. If they do not receive a satisfactory answer, they address the counsellor (course teacher).

5. What are students' favourite topics?

Answer: Selected topics are the result of some temporal, professional and relational "conditionings". For instance, during November – December/April – May, students focused on discovering the traditions of his/her partner (of 40 coordinated students, 32 have chose the sheet Traditions of Christmas/Easter); medical students who worked with philologist students chose cultural and educational topics such as: Education, Culture, Cultural clichés, A Traditional Story, The Place of Religion in Society etc. The "universal" topics chosen by students, regardless of nationality, cultural background or language were: Let us introduce ourselves, Weather, Humour, Food, Anniversary, Personal Documents.

6. What happens if one partner does not cooperate (is disinterested)?

Answer: Tandem is a free and voluntary activity. In this case, if a student does not cooperate or if one partner is not satisfied with the work of the other, there will be

organized counselling sessions (with both partners present), and if complaints persist, the couple waives collaboration, but not the tandem. The Counsellor ensures finding another partner in the shortest time possible. (This means a "database" of eager students that each councillor should have.)

Conclusions

Self-directed system holds an important place in the knowledge of a culture. Faced with increasing mobility in the current context of globalization, students need to be given new possibilities and perspectives. Therefore, we believe that tandem is a modern and effective alternative, suitable for academic environment often stifled by traditional language courses; actual assessment of its usefulness rests with the students.

NOTES

[1] Les Ministres des Affaires étrangères du Conseil de l'Europe lors de leur 188e session ministérielle, Strasbourg, 7 mai 2008, *Le livre blanc sur le dialogue interculturel « Vivre ensemble dans l'égale dignité »*, Éditions du Conseil de l'Europe. [The Foreign Ministers of the Council of Europe at their 188th Ministerial Session, Strasbourg, 7 May 2008, White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue "Living together as equals in dignity", Editions of the Council of Europe].

[2] Thorbjørn Jagland, "Préface", *Le livre blanc sur le dialogue interculturel* ["Preface", the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*] (Thorbjørn Jagland in September 2009 was elected Secretary General of the Council, for a term of five years, <http://www.coe.int/en/web/secretary-general/home>).

[3] *Ibidem*, 4.3. Apprendre et enseigner les compétences interculturelles. [Learning and teaching intercultural competences].

[4] *Ibidem*, 4.3.4. L'apprentissage non formel et informel. [Non-formal and informal learning].

[5] For a detailed overview of the subject, see: M.-J. Gremmo, P. Riley, "Autonomie et apprentissage autodirigé: l'histoire d'une idée", *Mélanges Crapel*", no. 23, 81/English version: in System, Vol. 23, no. 2, 151-164, <http://www.atilf.fr/IMG/pdf/07_gremmo_ riley.pdf>.

[6] Réseau international tandem, *L'apprentissage autonome de langues* [International tandem Autonomous Language Learning Network] <http://www.cisi.unito.it/tandem/learning/idxfra11.html>.

[7] *Idem*.

[8] See: M. Pelz (ed.), *Tandem in der Lehrerbildung, Tandem und grenzüberschreitende Projekte.* Dokumentation der 5. Internationalen Tandem-Tage 1994 in Freiburg i.Br. Frankfurt/Main: IKO-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1995.

[9] <http://www.cisi.unito.it/tandem/learning/idxfra11.html>, read: February 12, 2014.

[10] *Idem*.

[11] *L'autonomie, est «la capacité de prendre en charge la responsabilité de ses propres affaires». Dans le contexte, qui est le nôtre, de l'apprentissage des langues, l'autonomie est donc la capacité de prendre en charge son propre apprentissage. Cette capacité n'est pas innée, elle doit s'acquérir, soit de manière «naturelle», soit (c'est le cas le plus fréquent) par un apprentissage formel, c'est-à-dire systématique et réfléchi.»*, Nadya Alsina, "L'apprentissage en autonomie", *Romanitas Lenguas y literaturas romances*, *apud*, H. Holec, *Autonomie et apprentissage des langues étrangères*, p. 31.

[12] <http://www.cisi.unito.it/tandem/learning/idxfra11.html>.

[13] According to Henri Holec, *Autonomie et apprentissage des langues étrangères*.

[14] <http://www.umfcluj.ro>.

[15] I treated this topic extensively in a communication delivered at the *New Trends in Language Didactics International Colloquium* organized by the Faculty of Letters, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, May 9 to 10, 2014, Department of Applied Foreign Languages; this article will be published in the conference volume (2014).

[16] The answer to this question is a summary of references read (Marie-José Gremmo, Philip Riley, "Autonomie et apprentissage autodirigé: l'histoire d'une idée", Marie-José Gremmo, "Conseiller n'est pas enseigner: le rôle du conseiller dans l'entretien de conseil", *Mélanges Pédagogiques*, No. 22, CRAPEL, Université Nancy 2, 1995; Henri Holec, "Autonomie et apprentissage des langues étrangères", in *Autonomie et apprentissage des langues étrangères*), and a personal note from organizing counseling sessions.

[17] <http://www.cisi.unito.it/tandem/learning/idxfra11.html>.

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La métaphore phallique en argot*

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ABSTRACT: Phallic Metaphor in Slang

In this article we aim to show why the phallic metaphor is extremely present in the argotic language everywhere. We will insist upon the existence, in human history, of a veritable cult of phalluses – both with an apotropaic purpose, of protection against evil spirits, as well as a humorous one –, but also of an undeniable macho character that every argot possesses. And this is because the argotic language, in spite of some exceptions, some of them notable, was and still is, by definition, masculine, men being at once tireless makers, but also competent users of these ebulliently inventive lexical creations.

KEYWORDS: *slang, metaphor, phallic terms, literature, symbol*

Introduction

Un des puissants champs lexicaux métaphoriques est, dans tout argot, celui des parties du corps humain, entre elles la place d'honneur appartenant aux organes sexuels, ceux des femmes et, en particulier, ceux des mâles, car *« argoul dezvoltă, ca orice limbă populară, multe metafore expresive pentru părțile corpului : în special pentru cap, față (gură, ochi, nas), mână, organele sexuale »* (Zafiu, 2010 : 56) (« l'argot développe, comme toute langue populaire, de nombreuses métaphores expressives pour les parties du corps : en particulier la tête, le visage (bouche, yeux, nez), de la main, les organes génitaux »).

La position privilégiée dans l'argot sexuel est occupée par les termes utilisés pour désigner les organes sexuels masculins et surtout le « pénis », car, chose un peu curieuse, pour les testicules, l'autre composante importante de ceux-ci, il y a beaucoup moins de dénominations en argot. Ce qui s'explique principalement par la « visibilité » accrue du premier (notamment dans un certain état…), par rapport à ceux-ci, qui, bien qu'importants, sont toujours éclipsés, « cachés ».

Probablement responsable de la pléthore de cette terminologie dans tout argot est le culte du phallus *« isolated, erect penises as a symbol of power and fertility. Their purpose was usually apotropaic, to promote health and increase by warding off evil,*

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and humorous. » (Younger, 2005 : 146). (« des pénis isolés, en érection comme un symbole de puissance et de la fertilité. Leur but était généralement apotropaïque, pour promouvoir et accroître la santé en écartant le mal, et humoristique »). Car le pénis en érection, l'état de grâce convoité ou, le cas échéant, envié, le symbole de la virilité, signe sans lequel un homme ne se sent plus homme, ou n'est plus considéré comme un homme – *« the impotent man was more mocked than pitied »* (van Driel, 2010 : 36) (« envers l'homme impuissant on a manifesté plutôt de l'ironie que de la pitié »), a caractérisé de nombreuses cultures, de l'Antiquité à nos jours :

> Phallic symbols were used in Spain, France, Ireland, Scandinavia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Syria, Persia, and Asia Minor; among the mound builders of North America, in Mexico, Central America, Peru, Haiti, in the islands of the Pacific and in Africa. Many of the literary references, paintings, and sculptures relating to the subject which have come down to us are so direct and realistic that they cannot be printed.
>
> (Busenbark, 2003 : 225)

> (Des symboles phalliques ont été utilisés en Espagne, France, Irlande, Scandinavie, Égypte, Grèce, Rome, la Syrie, la Perse et l'Asie Mineure, parmi les constructeurs de monticules de l'Amérique du Nord, au Mexique, en Amérique centrale, au Pérou, en Haïti, dans les îles du Pacifique et en Afrique. Beaucoup de références littéraires, peintures et sculptures liées à cet objet sont parvenus jusqu'à nous sont tellement directes et réalistes qu'elles ne peuvent pas être imprimées.)

Comme l'avait remarqué Angus McLaren, *« In the ancient world the erect penis was a symbol of maturity and power. »* (2007 : 4) (« Dans le monde antique, le pénis en érection était un symbole de maturité et de puissance. »), le résultat, depuis les temps anciens, étant la présence de l'art et de la littérature de nombreux symboles phalliques. Dans les cultures primitives, le pénis en érection est ressenti comme une menace, ce qui conduit à une exagération des dimensions que celui-ci peut atteindre, parce que *« if the erection of the penis is used as a threatening display of male dominance, then it follows that the greater the erection, the greater the threat. »* (Morris, 1996 : 106) (« si l'érection du pénis est utilisée comme la visualisation du danger de la domination masculine, il s'ensuit que plus l'érection est grande, plus la menace est grande »). Ainsi, selon le même auteur, le corps de l'homme disparaît (presque) entièrement de ces représentations, remplacé simplement par un énorme pénis, bien évidemment à la verticale. De ce type de représentation, *« it is only one more step to the world of phallic symbolism, where almost any long, stiff, erect object can take on a phallic role. »* (*Ibid.* : 107) (« il n'y a plus qu'un pas jusqu'au monde du symbolisme phallique, où presque tout objet long, raid, dressé peut prendre le rôle phallique. »)

Sur le symbolisme phallique

Tout au long de l'histoire de la civilisation humaine, s'inspirant de la nature ou de ses propres créations, l'homme a attribué un symbolisme phallique à de nombreuses plantes, animaux ou objets. Ainsi, dans plusieurs langues, les oiseaux ont des connotations sexuelles, en chinois même le nom qui signifie « oiseau », *niao*, désigne

aussi le « pénis » (Biedermann, 1992 : 39). Également en chinois, le mot *ya* « canard » est un sujet tabou dans de nombreuses zones, car il signifie, selon la région, aussi bien « pénis », que « homosexuel » (*Ibid*. : 106). Autrefois un signe de noblesse, porté sur la main gantée, le faucon, oiseau de proie et agressif, *« désigne aussi fréquemment le pénis. »* (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 1990 : s.v.). Un autre oiseau, le coq, par son puissant instinct de territorialité, et en particulier sa disponibilité sans relâche pour se reproduire, est aussi un symbole de la masculinité puissante. (Biedermann, 1992 : 288). Sa virilité et sa fierté proverbiale ont fait de lui l'un des symboles nationaux des Français ! En roumain, il existe l'expression *a cânta cocoșul (într-o casă)* (litt. « chanter le coq (dans une maison) »), utilisée pour montrer que dans la famille en question, c'est l'homme qui a le mot décisif, ou bien, en français, on dit « faire le coq » à l'égard d'un homme qui tente de séduire une femme. Dans l'interprétation psychanalytique, un autre oiseau, la cigogne, en fait, son bec, représenterait le phallus et l'eau d'où elle apporte les enfants, l'utérus. (*Ibid*. : 329). Enfin, pour certaines peuples, même le minuscule colibri est un symbole phallique, comme c'est le cas des Indiens Tukano de Colombie, pour lesquels cet oiseau *« censé coïter avec les fleurs, représente le pénis, l'érection, la virilité radieuse »* (Chevalier et Gheerbrant, 1990 : s.v.).

Aux animaux aussi, on leur a attribué un symbolisme phallique, ou sexuel, car au Moyen Age *« en argot, l'animal, la bête, le cheval, c'est le pénis, et c'est parfois aussi la femme, incarnant la partie animale, sinon satanique de l'homme »* (*Ibid*. : s.v.). Cela se produit, par exemple, dans le cas de l'éléphant (à cause de son trompe) (Biedermann, 117) ou du rhinocéros, pour lequel le symbole phallique est constitué par la corne, car celle-ci non seulement par sa force suggère le pouvoir, mais par sa fonction naturelle *« est image de l'arme puissante (en argot italien, le pénis s'appelle* corno*). »* (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 1990 : 289). Biedermann note que dans l'iconographie occidentale, la même corne, qui était à l'origine un symbole phallique, est associée, dans le cas de la licorne, à l'intelligence, car elle augmente de la tête de l'animal. Elle devient ainsi un symbole de pureté et de force, et dans le monde médiéval on pensait qu'elle ne pouvait être prise qu'à l'aide d'une vierge, sur les genoux de laquelle elle irait se reposer avant d'être tuée par les chasseurs. (*Ibid.* : 360).

En aparté médiéval-moderne, voir à ce sujet, l'excellente chanson composée par le groupe roumain *Phoenix* (album *Cantafabule*, 1975), intitulée *Norocul inorogului* ('La Chance de la licorne'). Les paroles du début et de la fin de la chanson sont chantées en français ancien et appartiennent au poète anglo-normande Philippe de Thaün, mieux connu pour son *Bestiaire*, dont du 2e chapitre (Monosceros) celles-ci ont été prises. Les autres vers, chantés en roumain, appartiennent à Șerban Foarță et à Andrei Ujică.

D'autres créatures également, de l'inattendue grenouille (les psychanalystes voient dans le batracien se glissant dans le lit de la princesse le symbole du pénis, qui ne peut pas atteindre la « complétude » qu'en étant accepté par le partenaire sexuel) (*Ibid*. : 146-147), au plus connu serpent (dont le corps, dans l'interprétation des rêves, serait le pénis et sa tête triangulaire n'est rien d'autre que le triangle du

pubis féminin) représentent de symboles phalliques et sexuels. (*Ibid*. : 312). Apparentée au serpent par sa morphologie et aux symboles aquatiques par son habitat, l'anguille, *« a gardé une connotation sexuelle dans l'argot moderne qui emploie parfois l'image "anguille de calecif" pour désigner le pénis »* (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 1990 : s.v.).

Le règne végétal est également présent dans ce symbolisme phallique par l'arbre de la vie qui, bien qu'à l'origine peut être considéré comme l'image de l'*« androgyne originel », « au plan du monde phénoménal, le tronc dressé vers le ciel, symbole de force et de puissance éminemment solaire, est bien le Phallus, image archétypale du père »*. (*Ibid*. : s.v.) Certaines espèces de champignons associés à la fertilité et à la potence de par leur forme phallique, deviennent de tels symboles (Biedermann, 1992 : 232).

Même les phénomènes naturels deviennent, dans certaines cultures, des symboles phalliques. La foudre est comparée avec la sécrétion du sperme, représentant, dans la culture hébraïque *« l'acte viril de Dieu dans la création »*, ou même plus, pour les aborigènes australiens il représente *« un pénis grandissant »* (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 1990 : s.v.).

Des objets avec un symbolisme phallique indubitable, nous allons énumérer les menhirs (*« considered by some to be phallic monuments »,* Biedermann, 1992 : 219), (« considérés par certains comme des monuments phalliques »), les obélisques (bien que dans leur cas, il est impossible de dire aujourd'hui si le premier obélisque représentait *« a phallic fertility symbol or a stone axis mundi »*, *Ibid.* : 243-244) (« un symbole phallique de la fertilité ou une pierre *axis mundi* ») et les piliers ou les colonnes qui, outre les connotations religieuses, ont servi à célébrer les victoires militaires et l'exemple que Biedermann (1992 : 268) mentionne est important pour les Roumains car il s'agit de la Colonne de Trajan (ou la Colonne Trajane) de Rome. Pour les psychanalystes, leur importance est essentiellement phallique.

En ce qui suit, nous nous tournons vers deux parties du corps humain lui-même, qui ont reçu de telles interprétations. Il s'agit, en particulier, de la jambe d'une femme, que, disent les psychanalystes, l'enfant perçoit *« as a substitute for the missing penis of her sex; this is believed to explain the unusual form of male sexual deviation known as foot and shoe fetishism »* (Biedermann, 1992 : 140-141). (« comme un substitut du pénis manquant de son sexe ; cela est censé expliquer la forme inhabituelle de la déviation sexuelle mâle appelée le fétichisme du pied et de la chaussure »).

Il y a dans certaines traditions la croyance qu'il existe une relation étroite entre le nez d'un homme et son pénis, plus précisément, entre la taille du nez et la longueur du pénis, ce qui a fait, par exemple, que dans les représentations des ancêtres des Mélanésiens, ceux-ci soient représentés avec un nez qui s'étendait jusqu'aux organes génitaux (*Ibid*. : 239-240).

Enfin, pour conclure cette digression non exhaustive dans le symbolisme phallique, nous nous arrêterons aux objets fabriqués par l'homme et qui, de toute évidence ensuite, ont été interprétés comme des symboles phalliques. Il s'agit, tout d'abord, du balai, dont l'image entre les jambes d'une sorcière nue a été interprétée

comme un symbole phallique. En outre, l'épée (le sabre), dans la psychologie freudienne du 20e siècle, a été considérée comme un symbole phallique, ou mâle (*Ibid.* : 335). Enfin, la charrue, cet outil si vieux et beaucoup plus pacifique que l'épée (ou même que le domestique balai, qui, le cas échéant, peut se transformer en une arme redoutable !), avait et continue d'avoir, dans de diverses cultures une charge phallique indubitable que, par exemple, Luc Benoist (1989 : 85) explique comme suit :

> Mais l'eau ne suffit pas. Pour féconder la terre il faut la labourer et l'ensemencer. Jadis l'empereur de Chine et récemment encore le roi du Cambodge, après avoir prié le ciel de leur accorder la pluie, traçaient le premier sillon en conduisant la charrue dont le soc pénétrait le champ comme un membre viril, assimilation que l'on retrouve en sanscrit, ou une même racine désigne la bêche et le phallus.

Symbole de la masculinité dans la littérature

Comme il remarquait a juste raison Gérard Zwang, l'auteur très érudit d'un livre sur l'organe sexuel féminin, *« Le phallus, le glorieux organe viril, le Phare masculin, a été étudié, célébré, magnifié à l'envi. »* (1997 : 24).

Ainsi, dans l'érotologie arabe, dans un document écrit au 16e siècle, en Tunisie, par le Cheikh Umar Ibn Mahomed el-Nehfzaoui, on rencontre une série de dénominations métaphoriques spécifiques à l'imaginaire arabe, tels que :

> El dekeur, le membre viril ; El fortass, le membre chauve ; El kamera, le pénis ; Abou aïne, celui avec un seul œil ; El aïr, le membre pour procréer ; El atsar, le poussoir ; El hamama, le pigeon ; El dommar, l'entêté ; El teunnana, le chatouilleur ; Abou Rokba, celui avec un cou ; El heurmak, l'indomptable ; Abou quetaïa, le poilu ; El ahlil, le libérateur ; El besiss, l'effronté ; El zeub, le rampeur ; El mostahi, le visage ; humilié ; El hammache, l'excitateur ; El nâsse, le dormeur ; El bekkaï, le pleureur ; El zodamme, le pied de biche ; El hezzaz, le fouilleur ; El khiade, le tailleur ; El lezzaz, le syndicaliste ; El khorrate, le tournoyeur ; El hakkak, le caoutchouc ; El deukkak, le frappeur ; El mourekhi, le flasque ; El âouame, le nageur ; El motalâ, le saccageur ; El dekhal, le voleur ; El mokcheuf, le découvreur ; El âouar, le borgne.
>
> (Nefzaoui, 2004 : 99-100)

Et pour illustrer cette imagination métaphorique du monde arabe, voici l'explication de l'un des mots cités ci-dessus : *« Cela s'appelle El hamama (le pigeon), parce qu'après avoir été gonflé hors de proportion, et au moment où il retourne au repos il ressemble à un pigeon se reposant sur ses œufs. »* (*Ibid.* : 105)

Parmi les noms du même organe dans les pièces de Shakespeare – pour nous référer à la littérature européenne d'environ la même période du 16e siècle – peuvent être rencontrés des termes tels que :

> (…) thing, anchovy, tree of life, shuttle, manhood, artillery, baldpate friar, glister syringe, devil, pintle, yard, jiggumbob, monkey's tail, bodkin, pego, chitter-ling, whim-wham, shaft, date, key, robin, bilbo, sceptre, flute, nutcracker, date, maypole, spoon, thorn, wand, mast, quill, touchfinger, sword, tarriwang and crest.
>
> (Driel, 2010 : 13)

(…) chose, anchois, arbre de vie, navette, virilité, artillerie, Baldpate frère, glister seringue, diable, pivot, cour, jiggumbob, la queue de singe, Bodkin, pego, chitter-ling, caprice-vlan, arbre, données, clé, merle, bilbo, sceptre, flûte, casse-noix, données, mât de cocagne, cuillère, épine, baguette, mât, plume, touchfinger, épée, tarriwang et crête.)

Le caractère macho de l'argot

Il y avait toujours des différences entre le langage utilisé par les femmes et celui utilisé par les hommes. En effet, dans certaines sociétés, comme l'a noté Joseph Vendryes, *« Les femmes n'emploient pas le même langage que les hommes ; même lorsqu'elles comprennent les mots qu'emploient ceux-ci, elles n'ont jamais le droit de les prononcer. »* (1921 : 302)

Robin Tolmach Lakoff, dans un travail de pionnière dans le domaine sociolinguistique, *Language and Woman's Place* (Langue et place de la femme), en analysant les différences entre le langage des hommes et celui des femmes, offre une explication intéressante de celles-ci, fondée notamment sur la notion de « politesse » :

The argument most often revolves around the notions of "po1iteness" we were all taught as children: women's speech differs from men's in that women are more polite, which is precisely as it should be, since women are the preservers of morality and civility; and we speak around women in an especially "polite" way in return, eschewing the coarseness of ruffianly men's language: no slang, no swear words, no off-color remarks.
(1975 : 51-52)

(L'argument tourne le plus souvent autour de la notion de « po1itesse » que nous avons tous apprise quand nous étions enfants : le discours des femmes diffère de celui des hommes par le fait que celui des femmes est plus poli, ce qui est précisément comme il se doit, puisque les femmes sont les conservatrices de la morale et de la civilité ; et en retour, nous parlons des femmes surtout de manière « polie », évitant la grossièreté du langage des hommes : **pas d'argot**, pas de gros mots, pas de remarques grivoises. (C'est nous qui soulignons, LB)

David Szabó aussi, étant préoccupé par les différences génolectales dans l'argot hongrois, note que, bien que l'écart entre les usages masculin et féminin de la langue semble moins prononcé dans communautés linguistiques en Europe et en Amérique du Nord, par rapport au Japon ou en Chine, *« la différence le plus fréquemment observée, et la plus intéressante du point de vue de l'argotologie, est sans doute que les femmes suivent plus fidèlement la norme que les hommes, et qu'elles évitent (ou, du moins, sont censées éviter) plus soigneusement les tabous linguistiques. »* (2009 : 314)

Bien qu'il ne partage l'opinion de certains linguistes et argotologues célèbres, selon laquelle les argots seraient des langages exclusivement masculins, Szabó mentionne Marina Yaguello (2002 : 41), spécialiste de la langue féminine qui embrasse cette théorie, et son compatriote Zoltan Kövecses, argotologue, qui prétend que les utilisateurs de l'argot seraient majoritairement et même, certains d'entre eux, caractérisés par le machisme et ayant une attitude fondée sur beaucoup de préjugés à l'égard des femmes (2006 : 151).

Mais cette théorie n'est pas nouvelle, car depuis bien avant les premières décennies du 20e siècle, Otto Jespersen a soutenu – au chapitre XIII, intitulé « La Femme » de son étude monumentale dédiée à la langue – que *« the inclination or disinclination to invent and to use slang is un-doubtedly one of the 'human secondary sexual characters.' »* (1928 : 248) (« l'inclinaison ou la répugnance à inventer et à utiliser l'argot est sans aucun doute l'un des 'traits secondaires sexuels humains' »).

Bien sûr, nous pouvons parler aussi d'exceptions car *« Les langues spéciales résultent de la segmentation sociale. »* (Vendryes, 1921 : 305), d'où découle que l'argot également naisse de cette segmentation sociale. Ainsi, comme l'a noté Van Gennep, *« La constitution, avec le développement actuel de notre civilisation, de toute une catégorie de femmes spéciale, celle des prostituées, a également entraîné la formation d'un argot spécial. »* (1908 : 333).

L'existence de cet argot féminin est une circonstance très particulière et exceptionnelle, car on devrait établir *« un distinguo entre le langage des prostituées elles-mêmes et la langue de l'univers de la prostitution, qui inclut les expressions de clients, de souteneurs en général, de malfrats en tout genre, de traîne-patins et de train-putains de tous calibres et de tous acabits. »*, dans l'opinion de Pierre Merle (2005 : 12), l'auteur averti d'un *Dictionnaire de l'argot de la prostitution*.

Otto Jespersen remarquait que, sous l'impulsion du mouvement féministe, les femmes ont commencé à imiter les hommes aussi en ce qui concerne leur langage... La tendance s'est poursuivie au cours des décennies suivantes, de sorte qu'aujourd'hui, beaucoup de femmes / jeunes filles utilisent des termes d'argot, et même « osent » à utiliser certaines vocables qui, au moins par les renvois anatomiques, appartiennent aux hommes !

Conclusion

L'argot a toujours été un langage masculin, aussi bien par ses créateurs que par ses utilisateurs invétérés. Selon nous, ce sont deux traits qui soulignent ce caractère machiste : d'une part, la préoccupation obsessive pour la métaphore phallique, le symbole du phallus étant largement et depuis longtemps présent dans l'histoire de l'humanité et, d'autre part, l'opinion des argotiers sur la femme (celle-ci étant vue surtout comme objet des plaisirs sexuels et comme éventuelle source de gains).

Comme nous avons montré, ce caractère phallo-machiste est facilement décelable dans n'importe quel argot, constituant ainsi un des quelques traits communs à tous les argots.

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Pragmatic Aspects of Epistemic Markers in Business Writing

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ABSTRACT

The universe of business is a dynamic environment that often mirrors social realities in relation to market indicators. The language of business, particularly in writing, makes use of a wide range of linguistic markers to capture the reality, desirability, uncertainty and even obscurity of information in such a way as to manipulate the readers into perceiving facts as uncertainties and uncertainties as facts. In this particular respect, our study attempts to investigate an array of epistemic markers and opinion markers that are often used in business written discourse in order to express various degrees of certainty or uncertainty, intentional vagueness and hedging.
The examples in our study have been extracted from a set of business articles from *The Economist* and *Financial Times*. Additionally, the present paper is concerned with the pragmatic aspects regarding the coded message behind the written message, the linguistic and visual tools employed by business writers in the attempt to guide public thinking in the process of interpreting data about companies, the market, customer services etc.

KEYWORDS: *epistemic markers, hedging markers, cooperative principle, maxims, locution, illocution, perlocution*

1. Introduction

English as the global language of business has demonstrated extreme productivity in its use of epistemic markers, which have come to fulfill extremely complex social and discourse functions in communication. It is commonly accepted that modality may be used to communicate at least two distinct types of meanings: **epistemic** meanings, which deal with the degree of speaker commitment to the truth of the proposition that forms the complement of the modal, and **deontic** or **root** modal meanings, concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents, e.g. *obligation* and *permission* (Lyons 1977, Kratzer 1981, 1991, Coates 1983, Palmer 1986, 1990, 2001, Sweetser 1990, Bybee & Fleischmann 1995).

While epistemic utterances deal with the speaker's involvement in the truth of what is being said, conveying just how much (or how little) knowledge he/she possesses in relation to the content of the utterance, deontic utterances encompass the internal forces that compel the speaker to act in a certain manner or to project actions

and behaviours onto the interlocutor. An oversimplified view of epistemic utterances would be that they reflect the inner workings of our belief system projected under the form of language, whereas deontic interpretations have the purpose of causing actions and events to happen. In any of the two cases, the employment of grammatical markers (modal verbs, adverbs, tenses etc.) is certainly the most condensed way in which one can communicate efficiently a complexity of thoughts which makes epistemic markers an excellent code within language by means of which speakers and writers hedge their statements in order to protect them against contradiction or falsification.

In a particularly close relation to epistemic markers we find the use of hedging as designating a manifestation of language by means of which speakers take precautionary measures to protect themselves from the potential negative effect of their sayings or to protect themselves or their interlocutors from any harm to the concept of *face* caused by their utterances.

Lakoff analysed hedges as *"words whose meaning implicitly involves fuzziness-words whose job is to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy"* (1972: 271) and he discussed words and phrases manifesting hedging power (like *rather, very, in a manner of speaking*) setting some boundaries in how to interpret linguistic items as hedges. Lakoff also discussed the fact that hedges *"interact with felicity conditions for utterances and with rules of conversation"* (1972: 213), thus setting the coordinates for interpreting hedges as manifestations conditioned by pragmatic factors. A *hedge* has later been defined by Brown/Levinson (1978: 145) as:

> a particle, word or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or a noun phrase in a set; it says of that membership that it is partial or true only in certain respects, or that it is more true and complete than perhaps might be expected.

2. Epistemic markers and hedges in business writing

Starting from the epistemic markers taxonomies forwards by Bailey (1981), Perkins (1983) and Hermerén (1978) and based on a selected corpus of business articles from The Economist and Financial Times we have found that in business writing epistemic markers used as hedging devices include but are not restricted to the following categories:

- **Adjectives** (*possible, probable, hypothetical, uncertain, distant, eventual*) used to express uncertainty, doubt, tentativeness:

E.g. But even in America and Britain "normal" rates are a **distant** prospect. In February Mark Carney, the Bank of England's governor, promised that **eventual** rate rises would happen gradually […][1]

For Britain and America, the prospect of using interest rates to tackle financial imbalances remains **hypothetical**[2]

- **Nouns** conveying a wide range business situations in which vagueness is intentional, knowledge is limited, un-vouched for, debatable or simply unknown (*dilemma, trend, issue, question, expectation, projection, risk, indecision*)

E.g. Before the meeting the IMF, in an unusually public and explicit fashion, urged the Fed to keep rates near zero for even longer than now planned and to let inflation exceed its target But the **dilemma** this creates is well illustrated by the IMF's **indecision** on the issue. In April it cautioned that "undue delay" in raising interest rates "**could lead** to a further build-up of **financial stability risks**".[3]

Related to that is the **question** of whether FATCA will pay for itself.[4]

- Modal verbs conveying various degrees of certainty or lack of it (*will/would /can/could/may/ might/must/ought to*)

E.g. Like all revolutions, the one taking place in higher education **will have** victims. […]. Politicians **will inevitably come** under pressure to halt this revolution […] In Britain tuition fees, close to zero two decades ago, **can reach** £9,000 ($15,000 a year).[5]

Some of the pressure **could be eased** by higher inflation.[6]

Seizing on better economic conditions to begin preparing for rate rises **may seem** like good sense.[7]

Falling prices **would be** a natural outcome of China's frenetic pace of homebuilding.[8]

A rise in the inflation **target would not be** an easy step to take. The ECB **would need** permission from its political masters.[9]

- **Lexical verbs** rendering limited knowledge, presuppositions, personal opinions rather than facts etc. (*to seem, to appear, to wonder, to doubt, to presume, to project, to presuppose)*

E.g. Look again, however, and the path forward **appears** similar across the rich world: low interest rates stretch off into the visible distance.[10]

The argument **does not seem** to have swayed the Fed's monetary-policymaking committee, which continues **to project** inflation of at most 2% until the end of 2016.[11]

- **Epistemic adverbs** (*maybe, perhaps, obviously*) and **adverbial constructions** (*no doubt*):

E.g. Counting only the expense for American financial firms, the answer is **maybe**, if it brings in at least the $800m a year estimated by Congress.[12]

The Fed only established an official target of 2% in January 2012; its officials would **no doubt** worry that so great a change after so little time would undermine its credibility.

- **Approximating adverbs, adjectives** rendering fuzzy, imprecise values (most, almost, approximately, roughly, some, as much as):

E.g. For **most** students university remains a great deal; by one count the boost to lifetime income from obtaining a college degree, in net-present-value terms, is **as much as** $590,000. But for **an increasing number** of students who have gone deep into debt—especially the 47% in America and 28% in Britain who do not complete their course—it is plainly not value for money.[13]

More than 77,000 financial firms have signed up. **About 80 countries** have struck agreements with America to allow their banks to hand over data.[14]

- **Articles** (*the, a, some, any*) when clearly contributing to assigning a degree of uncertainty by referring to only one member of an entire category:

E.g. **One** provider, Coursera, claims over 8m registered users. **Though** its courses are free, it bagged its first $1m in revenues last year after introducing the option to pay a fee of between $30 and $100 to have course results certified[15]

And other statistics paint a darker picture, points out Nomura, **a bank**, which believes that property now poses a systemic risk to China's economy.[16]

- **Particles** (*if, unless, though, but,*) introducing a condition, a contradiction to a previous statement:

E.g. **Unless** countries come together to take the right kind of policy measures, **we could be facing** years of slow and subpar growth – well below the solid, sustainable growth that is needed to create enough jobs and improve living standards into the future.[17]

A Riksbank staff study contradicts Mr Svensson's findings, concluding that it is lower rates, **if** perceived to be long-lasting that **would** in fact **raise** debt ratios.

- **Tense** (preterite or marked forms) when the speaker judgmentally makes reference to a state of affairs which has been invalidated, made untrue:

E.g. UNTIL the global financial crisis, central banks **treated** bubbles with benign neglect: they **were hard to detect and harder to deflate, so best left alone**; the mess **could be mopped up** after they burst.[18]

The IMF warnings **did little to damp** bullish stock markets, which **took succour** from an ADP report that put private sector job creation at 191,000 in March. Although that number **was** slightly less than forecast, **it is** one of the first signs that recent weakness in the labour market **was** a result of wintry weather rather than anything more structural. **Markets are now focused** on tomorrow's payroll report for evidence that the world's largest economy **is gaining** strength.[19]

- **The progressive aspect** (marked forms) when used to render a temporary state of affairs that is soon to become invalid, a transitory situation which raises concern:

E.g. Central banks around the world **are struggling** to promote growth without fomenting worrisome risk-taking[20]

The global economy **is turning the corner** of the Great Recession, although overall growth remains too slow and weak, Ms Lagarde said.[21]

- **Emphatic DO constructions** to convey certainty o to meet expectations, confirm predictions etc.:

E.g. Property prices **did peak** in 2011, as the *Journal* noted. **But** the following year, they started to rise again.[22]

- Reporting information with *verba dicendi* (to say, to utter, to hint, to suggest, to declare, to claim etc.)

E.g. The biggest shareholder of Zhejiang Xingrun, a property firm, was recently detained for "illegal fund-raising", local reports **say**[23].

Markets **reckon** prices will rise even more slowly[24]

On June 12th the Bank of England **hinted** it would pursue new measures to curb ever-climbing property prices.[25]

FATCA will penetrate some of the shell companies and other structures they hide behind, but Senate investigators and other experts **say** loopholes remain.[26]

Moreover, Fed officials **have recently hinted** that they would prefer to let inflation rise above 2% briefly than strangle the recovery with premature tightening.[27]

However, Christine Lagarde, managing director of the IMF, **warned** of several obstacles to a sustained recovery including job-killing "low-flation" in the eurozone and geopolitical tensions stemming from the crisis in Ukraine. **She said** the prospects of faster growth depended on more investment and structural reforms in labour and product markets.[28]

- **Passive constructions** display a hedging effect by the fact that they conceal the agent and they display a hearsay component that reduces vouching ability on the part of the writer:

E.g. For China's property Cassandras, things are the other way round: their direst predictions **are often believed,** but have yet to come true.[29]

Nonetheless, a rate cut **is widely expected** next month.[30]

- Closed yes/no questions often in rhetorical usage to convey doubt (E.g. *Is the market ready* for such events?)

E.g. **CAN bubbles ever pop twice**?[31]

But is "N = All" really a good description of most of the found data sets we are considering? **Probably** not.[32]

- Litotes: negative constructions which convey a rhetoric understatement purposefully to make hedged generalizations:

E.g. **No self-respecting central bank** admits to benign neglect any longer. "**No one** wants to live through another financial crisis," Janet Yellen, then a candidate to head the Federal Reserve, said last year. "I **would not rule out** using monetary policy as a tool to address asset-price misalignments."[33]

- Discourse linkers conveying partial or total contradiction with the idea mentioned before, thus assigning a degree of epistemic doubt to the context (*in fact, however, although, nonetheless, nevertheless*):

E.g. Related to that is the question of whether FATCA will pay for itself. Counting only the expense for American financial firms, the answer is **maybe**, **if** it brings in at least the $800m a year estimated by Congress. […] **However**, **the overall costs** of complying, borne mostly by non-American banks, **are likely to far exceed** the extra tax receipts.[34]

A Riksbank staff study contradicts Mr Svensson's findings, concluding that it is lower rates, if perceived to be long-lasting that would **in fact** raise debt ratios. **Nonetheless**, a rate cut is widely expected next month.

3. The Cooperative Principle: Grice's Conversational Maxims

At the core of any analysis of speech acts stands the hypothesis that the production of a speech act is a form of social interaction (Lyons, 1977: 725). In other words, humans produce utterances with a **definite purpose** in mind, which will eventually function as a form of social integration: receiving a response from an interlocutor, causing an interlocutor to perform a certain action as a result of being exposed to some information.

The essential assumption people make when speaking to one another is that all the participants in a conversational exchange are trying to cooperate with one another to construct meaningful conversations. This assumption is referred to as the Cooperative Principle. As stated in H. P. Grice's *Logic and Conversation* (1975: 41-58): *"Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged."*

As a result of this underlying principle, people engaged in information exchanges often overlook various types of errors that occur in their partner's discourse as their

primary focus is on understanding the overall message. A second effect of this essential principle of pragmatics is that when exchanges are spiced up with metaphors, sarcasm, indirectness, interlocutors are still able to grasp meaning based on the assumption that they will be focusing on extracting meaningful content from ambiguous form.

Grice further refined the Cooperation principle into a set of conversation maxims aimed at establishing absolute rules that should ideally govern any informational exchange. These rules are meant to provide guidance and orientation for speakers in their attempt to optimize the informational content of their utterances within minimal form and avoid ambiguity, indirectness, metaphor etc.

Thus, the Maxim of Quantity encourages speakers to make their contributions as informative as required (i.e. not to say too much or too little and to make the strongest statement they can in terms of content. The Maxim of Quality postulates not to say what one believes to be false or for which one lacks adequate evidence. The Maxim of Relation emphasizes the importance of being relevant and on topic, whereas the maxim of manner has to do with avoiding ambiguity, obscurity, focusing on being brief and orderly.

Despite the criticism which arose naturally against the formulation of the maxims, pragmatic interpretations rely heavily on Grice's theory. As Bach (2005) puts it, these maxims address the inner workings of informational exchange with both speakers and listeners well aware of:

> … [W]e need first to get clear on the character of Grice's maxims. They are not sociological generalizations about speech, nor they are moral prescriptions or proscriptions on what to say or communicate. Although Grice presented them in the form of guidelines for how to communicate successfully, I think they are better construed as presumptions about utterances, presumptions that we as listeners rely on and as speakers exploit.
>
> (Bach, 2005: 17)

However, it was not Grice's assumption that all people should constantly follow these maxims. Quite on the contrary, he found it even more challenging when the maxims were not respected, namely "flouted" (with the listener being expected to be able to understand the message) or "violated" (with the listener being expected to not note this). Flouting a maxim, therefore, refers to conveying a different, a hidden meaning. The importance was in what was *not* said. For instance, answering *It's cold in here* to someone who has suggested opening the window only disrespects the maxim of relation on the surface; the logic behind this response is normally clear to the interlocutor (i.e. Don't open the window!), therefore the maxim is merely flouted.

Flouting a maxim is a technique speakers and writers often employ in order to create a conversational *implicature*. This occurs when, by clearly and obviously violating a maxim, one can imply something beyond what one says. As we shall see in the examples we have analyzed below, flouting maxims to create implicatures can be a powerful and creative tool to get a point across to readers. Moreover, business writers often resort to flouting maxims in the attempt to form an opinion in the reader,

to present a business phenomenon from opposite angles, to attract reader's attention and keep it, to generate creative interpretations of language etc. Moreover, we shall analyze the manner in which epistemic markers are often called upon to generate implicatures while flouting the cooperation maxims.

4. Epistemic markers, epistemic visuals and flouting of the maxims in business writing

The formulation of facts in business articles, as in the case of any information exchange, is fully dependent on two pragmatic parameters: the communicative purpose and the specialized readership.

As far as the communicative purpose is concerned, business literature covers various functions: to spot economic trends, to analyze market indicators, to inform the reader about various business events; to analyze a business phenomenon, to emphasize relations between various occurring or developing realities, technologies, markets etc. The adequacy of information content and of writing style is adjusted according to the second pragmatic parameter, i.e. the intended audience. Not only essential information is conveyed to the peer-experts as both writer(s) and reader(s) share some common conceptual knowledge.

Additionally, style should adapt to the genre conventions for a business article in order to abide by the Gricean cooperative principle (Grice, 1975: 45-47) with its four maxims of quality, quantity, manner and relevance. In this respect, cohesive markers play a vital role to achieve a natural progression from facts to interpretations, from numbers to their meanings, from trends to their related effects.

According to the theory of relevance in communication (Wilson & Sperber, 1998), writers should always consider their readers' capacity of understanding a text, their previous conceptual background knowledge, ability to relate to the informational content of the written text, should facilitate the readers' inferences and presuppositions for the correct interpretation of the text and arouse their interest in deciphering the content beyond the form:

> […] the speaker, by the very act of addressing someone, communicates that her utterance is the most relevant one compatible with her abilities and preferences, and is at least relevant enough to be worth his processing effort.
>
> (Wilson & Sperber, 1998: 266-278)

Noticeably, in the corpus articles, discourse connectors such as "however", "although", "but", and "therefore" signpost the introduction of a problem, a sense of epistemic doubt, an information gap that must be addressed, further investigated or a source of ambiguity. Similarly, an evaluation of lexical and grammatical strategies for conveying knowledge or lack of it provides readers with obvious textual clues to distinguish between what is fact and what is a mere auctorial interpretation of incomplete facts. Lexical references to particular business issues obviously involve a number of negative connotations in the sense that some epistemic markers with the help of which the maxims are flouted are, in fact, manipulative strategies, as the following selected examples will demonstrate.

Even in the case of an epistemically modalized utterance, which, in essence focuses on conveying the degree of knowledge possessed by the speaker in stating X sentence, the speaker is still attempting to obtain an active response on the part of the interlocutor by deeming an event or a state of affairs *possible, certain, improbable* and by encouraging the interlocutor to form an opinion and have a reaction to the stated possibility, probability etc.

Example 1 below, taken from The Economist (March 22nd 2014, Hong-Kong printed edition) encourages the reader to answer the question initialized by a capitalized **can**: *"**CAN** bubbles ever pop twice*?" after exposing the reader to a hedged statement: "*China's property prices **appear** to be falling again."* The capitalization of CAN deepens the idea of doubt in the likeliness of the event described in the sentence, thus increasing the hedging power of the modal in the rhetoric question. The maxim of manner is flouted by the writer's failing to avoid ambiguity together with the maxim of quality by stating something for which evidence is not held.

Example 1. *The Economist* (March 22nd 2014)

Housing markets
Double bubble trouble
China's property prices **appear** to be falling again

CAN bubbles ever pop twice? In late 2009 the world began to worry about a Chinese property bubble, symbolised by Ordos, a newly built city, bereft of citizens, in Inner Mongolia. In the spring of 2010 China's government broadened its curbs on multiple home purchases and mortgage borrowing. The following spring, prices in nine big cities fell at last, according to one widely watched index. "The Great Property Bubble Of China May Be Popping" declared the *Wall Street Journal* in June of that year.
This week the same newspaper cited "compelling signs the Chinese property boom is over," noting that "Cassandras" have been predicting a crash for years.[35]

Moreover, the interpretation of the message relies heavily on deciphering the ambiguity of the form and of the visual aids. The author introduces the information about the trend in Chinese real estate by employing a suite of epistemic markers that at first announce a reality: that there is *double bubble trouble,* and then reduces certainty by using the epistemic marker *appear*, followed by the rhetorical question *CAN bubbles ever pop twice*? These epistemic tools are used to formulate auctorial opinions but also to allow the reader to form an opinion and perhaps create a response in the form an answer to the situation depicted in the article: symbolic *Chinese property bubble* that has been growing lately and is perhaps preparing for a second crash in prices. Therefore, the maxim of quantity is also flouted as the text abounds in fuzzy elements that are not a necessity of the informational content rendered.

Moreover, the symbolism of the picture accompanying the article contributes to its interpretation in terms of epistemic doubt as the image of the skyscrapers is surrounded by fog/smog which further deepens the interpretation of the message as a warning that the future is gloomy in Chinese real estate. Consequently, it is possible to detect extra-linguistic features of discourse in the form of visual information which contribute to the epistemically hedged interpretation of the linguistic content of the article. Business writing makes extensive usage of such tools and devices to enrich the imagery and suggestiveness of business articles, thus leading the way to understanding business writing as an art form.

As far as business writing is concerned, we are in fact living a cultural phenomenon manifested by conventions to increase abstractness, vagueness and hedging through business writings that attempt to manipulate people into particular beliefs while not interfering with their system of free will in forming a personal opinion. In this regard, epistemic markers and hedging devices play a key role.

Example 2 below is taken from Financial Times (March 28th 2014) and it also reflects a high level of vagueness in formulating informational content blended with straightforward opinion formulation aimed at leading readers into deciding whether BIG DATA is a viable option for modern consumerist society.

The author raises a question in the title which the article presumably attempts to answer, and yet the presumably objective analysis is biased by a set of markers aimed at suggesting the author's standpoint and the opinion he wishes to form in his readers.

Example 2. *Financial Times* (March 28th 2014)

Big data: are we making a big mistake?
By Tim Harford

Big data is a vague term for a massive phenomenon that has rapidly become an **obsession** with entrepreneurs, scientists, governments and the media. […]
Cheerleaders for big data have made four exciting **claims**, each one reflected in the success of Google Flu Trends: that data analysis produces uncannily accurate results; that every single data point can be captured, making old statistical sampling techniques obsolete; that it is passé to fret about what causes what, because statistical correlation tells us what we need to know; and that scientific or statistical models aren't needed because, to

quote "The End of Theory", a provocative essay published in Wired in 2008, "with enough data, the numbers speak for themselves".

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Unfortunately, these four articles of faith are **at best** optimistic **oversimplifications. At worst,** according to David Spiegelhalter, Winton Professor of the Public Understanding of Risk at Cambridge university, they can be "complete **bollocks**. Absolute **nonsense**."[36]

The hedges that the author employs in this article excerpt are not grammatical in nature but rather rely on linguistic content to render auctorial views. He flouts the maxims of quality and manner by resorting to irony, but also to strong, offensive words to investigate the phenomenon depicted in the article, but avoids formulating a straightforward view and prefers to report (a hedging device in itself) the opinions of respected professionals that are against the idea in contrast with the **claims** (a hedging device once more) of **cheerleaders** for big data.

The mere fact that the author prefers to conceal the identities of the supporters of Big data is in itself a trick when they are represented by the term cheerleaders (as in shallow, not to be taken seriously type of people) in contrast to David Spiegelhalter, Winton Professor of the Public Understanding of Risk at Cambridge university (full name and position) who supports the view that bid data is bullocks and nonsense, in full accordance with the author's own view. In Gricean terms, the author's contribution is informative with respect to the details which serve his purpose and is ambiguous and obscure in the opposite situation, thus violating the maxims of quantity and manner.

The symbolism of the picture using binary coding to form the image of skyscrapers further deepens the idea that modern society relies heavily and perhaps excessively on computer generated and computer manipulated data.

Austin's theory of Speech Acts (1962) revolutionized language study by focusing on the relation between words and thoughts and, even more challengingly, between words and deeds, or, as Austin himself puts it, how to do things with words. The term **speech act** has generated some paradoxical implications since it does not refer to oral communication only but also to a more abstract understanding of what language is and what it is used for in terms of social interaction between users.

Austin's theory analyses any speech activity under three key aspects:

- **The locutionary act,** represented by the act of producing grammatically recognizable utterances:

> the utterance of certain noises, the utterance of certain words in a certain construction, and the utterance of them with a certain „meaning" in the favourite philosophical sense of the word, i.e. with a certain **sense** and a certain **reference**
>
> (Austin, 1962: 94)

The locutionary act can thus be understood as the actual form of a communication endowed with a charge of meaning. Even in the case of evidential or epistemic markers being present in utterances, the locution refers to the production of the utterance, not to the literal or abstract content of the information embedded in the utterance.

- The **illocutionary act –** refers to the actual content of the utterance, what the speaker is doing by uttering a certain sentence, for instance he/she is promising, ordering, demanding, asking, threatening etc. For instance, the locutionary act in *Give me some money* corresponds to the illocution *to ask*.

In epistemically modalized statements, the illocutionary act can be difficult to indentify because of the high degree of indirectness rendered by epistemic elements. They hedge statements so well that they often dilute the illocution to a state of beyond recognition. For instance, the following statement, though modalized with epistemic elements, does not express the speaker's opinion or knowledge about the world but rather it has the illocutionary force of a recommendation:

Or, as Austin himself put it:

> ... saying something will often, or even normally, produce certain thoughts or action of the audience, or of the speaker, or of other person: we may then say that the speaker has performed an act in the nomenclature of a **perlocutionary act** and the act performed a **perlocution**
>
> (Austin, 1999: 70)

Perlocutionary acts, finally, are defined by the **reaction** of the interlocutor to the meaning of the utterance and may or may not be in agreement with the intended illocutionary act. For example, the illocution of *recommending* an increase in inflation in an utterance such as: *Some of the pressure could be eased by higher inflation.* may result in the perlocution a) *The banks increased inflation* or b)*The banks refused to reduce inflation.*

In the case of epistemic modality manifested in utterances, interpretations of illocutions can be misleading in the sense that epistemic modal elements can occur as hedging elements in utterances meant to soften or to sweeten an intended illocutionary act. Lyons (1977: 730) noted that Austin's discussion of illocutions and perlocutions has often been challenged in semantics and the theory according to which conveying information from x to y is aimed at making y aware of something unknown was deemed insufficient because this approach does not cover all the instances of communication.

Another important observation is that with epistemic modals rendering indirectness, tentativeness etc., the **desired** perlocutionary effect may differ from the **obtained** perlocutionary effect and the interlocutor should be able to admit that a certain illocutionary act has taken place and identify the illocution in order to act in accordance with it (Lyons, 1977: 731).

An example of speakers using locutions that differ from the illocution and result in various perlocutions is taken from The Economist (March 29th issue) and it relies on an assembly of organized subtitle – title – visual message, which starts from the subtitle **Up, up and away,** leading readers into believing in economic growth.

Example 3. *The Economist* (March 29th 2014)

Up, up and away
Higher inflation **may be needed** to leave extra-low interest rates behind

AT FIRST glance, rich-world central banks are going their separate ways. Cheered by sturdy growth figures, the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve **are shuffling toward an exit** from easy monetary policy; markets found Janet Yellen's first Fed statement unexpectedly hawkish. The European Central Bank, in contrast, is tacking looser. On March 25th Jens Weidmann, president of the Bundesbank, **suggested** that the ECB **might need to be more forceful** in order to keep the euro-area economy out of the grips of deflation.[37]

The author then intentionally contradicts the initial illocution and violates the quality maxim by providing the image of the strangled balloon to indicate that the economy is taking off but it is conditioned by a tightening of the belt. The epistemic modal markers used in the high key title **(may be needed)** delivers additional ambiguity by assigning a high degree of uncertainty to the measures of increasing inflation and increasing interest rates so that consumers may understand that these are the sacrifices they MUST make (as the decoding of **may be needed**) in order to help economic growth.

Example 3 above also contains what the author would have us believe is a report of what Jens Weimann uttered on March 25th or it may just as well be the author's interpretation of what should be done in order to keep the euro area economy stable. This example relates to the difficulty of interpreting the precise illocution as the author a) conceals the illocution deliberately in order to add depth to the claim by letting the reader make sense of the purpose of the Jens Weidmann statement or b) uses **might need** to soften the strength of the FORCE in the original utterance of Jens Weidmann to render it more diplomatically as an economically pertinent measure.

In determining illocutionary force, one should take into account conventions according to Austin (1962), i.e. mental patterns in the way people think in particular social and cultural contexts, which Strawson (1964) and Grice (1989) dismissed under the assumption that primary illocutionary acts (assertions, questions, commands) are essentially non–conventional since they can be accounted for by means of the response and by the spontaneous reaction demonstrating recipient recognition of the communicative intention. For instance, the example above can generate a range of perlocutionary effects that are by no means conventional in nature and that may or may not observe the author's original intention. The reader may interpret the example above as a warning about gloomy days, a recommendation of how to organize their finances etc.

Moreover, even when people recognize communicative intention, their reaction is often essentially different from auctorial expectations, for instance react to the information in example 3 above with total distrust in the author's negativity/pessimism regarding economical future and produce irrational spending sprees as a reaction.

5. Conclusions

What the current study is indicating in terms of usage of epistemic markers and hedging devices is that business discourse is becoming increasingly coded and readers require increasing perspicacity in detecting hidden meanings and maximizing text-visuals metaphor decoding. Additionally, business authors are developing a set of strategies in the attempt to guide public opinion into a particular direction while maintaining the illusion they are not interfering with the reader's free will system in formulating personal views. Hedging devices cover a wide array of manifestations in business discourse and are particularly interesting in their power to convey vagueness and unwillingness to vouch for the truthfulness of an assertion, thus becoming an essential tool in flouting or violating the Gricean maxims within the framework of the cooperative principle.

What we found particularly interesting to investigate was whether epistemic and hedging markers take precedence over straightforward formulations which should, presumably characterize business discourse, a discourse of facts and figures rather than of opinions. Surprisingly, business discourse is no longer about facts and figures but rather about metaphorically encoded opinions about facts, figures and trends. Moreover, business writing has developed an integrated approach to persuasive discourse, using powerful imagery to complement manipulative goals (and we use *manipulative* in the most benign possible way) in contributing to the formation of public opinion.

NOTES

[1] *The Economist*, Mar 29th 2014: "Inflation and interest rates/ Up, up and away/ Higher inflation may be needed to leave extra-low interest rates behind."

[2] *The Economist* (Jun 21st 2014, Washington, DC, Printed edition): "Monetary policy and asset prices/ A narrow path/ Central banks around the world are struggling to promote growth without fomenting worrisome risk-taking."

[3] *The Economist* (June 21st 2014, Washington, DC, Printed edition): "Monetary policy and asset prices/ A narrow path/ Central banks around the world are struggling to promote growth without fomenting worrisome risk-taking."

[4] *The Economist* (Jun 28th 2014 Geneva and New York): "Tax evasion/ Dropping the bomb/ America's fierce campaign against tax cheats is doing more harm than good."

[5] *The Economist* (Jun 28th 2014, Printed Edition): "Higher education/ Creative destruction/ A cost crisis, changing labour markets and new technology will turn an old institution on its head."

[6] *The Economist* (Mar 29th 2014): "Inflation and interest rates/ Up, up and away/ Higher inflation may be needed to leave extra-low interest rates behind."

[7] *The Economist* (Mar 29th 2014): "Inflation and interest rates/ Up, up and away/ Higher inflation may be needed to leave extra-low interest rates behind."

[8] *The Economist* (March 22nd 2014): "Housing markets/ Double bubble trouble/ China's property prices appear to be falling again."

[9] *The Economist* (Mar 29th 2014): "Inflation and interest rates/ Up, up and away/ Higher inflation may be needed to leave extra-low interest rates behind."

[10] *The Economist* (Mar 29th 2014): "Inflation and interest rates/ Up, up and away/ Higher inflation may be needed to leave extra-low interest rates behind."

[11] *The Economist* (Mar 29th 2014): "Inflation and interest rates/ Up, up and away/ Higher inflation may be needed to leave extra-low interest rates behind."

[12] *The Economist* (Jun 28th 2014 Geneva and New York): "Tax evasion/ Dropping the bomb/ America's fierce campaign against tax cheats is doing more harm than good."

[13] *The Economist* (Jun 28th 2014): "Higher education/ Creative destruction/ A cost crisis, changing labour markets and new technology will turn an old institution on its head."

[14] *The Economist* (Jun 28th 2014 Geneva and New York): "Tax evasion/ Dropping the bomb/ America's fierce campaign against tax cheats is doing more harm than good."

[15] *The Economist* (Jun 28th 2014): "Higher education/ Creative destruction/ A cost crisis, changing labour markets and new technology will turn an old institution on its head."

[16] *The Economist* (March 22nd 2014): "Housing markets/ Double bubble trouble/ China's property prices appear to be falling again."

[17] *Financial Times* (April 2nd 2014): "Stock markets hit post-crisis highs as IMF warns on growth" (By Chris Giles and Michael MacKenzie).

[18] *The Economist* (Jun 21st 2014, Washington, DC): "Monetary policy and asset prices/ A narrow path/Central banks around the world are struggling to promote growth without fomenting worrisome risk-taking."

[19] *Financial Times* (April 2nd 2014): "Stock markets hit post-crisis highs as IMF warns on growth" (By Chris Giles and Michael MacKenzie)

[20] *The Economist* (Jun 21st 2014, Washington, DC): "Monetary policy and asset prices/ A narrow path/Central banks around the world are struggling to promote growth without fomenting worrisome risk-taking."

[21] *Financial Times* (April 2nd 2014): "Stock markets hit post-crisis highs as IMF warns on growth" (By Chris Giles and Michael MacKenzie).

[22] *The Economist* (March 22nd 2014): "Housing markets/ Double bubble trouble/ China's property prices appear to be falling again."

[23] *The Economist* (March 22nd 2014): "Housing markets/ Double bubble trouble/ China's property prices appear to be falling again."

[24] *The Economist* (March 29th 2014): "Inflation and interest rates/ Up, up and away/ Higher inflation 2."

[25] *The Economist* (June 21st 2014): "Monetary policy and asset prices/ A narrow path/ Central banks around the world are struggling to promote growth without fomenting worrisome risk-taking."

[26] *The Economist* (June 28th 2014): "Tax evasion/ Dropping the bomb/ America's fierce campaign against tax cheats is doing more harm than good."

[27] *The Economist* (June 21st 2014): "Monetary policy and asset prices/ A narrow path/ Central banks around the world are struggling to promote growth without fomenting worrisome risk-taking."

[28] *Financial Times* (April 2nd 2014): "Stock markets hit post-crisis highs as IMF warns on growth" (By Chris Giles and Michael MacKenzie).

[29] *The Economist* (March 22nd 2014): "Housing markets/ Double bubble trouble/ China's property prices appear to be falling again."
[30] *The Economist* (June 21st 2014): "Monetary policy and asset prices/ A narrow path/ Central banks around the world are struggling to promote growth without fomenting worrisome risk-taking."
[31] *The Economist* (March 22nd 2014): "Housing markets/ Double bubble trouble/ China's property prices appear to be falling again."
[32] *Financial Times* (March 28th 2014): "Big Data: Are we making a big mistake?" (By Tim Harford).
[33] *The Economist* (June 21st 2014): "Monetary policy and asset prices/ A narrow path/Central banks around the world are struggling to promote growth without fomenting worrisome risk-taking."
[34] *The Economist* (June 28th 2014): "Tax evasion/ Dropping the bomb/ America's fierce campaign against tax cheats is doing more harm than good."
[35] *The Economist* (March 22nd 2014): retrieved at <http://www.economist.com/news/finance-and-economics/>.
[36] *Financial Times* (March 28th 2014) retrieved at <http://www.ft.com/home/uk>, 2-nd April 2014.
[37] *The Economist* (March 29th 2014) retrieved at <http://www.economist.com/news/finance-and-economics/> on 2-nd April 2014.

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The Polysemy of Romanian Words and their Receiving by Foreign Students

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ABSTRACT

Referring to the phenomenon of polysemy in terminology for the students who want to learn Romanian as a foreign language is rather problematic. The changes in language, the lexical novelties from different domains reflect the actual linguistic reality. The terminological polysemy is a natural phenomenon in the evolution of a live language, though it may contribute to a certain weighting of receiving the language specific to the domain of interest for the one who studies Romanian as a foreign language. In this case the disambiguation of the context is very important, offering as many clues as possible on the domain of origin through other de-specialized terms. The terms of a certain domain, after reaching contexts of common language at an earlier stage, are reintroduced in the specialized communication, being taken over by other domains than the original one. As general language tends to incorporate more terms, the texts initially considered strictly specialized tend to de-specialize, and as the vocabulary grows, both specialists in other domains and common language speakers start gaining access to it. Thus, the importance of decrypting the sense of polysemantic words by the foreign students eager to learn Romanian, is natural.

KEYWORDS: *polysemy, Romanian, language, terminology, domain*

1. Introduction

Part of semantics along with homonymy, synonymy, antonymy, paronymy, etc, polysemy (< Greek "polis" – "several", "séma" – "sign, sense") is a characteristic of terms belonging to natural languages of having several senses depending on the context. It is considered a fundamental and universal semantic category because it appears in any language, being *"a law of developing and functioning of the human language"* (Budeanu, 1996: 60).

Around 80% of the main fund of actual languages, according to statistics, is made of polysemantic words (the number varies from one language to another). In Romanian 85% of the words in the active vocabulary are polysemantic, the rest of 15% being mono-semantic. Polysemy is mainly characteristic to verbs, nouns and adjectives and is directly proportional to the age of the word and its frequency of use in the language.

Consequently, in linguistic analysis, the disambiguation of polysemantic terms is done by delimiting the specific contexts and by detaching the common and secondary senses, with a more or less figurative meaning, from them. Besides, *"dealing with polysemy in different specialty works was done from different perspectives: diachronic (the evolution in time of the senses of certain words) or synchronic (the relationships between the senses of a certain word in a given period)"* (Bidu-Vrănceanu & Forăscu, 1988: 39). One of the most important things in polysemy is to determine the relationships between the sense of a word through "visible" elements and the precise delimitation, especially through context, of the differences between them.

2. Polysemantic words and their contextual senses

Polysemy is considered to be an almost general trait of words, because the absolute majority of the words that belong to the active vocabulary are polysemantic. This means that most of the words, as designations of the elements from the extra linguistic reality, prove able to cover several meanings. As specialty works underline, polysemy must be considered a rule, while monosemy – more of an exception.

There is a direct report between the polysemantic character of a word and the contexts in which it is used. Polysemantic words are generally used in several contexts. Thus, the more a word is frequently used, the more senses it will have. So, the polysemantic word will allow as many contexts as senses included in its semantic structure and it will be harder to retain for those who wish to learn Romanian as a foreign language. Usually, the difficulty occurs in the case of mixed groups who learn Romanian as a foreign language, namely in the case of specialty terminology belonging to medicine, engineering, IT, philology, economics, law, etc., when the same term is found in different domains with stylistically and contextually specialized senses.

For example, the noun *memorie* (*DEX*, 1996: 619) [memory] is registered in Romanian dictionaries with the following senses: 1. "ţinere de minte" (to have a good memory); 2. "amintire" (to keep an event in mind); 3. "amintire păstrată de posteritate pentru oamenii iluştri" (to honor the memory of heroes); 4. "parte componentă a calculatorului" (to store information in the memory of the computer); 5. "minte" (residence of the memory process). Consequently, we will be able to use this word in the contexts: 1. In any situation we need a good memory. 2. I have kept in my mind for a long time the teacher's words. 3. Our duty is to honor the memory of the heroes fallen on duty. 4. The memory of the computer should be changed. 5. "A healthy mind in a healthy body". At the same time, it is still the context that ensures the differentiation of the senses of the polysemantic word in speech that is why we often remember the sense of a word by reporting to the context.

Another example, the noun *impuls* (*DEX*, 1996: 479) [impulse], with rather big differences between senses, is met in contexts related to physiology and physics, designating: 1. "an urge, a nervous stimulus, oriented towards the execution of an order" – In his job as a prosecutor, solving the case constituted a strong impulse to

promotion; 2. "a physical measure, delimited according to determined conditions" - The impulse of a body is a physical measure defined as the product of mass and speed; 3. "sudden, intense and short term variation of a variable measure" – The electric impulse is the short term emission of electricity.

The polysemantic words have a very complex semantic structure. The whole of the senses of the polysemantic word form its semantic structure. Within this structure the senses connect by different relationships. Usually, what unites the senses of a polysemantic word is the existence of some common semantic components. For example, each of the senses of the polysemantic word *a destrăma* (Constantinescu, 2001: 82) [to unravel, tu crumble, to dissipate, etc.] – 1. to unravel a fabric; 2. to unwind a ball of thread; 3. to decompose, to take apart into composing elements; 4. to end – contains the common signification of deteriorating a whole until its cancellation. And in the case of the verb *a devora* [to devour] with the senses – 1. to eat greedily (The wolf devoured the lamb); 2. to consume, to destroy, to burn up (The fire devoured the house). 3. to devour a book, to read feverishly (He devoured the book to the last pages) – the common component that unites its three senses is that of consuming until the end.

In order to explain the different senses of the polysemantic words to those who learn Romanian as a foreign language, it is very important to verify the differences between senses by replacement with different synonyms specialized in contexts. For example, the polysemy of the adjective *limpede* (Bidu-Vrănceanu & Forăscu, 1988: 48) [clear] is a rich one, having as connector of senses the meaning of "lacking impurities", of "clarity", of "transparency". Thus, one may say liquids are clear, the sky or the atmosphere is clear, the eyes, the look or the voice are clear, the mind and the expression may also be clear. The strict differentiation of senses forces to take into consideration the contexts, just for a better understanding of the signification of the word but also for an adequate use of the latter in the future: *"The principle of the semantic and contextual disambiguation starts from the practical necessity to differentiate the senses of polysemantic words, especially if the senses are very numerous or can generate confusions in communication"* (Bidu-Vrănceanu, 1986: 66).

Polysemy as a phenomenon that characterizes the words of the language at a certain stage of its evolution explains itself from a historical point of view. The sources of polysemy are the sense slides, the figurative expressions and the influence of foreign words. Though, the main cause of polysemy is the semantic evolution of words. Polysemy is due to the modifications of sense that words suffer as a result of their usage in different contexts. Through frequent use in new contexts the words can gain new senses along with the original one.

The semantic enrichments of words are also based on the associations speakers make between different surrounding objects. For instance, to the basic sense of the word *aripă* (*DEX*, 1996: 59) [*wing*] "forelimb of birds, of insects or of mammals that serves for flight" were added the following senses ("fin", "membrane of certain fruits or seeds", "parts of certain devices", "blade of a water mill") as a consequence of the association made by speakers between the shape, the function or the position of wings and the new entities that began to be designated by this word. Another two senses

("side of a building", "end, flank of a troop in battle formation") were attributed to this word due to the birds' wing and the other entities, based on their position.

The adjective *puternic* (*DEX*, 1996: 875) [*strong*] is used in language with the following senses: 1. "strong, vigorous" (strong man); 2. "that outputs a large amount of power" (strong/powerful engine); 3. "intense" (strong wind); 4. "loud" (loud voice); 5. live, intense (strong light); 6. influent (powerful state); 7. figurative – "solid" (solid argument).

The word *pământ* (Budeanu, 1996: 60) [*earth*] also has in Romanian the following senses: 1. "the planet we live on" – Earth is a planet just like Jupiter; 2. "earth crust" – A snowdrop sprang from the earth; 3. "stretch of land" – The salvation of the shipwreck was a stretch of land; 4. "cultivable soil" – He had inherited a large piece of land; 6. "the matter that composes the solid part of the planet" – Plants grow in the earth; 7. "territory, region, country" – The wedding ceremony took place according to the local habits. In this case polysemy also appears at the level of locutions and expressions:

- "very far" – *la capătul pământului* (at the end of the earth/world);
- "forever" – *de când e lumea şi pământul* (since the beginning of time);
- "big difference" – *ca de la cer la pământ*.

Thus, any exercise of explaining the senses of a polysemantic word to foreign students who want to learn Romanian is an occasion for the latter to assimilate the vocabulary, to exactly interpret the semantic relations that the respective word has in language.

A certain exactness in knowing the senses of a polysemantic word intervenes when we talk about abstract words, because they say that "*abstract words* are generally monosemantic words, an aspect that should increasingly manifest in Romanian, especially in the case of the fairly numerous neologisms that exist in this class – and given that – (…) regarding *abstract words* it seems that secondary senses express slides in the same semantic sphere (…) that would limit, on principle, polysemy" (Bidu-Vrănceanu, 2000: 28). However, we are talking about polysemy in the case of certain neologisms (abstract words) such as *repulsion, hostility, affection*, etc. The abstract word *repulsie* (*Ibidem*: 31) [*repulsion*] has the primary sense of feeling of aversion", later to be found in physics meaning "tendency of separation". The polysemy of the word *affection* seems to be more explicit by clearly delimiting the senses, a positive one – "a tender feeling for someone", another one negative, used in medicine – "pathological state of an organ". There is a clear polysemy of Romanian neologisms (abstract words), they may be possibly met in a larger proportion than the monosemantic words, somehow limited to the scientific language.

3. Conclusions

When we wish to understand the meaning of a polysemantic word without major errors, we must place that word in a context, because, taken outside the text, the term would be but a lifeless element. The term should be studies *"in its natural environment"* (Béjoint & Thoiron, 2000: 16).

Usually a text with a high level of specialization tends to precision, concision and a systematic character. The terms that appear here have tendency towards monosemy and sole senses. As the degree of specialization decreases, the discourse acquires the characteristics of the unspecialized discourse. From a polysemantic point of view, terms are regarded by most linguists as dynamic units, a capacity that expresses the mobility of the units from the specialized vocabulary to the common one and vice versa, as well as from a specialty domain to another. Thus one underlines the terminological variation in texts and the expansion of polysemy as domains intersect, as one could observe in the multi-disciplinary works (*Ibidem*: 14). Regarding the relationship with Romanian, one considers that the transfer of the terms in texts and contexts of broad usage induce a process of de-terminologisation, at different degrees, of the specialized sense, the term being able to gain, along its denotative dimension, a connotative dimension (reaching a proper polysemy) (Bidu-Vrănceanu, 2007: 28).

That is why the way of approaching specialized texts addressed to foreign students is very important, because the receiving of terminology with polysemantic alterations can create confusion among them. Particularly, the metaphorical senses of certain terms often encountered in the common language may be difficult to understand by the ones willing to learn Romanian. For this reason one emphasizes the explanation of the basic sense of the newly discovered term and subsequently the amplification of the secondary senses it may have and its placing in different contexts.

The linguist Alice Toma (2005: 100-101) considers the polysemy of terms is assured by migrations from one domain of knowledge to another, even if she admits that the semantic diversification does not only know polysemantism, while keeping certain semantic links between the different senses, but also homonymy, while totally breaking the semantic relationships or by adding some senses that have nothing in common with the former ones, using as an example the word *articulation* 1. (as a term in morphology, put in a semantic relationship with the article); 2. (the phonetic term referring to the way and the basis of articulation of a language) and the word *subject* 1. (in syntax); 2. (in psychology) between which there is no relationship of sense. Sometimes, the signification of a specialized term can be discovered only in the large context of a good knowledge of the respective domain and the line of separation between polysemy and homonymy can be a thin one and very difficult to observe for someone who does not know Romanian.

For foreign student who study Romanian, *"the typical case of an ambiguity (accomplished at a lexical level through polysemy, homonymy, etc.) that allows the substitution of a predictable interpretation with another, a surprising one"* (Zafiu, 2001: 258), is a less productive one.

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Valences and Limits of Interlinguistic Communication

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ABSTRACT

A cautious evaluation of the epistemological referential leads to the conclusion that interculturality is recognized as a given reality, as a phenomenon that takes place at the crossroad of cultures, without being a purpose in itself. Yet, the conceptualization of this phenomenon has not been completely defined yet. The theoretical reflection on this issue, which can become a goal in cases that generate conflicts, marginalization, discrimination, racism or aggressive assertion of cultural superiority, has a sporadic and unsystematic character, as the area of research must be extended to a multitude of disciplines. Learning a foreign language substantially contributes to the individual evolution on an ascendant trajectory by gradually enhancing the intellectual apparatus, by taking interest in the artistic, moral and social values of other cultures and by adopting balance, tolerance and empathy. The contact with the values of other cultures implies the permanent reference to one's own communitary identity, the evaluation of common and different axiological aspects and the consolidation of the human spirit with the values of both cultures.
Interculturality implies the combination of comunitary identity and availability towards other cultures. It has a large range of diversity, from the translation of a text from another language, seeing films, visiting museums, organizing trips abroad or meeting people of different cultures.

KEYWORDS: *culture, pattern, humanism, contact, interculturality*

A considerate evaluation of the epistemological referent would lead to the conclusion that interlinguism is acknowledged as given reality. It is a phenomenon that takes place at the junction of cultures, without being a purpose in itself. Yet, its conceptualization is not conclusive. The theoretical reflection on the issue on debate, which can become a goal in cases that might stem conflicts, marginalization, discrimination, racism or aggressive assertion of cultural superiority, has a sporadic and desultory character. This is the reason why the area of research must be extended to a multitude of human-related disciplines. Anthropology, political economics, psychology and sociology, as sciences of the human spirit, as historical sciences, which are in fact sciences of culture, deliver valuable information which can contribute to the patterning of a valid conception of interlinguism. This process is possible although the above mentioned sciences are neither the expression of a common point of view, nor have they realized a distinct, rigorous and intrinsic methodology.

Talking about the interlinguism whose goal is a good understanding among individuals cannot be considered utopia. In fact, interlinguism deals with perspective and depth, with the ability to lead and adapt to conditions in which the cultural diversity has become part of our daily existence, therefore it cannot be ignored. The exponential expansion of communication in the contemporary society and the improvement of the means of transportation that allow the individual to keep permanent contact with the exterior world seem to offer plasticity, to fill with empirical content Sombart's formula according to which the man is a social being. Now more than ever, the social subject gains pithiness from historical perspective, depending on time, place and communitary affiliation. Within the framework of this complex reality lies the researcher's task to conceptualize, adapting to a reality that is in a permanent process of transformation.

A coherent approach on interlinguism must set as a starting point the representation of the phenomenon as a crossroad of different cultures, which transfer concepts pluridirectionally. This means that at the very foundation of the understanding among humans lies the language, as a way of representation.

A fundamental goal in the intercultural preparation in a formal sense is the driving of the individual into the epitome of self-development. This goal can be achieved by the introversion of the necessity to acquire interlinguistic competence, achievable by the intense and solid study of the European languages.

Learning a foreign language substantially contributes to the evolution of the man on ascendant trajectory by gradually widening the intellectual apparatus, by taking interest in the artistic, moral and cultural values of other cultures and by adopting balance, tolerance, empathy and humanism. The contact with the values of other cultures implies the permanent reference to one's own communitary identity, the evaluation of common and different axiological aspects and the consolidation of the human spirit with the values of both cultures.

A hypothesis for the tempering of a conflict in intercultural context, for cooperation and reach of the plenitude of communitary life should start from the postulate according to which language is essential for a culture and for the understanding of a culture. A unitary epistemological foundation for this hypothesis can be identified in the appeal to anthropology and linguistics. Nations have their own means of referencing to reality, materialized in lexical, syntactic and phraseological differences. Language, in terms of structural linguistics, uses symbols or denotements of things, as it is a representation of the sensible world, of the surrounding reality. In his so-called hypothesis, Benjamin Lee Whorf, Eduard Sapir's disciple, asserted that language is in a relationship of causality with the system of representation of the world, being

> first of all, a classification and an arrangement of the stream of the sensory experience which results in a certain world-order, a certain segment of the world that is easily expressible by the type of symbolic means that language employs.
>
> (1958: 58)

Language, with its categorical universe, is not a tool available to man, but a form of expression of communitary origin. A radical expression of the communicative nature

of man can be observed in the multitude of means of communication nowadays, to which scientists such as Emile Benveniste and Roman Jakobson contributed from a conceptual point of view. Benveniste theorized the enouncement as the process of carrying the language into action in an individual act of volition, whereas Jakobson suggests a model of communication enriching the transmitter-message-receiver relationship with terms such as *context, contact and code.* The dialogue represents the authentic substance of the language that is the social process of verbal interaction. The *background*, the name given by Searle to reflexive knowledge or *precomprehension*, the term used by Heidegger and Gadamer, refers to determinations that set us as historic beings, dependent on the place of insertion in the social life. Not to be mistaken for intuition, *precomprehension* opens the impact of reality, and, as such, it is approximate knowledge, anticipation of the world, inherent to every individual. It appears to us as individual, as a strict feature of the human being, but each singularity is projected onto the background of pluralism. This projection translates into a community of culture and references, values and limits, or into what Heidegger referred to as *the house of language.*

The radicalization of the questionable thesis of the German philosopher in an irrationalist sense, according to which man cannot overcome language, seems to force us to identify its degree of validity in the aspects of immediate reality. Emil Cioran's case is the typical circumstance that incites us to reason. Although he was one of the most important contemporary philosophers who wrote his work in French, during the last days of his life he involuntary spoke exclusively Romanian. The relationship between the linguistic structures and the logical structures is one of the most profound philosophical problems and one of the most controversial issues of structuralism and epistemology in general. The understanding, as fundamental determination of the *Dasein* in Heidegger's vision, functions essentially through language, controlling and being controlled by it.

Jean Piaget (1971) analyses this interaction, considering as inappropriate the hypothesis of the sensorial-motric intelligence, preformed in relation with the relatively late apparition of language in the second year of growth. The Swiss scientist mentioned that

> if speech depends upon an at least partially structured intelligence, the reverse is also true; speech structures this intelligence, and here begin the real problem.

An abstract of the theory of communication would offer sufficient arguments to convince us that the interest of the researchers was focused mainly on the first component in the transmitter-receiver relationship, more exactly on the process of statement. If the results obtained at this stage of the scientific investigation tend to be clear, the knowledge of the behavior of the receiver is incomplete. The area of research is thus open. The hypotheses, which are indispensable to science, make slow progress and they cannot be verified. The linguistic theory does not assume a normative attitude towards the process of understanding the sentences because of the differences of conceptualization and signification of things and natural phenomena.

A clear explanation of what happens at the level of cerebral mechanism at the moment of message reception has not been offered by psychoanalysts yet. The difficulties we encounter in the process of making ourselves understood by the speakers of other languages, even if we are aware of the idiom, occur from the differences of the representations of the same objects that form the matter of the actual communication. These difficulties evolve gradually from unambiguous referential sentences (informative, didactic, etc.) to sentences with cognitive and expressive values, specific to philosophical, literary and poetic language.

From this perspective, it is obvious that frustration occur at some degree when we are faced with a translation of Eminescu's poems into a foreign language. It is a widely spread belief among Romanian readers that the difficulty in the translation of the poems of our national poet transform us into prisoners of our own culture. This does not mean that out attempts to make the authentic substance of the poetic creation known throughout the world must be abandoned. The typical case of difficulties that seem insurmountable is the incorrect translation, both at a lexical and syntactic level.

Micaela Ghițescu and Mircea Cărtărescu have tried to reshape the patterns of the sentence in Romanian under the influence of other languages. Connoisseurs of the restrictive French etymologism, in which the predicative cannot be implicit, but compulsory expressed, the two writers have formulated sentences that are memorable, as they are unusual. They may lead to the conclusion that there is the possibility of mutations within the relations in Romanian, which would mean the deconstruction *avant la lettre* of the scientific content of the branch of knowledge.

In the translation of *The Anarchist Banker* of Fernando Pessoa, Micaela Ghițescu applies the syntactic French pattern on the Romanian sentences for the linking verbs *to be* and *to become* (1955: 64), as well as Mircea Cărtărescu, who applies the same formal principle in his *De ce iubim femeile?* (2004: 12)

The examples we bring into discussion do not invalidate the hypothesis that linking verbs, being intransitive, do not have the generative ability, therefore they do not command the complements. The demonstration of the intransitive property of the linking words is their incompatibility with the pronominalization of a hypothetical pronoun. The example in *De ce iubim femeile?* is presented in *The Grammar of Romanian*, in which Gabriela Pană Dindelegan confers a metaphorical value to the verb *to be*, although it is considered as a linking verb. The explanation given by the author causes confusion, as it is generally agreed that the metaphor relates to verbs and not to nouns.

In our opinion, in the above mentioned examples, the semantic content of the two linking words does not confer a transitive value, as they are not marked neither formally, nor logically. Talking about a syntactic relation in which a linking verb can subordinate an object means ignoring one of the most fundamental linguistic principles. Researchers use hypotheses in their work, and, in this particular case, the hypothesis of intransitivity is not confirmed, so the possibility to combine the two units is excluded.

These syntactic structures argue against the mechanics of a grammatical pattern structured on the classical schemes of sentence construction. They perform as a disruptive factor of the interaction between intellect and language because of their semantic inadequacy of pronouns and linking verbs. All things considered, we admit that the syntactic system of our language rejects the excessive grammar structures.

It is true that man, depending on his intellectual apparatus and his inspiration, can give a linguistic expression to the multitude of effective experiences, but each expression must comply with the validity of the grammatical axiom, with the static vision of the language as a system of communication governed by strict rules. It is the essence of axiomatic thinking to admit that the two parts can be combined into one superior unit, provided that it offers semantic compatibility that is if one of them is circumscribed into the area of determination of its counterpart.

Communication in interlinguistic context exhibits forms that can be placed at the level of the concept of European humanism, but it also experiences ambiguity, immoderacy and errors. Phenomena such as those already presented cannot be ignored, but they must be explained correctly. The modernity has developed both rigors and freedom. The academic establishment, by its authority and normative dimension, is responsible for achieving its task to supervise the preservation of the strictness in the area of language, which is defined as a determinant phenomenon in inter-human relationships.

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Interjection – personal deictic

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the analysis of interjections as personal and social deictic indicators. Some Romanian interjections include information on interlocutor sex. Deictic interjections are personal markers associated to person having the role of announcers. The most common interjections are *iată* and *iaca.* Using these interjections draws attention to the interlocutor to a person or an object in the interlocution field. Colloquial Romanian language uses frequently vocatives materializing the utterance. Vocative forms are accompanied by interjections, and lately, under the influence of television and mass media, Romanian language has been influenced by English language introducing new interjections. The vocative is a strong mark of orality which permits, by endless construction variants, a multitude of stylistic and sociolinguistic nuances: the characteristics of familiar orality are emphasized by morphological markers and by using vocatives together with addressing interjections. Vocative is also the mark of orientation of the speaker towards the interlocutor.

KEYWORDS: *personal deictic, social deictic, interlocutor, speaker, primary interjection, secondary interjection*

Deictic words are defined in *Dicţionar de ştiinţe ale limbii* such as: *"class of words and grammar forms joining the totality of deixis marks, this class being unitary from semantic and functional point of view, but heterogeneous from grammar point of view"*, deictic word is synonymous with *deixis indicator*. The class of deictic words is based on a common semantic characteristic: the missing of own *reference* and the identical style to obtain this reference grounded on a common pragmatic function: the role of deictic word is the sending towards the one of the components of the utterance situation: speaker, interlocutor, time, and place for utterance.

The class of deictic words include: grammatical affixes (time affixes and articulation affixes for the languages with article), grammatical forms (vocative forms and pronominal forms for first and second person) and whole morphological classes (adjective class and demonstrative pronouns, class of time adverbs, pronominal and non-pronominal, interjections class). Deictic words are included in pragmatic universals, covering acts of utterance, all types of sentences: assertive, interrogative, negative; class of words sending to the communication situation, therefore class of deictic words, and the organizing of sentence, etc. Linguistic universals are categories, properties, relations, and tendencies considering common to all languages, permitting different generalizations.

In *Enciclopedia limbii române* for **deictic** we have the following definitions: *"ensemble of words and grammatical forms without own reference, and they obtain the reference from the context of utterance. The reference point in the act of utterance is the speaker, proportional to which the other components are defined"*. The grammatical classes where the deictic words are included are: nouns (*alteţa, majestate*), polite pronouns (*dumneata, dumneavoastră*), possessive pronouns (*al meu, al tău*), demonstrative adjective and pronoun (*acesta, acela*), adverbs and adverbial phrases (a*ici, acolo, acum, poimîine, saptămîna viitoare*), articles (definite article used deictic: *Deschide uşa*!), conjunctions and conjunctional phrases (*oricum, în tot cazul*), interjections of addressing (*mă, bre, bă*), paradigmatic forms for some flexible parts of speaking (nouns in vocative, forms of first and second person for personal pronouns), grammatical affixes (time suffixes), inflectional endings for first and second person of the verbs, deictic particles *(-a, acuma; -şa, coloşa*).

Characteristics in using deictic words for Romanian language:

- low frequency in personal deictic words in correlation with their use in emphatic scopes or in marking the opposition
- the use of the first person plural instead the first person singular, a generalization form
- the use of the second person singular with a generic value
- the marking of the opposition speaker – listener using declaration verbs (*zice, zic*)
- the use of vocatives and interjections to select the interlocutor
- the use of the second person singular instead of the first person singular and the accumulation of the details to help the listener to transpose in the narrative situation *şi aşa mai departe*....

The paper is desired to highlight the use of the interjections as personal and social deictic words. The meaning of the interjections is obtained with the help of the situational and linguistic context, but also with the help of non-verbal means (mime, gestures, etc.) As the deictic words represent a heterogeneous class, so the interjection is *"a heterogeneous class, because some interjections may be partly validated semantically and functionally with the verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs, taking over a part from the syntactic characteristics of these ones."* (*GLR*, 2005: 657)

Deictic interjections are marks associated to the person having the role of presenters. The most used interjections with deictic value are *iată* and *iaca*. By these interjections the interlocutor is determined to pay attention to a person or to an object from the interlocution field:

Mă Păsărilă, **iacăt**-o, ia!

(I. Creangă, *Poveşti, amintiri, povestiri*, p. 126)

Iacă, domnule, **iaca** în ce hal e prăvălia!

(I. L. Caragiale, *D-ale carnavalului*, p. 186)

A! **Iată** conul Fănică!

(I. L. Caragiale, *O scrisoare pierdută*, p. 45)

In the above examples the interjections *iată* and *iaca* suggest directly by gesture the object or the person in the situation of communication, and the message is decoded by the interlocutor. After Valeria Guţu Romalo there is *"an organizer of transmission"* suitable for the interjection *iată*, with a value of anaphoric deictic, being placed on the first place as an element with fatic function to maintain the interest of the interlocutor. This interjection has a communicative reduced role.

The interjections *hai* and *haideţi* are also associated to the person expressing the impulse and suggestion:

− Eu, cucoană am venit să fac focul.
− **Haide**, intră!

In the daily communication the interjections *iată* and *haide* have the value of *"initiating stereotype"* being used frequently in radio programmes and television. Another element which mantain the interest of the interlocutor is the interjection *uite* accompanied by the gesture or by the look:

Uite, veveriţa! Colo sus pe creangă. **Uite**-o!

(I. L. Caragiale, *Năpasta*, p. 224)

The vocative is a deictic mark of the person, and it is used by the speaker to separate a certain comunicative role, and that role is named *target.* The function of the vocative means to identify an interlocutor and, indirectly, a speaker.

There is a major diference between the proper interjections which are conversational marks and onomatopoeic which imitated sounds and suggest movement.

Pragmatically onomatopeic interjections are focused on the message, and the proper interjections are focused on the participants at the act of utterance. Anyway the both type of interjection are included in the deictic plan because they belong to the direct speech plan. The interjections *măi* and *hei* have an addressing value, but with a certain intonation thay have an emotive value too. Romanian language has many interjections which can have multiple meanings and which cannot be decoded without a clear context: *a, ah, e, ei, o, of, oh, uf, vai*, etc. In *Gramatica Limbii Române* there are interjections with communicative functions *"the prototype communicative function is emotive or expressive when the message is focused on the speaker, the interjection transmitting emotional states or different reactions of the speaker"* (*GLR*, 2005: 665). The conative function is met when the message is addressed to the interlocutor. In this category we introduce persuasive, presentation and addressing interjections.

The addressing represents the explicit indication *"of the addressee by the emitter of a message using linguistic means accompanied or not by non-linguistic or paralinguistic elements"*. (*DSL*, 2005: 27). The fundamental operations of addressing are represented by the naming of the addressee with nominal and pronominal forms and the solicitation of the addressee to assume this kind of role, using vocatives or imperatives. Romanian language has the following forms of addressing such as:

a) *nouns: proper* nouns (names, surnames, nicknames), and *common nouns* with certain semantic features: generic names (*om*, *femeie*, *băiat*, *moş*, *babă*, *domn*); generic names expressing interpersonal relationships (*prieten*, *coleg*, *colegă*); names of kinship (*mamă*, *bunic*, *frate*, *mătuşă*); names denoting functions, jobs, and titles (*ministru*, *doctor*, *duce*, *prinţ*, *director*); names showing entity or regional provenience (*oltean*, *ardelean*, *italian*, *francez*, etc.); animal names or generic names referring to animals metaphorically (*bou*, *măgar*, *animal*, *pui*); mythological or religious names, used sometimes metaphorically (*drac*, *înger*, *zeu*, *zeiţă*); names expressing qualification or evaluation (*crai*, *hoţ*, *tâlhar*, etc.);

b) *adjectives used as nouns* by adding definite article, representing a subjective appreciation of the relationships between the interlocutors (*drag, scump, iubit, stimat,* etc.) or the interlocutor features (physical, moral) (*prost, mincinos, frumos, deştept,* etc.);

c) cardinal or ordinal numerals used with noun value or used as nouns (*cei trei, cei doi, al doilea, al treilea,* etc.);

d) forms of the personal pronouns for the second person singular and plural and forms of the polite pronoun (*tu, voi, dumneavoastră, domnia ta, mata,* etc.).

The addressing interjections as *măi, mă, fă (fa), bre* have in speaking the same role as the vocative, therefore they are used to call someone to pay him to be attentive at the communication transmitted. These interjections are used alone or are accompanied by a noun in vocative:

Măi, nu cumva să vă împingă mititelul să intraţi înaintea mea.
(I. Creangă, *Povestea lui Harap-Alb*)

Ce mai faci tu, **măi** flăcăule? îl întrebai eu. Ai ieşit cu oile la păscut?...

Dar eşti vrednic tu, **bre** Niculăeş, să porţi un cârd de oi?
(M. Sadoveanu, *Un om necăjit*)

Catrino, ia, **fa,** secerile astea! strigă el supărat aruncând secerile.
(M. Preda, *Moromeţii*)

The interjections *fa, fă* comes from the word *fată* and therefore we have some information about the sex of the interlocutor.

There are also addressing interjections which have the role not to call someone, but to make someone to be attentive at a thing or a fact: *ia, iacă, iată, iacătă, uite*, etc. These are presentative or ostensive interjections with deictic value being used to show the interlocutor objects, persons, or events in the situational context. These interjections may be also used in the discursive context to introduce a statement.

Iacătă-o, măi, colo.
(I. Creangă, *Povestea lui Harap-Alb*)

In the deictic class there are also included interjections used as politeness formulas such as greeting formulas. The greeting formulas mean *"conventional, fixed expressions with for-*

mula aspect, compulsory in some communicative situations to maintain positive relationships, being met in linguistic communities to serve for social interaction" (Aioane, 2008: 75). The greeting helps the community members to interpret correctly the transmitted message. The greeting must respect some rules for creating solidarity with the interlocutor. The reverence is realized through these greeting formulas. Lately some changes have happened in the modality of greeting, taking new aspects, modern, sometimes being simplified. The greeting is *"a linguistic even"* (Berruto, 1987: 21), the beginning and the end ritual between two people, and it is not compatible with all alocutive pronominal forms. Romanian language has numerous greeting formulas. The equivalent for the familiar pronoun *tu* is represented by the following greetings "*Bună", "Noroc", "Salut", "Servus", "Pa", "Pa, pa", "Pa, pa, pa*". These ones have been transformed in secondary interjections. "*Bună dimineaţa", "Bună ziua"* and *"Bună seara*" are compatible with all alocutive pronouns; the last two greeting formulas being compatible with the pronoun "*Dumneavoastră"*. The last two ones are ceremonial and very polite. The formula "*La revedere*" is compatible with both the distance pronoun and the familiar pronoun, starting to be observed as a polite form. Nowadays the use of this end formula do not transmit consternation anymore when it is used in the relation subordinate/superior (for example, student/professor). This formula has obtained a frequent use in all classes.

The formula "*Sărut mâna*" is not so used, being met in addressing towards women, especially older ones, in relation subordinate/superior (if the woman is in a superior position, in the relation man/woman, but also in the addressing towards a relative: mother, aunt, or grandmother). This behavior appears at older men (even in the addressing towards young girl). It remains a very polite greeting. Between young people this formula is rarely used, being met in the relation man/woman as an expression of respect and consideration. In a relation from subordinate (age, profession) to superior (student, or to a teacher we respect a lot) or in rural environment, a woman can address the doctor, being younger with the greeting "*Sărut mâna*". However this addressing is rarely used in Romanian language between women. In the addressing the priest both in the rural environment and urban one, regardless the sex of the believer or the age of the priest, it is used the formula "*Sărut mâna*".

The simple formulas "*Sănătate/Să fii sănătos"* are seen as being very familiar, even if they are used in any language level. In the south of the country we meet frequently the friendly greeting "*Hai să trăieşti*" or "*Să trăieşti*" between relatives or friends, used especially in phone discussions or at the meeting between two friends. When a child says "*Sărut mâna*" to a relative, the latter answers with the formula "*Să trăieşti*", as a greeting and when someone thanks for the dinner (for example any child at the end of the dinner should say "*Sărut mâna pentru masă*").

When there are religious celebrations or with the occasion of the New Year's Eve we use some compulsory greeting forms: the speaker says "*La mulţi ani", "Sărbători fericite", "Hristos a înviat"*, and the interlocutor is urged to answer "*Bun venit", "Bun găsit", "Drum bun", "Adio", "Să ne vedem cu bine", "Mergi cu bine", "Odihnă plăcută", "Adevărat a înviat", "Mergi cu Dumnezeu"* (if the interlocutors are older people); they are used in different situational contexts. There are available another greeting formula for the interlocutor: "*Serviciu uşor", "Numai bine", "Spor la treaba", "Să dea Dumnezeu*" (as an answer).

In Romania, certain people in different social classes use own greeting formulas. For example, between Romanian peasants it is used the formula "*Doamne ajută*" when someone has been doing an activity for a long time, and the other person passes and says hello. The given answer is "*Dă, Doamne*".

The vocative represents a powerful orality mark, which permits, through endless construction variants, a multitude of stylistic and sociolinguistic nuances: the characteristics of familiar orality are focused on the preference for the morphological marking (*-e, -ule, -o, -lor*) and the association of vocative forms with addressing interjections (Zafiu, 2002: 419):

Vocative case:

zice: „Mariţo/pune-m mâncare//pune-m tu mâncare acolo

(*TDM*, III, 665)

Vocative marked morphologically + addressing interjections:

măi cuscrule!... că a făcut-o băeții ce să le facem? io n-am ştiut

(*TDM*, III, 665)

The vocative is also a mark of speaker's orientation towards the interlocutor. In regional Romanian language we meet the form *domle*, being a syncopated variant (at the beginning it was used as an official addressing formula and then it was transformed in a mark of speaker's orientation towards the interlocutor):

a...venit domle/şi am tranşat/...am vorbit... a sta-n chestea nunţî

(*TDM*, III, 132)

In the present Romanian mass-media texts, the familiar language is often used by the personalities belonging to the high political spheres or/and to the present Romanian cultural ones (so-called VIPs). In some formal contexts (social, cultural or political) of communication, there are eliminated the hierarchical differences between the interlocutor, through wanted elimination of the official addressing forms. In the present newspaper texts the language belongs to the mountainous linguistic zone (south pragmatic subtype). (Manu, 2002) Social deictic elements have a personal deictic component, symbolic referential type that names the interlocutor, and they have a descriptive part which describes the social relation, anchored intrinsically deictic.

In conclusion, the deictic function of the vocative expressions places a certain referent in the temporal and spatial context. The vocatives of personal deixis are, in fact, built on social vein; therefore they depend on the social deixis. The vocative is also a deictic mark for the person, it serves at the separation of a certain communicative role, at the identification of the interlocutor and, indirectly, at the identification of the speaker. The colloquial Romanian language knows a high use of vocatives, through the materialization of the statements. The vocative forms are accompanied by interjections, and lately Romanian language has been influenced by English language introducing new interjections such as cool, shit, especially in television or mass-media.

In Romanian language there are some interjections that include information about the sex of the interlocutor. Romanian language uses interjectional deictic words, for example, *iată,* with the variants *iaca, iacătă*.

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Issues in Designing ESP Courses

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ABSTRACT

For teachers worldwide, an important part in dealing with ESP classes is choosing the appropriate materials in order to meet the needs of the learners. Designing an ESP course is often a difficult task to achieve since teachers are the ones who need to think in advance about what techniques to use, which materials to bring into class or how to evaluate knowledge.
The present paper will discuss learning theories as well as language use and needs analysis. ESP is part of General English, yet, there are certain aspects that define it – learners acquire language for various purposes, the courses are designed to meet the needs of learners, the themes are in accordance with the activities of learners and even language has to be appropriate to these activities. At the same time, ESP courses are usually taught to adults for a certain period of time. These courses have as content the specific language learners use at their workplace. Therefore, ESP courses need to be centered on learners, language and skills.

KEYWORDS: *ESP, learner-centered, language-centered, skill-centered, communicative purposes, needs analysis*

Lately, ESP has become an important aspect in teaching and acquiring a foreign language due to the international expansion of the English language in all fields of activity – business, medicine, engineering, technology, etc. Thus, a new group of learners emerged – those who are interested in learning English for professional purposes. ESP may also be found in certain studies as EOP or English for Occupational Purposes since it deals with teaching and acquiring this language in terms of its future use in different working situations – engineering, medicine, banking, etc. Yet, different professions need and use different terminology, language is used differently depending on the context so teachers need to prepare in advance courses related to the domain of activity of the students involved in the process of learning. As Hutchinson & Waters said,

> In short, the view gained ground that the English needed by a particular group of learners could be identified by analysing the linguistic characteristics of their specialist area of work or study. 'Tell me what you need English for and I will tell you the English that you need' became the guiding principle of ESP.
>
> (1987: 8)

Hutchinson & Waters prevalently uses the term *need* or *needs* thus emphasizing the reasons people learn English for, this term also being used by others in the field while defining ESP. Strevens in 1988 identified among the characteristics of ESP the one that is *designed to meet specified needs of the learner,* Robinson in 1991 agreed with the importance of needs analysis in ESP design. So, the two crucial factors in offering an effective and meaningful learning are the needs and interests of people starting this foreign language.

ESP emerged in the late 1960s and has evolved ever since passing through different stages – from the focus on language at the sentence level to the attention upon the rhetorical discourse, then to the emphasis on the needs analysis or target situation analysis, ending with the skills-centred approach, which mainly focuses on reading or listening skills. All these stages are based on describing language use, an important aspect in designing the right ESP courses. Yet, an important aspect which shouldn't be neglected is the learning process – how teachers help students acquire language and how these students succeed in the process of language learning.

> We cannot simply assume that describing and exemplifying what people do with language will enable someone to learn it. If that were so, we would need to do no more than read a grammar book and a dictionary in order to learn a language. A truly valid approach to ESP must be based on an understanding of the processes of language learning.
>
> (Hutchinson &Waters, 1987: 14)

When designing courses, ESP teachers need to take into consideration the reasons students learn English, the aspects of language that are important in their case as well as the level of proficiency students need to achieve. One cannot make a clear distinction among the factors that influence course design. All courses are based on certain learning theories but these theories are related both to the syllabus and the reasons of learning a language.

> [...] ESP is an approach to language teaching which aims to meet the needs of particular learners. This means in practice that much of the work done by ESP teachers is concerned with designing appropriate courses for various groups of learners. Thus, whereas course design plays a relatively minor part in the life of the General English teacher – courses here usually being determined either by tradition, choice of textbook or ministerial decree – for the ESP teacher, course design is often a substantial and important part of the workload.
>
> (Hutchinson &Waters, 1987: 21)

It is quite difficult to understand the needs of learners since these needs represent a laborious process that involve expectations, external requirements, past experiences, different ways of learning or acquiring information, the time when this learning takes place together with the period that courses are taught or presented to them. Some learners who already function in English-speaking environments at work may already have acquired the necessary terminology at a certain level but

they still lack communication knowledge. So, these are the skills that need to be worked upon together with the teacher through various role-plays that enhance their presentation skills. Yet, what shouldn't be neglected is the fact that adults trainees need to enhance their performance in job-related contexts.

Dan Kim in his *English for Occupational Purposes. One Language,* explains his experience when working with adults, choosing metaphors and comparisons that make the reader be transported into a story. His words perfectly describe the mixed feelings teachers are confronted with when starting a certain course and what happens as the lessons pass and things begin to change. As a teacher you could never expect courses to follow a specific pattern or an already-designed plan.

> I entered the field with an open mind like a musician, having a pre-composed score to follow but also expecting opportunities to improvise. As the study unfolded, I confronted many challenges and unexpected changes and thus realized that this work would indeed be thematic yet improvisational, like jazz.
>
> (2008: 49)

The design of the course should meet all these requirements and take into consideration all aspects involved. Professional textbooks may also be used yet, it is quite difficult to find a certain textbook that comprises all necessary elements for a successful acquisition of languages for specific purposes. ESP teachers may also use "traditional" materials especially when it comes to grammar and the structural way of presenting language. The structural ways of presenting language are useful to learners since these surface structures open the gate for the deeper level rules of language form. They can be taken from grammar practice books and be changed according to the level of proficiency and the needed terminology. ESP students usually have some knowledge of general English, they are acquainted with basic grammar, so, for them, the learning of English becomes a matter of using language correctly in different situations and contexts. Structural language supports the functional use so one cannot separate them. ESP books, be it of Business English, English for Medicine, English for Engineering, and so on, have lately presented specific syllabus that contain both structures and contexts which, in the end, determine appropriate functions. An example is taken from the syllabus of the textbook "Business Result" for the pre-intermediate level:

Unit 1	**Companies**
Working with words:	Company facts (*produce, specialize in, head office, competitor, employee,* etc.)
Language at work:	Present Simple
Practically speaking:	How to make polite requests
Business Communication:	Socializing – Introducing yourself and others
Unit 2	**Contacts**
Working with words:	Describing your job and your job contacts (*consist of, involve, take part in, colleague, consultant, customer,* etc.)

Language at work:	Present Continuous
Practically speaking:	How to say phone numbers and spell names
Business Communication:	Telephoning – Making and receiving telephone calls
Unit 3	**Visitors**
Working with words:	Company structure (*in charge of, responsible for, sales and marketing, human resources,* etc.)
Language at work:	Asking questions
Practically speaking:	How to welcome visitors
Business Communication:	Presenting – Visual information " (taken from *Business Result – Pre-intermediate*, Students' Book, Oxford University Press, 2009)

One can easily observe how the above exemplified syllabus is a mix of all levels of teaching and learning English for Business purposes. Language is presented into context, specific vocabulary items are clearly represented, speaking activities are related to real-life situations, so, we talk about an interference among several factors; the structural, functional and discoursal levels.

Ever since the 1990s, a series of textbooks or materials have appeared so that teachers might have the possibility of choosing the ones that suit their classes best. Yet, it is their role in assessing and developing the materials they will use in class. Finding the right materials is only a first, but very important step in teaching ESP. The used textbooks present language in real situations, using language specific to a particular discipline. At the same timer, teachers need to undergo a revision process as courses develop so that they are sure that they meet the learners' needs and indeed have effect upon their learning. In Ruiz-Garrido's book *English for Professional and Academic Purposes,* Ana Bocanegra-Valle calls ESP teachers *practitioners* because of their involvement in choosing and adapting the right materials for their courses.

> [...] Firstly, available materials are reviewed, evaluated and selected according to different criteria and with reference to a particular ESP course. Then, if there is a lack of materials or if materials available are not suitable according to such evaluation, practitioners might be required to develop materials from scratch or abridge, extend, refine, rewrite – in short, adapt – the available materials for a particular learning situation, ESP area, target group of learners, timing or set of resources. There exists the possibility that, although there are materials available for classroom use, practitioners feel the need to provide additional materials for out-of-classroom work, self study or the like.
>
> (Ruiz-Garrido *et al.*, 2010: 144)

What teachers should keep in mind is the fact that no matter how well a syllabus is organized so that it includes all levels of communication, it has no effect if teachers do not care about the different ways students perceive certain information or acquire language. It's been known that people learn differently and ever since the beginning of the 20th century several theories have evolved.

According to the behaviourist theory, learning is a mechanical process being based on the stimulus -response concepts. For the behaviourists, people acquire languages easier if they first hear then speak, read and write. Repetition is frequently used as well as the immediate correction of errors. Translation is not to be used. Even nowadays certain techniques from this behaviourist methodology are being used in the form of drills. This theory and its methods better applies to children, especially the younger ones, who base their knowledge mainly on hearing and then repeating the new information. It's been shown that younger children who do not know how to write or read acquire foreign languages easily using the audio-lingual method. While for adults or some adolescents this method does not always have results since grown-ups are used to acquire new information based on a written and then read form. Some adults do not respond well at such stimuli while others may prefer it. This Audio-lingual method has certain drawbacks that the mentalist theory has brought into discussion.

> When the behaviorist view of learning prevailed, language course design usually consisted of drills and practice of discrete grammar items focusing mainly on mastering the correct form. As the attention shifted to the communicative aspect of language use, language was viewed as a means for communication in realistic (as opposed to idealistic) social contexts.
>
> (Kim, 2008: 10)

Mentalists consider that repetition helps people learn patterns only in certain circumstances and they will not be able to use these patterns in other situations. Another theory that has been of great help for teachers is the cognitive one which focuses on the active role of learners in the process of language acquisition. The process of making sense of data and rules is transposed into the problem-solving technique which is mainly used in exercises and tasks that work on developing reading skills.

> The cognitive view of learning seems to answer many of the theoretical and practical raised by behaviourism. It treats the learners as thinking beings and puts them firmly at the center of the learning process, by stressing that learning will only take place when the matter to be learnt is meaningful to the learners. But in itself a cognitive view is not sufficient. To complete the picture we need an affective view too.
>
> (Hutchinson &Waters, 1987: 46)

This last theory perceives learners as human beings with preferences, dislikes and different motivational factors. Some people learn ESP from an internal desire to find out as many things as possible about this language, while others, and here we talk about the majority of them, learn English because they need it at school, work or for different projects. Yet, teachers should not rely only on specific materials and take for granted the fact that if learners need to learn they will immediately enjoy the process. So courses should be enjoyable and attractive to learners.

At the beginning of each ESP course, teachers are faced with the issue of what the students need English for. Hutchinson &Waters considers that,

> What distinguishes ESP from General English is not the existence of a need as such but rather an awareness of the need. If learners, sponsors and teachers know why the learners need English, that awareness will have an influence on what will be acceptable as reasonable content in the language course and, on the positive side, what potential can be exploited.
>
> (1987: 53)

Since students at this level have a clear perception of their needs, teachers may try form a Needs Analysis Questionnaire that points out specific areas of interest for the group or the person they work with. The questionnaire may be formed of several areas to be answered at such as *You and your job; Communication skills; Business topics; Specific interests.* In the first area teachers may ask students questions about the company they work for, their position in the company, the company's main area of business and in which situations they use English at work. Regarding the communication skills involved in any course, students may need to rank their preferences according to the time they spend on different communication skills.

For Business English, they may choose among certain categories such as discussions, meetings, social English, telephoning, presentations, negotiations, business correspondence or job interviews. Some students may rank all these situations equally since they need to use English in all areas of business communication. Others may be interested only in business correspondence since, at work, they only use English to send and receive e-mails. In the area of Business Topics, students may choose among several topics they are interested in and even add topics of their own such as management, human resources, travel, trade, finance, etc.

In the Specific Interest part, students are free to describe their favourite type of lessons – some may say they are interested mainly in speaking, others in writing and so on. At the end of the questionnaire, it becomes a matter of compromise between teachers and students regarding what they should focus on during the course. Teachers should always bear in mind the fact that target language is not enough if they do not consider how learning takes place. Activities and tasks need to be enjoyable, manageable and motivating.

Designing courses is not a streamlined process. When doing so, teachers should try to combine all approaches of course design: language, skills and learners. The needs analysis offers teachers immediate answers upon the target language of the students. This target language helps teachers find and design materials to be used during courses but this process alone is not sufficient. Certain strategies have to be used in order to help students acquire specific language and develop various skills. At the same time, learners play an active role throughout the entire English course. Therefore, courses vary with time, materials change and activities differ so that they involve the entire attention of the students.

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Does English Still Borrow Words from Other Languages?

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ABSTRACT

Today, English borrows words from other languages with a truly global reach. Some examples that the Oxford English Dictionary suggests entered English during the past 30 years include tarka dal, a creamy Indian lentil dish (1984, from Hindi), quinzhee, a type of snow shelter (1984, from slave or another language of the Pacific Coast of North America) affogato, an Italian dessert made of ice-cream and coffee (1992). One obvious thing that these words have in common is that not all English speakers will know them. Probably affogato and tarka dal are likeliest to be familiar to British readers but they do not yet belong to the vocabulary that you would expect just about every British person to know and experiences will differ greatly in different parts of the world.

KEYWORDS: *borrow, trend, familiar, speakers, global*

The number of new borrowed words finding their way into the shared international vocabulary is on a long downward trend. It is very hard to be precise about the boundaries of the vocabulary of any language, especially a global one like modern English. Every speaker of a language has a slightly different vocabulary. English speakers living in New Zealand are likely to be familiar with a wider range of words of Maori origin, like pakeha, a New Zealander of European descent*, aroha* (sympathy understanding), *kia ora* (a greeting or farewell). English speakers in Scotland may know more words of Scottish Gaelic origin, like *cranachan*, (a type of dessert), *pibroch* (a bagpipe music). Dictionaries, even very big ones like the OED, monitor those words that have had some traction in English across the world. This sort of monitoring reveals some surprising trends. Although English is now borrowing from other languages with a worldwide range, the number of new borrowed words finding their way into the shared international vocabulary is on a long downward trend. One big reason for this is the success of English as an international language of science, scholarship, business and many other fields. If we think about the words coming into English from foreign languages in the 18-th and 19th centuries, we may think first of the impact of colonialism and expanding trade. Words like *jungle* (1776), *bangle* (1787), *yoga* (1818) *khaki* (1863) came into English from language of South Asia. But in many other cases new words slipped into English as a result of scientific coinages in other European languages. For example, *oxygen* reflects the French name *oxygène* that scientists Lavoisier and Geyton de

Moreau gave to recently discovered element in the 1870-s. The word is formed from elements that ultimately come from Greek, but it was coined in French and then borrowed into English. A similar story applies to *paraffin* formed in German in 1830 (from Latin elements), and then borrowed into English in 1835. Other borrowings like *semester* (1829) or *seminar* (1889) reflect German innovations in education. Such borrowings are still sometimes found today, but have become much less common, as English has become the lingua franca of the world of learning (and of so many other fields). Today, the balance is tipping much more towards English as a donor of new words (e.g., *internet, computer, cell phone, meeting, business)* rather than a borrower. By contrast, new borrowings into English today tend to cluster much more closely in a few subject areas, especially names of food and drink. If we look back further, it was in the Middle Ages that everyday vocabulary of English was affected most deeply by borrowing from the other languages. In the wake of Norman Conquest, French and Latin put English in the shade for centuries as the language of learning, the church, law and officialdom.

Even everyday business records were typically written in Latin or French down to the late 1300-s. This has left an indelible mark on the English language today. Words like *age, air, cause, city, idea, join, material, poor, suffer, tax* have become part of the fabric of modern English. Some words slowly build up in frequency. For instance, the word *sushi* is first recorded in English in the 1890-s, but the earliest examples in print all feel the need to explain what sushi is, and it is only in recent decades that it has become ubiquitous, as sushi has spread along in most corners of English- speaking world. But, common place though may be today, it has not made its way into the inner core of English in the same way as words like *peace, war, just* or *very* from French) *or leg, sky, take* or *they* (from Scandinavian language). This is not just, because they were borrowed longer ago. It owes a great deal to the different influences that foreign languages have has on the word-stock of English over the centuries.

Phillip Durkin (*Oxford English Dictionary*: 19) shows how patterns of borrowed words reflect complex patterns of cultural-contact across centuries. He imagines a scene[1] where you "take off your *jodhpurs* put on your *pyjamas*, and sit on the *verandah* of your *bungalow*". You could add this scene some *chintz* curtains, a baby in a *cot* wearing *dungarees* smuggled under a shawl his mother with freshly shampooed hair wearing a *pashmina* and a bangle or two –all in all cushy or even *pukka* unless the peace is disturbed by a passing *juggernaut* (originally an image of Krishna dragged through the street on an enormous cart). It is interesting how early many of these words entered English, e.g., *chintz* (1614) *cot* (1634) *shawl* (1662) *bungalow* (1676).

Many of the South Asian borrowings that have entered everyday British English have first dated in the OED in the 1600-s, 1700-s, or early 1800-s rather than in the high days of Empire – but they have been followed in the 20-th and 21-st centuries by a new wave of borrowings, including names of dishes such as *rogan* or *josh* (1934), *passanda* (1961), or *jalfrezi* (1979) as South Asian culture and cuisine have mede their impact in Britain and elsewhere in the post-colonial era. Today

English in India, like every other variety has its own distinctive words and uses, not all of which result just from borrowing. For, instance, the word *prepone* (bring forward, i.e. the opposite of postpone) is in Indian English.

The present paper draws attention to some of the words of Spanish origin that still carry an unmistakable twang of the Old West such as: *corral, bronco*, *chap* (short for *chaparreras*) *rodeo*, and *lasso* to which you could add: *bonanza, canyon, stampede, lariat*, or that standby of cowboy films *vamoose* (literally let's go). The Spanish influence is there in words and flavours on the high street today – such as *tacos, fajitas* or *tequila.* Many of these words are now also very familiar in English and them to other "Englishes" all around the world. This sort of borrowing between varieties of English grows even more in importance as the global spread of English continues. As English has come to have such a global importance exchanges between English and other languages flourish even in places where there have never been very large numbers of first-language speakers of English. The following examples are from South America. For instance, English and Portuguese continue their give-and-take relationship. Among English words in common use in Portuguese, some show little or no change, like *baby-sitter*, *deliver self-service*, *show*, *check-up*, *shopping-centre*, *mall*, *bike*, *drink* while others may be just a little harder for English speakers to spot in their new Portuguese forms such as: *chequim*, *ianque*, *beisebol*, *voleibol*, *sanduiche*, *tenis*, *vagao*, *futebol*, *trailer* (i.e. *check-in*, *yankee*, *baseball*, *volleyball*, *sandwich*, *tennis*, *wagon*, *football*, *trailer*). American Spanish *guachiman* (watchman or guard) and *guava* (wire) were other words noted from elsewhere in South America. Among borrowings in the other direction, from Portuguese to English, it can be noted ubiquitous *samba* as well as *favela* (shanty-town), *caipirinha* (a Brazilian Cocktail), *cachaca* (rum-like spirit), *acai* (type of palm-tree), and the aggressive, predatory *piranha* (borrowed into English in the early 1700-s). Some others are *mango, pagoda, monsoon* (all borrowed back in the 1580-s), *mongoose* (1673), *teak* (1678), or *cuspidor* (1179). Sometimes, it is hard to be certain whether a word has come into English from Portuguese or Spanish, for instance *castle, hurricane, banana, molasses, flamingo, grandee* (all borrowed in the 1550-s*) yam* or *pimento* (both mid-1660-s).

In very many cases, English has borrowed a word from one language that had previously borrowed it from elsewhere. Among those Portuguese and Spanish words there are many that originated among speakers of very different languages. For instance, *piranha* comes ultimately from Tupi (a language of Brazil) and *acai* comes from a related language called Nheengatu while *mango* is probably ultimately Malayalam across the other side of the world in India, and monsoon is ultimately from Arabic and, in a further twist, Dutch may also have played a hard role in how it came into English from Portuguese.

It is often useful to distinguish between immediate and remote origins of words. For instance, among the French borrowings into English, *peace* comes from earlier form of French *paix* which goes right back to the Latin origins of French language (the Romans spoke about *pax*), but war comes from a northern variant of French *guerre* a word which French originally borrowed from Germanic relative

of French and Dutch. A similar example noted is *boulevard*, a word that English borrowed from French in the 1769-s but that French itself borrowed in the Middle Ages from Dutch *bollwerk* or a related word, making the word scene more familiar by substituting the ending "-ard" of words like "placard". In some cases English acts as the intermediary, *cake* probably came into English from early Scandinavian in the 1200-s but has since been borrowed from English into numerous language in Europe and beyond. Prestige or even fashion can have a big impact on patterns of borrowing. For instance, the English-speakers in Japan are enthusing over the Japanese bento box with its separate compartments for different items, while Japanese are now often calling the same thing a lunch-box. What it is to be *cool* – a word that English has spread around the world in the recent decades, like OK. The category of words denoting food and drink can cast an interesting light on cultural, social and economic history. For example, *marmalade* is a surprisingly early borrowing into English directly from Portuguese in 1400-s. The same borrowing is found in most other Western European Languages in modern German (it is the common word for *jam)* but much later than in English.Its early arrival in English is probably the result of close diplomatic and trading relations between Portugal and England in the Middle Ages. Italian *bistecca* (beefsteak) reflects the association of the English-Speaking world with beef eating. The French go further, having been in the habit of referring to the English as *rosbifs* (or roast beefs) since at least the 1770-s.

Borrowings can often take on quite new meanings in their new language such as French *le relooking* (makeover*), le self* (cafeteria), Spanish *el footing* (jogging), German *das controlling* (corporate finance) or, of course, *das handy* (mobile phone). But perhaps, for an English speaker nothing can quite beat the frisson of hearing familiar words turning up in unexpected places like French *le weekend* or *le parking*, or in German *das baby* or expressions like *ich will doch up to date sein* (I want to be up to date), or even *ich was oversdressed* (I was overdressed). Just sometimes, though, many languages across the world will have similar words in the same meaning for reasons other than borrowing.

The clearest example is probably from words for "mother" and "father" around the world that are superficially similar to *mama, dada,* or *papa*. Such words all ultimately go back to the sounds that babies throughout the world produce they first start to master the art of producing distinct speech sounds. Sometimes words of this type can be borrowed between languages, for example, the early use of papa in courtly and refined circles in English makes a French origin seem reasonably probable, but it remains very hard to rule on the possibility of independent origin. For this reason, we will probably never be entirely certain whether *dad* came in English from Welsh-just like *baby*, the word mentioned above.

The article "Where do our words come from?" (Durkin, 2014) offers some answers on the origins of language and borrowed words. The first example is *poltergeist* which first appeared in English in the 1840-s and is not uncommon in the 19-th century writing about the paranormal – a topic that interested many Victorians greatly. In German, poltergeist has a much longer history; it is found frequently in

the writings of the 16-th century religious reform Martin Luther. It is from *polter* "to make a loud noise or uproar" and *geist* "spirit, ghost". The second example is *"Kiwi*" which is a Maori word for a type of flightless word and was borrowed into English in the 1800-s. It is found as a nickname for New Zealand sports teams, soldiers, concert parties members, etc. from the early 1990-s. It is found as a name for the Chinese gooseberry only from the 1960-s after these began to be exported from New Zealand. *Macaroni* came into English from Italian in the 1600-s (although the related macaroon came earlier, via French). *Office* comes from French (around 1300-s, while *cargo* and *aficionado* both come from Spanish in the 1800-s. Although, it looks like French form, *miniature* almost certainly came into English directly from Italian miniature in the 1580-s. It is not found in French until the 1640-s (police, rampart and patrol are all of French origin and entered English in 1400-s, 1500-s and 1600-s). *Taboo* was borrowed into English directly from Tongan in the 1770-s. It is first recorded in the journals of the navigator and explorer Captain James Cook. *Rucksack* was borrowed into English in the mid-1800-s from German. It is formed from *Ruck* and *sack,* variant of Rucken (back) and sack (bag, sack). Although back-pack, pack-sack and kit-sack are not borrowings, pack and kit probably both are from Dutch.The word *tomato* comes from Nahuatl *tomatl* and it came into English via Spanish *tomate*. In English, the word was also originally *tomate*; the modern form tomato probably results from association with the name of a different plant ultimately of American origin , *the potato*.

Several words and phrases from South Africa have become part of Standard English. Some have origins in Afrikaans or local native languages, or are adaptations of Standard English words. They include *aardvark*, *apartheid*, *Boer, commando*, *eland*, *homeland*, *kraal*, *rand, spoor, springbok, trek* and *veld*.

Many of the words relating to local fauna, flora and culture are not know outside South African context. Local institutions and social groups also fall in this category, often providing opaque abbreviations to the outsider, as in the case of *Bop* "Bophuthatswana', *Tuks* (University of Pretoria) and *Zim* ("Zimbabwean"). Among the general items found in this variety are: *arvey* (afternoon), *bakkie* (atype of truck), *bell* (to phone), *bioscope* (cinema), *bottle store* (liquor store), *butchery* (butcher's shop), *camp* (paddock), *dingers* (thingummy), *dorp* (village), *fundi* (expert), *gogga* (insect), *indaba* (meeting), *kloof* (ravine), *lekker* (nice), *putu* (a kind of porridge), *robot* (traffic-lights), *verkrampte* (narrow-minded). A few also can be found in other varieties of English such as *advocate* (barrister) in Scotland and *shebeen* (illegal liquor establishment in Ireland).

An important source for distinctive vocabulary is the *Dictionary of South-African English* (4th ed., 1991), which contains some 4,000 fully illustrated entries. Among regional words and expressions recorded so far are *bathing-box* (beach-hut), or *tablecloth* (the cloud covering Table Mountain).

The following words and phrases are possible varieties of English in West Africa (Sierra Leone, The Gambia and Nigeria): *chop* (food), *delayance* (delay), *kola* (fruit used as stimulant), *lappe* (a piece of cloth worn by women around the waist down to the feet). There is a change in form and perhaps a change in meaning for

the following examples: *aunt* (a female friend of one's parents), *head tie* (a piece of cloth worn around the head by women), *headtie* (head address), *handkerchief* (a kind of scarf used by women to cover their hair), *bush meat* (flesh of wild animals killed for food), *compound house* (fence-in yard), *danfo* (minibus), *next tomorrow* (the day after tomorrow), *globe* (electric bulb), *palaba* (disagreement, argument), *rentage* (rent), *slowly-slowly* (little by little), *yellow fever* (traffic warden).

The African-American presence in the USA has made a substantial impact on English vocabulary. Until the mid- 19-th century, most of this lexicon reflected the status and conditions of slavery. A great deal of it consisting of insult and invective. Increasingly, thereafter, the language showed the efforts to move towards a better one.

According to David Crystal (2003: 123-124) the following examples have early 19th century sources: slave driver (an overseer of slaves) – later it was used to denote a harsh and demanding employer – *nigger love* (abolitionist), *free papers* (a document given feed slaves as proof as their status).

Many of the words which belong to South African English appear very early in the history of the country, as is evident from the files of the Rhodes University research programme for a Dictionary of South African English on Historical principles. Among the earliest examples are *dagga* (cannabis), *karass* (skin blanket) *trunk* (prison).

J. Branford & W. Branford (1991: 230-232) claims that there are over 2,500 lexical items in the dictionary files, on a count, nearly half (48%) were of Dutch Afrikaans origin, followed by English (29%), Banter language (11%). There are signs in the 1990-s that African languages are already beginning to make an increasing impact.

Another important aspect related to the present paper is the Colonial Legacy, which is presented by other languages, which came to the Caribbean because of colonialism. This process has left a powerful impact on the English of the region. French and Spanish are especially most representatives.

Loans include *armadillo*, *cascadura* (a fish), *sancoche* (a soup with fish), *paca* (a rodent). Loans from native Americans languages via Spanish include *chicle* (Aztec), *iguana* (Arawark), *manatee* (Carib).

Loans from French include *flamboyant* (a tree), *ramier* (a pigeon), *fete* (a house party or picnic). Several words are associated with particular islands. For example, a *parang* is a house-to-house serenade at Christmas time found in Trinidad Tobago. A *punta* is a vigorous group dance associated with Belize.

South Asia has been the source of several words in Standard English: *bandana*, *Brahmin*, *bungalow*, *caste-mark*, *chabra*, *cheetah*, *cherrot*, *chintz*, *chit*, *chutney*, *colleen*, *curry*, *dacoit*, *guru*, *jodhpurs*, *juggernaut*, *jungle juice*, *mogul*, *nirvana*, *pundit*, *purdah*, *rajah*, *rupee*, *sa*hib, *tiffin*, *verandah*, *yoga*, etc.

Many of the words are likely to be known and used throughout South Asia, but definitive supranational studies of regional variation has to be undertaken: *affectee* (someone affected), *bearer* (waiter), *boots shoes* (tennis shoes), *cent percent* (a hundred per cent), *conveyance* (means of transport), *eartops* (earrings), *eveninger* (evening paper), *flying coach* (a type of bus), *freeship* (scholarship), *hotel* (eating house), *allottee* (person allotted property), *ayah* (nurse), *bandh* (labour strike),

chapatti (a kind of bread), *cousin-brother* (sister male/female cousin), *cow-worship* (religious practice), *dhobi* (washerman), *Doordarshan* (TV network), *Eve-teasing* (harassment of women), *godown* (warehouse), *goonda* (hooligan), *head-bath* (hair-washing), *issueless* (childless), *moot* (meeting), *opticals* (eyeglasses), *jawan* (soldier), *kaccha road* (dirt road), *nose-screw* (Woman's nose ornament), *panchayat* (village council), *ryot* (farmer), *stepney* (spare-wheel), *tiffin* (room).

Conclusion

The aim of the present paper is to emphasize that the use of English is a subject, which never ceases to amaze as we unravel layer after layer its complexity. Today, it is as subject, which seems never-ending; people are always finding new contexts and applications for it. The present-day world status of English is primarily the result of two factors: the expansion of British colonial power, which peaked toward the end of the 19-th century and the emergence of the United States as the leading economic power of the 20-th century. The dominant role of English as a world language forces upon our attention in a way that no language has ever done before. The rich variety of English vocabulary reflects the vast number of words it has taken from other languages. These range from Latin, Greek, Scandinavian, Celtic, French, Italian, Spanish to among others Hebrew, Maori, Malay, Chinese, Hindi, Japanese and Yiddish. The paper, also, aims to reveal the origins of some loanwords and why they were adopted by English langyage. All this complex process of English etymology and loanwords includes contact with languages in a variety of aspects concerning: the dissemination of Christian culture in Latin, in Anglo-Saxon England; and the interactions of French, Celtic, etc. exposure to languages throughout the world during the colonial era; and the effects of using English as international language of science.

NOTE

[1] <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-26014925>.

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Anglicisms in economic language. Morphological norms

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ABSTRACT

The expansion of the terminological stock by means of borrowings from English is a current phenomenon in Romanian and in economic language. International economic terms and their Romanian equivalents may be used concurrently. Generally, economic terms are neutral invariable nouns, adjectives and verbs. The different systems of the two languages determine difficulties of morphological classification in Romanian. Many syntagms are phraseological calques. The English model can be altered by an approximate transposition in Romanian.

KEYWORDS: *Anglicism, borrowing, economic, norm, calque*

1. The language of economics has a complex structure, being subject to constant change and enlargement. It is an instrument used not only in economic sciences (management, marketing, banking and finance, commerce, stock exchange, business), but also in the media, a vector widely promoting specialized vocabulary. Such terms as *money, costs, market, supply, capital, inflation, investment, profit* etc. reflect a series of situations in the evolution of economic phenomena. *"The exchange and the money prove that economy is a universal market, where people sell and buy, because all goods have a price. Economy is extremely complex, establishing multiple relations between economic agents and institutions generating multiple communication possibilities."* (Rogojeanu, 2003)

The literature in the field has been concerned with the economic language, especially in the last two decades, after the socio-political change of 1989. The Romanian and foreign linguistic research focuses on terminology (as specialized/specialist vocabulary) (Constantinescu, 1996; Stoichiţoiu-Ichim, 2006; Muşeanu, 2010; Athu, 2011), lexicography (Dobrotă, 1999; Topală, 2000) and discourse (Samuels, 1989; Dudley-Evans, Henderson (eds.), 1990; Bernard, Colli, 1994). The borrowing of terms from other fields, as well as the presence of Anglicisms in the language of economics are the consequences of the complexity and openness of the economic fields in the age of globalisation. The socio-political conditions and the expansion of Romania's economic-financial relations with the West involve steady communication among specialists. They allow the enlargement and modernisation of the vocabulary with new elements. The media play an important role in the spreading and cultivation of Anglicisms. The enlargement of

the economists' vocabulary with Anglicisms is a current phenomenon. The companies developing businesses at international level use English as a code that everyone knows in employment relations.

The process of standardising Anglicisms (Avram, 1997; Topală, 1998; Topală, 2006; Athu, 2011) is an important linguistic issue, since many economic terms are used not only by specialists, but also by some non-specialists. General dictionaries of the Romanian language have recorded some economic terms as Anglicisms: *advertising*, *banking*, *banner*, *barter*, *brand*, *broker*, *business*, *card*, *cash*, *dealer*, *discount*, *dividend*, *dumping*, *fixing*, *job*, *leader*, *leasing*, *manager*, *market*, *offshore*, *trend* etc. They are recorded as neuter and masculine nouns, some of them also having plural forms (*bannere*, *branduri*, *brokeri*, *business-uri*, *carduri*, *dealeri*, *discount-uri*, *dividend* etc.).

2. The analysis we have carried out on the morphological behaviour of Anglicisms concerns 24 economic terms (nouns, adjectives and verbs), that we have briefly defined and illustrated in current contexts selected from the Romanian online press:

benchmark s.n. "of reference, reference point", "standard": "Conform Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, *benchmark-ul* este un nivel de calitate care poate fi utilizat ca standard în comparaţii"/ 'According to Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, a *benchmark* is a level of quality that can be used as a standard when comparing things'. (http://www.bank.md, 09.11.2010, *Noţiunea de risc bancar. Benchmark-ul*);

bond s. n. "debt", "claim": "Investitorii americani au cumpărat jumătate din *bondurile* româneşti în dolari, cei din Marea Britanie au subscris 32%, în timp ce un procent de 2% a revenit investitorilor germani şi austrieci, iar românii au cumpărat 1% din bonduri"./ 'American investors bought half of the Romanian *bonds* in dollars, Great Britain investors subscribed by 32%, while 2% was bought by Germans and Austrians, and Romanian investors bought 1% of the bonds'. (http://www.zf.ro, 16.01.2014, *Investitorii americani şi britanici au cumpărat peste 80% din bondurile în dolari pe 30 de ani emise de România*);

boom s.n. "rapid economic development": "De ce nu se simte *boomul* economic în buzunarele românilor"./ 'Why the economic *boom* cannot be felt in the Romanians' pockets'. (www.romanialibera.ro, 17.02.2014, *boomul economic în buzunarele românilor*);

break-even s.n. "profitableness threshold": "Oltchim are nevoie de un credit de 15 milioane de euro pentru a redeschide o secţie şi a reveni pe *break-even* (a atinge pragul de rentabilitate - n.r.), însă nicio bancă nu vrea să-i acorde acest împrumut, a declarat vineri ministrul Economiei, Andrei Gerea..."/ 'Oltchim needs a loan of 15 million Euros to reopen a section and reach *break-even* again (to reach a profitableness threshold – ed. note), but no bank wants to give it this loan, said Andrei Gerea, the Minister of Economy, on Friday...' (http://www.economica.net, 29.11.2011, *Gerea: Oltchim caută 15 mil. euro pentru a ajunge pe break-even şi nicio bancă nu vrea să-i dea*);

bubble s.n. "market stirring", "price spiral": "Ce este Bitcoin, *bubble-ul* financiar al momentului!"/ 'What Bitcoin is, the financial *bubble* of the moment!' (http://www.zf.ro, 13.04.2013, *Ce este Bitcoin, bubble-ul financiar al momentului*);

currency s.n. "foreign currency", "money in any form", "circulating money": "Nefiind o uniune monetară propriu-zisă (ce ar permite transferuri fiscale (dintr-un buget comun) ca modalitate de amortizare a şocurilor asimetrice) şi aducând laolaltă economii cu incompatibilităţi structurale majore (ele nu formează o "arie monetară optimă"/optimal *currency* area), UM cunoaşte tensiuni formidabile acum." / 'Not being a monetary union as such (which would allow fiscal transfers (from a common budget) as a way of buffering asymmetrical shocks) and bringing together economies with major structural incompatibilities (they do not form an "optimal *currency* area"), UM is extremely tensioned now'. (http://www.zf.ro, 24.06.2012, *Euro cu două feţe*);

delivery s.n. "the act of delivering, transferring to another", "distributing goods": "Prin tot ceea ce facem, eu şi echipa mea, vrem să fim aproape de tine în fiecare moment al zilei şi să îti demonstrăm că *home delivery* nu înseamnă doar pizza şi fast food."/ 'By all we do, I and my team, we want to stay close to you every moment of the day and to show you that *home delivery* is more than pizza and fast food'. (http://www.graffitifoods.ro,27.05.2014, *Graffiti Urban Food*);

factoring s.n. "financing of accounts-receivable by which a company sells the right to collect payments and debts to a financing company": "*Factoringul* reprezintă cumpărarea de facturi, acoperă perioada dintre facturare şi încasare şi permite afacerii să-şi asigure lichidităţile necesare, îmbunătăţind cash flow-ul acesteia"./ '*Factoring* means buying invoices, covering the period between invoicing and collecting, and enabling the business to ensure the necessary liquidities, thus improving its cash flow'. (https://www.bancpost.ro, 15.05.2014, *Factoring*);

fee s.n. "a tax", "a charge": "Taxa de serviciu (se va achita la bordul navei de croaziera): 7 euro/adult/zi; copiii cu vârsta până la 14 ani nu achită *service fee*; copiii cu vârsta cuprinsă între 14 şi 18 ani achită jumătate."/ 'The service fee (paid on board the cruise ship): 7 Euros/adult/day; children up to 14 pay no *service fee*; children between 14 and 18 pay half'. (http://www.family-tour.ro, 18.05.2014, *Croaziere*);

hedging s.n. "cover": "*Hedging-ul* reprezinta operaţia prin care un importator sau o bancă se angajează, pe de o parte, să plătească o sumă în valută la un anumit termen, iar pe de alta, se împrumută cu aceeaşi sumă în valută, având acelaşi termen de rambursare"./ '*Hedging* is the operation by which an importer or a bank undertakes, on the one hand, to pay a sum in a currency at a certain time, and on the other hand, it borrows the same currency amount, to repay within the same time limit'. (http://www.tranzactiiforex.ro, 20.05.2014, *Hedging*);

jobber s.m. "stockbroker", "market maker on the stock exchange": "*Jobberul* se afla la panoul de cotaţii pe care afişează iniţial cotaţiile de deschidere"./ 'The *jobber* quoted buying and selling prices, displaying opening quotations first'. (http*://*clasa11b-horvathiosif.wikispaces.com, *Piaţa docx.*);

manageriza v.t. "to become a manager": "La inaugurarea plajei pe care o *manageriază* Răducu şi Ianina Petcu, Mazăre a împărţit cadouri"./ 'At the inauguration of the beach *managed* by Răducu şi Ianina Petcu, Mazăre offered presents'. (www.replicaonline.ro, 28.06.2013, *Anunţuri.Mica publicitate*);

marketiza v.t. "to make something become a marketing object": "Nike este o companie lacomă, urcă preţurile la pantofii sport într-o perioadă de criză economică şi îi *marketizează* către adolescenţi care nu şi-i pot permite, au argumentat ei."/ 'Nike is a greedy company, they raise prices for sports shoes during an economic crisis and the *market target* are the teens who cannot afford them, they argued'. (http://ph-online.ro, 5.10.2012, *Iată cum arată cea mai scumpă pereche de adidaşi Nike, LeBron X*);

mass-market s.n. "global market": "Colecţia este o metaforă a gândirii utopice a designerului pentru o reinventare a eleganţei masculine neatinsă de influenţa sufocantă a *mass marketului*"./ 'The collection is a metaphor of the designer's utopian thinking for the reinvention of masculine elegance untouched by the stifling influence of *mass market*'. (http://www.diasporaro.com, 20.01.2014, *Ţinute româneşti la Săptămâna modei de la Londra*);

merchandising s.n. "trading", "planning the sale of a product": "Asigura *merchandising*-ul cresterea vanzarilor?"/ 'Does *merchandising* ensure an increase in sales?' (*http://*blog.triconsultance.ro, 19.10.2009, *Merchandising cu buget redus*);

overboutht adj. obs. "overvalued": "Deci, rezistenţa este nivelul la care piaţa devine *overbought* şi sprijin, este nivelul la care piaţa este oversold"./ 'Therefore, resistance is the level at which the market becomes *overbought* and, support, the level at which the market is oversold'. (http://financiare-de-credit.blogspot.ro, 1.05.2014, *Financiare de credit*);

overdraft s.n. "the act of overdrawing a bank account", "withdrawal of money in excess of the credit balance", "a deficit in a bank account": "*Overdraft-ul* va pune la dispoziţie o sumă suplimentară de bani, echivalentul a până la 6 salarii sau până la 3 pensii, pe care o puteţi folosi imediat, fără restricţii."/ "An *overdraft* places at your disposal an extra sum of money, up to 6 salaries or 3 pensions, that you can use right away, with no constraints'. (www.raiffeisen.ro, 26.05.2014, *Overdraft*);

payroll s.n. "the total amount of wages paid by a company": "Piaţa serviciilor de *payroll* - calculul şi plata salariilor angajaţilor unei companii - va creşte cu aproximativ 20% anul acesta, depăşind, probabil, pragul de zece milioane de euro"./ 'The *payroll* service market – calculation and payment of wages by a company to its employees – will rise by 20 per cent this year, probably exceeding the 10 million Euro threshold'. (http://www.money.ro, 18.01.2008, *Piaţa serviciilor de payroll va trece de zece milioane de euro în 2008*);

provider s.m. "supplier": "*Providerii* de internet din Europa vor putea fi forţaţi să blocheze accesul la site-uri care conţin fişiere asupra cărora nu există drepturi de autor..." / 'It will be possible for the internet *providers* in Europe to be compelled to block access to sites containing files on which there is no copyright'. (www.voceatransilvaniei.ro, 31.03.2014, *E OFICIAL: Providerii de internet vor bloca accesul la torrente*);

self-made-man s.m. "a man who has achieved success or recognition by his own efforts": "Un adevărat *self-made man*, spunem noi, care a luat viața în piept, …care nu-și oferă *serviciile* niciunui senior național sau european"./ 'A real *self-*

made man, we would say, who faced life,...who doesn't offer his *services* to any national or European senior'. (http://nicustancu48.ning.com 02.04.2012, *Sebastian Bârgău - un adevărat self-made man*)";

sold-out adj. obs. "having all tickets sold", "sold completely in advance": "Ştefan Bănică se bucură în fiecare an de concerte *sold-out* la Sala Palatului, cu ocazia Crăciunului"./ 'Every year, for Christmas, Ştefan Bănică gives *sold-out* concerts at the Palace Hall'. (http://www.agentiadepresamondena.com, 28.03.2011, *Concertele lui Ştefan Bănică sunt chiar sold-out*!);

stop-loss s.n. "stopping, limiting a loss": "Prin urmare, *stop loss-ul* inițial se va executa în momentul în care acțiunea Yahoo se vinde cu 45,01$"./ 'As a result, the initial *stop loss* will be carried out when Yahoo shares are sold for 45,01$ each'. (http://www.plus500.ro, 17.05.2014, *Controlul riscului și tipuri de ordine*);

swap s.n. "exchange in kind", "exchange of claims": "*Swapurile* pe valute sunt acorduri OTC care au aparut inca din anii `70"./ 'Currency *swaps* are OTC agreements which emerged in the 1970s'. (http://www.tradeville.eu, 19.05.2014, *Swapuri pe valute*);

targeta v.t. "to set up the target audience of an advertising campaign or product": "Floridelux.ro *targetează* utilizatorii cu venituri mici şi medii prin lansarea unei noi florării online"/ 'Floridelux.ro *is targeting* users with low and medium incomes by launching a new online florist's shop'. (www.wall-street.ro, 24.05.2012, *Floridelux.ro targetează utilizatorii cu venituri mici şi medii prin lansarea unei noi florării online*).

Some of these terms are recorded in more recent dictionaries of the Romanian language: in DOOM (*bond*, *boom*, *provider*, *self-made-man*), in DCR[3] (*bond*, *boom*, *bubble*, *factoring*, *hedging*, *manageriza*, *merchandising*, *overdraft*, *provider*, *self-made-man*, *sold-out*, *targeta*), in *Dicţionarul ilustrat de cuvinte şi sensuri recente în limba română* (*boom*, *factoring*, *hedging*, *jobber*, *manageriza*, *marketiza*, *merchandising*, *overdraft*, *provider*, *self-made-man*, *sold-out*, *swap*, *targeta*[1]).

3. As for standardisation, these terms come within the scope of Anglicisms, words preserving etymological writing and a pronunciation as close to the original one as possible. The morphological norms are more complex, since the gender of nouns represents a grammatical category expressed differently in the two unrelated languages. The inclusion of English words into Romanian causes problems with regard to gender and number. In English, grammatical gender is marked by formal inflections at the noun level or at the level of its determiners. The gender of the noun is highlighted by different pronoun forms (personal pronouns in the 3rd person, possessive pronouns and adjectives, reflexive pronouns). Number is not a category characterising only some of the nouns under analysis. The Anglicisms which are economic terms fall within the morphological system of the Romanian language as neuter or masculine nouns. When they also have a plural form, the desinences of neuter nouns are *–e* and *–uri*, the desinence of masculine nouns is *–i* (*bonduri*, *boom-uri*, *jobberi*, *overdraft-uri*, *provideri*, *mass-marketuri*). Romanian takes over the English plural form in the case of the noun *self-made-men*. Adjec-

tival Anglicisms are invariable and quite easily associated with neuter and masculine nouns, in general. Verbal Anglicisms are oriented toward productive conjugations, with the infinitival suffix *–a, –i, –ui.* As a whole, verbs are formed from nouns. As far as tense and mood are concerned, the present tense of the indicative is specific to the discourse of economics. The updating of information based on real facts explains the presence of these grammatical categories in verbs.

The morphological behaviour of economic terms reflects the general behaviour of Anglicisms. The morphological and orthographic standardisation of this segment of borrowings in the Romanian language is included in *Dicţionarul ortografic, ortoepic şi morfologic al limbii române* (DOOM). At the lexical level, regardless of the difficulties caused by the adaptation to the linguistic system of the Romanian language, Anglicisms and borrowings from English, in general, are still enriching not only specialized languages, but also common language, accelerating the process of vocabulary enlargement.

NOTE

[1] Cf. *targheta*, in *Dicționarul ilustrat de cuvinte și sensuri recente în limba română*, p. 279.

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Typological remarks on comparative clauses

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, several typological remarks on comparative constructions are made based on crosslinguistic evidence and on the description of how a given language chooses to express a particular concept or how the grammar of a language constrains the expression of that concept.

KEYWORDS: *language, comparative clauses, crosslinguistic*

Introduction

Interesting studies on crosslinguistic data[1] have analysed the diverse empirical picture that comparisons present across languages and pointed out to the grammatical factors that decide upon the appearance of these constructions. Thus, some parameters[2] were proposed that would explain the different comparative constructions that can found within one language or across languages.

1. Crosslinguistic studies on comparison

1.1. Stassen (1985)

One example is the typological work on comparison by **Stassen (1985)**. In order to establish a crosslinguistic typology of comparison constructions in the framework of Typological Universal Grammar, Stassen (1985) started from a semantic definition[3] of the notion of 'comparative construction'. He was mainly concerned with the case of comparison of inequality, which in his opinion involved three things: *a gradable predicative scale*, which represented the property on which the comparison was made, and *two concepts*, one of which represents the standard against which the other is measured and found to be unequal (Stassen, 1985: 24).

Stassen limits his analysis to cases of NP-comparison and adopts the following terminology: the linguistic codification of the predicative scale in a comparative constructions is termed *the comparative predicate* or simply *the predicate* (which in the majority of cases has the form of a predicatively used adjective) and, of the two NPs in the construction, the NP which indicates the object that serves as a yardstick for comparison is referred to as the *standard NP* and the other NP, which refers to the

objective of the mental operation of comparison, is called the *comparee NP*. Thus, in sentence (1), the NP *Frank* is the standard NP and the NP *Mary* is the comparee NP. The predicative adjective *tall*, which names the scale on which the comparison takes place, is the comparative predicate in this particular comparison construction:

(1) Mary is taller than Frank.

Based on this, Stassen identified several features of comparative constructions which constituted the starting point of his categorization into types, in which the encoding of the standard NP was taken to constitute a highly significant factor. Therefore, a first dichotomy he proposed involved a split between *derived-case comparatives* and *fixed-case comparatives*. The parameter upon which the first distinction is based has to do with the procedure by which *grammatical case* is assigned to the standard NP.

In one group are the languages in which this case assignment appears to be non-unique; that is, the case of the standard NP depends on the case of the comparee NP (in short, if comparee NP in the construction functions as a subject, and is therefore put in the nominative, then the standard NP will also have nominative case; if the compare NP is in the accusative case, the standard NP will also be marked for accusative). Stassen calls the comparative constructions in which this situation appears *derived-case comparatives.*

In the other group, Stassen included the languages in which the standard NP is put into *one and the same oblique case form* in all instances of comparison, no matter what the case form of the compare NP may be (in other words, the case assignment to the standard NP is independent of the case assignment to the compare NP). Comparatives which exhibit this feature were called *fixed-case comparatives.*

Another parameter discussed by Stassen involved the strategy that a languages employs in order to form a comparative construction. Thus, we can distinguish between languages that use a verbal strategy (*exceed-type* languages), languages that use a *conjunctive strategy* to express comparison and languages that use *comparative particles* that accompany the standard NP (*-er/more* in English, *plus* in French or *mai* in Romanian).

Examples of these language types are given in (2)-(4). In (2) we illustrate with the example given in Stassen (1985) from Yoruba (a West-African language) an exceed-type language, in (3) with Motu, a language that illustrates the conjoined comparative construction (Beck et al. 2009) and in (4) with the corresponding English comparison using comparative particles. All three languages convey the information that there is an ordering of Mary's position on the height scale relative to Frank's to the effect that Mary's is higher (i.e. (5)), but the structures used look very different.

(2) Yoruba (Stassen, 1985: 43)
O tobi ju u
He big exceed him
'He is bigger than him'

(3) Motu (Beck *et al*., 2009)
Mary na lata, to Frank na kwadoḡi.

Mary TOP tall, but Frank TOP short
'Mary is taller than Frank.'

(4) English
Mary is taller than Frank is.

(5) |----------F-----M------>

The data and conclusions offered in Stassen (1985) about the crosslinguistic typology of comparative constructions were used to gain a first insight into the make-up of basic degree constructions. All the subsequent crosslinguistic studies rely on the information about the morphological markers involved and the structure of simple comparative sentences that were analysed in this study.

1.2. Beck, Oda and Sugisaki (2004)

A second example is the work of Beck, Oda & Sugisaki (2004) who point out that the traditional degree-based analysis cannot explain crucial Japanese data pertaining to comparative structures. Beck *et al*. propose a semantic analysis of comparison constructions in Japanese different from the standard semantics of comparatives as developed for English and related languages. The difference lies in the strategies that the two languages employ in constructing comparatives. For example, the fact that the syntactically provided item of comparison (the constituent accompanying *yori* which is a context setter) does not, in contrast to an English *than*-clause, have a degree semantics (since it ultimately contributes an individual from which the real comparison has to be inferred) has led Beck, Oda & Sugisaki to argue that Japanese does not have English-style degree operators. It was also suggested that there is no predicate of degrees formed in the main clause either and that Japanese does not have abstraction over degrees in the syntax, and is thus unable to create degree predicates that are not the meanings of lexical items.

Yori-constructions are semantically and syntactically very much unlike English-*than* comparatives and behave differently due to the pragmatic element in their interpretation (resulting in variation in acceptability) and the non-degree nature of the *yori*-constituent (resulting in lack of subcomparatives of degree and absence of degree-related negative island effects).[4]

(6) *Kono tana-wa [ano doa-ga hiroi yori (mo)] (motto) takai.
this shelf-Top [that door-Nom wide YORI (mo)] (more) tall
This shelf is taller than that door is wide.

(Beck, Oda, & Sugisaki, 2004)

(7) a. How smart is John?
b. John-wa dore-kurai kasikoi no?
John-Top which degree smart Q
To which degree is John smart?

(Beck, Oda, & Sugisaki, 2004)

As seen in the examples, the subcomparative is ruled out in Japanese, and the degree question is a paraphrase.

In order to account for these empirical differences, Beck, Oda and Sugisaki (2004) proposed a parameter as the point of crosslinguistic variation between Japanese and English:

(8) *Degree Abstraction Parameter (DAP):*
A language {does/does not} have binding of degree variables in the syntax.

The setting of this parameter will determine a set of properties for a language: (non)-existence of subcomparatives of degree, degree-related negative island effects, scope interaction in comparatives, and genuine degree constructions for questions and the like. The prediction is that these properties will show up in a cluster, since they are all governed by the setting of one parameter.

Despite the fact that further investigation is needed to show if the generalization from comparatives to all degree constructions in Japanese is correct, Beck, Oda and Sugisaki's proposals was a starting point for future research of other languages as well.

1.3. Beck et al. *(2009)*

In fact, both the work of Stassen (1985) and of Beck, Oda & Sugisaki (2004) lie at the foundation of the parameters proposed in a more recent typological survey of comparative constructions, namely Beck *et al*. (2009)[5]. Moreover, the subtle differences between the Indo-European languages with respect to comparatives as proposed in Reglero (2007) has lead Beck *et al*. (2009) to investigate Bulgarian, Russian, Hindi-Urdu, Romanian and Spanish, for the purpose of contrasting them with English and German (which was argued to be identical to English for the purpose of their study).

The overall goal has been an in-depth study of the 14 languages analysed, with the perspective of figuring out how their grammars differ in order to yield the diverse empirical picture that comparisons present across languages.

In order to achieve this, a questionnaire has been designed to test a set of core data that was translated in each language. The questionnaire has two parts. In the first, more general part, the availability and expression of various comparison constructions (comparative, equative, superlative, etc.) was tested. The focus of the investigation was not only on the form of the relevant comparison construction, but also on whether its interpretation is English-like or not. The goal of this part was to get an impression of the systematicity of degree constructions in the syntax and semantics of a language.

The second part of the questionnaire was a study of the grammar of comparatives, which are considered to be the most studied and best analysed degree constructions in English and in other languages as well. This part included data like difference comparatives, subcomparatives and comparison with a degree, which helped to determine whether a language has a degree semantics in the sense of a standard theory

of comparison (in terms of von Stechow (1984)) and whether it confirms or disconfirms the parameter proposed in the work of Beck, Oda and Sugisaki (2004) mentioned above.

Finally, the questionnaire investigated syntactic possibilities in the realization of comparatives, for example, clausal and phrasal comparatives, adverbial and attributive comparatives in order to get an overview of the syntactic foundation for the expression of comparison from a crosslinguistic perspective.

The questionnaire included the following constructions: the positive (9), the comparative (10), the superlative (11), the equative (12), attributive, adverbial and clausal comparatives (in (13), (14) and (15)). All these constructions serve to get an idea of the syntactic options for the expression of comparatives.

(9) Positive:
Helo is tall.

(10) Comparative:
Mary is taller than Frank is.

(11) Superlative:
Helo is the tallest.

(12) Equative:
Starbuck is as tall as Captain Apollo is.

(13) Attributive comparative:
Mr Bingley keeps more servants than Mr Bennet does.

(14) Adverbial comparative:
Colonel Fitzwilliam behaved more amiably than his cousin did.

(15) Clausal comparative:
Colonel Fitzwilliam behaved more amiably than I had expected.

In order to find out if the languages under investigation share the degree ontology that English makes use of, Beck *et al*. (2009) checked the availability of the following constructions in (16) illustrating a comparison with a degree (16a) and a difference comparative (14b).

(16) a. Captain Apollo is taller than 1.70 m. (CompDeg)
b. Helo is 8 cm taller than Starbuck is. (DiffC)

The next important issue investigated in the questionnaire comes from Beck, Oda and Sugisaki's (2004) proposals regarding crosslinguistic variation in the grammar of comparison, specifically the DAP under (8).

Beck *et al*. argue that English has the positive setting of the DAP while Japanese has the negative setting. If a language has the negative setting of the DAP, it means

that it will not have degree questions (17a), measure phrases (17b) and subcomparatives (17c), just like Japanese. It would also mean that the data that appear to be comparatives have a different analysis from English comparatives.

(17) a. Degree Question (DegQ):
How tall is Captain Apollo?
b. Measure Phrase (MP):
Captain Apollo is exactly 1.74 m tall.
c. Subcomparative (SubC):
Helo's shoes are longer than this cupboard is deep.

On the basis of the differences observed, the following three parameters of language variation were proposed (Beck *et al*., 2009):

(18) a. *Degree Semantics Parameter (DSP):*
A language {does/does not} have gradable predicates (type <d,<e,t>> and related), i.e. lexical items that introduce degree arguments.

b. *Degree Abstraction Parameter (DAP) (Beck, Oda & Sugisaki, 2004)*:
A language {does/does not} have binding of degree variables in the syntax.

c. *Degree Phrase Parameter (DegPP):*
The degree argument position of a gradable predicate {may/may not} be overtly filled.

The first parameter concerns the question of whether or not a language's grammar has incorporated scales into the meanings of gradable predicates. The second parameter differentiates between languages that allow quantification over degrees in the syntax and those that do not. Finally, the third is a syntactic parameter that concerns options for syntactically filling the degree argument position of a gradable predicate.

Thus, languages could be grouped according to whether they exhibit a negative or a positive setting of these parameters.

The question we are concerned with is where Romanian stands in this picture. Once the questionnaire data in Romanian was analysed, it has led to the conclusion that Romanian is very similar to (yet not like) English[6]. The differences were based on a relatively superficial constraint on the appearance of degree phrases in the Spec position of an AP, a position that may only be filled under restricted syntactic circumstances. This will be the starting point of our analysis of comparative constructions in Romanian.

So, the next step in developing a comparative theory of comparison should be a more in-depth investigation of the language properties based on the crosslinguistic research that was briefly presented in this chapter. It should lead to interesting conclusions regarding how the grammar of languages formally differs.

2. Romanian Comparative Constructions

Taking into consideration the potential differences in syntax and semantics, we try to develop an analysis of Romanian comparative constructions for the purpose of

contrasting them with English. Romanian patterns with English as far as the typological parameters proposed in Stassen (1985) are concerned or, at least, it does not seem to show any unusual type of comparison strategy. However, once we take into consideration the more thorough investigation proposed in Beck *et al*. (2009), it differs slightly in the syntactic realisation of degree constructions in general. Gergel (2009) suggests that the differences mainly concern the binding of degree variables in particular, since this is subject to a visibility constraint in Romanian – supporting the view that there is something special about degree variable binding in this language. Moreover, Cornilescu (2008, 2009) also points out some interesting facts related to the syntactic properties of comparative constructions in Romanian, with a special view on DegPs.

All these differences open up the possibility to undertake a more detailed investigation of comparison constructions in Romanian so that to provide not only useful insight on the nature of comparison, but also on the syntactic and semantic points of variation.

2.1. Points of variation

Based on the cross-linguistic data, it is argued that if a language has a Deg-head, one expects such phenomena as the following: (a) Deg-questions, (b) subcomparative structures, and (c) comparatives behaving uniformly in the language (Beck *et al.*, 2009):

(19) a. Degree Question (DegQ):
How tall is Captain Apollo?
b. Measure Phrase (MP):
Captain Apollo is exactly 1.74 m tall.
c. Subcomparative (SubC):
Helo's shoes are longer than this cupboard is deep.

As previously mentioned, in English structures like those under (19) are possible, whereas in Japanese the same structures are not grammatical. Romanian seems to be a language that is parametrically intermediate, being sensitive to largely the same configurations which are conspicuous in the Japanese/English split. More specifically, the degree constructions in Romanian were considered to share some of the unwelcome consequences (for a standard analysis) evidenced by Japanese. Examining the data in Romanian, it has been observed that subcomparatives, measure phrases and degree questions are only possible with the addition of the morpheme *de*.

Gergel (2009) points out to the following puzzling effects:

2.1.1. Degree Questions

The first problem encountered is that Romanian does not have simplex degree questions (i.e. degree questions obtained by simply merging the relevant items from a

numeration and doing the necessary movement operations, as for instance in English). Merging an appropriate *wh*-word to a declarative structure fails, as in (19a). Moreover, controlling for potentially interfering movement does not yield grammatical structures either [cf. (19b) through (19f)].

(19) a. *Cât Ion e inteligent?
b. *Cât inteligent e Ion ?
c. *Cât e inteligent Ion?
WH Ion is intelligent
How intelligent is Ion?
d. *Cât Ion inteligent e?
e. *Cât inteligent Ion e?
f. *Cât e Ion inteligent?

2.1.2. Subcomparatives

The same is true of subcomparatives, that is, a simple Merge strategy of the usual lexical items does not yield the results usually expected. Merging two degree-based clauses does not yield a well-formed subcomparative. Sentence (20) illustrates this fact.

(20) *Raftul e(ste) mai lung decât camera e lata.
shelf.the is more long than room.the is wide
The shelf is longer than the room is wide.

Gergel (2009) argues that even if we change the word order (a strategy that was used to yield grammatical examples in Spanish in Reglero (2007)), the result does not seem grammatical:

(21) *Raftul e(ste) mai lung decât lata e(ste) camera.
shelf.the is more long than wide is room.the
The shelf is longer than the room is wide

2.2. Little "de"

However, despite the apparent deficient outcomes observed earlier, there is a morphosyntactically well-motivated strategy used in the language (i.e., Merge of a little word), which salvages the problematic derivations. More specifically, the overt morphological form *de* is merged to the gradable adjective and saves the derivations, that is, degree questions and subcomparatives examined above.

Gergel (2009) suggests that the overt morpheme *de* is last resort merged to the Deg position and marks it as such (22).

(22) DegP
Deg AP
Absolute: de/Ø A …

With "little" *de* merged, degree questions are grammatical, as in (23a) and in the pied-piping variants illustrated in (23b) (cf. Grosu, 1994).

(23) a. Cât e de inteligent Ion?
how is DE intelligent Ion
How intelligent is Ion?
b. Cât de inteligent e Ion?
how DE intelligent is Ion
How intelligent is Ion?

The same repair effect obtains in subcomparatives. In fact, the existence of subcomparatives, as of degree questions, has previously been noted in the literature (Grosu, 1994), but no reference was made to the role played by *de*.

Subcomparative structures in Romanian improve, however, under a set of conditions: subject-verb inversion and the insertion of *de*.

(24) Maria e cu mult mai desteapta decât e Zamfira de frumoasa.
Maria is with much more clever.F than is Zamfira DE beautiful.FEM
Maria is far cleverer than Zamfira is beautiful.
(Grosu, 1994)

(25) Raftul e(ste) mai lung decât e(ste) camera de lata.
shelf.the is more long than is room.the DE wide
The shelf is longer than the room is wide

(26) Stalpul e mai inalt decat e groapa de adancă.
pole.D is more tall than is hole.D DE deep
'The pole is taller than the hole is deep.'
(Gergel, 2010)

While there is a series of factors involved in such examples, they are syntactically of a relevant sort, and the reported examples involve the morpheme *de.*

Conclusions

- the Romanian adjective does not seem to invariably "project up" by itself (cf. the status of simplex degree question and subcomparatives)
- Romanian behaves neither like Japanese nor like English (while it is sensitive to the setting that distinguishes the two)
- Romanian shows a particular grammaticalized type of degree constructions: the insertion of the morpheme *de*;
- *de*-Merge is a last resort operation that salvages the structures analysed (It is in this sense that Romanian shows certain effects of degree binding overtly).

NOTES

[1] Among the most important, we mention the typological works on comparison of Stassen (1985), Grosu (1994), Beck, Oda and Sugisaki (2004), Reglero (2007), Kennedy (2008), Beck et al. (2009), Shimoyama (2011) and (2012).

[2] Beck, Oda & Sugisaki (2004) have proposed a parameter of crosslinguistic variation that distinguishes Japanese from English; Beck *et al*. (2009) present and analyze parallel sets of data on comparison constructions from 14 languages, among which they also included Romanian.

[3] *Definition*: a construction in a natural language counts as a comparative construction if that construction has a semantic function of assigning a graded (i.e. non-identical) position on a predicative scale to two (possibly complex) objects (Stassen, 1985: 24).

[4] Based on these differences, Beck, Oda & Sugisaki (2004) suggest that *yori*-clauses do not describe degrees at all but are essentially relative clause-like (a free relative DP that contributes an individual, but not a degree or degrees, see also Shimoyama, 2011 and 2012).

[5] This paper presents the results of a joint work on comparison constructions (Project B17, SFB 441, University of Tübingen) eliciting crosslinguistic data on comparison constructions from 14 languages (Bulgarian, Guaraní, Hindi-Urdu, Hungarian, Mandarin Chinese, Mooré, Motu, Romanian, Russian, Samoan, Spanish, Thai, Turkish and Yorùbá). The authors are Sigrid Beck, Sveta Krasikova, Daniel Fleischer, Remus Gergel, Stefan Hofstetter, Christiane Savelsberg, John Vanderelst and Elisabeth Villalta from the University of Tübingen.

[6] English has [+DSP] [+DAP] [+DegPP] parameter setting; Romanian [+DSP], [+DAP], [-DegPP] parameter setting.

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Le Discours sur le cancer d'un médecin au XVIIIe siècle : *Traité sur le vice cancéreux* par Dupré de Lisle (1774). Analyse énonciative et lexicale

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ABSTRACT: An 18th century physician's discourse on cancer: *Traité sur le Vice Cancéreux* ('Essay on cancer vice') by Dupré de Lisle (1774). Enunciative and lexical analysis

In *Traité sur le Vice Cancéreux* ('Essay on cancer vice'), Dupré de Lisle, Doctor of Medicine, personal physician of "Monseigneur le Comte de Provence", author of several works on medicine, delivers a study of cancer. He defines the illness, its causes and the ways to fight it. Observations of patients are also included in the essay.
This communication focuses on studying the discourse used in this treaty and the enunciative posture assumed by the physician writer. By highlighting the characteristics of the 18th century language used in this opus, with a particular attention on the vocabulary, it will be shown how the scientific discourse mixes with technical, didactical and moral aspects.

KEYWORDS: *Linguistic, enunciation, lexis, discourse analysis, cancer*

Introduction

L'ouvrage de Dupré de Lisle, *Traité sur le vice cancéreux*, s'inscrit dans le contexte du XVIIIe qui voit, sous l'impulsion des Lumières (Hazard, 1946), les progrès des sciences et de la médecine et *« le rajeunissement de la perception médicale, l'illumination vive des couleurs et des choses sous le regard des premiers cliniciens »* (Foucault, 1963) : *« un regard millénaire s'est arrêté sur la souffrance des hommes »* (*Ibidem* : 9). Les découvertes faites en physiologie et en biologie transforment peu à peu l'exercice de la médecine. Cependant les thérapeutiques restent très empiriques tout en se débarrassant progressivement des médications fantaisistes. En revanche, la chirurgie, elle, connaît une véritable ascension.

Par ailleurs, le XVIIIe reste traversé encore par de redoutables épidémies de peste, de variole et de typhus qui focalisent l'attention. Dans le même temps, le cancer, considéré comme une maladie redoutable et aux causes mal connues, est également un sujet abordé dans les journaux de médecine et les traités scientifiques. Les médecins s'interrogent sur son origine, échangent leurs connaissances et leurs expériences pour comprendre son évolution et progresser dans les moyens de le soigner. De fait, le cancer, connu depuis l'antiquité, terrifie.

C'est dans ce contexte que nous nous sommes intéressée aux caractères linguistiques du *Traité du Vice cancereux* de Dupré de Lisle, discours scientifique médical du XVIIIe siècle qui détaille abondamment les connaissances sur le cancer. Nous montrons ce que l'analyse de la langue peut apporter à sa compréhension[2]. Nous avons souhaité particulièrement souligner que l'auteur, homme de sciences, formé par son cursus aux Belles Lettres, adopte la posture énonciative d'un médecin impliqué dans son écrit, ayant foi dans le progrès scientifique et en l'homme, et ouvert aux évolutions de la pensée, à la progression de la réflexion théorique. Il associe les définitions sur le cancer et les observations sur les malades. Par ailleurs, les aspects techniques et médicaux croisent avec les considérations morales et spirituelles.

Dans ce discours tenu sur le cancer, émerge donc, avec des procédés lexicaux, syntaxiques et stylistiques propres, un genre de discours qui tout en présentant des caractères spécifiques scientifiques, techniques et didactiques, n'ignore pas non plus les observations morales et subjectives avec des prises en charge énonciatives qu'évite le discours de l'institution médicale du XXIe siècle (Lozachmeur, 2010). Un ethos de l'homme de sciences, médecin du XVIIIe se constitue.

1. *Traité sur le vice cancéreux* de Dupré de Lisle : un discours sur le cancer

Si le discours de Dupré de Lisle lié au contexte du XVIIIe siècle, mêle aux développements scientifiques médicaux des considérations d'ordre humaniste et moral, ces traits de famille de discours s'observent également dans le manuscrit de Deslongchamps objet d'une étude précédente[3]. Appréhender les textes de cette période permet donc de saisir *in fine* la culture propre à l'homme de sciences, ce que Beacco (2002 : 367 et 1988 : 37) a présenté avec le concept de *« matrice discursive »* :

> On appelle *matrice discursive* la somme de ces traits communs ou largement partagés qui caractérisent un ensemble de textes qui sont alors posés comme relevant d'un même discours, entendu restrictivement comme cadre, à valeur modalisante, dont procèdent, à des degrés de conformité variables, les textes observables entrant dans une même série.

1.1. L'auteur

L'ouvrage de Dupré de Lisle, écrit en 1774, intitulé *Le Traité sur le Vice cancéreux*[4] est publié chez Couturier, Libraire Quai des Augustins. Il reçoit l'approbation du roi en décembre 1772 et comprend deux volumes. Le 1er volume comporte 347 pages réparties en deux parties : la première compte 6 chapitres et la deuxième, 3 chapitres. Le 2e en 382 pages compte 6 chapitres.

Dupré de Lisle est d'abord médecin au département de la Marine et de la Prévôté de l'Hôtel du roi. En 1774, il est médecin du Comte de Provence. Outre le *Traité sur le Vice cancéreux*, il a publié quelques ouvrages : *Traité des Lésions de la tête, par contre-coup, et des conséquences pratiques* (1770) et du *Traité des maladies de la poitrine connues sous le nom de Phtisie pulmonaire* (1769). *Dissertation académique sur la fièvre miliaire des femmes en couche* (1779).

Le Traité sur le Vice cancéreux est présenté en décembre 1774 par le *Journal de Médecine, Chirurgie, Pharmacie* qui résume l'apport de l'ouvrage au diagnostic et au traitement du cancer. Après avoir souligné une liste de petites erreurs et maladresses *(« On a peine à pardonner à un auteur qui paroît avoir une lecture vaste & étendue, une foule de méprises plus singulières les unes que les autres* » (Roux, 1774 : 503)), l'auteur de l'article, A. Roux, Docteur-Régent & ancien Professeur de Pharmacie de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris, Membres de l'Académie Royale des Belles-Lettres, Sciences & Arts de Bordeaux, & de la Société Royale d'Agriculture de la Généralité de Paris, conclut : « Mais malgré ces défauts que l'auteur peut corriger aisément dans une seconde édition, son ouvrage nous a paru mériter l'attention des praticiens. » (*Ibidem*)

1.2. Le titre

Le titre du *Traité sur le vice cancéreux* appelle une précision d'ordre lexicologique. En effet, le mot « vice », pour désigner le cancer n'est pas habituel en français contemporain. Il est issu du latin classique « vitium « défaut physique », puis « défaut » en général, « faute, vice », « violence commise, viol » et dans la langue des augures, *présage défavorable* fourni par un animal qui présente des défauts » (Rey, 2004 : s.v.). Ce mot n'a pas d'étymologie bien cernée. C'est la valeur de « défaut » dans le domaine moral, matériel, qui est passée en français ; le sens de « défaut grave que réprouve la morale » est alors opposé à « vertu ». Le mot désigne ensuite une disposition habituelle au mal, à des passions mauvaises. Une autre valeur est apparue au XIIe, aujourd'hui disparue : celle de reproche. Depuis le XIIe, « vice » s'est aussi dit d'une mauvaise action, puis d'un crime. Une autre valeur ancienne est « piège, ruse », présente dans « avoir du vice » pour « être malin, rusé ».

Le vice, au XVIIe, désigne par métonymie l'ensemble des personnes qui ont un ou des vices. À la même époque, le sens ancien de « défaut moral grave » s'est restreint aux dérèglements de la conduite, notamment sexuelle (débauche). Le nom a aussi une acception en droit sans jugement moral pour une imperfection grave qui rend une chose ou une personne plus ou moins impropre à sa destination (un vice). Enfin, on retrouve cette idée d'imperfection, appliquée d'abord aux personnes et aux choses concrètes dans « vice caché », « vice de raisonnement », « vice de forme », « vice de construction », « vice rédhibitoire », « vice de prononciation » et en médecine dans « vice de conformation » ; « conformation » étant pris au sens de disposition des parties d'un corps animé, d'un organe. C'est aussi au XIXe que l'acception morale du nom évolue, un vice désigne une mauvaise habitude qu'on ne peut réprimer et aussi une perversion sexuelle.

Dans le titre du traité de Dupré de Lisle, le mot « vice » s'applique à la maladie du Cancer et l'envisage comme une imperfection, un défaut dans la conformation physique, quelque chose qui vient perturber le fonctionnement normal de l'organisme. C'est un mot qui connote le mal, comme à l'origine quand il désignait un présage défavorable. Du reste, le titre est complété par un développement secondaire mais explicatif du contenu :

> Traité sur le Vice cancéreux où l'on développe les causes qui concourent à déterminer sa nature, ses effets dans les differens degrés, & la manière de le prévenir & de le combattre ; avec un traitement particulier sur les tumeurs squirreuses & chancreuses de tous les visceres internes, mais surtout des tubercules du poumon.

Adelon (1834) dans l'entrée « cancer » du dictionnaire revient sur l'utilisation du terme « vice » :

> C'est une maladie chronique, et, une fois développée, elle enferme en elle-même le principe de son développement ultérieur, c'est une affection spéciale, qui est dans un rapport particulier avec une affection constitutionnelle. Nos devanciers exprimaient la même idée quand ils disaient que le cancer était l'effet du *vice cancéreux*. Vice latent, force occulte, maladie spéciale, tout cela signifie un je ne sais quoi qui échappe, mais dont l'esprit ne peut nier l'existence.
>
> (Littré, in Adelon, 1834 : 306)

1.3. Une étude sur le cancer

Le cancer est une préoccupation ancienne des médecins et des chirurgiens. C'est à Hippocrate et son école que l'on doit le nom de crabe ou pince (carcinos) ; les veines se développant autour de la tumeur évoquant les pattes d'un crabe. Le squirrhe ou « cancer occulte » est la première étape du cancer. Au XVIe siècle, au nom de l'expérience et de la raison, Paracelse s'élève avec véhémence contre la théorie des humeurs utilisée pour expliquer le cancer. Et plus tard le Dictionnaire universel de Furetière témoigne des interrogations médicales de son époque sur le cancer. Furetière donne ainsi à l'entrée « cancer » la définition descriptive suivante :

> Cancer. S.m. Terme de médecine. C'est une maladie qui vient dans les chairs, & qui leqs mange petit à petit comme une espece de cangreine. C'est une tumeur dure, inégale, raboteuse, ronde & immobile, de couleur cendrée, livide ou plombine, environnée de plusieurs veines apparentes & tortuës, pleines d'un sang melancolique & limoneux, qui ressemblent au poisson appelée *cancer* ou écrevisse. Elle commence sans douleur, & paroist d'abord comme un pois chiche ou une petite noisette ; mais elle croist assez vite, & devient fort douloureuse. Les *cancers* viennent aux parties glanduleuses & lâches, comme aux mamelles & aux emonctoires. En grec *karkinos*, qui signifie aussi *écrevisse*. Ce mal a grand rapport avec cette sorte de poisson, en ce que quand une fois il a pris pied dans un corps, il est presque impossible de l'en chasser, de même qu'il est difficile d'arracher des pinces de l'écrevisse ce qu'elle a une fois attrapé.

Il entérine des connaissances sur le cancer déjà répertoriées depuis l'antiquité, notamment le caractère intrusif et l'évolution inexorable de la maladie (Rouëssé, 2011) et le rapport de ressemblance avec l'écrevisse (plus tard le crabe).

L'utilisation, au milieu du XIXe siècle, du microscope connu depuis le XVIIe, fait progresser l'étude du cancer, maladie vue comme affreuse, fatale, rapidement proliférante dans le tissu humain, rupture de l'équilibre harmonieux du corps idéal

sain, symbole de mort. Au milieu du XIXe siècle, les médecins constatent une augmentation des cas de cette pathologie devant laquelle la médecine est désarmée, ce qui accroît l'effroi éprouvé à son évocation. M. Foucault dit des savoirs qu'ils voisinent avec *« la chimère, la rêverie et la pure monstruosité »* (Foucault, 1971 : 22-23) ce qui peut s'appliquer aux études sur le cancer au XVIIIe siècle, tant le traité de Dupré de Lisle témoigne des hésitations médicales et de l'horreur subie par les patients. L'ouvrage atteste d'ablations chirurgicales des tumeurs dans des conditions effroyables pour le patient. Cela dit, à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, les médecins sont encore partagés sur les effets et l'importance des connaissances physiologiques, valorisées par beaucoup de chirurgiens. La réflexion progresse : au XVIIIe siècle, les chirurgiens (Le Dran, Camper, notamment) font la description de la dissémination métastasique. En 1773, au moment où Dupré de Lisle écrit son traité, l'Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles Lettres met au concours la question : « Qu'est-ce que le cancer ? ». Le prix est remporté par Bernard Peyrilhe qui déclare dans sa dissertation académique :

> C'est du sein de plusieurs maux, que le cancer pullule ordinairement ; la chlorose[5], le défaut ou la suppression des menstrues, le chagrin et la tristesse, les méditations longues et profondes, une vie molle et oisive, etc. comme autant de causes d'épaissir la lymphe, le sont aussi de donner naissance au cancer[6].

Le XVIIIe voit se développer les théories vitalistes pour lesquelles l'être humain n'est pas seulement une « machine » mais soumis à une âme raisonnable ; théorie supposant une intervention du psychisme dans le développement des cancers alors que la méthode anatomoclinique recherche les faits et les classifications. Face aux problèmes de l'expérimentation qui en découlent, Canguilhem (1968 : 386) rappelle que pour Kant, la Faculté de médecine appartenait aux Facultés supérieures comme le droit et la théologie : *« En effet, le médecin est un « artiste » et comme tel il doit utiliser un savoir par lequel il dépend non seulement de sa propre Faculté, mais aussi de la Faculté de philosophie*[7]*. »* Pour Canguilhem (1968) *« L'histoire des sciences n'est pas une science et son objet n'est pas un objet scientifique. Faire, au sens le plus opératif du terme, de l'histoire des sciences, est l'une des fonctions, non la plus aisée, de l'épistémologie philosophique. »*

Il n'est pas question ici de faire l'histoire du cancer, ni de porter un jugement sur les connaissances que les hommes du XVIIIe en avaient mais de saisir la langue dont usent les scientifiques pour aborder la pathologie du cancer, à partir du *Traité sur le Vice Cancéreux*, et la problématique humaine douloureuse inhérente à toute décision médicale, confrontés qu'ils étaient, au manque de moyens en médicaments (antidouleurs, anesthésiants) et en mode d'exploration. La médecine du XVIIIe, comme toutes les techniques, déploie ses efforts pour dominer le milieu et organiser ses soins au service des vivants en utilisant les résultats des sciences. Dès lors, notre point de vue cherche à cerner le discours que tient le médecin-chirurgien du XVIIIe sur ses pratiques, sur ses tâtonnements, ici Dupré de Lisle face au cancer qu'il définit comme un « vice ». Comment cela se traduit-il dans le langage quand il s'agit de se forger une conviction, d'élaborer un diagnostic, de mettre en place un protocole de soin ?

Vu en diachronie le discours tenu dans le *Traité du Vice cancéreux* peut contribuer à envisager le développement et la maturation de la médecine cancérologique. Dans son langage, Dupré de Lisle fait partager ses connaissances, ses expériences, ses interrogations ainsi que ses certitudes sur la maladie du cancer avec empathie pour le patient et souci de partager son savoir et ses observations empiriques avec ses confrères. Ainsi en est-il au XXIe où les publications sur le cancer abondent[8].

Commentant *Introduction à l'étude de la médecine expérimentale* de Claude Bernard, Canguilhem (1968 : 128) rappelle :

> Si l'on ne sait pas bien quel est le poète latin qui a dit que les livres ont leur destin, au moins est-il certain que l'une des tâches de l'historien des sciences est de s'interroger sur ce destin, de rechercher s'il tient ou non au contenu même de l'ouvrage, au sens des énoncés qu'il contient et à un certain rapport de ce sens à celui d'autres travaux du même ordre, antérieurs, contemporains ou postérieurs, et enfin de se demander si le rapport de ce sens avec son avenir de durée, de renforcement éventuel, ou au contraire de dégradation en bruit pur et simple, a été ignoré, ou pressenti, ou expressément prévu par l'auteur même de l'ouvrage. L'influence d'un ouvrage est un type de relation entre le passé et le présent qui s'établit dans le sens rétrograde.

Si on s'interroge sur le destin du *Traité sur le Vice cancéreux*, dont Dupré de Lisle espérait qu'il fût *« utile à l'humanité »*, on constate qu'il fait la synthèse des connaissances répertoriées sur le cancer depuis plusieurs siècles, pour proposer ensuite d'autres interprétations ou observations. Dans ce sens, on suppose que le livre destiné aux Écoles de Santé et aux collègues médecins-Chirurgiens de Dupré de Lisle, continue à être lu et recherché par les lecteurs au-delà de sa publication, et que son sens en est réactivé.

Un autre intérêt de cet ouvrage est la réflexion constante de l'auteur face aux choix thérapeutiques du médecin, sa crainte d'infliger des souffrances inutiles ; d'être à la limite de l'expérimentation dangereuse, ce qui préfigure les débats ouverts par Canguilhem (1968 : 384) :

> La forme aujourd'hui la plus aiguë de la crise de la conscience médicale, c'est la diversité et même l'opposition d'opinions relatives à l'attitude et au devoir du médecin, devant les possibilités thérapeutiques que lui offrent les résultats de la recherche en laboratoire, l'existence des antibiotiques et des vaccins, la mise au point d'interventions chirurgicales de restauration, de greffe ou de prothèse, l'application à l'organisme des corps radioactifs. Le public des malades réels ou possibles souhaite et redoute à la fois l'audace en thérapeutique […] Quoi d'étonnant si l'homme moderne appréhende confusément, à tort ou à raison, que la médecine en vienne à le déposséder, sous couleur de le servir, de son existence organique propre et de la responsabilité qu'il pense lui revenir dans les décisions qui en concernent le cours.

Dupré de Lisle, pour sa part, prend *« le parti de l'homme »* (Canguilhem, 1968 : 385), c'est-à-dire le recours à la morale humaniste représenté par la tradition hippocratique et forte de son apologie de la clinique et de l'éthique. En ce sens, il est proche de la médecine cancérologique actuelle qui place la qualité de vie du patient

au cœur de nombreux projets. (Colombat, 2014) Dans le cas de l'amputation appliquée au cancer du sein, les médecins de l'Ancien régime, comme Guillaume de Houppeville, témoignent de leurs réticences, tant cet acte leur semble une souffrance intolérable sans anesthésie et sans la certitude d'un bénéfice :

> Quand j'ai pensé à l'exécuter [l'opération], je suis demeuré en suspens par l'horreur que m'inspirait l'excès de la douleur qu'elle devait causer, la perte de sang, et enfin la crainte de récidive [du cancer]. La crainte augmentait par la lecture de Galien et de Mercatus qui assurent que les cancers empirent après l'application du feu et après les avoir coupés.
> (1693 : 35)

Certains médecins rapportent les cas de patientes devant solliciter elles-mêmes l'intervention du chirurgien. On le voit bien, *« soigner c'est faire une expérience. »* (Canguilhem, 1968 : 389) Et il semble que cette décision soit particulièrement difficile pour le médecin du XVIIIème siècle et que sa morale et sa subjectivité soient mises à l'épreuve. Canguilhem qui rappelle que les médecins ont toujours expérimenté (Hippocrate le dit pour son époque et avant lui), souligne les exigences intellectuelles et morales que cela suppose :

> Mais comme Claude Bernard, ni d'ailleurs qui que ce soit d'autre, ne peut dire à l'avance où passe la limite entre le nocif, l'innocent et le bienfaisant, comme cette limite peut varier d'un malade à l'autre, que tout médecin se dise et fasse savoir qu'en médecine on n'expérimente, c'est-à-dire on ne soigne, qu'en tremblant. Mieux, une médecine soucieuse de l'homme dans sa singularité de vivant ne peut être qu'une médecine qui expérimente.
> (*Ibidem* : 389)

Cet aspect très prégnant dans le discours de Dupré de Lisle soutient notre intérêt pour les aspects moraux et subjectifs du *Traité sur le Vice cancéreux*, parallèlement au discours technique, scientifique, savant, classificatoire sur le cancer.

1.4. Apport de l'analyse du discours pour le **Traité sur le Vice cancéreux**

Parallèlement à une contextualisation dans le XVIIIe siècle, il s'agit dans cette étude de mener une analyse du discours, dans une extension large et langagière et de replacer l'activité scientifique dans un cadre social, pour poser la façon dont le sens du texte est produit. Notre réflexion s'inscrit dans le cadre de la notion de discours rappelée par Pierre Fiala (2014 : 109) :

> Le terme *discours*, employé anciennement avec une valeur extensive englobant des manifestations multiples de la parole, s'est spécialisé à l'âge classique pour désigner l'expression verbale, écrite ou orale, de la pensée maîtrisée par la raison et/ou l'art oratoire. La linguistique structurale a précisé, d'une part, la définition du discours en le liant à l'ordre de langue et aux conditions de l'énonciation et a, d'autre part, élargi son extension aux diverses réalisations de la parole, prises pour objets d'observation par les sciences humaines et sociales.

Dans cette perspective, il s'agit ici de réfléchir à ce qui se travaille sur les bords discursifs de la langue (Pêcheux, 1981). Branca (2002) montre que le concept de *« matérialité discursive »* de Pêcheux (1969) qui refonde l'objet discursif pose le problème de *« la frontière entre linguistique et discours »*. La linguistique décrit et interprète des faits de langue et J.-M. Marandin donne comme point de départ cette distinction : *« Le discours est une séquence de phrases dans une langue naturelle, la linguistique décrit les phrases d'une langue naturelle. »* (Marandin, 1979 : 18), ce qui l'amène à opposer deux modes descriptifs : *« La description d'une langue vise à fournir les règles permettant de construire toute phrase de la langue, alors que l'objet d'une analyse de discours, dans une première approximation, semble être de décrire une séquence réelle unique et non répétable. »* (*Ibidem* : 18)

Par ailleurs, l'analyse du discours prenant comme objet la question du sujet, elle permet d'aborder la description du sujet énonciatif selon les places qu'il occupe dans l'enchaînement discursif. Cette analyse, menée sur un texte comme le *Traité du Vice cancéreux* est en prise à la fois sur la langue et sur l'histoire des sciences. Le sujet prend place, en effet, dans des dispositifs historiques et l'interprétation des rapports entre marques et positions énonciatives doit tenir compte de la conscience linguistique de cette époque.

Les éléments de cette réflexion sur les objectifs de l'analyse du discours sont utiles pour faire émerger des traits significatifs et interprétables dans un répertoire de textes ayant des spécificités propres au XVIIIe siècle : le discours sur la médecine, le corps malade. L'analyse de cet objet discursif se donne des « instruments » qui sont les processus mémoriels extérieurs et les processus sémantiques pris dans des relations d'interdiscours, et, pour reprendre une idée fréquente, les « outils » linguistiques, sans que pour autant la linguistique soit ramenée strictement à cette dimension mais plutôt parce qu'elle veut se donner des terrains d'observation bien circonscrits et notamment les régularités syntaxiques pour interpréter les énoncés à partir des formes de la langue : unités lexicales, unités syntaxiques, des faits de discours aussi bien sémantiques, énonciatifs qu'interprétatifs.

Nous prenons *« objet discursif »* au sens donné par Moirand (2002) *« une entité constitutivement discursive se déployant à la fois dans l'intradiscours et dans l'interdiscours »*. Moirand (2002) appuie sur l'apport de Sitri (1998) pour cette notion inscrite dans l'analyse du discours à la française et qui cherche à faire émerger les *« points de surgissement des objets de discours » et « leurs transformations au fil du discours »* :

> Constitué de discours et dans le discours – discours où il naît et se développe mais aussi discours dont il garde la mémoire – il est par là même, étant donné la manière dont nous concevons le discours, pris dans la matérialité de la langue. La notion d'objet de discours apparaît alors précisément comme un moyen d'observer l'articulation entre catégories de langue et catégories discursives.
>
> (Sitri, 1998 : 66)

Rappelons cette analyse de Fiala (1991) qui traduit la complexité d'une entreprise où les évidences interactionnelles et les pratiques argumentatives ne suffisent pas mais doivent se combiner avec les approches énonciatives, syntaxiques et lexicales :

> Même dotée d'instruments informatiques puissants – mémoire non limitée, analyseurs syntaxiques, moyens de calculs et de présentation des résultats enrichis –, l'analyse du discours ne saurait être une méthode du prêt-à-interpréter, toujours disponible pour les sciences humaines et sociales. Elle implique une construction propre, des hypothèses, une problématique autonome. Le discours ne s'offre pas comme un produit fini à interpréter – texte, conversation –, il doit être en permanence reconstruit, comme événement et comme structure, comme lieu de mémoire interdiscursive, élément dans des réseaux d'archives, comme enchevêtrement de séquences et comme réseaux d'associations, comme lieu de miroitements lexicaux, morphologiques et sémantiques, comme jeux de places énonciatives traversant le sujet, comme pratique associée à des places et des situations.
>
> (1991 : 112-113)

2. Les caractères du discours médical au XVIIIe siècle

Dupré de Lisle tient un discours qui se veut enthousiaste sur les progrès de la science, à l'intention de ses collègues médecins et traduit les préoccupations de sa profession :

> Si dans un siècle nos cendres pouvoient se ranimer, nous verrions régner des sciences dont nous n'avons pas même la plus légère idée aujourd'hui. Les trésors de la nature sont inépuisables, & la vie de l'homme est trop courte. Ne regrettons point ce qu'ont su ceux qui nous ont précédés, & n'envions point à nos descendans ce qu'ils pourront acquérir de plus.
>
> (1774 : vij)

Il manifeste également une grande humilité à l'égard des travaux des chercheurs du passé, tout en portant des jugements moraux sur les certitudes que l'homme pense avoir, ce dont témoignent des expressions comme *« inondé le monde »*, *« foule de systèmes »*, *« les erreurs les plus absurdes »* dans l'extrait suivant. Au XVIIIe siècle, la conscience est vive que la médecine s'occupe d'un objet bien compliqué, qu'elle est une connaissance incertaine (Foucault, 1963), mais ces considérations confuses opéreront un retournement pour ouvrir à des principes mesurables :

> Telle est la médecine : ses phénomènes sont, en grand nombre, des mysteres. On pourroit la comparer à ces champs dont les parties les plus raboteuses sont encore à défricher ; soit que cela vienne de la nature qui, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, a voulu se ménager le soin de nourrir notre industrie, prévenir notre indolence ; soit que ce soit un vice de l'orgueil de l'homme qui s'imagine avoir approfondi ce qu'il n'a fait qu'effleurer. Un autre obstacle au progrès des sciences & de l'esprit humain vient de ce que les philosophes se sont attachés plutôt à deviner la nature qu'à l'étudier. Delà cette foule de systèmes qui ont inondé le monde, & ont accrédité les erreurs les plus absurdes.
>
> (de Lisle, 1774 : viij)

Ce discours est à mettre en parallèle avec l'esprit qui préside à la création de *l'Encyclopédie* de Diderot élaborée entre 1748 et 1765 et qui est un des plus grands témoignages de l'art et de l'esprit philosophique et où il s'agit d'exposer les connaissances humaines dans leur ordre et leur enchaînement. Diderot porte cet enthousiasme en insistant sur le fait que *« l'homme est le terme unique d'où il faut partir, et auquel il faut tout ramener »*.

D'entrée, Dupré de Lisle fait le point sur l'état des connaissances sur le cancer et donne un état descriptif de la situation : *« Nous allons nous occuper du vice cancéreux. L'on sait qu'il est un des plus redoutables fléaux de l'humanité, & l'écueil de l'art. »* (1774 : ix)

> Cette maladie passe par bien des degrés avant qu'elle n'acquière toute la malignité dont elle est susceptible. L'humeur qui la produit, est de nature à rester long-temps assoupie avant d'entrer dans la fermentation putride. Les autres humeurs sont différentes, comme l'on verra par la suite de ce Traité. Toute substance abandonnée à elle-même, doit tendre nécessairement à sa décomposition ; c'est le premier acte qu'exerce la nature sur les corps susceptibles de la fermentation putride. Les fluides, en repos dans quelque partie de l'être physique, doivent, par la même raison, subir le même sort : ils commencent par exciter un mouvement qui désunit leur cohésion & leur union. Ce n'est, dans le premier abord, qu'une espece de coagulation, à laquelle succede un frémissement, que Boerhaave appelle mouvement spontané. Dans cet état, toutes les parties s'en rapprochent & s'en éloignent tour à tour, par une espece de bouillonnement ou d'effort qui s'excité dans l'humeur en congestion. On peut regarder la putréfaction comme le dernier vœu de la nature. La seule existence d'un agrégé est un principe certain de sa destruction. Mais comme la nature est aussi ingénieuse que féconde dans ses productions, elle ne paroît détruire que pour créer de nouveau.
>
> (*Ibidem* : x)

L'objectif affiché de Dupré de Lisle est bien de faire un état des recherches théoriques et expérimentales, un état sur les causes ainsi qu'un point sur les nouveautés thérapeutiques.

> Dans ce Traité il ne sera seulement question que de la putréfaction cancereuse, maladie des plus redoutables qui puisse le plus intéresser l'humanité. Nous allons développer les causes de ce vice dangereux, qui nous conduisent à déterminer sa nature, ses différens caracteres, ses effets dans les différens degrés, & la meilleure manière de le prévenir & de le détruire : ensuite nous passerons dans un traitement particulier des tumeurs squirreuses & chancreuses qui peuvent se produire intérieurement dans les différens visceres, mais sur-tout de la phtisie tuberculeuse.
>
> (*Ibidem* : xiv)

2.1. Le jargon médical

Pour l'essentiel, le discours se cantonne au terrain technique comme en témoignent les termes techniques constants, termes médicaux touchant au fonctionnement des parties du corps et aux manifestations de la maladie.

Ce vocabulaire se retrouve dans les textes de l'époque[9] : *« glandes »*, *« vaisseaux excrétoires lymphatiques »*, *« nerf »*, *« ulcération »*, *« verrue »*, *« tumeur »*, *« substance chancreuse »*, *« humeur »*, *« squirre »*, *« grangrene »*, *« mamelles des femmes »*, *« oreilles »*, *« nez »*, *« levres »*, *« yeux »*, *« putréfaction »*, *« uterus »*, *« aisselles »*, *« aines »*, *« mésentere »* (membrane formée par un repli du péritoine qui enveloppe l'intestin grêle).

Quelques mots, parmi ceux relevés dans le traité, sont sortis d'usage, comme par exemple le mot *« porreau »* :

> Les cancers des joues & des levres se manifestent ordinairement par une espece de porreau, ou bien comme une petite tumeur dure, plus ou moins douloureuse.
> (*Ibidem*, Tome 1 : 20)

> Les premiers (cancers du nez) dans leur principe se présentent sous la forme d'un porreau accompagné d'une dureté douloureuse dans la base.
> (*Ibidem* : 22)

Ici le mot *« porreau »* est à comprendre au sens de « verrue ». Il semble issu du mot picard « porion » : poireau, verrue. Par analogie de forme, le mot *« poireau »*, issu du vocabulaire de la botanique puis de la médecine vétérinaire, prend le sens « d'excroissance charnue chez un animal », de « verrue », mais aussi de « pénis ». Au XVe siècle, il est une *« verrue aux pieds des oiseaux. »* (Rey, 2004 : 2819)

> L'inflammation peut être érésipellateuse (peau rouge), œdémateuse ou squirreuse.
> (*Ibidem* : 74)

Furetière (1690) donne le mot comme appartenant à la langue commune :

> Poireau (ou Perreau) est aussi une espèce de verruë, ou excrescence de chair spongieuse qui vient aux pasturons de derriere des chevaux, qui est grosse comme une noix, qui jette & qui suppure des eaux rousses & puantes.
> Poireau, signifie aussi une verruë, ou excrescence qui vient sur la peau de l'homme par une pituite fort endurcie. On dit que le lait de figuier, le suc de titimale, fait en aller les poireaux.

L'Encyclopédie de Diderot atteste cette acception. Le terme doit être également utilisé dans la langue médicale car *Le Nouveau dictionnaire de médecine universelle et raisonnée,* de Nicolas (1772, Tome 5) donne : *« Porreau (chir) c'est une excroissance paroissant à peine au-dessus de la peau, d'ailleurs semblable à une verrue, & qui exige le même traitement. »*

Par la suite, dans Adelon (1834), *« porreau »* n'apparaît plus et l'auteur de l'article « cancer » Littré, emploie le mot *« verrue »* : *« A la peau le cancer commence par un tubercule auquel on a donné le nom de verrue. »* (Littré in Adelon, 1834, Tome VI : 303)

2.2. Le regard

Les commentaires que Dupré de Lisle développe à partir de son expérience de la maladie repose, en grande partie, sur ses observations des signes de la maladie et des réactions des malades :

> Je me rappelle avoir été consulté, il y a quelques années, pour une femme qui avoit, depuis douze ans, une petite tumeur à la mamelle gauche. […] J'en ai vu plusieurs cas semblables : j'en ai vu d'autres qui n'ont jamais dégénéré en cancer, & les personnes, affectées de pareilles tumeurs, ont vécu très-long-temps, sans que leur vie ait été terminée par les horreurs de cette cruelle maladie.
>
> (1774 : 102-103)

Concernant le cancer du sein par exemple, les études du XXIe siècle soulignent que la découverte de la tumeur est le premier stade de son diagnostic[10]. Ce stade préliminaire est particulièrement prégnant chez Dupré de Lisle qui s'attache à observer le malade et les signes qu'il développe. De ce fait, à côté des verbes du commentaire scientifique comme « savoir », « trouver », « pouvoir + infinitif », le verbe « voir » et les mots du regard ont une place très importante.

« Voir » est pris au sens de « percevoir par la vue » (*« on voit quelquefois des cancers qui contractent des duretés inégales, rondes, livides & douloureus »* (1774 : 18), *« on voit de même dans toute l'étendue du canal intestinal de petites cavités qui font comme des calotes revêtues de coton en dedans, ou d'une infinité de petits filamens qui s'élèvent dans toute la surface. »*, (*Ibidem* : 36) mais développe des valeurs figurées comme « percevoir par l'esprit », « juger », « examiner » *(« nous verrions régner des sciences dont nous n'avons pas même la plus légère idée aujourd'hui »* (1774 : vij), *« On peut regarder la putréfaction comme le dernier vœu de la nature »,* (*Ibidem* : x)).

Lorsqu'il établit que l'incidence de la disposition scorbutique dans la masse des humeurs « peut, par succession de temps, favoriser le Vice cancéreux », il expose alors sa démarche de clinicien :

> Cette indisposition est plus fréquente qu'on ne l'imagine : elle ne se manifeste pas toujours par des symptômes ordinaires qui puissent frapper les yeux d'un praticien. Un homme instruit saisit toutes les petites circonstances, les confronte souvent, pour les faire servir à la découverte de la maladie.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 76)

Soulignons ici l'emploi du mot *« découverte »* dans le sens de « action de trouver ce qui était ignoré et caché » (Rey, 2004 : 1012), de percevoir la réalité de la maladie.

Ce point de vue a été mis en évidence par Foucault (1963 : 153-174) qui rappelle cette préconisation de Dumas (1807) : *« Démêler le principe et la cause d'une maladie à travers la confusion et l'obscurité des* symptômes[11]*. »*

Foucault (1963 : 129) insiste également sur le rapport du regard à la maladie au XVIIIe siècle, sur l'idée de maladie qui transparaît dans les symptômes et les signes. C'est le fondement de la méthode clinique :

> La clinique demande autant au regard que l'histoire naturelle. Autant et jusqu'à un certain point la même chose : voir, isoler des traits, reconnaître ceux qui sont identiques et ceux qui sont différents, les regrouper, les classer par espèces ou familles. Le modèle naturaliste auquel la médecine s'est pour une part soumise au XVIIIe siècle reste actif. Le vieux rêve de Boissier de Sauvages, être le Linné des maladies, n'est pas encore tout à fait oublié au XIXe siècle : les médecins continueront à herboriser longtemps dans le champ du pathologique. Mais le regard médical s'organise, en outre, sur un mode nouveau. D'abord, il n'est plus simplement le regard de n'importe quel observateur, mais celui d'un médecin supporté et justifié par une institution, celui d'un médecin qui a pouvoir de décision et d'intervention. Ensuite, c'est un regard qui n'est pas lié par la grille étroite de la structure (forme, disposition, nombre, grandeur) mais qui peut et doit saisir les couleurs, les variations, les infimes anomalies, se tenant toujours aux aguets du déviant. Enfin c'est un regard qui ne se contente pas de constater ce qui évidemment se donne à voir ; il doit permettre de dessiner les chances et les risques ; il est calculateur.

En confrontant le texte de Dupré de Lisle aux Journaux de médecine et aux Dictionnaires de son époque, on constate que ce vocabulaire médical, condition essentielle de l'acte descriptif, est bien partagé avec la communauté scientifique. La maladie est visible et énonçable (*« être vu »* et *« être parlé »*, Foucault, 1963 : 137). Les mots réfractent une réalité qui est perçue par accord de tous. Mais pour actualiser les caractères de la maladie, il faut *« une incarnation matérielle dans des signes »* (Bakhtine, 1977 : 28). La référence à la maladie est l'objet d'un consensus ; caractère social que Gaudin (2003 : 34) met en évidence :

> L'action de référenciation est interlocutive, dialogale, elle résulte des interactions. Référer suppose un accord dans la communication. […] Référer se situe donc dans la dynamique d'une visée référentielle au sein du dialogue, en fait d'une co-construction du monde. Cette position permet d'expliquer à la fois le caractère flou des catégories dont nous convenons, puisque cette convention est toujours rejouée, et la souveraine liberté que nous avons de façonner ces catégories selon des critères, toujours négociables.

Le vocabulaire technique médical se constitue comme base de dialogue, acte interactif, entre Dupré de Lisle et ses confrères médecins. L'existence et l'importance du *Journal de Médecine, Chirurgie et pharmacie au XVIIIe siècle* (cf. note 9) confirment d'ailleurs la nécessité des liens scientifiques pour la diffusion du savoir et pour l'organisation médicale.

Dans le champ de la clinique, le langage doit avoir un caractère collectif, exact, faire consensus pour qu'il y ait corrélation entre le regard accompagnant la description exhaustive et les mots de la maladie.

> La langue bien faite, en laquelle Condillac et ses successeurs voyaient l'idéal de la connaissance scientifique, ne doit donc pas être cherchée comme l'ont fait avec trop de hâte certains médecins du côté d'une langue des calculs ; mais du côté de cette *langue mesurée* qui est à la fois à la mesure des choses qu'elle décrit et du langage dans lequel elle les décrit.
>
> (Foucault, 1963 : 163)

Foucault (1963 : 164) pointe le caractère mythique de cet *« œil qui parlerait »* :

> On comprend comment, autour de ces thèmes, un certain ésotérisme médical a pu se reconstituer après le rêve révolutionnaire d'une science et d'une pratique absolument ouvertes : on ne voit désormais le visible que parce qu'on connaît le Langage ; les choses sont offertes à celui qui a pénétré dans le monde clos des mots ; et si ces mots communiquent avec les choses, c'est qu'ils obéissent à une règle qui est intrinsèque à leur grammaire.

En même temps, cette omniprésence du vocabulaire médical et des parties du corps, dans le texte de Dupré de Lisle, circonscrit la discussion au physiologique et à l'anatomique, même si, comme nous le dirons plus loin, l'humain n'est pas absent des préoccupations de l'auteur. Mais il est certainement « attendu » davantage sur ses compétences scientifiques, sur les résultats de ses observations et de ses expériences, puisqu'il s'agit de faire évoluer les connaissances sur le cancer.

La description technique est souvent très précise du point de la vue de la définition mais elle n'est jamais assortie de chiffres, de mesures, de nombre de cas :

> Il ne faut point être surpris si ces sortes de tumeurs malignes sont plus communes dans la matrice & dans les mamelles des femmes, surtout si l'humeur est susceptible de métastase.
> A mesure que la fermentation sourde devient plus forte, la viscosité des soufres acquiert plus d'acrinomie & d'alkalescence[12], & leur phlogistique excite une forte rougeur & une chaleur assez vive dans les alentours de la tumeur.
>
> (de Lisle, 1774 : 109)

De fait, les descriptions de Dupré de Lisle, conformes à son point de vue de médecin et de clinicien, sont strictement techniques :

> Il arrive quelquefois qu'il se forme des vers dans les cancers ulcérés ; delà plusieurs Auteurs ont imaginé que la tumeur cancereuse n'étoit produite que par des vers ; ce qui ne peut être que l'effet de la matiere putride.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 115)

Ces dénominations servent également à porter une classification des types de cancers en fonction de leur évolution, ce qui est un objectif assigné au *Traité sur le Vice cancéreux* :

> Nous avons assigné trois caracteres très-distincts les uns des autres dans les tumeurs dégénérables en cancer. Le premier, par rapport à sa dureté, a été connu sous le nom de Squirre faux ou légitime. Le second prend le nom de Cancer occulte, commençant ou invétéré. Le troisième enfin a été appellé Cancer ouvert ou ulcéré, & par les Anciens Carcinome.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 119)

2.3. Un discours didactique

Le *Traité sur le Vice cancéreux*, par ses aspects scientifiques, s'adressant à d'autres médecins, se veut également clair et explicite dans sa démarche. Discours de l'épidictique, il tend ainsi à une certaine didacticité en cherchant à instruire et à diffuser le savoir médical. Pour Sophie Moirand

> La didacticité se repère au croisement de trois types de données, qui permettent de distinguer différentes formes et différents degrés de didacticité : (1) des données d'ordre situationnel car il ne peut s'agir que de situations (fût-ce ponctuellement) asymétriques, dans lesquelles l'un des interlocuteurs possède un savoir ou un savoir-faire que l'autre n'a pas, savoir réel ou supposé tel, qu'il est en position de faire partager à l'autre ; (2) des données d'ordre fonctionnel car il y a forcément inscrit dans ce type d'interaction verbale (qu'il s'agisse d'un texte dialogal ou monologal) une intention (réelle simulée ou feinte) de faire savoir, de faire partager ses savoirs, de rendre l'autre plus compétent, ou de faire en sorte que l'autre sache… ; (3) des données d'ordre formel sur lesquelles peut s'appuyer l'analyse linguistique : traces de reformulation intradiscursive ou extradiscursive, procédures de définition, d'explication, d'exemplification ; traces sémiotiques diverses empruntant à divers codes langagiers : prosodiques, iconiques, kinésiques, proxémiques.
>
> (Moirand, citée in Maingueneau & Charaudeau, 2002 : 181-182)

Cette visée didactique est présente très largement dans le Traité du Vice cancéreux. On est dans un discours de transmission de connaissances, d'observations sur « le terrain » d'un savoir-faire. Avec le discours didactique, *« on cherche à apporter au récepteur une information qu'il ignore »* (Windisch, 1987 : 25). Dupré de Lisle argumente de façon très serrée, explique de façon très pédagogique en direction d'autres spécialistes, de confrères avec qui il partage, échange ses connaissances et qu'il cherche à convaincre. Dans ce sens, Sonia Branca (1999 : 15) montre que *« La catégorie de la didacticité permet de ramasser en une des organisations discursives différentes. Placée en surplomb des catégories pratiques elle permet de ne pas s'en tenir à des descriptions monographiques. »*

Le discours didactique est analytique, pédagogique et vise à expliquer, à faire comprendre, à transmettre un savoir et un savoir-faire. De fait, dans la vie courante, le lecteur d'un texte, s'attend à recevoir un contenu informationnel, une réponse aux questions qu'il se pose ; contenu qu'il va discuter, évaluer. Par exemple, dans cet extrait, Dupré de Lisle fait le point sur les connaissances connues sur le cancer, le processus de la maladie, descriptions cliniques à l'appui.

> L'expérience a constaté plus d'une fois que le Cancer pouvoit naître dans le grand angle. Il commence par une dureté calleuse qui se produit dans le sac lacrymal. A mesure que la dureté augmente, la peau qui la couvre, se divise & s'ulcère, & elle se manifeste, ainsi que la substance chancreuse qui s'étend de plus en plus & se consume peu à peu : elle détruit les paupières, les muscles obliques, le globe de l'œil, les muscles droits, les os de l'orbite paroissent découverts ; ils se noircissent & tombent même en pouriture. Alors on remarque de tous côtés des petits filets tendineux, blancs, avec des chairs fongueuses. Ce sont ces filets qui forment le Cancer.
>
> (1774 : 27)

Ce caractère didactique est renforcé par l'emploi d'un vocabulaire métalinguistique : « appeler », « être nommé », « être défini comme », « être connu sous le nom », « Jusques ici on a défini », « Tous les médecins l'appellent », « Cette petite tumeur que l'on appelle », « Une petite tumeur connue sous le nom de squirre ». Le souci de

la définition est constant : définition du cancer, des types de tumeurs. Sur le plan syntaxique, nous pouvons remarquer la place importante du verbe « être » comme verbe définitoire qui donne une valeur de certitude aux énoncés : « être » est l'opérateur de la phrase de base en français (Riegel, 1994 : 252, 285). Sur l'axe d'opposition objectif/subjectif, C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1980 : 72) insiste sur l'abus de langage que représente l'emploi de « être » définitoire :

> l'imposture que constitue le verbe ' être ', qui fait comme si la propriété qu'il a pour fonction d'attribuer à l'objet lui était intrinsèquement attachée, alors qu'elle ne se constitue que dans le rapport existant entre l'objet perçu et le sujet percepteur.

À cet effet, on peut comprendre les énoncés définitoires comme une nécessité de délimiter le territoire du connu, les domaines de connaissances partagées, même si l'auteur suggère que ces connaissances sont soumises à l'incertitude. Les définitions dont nous reprenons quelques exemples, occupent une large partie de ces exposés :

> Galien est le premier qui donna le nom de Cancer à cette tumeur que nous traitons : il voulut l'appeler ainsi, par rapport à une espece de ressemblance qu'elle a avec l'écrevisse. Comme cet animal présente plusieurs pates de part & d'autre, de même on voit partir de la tumeur chancreuse une infinité de ramifications pleines d'un sang noir.
>
> (de Lisle, 1774 : 4)

> On a distingué le Cancer occulte du Cancer ulcéré ; celui prend le nom de Carcinome, à raison du degré de malignité dont il est susceptible.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 6)

> Le Cancer n'est autre chose qu'une tumeur très-irréguliere qui résulte de la conversion des parties squirreuses en une substance hideuse, très susceptible d'un singulier accroissement ainsi que d'ulcération ; c'est ce que produisent la cessation entiere des filtrations & le mouvement spontané de l'humeur en congestion, qui en détruisant la structure des glandes, leur fait prendre une autre forme toute opposée à leur manière d'être.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 13)
>
> La tumeur qu'on appelle taupe, & qui se forme à la tête, n'est qu'un follecule membraneux, rempli d'une espece d'humeur épaisse.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 38)

> Nous allons faire une simple exposition.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 38)

La précision de ces descriptions est aussi à mettre en relation avec les progrès de l'observation qui sont décisifs. Les premiers microscopes, évoqués plus haut, sont réalisés à la fin du XVIIe avec une lentille braquée sur la source de lumière. Ces instruments simples permettent déjà bien des découvertes (le microscope ordinaire d'aujourd'hui a été réalisé en 1880).

3. L'organisation discursive et énonciative du Traité

3.1. Les aspects lexicaux et syntaxiques

Dans ce type de traité, il s'agit d'exposer des réalités de la maladie observées auprès des patients, de manière stricte et pragmatique. Certaines structures syntaxiques très récurrentes semblent obéir à des impératifs didactiques. Le traité est destiné à être lu par des collègues médecins et doit être l'objet d'échanges, de confrontations de points de vue. En tant que texte scientifique, il est soumis à des contraintes codiques, celles de son milieu professionnel et social. Quelques traits sont significatifs de cette didacticité : la place du présent générique, à valeur définitoire, l'article défini générique, le pronom « on » d'indétermination énonciative, l'abondance des groupes nominaux. Ainsi cet extrait où dominent les « on » et les groupes nominaux (28 GN pour 18 GV). Le locuteur qui dit « je » est un médecin qui s'adresse à un ensemble de destinataires « ses collègues » qu'il englobe dans le « on » (« qu'on ne l'imagine ») et qu'il prend à témoin de ses hypothèses :

> L'incidence de la disposition scorbutique dans la masse des humeurs peut, par succession de temps favoriser le Vice cancereux. Cette indisposition est plus fréquente qu'on ne l'imagine : elle ne se manifeste pas toujours par des symptômes ordinaires qui puissent frapper les yeux d'un Praticien. Un homme instruit saisit toutes les petites circonstances, les confronte souvent, pour les faire servir à la découverte de la maladie. Les accidens, qui la precedent, ne sont point de grande conséquence, en apparence : ce sont tantôt de légeres lassitudes ; on s'attriste sans sujet ; d'autrefois on sent une espece de pesanteur dans toute la machine individuelle, certains mouvemens spasmodiques, à la vérité fort éloigné ; la tête, de temps à autre, devient légerement lourde ; le plus petit mouvement fatigue les malades ; on trouve dans le poul une espece d'inégalité presque insensible. Je ne parle point des autres accidens qui ne se font sentir que, lorsque le vice scorbutique a fait des progrès considérables dans la masse commune humorale.
>
> (de Lisle, 1774 : 76)

Si nous reprenons les caractéristiques de cet extrait, différents traits émergent.

3.1.1. Le souci de clarté – La macrostructure

Certains procédés contribuent à cette clarté : d'une part, les marques suprasegmentales (numérotation, italiques, découpage en paragraphes, rubriques bien nettes, progression argumentative) manifestent et rappellent aux yeux du lecteur le plan dont les qualités sont un élément important dans l'appréciation d'un exposé ; d'autre part, la ponctuation qui hiérarchise pertinemment les points, les deux points et les points-virgules, les ligatures et donne un découpage de la phrase en propositions subordonnées nettement segmentées. Elle répond à un souci d'éviter les équivoques, à un impératif de clarté (Grimarest, 1707 : 44). Le très grand nombre de ligatures (perluètes) à la place de la conjonction de coordination « et », atteste ce besoin de segmenter et d'ordonner la pensée :

> Il est très-essentiel de sçavoir auparavant la différence qu'il y a entre le squirre et le Cancer ; &, pour connoître parfaitement leur nature, il est très-nécessaire de rechercher avec soin leurs causes & les symptômes qui les distinguent.
>
> (de Lisle, 1774 : 9)

Ce qui caractérise en définitive le texte scientifique médical et didactique, sur le plan formel, c'est la précision et la sobriété. Il se présente davantage comme un plan de cours que comme un traité philosophique. L'auteur témoigne d'un souci de développer une compétence solide dans le domaine abordé et présente des liens clairs et solides entre la science médicale et le phénomène étudié, l'exploitation pertinente des cas observés. En évitant l'équivoque dans l'expression, les agréments accessoires, le savant se construit un *ethos* de l'homme modeste, discret, même dans la polémique ou dans la critique qu'il n'ignore pas lorsqu'il rejette les hypothèses et fausses croyances des autres médecins ou charlatans.

3.1.2. Le rôle du « on »

Le pronom « on » est d'un emploi constant dans le texte. La place complexe du pronom « on », illusionniste, insaisissable pour F. Atlani (1984) qui constate : *« Les grammairiens l'ont classé, le linguiste l'interprète et « on » se dérobe. »*

Dans le *Traité* de Dupré de Lisle, « on » pronom de l'élasticité référentielle renvoie à l'ensemble de la communauté médicale : lui et les autres médecins, groupe dans lequel il s'intègre. Le pronom est associé à des verbes comme « trouver », « voir », « appeler », « observer », « distinguer », « pouvoir +infinitif » (périphrase verbale).

> On voit quelquefois des Cancers qui contractent des duretés inégales, rondes, livides & douloureuses.
>
> (1774 : 18)

> Lorsqu'on les incise, on y trouve
>
> (*Ibidem* : 38)
>
> On ne peut point disconvenir que ces enveloppes nerveuses ne puissent se gonfler.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 41)

> D'où on peut inférer, avec quelque fondement, que le Vice Cancereux tend continuellement à changer la structure des parties.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 88)

De ce fait, le pronom « on » prend bien ici une valeur d'agent vérificateur comme le dit A. Berendonner (1981 : 45-46) :

> Il s'agit pour moi d'un signifié susceptible de renvoyer déictiquement à n'importe quel ensemble d'individus parlants, de manière parfaitement indéterminée. Il s'ensuit que ce On sera souvent compris, contrastivement, comme renvoyant à une autre instance de parole que celle qui est responsable de l'actualisation de l'énoncé ; mais ceci n'est nullement nécessaire : On peut inclure, aussi bien que ne pas inclure, le locuteur,

> et/ou le destinataire, et ceci reste affaire de conjecture : les contours de l'opinion publique sont toujours moins nets que ceux des individus.

Le « on » occupe dans le texte de Dupré de Lisle une valeur d'appel au consensus sur l'ensemble des connaissances sur le cancer que le « groupe » de spécialistes assume en commun, sans pour autant chercher à s'en extraire.

3.1.3. Les tournures impersonnelles et les présentatifs

L'emploi des impersonnels et des présentatifs est une stratégie d'écriture fréquente dans le texte scientifique qui aspire à l'objectivité. De plus, en décrivant la maladie, on réalise un type de discours dont le sujet d'énonciation est absent. On retrouve donc beaucoup de verbes de type introductif tels que « il y a », « il faut », « il s'agit », « il est impossible », « il n'est pas possible », « il n'est pas difficile de comprendre ». Ce sont aussi des verbes personnels qui fonctionnent comme pivots verbaux dans des constructions impersonnelles : « il suffit », « il existe ». Le pronom impersonnel « il » est là dans un fonctionnement syntaxique qui s'adapte bien au caractère didactique comme le souligne P. Le Goffic (1993 : 146-147) :

> Le pronom « il » impersonnel (non anaphorique) est sujet en tant que donneur de marques (le verbe se met à la 3e personne du singulier) : il manifeste le caractère nécessaire et contraignant de la structure formelle sujet-verbe.
> « Il » est sémantiquement vide et ne peut avoir par lui-même valeur d'actant ; on peut le comprendre comme un renvoi vague à la situation, dans toute sa généralité, avec valeur de « thème zéro » : c'est le point de départ le plus faible » dont l'emploi répond à une nécessité du type : « il faut bien commencer par quelque chose ».

Nous en comprenons l'intérêt qui est de comporter une valeur de vérité ajoutée à l'argumentation. La « sobriété » énonciative est une méthode qui sert la persuasion. Il suggère une transposition de l'assentiment général. La crédibilité du discours est augmentée. L'auteur s'efface derrière la formulation où ce qui importe c'est ce qui est dit sur l'univers. On a là une clé de l'écriture scientifique, technique qui ne laisse pas trop de place à l'expression subjective. Ce qui compte c'est le remplissage lexical de la séquence par le groupe nominal et ses expansions, postposé à la construction impersonnelle, comme l'attestent ces exemples.

> Il est très-essentiel de sçavoir auparavant la différence qu'il y a entre le squirre et le Cancer ; &, pour connoître parfaitement leur nature, il est très-nécessaire de rechercher avec soin leurs causes & les symptômes qui les distinguent.
>
> (de Lisle, 1774 : 9)

> Dans toute l'habitude du corps il doit se faire constamment des sécrétions au moyen des follecules que Malpighi appelle glandes.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 31)

> Il peut se former une especе de verrue sur la peau qui peut dégénérer en Cancer.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 28)

> Il y a certains porreaux qui se forment à la langue ou aux levres.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 21)

> Il n'est point étonnant qu'elles soient plus communes dans les mamelles, dans la matrice et dans le foie.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 12)

3.1.4. Le présent de l'indicatif

Dans ce contexte très descriptif où un état des connaissances sur le cancer est dressé, le présent de l'indicatif est d'un emploi constant dans le *Traité sur le Vice cancereux*. C'est le temps lié aux assertions à portée universelle : présent de propriété et d'état, présent descriptif ; le temps du discours didactique, du texte définitoire (Riegel, 1994) (Serbat, 1980, 1988). Sur ce point le présent n'a aucune valeur temporelle. Fondé sur des termes génériques comme « les tumeurs », « l'individu », « la lymphe », il sert à exposer un descriptif des mécanismes de la tumeur donnés comme scientifiquement décrits et répertoriés, à valeur générale et par conséquent incontestables :

> Les tumeurs, qui naissent dans quelque partie de l'individu, sont sanguines ou lymphatiques. Les sanguines se produisent comunément par fluxionx ; elles prennent encore différentes dénominations, par rapport à leur cause ; comme elles importent peu à mon sujet, je les passerai sous silence. Les tumeurs lymphatiques sont occasionnées, pour l'ordinaire, par congestion, c'est-à-dire, qu'elles ne se forment que d'une manière presque insensible, par rapport à la lenteur & à l'épaississement de la lymphe.
>
> (de Lisle 1774 : 10)

3.1.5. Les nominalisations

Un autre aspect fréquent du texte didactique et scientifique est l'emploi du style appelé substantif qui se caractérise par l'abondance des constructions nominales. Le nom est en effet d'un usage très souple. C'est un trait vérifié du discours scientifique (Banks, 2008, 2010 et Ormrod, 2008). Il occupe des positions variables et utiles dans la phrase : il peut être sujet, objet, complément de relation, apposition, complément circonstanciel (avec un jeu de prépositions, de locutions prépositives). Sériot (1986 : 24) a montré l'intérêt que représentaient les nominalisations pour le texte politique :

> L'énoncé nominalisé est *préconstrui*t, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'est pas pris en charge par le sujet énonciateur, mais se trouve comme un objet du monde « déjà là », préexistant au discours, qui va servir à instancier une place dans la relation : ses conditions de production ont été *effacées*.

Il peut s'agir de noms abstraits. L'intérêt de la construction nominale est qu'elle permet une qualification précise et riche. Mais les inconvénients de ce style d'écriture sont perceptibles et bien connus puisqu'il ne permet pas comme le verbe d'indiquer le temps et le mode, qu'il n'admet pas toujours la négation (le préfixe négatif n'existe pas toujours et le préfixe « non » n'est pas très élégant comme « non-comparution »),

que certaines circonstances sont difficilement rapportées à un nom et que l'abus des noms abstraits, par exemple, conduit à des constructions d'une grande densité qui rebutent la pensée et ne facilitent pas la compréhension. En outre, le nom abstrait chargé d'exprimer le procès demande un verbe introducteur de sémantisme dépouillé dont l'emploi obligatoire produit de la platitude et de la monotonie : être, faire, il y a, avoir.

Mais ces inconvénients se retournent dans le texte didactique et, de plus, scientifique puisque justement on veut donner des vérités à caractère universel donc « hors temps », « au-delà du temps » et que finalement le verbe importe peu. Les noms d'action suppléent au sens.

Ce style substantif convient donc bien à la langue scientifique, même contemporaine, parce que les noms se prêtent mieux que les verbes et que les adjectifs aux définitions abstraites. Ils peuvent ainsi recevoir de leurs mots accessoires des déterminations précises. Ils s'enchaînent avec une grande rigueur logique dans des phrases reflétant sous une forme ramassée une pensée complexe ; le défaut stylistique étant bien sûr l'abus de la préposition « de » et des noms en « ion ». Les scientifiques usent beaucoup du style substantif : phrase sans verbe (débarrassée des *impedimenta* de la chaîne propositionnelle), emploi des noms pour exprimer les actions, ou les qualités et ainsi aboutir à un raccourcissement de construction.

On relève ainsi, dans le texte de Dupré de Lisle, un grand nombre de noms d'action, en *–ion* comme « ulcération », « filtration », « conversion ». Ces noms permettent un inventaire plus commode des effets où les actions sont rangées sur le même plan que les états (noms en *–ie*, *-ose*). Les groupes nominaux font également apparaître un lexique de mots techniques. Au plan morphologique, ces substantifs sont construits fréquemment sur des radicaux et des affixes gréco-latins pour désigner aussi bien les noms de maladie que les parties du corps. Ce processus de création lexicale est fidèle à la tradition antique et se lit dans les découvertes modernes pour distinguer les langues scientifiques. Par ailleurs, cela se justifie par le fait que les corps simples ou les substances organiques découvertes et analysées par la science ont une existence naturelle stable que l'étymologie latine et grecque garantit en quelque sorte.

La technicité du vocabulaire consiste aussi parfois en un sens particulier donné à un mot courant comme le mot « dépravation », très constamment employé dans le Traité. Le mot est issu du latin classique *depravatio* de sens propre et figuré mais qui n'a plus qu'une valeur morale aujourd'hui de corruption, avilissement, perversion. Dans le *Traité* de Dupré de Lisle le mot « dépravation » renvoie à « tordre, contourner, rendre difforme» pour parler des parties du corps ou à « gâter, corrompre » pour l'idée de putréfaction inhérente à la tumeur cancéreuse, de pourriture.

3.2. La Posture énonciative de l'auteur et le Discours moral

Au-delà de ces caractéristiques techniques et didactiques, une particularité du texte scientifique du XVIIIe est qu'il se démarque du discours des XXe-XXIe siècles en mêlant aux développements scientifiques des considérations morales ; ce qui se lit dans

les conceptions de Dupré de Lisle sur la Science. Il associe le souci de progresser dans la connaissance du cancer et de ses causes avec la préoccupation d'être toujours utile à l'homme. En cela il est très proche du discours d'Ambroise Paré (Lozachmeur, 2013) dans son *Livre de médecine* :

> L'homme naît avec la faculté de sentir & de juger ; mais cette faculté a besoin d'être dirigée par l'étude & par les préceptes. La nature lui a caché, en quelque manière, ses secrets ; du moins elle a voulu réveiller son industrie, aiguiser son courage & ses forces. Il ne peut rien découvrir que par un travail opiniâtre, & par des expériences répétées.
>
> (de Lisle, 1774 : aiij)

3.2.1. L'abondance des termes subjectifs

Les traits de cette posture se marquent dans l'emploi d'adjectifs évaluatifs, mélioratifs ou péjoratifs associés à des degrés de comparaison (très, trop…), des mots du lexique qui disent comment une chose peut être bonne ou mauvaise (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1980). Il est ainsi question de « redoutable fléau », de « maladie dès plus redoutables », de « passions violentes », des « horreurs de cette cruelle maladie », de « foetidité insupportable », de « substance hideuse » pour qualifier le cancer, expressions dont l'intention est moralisante. Il s'inscrit, là, dans les critères du genre épidictique : *« on donne à connaître les bonnes ou mauvaises qualités du sujet que l'on traite, pour le louer ou le blâmer. »*[13] Aristote fixe le cadre de ce discours où *« la période principale est le présent, car c'est généralement sur des faits actuels que l'on prononce l'éloge ou le blâme ; mais on a souvent à rappeler le passé, ou à conjecturer l'avenir. »* (1991) Nous retrouvons ces éléments dans le Traité où nous avons un discours souvent binaire qui fait la partition entre ce qui est acceptable moralement et ce qui ne l'est pas. C'est la qualification des faits qui est primordiale sur la base de valeurs morales de pitié, de compassion et d'un vocabulaire axiologique.

Tout le texte de Dupré de Lisle témoigne du souci de lutter contre la maladie et de prévenir en recherchant les causes qui sont autant de moyens de combattre le mal. De fait, le vocabulaire de l'ordre moral, du bien, du mal, est très prégnant. Par exemple, l'auteur dénonce les comportements susceptibles de déclencher le cancer.

Ce qui est remarquable dans ce texte très technique c'est donc bien l'abondance des termes subjectifs que Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1980) a classifiés : les adjectifs subjectifs (« heureux », « vaste », « sage »), les noms subjectifs, (« folie », « dupe », « soulagement »), les verbes et adverbes subjectifs (modalité négative, « prescrire », « malheureusement », « désirons »).

> Les Sciences sont un champ immense, & malheureusement pour nous nos esprits sont bornés : delà vient que, ne pouvant parcourir qu'un petit coin d'un vaste terrein, & ayant la folie de le vouloir mesurer tout entier, nous devenons la dupe de notre amour-propre. Heureux l'homme qui est assez sage pour se contenir dans les bornes que lui prescrivent son génie, ses talents & sa condition.
>
> (de Lisle, 1774 : vj)

> Trop heureux si nous pouvons faire quelque découverte utile, & plus heureux encore si ces découvertes contribuent, autant que nous le désirons, au soulagement de nos semblables.
>
> (*Ibidem* : ix)

L'auteur évoque ainsi une *« maladie des plus redoutables qui puisse le plus intéresser l'humanité. »* (*Ibidem* : xiv)

3.2.2. L'homme de sciences

Dupré de Lisle, en tant que médecin, témoigne de son projet scientifique, tout en exprimant ses positions personnelles subjectives : il souhaite « remédier », apporter des solutions.

> Je me rappelle avoir été consulté, il y a quelques années, pour une femme qui avoit, depuis douze ans, une tumeur à la mamelle gauche : jusques-là elle ne lui avoit pas causé le plus petit accident : elle s'étoit toujours bien trouvée des avis que lui donnoit son chirurgien ; mais épouvantée & fort sollicitée par des personnes enthousiasmées des remèdes empiriques, elle alla consulter un Charlatan qu'on disoit guérir de toutes les maladies. Cet homme lui fit prendre beaucoup de remedes, & lui appliqua des topiques sur la petite tumeur squirreuse. Le Squirre, fatigué par ces remedes impertinemment appliqués, dégénéra en cancer, &occasionna tous les accidens fâcheux qui accompagnent communément le Cancer manifeste, & qui se terminerent qu'à la mort.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 102)

Il ne propose pas d'évaluations chiffrées qui seraient plus scientifiques et se contente d'une évaluation hyperbolique certes, mais vague : comment mesurer la portée des mots « considérable », « facile », « fâcheux », « impertinemment appliqué », « insupportable », « intarissable » « véhément » « baveuses » ? Le texte parle par lui-même. L'auteur trouve des accents sincères pour déplorer les ravages de la maladie. C'est la voix de la morale :

> Je m'efforcerai de démontrer la fausseté de toutes ces opinions : elles ne sont fondées que sur des conjectures apparentes qu'on regarde comme des principes certains, quand on ne sent point la distance immense qu'il y a souvent entre le Vrai & le Vraisemblable.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 2)

Cette description du cancer se fait avec des qualificatifs qui supposent une évaluation en termes axiologiques bons/mauvais. Parfois comme dans l'exemple qui suit, les descriptions de Dupré de Lisle sont très proches des analyses contemporaines : le rôle du stress dans la maladie ou de l'abus de l'alcool. Il explique la maladie avec des termes techniques mais en même temps il y mêle des considérations morales sur l'évaluation des effets ressentis, les comportements contraires à la norme : abus, trop grand usage du vin[14].

> Les personnes sensibles, qui s'affectent de tout, ou qui restent long-temps affectés de ce qui leur arrive, qui se livrent à des passions violentes, ou à trop grand usage du vin ou des liqueurs spiritueuses, à des exercices outrés qui éprouvent des effets d'un froid subit, ou des chaleurs excessives, s'exposent à la longue à des maladies chroniques.
>
> (*Ibidem* : 75)

Ainsi, outre le souci didactique dominant, Dupré de Lisle se met en scène en tant que locuteur/spécialiste en employant « on » pour décrire ses tentatives de soigner les patients, consterné par la souffrance, les ravages de la maladie et cela, sans donner les limites chiffrées de taille de la tumeur, par exemple. Tout est laissé à l'appréciation de l'interlocuteur qui doit construire un référent derrière ses descriptions. Les modalités appréciatives sont très fortes et expriment des positions discursives variées. Il use de grandes nuances dans le ton qui va jusqu'à l'indignation quand il dénonce les pratiques de certains charlatans.

Ici, l'*ethos*, image de sa propre personne que l'auteur construit pour renforcer sa crédibilité, entre en jeu avec la mise en scène du « je », élément important du discours épidictique : pour être crédible, il doit établir un mouvement de sympathie vers l'auditoire, engager sa légitimité, présenter sa parole comme authentique et sérieuse, montrer combien il s'implique. Amossy (2014 : 21) rappelle le fonctionnement de cet éthos :

> C'est seulement quand on prend en compte l'acte de s'approprier la langue pour communiquer avec l'autre, à savoir le plan de l'énonciation, qu'on peut penser la construction discursive d'une image du « je » à l'intention d'un « tu » ou d'un « vous ». Cet exercice s'effectue au gré d'un jeu spéculaire qu'a bien mis en évidence Michel Pêcheux (1969), et que lui emprunte la linguistique de l'énonciation telle qu'élaborée par Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1980) : l'émetteur (ou locuteur) A se fait une image de lui-même et de son interlocuteur B ; réciproquement B se fait une image de A et de lui-même. C'est dans cette interdépendance que se met en place l'éthos comme image de soi construite dans le discours.

Dans cet exemple, Dupré de Lisle se construit une image de scientifique mesuré, sérieux, confrontant les points de vue à l'intention de ses confrères médecins qui en attendent un discours conforme à leur code professionnel :

> J'ai déjà rapporté comment on avait défini le Cancer : cette définition ne paroît point des plus exactes, ainsi qu'il est aisé de le démontrer par les expériences anatomiques & par la seule structure de la tumeur chancreuse, comme l'a très-bien remarqué le Docteur Deshaies Gendron.
>
> (de Lisle, 1774 : 8)

3.2.3. Le discours moral

Les termes moraux se mêlent donc constamment au vocabulaire scientifique et didactique. On peut remarquer que des mots du lexique moral sont transposés dans la

langue médicale, comme « malignité » ou « dépravation » traités plus haut. Dès l'ouverture du traité, dans son épître au comte de Provence, il insiste sur les concepts moraux de vertu et d'honneur qui président à son entreprise : *« les Princes qui ont le plus honoré l'humanité par leurs vertus, ont toujours regardé les Sciences comme le plus ferme appui des trônes, et le garant le plus sûr de la fidélité des peuples ».*

Dupré de Lisle valorise *« les Sciences, appui des trônes »*, ainsi que l'amour du travail, tout ce qui peut *« étendre les idées, élever l'âme, donner de l'éclat aux actions. »* En médecin au service des hommes, comme il se présente, il qualifie donc le *« vice cancéreux »* de *« maladie des plus redoutables »* avec la force du superlatif. Son objectif est explicite lorsqu'il le présente au comte de Provence : *« Puisse ce foible essai être aussi utile à l'humanité que vous êtes cher par l'assemblage des vertus les plus héroïques. »*

C'est pour répondre à cet objectif moral qu'il se présente comme un homme de science soucieux d'exercer sa profession dans la rigueur et la vérité :

> Quiconque veut s'assurer de la vérité, doit non seulement observer la marche de la nature, mais encore analyser ses effets, les confronter souvent les uns les autres. C'est le seul moyen de tirer des conséquences justes des principes, & de former un plan de doctrine sûr & invariable. C'est aussi par-là qu'un Médecin éclairé, observateur réfléchi, pourra juger de la différence des maladies & des symptômes qui les caractérisent.
>
> (*Ibidem* : ix)

Conclusion

Ce qui ressort de la lecture analytique du *Traité* de Dupré de Lisle dans un premier temps, c'est la structure syntaxique et énonciative du discours avec ses deux pôles : l'abondance des marques subjectives d'une part et d'autre part les marques du discours scientifique que sont les constructions impersonnelles, présentatives, le présent générique, les articles définis génériques, l'emploi des nominalisations. Ces observations ouvrent à la construction d'un modèle du traité médical et au-delà d'un genre discursif du texte scientifique, bien défini par des règles d'écritures.

Ainsi dans le « discours préliminaire » de l'auteur qui donne le ton à l'ouvrage : « La nature a caché à l'homme ses secrets. L'homme ne peut rien découvrir que par un travail opiniâtre et par ses expériences répétées. »

Nous avons pu remarquer qu'outre la posture didactique et technique qui sied à l'homme de science et qui accumule les détails informatifs stricts, l'affectivité et la subjectivité ne sont pas absentes. En effet, les considérations morales ne sont pas ignorées et derrière le discours médical précis qui rend compte de l'expérience se devine le cursus d'un homme du XVIIIe réceptif à l'harmonie de la langue et à la recherche d'effets stylistiques. En témoigne l'abondance des figures dans les descriptions. Cette approche de la maladie associant les aspects humains et médicaux préfigure les tendances d'une médecine cancérologique contemporaine soucieuse de la qualité de vie des patients (Colombat, 2015 ; Seizeur, Lozachmeur, 2015).

NOTES

[1] CGO : Cancéropôle Grand Ouest, Ensemble d'instituts de recherche et d'hospitalisation dédiés à la recherche comportant un réseau d'axes dont l'Axe Sciences humaines et sociales date de 2008.

[2] Mes remerciements vont à Sonia Branca pour nos échanges sur cette thématique.

[3] G. Rolland-Lozachmeur, *« Étude de linguistique diachronique. Le manuscrit de Deslongchamps, la langue et le style des sciences et des techniques*, Centre des correspondances (à paraître).

[4] L'exemplaire, utilisé ici, appartenait à l'École de Médecine navale de Brest (R 7181) et se trouve conservé par le Service Historique de la Défense à Brest. D'autres exemplaires sont identifiés dans les bibliothèques françaises.

[5] Chlorose : nom donné autrefois à l'anémie par carence en fer, caractérisée notamment par la pâleur verdâtre des téguments et frappant particulièrement les jeunes filles.

[6] B. Peyrilhe, 1774 (latin), 1776 (français), *Dissertation académique sur le cancer*, Paris, Rouault, cité par Rouëssé (2011).

[7] Kant, 1798, *Le Conflit des Facultés*.

[8] a) *Les cancers en France en 2014. L'essentiel des faits et chiffres*, Paris, Publication de l'INCa, e-cancer.fr.

b) Nathalie Vongmany, Philippe Jean-Bousquet, *Les cancers en France-les données*, édition 2014, janvier 2015, Publication de l'INCa.

c) N. Clement-Hryniewicz, E. Paillaud, 2008, *Quand le mot cancer fait trauma - Réflexions autour de l'annonce diagnostique de cancer* (When the word cancer invokes fear Reflections on a cancer diagnosis), Paris, Springer Psycho-Oncologie.

d) L. Dany, T. Apostolidis, P. Cannone, E. Suarez-Diaz, F. Filipetto, 2009, *Image corporelle et cancer : une analyse psychosociale* (Body image and cancer: a psychosocial analysis), Paris, Springer-Verlag.

e) F. Soum-Pouyalet, A. Vega, F. Cousson-Gélie, 2009, *Le « moral » en cancérologie Stratégies et discours des soignants dans l'accompagnement des malades* (Mental well-being in oncology, caregivers' strategies and discourses), Paris, Springer-Verlag.

f) E. Marx, M. Reich, 2009, *Croyances, idées reçues et représentations de la maladie cancéreuse*, Paris, Springer-Verlag.

g) M.-F. Bacqué, 2009, *Un catalogue d'idées reçues sur le cancer*, Paris, Springer-Verlag.

[9] *Le journal de médecine, chirurgie et pharmacie au XVIIIe siècle* en 88 volumes (École de Santé de Brest), Françoise Veillet, Thèse en cours « Discours du médecin et représentations de la maladie du cancer dans les traités latins et français du fonds et des archives de l'École de santé maritime de Brest (XVIIIe - XIXe siècles).

[10] a) P. Rouby & S. Dauchy, 2007, *Cancer du sein : aspects psycho-oncologiques*, In : J. P. Brettes, C. Mathelin, B. Gairard & J. P. Bellocq (éds.), *Le cancer du sein*, Paris, Masson. pp. 337-341.

b) Sarah Dauchy, 2004, *Retentissement psychologique du cancer du sein chez la femme jeune* (Psychosocial impact of breast cancer in young woman), Paris, La lettre du sénologue n°24 avril-mai-juin.

c) Ayca Gucalp, Gaorav P. Gupta, Melissa L. Pilewskie, Elizabeth J. Sutton and Larry Norton, 2014*, Advances in managing breast cancer: a clinical update*, F1000 Prime Reports 2014, 6:66, <http://f1000.com/prime/reports/m/6/66>.

d) Mustafa M, Carson-Stevens A, Gillespie D, Edwards AGK, *Psychological interventions for women with metastatic breastcancer*, 2013, In : *Psychological interventions for women with metastatic breast cancer* (Review), *The Cochrane Collaboration*, Published by JohnWiley & Sons, Ltd.

e) Tish Knobf, 2011, *Clinical update : psychosocial responses in breast cancer survivors*, Seminars in oncology Nursing, vol. 27, n° 3, Paris, Elsevier.

f) Catherine Hill, 2014, *Dépistage du cancer du sein*, Elsevier Masson. (en ligne sur / on line on <www.em-consulte.com/revue/lpm www.sciencedirect.com 501 Mise au point Key points Breast cancer screening Breast cancer)

g) Hervé Mignotte, 2011, *Maladie du sein*, Paris, Elsevier Masson.

[11] C. L. Dumas, 1807, *Éloge de Henri Fouquet*, Montpellier, cité par Foucault (1963).

[12] Alkalescence : de « alkali » du mot arabe « al qaly », la soude pour désigner la cendre des plantes marines, ici dans un sens pharmaceutique.

[13] Gibert (1730), *La Rhétorique ou les Règles de l'éloquence*, cité par Joëlle Gardes Tamine, *La Rhétorique*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1996.

[14] a) D. Servan-Schreiber, 2007.
b) M. Bridou, C. Aguerre, 2010, *Spécificités, déterminants et impacts de l'anxiété liée au cancer : revue de question des apports de l'approche cognitivo-comportementale* (Specificities, causes and consequences of cancer anxiety: a review of behavioural and cognitive approach contributions), Paris, Springer-Verlag France.

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Enseigner le français technique à de futurs ingénieurs : problématique et mise en œuvre

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ABSTRACT: Teaching Technical French for future engineers: Issues and Implementation

In the preparation of our lecture of technical French for engineers, we strongly need resources in the area that interests the students. Therefore, we choose the most demanded areas by the majority of students: electrical engineering, energy, aerospace, computer science applied in engineering, the engineering of environmental protection in the industry. For the selection of proposed texts we have at our disposal many technical manuals, scientific articles, sites and specialized press in the area concerned. But our role is not only to develop an attractive and interesting course, we must also help students overcome feelings of linguistic insecurity that manifests itself in most cases in early learning (students wonder if they can take the course to the end). Our mission is to encourage students showing them the benefits they may have at the end of this training (grants in France, a better job, promotion prospects). Classroom communication must be made in French and not in Romanian. Although at first the students have difficulty communicating in French and we must help them to formulate their sentences later, after many years, they will make clear progress. Finally, we must not forget that to communicate in a foreign language, we need to understand the culture of that language. The intercultural aspect will certainly be present among the activities we offer students.

KEYWORDS: *French, engineer, technique, science, education*

1. Introduction

Le cursus pour l'obtention du diplôme d'ingénieur en ingénierie électrique requiert quatre années d'études, la première année constituant le tronc commun et les trois dernières étant consacrées à la spécialisation. Quant au module de français, il figure lors des deux premières années, avec deux heures par semaine. Il est désigné dans l'emploi du temps sous l'appellation « Langue étrangère », les étudiants ayant le choix entre le français et l'anglais. Dans l'élaboration de notre cours de français technique pour les ingénieurs, nous avons vivement besoin de ressources dans le domaine qui intéresse les étudiants. C'est pourquoi, nous choisissons les domaines les plus demandés par la majorité des étudiants: ingénierie électrique, énergétique, aérospatiale, informatique appliquée dans l'ingénierie, l'ingénierie de la protection de l'environnement dans l'industrie. Pour le choix des textes proposés nous avons à notre disposition de nombreux manuels techniques, des articles scientifiques, des sites et la presse spécialisée dans le domaine concerné.

2. La langue spécialisée

Ce qui caractérise le plus une langue spécialisée, c'est d'abord son utilisation dans une situation ou un contexte professionnel, c'est-à-dire entre deux spécialistes d'un domaine particulier. Par exemple dans un atelier de mécanique où deux ingénieurs mécaniciens discutent de la reprogrammation de la cartographie moteur.

D'après le modèle saussurien, la langue se subdivise en trois sous-systèmes dont chacun a ses spécificités et ses usages. Le premier sous-système est la langue usuelle, c'est-à-dire la langue générale, courante, commune, que chacun peut comprendre. Le deuxième sous-système fait référence à la langue poétique ou littéraire. Et enfin, le troisième et dernier sous-système est la langue spécialisée.

Si les étudiants ont du mal à comprendre et à s'exprimer en français général, nous pensons qu'il serait aussi fort probable qu'ils n'arrivent pas à comprendre, ni à produire une langue spécialisée qui dans bien des cas est plus difficile que la langue générale. La langue spécialisée, interpelle différentes ressources propres à la langue usuelle, comme les articles, les déterminants, les adverbes et les verbes (un lexique usuel compris par les non-initiés). En effet, dans la pratique de la langue spécialisée, le *noyau dur* de la langue générale est conservé, ce sont les dénominations et les termes qui changent suivant les domaines et les champs de l'activité humaine.

Ce n'est que le vocabulaire qui fait que l'usage de la langue soit particulier à un domaine puisque les règles syntaxiques et morphologiques, employées par un spécialiste sont issues de la langue générale. En d'autres termes, un astrophysicien pour communiquer une information spécialisée utilisera la même syntaxe qu'un individu parlant d'un fait divers, la différence réside uniquement dans le lexique qui est spécifique au domaine de l'astrophysique.

La langue spécialisée ne se limite pas simplement au vocabulaire, bien au contraire, elle s'étend à la phrase et même au texte, elle englobe les usages discursifs et surtout des aspects morphosyntaxiques, ainsi qu'une grammaire textuelle propre aux textes spécialisés. L'usage de la langue dans un domaine précis sera donc marqué par des tournures syntaxiques récurrentes, par des structures textuelles marquantes contribuant fortement en plus des termes spécialisés à sa démarcation et à son uniformité.

3. Le français scientifique et le français technique

Les dénominations *français scientifique* et *français technique* ne sont pas dénuées de sens puisque chacune est porteuse de significations. Pour permettre une distinction entre le scientifique et le technique, ou plus encore, entre le technique et le technologique, on pourrait se référer à la vision de Guilbert, pour qui la langue scientifique est employée par des locuteurs homogènes dans une sphère distincte et dont la principale forme d'expression est l'écrit. Le français scientifique est beaucoup plus employé par des hommes de sciences caractérisés par une formation et une démarche académiques et qui produisent souvent des textes scientifiques comme des articles, des actes de colloque ou des thèses. Contrairement au français technique qui est plus utilisé dans des sphères beaucoup plus pratiques, par des locuteurs hétérogènes n'ayant pas le degré de

spécialisation des scientifiques et produisant un langage beaucoup plus axé sur l'oral et sur les aspects pratiques et fonctionnels.

En plus des signes linguistiques que l'on retrouve dans toute langue, le technolecte se caractérise aussi par des signes extralinguistiques. L'intérêt des unités brachygraphiques est l'économie et la réduction du discours pour communiquer l'information le plus rapidement et le plus efficacement possible. Ainsi dans les unités brachygraphiques nous pouvons distinguer ce qu'a appelé Kocourek les unités brachygraphiques idéologiques, qui sont constituées à la fois de symboles spéciaux et des chiffres (unités numériques), comme les symboles mathématiques, les lettres grecques, les formules chimiques (lettre + chiffre).

Le technolecte n'est pas une langue à part, parce que les spécialistes d'un domaine spécifique utilisent les mêmes règles syntaxiques qu'un individu parlant de faits divers par exemple. Toutefois, il existe quelques structures syntaxiques récurrentes que l'on retrouve beaucoup plus que d'autres. Ces tournures syntaxiques fréquemment employées dans le discours des sciences servent plus à économiser le discours, les énoncés et à communiquer l'information objectivement et de manière rigoureuse.

Il est peu fréquent de retrouver dans la communication scientifique les deuxièmes personnes du pluriel et du singulier *tu* et *vous*. La plupart des phrases des textes scientifiques sont construites à l'aide du *on* du *il,* du *nous,* et parfois aussi du *je.* Globalement, l'utilisation du *je* se limite à des situations de communication informelles ou qui s'éloigne des propos scientifiques.

Le locuteur parlant d'un domaine spécifique, utilisera le *nous* pour deux raisons. Premièrement pour garder un certain recul et une distance vis-à-vis de ses propos (le *nous* de modestie), mais aussi pour inclure le destinataire dans l'action qu'il va mener. La même chose est valable pour le pronom *on* qui est utilisé tout comme le *nous* dans un but de modestie et pour introduire le destinataire (*on de modestie et on inclusif)* Ces deux pronoms personnels sont souvent associés aux verbes d'auteur, comme *aborder, admettre, ajouter, s'apercevoir, chercher à, conclure, constater, définir, déterminer, dire, estimer, induire, montrer, noter, présenter, remarquer, supposer, traiter, trouver, vérifier, voir.* La seule différence entre le *nous* et le *on* réside dans le sens, puisque *on* est beaucoup moins personnel alors que le *nous* ne s'emploie que comme sujet.

L'usage du pronom impersonnel *il* dans les textes technoscientifiques, n'est pas très différent de celui de la langue courante, toutefois les expressions qui le suivent généralement sont spécifiques au technolecte : *il est clair que, il est évident que, il convient de, il est impossible, il est indispensable, il est nécessaire.* À l'exception des pronoms déictiques *on, nous* et *il,* les textes scientifiques ne comportent que des pronoms anaphoriques qui généralement sont des pronoms des troisièmes personnes du singulier et du pluriel *il(s), elle(s), le, la, lui, eux, les, leur.* Ces mêmes pronoms servent aussi à établir des liens entre les propositions des phrases. Nous pouvons donc constater que l'utilisation massive des pronoms *nous, on* et *il*, montre à quel point le style syntaxique du technolecte s'appuie sur la forme impersonnelle, et ce, dans un but de neutralité et de rigueur dans le discours.

On constate dans les textes scientifiques la présence de plusieurs temps verbaux, comme le conditionnel servant à exprimer une hypothèse, le futur simple présent dans les introductions, le passé composé que l'on retrouve généralement dans les conclusions, ou encore l'impératif qui sert à formuler une injonction, ou à introduire tacitement le destinataire dans son discours, surtout avec des verbes comme : *notons, remarquons, (*comme c'est le cas aussi pour les pronoms inclusifs *nous* et *on*).

Toutefois, le présent de l'indicatif reste le temps verbal le plus utilisé dans les discours scientifiques. Kocourek annonce que 85% des verbes dans les corpus de textes scientifiques qu'il a étudiés sont conjugués au présent de l'indicatif, alors que 10% sont réservés au passé composé et au futur et le reste est réparti entre différents temps et modes. De plus, les verbes conjugués au présent de l'indicatif dans le discours technoscientifique acquièrent un point de vue aspectuel plutôt que temporel selon Phal, c'est-à-dire que les verbes prennent une valeur permanente et générale. On constate aussi dans les textes scientifiques, la présence de quelques phrases interrogatives servant parfois à introduire une explication possible suggérée ainsi que quelques propositions infinitives injonctives comme dans les notices et les manuels d'utilisation. Cependant, ce sont les phrases déclaratives qui sont prédominantes dans le discours des sciences, elles contribuent largement à la fonction référentielle et à l'objectivité, tout comme le passif qui met en relief les choses étudiées ainsi que le résultat obtenu et masque encore plus l'auteur, c'est pour cela d'ailleurs qu'il est souvent lié à l'impersonnalité.

Le style des textes scientifiques se caractérise aussi par une complexité au niveau de la syntaxe. La plupart des phrases relevant du technolecte sont très chargées, elles sont majoritairement complexes et comportent relativement plus de deux subordonnées et plus de 25 mots, c'est la raison pour laquelle on retrouve beaucoup de conjonctions, de déterminants et de pronoms relatifs.

Ainsi, plus l'information est complète et plus la phrase sera longue et complexe, cela donne ce qu'a appelé Kocourek *la condensation syntaxique* qui regroupe le maximum d'informations et concentre les énoncés en une seule phrase complexe. Pour que la condensation syntaxique puisse se réaliser, les locuteurs d'un domaine spécifique, notamment des sciences dures, emploient quelques procédés syntaxiques et lexicaux tels que : la transformation lexicale qui consiste à remplacer une phrase par un seul mot équivalant, on appelle généralement ces procédés *nominalisation, adjectivation* et *pronominalisation*. Les procédés de formation lexicale, comme la dérivation et la composition ainsi que l'affixation sont utilisés très fréquemment. La réduction des phrases par l'ellipse et par l'utilisation de propositions infinitives, ainsi que la voix passive se retrouvent dans le technolecte.

Le technolecte englobe trois catégories de classes lexicales, le lexique usuel et courant de la langue générale, le lexique général des sciences qui fait référence à des termes souvent employés dans des domaines scientifiques (verbes, adjectifs et substantifs) et finalement le lexique spécialisé, propre à un domaine précis. Tout comme la langue générale, les classes lexicales technolectales sont toutes aussi variées, on retrouve ainsi : la classe nominale qui est de loin la catégorie lexicale la plus prisée dans le discours des sciences, elle regroupe des substantifs et des syntagmes nominaux. La

classe lexicale adjectivale qui regroupe en plus de l'adjectif, des adjectifs verbaux, tel que *pièce travaillante* et des participes adjectivés comme c'est le cas pour *pièces détachées*. La classe lexicale verbale est aussi très présente dans le discours technolectal, on peut même affirmer qu'elle se positionne dans le deuxième rang après la classe lexicale nominale. Elle regroupe les verbes et les syntagmes verbaux qu'ils soient au mode personnel ou impersonnel (participe, gérondif, infinitif). La classe lexicale adverbiale comporte des adverbes et des locutions adverbiales, toutefois quelques adverbes peuvent aussi jouer le rôle de coordonnants comme *donc, par conséquent.*

Les déterminants sont aussi présents comme dans toute langue générale et servent à la construction de discours. Les coordonnants servant à organiser les textes et à établir une cohérence englobent les conjonctions de coordination, les locutions conjonctives et les conjonctions et locutions de subordination. Enfin, la classe lexicale prépositive comporte des prépositions et des locutions prépositives, comme les prépositions et les locutions pré-infinitives qui sont les plus fréquentes et qui précèdent généralement l'infinitif, exemple : *pour, avant de.*

En dépit de cette classification lexicale, qui est pratiquement identique à celle de la langue générale, il existe une deuxième catégorisation que nous pouvons appliquer au lexique technolectal. Cette catégorisation s'applique à deux classes de termes selon leurs fonctions dans le discours. Nous appelons classe lexicale faible, les termes qui servent à préciser davantage et à mieux expliciter l'information, ils aident l'informateur à construire son énoncé, c'est le cas des prépositions, des coordonnants, des déterminants, des adverbes et de quelques adjectifs et de verbes, comme les verbes d'auteur, les auxiliaires ou les semi-auxiliaires par exemple. La catégorie lexicale faible est globalement issue de la langue générale, puisque pratiquement tous les déterminants, conjonctions et locutions adverbiales sont déchiffrables et employés par les profanes. La deuxième catégorie, qu'on appelle classe lexicale forte, comporte les substantifs ou les syntagmes nominaux, les classes lexicales verbales, adjectivales et quelques adverbes ou des locutions adverbiales. Cette catégorie lexicale, contrairement à la classe lexicale faible ne joue pas simplement le rôle de *« mots outils »*, mais englobe plutôt des termes spécifiques aux domaines, ou aux sciences dures et dont la majorité n'est pas comprise par les non-initiés.

Si le lexique usuel fait partie de la classe lexicale faible et que le lexique spécifique à un domaine s'intègre dans la classe lexicale forte, où se situe alors le lexique général des sciences ? Ou ce qu'on appelle aussi le *vocabulaire général à orientation scientifique*. Nous pouvons affirmer que le VGOS est à la fois dans les classes lexicales faibles et fortes, puisqu'il emprunte le lexique usuel, mais aussi quelques termes (substantifs, verbes, adjectifs) qui restent opaques et ambigus pour le profane, ces termes sont communs à plusieurs domaines et on les retrouve dans différentes sciences.

On a besoin d'un recensement précis et détaillé des différentes situations de communication, des structures phrastiques et des tournures syntaxiques récurrentes ainsi que du lexique fréquemment employé, dans le but d'extraire un corpus et de le modeler pour en faire un cours spécifique répondant aux besoins et aux attentes des apprenants. Cette finesse dans la mise en place des objectifs représente l'une des caractéristiques principales de l'enseignement du FOS, accompagnée de la limite du temps.

4. L'enseignement du français technique

Se contenter d'enseigner la langue uniquement (à partir du lexique, de la syntaxe, de la grammaire et de la phonétique) demeure pratiquement insuffisant pour atteindre les objectifs fixés. La culture joue assurément un rôle très important dans l'enseignement / apprentissage des langues, elle permet de mettre en évidence quelques aspects langagiers complexes qui régissent l'intercompréhension, voire la communication.

Jean Jacques Richer, distingue trois éléments culturels indissociables à un enseignement du FOS : les données socio-économiques, qui permettent de donner une vue d'ensemble ou une synthèse sur le contexte économique français ; les données anthropologiques qui englobent des conceptions du temps, de l'espace, de la hiérarchie, de l'autorité, de l'environnement, de la conversation, de l'implicite et de l'explicite puisqu'elles jouent un rôle important pour la communication au sein des entreprises et régissent l'intercompréhension dans un milieu professionnel ; les cultures d'entreprises qui montrent le fonctionnement interne des entreprises françaises et qui donnent un aperçu des relations d'égalité, de hiérarchie et de prise en compte de l'individu.

Cependant, la question que nous devrions nous poser serait : est-ce que ces aspects culturels devraient être enseignés avec le même degré d'importance que les traits linguistiques dont auraient besoin les apprenants ? Nous pensons en réalité que les contenus culturels dans les programmes de FOS pourraient être relégués au deuxième rang, car dans un contexte d'apprentissage où le temps est très limité et où les apprenants ont plus besoin de lexique, de règles de grammaire pour pouvoir comprendre et s'exprimer, les composantes linguistiques devraient prendre le pas sur les aspects culturels, du moins lors des premières séances.

L'enseignant a vu son rôle profondément changer, surtout depuis l'avènement de l'approche communicative, où il ne se considère plus comme un simple transmetteur de savoirs qui arrive en classe, dicte son cours et corrige les exercices, puis s'en va. L'enseignant dans l'approche actionnelle est devenu un médiateur, un facilitateur, qui oriente l'apprenant et lui montre la route à suivre. Bien entendu le but de l'enseignant est de faire parvenir aux apprenants ce dont ils ont besoin ou ce qu'ils sont venus chercher, de mettre à leur disposition les outils nécessaires à la tâche, il doit expliquer parfois ce que les apprenants n'ont pas compris. Mais le vrai rôle de l'enseignant réside dans le fait de pouvoir rendre l'apprenant autonome et capable de suivre lui-même son apprentissage et de pouvoir s'autoévaluer.

Les besoins langagiers regroupent trois composantes essentielles : la composante linguistique, la composante psychoaffective, et la composante socioculturelle. Lorsqu'un individu désire apprendre une langue étrangère, il ressent généralement au début des cours un sentiment d'insécurité qui le fait douter sur sa capacité à pouvoir poursuivre l'apprentissage de cette langue. L'apprenant est obligé de surmonter cette forme d'insécurité linguistique, parce qu'il est parfois contraint de suivre l'apprentissage. Toutefois, il arrive que les apprenants n'arrivent pas à surmonter ce sentiment d'insécurité linguistique et finissent par abandonner les cours de FOS. Il existe des solutions pour remédier à ce problème, surtout lors des premières séances.

L'enseignant pourrait, au début de l'apprentissage, affirmer aux apprenants leur capacité de dépasser ce début insécurisant. Pour ce faire, nous recommandons de commencer l'enseignement par des contenus qui devraient être à la fois simples et accessibles pour tous les apprenants, respecter la graduation de l'enseignement, éviter de poser des questions difficiles au début de l'enseignement, établir des relations directes avec les apprenants dans et hors la classe pour connaître de près leurs difficultés d'apprentissage, susciter constamment la motivation des apprenants, tenir compte, notamment en classe de FOS qui est souvent hétérogène, du facteur de l'âge des apprenants de leurs statuts et aussi de leurs professions.

La composante linguistique comporte trois points principaux, tout d'abord la communication en classe qui doit se faire généralement en langue étrangère même si les apprenants n'arrivent pas à comprendre. Il est vrai que lors des premières séances, les apprenants ont quelques difficultés à pouvoir comprendre les consignes émises par l'enseignant, il est important à ce moment-là de familiariser les apprenants à évoluer en classe en langue étrangère, en s'adressant aux apprenants avec une langue simple et des consignes claires et faciles à retenir.

Le deuxième point important de la composante langagière est l'écart entre la communication apprise en classe et celle de la vie réelle. En effet dans beaucoup de situations l'apprenant se sent désacclimaté avec les différents supports, car souvent ils ne sont pas adaptés aux situations de communications réelles auxquelles l'apprenant doit faire face. Les apprenants montrent un plus grand enthousiasme lorsqu'il s'agit d'étudier des situations de communication qui s'apparentent avec le contexte réel dans lequel ils évoluent. C'est pour cette raison que l'on préconise d'opter pour le choix des documents authentiques et même s'ils ne sont pas parfaitement identiques à la communication réelle, ils contribuent à mieux affronter les situations de la vie quotidienne que cela soit dans le domaine universitaire ou professionnel.

La composante socioculturelle joue un rôle à part dans l'enseignement du français technique. Comme nous l'avons signalé quelques lignes plus haut, la culture a une place plus qu'importante dans l'enseignement du FOS, car sans un arrière-plan culturel beaucoup de malentendus peuvent s'interposer et l'apprenant ne pourra pas interagir efficacement avec des interlocuteurs étrangers. De plus, la dimension socioculturelle dans l'enseignement du FOS permet aussi de rendre la mise en pratique du programme beaucoup plus authentique et contribue à son rapprochement avec les situations de la vie réelle. L'aspect socioculturel constitue certes, un besoin considérable, mais il ne faudrait pas le préférer aux autres besoins langagiers qui demeurent, selon nous, les plus urgents surtout lorsque le temps ne joue pas en la faveur de la formation.

En développant les formes de travail participatives, c'est-à-dire en favorisant et en encourageant la pratique langagière dans le cours de langue, en donnant la priorité à l'apprenant, en le mettant au centre de l'apprentissage et en minimisant les interventions de l'enseignant, en combinant le travail collectif avec des moments de travail individuel, on pourra permettre à la fois à l'apprenant d'échanger et de pratiquer la langue avec ses camarades, tout en l'aidant à pouvoir se débrouiller seul et à acquérir son autonomie.

La motivation des étudiants dépend donc fortement de la nature et des contenus des cours de langue qui leur sont proposés, de l'approche didactique et des outils linguistiques mis à leur disposition, étant donné le fait que les étudiants ont besoin de réconfort et d'encouragement. Beaucoup n'assistent pas aux cours à cause de la frustration qu'ils ont accumulée pendant les années du collège et du lycée, où l'enseignement du français n'est pas des plus plaisants. Les étudiants n'ont pas suffisamment confiance en eux et ont toujours peur que l'enseignant leur demande de prendre la parole en public ou de répondre à une question, ils souffrent d'un sentiment d'insécurité linguistique. L'enseignant de langue dans ce genre de situation doit être une source d'encouragements pour les étudiants ; un accompagnateur qui guide, supervise et motive les étudiants.

5. Conclusions

Les objectifs présentés ci-dessus sont en général combinés pendant les leçons en fonction du niveau de compétence initiale ou acquise pendant plusieurs leçons par les étudiants et en fonction de leurs besoins immédiats : la préparation d'un ouvrage scientifique, la participation à un thème de recherche par contrat, l'élaboration du projet de diplôme, la participation à une conférence programmée ou à une réunion internationale, échange d'étudiants. Ces situations éventuelles peuvent conduire aussi à un travail différencié par groupes d'étudiants.

En élaborant ses matériels didactiques le professeur doit tenir compte des besoins des étudiants, en introduisant des matériels optionnels, différenciés selon les niveaux, les aptitudes et les demandes des étudiants. L'objectif primordial est que les étudiants soient capables de consulter sans difficultés des matériels documentaires en français technique, de comprendre une communication orale courante spécialisée et de s'exprimer à un niveau minimal ou moyen compréhensible, utilisant activement la terminologie de spécialité.

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Les compétences acquises à travers l'expérience de la mobilité (le cas des étudiants kazakhs)

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ABSTRACT: The skills acquired through experience of mobility (Kazakh students case)

After signing the Bologna Declaration in 2010, Kazakhstan became the 47th member country of the Bologna process and the first Central Asian state stakeholder in the European educational space. In this context, the Ministry of Education of Kazakhstan has set guidelines for the implementation of international mobility. The Kazakh universities had to quickly implement mobility programs. At a time of globalization of economics, trade medias, culture, science, etc., academic mobility becomes both a collective enterprise of institutions with their rules and challenges but also an act of appropriation by the individual in the situation of mobility in new socio-cultural, academic language spaces etc. In this article, we analyze the experience of the first Kazakh students who went on a study abroad program in Poland and the skills acquired by the students on their return.

KEYWORDS: *mobility, intercultural competence, language proficiency, foreign, different*

I. Introduction

Après la signature de la déclaration de Bologne en 2010, le Kazakhstan est devenu le 47e pays-membre du processus de Bologne et le premier État d'Asie centrale partie prenante de l'espace européen éducatif. Dans ce cadre, le Ministère de l'éducation du Kazakhstan a fixé des directives pour la mise en œuvre d'une mobilité internationale. Les universités kazakhstanaises ont commencé à mettre en place des programmes de mobilité. À l'heure de la mondialisation des échanges économiques, médiatiques, culturels, scientifiques, etc., la mobilité académique devient à la fois une entreprise collective des institutions avec leurs règles et leurs enjeux mais aussi un acte d'appropriation par l'individu en situation de mobilité de nouveaux espaces langagiers, socioculturels, académiques, etc. Dans cet article nous analyserons les difficultés rencontrées par les divers acteurs d'une mobilité et les compétences acquises par ces premiers étudiants kazakhs partis en séjour d'études en Pologne à leur retour.

II. Cadre théorique

1. La notion de mobilité

La mobilité permet le développement d'une conscience européenne au travers d'une meilleure connaissance de l'autre par la découverte de nouvelles réalités culturelles

et sociales. Elle doit contribuer au développement d'une solidarité entre tous les Européens, et renforcer une Europe du mieux-être, qui offre à tous des possibilités pour le présent et pour l'avenir. (*Commission européenne*, 1995)

Le soutien à la mobilité est également un facteur d'encouragement de l'enrichissement des savoirs. La mobilité géographique élargit l'horizon individuel, stimule l'agilité intellectuelle, accroît la culture générale. Elle ne peut que renforcer l'aptitude à apprendre qu'il est si nécessaire de développer aujourd'hui. (*Commission européenne*, 1995) Selon V. Papatsiba, les étudiants reviennent du séjour, certainement déniaisés sur le plan personnel, ils ont pris conscience des dimensions internationales du monde contemporain, ils ont abandonné un ethnocentrisme primaire et acquis une autonomie salutaire par rapport au milieu d'origine. La plupart ont appris à s'adapter, dans le sens d' « accepter les autres comme ils sont », ont passé quelques examens en se pliant au système, ont su profiter des ressources touristiques du territoire, ont noué des amitiés internationales. Des objectifs de flexibilité opérationnelle transférables pour promouvoir l'employabilité des sujets sont atteints. Si l'on assigne au programme la mission d'insuffler les bases d'une citoyenneté européenne active par la participation à la construction d'un espace identitaire tiers, où le pluriculturel signifie plus qu'une cohabitation respectueuse, les résultats restent au-dessous des investissements. (2003 : 45)

Pendant les quelques mois passés à l'étranger, les étudiants se trouvent immergés et doivent non seulement observer, mais surtout comprendre, apprendre, agir, interagir et communiquer dans un milieu très différent du leur. Il leur faut s'adapter à un autre système et culture universitaires, faire évoluer leurs normes et repères sociaux, construire de nouveaux liens et tester la solidité des anciens, enrichir leurs références culturelles personnelles, modifier aussi l'idée qu'ils s'étaient faite jusqu'alors des rapports et des frontières entre les appartenances nationales.

Le séjour est souvent décrit sous l'angle des démarches administratives à effectuer, des cours à suivre et à valider, des visites touristiques à faire, des repères pratiques à construire dans le quotidien. En revanche, les étudiants adoptent rarement une posture réflexive sur les aspects interculturels et sur leur propre attitude face au changement du cadre de vie. Le voyage est une des pratiques susceptibles d'offrir, par la rupture avec le déjà connu et familier, un terrain pour l'étonnement et la surprise. La relation entre voyage, aventure, événement n'est pas toujours actualisée, surtout dans le contexte actuel, néanmoins elle est organique. (Papatsiba, 2003 : 71)

Le voyage d'après M. Eliade de *« s'oublier soi-même »*, c'est à faire *« suspendre la problématique d'un moment spirituel donné, de renoncer aux tropismes et aux automatismes de la vie quotidienne, de sortir de soi »*, il appartient, selon ce même auteur, *« à cette difficile catégorie de faits humains que l'on nomme aventure »*. (1989 : 97-102)

2. Le parcours de mobilité comme l'enrichissement personnel

Quelques mois passés à l'étranger c'est un profond enrichissement personnel qui a contribué à leur donner une plus grande maturité tant dans la vie quotidienne que dans leurs parcours académique. Une vie en terre étrangère, de côtoyer des personnes de mentalité différente et d'apprendre à penser autrement. Étudier ou travailler dans un pays étranger

afin de découvrir d'autres mentalités, d'autres méthodes de travail, acquérir une certaine ouverture d'esprit. Partir à l'étranger, c'est atterrir dans un monde nouveau qui diffère complètement ou partiellement de tout ce que vous avez pu connaître jusque là.

Cette mobilité institutionnalisée produit un effet structurant et conduit à une mobilisation de l'individu appelé ainsi à jouer un rôle et à exercer activement son métier d'étudiant. En d'autres termes, le séjour Erasmus réactive ou renforce la perception par l'étudiant de son rôle d'étudiant, éveille la conscience de l'implication que nécessite le fait d'étudier dans une langue et un système différents, aiguise le sentiment d'implication personnelle, voire la conscience d'être en formation.

Toutes les négociations entre soi et le monde, soi et les autres, soi et soi, sont l'indice de remaniements identitaires. Par la confrontation aux situations et aux occasions d'ouverture sur l'autrement, l'individu peut développer de nouvelles réponses, de nouveaux comportements, de nouvelles représentations qui lui donnent l'impression d'avoir changé.

La notion de mobilité recouvre des définitions et des réalités très diverses. Elle a été le plus souvent abordée sous des catégories, telles que mobilité *« éducative, professionnelle ou migratoire »*, qui reprennent en fait des catégories officielles existantes. Ces analyses ont enfermé ces publics en situation de déplacement dans des trajectoires cloisonnées et linéaires, avec un statut unique celui que les organisations politiques et les sociétés d'accueil leur ont attribué ou imposé. (Papatsiba, 2003 : 38)

Au centre de ce noyau de perceptions, qui posent comme objet de connaissance de soi et ses connexions avec le monde, se trouve l'identité culturelle ou nationale. La confrontation avec la différence, avec ce qu'on n'est pas, révèle en partie ce qu'on est. Il semble que sur le chemin de la rencontre avec les autres, on se découvre ou croit se découvrir, peu importe.

Participer au programme signifie continuer à être étudiant, à avoir un statut qui fait l'objet d'accords entre établissements et qui est accompagné d'obligations pour la validation de cette année d'études.

Cette mobilité institutionnalisée produit un effet structurant et conduit à une mobilisation de l'individu, appelé ainsi à jouer un rôle et à exercer activement son métier d'étudiant. En d'autres termes, le séjour Erasmus réactive ou renforce la perception par l'étudiant de son rôle d'étudiant, éveille la conscience de l'implication que nécessite le fait d'étudier dans une langue et un système différents, aiguise le sentiment d'implication personnelle, voire la conscience d'être en formation.

Le séjour d'études à l'étranger apparaissait comme un type d'expérience interculturelle, évoquant au premier abord une sorte de position intermédiaire entre la visite touristique et le changement de résidence.

À l'étranger on apprend et on voit autre chose que ce que l'on aurait vu chez soi. La confrontation avec un autre système d'enseignement donne lieu à des apprentissages linguistiques. En effet les étudiants découvrent la différence culturelle, et c'est cette découverte qui les enrichit tout en sollicitant les limites individuelles et le potentiel d'adaptabilité de chacun. Autrement dit, ce nouveau contexte socio culturel offre des occasions supplémentaires à l'individu pour voir ce qu'il est capable d'entreprendre, de surmonter, de résoudre. Il semble alors constituer à certains égards une des voies possibles dans le cheminement vers une meilleure connaissance de soi. Pour ces

étudiants, l'échange culturel est perçu comme une ouverture aux autres avec lesquels ils ont appris à composer au quotidien. Partager le quotidien d'étudiants de différentes nationalités donne une meilleure connaissance des cultures, des sociétés, des individus. C'est en effet en vivant en permanence dans un environnement qu'on peut se familiariser avec et donc mieux le comprendre. Le fait de se trouver dans un environnement étranger permet de développer une certaine sociabilité. En somme, comprendre que les autres existent et que les sociétés peuvent évoluer tout en étant organisées différemment, avec d'autres modes de vie et de pensée, mais aussi avec des valeurs et des sensibilités différentes, tel semble être le constat que nous pouvons dresser à la lecture des rapports qui abordent la question de la différence culturelle par le biais du relationnel. Pour ce qui concerne la catégorie des apprentissages personnels, il est possible d'en rendre compte par l'opérationnalisation du concept de perception de soi.

Le vécu prolongé dans une autre société et une autre culture éveille la conscience de ce noyau de définition individuelle, permanent mais aussi malléable, que l'on appelle identité. Il semble alors que sur le chemin de la rencontre avec les autres, on se découvre ou croit se découvrir, peu importe. Dans ce type de processus, ce qui compte, c'est l'interprétation subjective, ce que la personne croit sincèrement être devenue. Dans ces témoignages, on a l'impression que le vécu de l'étranger rompt une évidence, une certaine insouciance dans la perception identitaire, questionne la personne sur sa place, sa trajectoire et, par conséquent, sur son point de départ et ses origines. (Papatsiba, 2003 : 115-119)

L'élaboration d'une conscience civique permet, non pas la crispation identitaire attestant de manière affective la grandeur de sa nation, mais une réflexion sur les conditions d'intégration des étrangers qui vivent sur le sol français. Une fois arrivé à l'étranger, l'étudiant cherche à saisir les propriétés qui les rendent semblables et qui les différencient des autres. Cependant, la seule affirmation de la différence sans hiérarchisation, sans évaluation est une entreprise extrêmement difficile, surtout pour ces jeunes qui arrivent en pays étranger sans être préparés mentalement et affectivement à cette confrontation avec l'altérité. Indépendamment du jugement positif ou négatif contenu dans ces passages, ces descriptions offrent une vue statique de la culture étrangère et témoignent d'un regard éloigné sur le cadre étranger. Tous les individus appartenant à la culture étrangère forment un ensemble uniforme et de ce fait distinct de tout autre. Le premier mode d'appréhension de l'altérité ; les particularités culturelles des habitants, les normes et les conventions de la société d'accueil, les fêtes et enfin les styles de vie des habitants.

Repérer des différences, les catégoriser de manière complexe qui élimine les risques des stéréotypes et les préjugés, est la démarche d'un « regard » ethnologique expérimenté, mais pas une attitude spontanée de l'étudiant en séjour temporaire. Entrer en relation, établir une communication et chercher à comprendre l'autre culturellement différent signifie employer des codes linguistiques appropriés, c'est à dire utiliser la langue du pays. (Papatsiba, 2003 : 139-163)

3. La notion de compétence, compétence langagière, compétence de communication, compétence interculturelle

Selon L. Porcher (2011), une compétence est une capacité reconnue qui permet d'accomplir des actions, de résoudre des problémes, de réaliser des tâches complexes, de

comprendre et d'évaluer des situations, de prendre des décisions. Pour développer des compétences, il est bien entendu nécessaire d'avoir des connaissances dans les domaines multiples. Pour venir à bout de situations complexes, il faut non seulement maîtriser les savoirs et avoir des connaissances sur la question, mais aussi être capable de mobiliser des savoir-faire sociaux et relationnels. La compétence est la capacité de mobiliser les savoirs et les savoir-faire au bon moment pour résoudre une situation complexe (P. Perrenoud). L'approche par les compétences s'appuie sur des connaissances de tous ordres: connaissances et savoir-faire cognitifs, connaissances sociales et savoir-faire relationnels, connaissances affectives et savoir-faire émotionnel. (Porcher, 2011 : 47-48)

Quant à Mathilde Anquietil, la mobilité n'est pas seulement promesse de contacts interculturels, elle peut aussi mener à l'aliénation, au déracinement, à l'adaptation passive aux conditions modernes de la flexibilité. La mobilité comme caractéristique culturelle de la modernité affecte globalement le public étudiant de l'université contemporaine avant même toute expérience de séjour d'études à l'étranger. La mobilité amène à une remise en question existentielle, ce qui manque trop souvent aux cursus académiques. La mobilité s'introduit dans l'université comme élément critique face au savoir compartimenté en modules disciplinaires en introduisant un moment de réflexion globale sur la vie sociale. Elle place les étudiants dans cette position privilégiée d'apprentissage par le dépassement du soi, grâce au mouvement dialogique menant au recteur vers soi d'un regard informé par le contact avec l'autre.

La mobilité estudiantine, comme modalité formatrice globale est fortement encouragée par les institutions européennes. D'autre part, les universités ont pris la mesure de l'internationalisation de la société du savoir, et le processus de Bologne marque un moment essentiel pour l'université à son sommet et prend le relais sur la politique dans l'initiative d'européanisation du système d'éducation supérieure. L'échange d'étudiants fondé sur la réciprocité a été envisagé au départ comme n'apportant pas de coûts supplémentaires et n'entraînant pas de bouleversement didactique substantiel dans les systèmes nationaux. (Anquetil, 2006 : 7-10)

Une maîtrise satisfaisante de la langue peut ouvrir l'accès à la connaissance des implicites d'une culture, bien que l'acquisition des compétences linguistiques ne puisse pas faire l'économie de l'acquisition des compétences culturelles.

Les étudiants, en quittant leur environnement familier, quittent aussi leur entourage familial et amical ainsi qu'un ensemble de connaissances établies tout au long des années écoulées. La nécessité de se créer un entourage, d'interagir avec les autres, se fait alors sentir et pousse les nouveaux arrivés à rechercher de nouveaux partenaires et à créer de nouveaux réseaux de sociabilités. Le processus de création d'un réseau relationnel dans le temps comporte quelques constantes. La découverte du milieu d'accueil ne s'effectue pas sans difficultés : découvrir autre chose que l'image figée et stéréotypée avec laquelle l'apprenant est arrivé, déconstruire et reconstruire un monde au moyen de langue cible. Parler la langue dans le pays d'accueil, c'est découvrir qu'il faut intégrer tous les registres d'une langue qui n'a plus rien à voir avec la représentation d'un apprentissage fondé sur le dictionnaire et les règles fixes d'une grammaire « acceptable ». Pour l'étudiant d'échange, la découverte d'un nouvel environnement

s'accompagne souvent de la découverte simultanée de la double facette de la langue-cible, à la fois conventionnelle et très souple. Tous ces aspects de la nouvelle réalité dans laquelle l'étudiant mobile va se trouver immergé, participent au sentiment de déstabilisation. L'étudiant en séjour d'études à l'étranger découvre enfin sa triple identité linguistique : *« locuteur natif de sa langue d'origine, apprenant de la langue d'accueil et bilingue. L'étudiant mobile est en état de transition, ce qui ne se passe pas sans choc affectif. »* (Koller-Bally, 2001 : 125)

Pour les étudiants étrangers venant de «loin » trilingues, connaissent de grandes difficultés linguistiques dues à des difficultés de compréhension des codes universitaires et plus largement de leur nouvel environnement social et culturel, qui ont perturbé leur rapport au français, cette langue « aimée » et déjà enseignée. (Gohard-Radenkovic, 2006 : 1)

Quelles compétences de communication construire avec l'étudiant mobilité ? En réalité l'étudiant arrive en séjour en ayant déjà acquis un certain nombre de compétences en langue dans son pays d'origine.

Dans les séjours et voyages à l'étranger, la découverte de pays et la rencontre avec « l'autre », relève habituellement, du moins dans les premiers temps de la « relation enchantée ». Mais cette relation enchantée peut devenir très vite désenchantée. Ainsi dans les récits prédomine au début la projection égocentrique de soi : « désir de partir = désir d'évasion = désir de liberté ». « L'autre exotique » est là pour vous aider à accomplir cette quête personnelle.

Pour Elizabeth Murphy-Lejeune et Geneviève Zarate, les compétences interculturelles de mobilité désignent : *« l'ensemble des dispositions, capacités et aptitudes spécifiques qui permettent à un individu de gérer ses expériences interculturelles en situation de mobilité effective. »* (2003 : 43)

Les compétences interculturelles ne sont pas des niveaux à acquérir par rapport à une progression préconstruite et catégorisée en savoirs et savoir-faire, en raison de la complexité même de la relation à l'altérité et des effets, difficilement cernables du déplacement de soi par rapport à l'autre. Si ces descripteurs sont nécessaires à l'(auto)évaluation des compétences linguistiques acquises dans la mobilité, en vue d'établir une harmonisation des critères au niveau européen, il serait en revanche opportun d'observer une certaine prudence quant à la description des compétences qui s'élaborent dans des situations d'entre-deux linguistique et culturel. (Zarate, 2003, 2004).

Sur un marché des langues, obéissant de même aux impératifs d'un marché de l'emploi mondialisé, la tentation est grande de vouloir évaluer des compétences interculturelles, acquises dans l'expérience de la mobilité, sur le modèle d'une conception fonctionnaliste de la langue.

Pour sa part A. Gohard-Radenkovic assiste à deux tendances concernant la description, parfois l'inventaire, des compétences interculturelles, qui rendent la tâche difficile: une tendance moralisatrice et une tendance applicationnelle. De plus, les dispositifs et les moyens mis en œuvre dans les institutions pouvant l'assurer sont très hétérogènes et inégaux. On peut se demander quelles démarches sont à inventer pour assurer cette formation globale du « futur citoyen européen », qui passerait notamment par la connaissance de la langue et par la compréhension de l'autre.

4. Analyse des témoignages des étudiants à leur retour de leur séjour de mobilité en Pologne

4.1. Enquête : cadre méthodologique et corpus

Pour mener notre enquête qui s'inscrit dans une approche qualitative, nous avons choisi l'entretien semi-directif. Notre corpus est constitué de 11 étudiants qui sont âgés de 23 à 25 ans. Ce sont des étudiants de l'Université d'État Zhetysu qui ont fait leurs études pendant un semestre en Pologne. Nous avons choisi ces étudiants parce que nous avons travaillé comme responsable des relations internationales (voir plus haut) et parce que nous avons été le témoin direct des mesures qui ont été prises, de la manière dont s'est préparée la mobilité de ces étudiants, des réactions du personnel administratif, etc.

Ce séjour à l'étranger a duré un semestre et s'est déroulé à l'Université de Varsovie. Onze étudiants ont donc fait leurs études dans cette université. Cinq étudiants ont été d'accord pour participer à l'entretien. Étant nous-mêmes enseignantes-chercheuses en situation de mobilité, nous avons commencé par raconter notre propre histoire pour créer des liens de confiance et de proximité. C'était un entretien semi-directif aux questions flexibles qui a donné la possibilité à nos interlocuteurs de s'exprimer librement (Blanchet & Gotman, 2010 : 8).

Nos questions d'entretien s'intéressaient principalement à leur vécu :

- D'où vous est venue l'idée de participer à ce programme de mobilité ?
- Comment avez-vous compris la mobilité avant de partir ?
- Quelles difficultés avez-vous eues pendant la préparation de votre séjour de mobilité ?
- Comment trouvez-vous le système éducatif, universitaire en Europe (en Pologne) ?
- Qu'est-ce qui vous a plu, qu'est-ce qui vous a choqué durant votre séjour ?
- Quels obstacles ou difficultés avez-vous rencontrés ?
- Quels profits avez-vous tirés de cette expérience de mobilité ? quelles compétences avez-vous acquises pendant le séjour de mobilité ?
- Quels sont, d'après vous, les besoins des étudiants qui partent en mobilité ?

L'objectif de cette enquête est donc d'analyser, après leur séjour à l'étranger, les représentations des étudiants sur leur pays d'études, sa(ses) langue(s), sa(ses) culture(s), son(ses) système(s) éducatif(s), son(ses) peuple(s), etc., d'identifier leurs perceptions de leur expérience universitaire et quotidienne, de cerner les facteurs (bagages, parcours, expériences antérieures, stratégies élaborées sur place) qui ont pu contribuer au fait qu'ils aient bien ou mal vécu cette première expérience de mobilité.

Dans cet article nous analyserons les réponses de deux étudiants, leurs difficultés rencontrées et les compétences acquises à travers la mobilité. L'encouragement à la mobilité des étudiants est également accentué par la valorisation de la doctrine du capital humain qui considère, d'un point de vue sociétal, que l'investissement dans l'enseignement et l'acquisition des compétences est un facteur aussi important pour la croissance économique que l'investissement dans des équipements matériels. (Dzamdzhieva, 2004 ; Papatsiba, 2003 : 23). Les étudiants se heurtent à divers obstacles dans leur parcours.

Pour la question comment comprenez-vous la mobilité académique la réponse était la suivante :

Arzu, 24 ans, spécialité de droit :

1. La mobilité académique est la possibilité, à l'aide de la connaissance et de l'obstination, d'avoir la chance d'aller à l'étranger et recevoir une formation et une certaine expérience. L'idée de participer à la mobilité est venue graduellement, à la fois, en apprenant au début qu'il y a un tel programme et que celui qui parle anglais et qui a les certificats IELTS peut prendre part au concours. La plupart ne croyaient pas à la réalité de la mobilité. Nos professeurs ont commencé à interroger ceux qui étudient l'anglais et ainsi de suite. Puis, c'est devenu intéressant, mais il était un peu difficile d'imaginer l'enseignement à l'étranger. Ensuite deux des professeurs ont activement commencé à nous faire participer à ce processus. Ils nous ont convoqué et ainsi de suite.

Comme nous avons vu, ce sont les professeurs qui ont encouragé cet étudiant à présenter son dossier à ce programme.

2. *Tout a commencé d'une manière assez intéressante et assez simple. Nous sommes arrivés à l'université et soudain on nous a proposé de penser à la mobilité. Merci à ces gens qui m'ont stimulé et qui m'ont donné la motivation. Dès lors, nous avons commencé la préparation, en essayant d'apprendre obstinément l'anglais.*

Cet étudiant partage avec ses impressions de mobilité et les compétences acquises comme suit :

La mobilité académique m'a donné la possibilité d'acquérir une expérience, de comprendre une autre culture, de faire connaissance avec des gens nouveaux, des personnalités, et même avec les gens simples, qui au moins pouvaient nous aider.

À vrai dire, je ne sais pas, je sais seulement qu'il faut travailler. Je voudrais progresser dans ma spécialité juridique, s'il serait honnête d'une manière intéressante d'avoir la possibilité de visiter une autre culture en faisant un stage. Tâcher de comprendre et d'entrer dans un autre système rapidement.

Dans ce cas A. Gohard-Radenkovic dit que tout acteur mobile se trouve obligatoirement confronté à de nouvelles situations et de nouvelles expériences. Il va les interpréter, en mobilisant des ressources et capitaux acquis dans le groupe social, et en mettant en œuvre des stratégies d'adaptation, le plus souvent inconscients, en regard de ces appartenances et de son vécu, mais aussi en regard des statuts et des espaces d'intégrabilité que lui accorderont les sociétés d'accueil. (2006 : 10)

4.2. Les difficultés rencontrées

Selon P. Koller-Bally, malgré les principes et les directives qui régissent les

échanges, l'étudiant qui part en séjour d'études, serait donc démuni et ressentirait un certain malaise face à ses difficultés pour décoder la culture du pays d'accueil comme s'il n'était ni prêt, ni préparé au séjour ; il demande de l'aide, des « clés » pour ouvrir les portes du « Nouveau Monde ». L'immersion et le programme d'échange ne peuvent véritablement se concevoir sans cette composante qu'est l'apprentissage guidé à la communication interculturelle qui sert de dynamique à la construction d'une compétence linguistique et à l'acquisition de nouveaux savoir-faire langagiers. Mais la demande de l'étudiant va plus loin encore. (2001 : 3-4)

Arzu: *La seule difficulté était pendant la préparation du visa. De la part du personnel administratif, nous avons besoin d'un effort de compréhension envers les étudiants, pour qu'il se rende compte comment nous vivons à l'étranger.*

J'attends l'aide linguistique et culturelle de l'administration. Il n'y a pas de difficultés spéciales, mais les gens d'ici, tâchaient de nous aider et de nous comprendre. Il arrive de connaître des gens différents. La seule difficulté était de comprendre le polonais.

Cet étudiant s'est heurté au problème linguistique. Il a pensé que tous les gens en Pologne peuvent communiquer en anglais.

Une autre étudiante Sabrine a répondu à ces questions comme suit :

Sabrine, 24 ans, spécialité de pédagogie. *Comment se comporter dans un pays étranger ? Comment utiliser le plan de la ville, jusqu'à ce temps, je ne l'avais jamais fait. À l'avenir je veux poursuivre ma carrière dans la pédagogie et être professionnelle dans mon domaine. Nous avons visité d'autres villes étrangères, mais Varsovie était devenue comme notre ville natale. En Pologne, peu de gens parlent anglais. Ils parlent dans la rue le polonais et nous n'avons rien compris. Au fur et à mesure, nous avons commencé à deviner les mots qui ressemblent au russe, et après nous avons appris les mots de survie. Enfin, je rentre dans mon pays avec un gros bagage de connaissances. Mon père, ma mère et mes proches m'ont manqué.*

Comme nous avons vu, les étudiants ont rencontré des difficultés culturelles et langagières. Mais au fur à mesure, ils ont surmontés ces barrières. Ils ont amélioré le niveau de langue, les connaissances en général. Ce parcours de mobilité a donné la chance de rencontrer d'autres gens. Pour communiquer avec l'autre ils ont dû entrer en communication interculturelle qui d'une part enrichit le bagage culturel de ces étudiants.

Conclusion

Comme nous l'avons vu, un élément joue un rôle majeur dans cette expérience : nos étudiants n'étaient pas du tout préparés à la mobilité. Entreprendre une période d'étude à l'étranger est hautement profitable, sur le plan personnel, académique et social. Au contact d'un autre pays, l'étudiant développe ses capacités d'adaptation,

de communication interculturelle, ainsi que ses connaissances européennes. Il bénéficie, également, d'un sérieux atout en termes d'insertion professionnelle.

Cette mobilité représente en premier lieu un tremplin, un capital de compétences, pour une éventuelle activité professionnelle dans un autre pays. Elle est également, grâce à la circulation des personnes et aux contacts qu'elle établit, un moyen de libre circulation des idées dans l'espace européen. En favorisant l'apprentissage réciproque, la comparaison, et la confrontation des expériences, la libre circulation contribue sans doute à l'émergence d'une conscience européenne ouverte et tolérante. Ayant vécu dans une autre société et une autre culture on peut se (re)définir, se (re)découvrir (Papatsiba, 2003 : 107-108). Il faudrait prendre en compte cette expérience des étudiants et la réinvestir au service des futurs candidats de mobilité.

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English, the Lingua Franca for the European Union

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ABSTRACT

In a constantly demanding world, the need to share key resources as coal, steel and oil brought together several European countries. These countries decided to sign in 1957, a treaty that led to the formation of *Little Europe*. Since then *Little Europe* grew and transformed in what we all refer to as the European Union.
United in diversity is the key element that provides the four freedoms guaranteed within the European Union (EU). These four freedoms are *"free movement of goods, labour, services and capital"* (2011: 121) to which we can add the freedom of culture and the protection of each country's native language.
Although the Union guarantees free access to information in all languages for each member state, statistics show that English is preferred in the Union's official documents, debates and conferences. As a consequence, this policy can lead to the globalisation of English. This paper is attempting to discover the factors that influenced this rapid spread of English in Europe and if English is or will become lingua franca for the European Union.

KEYWORDS: *Lingua Franca, European Union, freedom, cultural diversity*

Historical overview: the rise of the British Empire

Originally, the term *lingua franca* designated a common language used by the Arabic speakers in their conversations with travellers from Western Europe. Later, its meaning extended and described the language of commerce which enabled traders to understand each other. This last meaning is applicable to the status that English language has in nowadays, including, of course, its global dimension. English became *lingua franca* not only for traders worldwide but also for a large number of non-native speakers from different domains of activity.

This powerful British influence began long time before Great Britain joined the European Union. More precisely, Shakespeare's English became known outside its borders along with the formation of the British Empire. If we take a glance in the European history we notice a huge dominance of British authorities over several territories that covered parts of Europe, North America and Asia.

The first British colonies or dominions were: *"Canada, New Zealand and Australia"* (Redaelli & Invernizzi, 2011: 96), which, later, along with other regions became the funding members of Commonwealth. In nowadays, Commonwealth still

exists but it was transformed into *"an association between Great Britain and 54 nations which are ex – colonies."* (*Idem*: 96).

It was this association or gathering of territories from different parts of the world that increased English's popularity and usage. The British Empire gave English the opportunity to become official throughout all its colonies, turning it in a colonial language. It gradually became the language of administration, education and trade for all the Empire's member states, including two densely populated ones: India and Nepal.

India also known as the *jewel of the Crown* remained under the British dominance until 1947 fact which led to a massive spread of English language and customs. English was and remained the second spoken language in a country with an estimated population of over 1.27 billion inhabitants. Statistics show that English gained a national status in India. It is the language of educated, young Indians and it is considered a link or a linguistic bridge between India and other parts of the world.

Even if India did not adopt English as its mother tongue, another territory (in the beginning only some parts from North America) took and modified traditional British English in: *"General American as referred to in various publications… although there is a broad distinction between American and British English, even though there are obvious variations within these countries."* (Russell, 2001: 85)

Such variations occur basically in vocabulary and accent; in other words, British English or more precisely, the British accent was transformed and reinvented, becoming American English or American accent. On its turn, even American English or General American adapted itself according to the region, so, several American regions developed their own unique accent.

Another important event that enabled English's popularity and usage was:

> The rapid development in public broadcasting after about 1920 led in England and abroad to the establishment of BBC English as a de facto spoken standard. This standard, alternatively known as Received Pronunciation, is that of a social and educational elite… [This]… ensured that non-standard or dialect variants would henceforth be considered sub-standard – that is, not simply different, but inferior.
>
> (Burnley, 1995: 25)

Besides British, American and Standard English there are other derivations from the original language such as: Canadian, Australian, Scottish English and many others. All these variations *"have vocabularies that are basically British with an admixture of distinctive local terms and an increasing stock of Americanisms. They also have their own accents but there is little dialect variation."* (Russell, 2001: 86)

Some of these variations and dialects of English appeared, probably, during the British Empire when English registered the most spectacular progress. *"It was during the Empires period when Europe wanted to become a cultural model for the rest of the world. Spanish and Portuguese conquered the Latin – American territory, French gained parts of Canada and Africa, but the British succeeded in establishing the largest empire worldwide."* (Berstein & Milza, 1992: 78) This massive spread of the British Empire played a huge role in the evolution of the English language as

we know it today. It became the language of trade, business, stocks and shares, employment, education and art. In nowadays it is used as a universal tool of communication for people from different environments, with different backgrounds, no matter the gender.

English as a colonial language colonized and was colonized, transcending cultures and becoming something that arises out of *"the work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes of long generations of humanity."* (Russell, 2001: 89)

It was the British Empire that set the basis of English's popularity that we are all facing today.

English and the European Union

Some of the first steps that showed the desire and need to form a common European market were made soon after the end of the Second World War. Six European countries decided to unify their markets and key resources by signing the treaty of Paris in 1951. Since then: France, Germany, Belgium, Italy (Luxemburg) and the Nederland shared *"production of coal and steel."* (Redaelli & Invernizzi, 2011: 120)

Later on, by signing the Treaty of Rome in 1957, the funding members mentioned above created the European Economic Community. The EEC main purpose was the establishment of a common economic market and a policy that enables people and goods to move freely within the community. Over the years, several other European countries decided to join the European Community and in 1973 it was Great Britain's turn.

The entry of Great Britain in the community *"really marked the end of its imperial era. However, some traces of imperialism still continued. For example Hong Kong remained a British dependency until 1997."* (*Idem*: 12)

Even if the original form of the British Empire disappeared, the sovereignty of English language grew.

This sovereignty is based on recent statistics which show the real spread of English. Two out of three European adults declare that they know English at an intermediate level and almost one of five say they are proficient.

Even in Brussels – the headquarters of the European Union there have been rumours that there is an increasing demand of having a single official language. This need to simplify documents, procedures and debates has in its background the monetary policy of the Union. When you speak about translation in the European Union you have to take into account millions of euro spent on interpreters from every member state.

All these costs could be reduced by simply declaring an *official language* for the Union. This would mean that all member states will agree to use and receive information from the EU in a single, recognized, accepted and official language.

Although English is constantly being used and several European officials admitted that it has become *lingua franca* or a common communication code not only for the young but also for older generations, there are several legal aspects that slow down or make impossible the courageous project of declaring English the official language for the Union.

One of these legal aspects is the profound undemocratic gesture if English or any other language were to be imposed as an official language for the Union. Despite the fact that the global number of non-native speakers of English is substantially larger than its native speakers (over 4:1), the European Union will not risk declaring English its official language for such a big and diverse community.

Perhaps, in time, if things were seen from a new perspective then English might have a chance to be recognized as *lingua franca* for the Union. Declaring an official language for the Union's member states should be considered as an effective communication tool that is meant to unit rather than separate nations. This scenario can be possible if we take into consideration that the European Union already has a unique currency. This currency – the Euro is recognized by all member states and is the official monetary reference for EU. Therefore, why not declaring the Union's official language?

English Lingua Franca in Romania: Personal Perspective

Before the Romanian revolution from 1989, on our territory there were clearly other linguistic trends than in the present days. Many generations learnt foreign languages like: Russian, French and Latin. If you ask our parents, not to mention our grandparents, they will simply say that they did not have English among their educational subjects nor did they hear about it until recently.

After 1989, Romanian people started to have access to American and British culture. Romanian TV channels, magazines and internet were bombarded with English songs (artists), movies, articles on different subjects, quotes, online English books and online socializing networks.

Along with this new English trend, the Latin and Russian boom turned to dust at least in Romania. Nevertheless, French language continues to be taught in Romanian educational institutions and it can be ranked as the second foreign language if we take into consideration the number of people who learn it.

My generation (those who in nowadays are aged between 30-35 years old) had access to this new foreign language – English. English was taught since primary school and it came along with modern and attractive course books. From what I can remember during my English classes everything was fun and interesting.

The English teacher used visual and audio techniques that fascinated us. We learnt English from posters, pictures, drawings and audio cassettes which came to support the course book. Later, during the 8th grade, I and my former class colleagues discovered the pop music culture which was promoted on Romanian, American and British TV channels. Our music idols were bands like: *Backstreet Boys, U2 or Spice Girls*. We used to learn by heart our favourite songs and play karaoke during school breaks. Even when it came to buying clothes we preferred those that had English messages or printed images of British and American celebrities. And, there were, of course, movies or TV serials like: *Indiana Jones, Dr. Quinn, Verdict: Murder or* the famous soap opera *Dallas* all in English, promoting indirectly not only the language but also the British-American lifestyle.

In conclusion almost everything that surrounded my generation revolved around English or had an English connotation. Since then things have not changed a lot, on the contrary, the spread of English in our country increased. In my case, I am still surrounded by English not only due to my work but also due to my three year old boy. All my son's favourite cartoon characters are of British or American origin.

He is fascinated by: *Mickey Mouse, Minnie, Goofy, Angry Birds, Spiderman and Sportacus*. He likes to listen to the English Mickey song and tries to sing along. While watching a cartoon with Spiderman he simply asked me: *Mom, why is he called Spiderman? What does it mean*? My answer (the Romanian translation) was, for sure, his first English lesson.

Moreover, I have noticed that several audio-toys from famous brands use English texts to designate numbers, animals, and types of vehicles or flowers. Even the songs that these toys reproduce are in English having a huge impact on my son who tries to memorize lyrics from songs such as: *Merry Christmas, Jingle Bells or Old McDonald.*

Moving on, I recently discovered that my son became aware of the gadgets that we have in our house. He quickly learnt how to turn on and off the laptop although the directions are in English. He started playing online games for kids his age and he began to understand what he is asked to do in those games even if they have English terminology. Games like: *Candy Crush Saga or My Tom* (a virtual game downloaded directly on your mobile phone in which you have to take care of a pet) have the audio part in English.

Although such examples can go on, I will stop here by saying that, from my point of view, my experience with the use of English on a daily basis can be generalized even in the case of Romanian people who are in their 50's or more. Several educational institutions have accessed European funds in order to teach English to elders. There are English courses that support grandparents to cross the linguistic and virtual barriers that arise in their communication with grandchildren. These courses are addressed to grandparents or parents who have their siblings located in different parts of the world and English is their only linguistic bond. So, English has a huge impact not only on my son's generation but also on older Romanian generations.

For my son's generation English language tends to be quickly assimilated as what could be a second mother – tongue. Getting in contact, from such an early age, with a foreign language helps the child develop his cognitive and creative abilities. It is also a good way to prepare the young to live and work in a global world that should have no linguistic barriers. Such linguistic barriers are already being broken by several English terms that enter in the Romanian vocabulary. Such terms are assimilated in our daily vocabulary, creating 'quick contamination'. For instance, a simple example that clearly shows how vivid, modern and easily assimilated is English, is the term *selfie.* I came across this term a few days ago when I heard it in a Romanian TV show. I did not get its exact meaning and usage but later I have noticed that many people use it in online posts from different socializing networks.

Selfie stands for pictures taken of you – sort of like a picture portrait made by you – which is uploaded on these networks. You can take a *selfie* whenever and wherever

you like either as a close-up or as a reflection of you in the mirror. The same term also appears in bizarre combinations like: I will give unlike at that selfie on twittering (the last term refers to a social network Twitter).

Selfie stands as a statement when we speak about English as Lingua Franca not only for officials from the European Union but also for ordinary people. English succeeds in crossing barriers and constantly increases its popularity.

To conclude, English language can be seen as a universal tool of communication. The fact that it became or becomes *lingua franca* may be, no longer, a doubt but a statement. There are, of course, some questions that arise along with its supremacy. Is English threatening multilingualism? Will linguistic diversity resist in a global society that tends to be united in every aspect?

What will happen to this rapid evolution of English? Will English maintain its supremacy or will this trend fade away as it happened with the Latin language? Is Chinese language a viable competitor for English?
Will Chinese replace English in popularity and number of non-native speakers considering the fact that China has the biggest population worldwide?

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Discourse Features of Numerals in Commercial Magazine Ads

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ABSTRACT

Based on a corpus of approximately 100 commercial magazine ads in a *Glamour* (UK edition) issue of December 2013, the article analyses a noteworthy presence among the morphological units in the copy of ads, which is that of numerals. These are necessary if advertisers wish to qualify their offer in a precise manner: price, dimensions, percentage of substances in a product, technical specifications, the length of tradition in the manufacturing of a product, call-back surveys etc. Different persuasive means are identified across a range of examples, which illustrate, yet again, an alignment of the British advertising discourse with the country's general cultural profile; there is a tendency towards offering fact-based information in communication in what has been termed by Trompenaars as an environment with a "Low Context Communication" orientation. The schematic structure of the text layout is often constructed around numerals. In pragmatic terms, numbers are frequently used in ads in order to entail little and implicate much, as advertisers' manipulative art often does, relying on the public to apply conversational maxims. Numbers gain iconic value, both deriving from and consolidating a consumerist ideology in which the product is frenziedly measured, counted, sold and acquired, determined to prove that it is worth our while.

KEYWORDS: *commercial advertisements, numerals, scalar implicatures, conative function*

Based on a corpus of 97 commercial magazine ads in a *Glamour* (UK edition) issue of December 2013, the article analyses a noteworthy presence among the morphological units in the copy of ads, which is that of numerals. Among the 97 display ads in the magazine, 45 have been identified as containing numerals; by following an analysis of the cases in which these numerals occur, some discourse features of advertisements will be underlined, especially those concerned with the fulfilment of the conative, persuasive function.

Generally speaking, the background culture of these ads, namely British culture, has been termed as Low Context Communication (LCC), in opposition to a High Context Communication culture, such as that of Italy or Romania. David Katan (1999) explained how in a Low Context Communication environment, which had to accommodate countless generations of immigrants, communication tends to rely more heavily on facts. The opposite of this, High Context Communication, of the Italian type, has a preference for the "untold", for underlying meanings whose grasping is taken for granted, due to a greater uniformity in the background of its members.

As the author maintains,

> […] for most products, an LCC culture is going to expect more attention paid to the text both in terms of eye catching wordplay and in terms of factual information. An HCC culture will focus more on the overall picture and the aesthetics or feelings created by the advert.
>
> (Katan, 1999: 194)

In comparing two ads in English and in Italian for the same product, namely a washing machine, the same author notes that the former focuses more on practical information, technical details, the price, conditions of payment etc., while the Italian ad provides no such information, it is vague regarding the question of price, and wants to create a desirable image of the product by flattering the target public.

Thus, as the most obvious means for conveying concrete, measurable information, it is only obvious that the numeral will hold a prominent place in the economy of these British ads.

Corpus analysis

The first analysed case is that of a Lancôme ad for dark spot correctors. Part of it reads as follows:

> "OUR 1st pigmentation corrector" (*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: cover page 2).

We note that the modified ordinal numeral "the first" designates novelty and uniqueness, while the determiner "our", a possessive adjective, ascribes these qualities to the promoter of the product. Other examples from the corpus can be given to illustrate the same idea:

(*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: cover pp. 2-3)

> Prime for the very first time at Smashbox (*Idem*: 77) – together with the adverbial determiner "very", the ordinal numeral underlines the novelty of the product;
>
> The first skin idealiser by Vichy (*Idem*: 46)
>
> The first reusable permanent hair colour (*Idem*: 202)

Coming back to the Lancôme ad, we have the following:

> SO POWERFUL THAT 2 OUT OF 3 WOMEN WOULD DARE TO BARE THEIR SKIN (*Idem*: 1)

The construction "2 out of 3 women" can be analysed in pragmatic terms, and for that we need to remember about the Maxim of Quantity:

> 1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
> 2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
>
> (Yule, 1996: 37)

By flouting the Maxim of Quantity, the above construction implicates that a great number (two thirds) of women in general would feel more confident after using the product. At the same time, the mentioning of the small print call-back survey ("Self assessment average on 3 DreamTone products: 209 women" (*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: cover page 2)) acts as a disclaimer, by cancelling the above implicature through the provision of an entailment: "2 out of 3 women among those in the 209-subject survey". What is interesting is that, while the presence of the entailment acts as a disclaimer for the advertiser, it is not clear whether or not the target public will process that information to the effect of cancelling the implicature, as this depends on every subject's reasoning abilities.

At this point, we also need to bring into our discussion the terms of *scalar implicature* and *granularity*.

About the former, George Yule explains: *"The basis of scalar implicature is that, when any form in a scale is asserted, the negative of all forms higher on the scale is implicated."* (Yule, 1996: 41)

Therefore, the author claims, considering the scale:

<few, some, many, most, all>

By choosing to utter: *"There were some students in the hall"*, the speaker creates the implicatures "not many", "not most", "not all".

Regarding granularity,

> [it] can be understood as the density of representation points on a measurement scale. [...] In western culture, and in particular in languages with a decimal number system, the most frequently used granularity levels are those based on powers of ten. Also possible are scales constructed from these by operations of halving (resulting in the optimal refinement of a scale) and doubling. [...] Values corresponding to points on

> coarser-grained scales, in being interpreted less precisely, may be useful for face-saving: if one speaks in approximate terms, one is not committed to such high precision and is less likely to be inadvertently misleading.
>
> (Cummins/Sauerland/Solt, 2012: 140-1)

Back to our example, "2 out of 3 women" also triggers a scalar implicature of the type: "not 3 out of 3", namely "not all". Nevertheless, since on the granularity level represented by the figures 2 and 3, the designated mathematical value ("two thirds") is quite high, the overall effect is still positive.

Regarding the figure "209" in the disclaimer mentioned above ("Self assessment average on 3 DreamTone products: 209 women" (*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: cover page 2)), the granularity established on the level of hundreds by the value 200 is in stark contrast with the figure 9, which refines granularity to a higher degree, as it skips the level of tens to that of units (100 < 10 < 1). In conclusion, the refinement of granularity suggests scientific accuracy in measuring the effectiveness of the product. This, in turn, triggers positive associations, even if the disclaimer should cancel the above implicature (that a great number of women <u>in general</u> would feel more confident after using the product).

In the same ad, we have the following comments:

> <u>70%</u> saw a visible reduction in Dark Spots.
> <u>84%</u> saw a visible improvement in Skin Tone.
> <u>80%</u> saw a visible reduction in Colour Irregularities. (*Idem*: cover page 2)

The enumeration of the survey results further develops the idea of scientific accuracy, by manifesting a concern for detail. Moreover, on a scale from 1 to 100, the values ranging from 70 to 84 are still quite high, even if implicating "not 100" (a scalar implicature), a fact which also adds positive associations. We note similar examples in our corpus, in an ad for a moisturiser, or in one for skin serum:

> <u>91%</u> of UK women felt their skin was soothed.
> Marie Claire survey, 131 consumers, 2010. (*Idem*: 198)

> 3 out of 5 women would wear less make-up.
> 62% of women agree. Self-assessment. 76 women. (*Idem*: 48)

Regarding the appearance of the text in the same ad, we note that the use of Arabic numerals at the beginning of sentences is a mark of the text informality: *"Do not begin a sentence with an Arabic numeral."* (Burchfield, 1998: 535)

We can analyse a further example in order to demonstrate how implicatures can function in processing an ad and how consumers are consequently attracted:

> At the Body Shop, we're spreading joy this Christmas by giving every Glamour reader a free Joy Card. Come in-store to discover what's on yours. Each card is worth <u>at least £3</u> off pampering treats at the body shop.

> Yours could be worth £15, or even £100.
> As well as a treat for you, your card could be worth £1000 for our charity partner,
> TEENAGE CANCER TRUST
> JOY CARD
> What's yours worth?
> £3, £15, or £100 (*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: 113)

It is noteworthy to analyse how the phrase "at least", as a predeterminer for the numeral, is used for *hedging*. The following explanation is provided:

> 'At least' signals the speaker's unwillingness or inability to give a precise answer. This precludes a scalar implicature from arising, as the epistemic condition on the speaker is not met. [...] the notion of the speaker's uncertainty, or reticence, is pragmatically derived from the choice of 'at least *n*' rather than the bare numeral *n*, because the latter would carry the implicature of certainty ('exactly *n*').
> (Cummins/Sauerland/Solt, 2012: 137)

Similarly, according to the same authors, the opposite of "at least", e.g. "more than", "fewer than", acting as predeterminers for numerals, also express the speaker's reticence, being used, in our opinion, as hedging devices. More precisely, as George Yule (1996: 38) maintains, hedges are expressions which limit the accuracy of the main statement. Cummins *et al* develop the idea as follows:

> We argue that 'more than *n*' and 'fewer than *n*' do in fact give rise to scalar implicatures, and that the same is true of superlative quantifiers. However, we propose that these implicatures are restricted by the granularity of the numerical scale and by considerations of contextual salience of the numeral.
> (Cummins *et al.* 2012: 139)

In our case, the phrase containing a modified numeral, "at least £3", signals the advertiser's unwillingness to state a figure which is higher than 3, and this acts as a disclaimer in case a customer's card is not worth more than £3. At the same time, the context provides two other possible values of these cards: "£15" and "£100", these representing the granularity of the scale on which implicatures can rise, with 100 being its highest value.

In the phrase "even £100", the adverb even, a predeterminer for the numeral 100, acts as a presupposition trigger: we understand that 100 is a value which is high enough to be desirable in those circumstances.

The text also signals that the utterance may not totally adhere to the Maxim of Quality. According to Yule (1996), this Gricean maxim is enunciated as follows:

> The Maxim of Quality:
> Try to make your contribution one that is true.
> 1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
> 2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
> (Yule, 1996: 37)

In the utterance "Yours could be worth £15, or even £100.", "could" is an epistemic[1] modal also acting as a hedge (*see above*), limiting the precision of the main statement. Therefore, there is no guarantee that a card will have a certain value, a fact that is further developed by a direct question addressed to the public, which invites them to find out the answer through direct involvement: "What's yours worth? £3, £15, <u>or</u> £100."

We also note that the presence of the conjunction "or" in the enumeration gives rise to a scalar implicature: the value of the card will be restricted to one of the enumerated values; it will not be of the type: "£3, £15, <u>and</u> £100". Thus, by being offered the possibility to win the highest value from a choice of three, the reader is tantalized and lured into action, i.e. involvement with the brand.

The numbers found in an ad for shampoo can also be analysed in pragmatic terms:

> UP TO 100% Flake Free. Head & Shoulders. (*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: 56)

In order for this claim to be relevant to the public's wish for healthy or good-looking hair, the utterance implicates that your hair will be 100% flake-free, by flouting the *maxim of relation*[2]. But the prepositional phrase "up to," which predetermines the numeral, acts as a disclaimer, in case the product does not prove to have 100% effectiveness. Thus, valid entailments which could be derived are: "10% flake-free"; "50% flake-free"; "99% flake-free," with the number value ranging anywhere from 1 to 100%.

Therefore, the formulated claim implicates a lot and entails very little, exploiting a fine line of reasoning between what makes a valid statement or not, between what one can or cannot be held accountable for. Moreover, we note that "UP TO" is in small print, therefore even less likely to be processed.

Other examples from the corpus function in the same manner:

> Stay salon-smooth with up to 48 hours of frizz control. (*Idem*: 197)
> Up to 24 hour wear. (*Idem*: 201)

The occurrence of a numeral in the brand name of a product can create an aura of mystery. For example, we have an ad for a Chanel perfume:

> N° 5. 'A drop of N° 5 and nothing else'.
> N° 5. Chanel. Paris. Parfum (*Idem*: 2-3)

In addition to the idea of Frenchness triggered by the words "Paris" and "Parfum" (the French word for "perfume"), the figure 5 is cryptic for the ordinary consumer, it is enigmatic and adds to the idea of sophistication. On the other hand, if it arouses one's curiosity, some research in that area can lead to the following result:

> Laid out there in undulating circles, she [Coco Chanel] found repeated incessantly the pattern of the number five, sometimes in the shape of stars. Sometimes, it was there

> in the shape of flowers. The number five: she believed profoundly in its magic and its beauty.
>
> (Mazzeo, 2010: 9)

Investing time in solving such mystery results in getting more involved with the brand, which is a positive thing for advertisers.

The same technique of using numbers in a cryptic manner can be further noted in our corpus, also in a brand name:

> Eau de Lacoste. L.12.12 (*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: 43)

These numbers are part of a code which is explained on the Lacoste official website:

> L for Lacoste, 1 to describe the fabric, petit piqué cotton, 2 for the short sleeve design (for a long sleeve it would be 1312), and finally 12, the number of versions presented to René Lacoste.[3]

With the exception of the brand enthusiasts, it is highly unlikely that the general public will be aware of its significance. Therefore, as in the previous example, the presence of the numbers in the brand name can account for two scenarios:

a. It gives the brand an air of mystery and secrecy; since it is a men's product, the code-like name might be appealing in terms of a challenge, as the mystery needs uncovering;

b. The cryptic brand name might arouse the public's curiosity and determine us to look for its significance in the most obvious and handy place, which is the company website. This second scenario is plausible in an age when Internet access is widely available, thus triggering, from our part, a higher degree of involvement with the brand.

Another case of numeral occurrence in ads is represented by the indication of addresses in *calls to action*[4]:

> 27 Old Bond St London. 76-80 King st Manchester (*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: 4)

Thus, consumers get practical information about how to respond to the ad. In our case, the address where the products can be purchased is provided, i.e. the address of Donna Karan fashion house outlets in London and Manchester.

Other practical details can be indicated as well by numerals in calls to action:

> Shop by 10 PM for next day delivery to home. (*Idem*: 44)

The number indicates the time by which a certain service can be accessed, and the preposition "by" preceding the numeral in this imperative sentence conveys an idea of urgency.

Indication of a date can also signal limited availability for a product, e.g.:

offer ends 26/11/2013 (*Idem*: 205)

A telephone number can be provided in a call to action, in which the readers are urged to try out or order the product:

Try it now. 0800 599 9200 (*Idem*: 109)

Here we notice the direct address to the public. The structure containing the telephone number is elliptical, as we do not have an explicit instruction of the type: "Call 0800 599 9200 to try it now / for your free sample / to place an order etc."

The telephone number of the distributor can also simply be stated, without even a hint of what it could be used for:

Distributed by Sequel UK 01604 678940 (*Idem*: 13)

This happens because the public has already been trained with this kind of discourse, and they know from experience what a telephone number can be used for in an ad. In pragmatic terms, the maxim of quantity has been flouted and we derive the implicature, the advertisers' intended meaning, through what we perceive as being relevant in that context.

A practical detail is also represented by numerals which indicate an age limit for those who use the product, in statements which act as disclaimers at the same time. For example, an ad for baby milk:

Aptamil. Follow On milk should only be used as part of a mixed diet and not as a breastmilk substitute before 6 months. (*Idem*: 169)

On the other hand, numerals can also indicate a suitable age for using the product. Thus, in the same ad for baby milk, the subject in the picture is identified in the caption:

Hayden, aged 6 months. (*Idem*: 169)

A number can be noted in the *copyright notice*, which is printed on the display ad[5]:

Guess©2013 (*Idem*)

Here the number represents the year of the first publication of the copyrighted work (2013), accompanying the copyright symbol (©), together with an identification of the copyright owner ("Guess").

Such instance is not isolated in our corpus: "©2013 SWAROWSKI AG" (*Idem*: 74), and these details are indicators of a culture in which the commercialization of products is highly regulated, and where nothing happens or is displayed by chance;

the practicality of the advertising discourse transpires, the fact that it functions with the definite purpose of selling something to its target public.

Further on, we have an ad for women's fashion accessories: "it's the glitter things that count. HOLIDAY 2013" (*Idem*: 25). The number is part of a noun phrase, designating the current year (the ad is from a 2013 issue of the magazine), thus underlining the relevance of the product in terms of keeping up with the latest trends in fashion. In association with the noun "holiday", which triggers positive associations for the modern woman, it constitutes an example of *block language*[6].

An interesting example is that of numbers occurring in *elliptical constructions*[7] in order to indicate product prices:

Dress £40. Shoes £32. Necklace £30 (*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: 44)

In this case we deal with an *initial* and *medial ellipsis*[8], having the structure noun + the pound symbol + cardinal numeral, with the article and the verb being omitted (normally, these constructions would have been as follows: "The dress costs £40. The shoes cost £32. The necklace costs £30.") If we think about the economy of the text, and following the layout text versus image, the product price occupies a central position, underlying its importance.

We note that other examples in ads indicating the product price contain the adverb "only" as a predeterminer along with the numeral, in order to stress the attractiveness of the price, e.g.:

<u>Only</u> £10 RRP. (*Idem*: 201)

Similarly, the adverb "just" predetermining numerals presupposes that the value denoted by that numeral is a low price to pay for a certain product, e.g.:

Spend <u>just</u> £39. (*Idem*: 228)

The indication of price can also be analysed pragmatically, such as in the following:

bracelet from £49 (*Idem*: 74).

This flouts the maxim of quantity: "from £49 to ... how much?" It implicates that £49 is the lowest price at which a product can be purchased, and that the price is affordable.

Numbers are used to represent some other details. In an ad for solar lotion, the number indicates the value of the solar protection factor:

Healthy Glow Sheer Powder SPF 15 (*Idem*: 18)

This is a technical term, signalling the fact that the ad is targeted at educated women, who make informed choices.

In an ad for Vichy skin serum, numbers are part of a code which designates the chemical ingredient of the product:

> New. Idealia Life Serum [LR2412+LHA]. (*Idem*: 48)

But we can only understand what the code stands for by checking the company website for clarification, even if no such call to action is provided (e.g.: "Visit our website at www....”):

> Enriched with a unique combination of LR2412+LHA molecules, the formula helps transform and protect skin exposed to stress, pollution, smoke or an unbalanced diet.[9]

This complicated formula suggests scientific accomplishment, therefore a highly effective product. The formula being also intriguing, we are again dealing with a case in which we are led to get more involved with the brand in order to solve the dilemma.

Numbers indicating the chemical composition of a product suggest scientific rigour. A further example is that of an ad for weight loss tablets:

> Per daily dosage: 3000 mg glucomannan
> 400 mg green coffee bean
> 200 mg raspberry ketone
> (*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: 284)

The effectiveness of the product can also be indicated through numerals in terms of time. Thus, a Garnier moisturizer

> covers imperfections with 24hr hydration and SPF protection. (*Idem*: 87)

Acting as a predeterminer in a noun phrase, the numeral indicates the length of time during which the product has the desired effect.

In the following example, the numeral is one of the predeterminers in a noun phrase:

> A gaggle of <u>eight</u> lightweight, leave-in conditioning sprays packed with luscious extracts of Aussie exotica. (*Idem*: 63)

The noun phrase "a gaggle of" refers to "a noisy group of people", or "a group of geese"[10]. The numeral supports the unusual, fresh association between "hair sprays" and "noisy group" by providing a figure which can normally designate a "group."

In an ad for Folli Follie accessories, the numeral is part of the opening phrase, where "It girl" refers to *"a fashionable and attractive young woman, especially one*

from a rich upper-class family, who is well-known because she goes to a lot of fashionable events that people read about in newspapers and magazines." (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 2009: 935)

'IT' GIRL RULE #7
WEAR IT YOUR WAY (*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: 91)

The numeral acts as a postdeterminer in a noun phrase, which introduces the tagline ("WEAR IT YOUR WAY). The firm launched a campaign with a series of ads which enunciate some so-called "rules" for a fashionable young woman. The fact that these are numbered engages the public in constructing the image of the brand in a constant and consistent manner.

The numeral can also indicate the latest model of a technical device:

Samsung Galaxy Note3 + Gear (*Idem*: 106) – the number occurs in a postdeterminer position inside the noun phrase.

Figures modifying noun phrases denoting or describing technical devices add to an idea of scientific complexity and sophistication, whose sudden availability is an opportunity which should not be missed.

Further examples can be provided:

Why a 41 megapixel smartphone rocks. Meet the Nokia Lumia 1020. (*Idem*: 122)

with eighteen diamonds on the bezel, a mother of pearl dial and 5 bar water resistance (*Idem*: 124)

ICE watch. NEW ICE collection. 10 ATM (*Idem*: 163)

We note that in the case of cosmetics, numbers can indicate a certain shade:

Limited edition. N°3. Vaseline (*Idem*: 157) – ad for lipstick;

ScandalEyes Retro Glam Mascara shade 003 Extreme Black, ScandalEyes Micro Liner shade 001 Black and SandalEyes Shadow Paint shade 005 Golden Bronze. (*Idem*: 197) – ad for mascara.

When numerals are used in calculating the different advantages of a product, they acquire a demonstrative, almost epic value:

7 specially designed benefits. 1 complete sensitivity toothpaste (*Idem*: 215)

Infinity Always. Absorbs 10x its weight yet you barely feel it. (*Idem*: 291)

Hundreds of thousands of girls and women around the world die every year from complications in pregnancy or childbirth, creating a rippling effect that devastates

children, families, and communities. Ninety percent of these deaths are preventable – with your help. (*Idem*: 292)

Another example can be analysed in the Lancôme ad for dark spot correctors, where the numeral shows symbolic value:

3 formulas tailored to all skin tones: fair, medium and dark. (*Idem*: cover page 2)

We know that the figure "3" has powerful symbolic cultural associations. According to *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Phrase & Fable*, "Pythagoras calls three the perfect number, expressive of "beginning, middle, and end", wherefore he makes it a symbol of Deity." (Cobham Brewer, 1993: 1077) Consequently, we could say that the product seems to acquire almost mythical qualities.

In what follows, we have examples of numerals which refer to the year when different companies were founded. This stresses continuity and tradition in the market economy, which are a proof of success, competitiveness and quality:

USA's nail expert. Since 1981. ((*Glamour (British) No 153 December 2013*: 91)

ACCURIST. EST. 1946 LONDON. The accurist charmed collection has been perfected during our 67 years of creating high quality time pieces, inspired by the sparkle of the London winter skyline. (*Idem*: 116)

Celebrating 100 years of Seiko watchmaking (*Idem*: 124)

EST. 1973. Best then. Better now. (*Idem*: 178)

The maker of lingerie since 1886 (*Idem*: 182)

Great British cider since 1887 (*Idem*: 231)

30 years of studying breastmilk have taught us how iron helps your baby's brain development. (*Idem*: 169)

A philosophy of consumerism is superbly illustrated in the following ad for cider, which measures and defines the product with a succession of features calculated on the axes of time (with the dimension of tradition) and space, as value for money, quality, all bound together by the human factor:

In 1899 Percy & Fred Bulmer spent £24 on a bicycle made for two. They certainly got their money's worth when Fred cycled 500 miles in seven days in search of quality apples for their Bulmers cider. Great British cider since 1887. (*Idem*: 231)

Conclusions

Numerals are necessary if advertisers wish to qualify their offer in a precise manner: price, dimensions, percentage of substances in a product, technical specifications, the length of tradition in the manufacturing of a product, call-back surveys etc. Different persuasive means are identified across a range of examples, which illustrate, yet again, an alignment of the British advertising discourse with the country's general cultural profile; there is a tendency towards offering fact-based information in communication in what has been termed as an environment with a "Low Context Communication" orientation. The schematic structure of the text layout is often constructed around numerals, also signalling the informal register of these vocative texts. In pragmatic terms, numbers are frequently used in ads in order to entail little and implicate much, as advertisers' art often does, relying on the public to apply conversational maxims. Numbers gain iconic value, both deriving from and consolidating a consumerist ideology in which the product is frenziedly measured, counted, sold and acquired, determined to prove that it is worth our while.

NOTES

[1] *Epistemic*: "Of modality: concerned with likelihood or the degree of certainty of something. Contrasted with *deontic*." (Chalker/Weiner, 1998: 137)

[2] Maxim of Relation: "Be relevant." (Yule, 1996: 37)

[3] (2014). Lacoste. The Creation of the Lacoste Polo Shirt. Retrieved 30th March 2014 from: <http://www.lacoste.com/#/the_brand>.

[4] *"Call to Action: This is a line at the end of an end of an ad that encourages people to respond and gives information on how to respond […]: either an address, a toll-free phone number, an e-mail address, or Web address."* (Wells/Moriarty/Burnett, 2006: 361)

[5] (2000-2013). The UK Copyright Service. Retrieved 29th March 2014 from: <http://www.copyrightservice.co.uk/copyright/p03_copyright_notices>

[6] Block language: *"The use of abbreviated structures in restricted communicative contexts, special use being made of the word or phrase rather than the clause or sentence. Examples include the language of posters, notice boards, book titles, and newspaper headlines."* (Crystal, 1999: 39)

[7] Ellipsis: *"A sentence wher part of the structure has been omitted, for reasons of economy, emphasis, or style; also sometimes called reduction, contraction, or abbreviation. Typically, the omitted element can be recovered from a scrutiny of the context (and some grammatical approaches insist that this must be possible […]"* (Crystal, 1999: 102)

[8] *"According to the front, middle or end position occupied by the ellipted element in a clause, ellipsis can be initial, medial, or final."* (Biber/Conrad/Leech, 2002: 458)

[9] (2014). Vichy. Idealia Life Serum. Retrieved 30th March 2014 from: <http://www.vichy.co.uk/anti-ageing/life-serum-idealia/p9054.aspx>.

[10] *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2009), p. 717.

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CULTURĂ
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Away from the Centre, Away from the Empire: Border Transgression in Angela Carter's *Nights at the Circus* and *Wise Children*

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts an analysis of Angela Carter's last two novels from the perspective of spatiality. Apart from gender inscriptions, space implies the reality of physical borders and, since space is a social construction, the borders become ideological, constrictive barriers. Considering that Carter was a subversive writer who enjoyed dismantling old patterns of thought, I will focus on the strategies that she envisaged in order to deconstruct the cultural and geographical pressure of the centre.

KEYWORDS: *canon, centre, empire, language, space*

The attention that postmodernism has paid to the production of space echoes an older feminist preoccupation with spatiality as a powerful tool in shaping and maintaining gender identities and relations. In the introduction to *Reconfigured Spheres. Feminist Explorations of Literary Space*, Margaret Higonnet discusses space in terms of symbolic gendering, arguing that certain types of physical and social space have been traditionally labelled as either feminine or masculine (5). Thus second-wave feminism militated against the structural pairs of oppositions that relegate women to the domestic sphere of home and the inside, while men enjoy the public freedom of work and the outside. Consequently, there is a powerful link between space and patriarchal relations. As Lefebvre has demonstrated, ideology and practice — 'thought and action' (26) — produce the spaces which reinforce them; in other words, patriarchy manifests its power spatially.

Apart from gender inscriptions, space implies the reality of physical borders, of margins, and, since space is a social construction, the borders become ideological, constrictive barriers, or, as Lefebvre puts it 'the ultimate foundation of social space is *prohibition*' (35). At the same time, borders read as distance from the centre, thus highlighting the 'inferiority' of peripheral existence, as well as the tension of living on the threshold. From this perspective, feminism has shared postmodernism's deconstructing impulses, which attempt to dismantle the logic of the centre. When the centre does not hold, then the margins come to the fore, demanding to be acknowledged in their own right, and not as the negative double of a single, universal centre. In *A Poetics of Postmodernism* Linda Hutcheon argues that:

> The move to rethink margins and borders is clearly a move away from centralization with its associated concepts of origin, oneness…and monumentality…that work to link the concept of centre to those of the eternal and the universal. (58)

The concern with the production of space has largely been informed by colonial and postcolonial studies, which attempt to expose the effects of European domination over space by focusing on issues of geographical marginality, migration and political displacement. The representations of these issues are more often than not metonymically juxtaposed across the categories of race and gender, and consequently they have drawn the attention of numerous women writers, feminist theorists and critics. Feminism has long since opposed the gender inscription of the border traced between public and personal spaces, therefore, the famous slogan of Women's Movement — 'The personal is political' — constituted a rally call for women writers to engage in exploring how domestic or familial relations could be viewed as political as issues of war or foreign policy. In the context of the power relations between home and colony, more recent literature, especially from postcolonial nations, has shifted the focus from private and political aspects of femininity to issues of nationalism and imperialism, in connection with gender specificity.

At this point it is perhaps useful to stress that there is a connection between the discursive study of place and national identity. According to Benwell, national identity does not designate solely 'a psychological identification with the nation', but a product of various habits of social life that 'make up banal nationalism' (227). Benwell explains that 'nation' as a discursively located category conjures both the social and the spatial, since it refers to people who share certain similarities, and to place as 'the imagined country or homeland' (228).

Britain's possession of an empire has been fiercely criticised in much contemporary women's writing, for patriarchy, as Virginia Woolf stated, is closely linked to the politics of extreme nationalism, imperialism and fascism. Women, as well as new territories, are caught in the 'admirable fabric of the masculine intelligence' (Woolf, *Lighthouse* 64), a sort of iron girder built in order to secure the masculine values of individuality, oneness, aggression and competition. The empire has consequently become a target for much feminist criticism. Thus civilised London, as the hub of imperial England, becomes in Angela Carter's last two novels, *Nights at the Circus* and *Wise Children*, an epitome of masculine, 'superior' prerogatives, hence the writer's intention to subvert their centrality and their centre. Both Virginia Woolf and Angela Carter engage in constructing a feminine identity that will eventually undo the masculine discourse on power. Whereas Woolf chooses to present an alternative subjectivity based on human communication and personal ties, Carter's strategy is different: she leaves her characters in the milieu of their culturally imposed femininity, but teaches them to take advantage of their position and enjoy the freedom of their very marginality. In this way Carter joins the French poststructuralist theorists, who have argued that 'the margin is the ultimate place of subversion and transgression' (Hutcheon 195). In what follows, we shall focus on the strategies that the writer envisages in order to free her women characters from the pressure of the cultural and geographical spaces ideologically assigned to them.

Sites of women's enclosure: the room, the brothel, the museum

Nights at the Circus begins in 'smoky old London' (Carter, *Nights* 7) where Fevvers returns triumphantly after her artistic conquests on the continent, ready to impress her native city in the way she had impressed Europe. As a woman with wings, the heroine displays her body as a grotesque, yet fascinating, hybrid challenging the accepted parameters of 'normal' womanhood. Born together with the twentieth century, Fevvers brings the promise of a new beginning, casting herself in the utopian role of the New Woman, and making ringing declarations that 'once the old world has turned on its axle so that the new dawn can dawn, then, ah, then! All the women will have wings, the same as I' (Carter, *Nights* 285). Nevertheless, the novel clearly shows that such a promise cannot be fulfilled in the centre of the empire, and consequently the action gradually expands in space, flying away from London together with Fevvers. As Sarah Gamble observes, *Nights at the Circus* is the longest novel written by Carter, yet 'its sense of expansiveness doesn't have so much to do with the number of pages as with the sense of space, for the narrative itself mimics Fevvers's leisurely pace through the air' (157).

The plot device of a touring circus and touring theatre stretches the narrative to remote parts of the world. The novel is divided into three parts, each related to a particular geographical location. Lucie Armitt argues that *Nights at the Circus* makes clear the close relationship between geographical placement and imperialism (180), and sets out to discover new territories in search for the freedom denied by the centre. London bears the mark of cultural and psychological enclosure, featuring spaces of claustrophobia, which was characteristic of Carter's earlier fiction. Thus Walser encounters Fevvers in her dressing-room in the Alhambra Music Hall, a space so suffused with femininity that the man feels uncomfortable: 'The room, in all, was a masterpiece of exquisitely feminine squalors, sufficient, in its homely way, to intimidate a young man who had led a less sheltered life than this one' (Carter, *Nights* 9). Fevvers's room, though 'her own', is thus her 'proper' sphere in contrast with the vast, 'unsheltered' territories inhabited by men. On the other hand, the fact that Walser feels intimidated by Fevvers's display of femininity is a sign of the woman's ability to turn her room that is her culturally assigned space into a source of power.

The story goes on to reveal two other sites of women's enclosure: Ma Nelson's brothel, 'a wholly female world' (Carter, *Nights* 38), and Madame Schreck's museum of women freaks. The brothel where Fevvers grows up, suggestively built in the Age of Reason, is not a place of decadence or vice, but one of privilege and exquisite taste: 'You entered a place that, like its mistress, turned a blind eye to the horrors of the outside, for, inside, was a place of privilege in which those who visited might extend the boundaries of their experience for a not unreasonable sum' (Carter, *Nights* 26). Prostitution is regarded as an honest way of earning a living, thus blurring the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' women. During the working hours, the girls engage in selling the simulacra of pleasure, urged by economic necessity. In the absence of male clients, Ma Nelson's academy looks like a 'well-ordered habitation' in which the girls keep to their rooms, following their own intellectual or artistic pursuits. Thus the brothel features an exclusively feminine world, governed by mutual understanding and commitment.

> It was a wholly female world within Ma Nelson's door. Even the dog who guarded it was a bitch and all the cats were females, one or the other of 'em always in kitten, or newly given birth, so that a sub-text of fertility underwrote the glittering sterility of the pleasure of the flesh available within the academy. Life within those walls was governed by a sweet and loving reason. I never saw a single blow exchanged between any of the sisterhood who reared me, nor heard a cross word or a voice raised in anger.
> (Carter, *Nights* 39)

After Ma Nelson's death, the place is inherited by a man who symbolically cleans the house in order to transform it into a 'hostel for fallen girls' (Carter, *Nights* 44). The Judgement Day of society's intrusion scatters the girls away, but their friendship, we are told, continues to unite them for 'invisible bonds of affection would always knit us wherever we roamed' (Carter, *Nights* 45).

Madame Schreck's museum of human deformities and anomalies, Fevvers's next destination, appears as the dark counterpart of Ma Nelson's brothel, the place catering 'for those who were troubled in their…souls' (Carter, *Nights* 57). Madame Schreck organises her museum much like Dante's inferno, on circles of 'sin' where she descends 'like Virgil in Hell, with her little Dante trotting after' (Carter, *Nights* 62). The fine gentlemen who visit the place do not pay for the pleasure of the flesh, but for the permission to gaze and poke at the exhibits: the Sleeping Beauty, the Wonder who never grows, Fanny who had eyes instead of nipples, or Fevvers the winged-lady. The 'unnatural' is displayed in order to enforce the visitors' belief in their own 'naturalness', when in fact they 'were the unnatural ones' (Carter, *Nights* 61). Sarah Gamble points out that, throughout the novel, 'the freakish are made the recipients of the "normal" world's fears and perversions' (160) and, not surprisingly, the female bodies become the perfect mirrors.

Fevvers and the other female slaves build their friendship on the common basis of their marginal social status and the painful awareness that they are for ever abandoned by the conventions of a patriarchal culture unwilling to tolerate unnaturalness. The physical deformities are perceived as metaphorical 'challenges and interruptions to the conventional narrative of femininity' (Hanson 63). Therefore, Carter presents the female community in the museum as a bitter parody of the patriarchal approach to womanhood.

The fantastic of far away places

After Fevvers signs a contract for a Grand Imperial Tour, the action moves from London to Imperialist Russia, and from here to the *tabula rasa* of Siberia, in a geographical displacement of the centre meant to challenge the limits of the British Empire. This movement towards foreign places parallels a movement away from reality and towards an increasing fantastic. In *The Poetics of Space*, Gaston Bachelard comments on the relation between domestic interiors and fantastic sites, finding, like Virginia Woolf, that the home space 'is unwilling to remain permanently enclosed. It deploys and appears to move elsewhere without difficulty; into other times, and on different planes of dream and memory' (53). By encouraging

daydreaming, the house loses its connotations of domestic confinement and opens the space to imaginary journeys.

In this light, the fantastic begins to be evident in *Nights at the Circus* from the very beginning, manifesting its disquieting presence in the everyday realm of home and London, when Lizzie plays tricks with Big Ben and Father Time (Armitt 182). The notion of time is itself related to the power of the centre. Time means Greenwich, a small borough of greater London, from where international temporal measures are dictated. Discussing the implications of Greenwich prime meridian, Indira Karamcheti equates time with a 'rhetorical figure' no longer attached to a physical universe, but 'assuming symbolic power to control our knowledge of the world' (126). By virtue of Lizzie's tricks, Carter manages to subvert the ideological operation of central time, and thus of the entire notion of patriarchal centre, since the tricks appear as a conspiracy between women:

> Atop the sparkling tracery of the House, the gilt hands of Big Ben pointed to five minutes to seven. Both women looked up at the clock face and smiled a single, small smile of complicity of which Walser received the faded aftermath as she turned to shake his hand. A strong, firm, masculine grip. No gloves.
>
> (Carter, *Nights* 89)

Faced with Big Ben's apparent tendency to keep striking twelve o'clock, as well as with Fevvers's earthly physicality, Walser begins to doubt his reasoning capacities: 'Shall I believe in it? Shall I pretend to believe in it?' (Carter, *Nights* 28). Like the narrative itself, Walser is losing the stable grounds of reality.

Away from the ruling centre which is London, and away from 'reality', Carter presents a primitive utopia of a female community. In a far fetched place in Siberia, Countess P., who had once murdered her husband by meticulous poisoning over a period of years, set up a private asylum for female criminals. In perfect silence, women are exposed to a therapy of meditation; they 'would live alone with the memory of their crime until they acknowledged not their guilt… but their responsibility' (Carter, *Nights* 212) for killing their husbands. Communication is strictly forbidden between inmates, as well as between inmates and wardresses, all equally imprisoned and constantly watched. In spite of prohibitions, the communication between women is established in the most unconventional yet utterly feminine manner when Olga Alexandrovna starts writing notes to a wardress in menstrual blood, 'conventionally seen as dirty and a demarcation between men and women' (Peach 135). The female bond thus created is all the more powerful since it enables women's solidarity beyond the confines of the Symbolic. As Cixous famously proclaims:

> It is in writing, from woman and toward woman, and in accepting the challenge of the discourse controlled by the phallus, that woman will affirm woman somewhere other than in silence, the place reserved for her in and through the Symbolic. (93)

At the same time, the writing in the womb's blood registers a woman's most authentic way of expressing herself, that is, the writing of and through the body.

'Write yourself', advices Cixous, 'your body must make itself heard. Then the huge resources of the unconscious will burst out. Finally the inexhaustible feminine Imaginary is going to be deployed' (97). Writing becomes synonymous with a subversive act, as women break up their long imposed silence and openly assert an un-censored relationship with their own sexuality. To write is to return to women the body from which they have turned away.

> Woman must write her body, must make up the unimpeded tongue that bursts partitions, classes, and rhetorics, orders and codes, must inundate, run through, go beyond the discourse with its last reserves, including the one of laughing off the word "silence" that has to be said, the one that, aiming for the impossible, stops dead before the word "impossible" and writes it as "end".
>
> (Cixous & Clément 94–95)

This 'army of lovers' (Carter, *Nights* 217) finally rise against the head of the establishment and go out into the white world which looked like 'a blank sheet of fresh paper'(Carter, *Nights* 218) on which they are free to inscribe whatever words or destiny they may choose. Yet, no words are uttered; kisses and embraces are exchanged and the infinite joy bursts open in singing. For Cixous, the song represents 'the first music of the voice of love, which every woman keeps alive… Within each woman the first, nameless love is singing' (93).

In *Revolution in Poetic Language*, Julia Kristeva regards music as one of the 'non-verbal signifying systems that are constructed exclusively on the basis of the semiotic' (24). The joy and physical sensations to be found in music originate in baby language, and are therefore associated with the mother tongue. In Carter's *Nights at the Circus*, the women escaping the asylum reclaim then, in their songs, their mother tongues or, in Cixous's terms, 'the lost mother/bitter-lost' (93).

Such utopian female societies, as the one presented by Carter, function as a 'counter society' which, according to Kristeva, constitutes 'a sort of alter-ego of the official society, in which all real or fantasized possibilities for jouissance take refuge' (*Women* 870). In Carter's novel, this place outside the law is inhabited by women who are marginalised twice: once as women and then as criminals. Their very marginality is turned into a refuge, into jouissance which is always a transgression, a space where female desires and body rhythms can be freely displayed.

The novel's movement away from Britain may also stand for an implicit rejection of 'nation', for a form of exile, displacement or homelessness. Fevvers abandons the imprisonment of the claustrophobic places allotted to women, and seeks a geography of vast spaces, in a utopian place and time before the empire and male colonisation drew a line between the margin and the centre. As Virginia Woolf claimed in *Three Guineas*: 'As a woman I have no country; as a woman I want no country; as a woman my country is the whole world' (109).

The fall of the British Empire

Wise Children, like *Nights at the Circus*, is located in London, but the London of a Britain caught in a historical period of post-imperialist decline. Dora Chance

observes: 'in these days, there is no such thing as a penny any more and it is as if this foggy three-cornered island were dangling from a cloud – now we are in the air' (Carter, *Children* 112). As a personal witness of almost an entire century, Dora can recognise a number of indicators of Britain's decline, such as the disappearance of the Lyons teashops, along with different unfortunate changes in London's geography: 'Even the railway stations changed out of recognition, turned into souks. Waterloo. Victoria. Nowhere you can get a decent cup of tea, all they give you is Harvey Wallbangers, filthy cappuccino' (Carter, *Children* 3). Not accidentally, these apparent minor changes refer to tea as a symbol of British traditional customs, tastes and lifestyles, pointing, thus, to larger socio-cultural changes.

The most accurate image of the decline of the British Empire in *Wise Children* is embodied by Gorgeous George, a parody of the English patron saint. Since the Empire is the product of male desire to conquer and submit others, it is through a male body that its subsequent fall is represented. Gorgeous George is a comedian who has the map of the world tattooed on his body. While singing *Rose of England, God Save the King* and *Rule, Britannia* he strips off to reveal his underwear 'made out of the union Jack' as well as 'the Cape of Good Hope situated in his navel and…the Falkland Islands…down the crack of his bum' (Carter, *Children* 67). The tattooed map representing the geography of the empire is bright pink, reminding those days when 'there was so much pink on the map of the world that English was spoken everywhere' (Carter, *Children* 17). In limelight the pink turns into 'a morbid raspberry colour that looked bad for his health' (Carter, *Children* 67), suggesting how the empire has proved utterly unhealthy not only for the colonised people, but also for the British themselves.

At the sight of George's body, the children Dora and Nora are bemused, since they had been taught that men were supposed to win battles and rule the world: 'Hadn't Grandma told us that wars were a way to get the young men out of the picture, leave all the women for the ugly old codgers who wouldn't have got any, otherwise?' (Carter, *Children* 67). The time of won battles is over and Gorgeous George merely stands for 'the idea of conquest. He is a walking metaphor, effete mirror-image. George shows us an empire falling: having once dominated the world, this Englishman can now be master of only one space: his own body' (Webb 197). Or, as Dora mentions in her autobiography, 'George was not a comic at all but an enormous statement' (Carter, *Children* 66) of the decline of an empire.

The novel draws a parallel between the rise and fall of the empire and the English theatre, whose main representative figures in the story are the Hazards. The House of Hazards flourished as a theatrical family during the glorious days of British imperialism, when Shakespeare used to be the symbol of cultural excellence and British patriotism. Just as Septimus in Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* volunteered 'to save an England which consisted almost entirely of Shakespeare's Plays' (75), the Chances' paternal grandparents, Ranulph and Estella Hazard, embark on a mission to take the civilising word of Shakespeare 'to the end of the Empire' (Carter, *Children* 17), where Shakespeare had never been before. Ranulph, and later Melchior, both take on the attributes of the Shakespearian roles they play to the extent that their life merges with fiction: 'Old Ranulph couldn't tell the difference between Shakespeare and living'

(Carter, *Children* 21). They dominate the British theatre in the same patriarchal manner in which they patronise their amazingly complicated family.

However, as Dora mentions from the beginning, 'you can't trust things to stay the same' (Carter, *Children* 1). The Chances witness how both the empire and the theatre are crumbling and steadily getting decentralised. As the twentieth century gets underway, theatre is gradually upstaged by the new ascendant media of film and television. Thus *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is made into a 1930s Hollywood film, which is later perceived as 'a masterpiece of kitsch' (Carter, *Children* 111), pointing to the inevitable downfall of 'high' art, the Hazards and the British Empire altogether. Just as the new ascendant media of film and television displace Shakespeare on stage, the Hazards are compromising their theatrical reputation in margarine advertisements: 'To butter or not to butter…' (Carter, *Children* 38). Sarah Gamble argues that Carter attempts to reveal 'the process by which objects of cultural value lose their ability to participate within a dominant aesthetic. In this way, theatrical institutions, once enshrined in high culture, become appropriable by contemporary popular cultural forms' (178).

On the other hand, Gerardine Meaney pinpoints that the dismissal of Shakespeare and the Hazard family as two emblematic figures of imperial and patriarchal domination begins in North America, which appears as the only colony in *Wise Children*, 'partly because it has suspended the power of the "parent" country and inverted the relation of centre to margin' (129). Moreover, since the new World is a colony, it has been gendered as feminine, as the Other of the masculine centre; hence the order and stability of the British Empire are challenged on feminine grounds. It is in America that Ranulph began to mix internal and external fantasy to the extent that, during a representation of *Othello*, he identified with the hero and killed his wife, her lover and himself. It is in America as well that Dora realises that their routine work at Hollywood turned all of them into both slaves and market commodities:

> We worked like slaves. Take after take after take. The same routine, the same song, the same line – over and over and over. We were both product *and* process, simultaneously, and it very near broke us. And what did all our hard work add up to? Just another Saturday night at the pictures! Your one shilling and ninepenn'orth. Your helping of dark. What an equation. Our sweated labour = your bit of fun.
> "Like tarts", said Nora, with prim distaste.
>
> (Carter, *Children* 142)

The commodity trend that gives prominence to the cinema also places Shakespeare on a banknote, ironically turning the symbol of British high culture 'into actual currency' (Carter, *Children* 191).

Lorna Sage brings a useful clarification by showing that Carter's presentation of Shakespeare's fate in postcolonial Britain is by no means a disrespectful upturning of the bard's plays, but rather an attempt to 'disseminate Shakespeare, spread him around, reinvent him as latter day demotic' (56). Shakespeare may well represent the literary canon much contested by feminists, but Carter manages to 'restore' him by integrating his work into popular culture. Sage offers an interesting quotation, from one of her interviews with Carter, in which the novelist announced:

> Shakespeare just isn't an intellectual…intellectuals…are still reluctant to treat him as popular culture…You mention folk culture and people immediately assume you're going to talk about porridge and clog dancing… Shakespeare, like Picasso, is one of the great hinge-figures that sum up the past – one of the great Janus-figures that sum up the past as well as opening all the doors towards the future… (56)

Finally, another strategy of distancing from the centre that Carter envisages is to be found in the de-centralisation of culture. The writer joins postmodernist theorists and artists in debunking the high/low art hierarchy of earlier times by challenging cultural specificity, the canon and conventional methods of analysis. From a feminist perspective, the literary canon does not make up a corpus of universal values, but rather aesthetically responds to what society wants politically. At the same time, it is true that literature has offered women the space from which to voice their political, emancipative ideas. Therefore, since the mid-1970s feminist criticism has actively engaged in assaulting the fixed limits of the literary canon, a gesture which is best illustrated in contemporary feminine fiction, which has embraced 'non-canonical' forms of literature. As Patricia Waugh observes:

> many contemporary women writers have sought to "displace" their desires, seeking articulation not through the rational and metonymic structures of realism but through the associative and metaphorical modes of fantasy: romance, science fiction, gothic, utopia, horror. (171)

It is precisely what Carter does with her fiction which constantly mingles fact with fantasy, real figures with gothic characters, and conventional spaces with utopian worlds.

On the other hand, literature and its medium of representation, that is language, constitute a major factor in the reproduction of patriarchy. The condition of patriarchy and the very concept of margin presuppose the reality of isolation and an implied exclusion from the system of symbolic language. In moving between received languages and undervalued ways of speaking, such as music, Carter managed to create a certain poetics of displacement, which stresses the necessity of transgressing borders. Thus her literary work engages in a criss-crossing of margins and literary genres in order to overcome cultural marginality.

Conclusion

In Angela Carter's novels, the category of gender is often juxtaposed across the issues of cultural, psychological and geographical marginality. In order to fracture the patriarchal discourse of power and enable women to find their space and tell their stories, the writer relies on the fantastic which functions in her novels as both a successful postmodern strategy of questioning mimetic representation and a source of political, utopian transgression. Writing from the margins of culture and the literary canon, Carter places great emphasis on dismantling the logics of the centre by valorising the empowering potential of women's peripheral existence and experience. Her ultimate interest in interrogating borders is a rethinking of feminine identity. From

this perspective, the texts discussed in this article figure various strategies for asserting women's subjectivity on terms other than the negative of positive masculine values.

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Adam's apple – a grape of the vine?

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ABSTRACT

"And when the woman saw that the tree *was* good for food, and that it *was* pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make *one* wise, she took of **the fruit** thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat." (Genesis, 3:6) And indeed they died, not as gods, as the serpent said, but as mere mortals, acknowledging the fact that they were lied to and pushed into disobedience, tasting the evil and the bitterness of being separated from the Creator. "The forbidden fruit is identified respectively with the fig, grape, apple of paradise (Etrog), wheat (which grew on the stalks as tall as the cedars of Lebanon) and the nut;" (Ginzberg, 1998: 97). The kind of fruit in itself is not of capital importance as the trespassing of God's word but its possible exciting, drugging effects on the first pair in paradise are obvious. Just as in Noah' case, the juice from the grape consumption might have been responsible for euphoric state of the Adam – Eve pair, the lush of the fruit altering behaviour.

KEYWORDS: *fruit, tree of knowledge of good and evil, wine, vine, blood, apple*

"And out of the ground made the LORD God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; **the tree of life** also in the midst of the garden, and **the tree of knowledge of good and evil**." (Genesis, 2:9) And the LORD God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat (Genesis, 2:16). "But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou **eatest** thereof thou shalt surely **die.**" (Genesis, 2:17)

Out of the atonement of sins comes a far greater understanding or knowledge of good and evil, as this knowledge was **prior to fall**, because God created an intelligent **Adam**, who was the possessor of an incentive mind, himself being able to name the entire creation, as we know it today. It is quite comprehensible that God would create a man according to His resemblance and figure, "in his own image" (Genesis, 2:27) because "...we are not able to conceive of anything in God the likeness of which we do not find in ourselves." (Mcllvaine, 1847: 41). So, he is a man with **free will**, not a machinery, a freedom to choose the good – The Creator or the evil – the disobedience of God's word, a man able to understand hidden things, as he was sleeping-like the creation of Eve: "...bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man" (Genesis, 2:23). He, therefore, is a complete individual, the first flesh **icon** recorded, God's mirror, who has the sensitivity to understand the

importance of the wedding, the union with Eve, whose name he chooses. So, Adam, perfectly acknowledges good and evil – although he has not yet felt the harshness of it, in the absence of God – before "tasting" the fruit of his decay.

Nowhere in the Bible does it say the kind of fruit he "eats", or whether this eating/trespassing of God's commandment is a kind of sexual lust, after the eyes were "opened". Adam has a double responsibility, towards keeping God's demand and towards Eve, whom she was given to hold, because he is a **co-creator himself**, since he, somehow, created Eve, so he fells twice, and the Serpent knows that. The perfect, free, yet uncorrupted individual, with the strongest attributes and free will, a son of God, not a slave, falls into deceit, by **choosing** to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, having knowledge already, though not feeling it. **The fruit** of his decay handed by his beloved Eve has not been specified in the Bible, and the probability is rather overwhelming, as the Garden of Eden encompassed the creation and imagination of God, the father, the Unity in Trinity.

The **forbidden fruit** is identified respectively with the **fig, grape, apple** of paradise (Etrog), **wheat** (which grew on the stalks *as tall as the cedars of Lebanon)* and the **nut**." (Ginzberg, 1998: 97). Imagining that everything in the Garden of Eden was blown out of proportions, it is only logical to presume that a single **grape** could be as big as an apple and its fermenting juice as strong as a **wine**, an euphoric drug.

"And when the woman saw that the tree *was* good for food, and that it *was* pleasant to the eyes, and a tree **to be desired** to make *one* **wise**, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat." (Genesis, 3:6). The desire inoculated by the old Serpent, the first rebel to fall from the Heavens, together with the euphoric juice in the fruit somehow made it possible for the first pair to forget God's words, to such an extent so to renounce everything tangible as the Paradise, their home, their holiness in order to be as God. But they were as God, although of earthly, dusty flesh. The desire for other than innocent wisdom- whom they already possessed, raises questions; they were already co-creators, rulers of Paradise, living in absolute bliss, but they had not yet passed **temptation**, the bending of human spirit to the absolute will of God, the greatest power of **free will,** is the renouncement of it, the cutting of free will, just as Christ and Jov did, and monks do, nowadays.

"But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. " (Genesis, 3:3) And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: (Genesis, 3:4) For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and **ye shall be as gods**, knowing good and evil. (Genesis, 3:5) But they already knew good and evil, otherwise how could they acknowledge, comprehend what God commended them, asks himself Saint Joan Golden Mouth. It was God that allowed Satan to tempt his creation, in the first place, as He did with Jov and Christ, this being a test one must pass in order to become worthy of being the son of God; the wish of Lucifer to be as the Most High "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High." (Isaiah, 14:14) was the thing that brought his punishment and fall he now wants to reproduce on the Adam and Eve, out of jealousy, because he knows

God created them to fill the empty space he and his angles left after the disobedience and fall into the pit.

The kind of fruit in itself is not of capital importance – "The tree of knowledge of good and evil; that is, the experience of good and evil **by event**" (*apud* Raleigh, 1829: 136) – as the trespassing of God's word but its possible exciting, drugging effects on the first pair in paradise are obvious. Just as in Noah' case, the juice from the grape consumption might have been responsible for euphoric state of the Adam – Eve pair, the lush of the fruit altering behaviour. The possibility of the **fruit** to be the **grape** is explainable throughout the bible, as the **wine** becomes the first miracle at the wedding in the Cana of Galilee and the holly blood of Christ, as God Himself says in the Last Supper, thus the symbolism flows from the beginning of the human race up to the gates of Heavens, where Christ awaits his disciples to drink from the fruit of the wine, again.

The possibility that the fruit of knowledge of good and evil be a lush, fermented grape seems possible, as under this euphoric state, Adam lets himself fooled by Eve, not to touch it, as God said, but to eat it, and loses his senses, becoming corrupt, ultimately repeating Lucifer's fall absent rebellion. Yet, his pride prevents him from asking forgiveness from God, Adam being the first interrogated by the Lord:

"*And the LORD God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou?"* (Genesis, 3:9) *Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?* (Genesis, 3:11) *And the man said,* ***The woman*** *whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. And the woman said,* ***The serpent*** *beguiled me, and I did eat.* (Genesis, 3:12, 13) – had he recognised his fault, had Eve asked for pardon surely God would have considered to forgive them, but in the absence of repentance God took caution measures and cast them out of Paradise *"...ejectus Adam de Paradiso voluptatis, exilium vitae temporalis intravit..."* (Parker, 1833: 2), lest they should eat from the tree of live and live forever, in absent recognition of their sin.

This **fruit** Adam and Eve ate – "***For some have conceived it a* vine*; in the mystery of whose fruit lay the expiation of the transgression***" (Browne, 1835: 295) is the **grape** of lack of faith in God's word, the perfect demonstration that the Lord created not a machinery to act according to the master, but a free individual, a god in God's own image, with power over the creation, with dominion, love and equally freedom being the entire purpose of creation. The logical correlation between the expiation of transgressions and the fruit in Eden seems logical, since the first three chapters lay down the unfolding of future events – the revelation of God's intentions to save the man He has so loved, and the first mention of **Virgin Mary**, Mother of God and the **crucifixion** of **Jesus Christ** – "And I will put enmity between thee and **the woman**, and between thy seed **and her seed**; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt **bruise his heel**." (Genesis, 3:15).

It would only make sense in that God would reinstate this tree and the fruit it bears for in Christ we receive more than we have lost through Adam, and coincidence or not, the first miracle Christ performs is the turning of water into wine, the sacrifice of His Holy blood He would execute. The fruit of the vine, the grape, must have had

enhancing, lustful proprieties since Adam And Eve were not the only one fooled by it, but also righteous Noah, and the vine being the first tree to be planted after the flood, there is this reiteration of the red ,lustful fruit and the attempt to expiate it, somehow.

The vine brings Noah disgrace, too:

> And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a **vineyard:** And he drank of the wine, and **was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent.** And **Ham**, the father of Canaan, **saw the nakedness of his father,** and told his two brethren without. And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.
>
> (Genesis, 9:20, ...25)

To see thy father nakedness means to have abusive, sexual intercourse with his father's wife, his own mother, "The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover: **it is thy father's nakedness**" (Leviticus, 18:8) because Noah was already uncovered in his tent, uncovered is "...literally "uncovering the nakedness" = **incest** or **unchastity**" (Ginzberg, 1998: 193), as we can see from the written laws and regulations in the Talmud: "Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter in law. She is thy son' wife; thou shalt not uncover thy nakedness." or "**the nakedness of thy father's wife** thou shalt not uncover- this verse interdicts her after his father's death. (*Ibidem*: 316)

So the already fallen nature of man combined with the exhilarating effects of grape of the vine have proven again to be a disaster, this time, with no external, satanic influence, thus, sleeping with him mother, Ham practically emasculates his father, ensuring prevalence over the bloodline, as a patriarch, knowing his father would never touch the stained woman. Both Noah and Ham repeat Adam's sin in the Garden of Eden, under the intoxication of the grape, Noah by not keeping vigilance unto his family and Ham by trying to take the pace of his Father. No matter the reasons, the evil finds somehow a gate and prevails in the new men, the new Adams, of the post flooded Earth, thus causing Noah's curse over the Canaanites.

Of course one cannot put the blame on the grape, man is the perpetrator, but the possible intoxicating effects of the grape would add to such disasters, that later Christ will repair, in his own blood. In fact, of thorns and "...thistles shall it bring forth to thee;" (Genesis, 3:18) God certifies Adam and prophetesses the upcoming of The Saviour, as whomever man God might decide to choose "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" (Isaiah, 6:8) will not be capable of listen to His holy word entirely.

So God's plan to redeem the fallen human nature would presumably include the redemption of the mocked fruit, turning it into his Holy Blood, the Eucharist, and the communion, by which we are all saved. It seems a logical correlation since we take the **wine** and bread symbolizing the shed **blood** and body of Christ in Holy

Communion as a remembrance of his sacrifice, thus God, coming fourth in the world Himself, reinstates the wine, transforming It into his Blood in the Last Supper:

> And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, **Drink** ye all of it; For this is **my blood** of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of **this fruit of the vine**, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.
>
> (Mathew, 22:28, 29)

It could be a clear reinstatement of the invigorating fruit of Paradise that caused problem to the first pair and sealed their faith, either by event or not, it is with certainty that we take the Holy Eucharist as wine not as apple, simply considering God's many crucial prophecies in Genesis Chapter three.

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Le jeu et le choc des langues dans *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence* de Jean-Marie Adiaffi Adé : une néoglottophagie ?

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ABSTRACT: The game and the clash of languages in *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence* by Jean-Marie Adiaffi Adé: a new glottophagy?

Les Naufragés de l'intelligence by Jean-Marie Adiaffi Adé is a hybrid writing because mixing French and ivorian idioms. In fact, this novel appropriates the colonization language by adding massively, not only some names of characters and spaces, but also somes words and expressions peculiar to diverse ivorian idioms. It transforms French using Nouchi, a halfcast language that impressively mixes French and Ivorian idioms. Though these scriptural processes, Adiaffi's novel instead of being part of a language death process is rather inserted into a language levelling teleology, so militating in favour of a dialogue of languages with a view to achieving the advent of an intermediate language that should work on a world culture emergence.

KEYWORDS: *Ivorian idioms, nouchi, language death process, languages levelling teleology, intermediate language, world culture*

Introduction

Bien que figurant parmi les notions les plus employées dans les discours en sciences du langage, le concept de langue alimente aujourd'hui encore de vives polémiques tant les linguistes échouent à lui conférer une définition scientifique consensuelle (Hendschel, 2002 : 5). Si, pour certains, les gens *"civilisés"* parlent des langues alors que les *"sauvages"* ont des dialectes, des patois ou des parlers mal dégrossis (Calvet, 1974 : 40-54), la définition qui semble cependant la moins marquée par un subjectivisme répondant est celle de Jean Fourquet. Pour lui, « il semble scientifiquement préférable de donner le nom de langue à tout ensemble organisé de moyens de communication par la parole » (Fourquet, 1969 : 581). À ce titre, tout système de signes arbitraires, mais codés, propre à une communauté ou à une nation et qui permet de communiquer doit être pris comme une langue. Pour contourner cette dichotomie langue/dialecte, quelques linguistes préfèrent utiliser le terme d'idiome.

Avec la colonisation de l'Afrique, l'on se situe encore dans la hiérarchisation des idiomes qui confère à la langue du colonisateur le statut de langue seule susceptible d'être qualifiée comme telle, servant de véhicule de communication dans les colonies. Les idiomes africains sont alors ravalés au rang de dialectes ou de patois de

sorte que les Africains en éprouvaient un malaise dans les espaces publics, et, parfois même, dans des espaces privés comme la famille. On aboutit à ce que le linguiste français Louis-Jean Calvet (1974 : 14) désigne sous l'appellation de *« glottophagie (…), c'est-à-dire le dévorement des langues africaines [langues des colonisés] par la langue française [celle du colonisateur] »*.

Les indépendances une fois acquises, les écrivains africains qui semblent aiguillonnés par une conscience nouvelle emploient à profusion, dans leurs œuvres, des lexies des langues africaines. C'est le cas de l'écrivain ivoirien Jean-Marie Adiaffi Adé dont le roman, *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence,* multiplie les termes et expressions provenant des langues ivoiriennes ; ce qui fait dire à Béatrice Rangira Gallimore (1996 : 105) qu'*« Adiaffi adopte la néoglottophagie »*, puisque la langue du colonisateur, le français, semble, à son tour, dévorée par celles des ex-colonisés. Peut-on affirmer, par cette posture scripturale, qu'Adiaffi ne se situe que dans une simple dynamique de néoglottophagie ? Ne s'inscrit-il que dans une logique diglossique de phagocytose du français ? Ou milite-t-il plutôt pour un dialogue des langues, prodrome d'un interlecte qui invite à une sorte de décloisonnement linguistique ?

À travers une analyse socio-sémiotique, l'on mettra en évidence le mécanisme d'encodage textuel des langues ivoiriennes et sa portée idéologique. L'étude montrera ainsi, d'une part, les pratiques discursives et les stratégies d'insertion de ces langues dans le roman d'Adiaffi et elle cherchera, d'autre part, à dévoiler comment Adiaffi entre, par ce fait, dans une téléologie de nivellement des langues qui travaillerait à l'émergence d'une langue-monde.

1. Pratiques discursives et stratégies d'insertion des langues ivoiriennes

La littérature africaine se présente, à ses débuts, comme une littérature d'adhésion aux thèses colonialistes. Dans toutes les œuvres narratives, le Noir ne se définit que par rapport au Blanc, *"son maître"*. Le roman relevant de cette thématique est plus particulièrement marqué par l'influence de la littérature française, surtout au niveau de l'expression, car la création romanesque de l'époque consiste en un exercice de style. Le romancier africain entend montrer au lecteur européen les prouesses dont il est capable dans le maniement de la langue française. Georges Hardy écrit à ce propos au sujet de *Doguicimi* de Paul Hazoumé (1938 : 5) :

> C'est pour la France bien entendu un singulier mérite que d'avoir au lendemain même de son installation opéré de telles conquêtes intellectuelles et morales. Le cas de Paul Hazoumé…est seulement le plus brillant de toute une série…Si son teint ne trahissait son origine vous le prendrez pour un Français de France ; tout dans son allure courtoise, dans ses gestes aisés et mesurés, dans l'aimable ardeur qui émane de sa personne est des hommes de chez nous.

Après les deux Guerres cependant, les Africains en général, et les romanciers africains en particulier, réalisent que la colonisation est plutôt le temps de la négation de l'homme noir, le temps de la frustration permanente et également le temps de l'anéantissement des valeurs traditionnelles africaines. Ce nouvel état d'esprit trouve

un écho favorable dans la thématique des romans africains et surtout dans le style des romanciers. Ceux-ci considèrent la langue française non plus comme une contrainte rigide à laquelle il faut se plier, mais plutôt comme une réserve de matériaux transformables par l'écriture, et même fécondables par les langues africaines. *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence* s'approprie, dans cette veine, la langue française à travers un encodage onomastique à ascendant ivoiriste[1] et des intrusions lexicales des langues ivoiriennes qui aliènent la langue naturelle du roman africain d'expression française.

1.1. Un encodage onomastique à ascendant ivoiriste

Se fondant sur l'étude des noms propres, l'onomastique apparaît comme une branche à part de la linguistique. Les noms propres font partie, de fait, du patrimoine linguistique de chaque peuple, au même titre que les noms communs et autres mots du vocabulaire. Dans un texte littéraire, ils indiquent explicitement ou implicitement des nuances d'ordre non seulement grammatical, mais historique et surtout culturel.

La quasi-totalité des anthroponymes et des toponymes repérables dans le texte d'Adiaffi procède, en effet, de différentes langues de la Côte d'Ivoire. À ce jeu, l'agni (langue parlée à l'Est et au Sud-Est de la Côte d'Ivoire, et par ailleurs langue de l'auteur) est la mieux représentée. Pour ce qui est des personnages qui parcourent le roman, plus que de simples dénominations, leurs appellations s'inscrivent dans de véritables programmes narratifs. Elles font ainsi référence soit à des qualificatifs moraux ou physiques, soit à des situations vécues ou souhaitées par les personnages qui les portent, soit encore à des rites ou à des croyances populaires ivoiriennes.

Au nombre des qualificatifs moraux ou physiques, il y a des noms agni comme N'Da Tê, N'Da Kpa, Batiman Kpangni. N'Da Tê et N'Da Kpa sont des jumeaux. N'Da signifie *« jumeau »*. Conformément aux réquisits du mythe agni sur les jumeaux, ces deux personnages sont diamétralement opposés. N'Da Tê se présente comme le jumeau malfaisant, d'où le qualificatif Tê qui veut dire *« mauvais »*, alors que N'Da Kpa (Kpa signifiant *« bon »*) est un jumeau bienfaiteur. Batiman Kpangny est une expression qui pourrait se traduire dans un français ivoirisé par *« petit vieux »*, c'est-à-dire *« un enfant qui a l'allure d'un vieillard »*. Malgré son jeune âge, ce personnage vit à la Rue Princesse, la rue de toutes les orgies. Il est ainsi confronté à la drogue, à la prostitution, à la criminalité…

Hormis ces noms qui décrivent le physique ou les attitudes des personnages, d'autres présentent des situations vécues ou souhaitées par des personnages. Ces anthroponymes sont numériquement les plus importants : Guégon, Namala, Mo Ehian, Mihou, Yako, Manouan, Naka, Blayalè, Sounan Ahuéliè, Missoro Sounan, Ebrô Ehomin, Missoro Ehoué Nan Mindè, Akundan N'Guéré Anaorè, Akoua Mando Sounan, Mo Gnamien Bla. Excepté Guégon et Namala, toutes les autres appellations relèvent de la sphère linguistique agni.

L'un des personnages importants de l'œuvre, Guégon, tire son nom de la langue dan (langue de l'Ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire). Guégon signifie *« masque mâle »*. Chez

le peuple dan, il occupe le sommet de la hiérarchie des masques. Dans *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence*, Guégon est le commissaire intègre qui permet au peuple de triompher des bahifouê (*« forces du mal »*, *« forces des ténèbres »* en agni). Mis à mal par les dignitaires corrompus du régime, il est réhabilité et nommé Ministre de l'Intérieur. Le commissaire Namala dont le nom est un adjectif qualificatif malinké (langue du Nord et du Nord-Ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire) se rapportant à ce qui n'inspire pas confiance, ce qui paraît louche, fait partie des personnages qui contrarient Guégon. Namala est, en effet, le commissaire qui collabore avec les malfaiteurs au grand dam de la population.

Pour ce qui est des noms agni, plutôt que d'en faire un traitement exhaustif, la présente étude ne s'attardera que sur les plus expressifs comme Mo Ehian, Mihou, Yako, Akoua Mando Sounan. Mo Ehian, la mère des jumeaux N'Da Tê et N'Da Kpa, vit dans le dénuement total dans un quartier précaire de la ville ; d'où son nom qui signifie *« maman misère »*. Quant à Mihou, son nom rappelle assurément la mort violente de son ami et collègue, l'abbé Yako. Mihou, c'est-à-dire *« la douleur me tue »* ou plus exactement *« je me meurs »* révèle, de fait, la grande souffrance morale de ce personnage. Le nom porté par son collègue Yako, prêtre-aumônier des pauvres et des morts que N'Da Tê assassine lâchement, est l'expression agni qui traduit la compassion que l'on éprouve pour quelqu'un qui vit un malheur. Quant à Akoua Mando Sounan, la prophétesse, son nom est tout un programme. Il signifie *« je n'ai pas trouvé un homme humain »*. Elle est une envoyée de Gnamien (Dieu en agni) pour rendre le monde un peu plus humain. Elle subit, pour cette raison, une initiation à la montagne sacrée.

Hormis les personnages ci-dessus évoqués, il y en a dont les noms ressortissent aux rites et croyances de certains peuples ivoiriens, à savoir Ehobilé Angaman, Bahifouê, Zogbeu et Bahoron. Ehobilé Angaman, le serpent de la prêtresse Akoua Mando Sounan, est le génie des génies. L'on est obligé de le consulter avant de s'engager dans une quelconque entreprise sérieuse. Son nom qui se traduit par *« serpent noir qu'il ne faut pas provoquer »* constitue la preuve qu'on ne le consulte pas pour de banales affaires. Dans le registre des croyances populaires, se trouve aussi Bahifouê, nom renvoyant à une croyance animiste et représentant l'ensemble des forces maléfiques. Dans *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence*, Bahifouê est un personnage macabre aux actes odieux. Il fait, en effet, partie de la brigade de violeurs de N'Da Tê, le jumeau malfaisant.

Les Naufragés de l'intelligence met également en scène les personnages de Zogbeu et de Bahoron. Chez les Dan, *"Zo"* signifie *« féticheur-détecteur de sorciers »*. C'est l'équivalent des *"komian"* chez les Agni. Le terme *"Gbeu"* signifie *« fils »*. Zogbeu est assurément le fils d'un féticheur-détecteur de sorciers. *"Zo"* renvoie aussi au mot français *« cœur »* ; *"Gbeu"* serait alors issu de la déformation de *"Gbi"*, c'est-à-dire *« dur »*. Zogbeu signifierait alors *« cœur dur »* ou mieux *« qui supporte beaucoup de choses »*, puisque son oncle, Guégon, est soumis à de rudes épreuves dans l'exercice de sa profession. Pour ce qui est de Bahoron, l'officier de police, son nom s'inscrit dans un des rituels populaires du peuple bété (peuple du Centre-Ouest de la Côte d'Ivoire). Ce terme s'applique dans la région bété à la plus belle femme issue d'un concours de beauté organisé à cet effet. Par son nom, l'on peut certifier que l'officier de police Bahoron est une femme d'une beauté féerique.

Les anthroponymes que l'on retrouve dans *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence* prennent ancrage dans les langues et cultures ivoiriennes. Ces noms empruntent aux diverses langues ivoiriennes les éléments qui entrent dans leur composition et demeurent, pour cette raison, sémantiquement ivoiriens. Il en est de même pour les nombreux toponymes repérables dans le roman.

Comme l'a fort bien fait remarquer Roland Bourneuf (1970 : 94), *« L'espace dans un roman est plus que la somme des lieux décrits »*. Loin d'être uniquement une sorte d'ornement chargée d'apporter le pittoresque nécessaire au décor de la fiction, la représentation de l'espace a, elle aussi, intimement partie liée avec le programme narratif et le fonctionnement idéologique de l'œuvre romanesque. *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence* présente ainsi des espaces dont les noms sont forgés dans différentes langues de Côte d'Ivoire, mettant, par ce fait même, en valeur ces idiomes. Ces espaces se résument, pour l'essentiel, à la République de Mambo, à sa capitale N'Guèlè Ahué Manou, aux quartiers Eklomiabla et Boribana, à Gnamiensounankro, à la montagne Effilé Nin N'Djin Boka, à Daoudadougou.

Excepté Boribana et Daoudadougou qui tirent leur origine du malinké, toutes les autres appellations procèdent de la langue agni. Boribana qui signifie *« la course est achevée »* désigne, dans le roman, un quartier précaire. Son nom est symptomatique de la situation d'une population qui, après maintes expulsions pour loyers impayés, a fini par échouer dans ce bidonville dont les loyers semblent enfin à portée de bourse. Daoudadougou, lui, signifie simplement *« village de Daouda »*, un village dont le fondateur se nomme Daouda.

Parmi les toponymes agni, l'on note la République de Mambo. Mambo qui signifie littéralement *« le monde est cassé, détruit, sens dessus-dessous »* est un espace dysphorique où aucune valeur humaine n'est respectée. Mambo figure la fin du monde. Pour ce qui est de N'Guèlè Ahué Manou, la capitale de la République de Mambo, il pourrait être traduit par *« il n'y a plus d'intelligence dans le monde »* ; le lecteur est déporté malgré lui dans un espace où toutes les inepties semblent acceptées. Quant à Eklomiabla, c'est-à-dire *« si tu m'aimes, viens »*, il renvoie au quartier précaire dans lequel vit Mo Ehian, la mère des jumeaux, un espace insalubre où se réfugie une population de gens pauvres. S'y rendre oblige à braver les odeurs les plus fétides de la ville ; d'où ce nom porteur de sens qui exprime l'amour vrai que ceux qui s'y hasardent vouent à ceux qu'ils viennent voir.

Gnamiensounankro, *« village de l'homme-Dieu »* et Effilé Nin N'Djin Boka, *« la montagne de la sueur et du sel »* sont des havres de paix où résident la prophétesse Akoua Mando Sounan et sa mère Gnamien Bla. Gnamiensounankro est un nouveau baptême de N'Guèlè Ahué Manou, en ce sens qu'il re-humanise le monde à l'aune des préceptes de Dieu ; son positionnement géographique à Effilé Nin N'Djin Boka, le rend cependant difficile d'accès, signe que pour parvenir à la sainteté, il faut d'énormes sacrifices.

Dans *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence*, Adiaffi choisit donc de nommer les personnages et les espaces dans les langues de la Côte d'Ivoire. Il procède à leur renomination, à leur re-baptême d'autant plus que ces derniers ont connu dans un passé colonial un baptême niant les réalités et noms africains. Or, comme le dit Géraldine Méret (2012 : 107),

> Le fait de nommer n'agit pas seulement sur les choses auxquelles il confère un nom, mais également sur les acteurs sociaux qui, en reconnaissant l'acte, lui donnent sa valeur, confirmant de fait l'autorité de celui qui nomme, sa légitimité à le faire. Le fait de nommer est un acte de pouvoir, non seulement parce qu'il accorde un nom à une réalité qu'il permet ainsi de s'approprier symboliquement, mais aussi parce que, par le même mouvement, il destitue [les personnes qui nommaient] du droit de donner des noms aux réalités qui étaient jusqu'alors les leurs.

En adoptant des stratégies onomastiques informées par les langues du terroir, avec leurs charges culturelles, Adiaffi s'engage dans une procédure de disqualification de la langue du colonisateur en faveur des langues des colonisés. La re-nomination et l'effacement des noms français au profit de nouveaux noms propres symbolisent la reconquête de soi, la reconquête du pouvoir du verbe, des valeurs culturelles locales et de l'autonomie politique. C'est sous cet angle qu'Orlandi Eni (1988 : 102) conçoit les choses quand il affirme que *« nommer, c'est gouverner »*. L'acte de nomination est donc un acte de prise de possession qui marque le droit des nouveaux souverains que sont les Ivoiriens sur cette terre appelée la Côte d'Ivoire. Il symbolise, en conséquence, dans l'imaginaire d'Adiaffi, la dépossession du colonisateur français de cette souveraineté, par l'effacement des noms qu'il avait antérieurement attribués. C'est pourquoi, en donnant de nouveaux noms aux personnages, Adiaffi procède au re-baptême des espaces pour en faire un territoire ivoirien, un territoire *identitairement* marqué. N'est-ce pas du reste ce souci de réappropriation identitaire qui le conduit à distendre la langue d'écriture du roman africain d'expression française en y intégrant comme par effraction de nombreuses tournures lexicales des langues ivoiriennes ?

1.2. Le recours aux formes lexicales ivoiriennes : une écriture subversive

La langue d'écriture du roman africain de langue française est naturellement le français. Le français que les écrivains africains de l'époque coloniale s'évertuaient à manier à la perfection est dénaturé par les auteurs de la période qui suit les indépendances africaines. L'écriture participe désormais d'un travail de plus en plus conscient sur la langue. Cette reconfiguration tous azimuts de la langue du colonisateur, ce viol artistique de la langue française apparaît de façon ostentatoire dans *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence*. La langue d'écriture du romancier, que l'on pourrait qualifier d'écriture de la dégénérescence de la langue française, s'illustre par un audacieux mélange des idiomes ivoiriens au français, par une réappropriation de cette langue jadis colonisatrice à travers un emploi exubérant de termes et expressions des langues de Côte d'Ivoire**.**

Avec Adiaffi, au-delà de la simple mise en évidence d'éléments linguistiques disparates, apparaît un réel souci de représenter toutes les régions de la Côte d'Ivoire. Cet effort de mise en relief des matériaux des langues ivoiriennes justifierait peut-être le désir que l'on lui prête de vouloir phagocyter la langue française. Cette inclination à la néoglottophagie s'observe à travers les nombreuses lexies empruntées aux langues nationales se répartissant entre les cinq grands groupes linguistiques ivoiriens[2].

Les Kwas apparaissent, par exemple, par l'usage de mots, expressions et phrases dont la plupart sont agni : *"bahifouê"* (sorcier malfaisant), *"komian"* (prêtre animiste), *"bosson"* (génie), *"kodjo"* (caleçon de femme), *"ébrô"* (l'au-delà), *"sika"* (argent), *"akwaba"* (formule de bienvenue chez les Akans), *"Aouvo Sounan"* et *"Aouvo Bian"* (homme pitoyable), *"Yalè Sounan"* (homme de souffrance), *"Aouvo Bla"* (femme pitoyable), *"djassou"* (lève-toi), *"énai yé na"* (aujourd'hui, on ne dort pas), *"Missi Gnamien"* (Dieu, le Père), *"owo"* (Dieu en abbey). Ils sont également représentés à travers les concepts culturels telles que *« le mapouka »* (langue ahizi), *« l'abissa »* (langue n'zima), *« le kotou »* (langue baoulé).

L'emploi des mots malinké tels que *"koungolo"* et *"fanicos"* (respectivement *« tête »* et *« laveurs d'habits »*), *"togognini"* (commère), *"wari"* (argent) laissent découvrir les mandé du nord quand les Mandé du sud sont repérables par les mots *« zaouli »* (danse gouro), *« tématé »* et *« Guégon »* (renvoyant respectivement à une danse et à un masque dan).

Outre ces groupes précités, d'autres actes de nomination font recours aux langues du groupe voltaïque : *"koulotyolo"*, *« Dieu »* en sénoufo ; le *"boloye"* et le *"n'goron"*, deux danses sénoufo. Sont également reconnaissables les Krou avec des mots bété comme *"bagnon"*[3] et *"bahoron"* que l'on peut traduire respectivement par *« bel homme »* et *« belle femme »*, *"bissa"* (queue de buffle que les danseurs tiennent à la main), *"kanégnon"*[4] (homme dur, courageux) et le terme guéré *"gnonsoa"* signifiant *« Le Tout-Puissant »*.

La langue utilisée dans *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence* de Jean-Marie Adiaffi Adé se ressource ainsi dans la nation ivoirienne à travers un code onomastique qui se résume, pour l'essentiel, dans les anthroponymes et les toponymes puisant abondamment aux sources des langues ivoiriennes. Ce procédé inhabituel de nomination corrompt la langue d'écriture naturelle du roman africain d'expression française en lui imposant un lexique emprunté à diverses langues ivoiriennes. Peut-on alors alléguer qu'Adiaffi demeure dans une perspective de renversement de la situation diglossique existant déjà en Côte d'Ivoire du fait de la colonisation avec un acrolecte, le français, et un basilecte, les idiomes ivoiriens ? N'est-ce pas plutôt, pour lui, une façon de réconcilier les langues de l'espace mondial en travaillant à leur coexistence dans l'harmonie ?

2. Du conflit diglossique à la cohabitation pacifique des langues : pour une langue-monde

À l'image des autres États africains, la langue du colonisateur occupe une place importante en Côte d'Ivoire de sorte que certains Ivoiriens développent une sorte d'autodénigrement des langues locales qu'ils considèrent comme des langues négatives ou péjorées, des langues d'inculture, des langues vulgaires ; l'institution du symbole[5] à l'école coloniale, maintenue pendant quelques temps dans les États indépendants, pour sanctionner tout emploi de la langue locale dans la cour de l'école afin de veiller à l'utilisation correcte et exclusive de la langue française, est illustrative de cette péjoration des idiomes ivoiriens.

Bien qu'imposé comme langue officielle, le français demeure pourtant statistiquement minoritaire, puisqu'il n'est parlé que par la population scolarisée en milieu urbain. Pour paraphraser Armando Jorge Lopes (1997 : 43) qui décrit une situation semblable au Mozambique, l'on peut avancer qu'il est *« excessif et grossier d'affirmer que [la Côte d'Ivoire] est un pays [francophone] »*, d'autant plus que les locuteurs qui parlent français sont en faible nombre.

Conscients de cet état de fait, les écrivains ivoiriens retournent aux langues ivoiriennes comme pour réclamer une légitimation, une valorisation de ces langues, un certain équilibre de la terreur[6], à entendre comme la réaction à un asservissement culturel guerrier dont la langue du colonisateur est l'instrument le plus efficace. Cette valorisation qui prend un goût de réappropriation ne rejette pas pour autant la langue du colonisateur. C'est pourquoi, la présente étude se penche sur quelques aspects remarquables de *« défrancisation du français »* (Sartre, 1949 : 247) dans le roman, une technique de conception d'un interlecte de la coexistence pacifique.

2.1. La *« défrancisation du français »*

Le partage de l'Afrique à la conférence de Berlin de 1885 ne s'est pas fait dans le respect de l'homogénéité culturelle. Les États africains actuels se trouvent, de ce fait, circonscrits dans des frontières artificielles qui regroupent, en réalité, plusieurs peuples, plusieurs territoires. La fragile homogénéité linguistique qui prévalait à l'époque antécoloniale du fait de la présence dans une même langue de variantes multiformes a finalement cédé la place à un multilinguisme, a une situation de diglossie, préjudiciable aux idiomes locaux. Pour juguler les difficultés de ce contexte nouveau de multi-culturalité, les colonisés se servent de la langue du colonisateur qui leur a été du reste imposée comme une sorte de pis-aller. Le choix en Côte d'Ivoire du français en tant que langue de communication officielle et d'enseignement relève ainsi du pragmatisme à surmonter les contradictions d'ordre ethnique et linguistique.

Plus de cinquante ans après les indépendances cependant, l'on constate que le français n'est utilisé de manière fréquente que par la population intellectuelle et surtout urbaine. La majorité des Ivoiriens, ceux vivant en milieu rural et ceux rejetés par le système scolaire, demeure en marge du français. Ainsi, à l'initiative du groupe marginalisé par l'échec scolaire, naît le nouchi[7], une langue hybride qui essaie de s'imposer au fil des jours comme une véritable lingua franca. Cette langue métisse prend en compte divers mots issus de différentes langues de Côte d'Ivoire, dont les principales sont le baoulé, le bété, le gouro, le malinké et le sénoufo. À cette pratique d'emprunts linguistiques, s'ajoute une re-sémantisation de termes français, associés à une déviation sémantique (Tanon-Lora, 2009 : 136). Cette langue qui constitue, selon l'expression de Sartre, une *« défrancisation du français »* ne peut être comprise ni par un locuteur s'exprimant exclusivement en français ni par une personne instruite essentiellement dans une langue ivoirienne.

Cette langue véhiculaire nouvelle qui relie les Ivoiriens de toutes conditions, Adiaffi tente de la vulgariser et de la promouvoir dans *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence* comme

pour l'immortaliser et la hisser au rang des plus prestigieuses langues du monde. Ainsi, d'une page à l'autre du roman, se succèdent des mots, des expressions et des phrases nouchi dont les plus parlants sont : *« mettre du sable dans son attiéké »*, *« boro », « borailleurs »*, *« enjailleurs », « boro d'enjaillement »*, *« go »*, *« kpakpato »*, *« togognini »*, *« pagneuse »*, etc. Ces termes et expressions peuvent être catégorisés suivant leurs modes de formations :

Des expressions comme *« mettre du sable dans son attiéké »* dans la phrase *« chaque famille reçut son grain amer de sable dans cet attiéké pimenté »* (p. 23) constituent une déviation sémantique de la langue française alliée à un terme local. Dans ce contexte, l'*"attiéké"*, ce mets local très prisé fait à base de manioc, symbolise le pain quotidien ; *« mettre du sable dans son attiéké »* signifie par conséquent *« compromettre son moyen de subsistance, son pain quotidien, sa survie »*.

Un autre emploi du nouchi a trait à des mots directement issus des langues locales : *"kpakpato"* et *"togognini"* désignent, respectivement en agni et en malinké, une personne qui ne sait pas tenir sa langue, qui recherche l'estime des uns en dénigrant les autres. Dans cet ordre d'idées, un terme comme *"bôrô"* qui signifie *« sac »* en malinké traduit l'abondance.

Sont aussi repérables des lexies formées à partir du radical d'un mot d'une langue ivoirienne suivi d'un suffixe français : c'est le cas de *"borailleurs"*, c'est-à-dire adeptes du *"bôrô d'enjaillement"*[8], et dans un sens plus large, personne portée vers tout ce qui peut lui procurer une joie et un plaisir débordants.

Une dernière classe de mots nouchi que charrie le roman est celle des inventions lexicales réalisées à partir d'un radical français ou anglais : *"enjailleurs"*, *"enjaillement"* procèdent de *« joie »* et *« enjoy »* respectivement en français et en anglais ; *"pagneuse"* ressortit au radical français *« pagne »* et au suffixe féminin *« -euse »* (adepte de) etc.

Le nouchi est donc une langue mixte qui prend en compte l'histoire de la Côte d'Ivoire en assumant sa multi-culturalité. C'est pourquoi, il apparaît certes comme une langue du syncrétisme linguistique, mais surtout comme une langue d'union et de tolérance par la cohabitation harmonieuse des langues des colonisés et de celle du colonisateur. L'on pourrait conclure, par ce mélange des idiomes, qu'Adiaffi édulcore le conflit des langues comme pour en appeler à l'avènement d'un interlecte[9] du dialogue des langues.

2.2. Le mélange des langues : pour un interlecte du dialogue des langues

Dans *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence*, Adiaffi part du français, la langue héritée de la colonisation, pour la modeler, la distordre en y introduisant de façon pléthorique un lexique directement tiré des langues ivoiriennes. En agissant ainsi, il semble, d'emblée, phagocyter la langue du colonisateur en vue de valoriser celles des colonisés. Le grand nombre de mots nouchi qui traversent toute l'œuvre achève pourtant de convaincre le lecteur qu'Adiaffi ne s'inscrit ni dans une logique de diglossie ni dans un processus de néoglottophagie. Son projet est une réelle exhortation à la mise en œuvre d'une langue intermédiaire qui prendrait en compte les langues des colonisateurs et celles des colonisés sans apriorisme.

L'on pourrait certes arguer que ce type de projet d'allure planétaire a déjà été pensé depuis 1887 par Zamenhof avec l'espéranto[10], mais ce cas de figure fait la part belle à une langue à caractère discriminatoire. Avec Zamenhof, l'intérêt reste en réalité porté sur les langues européennes. Avec Jean-Marie Adiaffi, le projet s'internationalise apparemment d'autant plus qu'il s'intéresse à la fois aux idiomes autrefois qualifiés de langues et à ceux qui, depuis l'aube de la colonisation, ont été rabaissés au rang de dialectes, de patois, de parlers.

Un idiome ne s'affirme néanmoins pas comme lingua franca continentale ou planétaire simplement par ses qualités linguistiques. À ce critère, il doit adjoindre celle du poids politique, économique, militaire du ou des pays qui le parlent et qui parviennent à l'imposer justement grâce à leur hégémonie. Les avantages linguistiques incontestables du nouchi, cette langue métisse qui fusionne le français, l'anglais et les idiomes ivoiriens, sont un atout important, voire une condition nécessaire, mais à eux seuls, ils ne sauraient constituer une condition suffisante.

Le nouchi devra, pour s'imposer, imposer un pouvoir politique sinon égal, du moins comparable à celui des pays dont les langues s'exportent aujourd'hui à travers les colloques internationaux ou autres rencontres d'une telle envergure. Sa seule chance de diffusion et de survie réside, à cet effet, dans l'intégration des pays africains. La langue nouchi doit, pour ce faire, s'affiner et se vulgariser à partir du fonds national ivoirien d'où elle tire son origine, mais elle devra surtout s'étendre au lexique des autres langues africaines et des français particuliers parlés sur le continent ; ce qui lui permettra de s'allier le pouvoir politique des unions régionales entre les États naturellement voisins et dont les langues et les cultures aux frontières se ressemblent, avant d'arriver à terme à l'étape de l'Union Africaine qui prendrait en définitive sur elle d'aller au-devant du monde pour porter haut l'idéologie du dialogue des langues qu'elle véhicule.

Conclusion

La langue étant un puissant canal d'inoculation culturelle, l'entreprise coloniale française ne pouvait promouvoir que le français au détriment des idiomes africains considérés comme inférieurs. Ceux-ci sont dénigrés alors que la langue du colonisateur est valorisée, et même survalorisée. Des structures internationales, comme la francophonie, informe un impérialisme linguistique futé qu'Adiaffi rejette dans *Les Naufragés de l'intelligence*. Pour lutter contre cette forme moins apparente de colonialisme, il attaque de front la langue du colonisateur en rebaptisant les personnages et les espaces par des noms locaux et en corrodant la langue d'écriture du roman africain par l'introduction, par effraction, d'un lexique procédant des langues ivoiriennes.

Il instaure, en outre, un véritable mariage entre les langues du terroir ivoirien et celle du colonisateur par l'utilisation du nouchi, un idiome spécifique à la Côte d'Ivoire, qui semble cannibaliser la langue française en la dénaturant, en la désubstantialisant. Tous ces procédés d'absorption du français et du code langagier classique du roman africain d'expression française n'aboutissent cependant pas à la néglottophagie, comme le fait accroire Rangira Gallimore. Le français, même fortement corrompu, demeure, en effet, en symbiose avec les autres lectes du roman.

Par cet astucieux mélange des langues, Adiaffi combat ainsi la diglossie, cette idéologie de hiérarchisation des langues, pour militer en faveur d'un interlecte de la coexistence consacrée des langues, un interlecte du dialogue des langues. Il agit, en ce sens, pour la promotion d'une culture-monde.

NOTES

[1] Ce mot est forgé à partir du concept de l'*"ivoirité"*, une notion qui a défrayé la chronique en Côte d'Ivoire, parce qu'utilisé, par certains, dans la perspective d'une affirmation des valeurs ivoiriennes et l'attachement à ces valeurs, et pourtant considéré, par d'autres, comme une simple politique de xénophobie et d'exclusion catégorisant les habitants de la Côte d'Ivoire. Pour ce qui est de cette étude, le qualificatif *"ivoiriste"* souligne simplement la qualité de ce qui est ivoirien, au sens identitaire.

[2] La Côte d'Ivoire est constituée de cinq grands groupes ethniques : les Kwas composés des Akans (Agni, Abron, Attié, Baoulé...) et des lagunaires (Adioukrou, Ahizi, Alladjan, Avikam, Ebrié...) au Sud, à l'Est et au Centre ; les Krou (Bété, Dida, Godié, Guéré, Wobê...) à l'Ouest, au Centre-Ouest et au Sud-Ouest ; les Mandé du sud (Gagou, Gouro, Yacouba...) à l'extrême Ouest et au Centre-Ouest ; les Mandé du nord (Koyaka, Mahoka, Malinké...) au Nord et au Nord-Ouest ; et enfin, les Gur ou Voltaïque (Djimini, Koulango, Lobi, Sénoufo...) au Nord et au Nord-Est.

[3] Homme d'une grande beauté physique et morale, coopté par les artistes et objet d'un culte qui devint une institution chez les Bété anciens (Voir Zadi Zaourou, *Césarienne*, Abidjan, CEDA, 1984, p. 74).

[4] Terme bété désignant un homme à l'héroïsme guerrier (Zadi Zaourou, *Idem*).

[5] Le symbole était un objet encombrant et souvent malodorant que l'instituteur remettait en signe de punition à un élève surpris à parler dans sa langue régionale.

[6] L'« équilibre de la terreur » est une doctrine de stratégie militaire de dissuasion nucléaire dans laquelle chacune des parties ne peut rompre l'équilibre qu'en s'exposant à être détruite. La présente étude s'en inspire dans le sens de l'onomasiologie de la notion de choc, du couplage action-réaction, de la scénographie spectatorielle, bien entendu supposée, d'une forme de belligérance pernicieuse plus rageuse entre les langues des pays colonisés et celles des colonisateurs.

[7] Le nouchi est une langue moderne ivoirienne créée artificiellement à partir du français et des idiomes ivoiriens et qui sert aujourd'hui de langue véhiculaire, surtout en zones urbaines, puisque compris et parlé par une bonne frange des Ivoiriens.

[8] Jeu dangereux auquel s'adonnent des lycéens de Côte d'Ivoire et qui consiste à grimper sur le toit d'un bus en pleine circulation et à y faire les acrobaties les plus fantaisistes.

[9] Un lecte, au sens où l'entend Cécile Canut (« Créoles et dialectes, la typologie des variétés face aux dires des locuteurs », *Traverses,* 2 : 387-410.), est un terme neutre fonctionnant comme hyperonyme de langue, sociolecte, idiolecte, dialecte, patois…

[10] Lejzer Ludwik Zamenhof (1859-1917) - Médecin polonais, créateur en 1887 de l'espéranto, langue internationale créée à partir du lexique des langues indo-européennes les plus répandues et dotée d'une grammaire simplifiée.

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Terrorisme culturel dans *Nous, enfants de la tradition* de Gaston-Paul Effa

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ABSTRACT: Cultural terrorism in *Nous, enfants de la tradition* by Gaston-Paul Effa

This discussion focuses on the textual deployment of the memory-culture motif. It reveals that Gaston-Paul Effa brings together the tools of totalitarianism such as the archetype of evil, demonization or intimidation, monism and utopianism to express what culture stands for. Thus, *Nous enfants de la tradition*, can be read as the staging of "cultural terrorism," a concept derived from the "intellectual terrorism" of Jean Sévillia.

KEYWORDS: *cultural terrorism, monism, congruent narrator, narrator-subject, desired identity*

La notion de terrorisme culturel fait écho à celle du « terrorisme intellectuel » développée par Jean Sévillia. Il en donne la définition suivante :

> […] Le terrorisme intellectuel est un mécanisme totalitaire. Mais d'un totalitarisme patelin, hypocrite. Il vise à ôter la parole au contradicteur, devenu une bête à abattre […] en laissant fuser des mots. Les mots des grandes consciences. Les mots qui tuent.
> (Sévillia, 2000 : 10)

Les mécanismes totalitaires du terrorisme intellectuel relevés par cet auteur, à l'analyse, se retrouvent dans la sphère culturelle et aboutissent à ce que Tzvetan Todorov (2004) appelle les « abus de la mémoire », étant entendu le lien existant entre mémoire et culture :

> La culture, au sens que les ethnologues donnent à ce mot, est essentiellement une affaire de mémoire : c'est la connaissance d'un certain nombre de codes du comportement, et la capacité de s'en servir. […] Posséder une culture c'est d'abord connaître ses manières d'agir et de penser. Un être déculturé est celui qui n'a jamais acquis la culture de ses ancêtres, ou qui l'a oubliée et perdue.
> (Todorov, 2004 [1995] : 21)

Partant, la notion de terrorisme culturel met l'accent sur un usage dogmatique, totalitariste de la mémoire-tradition évoquée par l'expression « culture des ancêtres ».

S'exprimant sur les lieux d'expression de ce totalitarisme du penser et du faire, Jean Sévillia écrivait que « l'histoire, l'art, la littérature, la science ou l'écologie forment des terrains de chasse pour le terrorisme intellectuel » (2000 : 11). Et justement,

dans la sphère littéraire, le roman de Gaston-Paul Effa, *Nous, enfants de la tradition*[1] (2008) se laisse lire sous ce prisme. Il est, à l'examen, un lieu d'expression, d'expérimentation voire de mise en fiction du terrorisme ou du totalitarisme culturel. Ses mécanismes tels que formalisés par Jean Sévillia et Tzvetan Todorov sont opérationnels dans ce texte. Ce faisant, l'objectif de cette étude est de les mettre en exergue et de voir comment, en dénonçant un usage fallacieux de la mémoire-tradition, Gaston-Paul Effa la rétrograde au profit d'autres facultés.

1. Les abus de la mémoire dans *Nous, enfants de la tradition* : le procès d'une identité subie

Jean Sévillia et Tzvetan Todorov ont analysé les mécanismes du totalitarisme. Pour le premier, il est manifeste dans le terrorisme intellectuel et pour le second dans les abus de la mémoire ou le totalitarisme mémoriel. Les outils théoriques que chacun utilise semblent différents d'un point de vue terminologique mais se rencontrent et se complètent dans la sémantique et la portée.

Pour Jean Sévillia, le terrorisme intellectuel use fondamentalement de deux procédés : la diffusion de l'archétype du mal et l'assimilation de l'adversaire à cet archétype. Sur le premier mécanisme, il donne ces précisions :

> Les circonstances varient, mais le procédé reste le même. Il consiste d'abord à imprimer dans l'imaginaire un archétype du mal. Depuis la guerre, cette funeste figure est incarnée par le fasciste, le capitaliste, l'impérialiste, le colonialiste, le xénophobe, le raciste, le partisan de l'ordre moral. Ces étiquettes, au minimum, déforment la réalité ; au pire, elles mentent. Collées par des mains expertes, elles revêtent un sens indéfini, dont l'élasticité permet d'englober tout ce que les idéologues vouent aux gémonies.
>
> (Sévillia, 2000 : 10)

On remarque qu'en tant que mode opératoire, la mise en place d'un archétype du mal génère la classification, la catégorisation des hommes, des modes de pensée et de faire. Ainsi, sont du côté du mal, tous ceux qui pensent autrement et auxquels on attribue insidieusement les étiquettes constitutives de l'archétype du mal. Pour ce faire, le terroriste intellectuel puise dans la mémoire, le passé, en convoquant des schèmes négatifs que sont le nazisme, le fascisme et les attribue fallacieusement à toute personne qui se démarque par sa position. Le terrorisme intellectuel apparaît ainsi comme un système autoritaire, dogmatique.

Cette subdivision figée et confligène de la pensée conduit nécessairement à ce second procédé relevé par Jean Sévillia :

> Ensuite, la technique habituelle conduit à assimiler l'adversaire à l'archétype du mal. L'effet de cet amalgame est radicalement dissuasif : qui prendrait le risque, par exemple, d'être traité de fasciste ou de raciste ? L'accusation peut être explicite, ou s'effectuer par insinuation, ouvrant la porte au procès d'intention : tout opposant peut être attaqué non sur ce qu'il pense, mais sur les pensées qu'on lui prête.
>
> (Sévillia, 2000 : 10)

Il ressort de ce propos l'objectif final de la mise en place du manichéisme à travers la diffusion de l'archétype du mal : la diabolisation. Il n'est plus question d'opposer des arguments, de discuter pour comprendre. Il s'agit plutôt d'intimider, de terroriser, de culpabiliser, de disqualifier l'autre. Il apparaît de ce fait un lien étroit entre le terrorisme intellectuel et la pensée unique. Ce qui n'est pas sans rappeler certains outils du totalitarisme identifiés par Todorov dans ses réflexions sur « la mémoire du mal ». Il s'agit du « monisme » et de l'« utopisme ».

À propos du monisme, Todorov note que :

> Les deux grands principes – autonomie de la collectivité, autonomie de l'individu – reçoivent des traitements différents. Le totalitarisme rejette ouvertement le second – qui était également l'objet de critiques de la part des conservateurs. Ce n'est plus le *je* de chaque individu qui est valorisé ici, c'est le *nous* du groupe. Logiquement, le grand moyen pour assurer cette autonomie, le pluralisme, est écarté à son tour et remplacé par son contraire, le *monisme*.
>
> (Todorov, 2000 : 28)

Il se dégage de cette explication que le monisme, outil du totalitarisme, exige l'adhésion spirituelle, l'unification voire l'uniformisation et aboutit à la dégradation de l'individu à travers la pensée unique imposée. Ce procédé prend racine dans l'utopisme qui en est l'objectif :

> L'utopisme tire son nom de l'utopie qui n'est qu'une fabrication intellectuelle, une image de la société idéale. Les fonctions de l'utopie peuvent être multiples, elle peut servir à nourrir la réflexion ou à critiquer le monde existant. Seul l'utopisme tente d'introduire l'utopie dans le monde réel. L'utopisme est nécessairement lié à la contrainte et la violence. […] L'utopisme possède une tendance immanente au despotisme.
>
> (Todorov, 2000 : 35)

Ces mécanismes du totalitarisme de la pensée ainsi identifiés sont à l'œuvre dans *Nous, enfants de la tradition* à l'analyse de deux caractéristiques de la tradition mises en scène par Gaston-Paul Effa : il s'agit des principes directeurs et des méthodes de la tradition en tant que lieu de la mémoire et de la culture.

Dans ses réflexions sur la construction de l'auditoire comme stratégie argumentative, Ruth Amossy fait les remarques suivantes :

> On a parlé de l'auditoire comme construction de l'orateur. Mais on n'a pas assez souligné le fait que l'image de l'allocutaire projetée par le discours constitue en soi une stratégie. […] Ce qui se donne à voir dans le discours, ce n'est pas seulement la façon dont le locuteur perçoit son ou ses partenaires, c'est aussi la façon dont il leur présente une image d'eux-mêmes susceptibles de favoriser son entreprise de persuasion. À la limite, l'orateur travaille à élaborer une image de l'auditoire dans laquelle celui-ci voudra se reconnaître. Il tente d'infléchir des opinions et des conduites en lui tendant un miroir […].
>
> (Amossy, 2010 [2000] : 59)

Dans cette perspective, le discours traditionnel, tel que mis en scène par Gaston Effa, projette sur l'allocutaire deux archétypes : celui du bien et par ricochet celui du mal. La pensée est ainsi structurée par le principe du manichéisme. Cette stratégie a pour finalité de soutenir que l'allocutaire qui se laisse irrémédiablement porter par la tradition appartient au clan du bien. C'est ce que souligne ce discours tenu par Osele, initialement représentant de la tradition :

> Je n'avais pas non plus à éprouver la tentation de me révolter contre l'enfermement. […] Au regard de ma mère qui gouvernait mes pas, tout comme au regard de la tribu fang tout entière, j'étais un modèle d'équilibre, de sérénité, d'obéissance tranquille. Jamais je ne me plaignais, jamais je n'exprimais de critiques. Mon égalité d'humeur était un bonheur pour le clan.
>
> (NET, pp. 40, 41)

L'explicitation « j'étais un modèle » est instructive à plus d'un titre. Le lexème « modèle » se rapporte en effet à l'exemple-type à imiter, au prototype. Subséquemment, les termes « obéissance tranquille », « jamais je ne me plaignais », « jamais je n'exprimais de critiques » acquièrent une sémantique pertinente. Ils enseignent que le silence, l'absence d'esprit critique fondent le bien selon la mémoire-tradition. Ainsi, à travers ce personnage-prototype et son discours, il est diffusé dans l'imaginaire de tout allocutaire le principe selon lequel l'archétype du bien, dans la logique de la mémoire-tradition, est synonyme de soumission totale malgré le sentiment « d'enferment » souligné par Osele. En suivant ce principe, le personnage se présente et est présenté comme « un bon enfant de la tradition » au regard de l'expression « mon égalité d'humeur était un bonheur pour le clan ». Le discours implicite est que l'archétype du mal, « le mauvais enfant de la tradition », a pour corollaire la remise en cause, le questionnement voire la contestation de certains principes de la tradition. On est donc en présence d'un cas de monisme, de tentative d'étouffement du « je » au profit du « nous » culturel. Cette lecture est renforcée par la signification du nom donné au héros-narrateur par les « dirigeants des âmes de la tribu » : Osele.

> - Osele, chez nous, c'est un âne.
> - Un âne ? C'est un totem très important. C'est toi qui portes sur tes épaules la vie de la tribu. Un âne ne se fatigue pas. Dans les déserts, il peut parcourir des centaines de kilomètres sous le soleil, avec les bagages pour toute la famille, sans manger ni boire. Et chaque fois qu'il y aura des larmes dans ta famille, c'est toi qui les essuieras. […]

Le choix d'Osele appelait un remous de forces dont mon existence individuelle n'était que l'expression aléatoire et relativement négligeable. *Si j'avais été envoyé ici, c'est que mon nom m'interdisait d'être ce que mon désir voulait que je fusse*. […]

> On m'avait dicté ma voix. Je devais nourrir les hommes. L'âne devait nourrir les hommes. Osele allait nourrir les hommes. Tout le monde pouvait mourir autour de moi [en France], ma femme pouvait me quitter, mes enfants aussi, l'essentiel était que la tradition reste sauve. L'âne continuerait à servir, à nourrir, à porter, à conduire, à

> donner, à se donner, jusqu'à ce qu'il n'y ait plus d'homme du tout. […] *La tradition avait dictée et j'avançais les yeux bandés.*
>
> (NET, pp. 65, 75, 102, nous soulignons)

Le bon enfant est l'esclave du clan, la bête de somme. Le héros-narrateur insiste sur sa réification : c'est le tragique de la condition culturelle. Monisme et utopisme sont ainsi opérationnels dans cet extrait. L'idéal humain, qui consiste à aider celui qui est dans le besoin, devient avec cette tradition un dogme, un principe imposé, une contrainte à atteindre. Comme le soulignait Todorov (2000 : 35), « tout en sachant que les humains sont imparfaits, l'utopisme cherche à instaurer la perfection ici et maintenant », d'où sa tendance au despotisme que l'on ressent dans cette séquence du texte de Gaston-Paul Effa et qui est également manifeste dans les étiquettes attribuées à celui qui tente de prendre ses distances. Il est, conformément aux remarques de Jean Sévillia, assimilé à l'archétype du mal afin d'intimider, de terroriser et donc de dissuader. Dans cette logique, le personnage indépendant d'esprit est qualifié dans *Nous, enfants de la tradition*, « d'égoïste » (p. 11), de celui qui « porte le désespoir sur son village » (p. 103), de « traitre » (p. 137), « d'objet d'exaspération, sinon de honte », (p. 152), « d'abominable criminel » (p. 121). Ces invectives traduisent l'intolérance, cette disposition mentale aux origines de tout terrorisme.

Pour garder la mainmise sur le personnage-narrateur, le discours-tradition ne s'interdit pas de convoquer le discours religieux manipulé, aux effets obscurantistes :

> Ma vie pouvait-elle avoir d'autre sens que l'enfermement dans le don, la pénitence interminable ? […] Je restais saisi d'angoisse à la pensée que l'aîné de la famille pouvait être en état de péché mortel s'il n'assumait pas sa tribu africaine.
>
> (NET, p. 36)

On remarque la terreur dissuasive qu'il ressent à l'idée de s'émanciper à travers l'expression « saisi d'angoisse ».

Outre le manichéisme comme principe majeur structurant le terrorisme culturel dans *Nous, enfants de la tradition*, Gaston Effa met aussi en scène la méthodologie totalitariste employée par la tradition qui fonde son œuvre.

L'une des méthodes est l'enseignement par l'exemple. Sur la portée de cette stratégie, on peut noter, à la suite de Dominique Maingueneau, que sa force persuasive « tient à ce qu'il met en relation un objet problématique avec un objet déjà intégré par les représentations du coénonciateur » (1991 : 246). Le principe sur lequel est fondé l'exemple est qu'il invite à rechercher, à partir du cas particulier, la loi ou la structure qu'il révèle. Cela précisé, l'enseignement traditionnel dans ce roman convoque deux types d'exemple : l'exemple contemporain et celui tiré du passé avec la même finalité : intimider.

Pour ce qui est de l'exemple tiré du passé, il s'agit d'une légende enseignée aux enfants de la tradition :

> C'était l'histoire d'une main coupée. Et le conteur laissait entendre que cette main s'était une fois dressée contre la tradition : l'homme auquel elle appartient avait refusé

> de payer les funérailles de son père, et le village entier avait étendu le coupable au sol, lui avait déchiqueté la gorge et arraché les bras. Il décrivait les modifications de texture et de couleur des tissus charnels. On pouvait imaginer des taches sombres qui donnaient au corps un aspect marbré […] L'horreur me revint lorsque, allongé sur mon lit, je contemplai le cheminement de mes mains, me préparant à reconnaître ce que la vie, à la suite de la légende, m'apprenait.
>
> (NET, p. 68)

« L'horreur » ressentie par le personnage et voulue par cette légende, participe d'une stratégie de dissuasion efficace comme en témoigne le geste réflexe de contempler sa main à la suite d'une simple réminiscence de cet exemple. Le détail qui est lisible dans la description du traitement infligé au contestataire a pour objectif de marquer durablement les esprits. Ce mécanisme du terrorisme culturel est renforcé par ce second exemple qui est du registre du vécu, ce qui accroît sa teneur terrorisante, paralysante :

> Une fois, l'un d'eux s'avança. […] Avec l'audace d'un être qui accomplit son destin, l'homme avait offensé les morts. Jouer avec la tradition, quel crime abominable ! On le lui fit bien savoir. Pendant des années, il arpenta les rues du village, errant vaguement en quête de quelque tâche. Il balayait les chemins et remettait toutes choses en place après le marché hebdomadaire. Sans doute les choses auraient-elles pu se fixer à cette punition si la maladie n'avait, avec une vigueur nouvelle, balayé le terrain en emportant ses enfants. Ceux-ci quel que soit leur âge, s'éteignaient en quelques mois.
>
> (NET, pp. 120, 121)

L'implicite du discours, ici, c'est que les recommandations de la tradition relèveraient de l'ordre du divin. La malédiction divine détruit tout manquement. L'explicite est que le contestataire est considéré comme un adversaire, un ennemi à dompter, à éradiquer, à exterminer. Il est criminalisé. Ces exemples ont donc valeur d'avertissement. Tous ceux qui tenteront de s'inscrire dans la remise en cause de la tradition auront un sort identique. On est sans conteste dans la configuration discursive et idéique du terrorisme, du totalitarisme, de l'abus de la mémoire-culturelle.

Comme effet esthétique, le roman de Gaston Effa met en scène un type particulier de narrateur : il s'agit de celui que, Georice Madebe, s'appuyant sur Greimas, appelle le « narrateur-congruent ». Il explique :

> Les narrateurs-congruents [sont] des sujets d'énonciation dont les productions discursives en garantissent le statut impersonnel. La transparence identitaire engendrant la transparence discursive chez ce type de figures narratives, les discours qu'elles produisent sont frappés de clarté.
>
> (Madebe, 2007 : 42)

La notion de « statut impersonnel » aide à comprendre que ce type de narrateur tient un discours impersonnel, et par conséquent collectif. Lorsque ce dernier parle, c'est le plus souvent la collectivité qu'on écoute. Son « je » est l'équivalent du « nous ».

Il baigne dans une intersubjectivité, c'est-à-dire une subjectivité transcendantale, impersonnelle. Ce narrateur, en effet, vit le discours identitaire dans une logique fusionnelle, voire en phase avec les cosmogonies et autres axiologies du milieu social. Sa présence élocutoire est en conséquence vide, ce qui en fait un non-sujet. Cela est perceptible dans ces propos d'Osele, le héros-narrateur :

> Je suis fait pour nourrir ma famille. […] Ma vie était réglée et contrôlée à distance en tous ses détails, et par là je m'oubliais, je me dépossédais de mon amour-propre pour m'approcher d'une identité nulle et neutre, celle de « soutien de la famille ». […] J'aurais pu être autre chose, j'aurais pu ne pas être cet âne. Mais Osele, la bête dont je porte le nom, est une énigme et je suis une énigme à moi-même. La tradition avait dicté et j'avançais les yeux bandés.
>
> (NET, pp. 55, 102)

On s'aperçoit ainsi que la tradition assume la fonction de destinateur-manipulateur dont le pouvoir-faire se résume à la production du programme de vie de ce personnage. On est ainsi dans le registre de ce qu'Alain Finkielkraut qualifie de « la défaite de la pensée » (1987 : 38). Cela débouche, dans sa construction, à une transparence identitaire au regard des termes « identité nulle et neutre » et surtout à une identité subie comme en témoignent les expressions « ma vie était réglée et contrôlée », « la tradition avait dicté ». Mais le roman de Gaston Effa pose ce constat pour le dépasser.

2. La mémoire-tradition rétrogradée dans *Nous, enfants de la tradition* : pour une identité voulue

On remarque, dans le parcours narratif du personnage Osele, l'« anagnosis » aristotélicien. Ce concept induit la « reconnaissance ou plus exactement le passage de l'ignorance à la connaissance par le moyen du drame » (1994, T. 2 : 2109). En effet, sa séparation d'avec son épouse et ses enfants en raison de l'emprise de la tradition sur lui a été un élément déclencheur d'une prise de conscience. Celle-ci a conduit à une interrogation sur la tradition et à une redéfinition de son rapport avec ses principes. Cet entretien avec sa mère en porte les marques :

> - C'est toi, Osele ? Ta voix a bien mué. […] Elle se tut assez longuement, puis cria d'une voix dans laquelle passait une sorte de désespoir.
> - Tu ne veux plus m'accorder ce que je te demande, tu refuses ? Je n'ai pas mangé depuis trois jours, et je ne peux pas me laver, tes frères ont utilisé tout le savon que tu as envoyé. Je crus devoir prendre une attitude de fermeté.
> - Écoute, maman, je te prie de ne pas insister. Je cherche à découvrir la vérité de ce que tu affirmes, c'est seulement si elle m'est démontrée que je renverrai l'argent.
> Elle m'écouta sans dire un mot, et raccrocha.
> Demeuré seul, je réfléchis. Au fond, je comprenais que j'agissais en égoïste, mais cela n'était pas en contradiction avec ce que je croyais être une manière de me protéger. J'étais heureux d'avoir dit non pour la première fois. […] Je sentais que, depuis ce refus, un rapport nouveau s'était établi entre ma famille africaine et moi, certainement plus réel parce que fondé sur la situation telle qu'elle était, et non telle qu'elle aurait dû être.
>
> (NET, pp. 61, 62)

Le constat de la mère qui transparaît dans la déclaration « ta voix a bien mué » décline le changement d'Osele. La question « c'est toi, Osele ? » semble révéler sa difficulté à saisir ce changement, la nouvelle personnalité de son fils, et souligner l'idée de distance établie entre mère et fils. En effet, le nouveau rapport qu'Osele entretient avec sa « famille africaine », incarnation de la mémoire-tradition totalisante, convoque de nouveaux principes. D'une part, on note chez lui la prudence, la distance critique ou la distanciation brechtienne à travers la précision « je cherche à découvrir la vérité de ce que tu affirmes ». Le héros-narrateur ne veut plus obéir aveuglement. D'autre part, il se montre raisonnable, modeste, réaliste, en reconnaissant et en acceptant ses propres limites. C'est ce que met en évidence la décision d'une relation basée sur « la situation telle qu'elle était, et non telle qu'elle aurait dû être ». On est ici à l'antipode de l'utopisme. Du coup, la tradition s'articule avec d'autres valeurs que sont, la liberté de choix (Osele dit non pour la première fois), la volonté individuelle, le bien-être personnel (« j'étais heureux »), et celles-ci la transcendent au besoin. Il s'agit ainsi avec le nouveau Osele, non pas de nier la mémoire-culture mais de la considérer comme perfectible. Elle se retrouve ainsi rétrogradée ou appréciée à l'aune du principe de la liberté.

Pour affirmer cette nouvelle perception, il a fallu à Osele du courage pour surmonter l'intimidation, la culpabilisation, la peur paralysante, qui sont des outils du terrorisme culturel. Cette conversation téléphonique en est une illustration. Nous la citons presqu'entièrement au regard de sa pertinence.

> - Qui est là ?
> - C'est tonton Noah. Crois-tu que ce soit ça, une vie, mon petit Osele ? Non, ce n'est pas une vie. Quand l'aîné de la tribu tourne le dos à sa terre, il laisse des orphelins derrière lui, et il ne pourra même pas crier dans sa rage la mort de la lumière. Il y aura jusqu'au dernier jour un sort qui nous privera de la possibilité de vivre. J'ai fait un rêve étrange. Couvre-toi la tête de cendres. Le ver est dans le fruit. Tu serais déjà mort si la latérite durcie par la sécheresse ne résiste pas à la pelle. Il faudra faire un sacrifice. Le sang d'un mouton rouge t'épargnerait le pire. […] N'oublie pas que tes racines sont ici. […] Les esprits ont soif. Il faut une chèvre. Il faut l'argent. Les ancêtres t'enverront une maladie qui t'emportera en quelques jours. Ne tarde pas trop.
> - Ce n'est qu'un rêve. Un rêve n'a jamais tué personne. Si je tombe malade, on me soignera, on me guérira encore. Mais si c'est mon jour, tant pis, je partirai.
> Je haussai les épaules, indifférent. J'avais pris ma décision.
> - Ce n'est pas bien pour toi, mon pauvre Osele. […] Demain matin, approche-toi des coquelicots s'il y en a là-bas. Penche-toi sur le nuage qui dégage des fleurs. Le parfum te dira que la mort rôde.
> - La mort ne m'aura pas vivant.
> Ne pas laisser le dernier mot à la peur, m'étais-je dit.
>
> (NET, pp. 146, 147)

Deux types de parole sont en présence et s'affrontent dans cet extrait : la « parole autoritaire » et la « parole-action ». Selon Mikhaïl Bakhtine, la « parole autoritaire » est « *une parole persuasive*. […] Elle est organiquement liée au passé hiérarchique. C'est en quelque sorte, *la parole des pères*. Elle est déjà *reconnue* dans le passé »

(1978 : 161). Cette parole est incarnée par le discours de l'oncle ; un discours autoritaire, menaçant et dont le fondement est la tradition. À l'opposé, la « parole-action » est définie par Tzvetan Todorov comme le fait « d'accomplir un acte qui n'est pas simplement l'énonciation de la parole. Cet acte est généralement accompagné, pour celui qui parle, d'un risque. Il ne faut pas avoir peur pour parler. La piété correspond au silence, la parole se lie à la révolte. […] La parole-action est considérée avant tout comme un risque » (1978 [1971] : 24, 25). Sur cette base, la réplique d'Osele constitue une « parole-action », un discours-révolte dans un contexte d'oppression, de menace de mort. Elle témoigne de sa volonté de résistance, du dépassement de la peur paralysante. Il s'est forgé une nouvelle âme qui échappe aux dirigeants des âmes de la tribu.

La conséquence de cette mutation du narrateur-personnage est la fracture énonciative identifiable dans les dernières pages du roman de Gaston-Paul Effa. On passe en effet d'un narrateur-congruent, précédemment évoqué, à un narrateur-sujet. De ce fait, le « je » d'Osele n'est plus exclusivement l'expression d'une intersubjectivité. En clair, ce narrateur-personnage n'est plus le porte-parole de la tribu, comme il était de coutume, mais ne fait, désormais, que porter *sa* parole. Du coup, on est passé de l'intersubjectivité à l'autosubjectivité, d'une « présence élocutoire vide, impersonnelle » à une « présence élocutoire pleine, personnelle » (Madebe, 2007 : 58), d'une sous-estimation de soi dans la surestimation de la tradition à l'affirmation de soi. Ces propos, parmi tant d'autres, corroborent cette assertion :

> C'en était bien fini des appréhensions et des faiblesses du passé. Mais que dis-je ? Dans mon entrée en résistance, je voyais une aisance, une élégance souveraine qui m'enchantaient. […] Faire ce que je veux, aller et venir, être libre, disposer de mes biens, dire enfin « je » après une vie passée à dire « ils », « eux », « nous » ; cela ne m'empêchait pas d'être, par ailleurs, suffisamment sociable, pour poursuivre mon existence ordinaire. J'étais loin de ce personnage faible que j'avais été. […] J'ai brisé les liens, rejeté dans la vase la lourde amarre pourrissante. Nous pouvons nous communiquer nos idées, notre savoir, ce que nous appelons notre culture, cette croûte légère et impersonnelle qui affleure. Notre liberté, notre bien-être, seul bien irrécusablement à nous et impartageable.
> (NET, pp. 149, 157)

En inscrivant la situation finale du récit dans cette perspective, *Nous, enfants de la tradition* se donne finalement à lire dans une dynamique de construction de soi et se pose comme une défense voire une valorisation de l'identité voulue.

Conclusion

Les procédés du totalitarisme que sont l'intimidation, la violence, la diabolisation, l'intolérance, par la mise en place de l'archétype du mal ainsi que le monisme et l'utopisme formalisés par Jean Sévillia et Tzvetan Todorov ont été convoqués dans la construction de *Nous, enfants de la tradition* de Gaston-Paul Effa. Ces dispositifs ont servi, dans ce roman, à peindre les excès de la tradition-mémoire, son usage fal-lacieux et oppressant, qui sont l'expression de ce que nous avons appelé le terrorisme

culturel. La finalité d'une telle esthétique, est la relativisation du rôle de la tradition au profit d'autres valeurs dont le fondement est la liberté. En conséquence, ce texte est apparu, à l'analyse, comme un plaidoyer pour une identité voulue en lieu et place d'une identité subie.

NOTE

[1] Gaston-Paul Effa, *Nous, enfants de la tradition*, Paris, Anne Carrière, 2008. Dorénavant désigné à l'aide du sigle (NET), suivi du numéro de la page.

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La mort chez Vladimir Jankélévitch

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ABSTRACT: Thinking about Death in Vladimir Jankelevitch's Work

Why is someone's death always a sort of scandal? Why does such a normal event elicit in its witnesses curiosity as much as horror? Ever since there have been people, who have died, how has the mortal not got used to this natural yet always accidental phenomenon? Why is he surprised every time a living human passes away, as if every time this happened for the first time?[1]

KEYWORDS: *death, before, while, after, unutterable, indescribable*

Vladimir Jankélévitch, philosophe et musicologue, est né à Bourges, le 31 août 1903, dans une famille d'intellectuels russes. Il a marqué la philosophie française contemporaine par sa réflexion riche et subtile qui l'a singularisé par la profondeur de ses méditations sur *La Mort*, *L'Irréversible et la nostalgie*, *Le Je ne-sais-quoi et le Presque-rien*. Professeur à la Sorbonne pendant près de trente ans, il a marqué par sa personnalité aussi bien que par ses cours de morale et de métaphysique de nombreuses générations d'étudiants.

Il célèbre le mystère de l'instant irrévocable, l'évanescence du silence, le sens de la vie, le scandale de la disparition et porte un regard neuf sur la musique qu'il n'a jamais séparé de ses écrits philosophiques qui expriment l'inexprimable fécond de la vie, de la liberté, de l'amour. *« Par sa fidélité à Bergson et sa méfiance envers les écoles de pensée Jankélévitch fut convaincu de rester à l'écart des modes et des troupeaux philosophiques et préféra la conversation de ses amis musiciens. »* (Rouvière, 2010) En tant que philosophe, il n'a suscité d'école, sa solitude étant due, peut-être, à son inclassabilité.

En 1966 il publie *La Mort*, livre ardent, le plus original et le plus significatif de son œuvre philosophique qui s'est fait remarquée par ses analyses de l'amour, de la mauvaise conscience, du mal, du pardon, du mensonge, de l'imprescriptible, de l'humour, de l'ironie, du pur et de l'impur, finissant dans la synthèse du *Paradoxe de la morale*. *« Ce maître du paradoxe moral décrit la mort comme un déficit de la vie et de l'être et comme une irruption brusque dans le cours naturel du monde. La mort est un événement qui sort de l'ordinaire, c'est-à-dire un miracle, car elle fait fi de l'ordre des choses et, en même temps, elle est la loi universelle de toute vie. »* (Jerphagnon, 1969)

Le livre aborde la question qui hante la réflexion sur l'homme, à savoir l'événement le plus banal et à la fois le plus scandaleux par lequel l'être s'abîme dans le mystère. La mort, cette expérience si commune aux individus et tellement unique,

est celle qui donne tout son sens à la vie. Dans ce sens, le livre de Jankélévitch est un livre non pas sur la mort, mais sur la vie. Il disait que la vie plonge les racines de sa tonicité dans le non-être.

La désinvolture géniale de l'auteur est de dire dans les 467 pages du livre que de la mort il n'y a rien à dire. Il fait une plaidoirie pour la vie, car la mort n'est pas le contraire de la vie, elle en fait partie. C'est pourquoi parler autour de la mort c'est parler de la vie. Ce qui fait la valeur de notre vie c'est aussi son unicité due spécialement au fait qu'elle est limitée par la mort.

Jankélévitch a une attitude très positive dans ce livre structuré en trois chapitres. Comme le miracle de l'œuvre musicale, le miracle de *La mort* consiste dans le fait que dans sa consécution temporelle, elle édifie l'unité d'une image d'ensemble qui s'accomplit successivement, s'arrondit et finit, en devenant un édifice. Il marque « les trois temps du Temps » de la mort dans les trois chapitres du livre : *La mort en deçà de la mort, La mort dans l'instant mortel* et *La mort au-delà de la mort*[2].

1. *La mort en deçà de la mort* c'est le chapitre le plus long du livre. C'est la mort durant la vie, qui appartient encore à l'existence du vivant, car *« le sujet ne se trouve pas dans l'état de mort durant son existence, ni dans celui de l'existence, une fois décédé. »* (Lavoie, de Konink & Blondeau, 2009 : 68) Comme partout dans ce livre, dans ce chapitre l'auteur parle autour et à propos, jamais de la mort. Par *la méditation de la mort* l'auteur se rend compte qu'il *« n'y a rien à penser sur la mort »* (Jankélévitch, 1977 : 40). *« Faute de* penser la mort*, il ne nous reste, semble-t-il, que deux solutions : ou bien penser* sur *la mort, autour de la mort, à propos de la mort ; ou bien penser à autre chose qu'à la mort, et par exemple à la vie. »* (*Idem* : 40)

Ce qui ajoute une autre complication à la mort c'est que nous sommes des êtres pensants. Jankélévitch analyse la mort comme profondeur et comme futur, en continuant la vision de Bergson qui avait remarqué le caractère destructif de l'intelligence. Mais il n'est pas, comme son maître, un philosophe tragique, un philosophe du mal, du néant, mais un philosophe de l'affirmation positive. Pour lui, c'est la mort qui donne son sens à la vie, comme l'élan vital bergsonien. *« Le souci du futur exprime le présent-à-venir de la mort »* (*Idem* : 51), tandis que l'intention de la nature est, tout au contraire, de nous soustraire cette fin. La pensée de la mort est une pensée contre nature : *« Nous craignons, en recherchant la mort en deçà de la mort, de ne rien trouver. Au premier abord, en effet, tout me parle de l'être, et rien ne me parle du non-être. Tout me parle de la vie, et même l'idée de mortalité; rien ne me parle de la mort, et pas même la philosophie de la mort. »* (*Idem* : 57)

Pour Jankélévitch, on ne peut pas s'empêcher de penser à la mort, mais on peut s'empêcher d'en parler. Et si l'on parle, on le fait par euphémie et par inversion apophatique. La mort est liée au vieillissement et au temps irréversible. Tous les hommes comprennent instantanément ce mot *« qui est une allusion imprécise à notre misère, ce mot après lequel il n'y a plus rien à dire, ce mot si court qui en dit si long »* (*Idem* : 60).

L'organe obstacle de la vie est la mort et l'obstacle du langage tient au inénarrable, à l'innommable et à l'indicible de la mort en deçà. *« Le caractère évasif de la finitude mortelle est comme un défi au logos »* (*Idem* : 60). Devant la mort,

celui qui est le sujet du verbe *mourir* change son discours en silence (qui est la mauvaise conscience du beau parleur) ou sa philosophie est une philosophie-à-propos qui, par la *« voie oblique de l'euphémie, les cercles de la périphrase, les zigzags de la conversation »* (*Idem* : 62), esquive le mouvement rectiligne qui désignerait de manière transitive, le complément direct appelé mort.

La mort constitue le non-être de tout notre être et le non-sens de l'essence, elle est le Non absolu. Mais ce non-être consacre finalement le sens de la vie. Parce que la mort existe, il faut absolument respecter la vie de chacun. *« Naissance et mort (...) sont mutuellement la condition l'une de l'autre. »* (Schopenhauer, 1991 : 160) La mort est le moyen de rendre unique ce que nous vivons, et cette unicité nous la vivons comme une tragédie, car *« la mort nous fait douter de la raison d'être de l'être »* (Jankélévitch, *op.cit.* : 69). Ce qui fait la valeur de notre vie est son unicité, mais aussi sa limite, cette chose qui n'arrive qu'une fois dans toute l'éternité, *vous*. L'auteur introduit le terme de *hapax* pour exprimer ce qui est vécu pour la première et pour la dernière fois. Toutes les fois sont les premières-dernières fois, les fois primes-ultimes.

Ce qui confère une sorte de positivité au néant mortel c'est Dieu, l'amour et la liberté. Devant la mort en deçà, Jankélévitch parle du silence indicible er du silence ineffable. *« L'ineffable est inexprimable parce qu'on manque de mots pour exprimer ou définir un mystère aussi riche, parce qu'il y aurait sur lui infiniment à dire, immensément à suggérer, interminablement à raconter; la mort, elle, est indicible parce qu'il n'y a, dès l'abord, absolument rien à en dire »* (*Idem* : 83). Il dit que la mort est apoétique, le dernier souffle replie l'être dans le mutisme absolu.

L'organe-obstacle de la vie est la mort. L'homme est destiné à mourir : *« le* mortel*, bien avant d'être* moribond*, est* moriturus *»* (*Idem* : 92). Dès qu'un homme est né il est assez vieux pour mourir. Dans ce chapitre l'auteur introduit l'idée de temps limité en disant qu'entre une vie longue et une vie infinie est une distance absolue. Un homme éternel est inconcevable, c'est un non-sens, une absurdité, la mort est l'*apriori* de la vie :

> le temps de la vie s'articule en laps de temps; et de même que les périodes enchaînées et les épisodes successifs se limitent l'un l'autre dans le grand temps de la vie, de même ce grand temps à son tour, ce Temps de tous les temps, resserré entre naissance er mort, apparaît comme un épisode dans l'éternité du néant : les deux néants qui l'étreignent, le néant d'avant le commencement et le néant d'après la fin, font du grand temps une durée vertébrée, charpentée, structurée, où à l'infini s'articulent entre eux les petits temps segmentaires
>
> (*Idem* : 94)

Mais la vie, pour le vivant, est ce qu'elle est, ni brève, ni longue. La vie s'affirme malgré, contre, en dépit de la mort, en n'étant vitale que parce que vouée à la mort. Le *parce que* et le *bien que* de la mort expriment la finitude, la corporalité et la temporalité de l'être. Le tragique de l'impossible-nécessaire est exprimé par la symbiose des incompossibles. *« L'impossible-nécessaire ne se confond ni avec le tragique simple de la répugnance réciproque, ni avec la situation irréciproque où l'un cherche l'autre qui le fuit (...) le destin de ces deux corrélats est en effet de ne jamais réussir à se rejoindre »* (*Idem* : 107). La vie et la mort ne sont jamais données ensemble, ne sont jamais contemporaines, sauf dans le cas de l'enfantement, présenté

par l'auteur en faisant référence à Tolstoï, où le paradoxe de l'impossible-nécessaire s'accomplit miraculeusement : *« la mort de l'un (la mère) est immédiatement (et non pas à terme) la condition biologique de la naissance de l'autre ; et il périt ainsi dans l'affirmation de sa positivité la plus créatrice. »* (*Idem* : 110) Un autre cas d'impossible-nécessaire est constitué par le rapport ambivalent entre l'esprit créateur et ses œuvres. Dans ce cas, l'être créateur ne s'annihile pas dans ses œuvres, mais le producteur expire dans son produit :

> Le mystère de la création n'est décevable ni avant, dans le créateur, ni après coup, dans le fait accompli de la créature: par contre, il peut être surpris dans l'insaisissable passage de celui-là à celle-ci (…) sur le moment, et l'espace d'un éclair, l'occasion opportune pourra s'offrir à nous de capter l'instant flagrant de la création.
>
> (*Idem* : 112)

Dans cette partie du livre il s'agit de la mort continuée qui est une sorte de vie continuée, sauvée au néant. *« À l'infini l'être surgit du non-être, et à l'infini l'être s'annihile dans le non-être… Avènement continué d'un avenir. Le devenir est à tout instant la mouvante solution qui dégèle l'insoluble de l'impossibilité nécessaire »* (*Idem* : 113). Grâce au modus vivendi du devenir, l'âme et le corps, ces deux « incompossibles », seront assez bien adaptés l'un à l'autre, et grâce au temps, notre vie insupportable devient une vie miraculeusement vivable et qui se continue jusqu'au terme létal. Jankélévitch en étant un philosophe de l'action, il résout la réalité de l'impossible-nécessaire en dynamisme : *« grâce au devenir, le tragique du désespoir sera tout simplement* sérieux *»* (*Idem* : 115).

Les disjonctions dramatiques des choix (le choix d'une carrière, le choix d'une femme) en cours de l'existence, constituent notre contribution à l'alternative. Mais, pour ce qui est du grand choix, le destin a déjà choisi pour la créature. L'impossible-nécessaire est toujours présent : si la créature ne peut pas cumuler les incompossibles (être quelqu'un sans renoncer à être tout), *« le destin a choisi pour elle, dès sa naissance, la détermination qui est négation »* (*Idem* : 116).

La mort est l'organe-obstacle de la vie surtout dans un sens temporel. Dès sa naissance, l'homme est un mort en sursis. Il est dit que la vie humaine est bornée entre les limites d'un laps de temps déterminé. *« La fin de la vie, pour le vivant, est toujours future, et ceci jusqu'au dernier moment »* (*Idem* : 120). Si l'on n'avait pas ce futur virtuellement présent, le présent et l'éternité pure et simple se confondaient, le vrai problème pour l'homme en étant de ne jamais mourir. La mort n'est pas l'obstacle relatif, mais *« l'obstacle absolu qui scelle l'unicité ou sémelfactivité de l'existence en général et interdit à jamais la réitération de cette existence. »* (*Idem* : 129) Il parle ici de l'irréversibilité du temps : *« une jeunesse manquée est une jeunesse manquée, c'est entendu; car on n'est jeune qu'une seule fois dans sa vie, et la saison de la jeunesse ne peut d'aucune manière se répéter; mais il n'est pas impossible à celui qui a manqué sa jeunesse de réussir sa vieillesse »* (*Idem* : 129-130). Mais par rapport à une vie perdue qui est irrémédiablement perdue, une jeunesse manquée est un échec partiel.

Par la suite, Jankélévitch nous parle de la quoddité du mystère de la mort, en utilisant la métaphore de l'entre'ouverture qui exprime la profonde ambiguïté de la

mort : *« ici la science sait vaguement que, tandis que la nescience ignore ce que. Telle est la science nesciente que nous appelons Entrevision »* (*Idem* : 137). Le mystère consiste dans le fait que la mort est à moitié cachée: elle est certaine, mais son heure, bien que certaine, est ignorée, ce qui veut dire que toute heure peut être la dernière. *« Pour n'être pas surpris par l'heure, il suffirait censément que le vivant ait de sa mortalité, non pas une connaissance notionnelle et banale, mais une expérience vivante et passionnelle. »* (*Idem* : 143) Cette heure certaine mais ignorée fait de l'homme un perpétuel condamné à mort, jouissant de sursis indéfinis (Hugo, 1829). Mais la conclusion en sera dans tous les cas la même, car toutes les durées finies s'annulent auprès de l'infini et de l'éternel néant.

Une autre alternative que l'auteur analyse est celle de la mort certaine et de l'heure certaine qui est aussi angoissante que l'heure incertaine. Victor Hugo décrit cette situation affolée de l'heure certaine dans *Le dernier jour d'un condamné*, Léonid Andreïev dans son *Récit des sept pendus*, Dostoïevscki lui consacre quelques pages dans son roman *L'Idiot*. Le temps de la vie devient insoutenable et inhumain : *« le temps du condamné à mort, consommant des ressources limitées, a perdu son efficacité créatrice et son pouvoir d'innovation »* (Jankélévitch, *op.cit.* : 148). Dans ce cas, le futur est lui-même du passé, ou il s'aplatit dans un présent sans relief, manquant de perspective. L'homme arrive à une futurition congelée, à un devenir détemporalisé quand il a la préscience de la mort à date fixe. *« On comprend qu'en dissimulant à l'homme la prescience de l'heure, Prométhée lui ait épargné un supplice contre-nature (...) Prométhée nous concède, à la faveur de notre ignorance, une manière de futur illusoire »* (*Idem* : 148).

L'auteur nous présente encore deux autres alternatives : celle de la mort incertaine et de l'heure incertaine, et celle de la mort certaine et de l'heure incertaine. Dans tous ces cas, l'inévitable est la quoddité de la mort. *« Sans doute, la nécessité de mourir n'est-elle pas une nécessité logique ; ou réciproquement (ce qui revient au même) l'impossibilité de mourir n'est en rien, à son tour, une impossibilité logique »* (*Idem* : 161). Si la résignation à la Quoddité représente la mortalité, la dolorité, la spatialité et la temporalité, qui est notre destin, la mort représente l'inconnaissable, l'impossible, l'incurable, une maladie et une malheur.

En parlant des deux limites de la vie, la terminaison et le commencement, Jankélévitch détache la vie de l'infini, en la plaçant entre l'infini d'avant la naissance et l'infini d'après la mort. Mais cet infini n'est pas le même avec ou sans ma vie. Le fait d'avoir été ne peut être effacé, cette chose qui n'arrive qu'une seule fois dans toute l'éternité, vous, en donnant sa couleur d'unicité et d'irrépétibilité au temps entre'ouvert de votre vie qui est une aventure.

On est tenté de voir dans le vieillissement les symptômes de la mort. Or, si tout le monde sait qu'il va mourir, personne ne le croit vraiment, ni même les vieillards.

> Chez le nouveau-né qui a tout l'avenir devant lui, une dose de non-sens infinitésimale et en quelque sorte homéopathique pourrait être décelée dans l'immensité du sens ; chez le vieillard, au contraire, la marge du futur tendant vers zéro, ce sont les dernières traces de sens qui achèvent de se perdre dans l'océan du non-sens.
>
> (*Idem* : 188)

Dans le cas du vieillard, l'impalpable je ne-sais-quoi de la temporalité se rend visible comme processus concret et caractérisé. La vieillesse est la maladie de la temporalité, comme la mort est la maladie des bien-portants. Dans une autre perspective, la vie est une mort continuée, l'usure progressive en faisant du devenir une vie mourante.

2. Dans la deuxième partie, Jankélévitch nous parle de la mort dans l'instant mortel, c'est-à-dire la mort sur le moment. *« La compréhension de la mort en soi n'est concevable ni par la pensée et encore moins sous le mode de l'expérience. »* (Lavoie, de Konink & Blondeau, *op.cit.* : 73) Dans cette partie du livre, plus courte que la première partie, l'auteur nous introduit dans la pudeur de l'instant inénarrable. Il s'agit, sur l'axe du temps, de deux noms, la vie et la mort, et d'un verbe, *mourir*, qui est un faire, inaccessible à la compréhension humaine. *« Ma naissance et ma mort ne peuvent être pour moi des objets de pensée. (...) Je me sens voué à un flux de vie inépuisable dont je ne puis penser ni le commencement ni la fin, puisque c'est encore moi vivant que les pense. »* (Merleau-Ponty, 1945 : 418) Le verbe *mourir* constitue dans cette partie du livre toute l'acuité de la pensée de Jankélévitch. Pour lui, cet instant du mourir est une plénitude. Si pour Socrate mourir c'est guérir d'une maladie qui est la vie, car ses dernières paroles sont de payer le médecin, pour Jankélévitch ce qui compte c'est de s'occuper de la vie qui précède l'instant de mourir.

L'instant mortel n'est pas un changement qualitatif car la mort ressort de toutes les catégories, la réelle manifestation de la mort en restant un mystère total et inaccessible à la compréhension humaine. *« La mutation-limite appelée mort n'est pas à l'échelle du langage. »* (*Idem* : 232).

L'instant de la mort n'est pas une altération temporelle et il récuse toute topographie. *« La mort, comme elle n'est pensable ni en termes de changement ni en termes de plus et de moins, (...) refuse de même toute chronologie et toute topographie. »* (*Idem* : 244). Si la mort en-deçà est localisable, la mort dans l'instant d'après ou dans l'instant même n'est plus localisable, on perd la trace de l'être vivant. *« Celui qui meut* quelque part *émigre ensuite* nulle part. *La mort est un* mouvement *qui ne va nulle part comme elle est un* devenir *qui ne devient rien. »* (*Idem* : 246)

L'instant mortel n'a pas de relations car *« le non-être létal, qui est le rien de tout notre être, exclut tout rapport ou communication avec une altérité »* (*Idem* : 254). Jaspers dit que *« les conceptions de l'état de mort sont vaines. Il ne nous parvient de l'au-delà pas la moindre expérience, pas le moindre signe. Personne n'en est revenu. C'est pourquoi certains disent: être mort ce n'être rien; la mort est le néant. »* (Jaspers, 2006 : 130)

Dans la conception phédonienne, le seuil de la mort est escamoté, Socrate ne confondant nullement espérance et courage, comme Jankélévitch ne confond non plus espérance et espoir. Tandis que l'espoir a un objet, l'espérance espère sans objet.

La mort est analysée comme fluxion de petites morts, pour banaliser, minimiser et *« économiser complètement l'instant de la mort »* (Jankélévitch, *op.cit.* : 260). La mort n'est plus présentée comme événement unique, mais comme un événement incessant qui intervient non pas à la fin de la vie, mais à chaque instant en cours de l'existence. *« L'idée des innombrables morts microscopiques de la vie quotidienne est-elle autre*

chose qu'une métaphore ? » (*Idem* : 263) Non, car il n'y a pas de mort partitives, mais la mort générale, totale, absolue, sans complément et sans autre précision.

Pour Jankélévitch, l'événement de la mort n'est pas un rien, mais un presque-rien : *« Entre le rien de l'au-delà et le tout de l'en-deçà (…), le presque-rien n'est-il pas ce qui nous occupe ici ? Ce presque-rien est l'Instant, c'est-à-dire le fait même du passage et l'événement de ce passage. »* (*Idem* : 271). La naissance et la mort introduisent dans l'existence de l'homme deux ruptures, en se présentant comme des instants ou comme ce que l'auteur appelle « presque-rien ». *« La mort est un* presque *rien pour moi – mais là aussi ce Presque suffit… La mort est donc tout pour moi! »* (*Idem* : 273)

On n'apprend pas à mourir et *« chacun est seul à mourir »* (Ernst, 2010 : 43). Mais la mort ne s'apprend pas comme la vertu. On apprend à continuer, mais on n'apprend pas à commencer, comme on n'apprend non plus à mourir. Et, en outre, on ne meurt qu'une fois, alors qu'est-ce qu'on peut en apprendre, à quoi cet apprentissage peut-il servir ? Et comment se préparer à un événement absolument « inouï », « jamais vu, jamais vécu, à un instant dont personne n'a ici-bas la moindre idée ni ne peut réaliser d'avance la nature? » (Jankélévitch, *op.cit.* : 275)

Il s'agit, dans l'instant de la mort, d'une soudaineté progressive, car si toutes les heures nous rongent, la dernière nous tue. L'homme ne finit pas par mourir à force de vieillir, *« personne ne meurt à proprement parler de vieillesse »* (*Idem* : 283). Pour en finir, il faut qu'on passe à la limite, sans ce passage le vieillissement durant jusqu'à la fin des siècles.

Dans le cas du mourir, cette action est irréversible, il s'agit d'un aller et retour dans l'espace qui est un aller sans retour dans le temps. *« Le presque-rien de l'instant mortel est le seuil de deux mondes. »* (*Idem* : 286) Dans ce monde d'ici-bas, il n'est pas possible de rajeunir, de revenir, de cesser de vieillir, car le temps ne peut pas retourner sur ses pas, *« le reflux des fleuves vers l'amont serait un miracle très ordinaire et à peine une féerie, comparé au reflux du temps vers les origines »* (*Idem* : 293), les expériences restent à l'endroit et on ne peut pas faire que ce qui a eu lieu n'ait pas eu lieu, le temps s'en va, et l'homme est incapable de nihiliser la temporalité du temps, la temporalité en général.

L'objectivité du temps est véritablement l'irréversible, le passé n'est pas un futur à l'envers et le futur n'est pas un passé à l'endroit, le devenir en étant invincible, comme la mort. Si dans le temps tout est possible, le temps lui-même qui est le temps vide, lui est inexterminable. L'irréversibilité terminale de la mort ne peut pas être pensée. On ne peut que vivre en cours de continuation cette irréversibilité empirique qui est une irréversibilité relative. *« Ce qui est désespérément impossible devient donc, grâce au souvenir, nostalgiquement impossible, c'est-à-dire idéalement possible (…) et le retour mnémique au passé peut compenser symboliquement l'irréversible. »* (*Idem* : 298)

En cours de continuation, toutes les fois sont la première et la dernière fois, chaque instant en étant unique, toutes les fois sont primes-ultimes, sauf la naissance qui constitue la toute première des premières fois dans la série de toutes les séries, une fois sans passé, et la mort qui constitue la toute dernière des dernières fois, une fois sans futur. *« Ainsi donc le commencement et la fin en cours de continuation ne sont pas seulement hors-série, mais encore intrasérielles. »* (*Idem* : 303) Jankélévitch introduit ici, pour caractériser cette primultimité relative, le terme de semelfactivité qui définit la secondarité et la

pénultimité, mais la primultimité mortelle est absolue, elle caractérise l'apparition disparaissante : *« la première fois mortelle n'instaure pas une nouvelle série, et elle est donc dernière; la dernière fois mortelle n'est pas l'aboutissement d'une série d'essais, et elle est donc première »* (*Idem* : 314).

À la différence de la première dernière fois de la naissance qui advient pour quelqu'un qui n'existait pas, la première dernière fois de la mort arrive pour quelqu'un qui est une personne constituée : *« un instant pour commencer, toute la vie ensuite pour en parler et pour épiloguer : tel est le futur de la toute première fois. Et voici maintenant le statut de la dernière : toute la vie pour attendre, dans l'angoisse, la consommation de l'intervalle – mais ensuite plus personne pour regarder en arrière par rétrospection »* (*Idem* : 315). La toute dernière fois de la mort institue ce plus rien à jamais. Si l'instant natal est dissymétrique parce qu'il n'a pas de passé et il annonce un immense avenir, l'instant mortel est lui aussi dissymétrique, en étant une futurition sans futur, une altération sans autre. *« Jamais plus est en effet la formule intemporelle du néant »* (*Idem* : 322) car ce qu'annonce la dernière fois de la mort ce n'est pas seulement *plus rien*, mais *plus jamais rien* et *plus rien à jamais* !

L'irréversible de l'avoir-été est aussi valable pour l'irréparable du fait-d'avoir-fait : *« capable de faire, mais non de défaire le fait d'avoir-fait, l'homme est donc un demi-créateur »* (*Idem* : 337). En présence de la mort, il est interdit à l'homme de jouer avec le temps, la mort en étant la condensation de l'irrévocable-irréparable : *« limite extrême, aiguë, absolue de la modification, la mort est irrévocable en sa quoddité comme tout autre accident du devenir »* (*Idem* : 339). *« Par là même l'irrévocable-irréparable scelle et consacre le caractère irremplaçable, incomparable, inimitable du "Hapax" désormais disparu »*. Pour notre auteur, la renaissance, la réincarnation et la réanimation ne sont pas possibles, le rien de la mort en étant le nihilisateur absolu, qui scelle irrévocablement l'impossibilité du retour à l'en-deçà. L'irrévocable ne permet le passage que dans un sens, l'instant suprême de la mort n'étant pas une limite : *« l'instant de la mort est le point d'intersection de deux contradictoires, qu'il faut bien appeler être et non-être »* (*Idem* : 354), l'instant de la mort est un instant nihilisateur, dans lequel c'est la disparition qui prévaut.

La dernière fois ne recèle aucun secret et on parle de la lumière ténébreuse, Jankélévitch en étant une philosophie qui aimait la vie, et non pas des ténèbres lumineuses :

> la lumière est réfléchie sur l'en-deçà par le dernier instant ; ce dernier instant n'est donc pas la vitre transparente à travers laquelle nous verrions les paysages d'outre-monde et la face cachée de notre destin, mais plutôt le miroir qui renvoie à notre ici-bas sa propre image ; en aucun cas l'irrévocable ne laisse repasser dans cette vie la lumière de l'autre vie… si tant est qu'une telle lumière existe.
>
> (*Idem* : 368)

La surnaturalité absolue de la mort est garantie par l'irrévocable du dernier instant qui scelle l'absence de l'absent qui sera non point temporelle, mais éternelle.

3. La troisième partie est réservée à la mort au-delà de la mort. Dans cette partie, il ne parle plus en termes de verbe, mais de nom. Il essaie de voir qu'est-ce qui arrive à l'être après la

mort. Le fait qu'on sait qu'on va mourir un jour ne nous apprend rien ni de la mort en tant qu'instant du mourir, ni de la mort au-delà de la mort. Tout le monde sait qu'il va mourir, mais personne ne le croit vraiment. La mort ne se présente jamais pour moi en première personne. Car ce sont deux choses distinctes qui sont aussi opposé: savoir et réaliser. Ce sont deux choses différentes que d'être mortel et d'être destiné soi-même à mourir, car la connaissance générale que je puisse avoir de la mortalité, cette destination par laquelle je suis moi-même concerné, n'est jamais réalisée en première personne : *« la mort propre reste au futur durant toute la vie-propre. »* (*Idem* : 372). *« Ma mort à moi n'est donc pas la mort de quelqu'un, mais elle est la mort qui bouleverse le monde, une mort inimitable, unique en son genre et à nulle autre pareil. »* (*Idem* : 25)

Devant l'au-delà de la mort, ni la palingenèse, ni le panbiotisme ne sont consolants, car l'au-delà n'est pas un avenir, ce qui nous donne la phobie de l'instant, l'angoisse de l'instant et la peur de cet au-delà. *« Ainsi s'opposent en chaque homme l'angoisse de mourir et la terreur d'être mort. »* (*Idem* : 377) Mais Jankélévitch nous dit que l'homme est pris entre l'espoir et l'optatif désespéré : *« l'au-delà, lui, n'étant rien de rationnel, est* désespérément souhaité *plutôt que* passionnément espéré *»* (*Idem* : 381). On espère en tant qu'être en première personne la victoire sur la mort, *« cette mort qui est toujours évitable et pourtant inévitable; cette mort qui n'est jamais nécessaire à tel ou tel moment et qui est pourtant nécessaire en général »* (*Idem* : 382). Mais comme notre auteur refusait l'anéantissement, il est un adepte de l'espérance. Cependant, il est conscient de l'absurdité de la survie, de l'immortalité, de la résurrection et de la vie perpétuelle. *« L'ambigüité infinie de l'au-delà tient toute dans ce fait que les deux solutions contradictoires de la « survie » et de la nihilisation sont également absurdes : il nous faut dégager tour à tour ces deux absurdités avant de les voir coïncider irrationnellement dans un même mystère »* (*Idem* : 384). Le grand optatif de la survie a fait naître dans l'imagination de l'homme toute sorte de chimères, pour combler le vœu d'immortalité de l'homme : l'espoir philanthropique de ne jamais mourir (le vivant en restant en-deçà de la vie propre, il n'a pas besoin d'une survie, rallonge eschatologique de cette vie), l'espérance en ce que les immortalistes appellent en général survie (résurrection miraculeuse puisque le vivant entier se réveille de la mort). Les allégations sur la pérennité de la vie et l'éternité de l'essence, ne sont que des consolations, tandis que la survie personnelle de l'âme est plutôt une espérance. *« Le vivant est mortel, mais la vie de ce vivant et la vitalité de cette vie sont inexterminables et incorruptibles ; et par conséquent la mort n'est pas la fin de la vie, mais seulement la fin du vivant: la mort clorait la carrière individuelle, mais non la vie universelle. »* (*Idem* : 387) La mort, dans cette vision, n'a plus rien de tragique. Il s'agit ici de l'éternité de l'essence pensante, représentée par la conscience : *« la pensée qui pense la mort s'offre-t-elle à nous comme un second moyen d'en dissiper le tragisme »* (*Idem* : 393).

Le dualisme de l'âme et du corps nous permet d'expliquer la survie, car ce qui individualise l'ipseité c'est l'âme et non la vie : ce qui rend notre propre anéantissement impossible à comprendre c'est le principe de continuation. On voit l'absurdité de la nihilisation, la continuation en allant de soi et la cessation en constituant un scandale. Le roi (Ionesco, 1998 : 65) qui se meurt se demande : *« Pourquoi suis-je né, si ce n'était pas pour toujours ? »*

La mort prend une forme particulière quand on envisage le cas de l'être pendant : *« tout meurt, sauf la pensée qui pense la mort, et qui ne meurt point… Non, la conscience de mourir ne meurt pas ! Non, la mort ne concerne pas la surconscience transcendante, la surconscience englobante qui la prend pour objet ou problème »* (Jankélévitch, *op.cit.* : 410). Si la mort de l'être pensant est un fait, la pensée de la mort de l'être pensant est immortelle, car les vérités ne vieillissent pas, la permanence intemporelle des vérités caractérisant aussi la pensée qui les pense : *« l'être pensant, immortel en tant qu'il est pensant, mortel en tant qu'il est un être, est finalement mortel »* (*Idem* : 418).

Dans tous les cas, on ne peut finalement parler que du triomphe de la mort, de cette mort toute puissante. Le dernier mot appartiendra en fait non pas à la pensée, mais à la mort qui ne peut être surmontée physiquement par la pensée : *« La pensée prend conscience de la mort jusqu'à l'avant-dernier instant inclusivement ; mais à l'instant suprême l'être pensant meurt, et la pensée, du même coup, cesse de penser; après avoir pensé la mort toute sa vie, le penseur meurt lui-même un beau jour à l'appel de son nom. »* (*Idem* : 421) En voici, la mort est plus forte que la pensée. Ce qui proteste en nous contre le scandale de l'anéantissement, qui métaphoriquement tient tête victorieusement à la mort, c'est l'amour, et c'est aussi la liberté et Dieu. Comme dit Ionesco, *« si tu as l'amour fou, si tu aimes insensément, si tu aimes absolument, la mort s'éloigne »* (Ionesco, *op.cit.* : 112). L'amour dit non au non de la mort et la liberté, à son tour, est une protestation contre l'anéantissement, scandale incompréhensible et dérisoire. L'amour, la liberté et Dieu sont pour notre auteur *« des garantie d'immortalité ; des assurances contre le non-être »* (Jankélévitch, *op.cit.* : 434). Jankélévitch, à la fin du livre, dit qu'on trouve le gage d'une existence impérissable *« dans la vie elle-même, dans la joie de vivre et dans la surnaturalité de la naturalité vécue »* (*Idem* : 453), car il fait beau vivre.

NOTES

[1] Vladimir Jankélévitch, *La mort*, Paris, Flammarion, 1977, 4e de couverture.

[2] Il y a une différence d'ordre chronologique entre *la mort* et *le mourir* ; voir dans ce sens Vladimir Jankélévitch, *La mort*, Paris, Flammarion, 1977, p. 35.

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Bloomian Concept of Error and Rui Zink's Postmodernism in *O Anibaleitor*

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ABSTRACT: According to Bloom's literary canon, one of the three aesthetical principles is the anxiety of influences, namely the original or wrong interpretation of classic great literary works. Postmodern poetics corresponds to this idea, in the sense that it reinterprets the previous literature, often resorting to pastiche, intertext, ludic elements and oral character. The present paper aims at analyzing the manner in which Rui Zink, voluntarily, interprets in a wrong manner the classical epic genre and what are the postmodern elements he resorts to in order to accomplish this task.

KEYWORDS: *bloomian literary canon*, *anxiety of influences, postmodern poetics*, *intertext*, *pastiche*, *ludic elements*, *oral character*

According to Bloom's literary canon, any literary work is based on three aesthetical principles: the strangeness of ideas, the anxiety of ideas and the anxiety of influences. The first principle refers to the originality of a literary work, the second one points to the fact that any literary work must somehow trouble the readers, whereas the third principle refers to the manner in which a literary work is created. According to Bloom, any writer is consciously influenced by the literary works of the previous great writers and any new valuable literary work must consist in the original or wrong interpretation of classic great literary works: "Any important literary work is a creative-wrong reading and a wrong interpretation of a classical text or of several such texts" (Bloom, 1995: 11).

Postmodern poetics is connected to bloomian concept of error in the sense that it reinterprets the previous literature, often resorting to pastiche, intertext and ludic elements. There is a paradox at the very heart of postmodernism: it both "enshrines the past" and "questions it", it marks both a difference from the past and a connection with it by means of intertextuality (Hutcheon, 2004: 125-126). The world of the postmodern text is "a world of discourse, the world of texts and intertexts" and postmodernism itself is "a theoretical exploration of the vast dialogue between and among literatures and histories" (Hutcheon, 2004: 125).

Within and behind any given text there is a plurality of other texts (Kristeva, 1969: 72).

We are going to analyze the manner in which Rui Zink, voluntarily, interprets in a wrong manner the classical epic genre and what are the postmodern elements he resorts to in order to accomplish this task.

Theme:
The theme of reading is a postmodern theme along with the themes of daily life, commuting, ordinary urban experiences, hostels, etc. The novel is a meditation on the act of reading nowadays.

Pastiche- Hypertextuality:
The novel *O Anibaleitor* can be considered a pastiche as it is a take on *Moby Di*ck by Hermann Melville and on Lewis Carroll's *The Hunting of the Snark*. It is very important to mention the fact that these two sources of imitation are named by Rui Zink himself at the end of the novel, in *Author's Note*.

In G. Genette's terms, the novel *O Anibaleitor* is a hypertext or a B-type text, whereas the two texts *Moby Dick* and *The Hunting of the Snark* are hypotexts or A-type texts, namely earlier texts upon which other texts are grafted: "Hypertextuality refers to any relationship uniting a text B (which I shall call the hypertext) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the *hypotext*), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary." (Genette, 1997: 5). This process is called transformation and can be rendered graphically as follows:

A (hypotext) → B (hypertext)

Hypertext derives from hypotext without mentioning it. It is only in *Author's Note* that Rui Zink mentions these two references.

Discussing about *Moby Dick* (1851) by Hermann Melville, Rui Zink shows that the name of the character Queequeg is taken from there, too. To make the reference even more visible, Zink's character has lost one leg because "it was ripped off by a white whale" (p. 20) and he also has "a story about a white whale tattooed on his body" (p. 20). Mention should be made of other similarities, too:

- as Rui Zink's novel is mainly based on two characters, the child narrator and the monster Anibareader, Melville's novel is structured around the two main characters, Ahab and Ishmael, who are contrasted with each other, with Ishmael the observer and narrator;
- *Mobby Dick* can be read as a "narrative of education" (Milder, 1988: 434) and so can be read *O Anibaleitor*. The former refers to education referring to rather practical issues, whereas the latter is an education in the art of reading;
- Ahab, the captain in *Mobby Dick*, is a "force of linearity" (Bryant & Springer, 2007: xvi) and so is the captain in Zink's novel: "He had the annoying habit of believing that he is never wrong and of having only seldom doubts" (pp. 20-21);
- Both the child narrator in Zink's novel, on the one hand, and the main characters in Melville's novel, have a whole in their hearts and feel they are somehow incomplete beings. Thus, the child narrator's parents are preparing to divorce and both Ahab and Ishmael are orphans.

Anibareader is similar to Snark – an imaginary animal created by Lewis Caroll in the absurd poem *The Hunting of the Snark*. The story goes like this: A crew made

up of ten people set sail to hunt the Snark. They are guided by the leader Bellman, who uses a map which is, in fact, a blank sheet of paper. (In Rui Zink's novel, the captain uses a map, too, but this one is said to be made of human skin. (p. 28): "It is said that, in order to make this map, a brave cast away used his own skin, scrathing it with a sharp stone" (p. 29). The crew are told that some Snarks are dangerous Boojums and that, if the Snark is a Boojum, then the hunter vanishes away. They split up to hunt the Snark. In the end of the poem, the Baker cries that he has found the Snark but when his shipmates arrive, he has disappeared. The narrator concludes that the Snark was a Boojum.

At the same time, mention should be made of the fact that the manner in which Rui Zink coins the word that gives the name of the monster is an imitation of the portmanteau words in Caroll's *The Hunting of the Snark*, as we are going to demonstrate further on.

Other textualist elements:

Rui Zink, in *The Author's Note*, gives a definition of intertext "a text can hide another text. Even unwillingly, a book is always engaged in a dialogue with other books" (p. 105)

Textualist references can be seen in *Author's Note*: "Now, the texture of these details deliberately intersects with other textures. Here are some of the most shameless references…" (p. 105). Zink also mentions (apart from *Moby Dick* (1851) by Hermann Melville and *The Hunting of the Snark* (1876)) *Kong* by Merian C. Cooper; *Dune* (1985), a song; *Esteiros* (1941) by Soeiro Pereira Gomes; *Aventuras Maravilhosas de João Sem Medo (1963)* by José Gomes Ferreira; *Dinosauro Excelentíssimo* (1972) by José Cardoso Pires; *O Malhadinhas* (1922) by Aquilino Ribeiro; *O labirintodonte* (1970), a poem and a book by Alberto Pimenta; *A Reinvenção da Leitura* (1975) by Ana Hatherly, a visual poem. He also indicates that in *Canto V* in *Lusiada* there is "a talking cliff", but its name is Adamastor (In *O Anibaleitor* the monster appears to the child narrator as a cliff, at the beginning: "One of the walls of the cave has a huge hunchback, a black, prominent cliff. The cliff moved" – p. 39) and that there is also "a certain Dr. Hannibal Lecter," "the main character of three novels by Thomas Harris, among which *The Silence of the Lambs* (1988)" (p. 107).

Intertext:
Rui Zink makes use of ample intertext, in a wide variety of forms:

- authors mentioned in the novel: Garrett (p. 49); Aquilino (p. 56); Saramago (p. 75); Fernando Pessoa (p. 75); Bocage (p. 79); Jorge Luis Borges (p. 105).

- books mentioned in the novel: *1001 Nights* (p. 55); *The Three Musketeers* (p. 56); *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (p. 56); *The Karamazov Brothers* (p. 56); *Crime and Punishment* (p. 56); *The Town and the Mountain* (p. 56).

- books mentioned in *Author's Note* that are written by Rui Zink himself: *The Waiting* (2007) and *O Suplente*; *Lusitano Hotel* (1986); *Apocalipse Nau* (1996);

- authors and books mentioned in the novel: King Solomon: *The Song of Songs* (p. 19); Rubem Fonseca: *And from the Middle of the Prostitute World I've Kept Love Only for Cigar* (*Do Meio do Mundo Prostituto Só Amores Guardei ao Meu Charuto)* (p. 55); Jules Verne: *Around the World In Eighty Days* (pp. 55-56); Julio Cortazar: *Around the Day in Eighty Worlds* (p. 56); Guimaráes Rosa: *The Devil to Pay in the Backlands (Grande Sertão: Veredas)* (p. 66); Proust: *In Search of Lost Time* (p. 67); Tolstoi: *War and Peace, Anna Karenina* (p. 67); Virginia Woolf: *Orlando* (p. 74);

- books mentioned in the novel but whose writers are revealed by the author himself later on, in the *Author's Note*; they are not mentioned in the text*: O Dinosauro Excelentíssimo,* by José Cardoso Pires (p. 56); *Aventuras Maravilhosas de João Sem Medo,* by José Gomes Ferreira (p. 56); *Esteiros,* by Soeiro Pereira Gomes (p. 56); *O Malhadinhas,* by Aquilino Ribeiro (p. 56).

- quotations without mentioning the author or the book: p. 49; p. 82.

- quotations mentioning the author: Bocage (p. 40) and (pp. 79-80); Álvaro de Campos (Fernando Pessoa's heteronym) (p. 50); Luíz Vaz Camóes (p. 62); Augusto Monterroso (p. 68).

- references without mentioning the author or the book and later on revealed by one of the characters or by the author himself:

- Anibareader asks the child narrator: "Are you willing to exchange some ideas with me on a theme?" (p. 54) and, later on (p. 55), the child reveals the title of the book, *We'd Better Exchange Some Ideas on This Theme*, as well as the name of the author, Mário de Carvalho;

- we find out that the visual poem on p. 73 is written by Ana Hatherly and belongs to *A Reinvenção da Leitura* (1975), a fact which is revealed by the author himself in *Author's Note*;

- at page 26, the child asks: "Hey, Queequeg, isn't this similar to the hunting of the Snark?". Later on, in *Author's Note*, Zink himself reveals the source of imitation: Lewis Carroll's *The Hunting of the Snark*;

- at page 34, the child says: "Then, if we should come across this Animal Hector…", clearly making a confusion of name. Later on, in *Author's Note*, Zink himself reveals the source of imitation: "the main character of three novels by Thomas Harris, among which *The Silence of the Lambs* (1988)" (p. 107): Dr. Hannibal Lecter.

- references without mentioning the author or the book and never revealed afterwards:

- "I must learn that, according to some people, the world was contained in a mere letter" (p. 60). – the readers infer that it is a reference to Borges;

- the story about the stone soup (p. 102), which ends the novel, can be read as a reference to *The Bible*: "The stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone; this was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?"

- "I had had the luck to embark on a ship of fools" (p. 19) – there is a hint to Katherine Anne Porter's *Ship of Fools*.

- the name of the monster (Anibaleitor, in Portuguese) points to the main character of three novels written by Thomas Harris (out of which *The Silence of the Lambs* is the most famous), namely Hannibal Lector;

- it is very interesting to notice the manner in which Rui Zink coins the word giving the name of the monster:

"So, Anibareader wants to say only that…"

"Animal Reader, that is Reader, added the captain. Only that: it is a hairy brute that reads." (p. 33)

In Portuguese, the name of the hunted monster is Anibaleitor (animal → anibal + leitor) which can easily be translated into Romanian as Anibalector (animal → anibal + lector), keeping the pun obtained by fusing the meanings of two different words. In English, joyning "animal" and "reader" we obtain Anibareader. The name of the monster was taken from a map and the one who wrote it used "b" instead of "m" throughout the entire text, thus a humourous effect being obtained. The author obtains a humourous effect replacing the right letters with others:

m → b (animal → anibal)
f → p (awful → awpul)
m → b (main → bain)
q → g (quality → guality)
r → g (reading → geading)

This manner of building portmanteau words is an imitation form Lewis Carroll's *The Hunting of the Snark*. There, in the Preface, Carroll explains how such words are formed: "This also seems a fitting occasion to notice the other hard works in that poem. Humpty-Dumpty's theory, of two meanings packed into one word like a portmanteau, seems to me the right explanation for all. For instance, take the two words "fuming" and "furious." Make up your mind that you will say both words, but leave it unsettled which you will say first. Now open your mouth and speak. If your thoughts incline ever so little towards "fuming," you will say "fuming-furious;" if they turn, by even a hair's breadth, towards "furious," you will say "furious-fuming;" but if you have the rarest of gifts, a perfectly balanced mind, you will say "frumious." Supposing that, when Pistol uttered the well-known words--
Under which king, Bezonian? Speak or die!"

Justice Shallow had felt certain that it was either William or Richard, but had not been able to settle which, so that he could not possibly say either name before the other, can it be doubted that, rather than die, he would have gasped out "Rilchiam!"[1]

Comic elements:

Here are a few examples of comic elements in Zafon's novel: "Today's youth is extremely damaged to the head" (p. 16); "I (because of the age, I supppose) was rather on the moon than on the crow's nest" (p. 25); "Poison… I don't like the idea, either. What the hell, we would have used cloroform if it had already been invented" (p. 34); "Come on, get on the crow's nest, otherwise I risk a rebellion of the crew for preferential treatment given to a clandestine" (p. 35); "Had I been older, I would have collapsed right there, at that very instant, stricken by a pathetic (and somehow humiliating) heart attack" (p. 40);

In *Author's Note*, discussing about the reference *Kong* by Merian C. Cooper, Zink concludes humorously: "Unfortunately, its creators (…) have died, therefore (to my great regret) I can't sue them" (p. 106).

Oral characteristics:

- the large use of dialogue: the second part of the novel, *The Island*, is mostly a dialogue between the child narrator and the monster Anibareader;
- the use of interjections: "Oops, they have found me" (p. 14); "Shh, little boy!" (p. 24); "Aha." (p. 29); "Oops!" (p. 29); "Hey, Qeequog, isn't this similar to the hunting of the Snark?" (p. 26); "Ahh! I wanted to scream but the sound got stuck in my neck" (p. 39); "Ahhhhhhhhh!" (p. 40); "Well…" (p. 42); "Oh! That is an entirely different thing" (p. 44); "Ho!Ho!" (p. 44);
- specific features of oral character: "as the saying goes" (p. 25)
- proverbs and sayings: "People say that behind a big fortune there is a big theft" (p. 9); "Like the gardener's dog, that neither eats cabbages himself, nor lets anybody else" (p. 26);
- folk verses or rhythmic sentences: (p. 12); "Here comes the ship Catherine/ Which has plenty to narrate./ Now, listen, my lords,/ A bewildering story" (p. 17); "Little monkey, little monkey, climb up, don't be afraid! Hit yourself in the chest, like a birdie!" (p. 18);
- unexpected combinations of words: "happy panic attack" (p. 10); "small trouble – big trouble" (p. 11);
- repeated words/sounds or pauses (there are cases when both are used together): "S-s-skin?" (p.28); "Human s-s-skin?" (p. 28); "I-is it really true?" (p. 29); "W-what?" (p. 40); "W-who are you?" (p. 40); "Y-yes, I muttered very slowly" (p. 43); "Se-seventeen" (p. 43); "A-are you… Are you Anibareader?" (p. 42); "No… no" (p. 41); "But… poison?" (p. 34); "But…" (p. 33); "A-are you really talking?" (p. 42); "As regards the reading… it would be absurd" (p. 33); "So, Anibareader wants to say only that…" (p. 33); "Is this… Is this old Portuguese?" (p. 31); "And… can you talk?" (p. 42); "Are you… you God?" (p. 44).

Conclusions

At the end of this brief analyze of the postmodern elements used by Rui Zink in order to interpret in a wrong manner the classical epic genre, we can conclude the following:
- he imitates the content of another famous literary work, namely *Moby Dick* by Herman Melville and Lewis Carroll's *The Hunting of the Snark*, lending a humorous tone to the novel;
- he creates the monster character imitating Lewis Carroll's monster character, namely Snark, which appears in *The Hunting of the Snark*;
- he makes use of quotations to a large extent;
- he employs bookish references (namely quotations without mentioning the author or the books and references without mentioning the author or the book and never revealed afterwards: "I must learn that, according to some people, the world was contained in a mere letter" – p. 60);
- he uses textualist references which appear in *Author's Note*;
- he explores the imaginary realm by creating the Anibareader monster;
- he uses many ludic elements;
- regarding the oral character of the novel, mention can be made of the large use of dialogue (the second part of the novel, *The Island*, is mostly a dialogue between the child narrator and the monster Anibareader); the use of interjections, specific features of oral character, proverbs and sayings, folk verses or rhythmic sentences, unexpected combinations of words, repeated words/sounds or pauses.

NOTE

[1] Mention should be made of the fact that Lewis Caroll borrows in *The Hunting of the Snark* eight portmanteau words from his earlier poem *Jabberwocky* (which is found in his children's novel *Through the Looking Glass*): *bandersnatch, beamish, frumious, galumphing, jubjub, mimsiest* (which previously appeared as mimsy in "Jabberwocky"), *outgrabe* and *uffish*. Therefore, it could be said that Rui Zink's imitation is an imitation to an imitation, or a second degree imitation.

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Siblings in George Eliot*

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ABSTRACT

The present paper focuses on the relationship between siblings in three novels written by George Eliot, the pen name of the British author Mary Ann Evans. The novels in question include the author's first work, *Adam Bede*, published in 1859, her third and shortest novel, *Silas Marner,* published in 1861, and *Middlemarch*, the author's sixth and most complex novel, published in 1872.
In each of these novels, one of the main characters has a sibling of the same sex. Through comparisons and parallels, George Eliot foregrounds the main character and uses the siblings' relationship in order to emphasize his or her features. Sometimes Eliot openly sets the siblings in contrast and proves that one of them is superior to the other in certain aspects, but this does not always lead to the happiness of the one endowed with higher virtues.
Through an analysis of the relationships between Adam and Seth (*Adam Bede*), Godfrey and Dunstan (*Silas Marner*) and Dorothea and Celia (*Middlemarch*), we will prove that the author employs the comparisons between the siblings as a narrative device in order to present the main character. The paper argues that the author shapes a better and more encompassing representation of the main character, through the means of comparisons and contrasts between the siblings, using the siblings' relationship as an ingenious narrative device.

KEYWORDS: *sibling relation, narrative device, comparisons, George Eliot, parallels, contrasts*

1. Introduction

George Eliot is the pen name of Mary Ann Evans (1819-1880), one of the main English Victorian writers. She was born in Warwickshire and she died in London. She chose a male penname because she considered that novels written by women were not taken seriously. In the Victorian Age, women had very well-shaped roles which they could not transgress. Marriage represented maturity and stability, and motherhood meant the confirmation of virtue and fulfillment. George Eliot chose to live with a divorced man, whose name was George Henry Lewes, and she did not

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have any children of her own, even though she raised his. She wanted to avoid the stereotypes of her times, but not necessarily to direct her efforts towards fighting against them; this is why she chose to hide from the audience the detail that she was writing novels.

This paper will focus on the relation between siblings in three of her novels: *Adam Bede*, *Silas Marner*, and *Middlemarch*. The author's first novel, *Adam Bede*, was published in 1859. After two years, in 1861, her third and shortest novel, *Silas Marner,* was published. *Middlemarch*, the author's sixth novel begun in 1869, was published in serial form in 1871-1872 and it is remarkable through its complexity conferred by its multiple plots. All of these novels have more than one main character, and in each novel one of the main characters has a sibling of the same sex. The argument of the present paper is the idea that George Eliot employs the sibling relations as a means to foreground the main character (which is one of the two siblings). The other sibling becomes a narrative tool which serves a term of comparison in order to emphasize the features of the main character.

Through comparisons and parallels, George Eliot foregrounds the main character and makes use of the siblings' relationship in order to emphasize his or her features. Sometimes George Eliot openly sets the siblings in contrast and proves that one of them is superior to the other in certain aspects, but this does not always lead to the happiness of the one endowed with higher virtues, as this paper will show in the section that focuses on Dorothea and Celia in *Middlemarch*. The author mainly uses the comparisons between the siblings as a narrative device in order to present the main character. When depicting Godfrey and Dunstan in the novel *Silas Marner*, George Eliot explicitly contrasts the two brothers and describes Dunstan as Godfrey's inferior in various aspects, as presented in the second section of this paper. The present work will focus on how George Eliot uses the siblings' relationship as an ingenious narrative device that leads to a better and more encompassing representation of the main character.

2. Adam and Seth Bede

Adam Bede is the main character of the novel with the same name. He and his brother, Seth Bede, are introduced in the first chapter of the novel where they are presented at work, in the workshop of "Mr Jonathan Burge, carpenter and builder" (*Adam Bede*, Eliot [1997] 2003: 3). First the narrator describes Adam as a strong well-built man whose face expressed intelligence and honesty. Then Seth is described in a shorter paragraph introduced by the words: "It is clear at a glance that the next workman is Adam's brother." (Eliot 2003: 4) The brothers look similar at a first glance, but their features differ slightly: "the strength of the family likeness seems only to render more conspicuous the remarkable difference of expression both in form and face." (Eliot 2003: 4) Adam and Seth are similar but not alike and, as the present paper will show, this will lead to many instances in the novel when Adam is foregrounded through comparisons with his brother and his thoughts and ideas are disclosed through descriptions of his attitudes towards Seth.

James, quoted in Haight, considers Adam and Seth to be "the strongest, purest, most discreet of young rustics" (1965: 45). Indeed, in terms of morality and conduct towards the others, the Bede brothers are among the best pairs of siblings in George Eliot's novels. Both of them are well-intentioned and caring, they have a strong sense of duty and morality.

The fourth chapter of the novel, named *Home and its Sorrows*, introduces the reader to Adam and Seth's family life and presents the similarities of the two brothers reflected in the grief for their father's death as well as the distinction between them manifested in their thoughts on Thias Bede's death. Both Adam and Seth are very affected by their father's death; however their feelings are different. "When they had [the body] on the bank, the two sons in the first moments knelt and looked with mute awe at the glazed eyes, forgetting that there was need for action – forgetting everything but that their father lay dead before them." (Eliot 2003: 44) When they undertake the deed of carrying their father's dead body home, they lift "the sad burden in heartstricken silence." (Eliot 2003: 45) The powerful grief makes the two brothers more alike in their suffering.

When the narrator goes in more detail about their reactions at their father's death, then the differences between Adam and Seth are more emphasized. "Seth's chief feeling was awe and distress at this sudden snatching away of his father's soul; but Adam's mind rushed back over the past in a flood of relenting and pity." (Eliot 2003: 45) Thias was not without some humanly flaws: sometimes he drank too much, other times he was not punctual in his work. Adam always displayed severity towards his father's weaknesses and now he is repenting of his severity. "The death and funeral of Thias Bede bring remorse to Adam for the severity of his criticism." (Pinion 1981: 93)

Adam's repentance is foregrounded through the parallel between his feelings and Seth's. Both brothers suffer at the death of their father, but Adam also repents, because he was more severe than Seth. His severity comes from righteousness and sense of duty, which Adam possesses in a higher degree than others; as the reader concludes from the comparison between Adam and his brother. Beyers, quoted in Pangallo, observes that Adam's "suffering is the result of his unimaginative rigidity." (1994: 45) Adam manifests his rigidity not only towards his father, but also towards Hetty Sorrel, even though he loves her so much. He disapproves of Hetty when he gives her a rose and she sticks it into her hair. "The tender admiration in Adam's face was slightly shadowed by reluctant disapproval." Adam disliked "Hetty's love of finery […] as much as it was possible for him to dislike anything that belonged to her." (Eliot 2003: 192) After his open criticism of his father, this is another instance when Adam expresses his severity towards the ways of somebody whom he holds very close to his heart.

In chapter fifty-one, Lisbeth Bede, the brothers' mother, voices her thoughts that it would be better for Dinah Morris and Adam if they got married. She tells this to Seth, who is surprised. She also mentions that somebody must tell Adam that Dinah is "fond of him"; otherwise he would never realize that. "His mother's suggestion about Dinah's feelings towards Adam was not quite a new thought to Seth, but her last words alarmed him, lest she should herself undertake to open Adam's eyes. He

was not sure about Dinah's feeling, and he thought he was sure about Adam's." (Eliot 2003: 426) When Seth tries to persuade his mother not to tell Adam what she thinks about Dinah, Lisbeth observes that "Thee think'st so 'cause she wouldna ha' thee", which makes Seth feel hurt. (Eliot 2003: 426-427) Lisbeth is certain that Adam is in love with Dinah, but he does not realize this "happen he knowsna as he wants t' see her; he knowsna as I put salt in's broth, but he'd miss it pretty quick if it warna there." (Eliot 2003: 427) Dallas, quoted in Pangallo, considers this remark of Lisbeth's to be "very homely" (1994: 41). Lisbeth is fond of both her sons, but in this particular occasion her insistence on Dinah marrying Adam seems to corroborate with her own wish to have Dinah close by her side as a daughter and to disregard Seth's hypothetical hard feelings towards the marriage between the woman whom he loved and who rejected him and his brother.

Goode, quoted in Hardy, observes that the death of Thias Bede is an "undertone of change" in the novel. (1970: 23) It is the first time that Adam repents for his severity. Later in the novel he also criticizes Hetty, as it was shown before, but the sorrows he experiences act a change upon his critical attitude in the end of the novel. This change in Adam's ways is presented by the narrator through another instance of interaction between him and Seth. The fiftieth chapter describes the brothers "so like each other in the midst of their unlikeness." (Eliot 2003: 418) When Seth is lost in thoughts and daydreams, Adam watches him "with a kind smile dawning in his eyes" because he "had been getting more and more indulgent to Seth. It was part of that growing tenderness which came from the sorrow at work in him." (Eliot 2003: 419) Seth is here a mere narrative tool, he is only a person close to Adam's heart that the narrator needs in order to depict Adam's growing feeling of indulgence towards the ones he loves. It is this progress in Adam's critical nature and his softening caused by the sorrow he felt, that makes him a better person, worthy of marrying Dinah in the end of the novel.

The relationship between Adam, Seth and Dinah turns out to be somehow problematic in the end of the novel, when she marries Adam, after she had refused Seth's proposals and had claimed that she would never choose to marry anyone. Adam held different religious beliefs; moreover, he had desperately loved the vain and superficial Hetty Sorrel. In this context, his powerful attachment to Hetty can be considered a proof of his youthful, even silly passions; whereas his marriage to Dinah represents Adam's maturity, even elevation to a higher level, and ability to choose a reliable person for a life-long partnership. Here Seth plays the part of the good, meek, and understanding nature because he is not resentful in any way towards his brother and Dinah. According to George Eliot quoted in Pinion, "Dinah's ultimate relation to Adam was suggested by George […] he wanted her to be the principal figure at the last." (1981: 93) Here she talks about George Henry Lewes whom she lived with and whom she considered her husband, even though he was married to Agnes Jervis. Thus, the writer admits that the marriage between Adam Bede and Dinah Morris was not initially her idea and maybe this is the reason for which this episode seems not to fit perfectly in the context of the plot.

The first encounter between Adam and Dinah is described in chapter eleven and presents the mixed feelings they have for each other. Adam is in his workshop and hears somebody else in the kitchen. Unaware of Dinah's presence in the house, he hopes that the person in the kitchen is Hetty, even though he admits that this is very unlikely, and a "very foolish thought" (Eliot 2003: 99). When Adam sees Dinah, he feels "like dreaming of the sunshine and awaking in the moonlight" (Eliot 2003: 99). He had never really noticed Dinah before, first because he had only seen her when Hetty was around and all his attention was directed to Hetty, and second because he was aware that Seth was in love with her. Thus, when Adam saw Dinah in his workshop, she "impressed him with all the force that belongs to a reality contrasted with a preoccupying fancy" (Eliot 2003: 99). Through the contrast between Dinah and Hetty, the narrator underlines the difference between seeming and being, essence and reality. Hetty is "a preoccupying fancy", something that occupies Adam's mind for the moment, but should not stay in his thoughts for too long; whereas Dinah is the stable, powerful, reliable reality.

On the other hand, Dinah is also affected by her encounter with Adam. "Dinah, for the first time in her life, felt a painful self-consciousness; there was something in the dark penetrating glance of this strong man so different from the mildness and timidity of his brother Seth." (Eliot 2003: 99) She cannot refrain from comparing Adam with Seth and finds his glance "dark" and "penetrating". The second adjective has a phallic implication and they both suggest Adam's powerful masculinity contrasted with Seth's "mildness and timidity". Thus, Dinah reaction is thoroughly feminine: "A faint blush came, which deepened as she wondered at it." (Eliot 2003: 99) Impressed by Adam's masculinity, Dinah blushes femininely and this happens for the first time in her life, as it is mentioned in the previous quotation. Her preference for Adam is another proof of her femininity; she is instinctively attracted towards "this strong man" and she rejects Seth, the timid and mild brother.

Seth Bede was very pleased by the encounter between Adam and Dinah. He cherished Adam's opinion and considered his brother very trustworthy. "He wanted Adam to know how much better she was than all other women." (Eliot 2003: 101) As it is the first time Adam really takes notice of Dinah, his appreciation of her is based on physical aspects rather than inner qualities. According to him, "I don't wonder at thee for loving her, Seth. She's got a face like a lily." (Eliot 2003: 104) Seth admits that he loves her, maybe "too much." However, he knows that his love for her is hopeless and he overtly expresses his firm belief that Dinah would never marry. "But she doesna love me, lad, only as one child o' God loves another. She'll never love any man as a husband – that's my belief." (Eliot 2003: 104)

Dinah rejects Seth in the beginning of the novel, namely in the third chapter. He tries to persuade her using examples from the Bible and he is very affected by his speech: "his cheeks became flushed as he went on, his mild grey eyes filled with tears, and his voice trembled." (Eliot 2003: 28) As proved in the previous paragraph, this timid attitude fails to impress Dinah, so she tells him that their marriage is not God's will and that she desires "to live and die without husband or children." (Eliot 2003: 29) Dinah refuses Seth "in the belief that it is God's will that she should devote

herself to her vocation" (Rignall 2000: 5), however her firm belief that she should only follow her vocation changes in the end of the novel when she marries Adam.

In chapter fifty-two, Adam confesses to Dinah his love for her and she admits that she loves her too, but still rejects the idea of marriage because she considers it is not the path God chose for her in life. Later on, in chapter fifty-four, she admits to Adam that "it is the Divine Will […] now you are with me, and I feel that our hearts are filled with the same love, I have a fullness of strength to bear and do our heavenly Father's Will, that I had lost before." (Eliot 2003: 458) Both of them are content and feel that marriage is the best decision. McSweeney considers that "the novel is as much a study of first love as it is of the later love that is linked to sorrow." (1991: 70) However, the later love between Adam and Dinah is animated by a sense that they do the right thing; it is not shaded by any sorrow: neither by Adam's memories of Hetty, nor even by a hypothetical feeling of guilt towards Seth whose importance in the plot fades significantly.

In his article from *Early Victorian Novelists*, 1935, David Cecil presents the marriage between Dinah and Adam as "very unlikely" and considers it more like a way to adequately reward these two characters for their virtue. "In order to achieve structural symmetry, George Eliot has been forced to relax her vigilant grip on truth." (Cecil in Haight 1965: 208) Seth's lack of hard feelings makes him too good to be true and too unrealistic. In the end, he loses any importance as a character, his love is rejected and it can be argued even that his brother disregarded his feelings, but at the wedding of Adam and Dinah presented in chapter fifty-five, he is "serenely happy" (Eliot 2003: 459). This is the only thing the reader learns about Seth, which proves that even the narrator seems to disregard the character and his feelings. Thus, Seth turns out again as merely a narrative tool that foregrounds the character of his brother.

3. Godfrey and Dunstan Cass

Introduced in the third chapter of *Silas Marner*, Godfrey and Dunstan are the sons of the Squire Cass, who is "the greatest man in Raveloe." (*Silas Marner*, Eliot [1993] 1999: 19) Godfrey is the elder brother and has a better nature than Dunstan. The younger brother is commonly called Dunsey, a short form which emphasizes that he is a childish spoilt person and lacks responsibility.

Godfrey and Dunsey are presented contrastively in chapter three, through the eyes of the community. "[P]eople shook their heads at the courses of the second son" and "the neighbours said" that it was no matter what became of Dunsey as long as "his doings did not bring trouble on a family like Squire Cass's" which was old and respectable (Eliot 1999: 20). The narrator expresses the community's opinion when stating that "it would be a thousand pities if Mr Godfrey […] should take to going along the same road as his brother." (*Silas Marner*: 20) He is referred to as "Mr Godfrey", emphasizing that this is the point of view of the people in Raveloe, because he is the next "to come into the land some day" after the Squire Cass' end. According to the same public opinion whose views are not contradicted by the narrator, Godfrey is described as "a fine, open-faced, good-natured young man", whereas Dunsey is "a spiteful jeering fellow" (Eliot 1999: 20).

Carrol quoted in Draper observes that "The potential evil in these characteristics of the Cass family is fully realized in Dunstan" who "presents the extreme possibility of what Godfrey might become in his deterioration" (1977: 194). Thus, Dunstan is the black sheep of the Cass family and embodies the evils that threaten his brother's nature. The younger brother becomes a mere term of comparison to emphasize Godfrey's still unshaken sense of morality and redemption. His presence is also a threat towards Godfrey's development.

It can be argued whether Godfrey Cass is really one of the main characters of the novel that has as its main plot the story of Silas Marner, the weaver rejected by his community in the small village of Lantern Yard who comes to live in Raveloe, adopts the orphan Eppie and becomes gradually an active part of the community. Pinion considers Godfrey Cass to be "the central figure on the other side of Raveloe" (1981: 136), as one of the multiple plots of the story concerns him and his life and marriage with Nancy Lammeter. Moreover, he is Eppie's real father, and he chooses to make this known to Nancy, Eppie, and Silas only when the girl is eighteen. This makes James, quoted in Haight to observe that "Godfrey Cass with his life-long secret, is by right the hero of *Silas Marner*." (1965: 47) Thus, this section will deal with the relationship between Godfrey and Dunstan Cass, focusing on the Cass family and the punishment of the two brothers for their different sins.

Godfrey and Dunstan Cass had been raised without a mother by the Squire. Through the sad atmosphere evoked by the description of the relations in the Cass family, the narrator addresses a critique to the Squire's way of raising his sons. In the third chapter, the readers find out that "the Squire's wife had died long ago, and the Red House was without that presence of the wife and mother which is the fountain of wholesome love and fear in parlour and kitchen." (Eliot 1999: 20) A woman's presence would have brought love in the relationships between the members of the family and she would have exerted her authority over the household matters. Thus, the life of the Cass family in the Red House lacked both love and order.

The narrator reiterates this idea in the same chapter when presents Godfrey's wish to marry Nancy Lammeter, who "would make his home lovely to him, as his father's home had never been" (Eliot 1999: 27). Godfrey searches for a homely home, an ordered universe sweetened by love. "Godfrey's was an essentially domestic nature, bred up in a home where the hearth had no smiles, and where the daily habits were not chastised by the presence of household order" (Eliot 1999: 27). The lack of smiles is emphasized again later on, in the ninth chapter. After finishing his breakfast, Godfrey lingers longer in the parlor, waiting for his father "but there was no pleasant morning greeting between them; not because of any unfriendliness, but because the sweet flower of courtesy is not a growth of such homes as the Red House." (Eliot 1999: 58) Even though the relations between Godfrey and the Squire want courtesy, the narrator emphasizes the lack of unfriendliness in these relations. The Squire seems not to care too much about his sons' development of character; therefore his attitude towards them is both indulgent and uninterested in any improvement in their nature.

Godfrey feels the Squire's lack of interest in his sons and he is not very comfortable with the manner in which he has been brought up. The narrator tells the readers

that Godfrey "was not likely to be very penetrating in his judgments, but he always had a sense that his father's indulgence had not been kindness, and had had a vague longing for some discipline that would have checked his own errant weakness, and helped his better will." (Eliot 1999: 61) According to Carroll, quoted by Draper, "Squire Cass embodies this indulgent, illogical approach to life which Godfrey disapproves of yet has not the strength of character to resist." (1977: 193) Godfrey is not sure how he wished his father to be; he only had a "vague longing", thus Carroll concludes that Godfrey lacks strength of character. The Squire also criticizes his son and accuses him of having a hesitating nature: "You're a shilly-shally fellow: you take after your poor mother. […] you hardly know your own mind enough to make both your legs walk one way." (Eliot 1999: 62) It is interesting that the Squire finds Godfrey similar to his mother in hesitation; the reader can suppose that maybe the Squire's wife would not have kept the household in a strong grip if she had lived.

Dunsey threatens his brother for money: "I might tell the Squire how his handsome son was married to that nice young woman, Molly Farren, and was very unhappy because he couldn't live with his drunken wife, and I should slip into your place as comfortable as could be." (Eliot 1999: 22) Dunsey only wants his brother's money and maybe he is too coward to really tell on Godfrey. He ironically boasts about his nice nature: "But, you see, I don't do it – I'm so easy and good-natured." (Eliot 1999: 22) The reader can never know for sure whether Dunsey really meant to tell his father Godfrey's secret because he disappears at the end of the fourth chapter and his dead body in found in chapter eighteen, as the paper will later discuss in the next subsection.

Godfrey tells his brother that he does not have as much money as Dunsey asks for, and the older brother concludes that maybe he should confess everything to the Squire, as his wife is also threatening to come and tell his father. "You drain me of money till I've got nothing to pacify *her* with, and she'll do as she threatens some day. It's all one. I'll tell my father everything myself, and you may go to the devil." (Eliot 1999: 23) However, in the end of the eighth chapter, Godfrey changes his mind and decides to keep his secret from the Squire and to continue to be on Dunsey's side. "He had been in a rage with Dunstan, and had thought of nothing but a thorough break-up of their mutual understanding; but what it would be really wisest for him to do, was to try and soften his father's anger against Dunsey, and keep things as nearly as possible in their old condition." (Eliot 1999: 58) It is interesting how the name he uses for his younger brother changes. When Godfrey was angry with his brother, he named him "Dunstan", whereas when he decides to side with him in front of their father, he uses the short form of his brother's name and calls him "Dunsey". This reveals Godfrey's struggle as he is trying to persuade himself into feeling some brotherly affection for Dunstan. It is not a sign of the existence of genuine attachment between the two brothers. The relationship between them is more like a business relation filled with resentment.

Each of the two brothers Cass commits a sin for which he is punished accordingly. Dunstan Cass steals Silas Marner's money and ends up dead, fallen in the Stone-pit full with water close to the weaver's cottage. No one in Raveloe knew who took

Silas' gold and where Dunstan went until his body was found sixteen years later. It is Godfrey Cass who decides to drain the Stone-pit and this is how Dunstan's body is found, recognized by his watch and seals. Godfrey now finds his gold-handled whip, as he never knew that his brother took it. Everybody in Raveloe finds out who stole the weaver's money sixteen years ago and the gold is returned to its rightful owner.

Godfrey wants to hide his previous commitment to Molly Farren and to pass childless, in order to marry Nancy Lammeter. On the New Year's Eve, Molly decides to go to the Red House with her small daughter and expose Godfrey's secret in front of all the guests at the fancy party there. But she cannot finish the journey without taking some opium on the way, thus she falls asleep in the snow near the Stone-pit and freezes to death. Her baby enters the weaver's cottage unseen and sits in front of the hearth to get warm. Silas decides to keep the child and to name her Hephzibah, and call her Eppie. The name Hephzibah comes from the Bible: "Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall thy land any more be termed Desolate: but thou shalt be called Hephzibah, and thy land Beulah: for the LORD delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be married." (Isaiah 62:4, King James Bible) In George Eliot's *Silas Marner*, the choice of this name emphasizes the lucky shift in the child's station, from a forsaken person to a child who belongs somewhere and who brings delight to her father. Godfrey feels relieved upon finding out that his wife died and he does not acknowledge Eppie as his daughter. Thus, the child is raised by Silas Marner and Godfrey marries Nancy.

The brothers' sins affect Silas Marner in complementary ways. Dunstan takes the money away from the weaver and Godfrey's silence concerning Eppie commits the child to Silas. The weaver considers the child as a replacement for his lost gold and he is aware that Eppie brought him more happiness than his money could have done. Thus, in terms of their influence on Silas' life, Dunstan deprives the weaver of something and Godfrey makes a gift to him. When Dunstan's theft is discovered sixteen years later, the gold is restored to the weaver just in time to support Eppie in her new life, as she decided to marry Aaron Winthrop, a working man.

Upon the discovery of his brother's body, Godfrey is "convinced that he lives in an ordered universe." (Carroll in Draper 1977: 205) This is what triggers his decision to be honest with Nancy and tell her his secret: "Everything comes to light, Nancy, sooner or later. When God Almighty wills it, our secrets are found out. I've lived with a secret on my mind, but I'll keep from you no longer." (Eliot 1999: 141) Upon finding out about Eppie, Nancy's reaction is quite unexpected: she reproaches Godfrey for not having told her earlier about this. Now it turns out that Godfrey's lie is a bigger sin than having been married. He is punished for keeping this intelligence away from his wife, as the weaver also reproaches him the same thing: "why didn't you say so sixteen year ago, and claim her before I'd come to love her […]? […] repentance doesn't alter what's been going on for sixteen year." (Eliot 1999: 147) Eppie refuses to live with the Cass family and Godfrey must bear his penance for not having acknowledged his child; he is denied for the rest of his life the blessing of being a father.

Carroll quoted in Draper considers that "Godfrey is a more complex character than [his brother] because his escapism has not hardened into viciousness" (1977: 194-195) Godfrey's sin is also more complex than Dunstan's and even himself fails to comprehend it. He feels that his guilt is mainly having been married to Molly Farren and being Eppie's father. Only when Nancy makes him aware that he should have told her everything earlier, does he realize that his sin is not having acknowledged Eppie as his child and keeping silence on the child's parentage.

Godfrey thinks their childlessness to be "a retribution" (Pinion 1981: 137) especially that Nancy and he had a daughter who died at birth. Sixteen years before, he wanted to pass childless in order to marry Nancy; later on he wished to avoid acknowledging Eppie as his child. The punishment came when their daughter died at birth and it was thoroughly accomplished through Eppie's refusal to have him as her father. Bearing his penance makes Godfrey a better person, as he feels to be rightly depraved of the opportunity to be a father. "The continuity of Godfrey's life is also restored when he acknowledges his past and his paternity and is made to endure, clear-eyed and chastened, the childlessness that is his appropriate penance." (Rignall 2000: 387) He is a better man now, bearing his penance and acknowledging his real mistake; as opposed to his brother who is not given the possibility to repent.

Haunted by his brother's menace, Godfrey would not have had the chance to become a better person. After his brother disappeared, "Godfrey had ceased to see the shadow of Dunsey across his path; […]. Everybody said Mr Godfrey had taken the right turn." (*Silas Marner*: 115) Dunstan turns out to be a narrative tool, as both his presence and his absence have a certain impact upon his brother and influence Godfrey's reactions and attitudes. The narrator uses Dunstan in order to emphasize the turns in Godfrey's nature and to foreground the fact that the older brother can be a better person after escaping the younger brother' menace and bad influence.

4. Dorothea and Celia Brooke

The first book in George Eliot's *Middlemarch* is named "Miss Brooke". The first sentence of the novel presents a remark upon her beauty, and it begins with the words "Miss Brooke". The narrator refers to Dorothea, even though her first name is mentioned on the second page of the novel. She is contrasted to her younger sister Celia through the means of the public opinion: Dorothea "was usually spoken of as being remarkably clever, but with the addition that her sister Celia had more common-sense." (*Middlemarch*, Eliot [1994] 2000: 5) Dorothea is one of the main characters in *Middlemarch* as one of the plots of the novel is centered on her, following her two marriages, and her relationship to the young and ambitious doctor Tertius Lydgate and his wife Rosamond. The doctor's life and struggles are followed by another plot of the novel.

Dorothea is very clever and has high aspirations which sometimes make her impulsive and impatient, whereas Celia Brooke, Dorothea's sister, is interested in more worldly things and lacks high aspirations. Beaty quoted in Hardy considers Celia "a

minor character" and he counts among her major features her "concern for appearances, her suspicion of all enthusiasm, her social realism." (1967: 49) Even as a minor character, Celia has a well-defined role in foregrounding Dorothea and her features. The two sisters have always different opinions; however there is a strong sisterly attachment between them. The narrator suggests that Dorothea's high aspirations do not bring her happiness, whereas Celia's "social realism" (Beaty in Hardy 1967: 49) is more likely to render her happy. The following subsections will focus on the relation between the Brooke sisters and on their marriages: Dorothea's first marriage to Edward Casaubon, her second to Will Ladislaw, Casaubon's younger cousin, and Celia's marriage to Sir James Chettam, who is rejected by the older sister in the beginning of the novel.

The Brooke sisters are depicted in the first chapter of the novel. The narrator presents Dorothea working in their "pretty sitting-room" when Celia asks her to take a look at their deceased mother's jewels and divide them (Eliot 2000: 8-9). Dorothea is genuinely surprised by her sister's wish to wear them but does not criticize her in any way and the two sisters proceed to analyze the jewels. Dorothea is not interested in the jewels but she is eventually impressed by the color of emeralds and decides to keep a set composed of an emerald ring and a bracelet. She thinks that "gems are used as spiritual emblems in the Revelation of St John" because "they look like fragments of heaven" (Eliot 2000: 10) and this reasoning persuades her into keeping them Thus, Pinion considers that Dorothea's "unworldliness is manifest in indifference to all jewels except those which have a spiritual meaning for her" (1981: 197) as opposed to Celia who is enthusiastic to have their mother's jewels and finds a pleasure in trying them.

Dorothea Brooke is sometimes presented through Celia's perspective. According to Armstrong quoted in Hardy, George Eliot's tone has a "generous compassionateness" – "when there is anything harsh to be said, somebody else in the novel says it." (1970: 119) Thus, the narrator does not criticize directly the characters, but makes them criticize one another. According to Armstrong quoted in Hardy: "It is Celia who says the harshest things about Dorothea" (1970: 119). In the ninth chapter Celia openly tells her sister that she is very impatient, "when people don't do and say just what you like" (Eliot 2000: 68). This instance proves this paper's argument, namely that George Eliot uses the siblings' relationship in order to foreground the main character's features, this time through the means of open criticism and direct characterization.

According to Knoepflmacher quoted in Adam, Dorothea is "the major, the most memorable, character in the novel" (1975: 65). Her last name, Brooke represents an allusion "to currents and streams – of water as well as of feeling and thought" (1975: 66). Celia's name is a short form of Cecilia, a Latin name, and the patron saint of music, a hint to her enjoyment of worldly things. Moreover, the name of Celia can also be traced back to the Latin word "caecus" which means "blind". Celia may be blind for the high aspirations, but she sees things better than her sister does; Dorothea is both trapped by her dreams and literally short-sighted.

Dorothea tells Sir James Chettam about her bad eye-sight when he offers her a puppy as a pet and she rejects it. Dorothea tells him that her sister's opinion might

be different from hers, as Celia "had a tiny terrier one, which she was very fond of. It made me unhappy, because I was afraid of treading on it. I am rather short-sighted." (Eliot 2000: 25) Wheeler considers that Dorothea's short-sightedness is manifested also on the metaphorical level; he refers to the sisters' discussion in the second chapter (Eliot 2000: 16). "Miss Brooke is both literally and metaphorically short-sighted, seeing a great soul in Casaubon where her sister Celia sees only white moles." (Wheeler 1994: 146) Celia's worldly instincts are right regarding Casaubon who brings her sister's unhappiness. In his case Dorothea is wrong, as later on in the novel his intellectual endeavors prove to be a failure and he cannot finish his important work, "The Key to All Mythologies".

In *Middlemarch*, George Eliot makes wide use of the metaphor of the eyes and of seeing things. Dorothea is strongly impressed by the scene between Rosamond Lydgate and Will Ladislaw and it is Celia who notices that something happened upon her arrival home: "Dodo, how very bright your eyes are! […] And you don't see anything you look at" (Eliot 2000: 638). Still thinking about Rosamond and Ladislaw, Dorothea's eyes get bright but her eyesight gets worse. This is a metaphor for the character being concerned with things beyond the view of people around her, as no one knew about Rosamond and Ladislaw's encounters; whereas her interest for visible, familiar things diminishes.

Hornback quoted by Pangallo observes that "When the story is concerned with Dorothea, it is usually concerned almost singly with her and ignores the other characters. All the attention is on her in her scenes with Celia [and other characters]." (1994: 163) He considers that the other characters "are merely her supports or foils" (1994: 163). This is a narrative device used by George Eliot in *Middlemarch*, as well as in *Adam Bede* and *Silas Marner*; as this paper proves. The main character is foregrounded through comparisons with the other characters, as well as through their opinions regarding the main character. It is mostly through the siblings' relation that the main character is presented. George Eliot presents contrastively "Celia's accommodating spirit [and] Dorothea's rebellious, at times almost agitated state of mind" (Coles quoted in Pangallo 1994: 177). Coles continues by emphasizing Dorothea's aspirations as opposed to her sister's passiveness and will to be dominated. But as the plot develops, Dorothea's aspirations do not make her happy and she realizes that her marriage with Casaubon was a mistake; whereas Celia's lower thoughts lead her to a happy life with no sorrows.

According to Hutton quoted in Carroll, Celia belongs to "the type of pretty, attractive, gentle, sensible, limited young ladies" that George Eliot "decidedly dislikes" (1971: 295). However, Eliot has a mild attitude towards Celia; she does not dislike the character but looks upon her with a kind of favorable understanding.

An important feature of Celia is "her affection for Dodo, often apprehensive, disappointing and even resentful, and always miscomprehending Dorothea's passion for service […] but still sisterly, and of a covered warmth." (Tompkins in Hardy 1967: 175) In the first chapter, the narrator tells the readers that "since [the sisters] could remember, there had been a mixture of criticism and awe in the attitude of Celia's mind towards her elder sister" (Eliot 2000: 12). This mixture of criticism and awe is doubled by a sisterly affection that springs from Celia's mildness. If her critical nature had been

doubled by strong principles, then she would have been stricter towards Dorothea. But Celia cannot be mean to her sister and cannot refrain from loving her unconditionally, even if she sometimes criticizes Dorothea. But so does the entire Middlemarch community when it comes to Dorothea's choices for marriage.

Celia's marriage to Sir James Chettam, Dorothea's rejected suitor, represents the reverse situation of Adam's marriage to Dinah. In *Adam Bede*, Dinah rejects the brother and marries the main character. In *Middlemarch*, Dorothea, the main character, refuses Sir James who marries her sister. In this case, Celia takes what the older sister does not want and her happy peaceful life with Sir James is contrasted to Dorothea's perpetual unease and aspirations.

According to an unsigned review of the novel, published in *Saturday Review* of the 7th of December 1872 and quoted by Pangallo, Celia's virtues are "faint and 'neutral'" (1994: 148). She is "a foil to [Dorothea's] high sentiments" and "never goes contrary to our sense of what is amiable and dutiful in woman." (Pangallo 1994: 149) The author of this review openly compares the two sisters and states that Dorothea is more clever that her sister, but Celia "has more worldly wisdom, which means perhaps more instinctive perceptions; and not feeling it her duty to subvert to the world, she can take her place in it naturally." (Pangallo 1994: 149) This is why Dorothea thinks Chettam likely to make a good husband for Celia, even though she does not consider him suitable for herself.

When she learns about Celia's engagement to Sir James, Dorothea says that it was as she "used to hope and believe." (Eliot 2000: 229) Her words towards her sister are "I do believe you could not marry better, Kitty. Sir James is a good, honourable man." (Eliot 2000: 230) Dorothea did not want Sir James for herself, but considers him good enough for her sister. In the third chapter, Dorothea misunderstands him and considers that his attentions are directed towards Celia and not towards herself. Thus, she is very surprised when her sister draws her attention towards Sir James' interest in her. Dorothea rapidly dismisses any speculation upon this problem, as in the fifth chapter she accepts Edward Casaubon's marriage proposal (Eliot 2000: 36). This makes Celia really sorry for her sister's future life as she feels that there was "something funereal in the whole affair" (Eliot 2000: 40).

In his article published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in December 1872 and quoted by Pangallo, Collins considers that "all who set before them an object in life higher than their fellows, fall in its attainment" (1994: 153) and he mentions Casaubon, Lydgate, and Dorothea as examples from the novel. He contrasts them with James Chettam, Will Ladislaw, Fred Vincy, and Celia "who come out, on the whole, with the largest share of commonplace happiness." (1994: 153) The main distinction made by Collins is between Dorothea with her high aspirations and Celia "with her kitten-like content and hatred of 'notions'" (1994: 153). Dorothea's decision to marry Casaubon is determined by her aspirations. She believes in him and in his intellectual endeavors, and her goal is to be useful to him in his work, "The Key to All Mythologies". But as the plot develops, their married life makes them both unhappy and he fails in his research. The Brooke sisters have very different opinions about Casaubon and "Celia's 'naïve malice' shows more perception than her sister's intuitions" (Pinion 1981: 181). Dorothea idealizes him and dismisses the faults that Celia finds in

him as things that only the "common minds" observe (Eliot 2000: 39). Celia finds him ugly and does not like the way he eats his soup; and these reasons are enough for Celia to dislike him as a person.

After Casaubon's death, Dorothea feels betrayed when she finds out that her late husband mentioned in his will that she would lose all the property if she married Will Ladislaw: "it was a violent shock of repulsion from her departed husband, who had hidden thoughts, perhaps perverting everything she said and did." (Eliot 2000: 405) It is Celia who tells Dorothea about this stipulation in Casaubon's will; but Celia does not notice the real effect of this information upon her sister and her interior struggle; she is busy with her baby and notices "nothing more than that Dorothea was leaning back in her chair, and likely to be passive." (Eliot 2000: 405)

It is very interesting that Dorothea had not thought about Ladislaw as a possible lover before Celia told her about Casaubon's will. It was then that Dorothea felt "a sudden strange yearning of heart towards Will Ladislaw" as "it had never before entered her mind that he could, under any circumstances, be her lover" (Eliot 2000: 405). Later on they fall in love and marry; thus Dorothea goes from one extreme to the other. In her marriage to Ladislaw, Dorothea has to assume a totally different role from the one she had in her marriage to Casaubon. In her first marriage, she was a young woman with high aspirations, ready to submit herself to her old and wise husband's will and to help him in achieving his high goals. In her later marriage, Dorothea is wiser than her husband and she has to assume the role of the guardian. In chapter eighty, the narrator mentions the sight of "a man with a bundle on his back and a woman carrying her baby" (Eliot 2000: 648). The sight is a metaphor for the lives of the main characters from two of the plots in the novel: the man is Tertius Lydgate and the bundle is his wife Rosamond who is always hindering his plans, whereas the woman is Dorothea who has to carry her child-like husband and guide him.

In the end of the novel, the narrator presents Dorothea's portrayal by the future generations in Middlemarch. She was considered to have married first "a sickly clergyman, old enough to be her father" and then "his cousin – young enough to have been his son, with no property and not well-born". The general opinion was that Dorothea "could not have been 'a nice woman', else she would not have married either the one or the other." (Eliot 2000: 688) Of course, this does not do justice to the memory of Dorothea, whose marriage with Casaubon took the shape of an act of self-sacrifice, followed by her wish to be free which materialized in her marriage to Ladislaw. According to Simcox quoted in Haight, "Dorothea is a perfect woman, but for a perfect woman any marriage is a mésalliance" (1965: 76) and as the final passage of *Middlemarch* (quoted above) shows, posterity did women wrong by judging them from the perspective of their marriages.

5. Conclusions

After analyzing three of George Eliot's novels, this paper proved that the author uses the siblings' relation as a means to emphasize the main character's features. The author gradually develops this technique and makes it better, as it is foregrounded by the choice of novels in this paper. In *Adam Bede*, her first novel, Eliot uses Seth mostly to

reflect his brother Adam. Seth does not play an important part in the novel and his role is even more diminished through his passivity towards Adam's marriage to Dinah. *Silas Marner* is the author's third novel, and there Dunstan represents a bad influence on his brother Godfrey. George Eliot's narrative skills become more subtle, as she makes him disappear in the first half of the novel. Then it is Dunstan's absence which foregrounds Godfrey's character and even shapes some of his features.

In *Middlemarch*, George Eliot's sixth and most complex novel, the main character is a woman who has a sister, so the author uses a relation between female siblings. She shapes Dorothea as a very complex character, whereas her sister Celia is less complex but very consistent. The relationship between them strongly foregrounds Dorothea, and Celia's consistency as a character is an efficient narrative tool in emphasizing her sister's rashness in following her aspirations.

Among the various narrative devices used by George Eliot, the relation between siblings is a very interesting and efficient one. It engages the readers to a high extent, as it provides them with a more complex view upon the main character's thoughts and feelings. Moreover, this narrative tool proves the author's subtlety and, as showed by the present analysis, it becomes better developed in George Eliot's later novels.

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Debating the Psychologically Disturbed Characters in Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire*

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ABSTRACT

Tennessee William's *A Streetcar Named Desire* has fascinated readers and audiences with his touching so many sour points in brief instances that reflect various aspects of life. From the poor background where the action takes place to the dreamy attitude that his main female character first exposes to the public both the audience and the critics cannot overlook the play. The characters that the playwright created present different signs of personality disorders and although they intend for others to perceive them as "normal individuals", they actually put on a mask intended to deceive the others. The vices that corrupt Williams' characters are intended to allure the readers into a story where no one is perfect and the imperfectness they display makes one wonder how circumstances could interfere with one's destiny. The paper intends to discuss the psychological problems of Williams' protagonists and to carefully analyse the development of the behavioural problems taking into account the playwright's biography and his own addictions, which led him to a blocked creative output. The schizophrenic sister and the recognition of his homosexuality clearly influenced the author in developing the personalities of his characters unfortunately leading him to his death and them to their destruction.

KEYWORDS: *disillusion, violence, addiction*

Williams' desire of debating and analysing the intriguing world of the inner disturbances society was facing led him to investigate many topics, which might have seemed rather daring for the time – "nymphomania, promiscuity, rape, greed, alcoholism, impotence, homosexuality, profligacy, frigidity, crib fetishism, paedophilia, blowtorch killing, castration, dope addiction, venereal disease, cannibalism, madness, panty fetishism, masturbation, coprophagy" (Williams, *apud* Hirsch 1979: 3). In his interview from 1973 for *Playboy*, the playwright indicated his curiosity about issues that might create nightmares for the society and which transformed themselves into diseases affecting more and more modern individuals, which were transposed in his work. The trail of such insights can easily be noticed in one of his most appraised works – *A Streetcar Named Desire*. The author's well known style brings together social constraints, vibrant emotions and different types of pathologies. Many of the critics have chosen to relate to his sister's health problems and their close connection in order to explain numerous of his characters and

their reactions. They had an unhappy childhood, with an alcoholic father and a disturbed mother, finding the only support that matter was to take care of each other, leading to lifelong full of depression. His father was a travelling agent who enjoyed ridiculing his children and called Tennessee "Miss Nancy" referring directly to his sexuality. At 24, after his father's death the author suffered a complete breakdown, so he started entering psychoanalysis with Dr Kubie.

Rose, the author's sibling suffered from schizophrenia and in 1943, she had a frontal lobotomy, which haunted Williams all his life and was reflected in his work, as he also feared for his own sanity. After the surgery, she had moments of madness and he even mentioned that he could not forgive himself for what had happened to her, but also feared that something similar could represent his future as well. The relationship between the two marked much of his writing as he both wanted to keep close to his sister, but also separate from her. This might be the explanation why his female characters are alienated, and suffer from some type of condition, which makes them vulnerable, unable to act against the world, feeling overwhelmed and defeated.

Tennessee Williams dedicated his life to writing and re-writing his works as he had to fight loneliness, promiscuity, anxiety, depression, hypochondriasis, alcohol, and drug addiction. This kept him busy and freed him from the burdens of life. Some time before his death, he gave an explanation in one of his last diary entries and mentioned that

> In my life, extra – familial, what has happiness been but little fractions of experience, encompassing not much time. But yes, there was work, and if I ran before death to perform it, this saying of truth as I felt it, then – whatever it comes to when completed – whatever was discarded on the way – friendship or love sanity or that which is so regarded, I may deeply regret but would not wish to choose otherwise.
> (Williams 2007: 751)

The plays that created a name for Williams were the kind which dealt with rather insightful themes mostly the mental situations of his characters and their inner struggles. The language the author used was rather unusual for the time being different from his contemporary fellow playwrights such as Eugene O'Neill, Arthur Miller and Edward Albee, who were heavily influenced by the post-war period. Williams not only deconstructed the Old South tradition, but also brought to the attention of the audience strange concepts, which dealt with madness, violence, prostitution, homosexuality and even cannibalism in a poetic manner that was different from the usual dramatic style of the time.

A Streetcar Named Desire like all of his work is emotionally autobiographical as the author stated several times and was written in a period when Williams was recovering from health problems and felt a thirst for creation, liberating himself on paper regarding issues that had troubled him for some time. Williams had themes which were re-invented over an over again "Tennessee is the sort of writer who does not develop; he simply continues. By the time he was an adolescent, he had

his themes… I am not aware that any new information (or feelings?) has got through to him in the [past] twenty-eight years." (Gale; *apud* Griffies 2006: 112)

The play begins with the arrival of southern belle, Blanche DuBois who comes and moves in with her sister and her Polish brother-in-law. From the very beginning it is obvious to the audience that Blanche will never fit in her sister's life and will not adapt to Stanley's rules. Her sister's husband is definitely portrayed as the alpha male and Blanche represents the challenge to his authority. She does not treat him as he would expect and "when she laughs at him, spraying him with perfume, teasing him, treating him as a little boy, he responds with irritation and rising anger" (Tishcler 2002: 51). For Stanley her disobeying of his authority is something which sets his mind to eliminate her realizing that he must think of something which drives her away from his house for good. The contrast between the two is obvious from the beginning from Williams' description; delicate vs. brutish, educated vs. uneducated, illusion vs. reality. When Blanche appears in the neighbourhood her sister Stella lives in there is a visible discrepancy between herself and the surroundings. There is no indication that she would ever adapt to such a place, where no one offers her protection and where the old south is dying and the new one is taking control:

> Her appearance is incongruent to this setting. She is daintily dressed in a white suit with fluffy bodice, necklace, and earrings of pearl, white glove and hat, looking as if she were arriving at a summer tea or cocktail party in the Garden District. Her delicate beauty must avoid strong light. There is something about her uncertain manner as well as the white clothes that suggest a moth.
>
> (Williams 1951: 15)

One of the first lines regarding Blanche's preoccupation with her appearance and with her being liked is the question she asks her sister "Will Stanley like me, or will I be just a visiting in-law, Stella? I couldn't stand that." (Williams 1951: 17) The revealing line that she could not ear such a situation of rejection emphasises the haunting suicide of her husband and the trauma of this rejection, which has never been treated accordingly. Stella's response to the question is one which shows that the following events will not be fortunate ones as she asks her sister to refrain from expressing her usual ideas "You'll get along fine together – if you'll just try not to – well – compare him with the men that we went out with at home." (Williams 1951: 17) Blanche being an adept of the old south would like traditions to be kept and for her lifestyle to remain the same, but nothing last forever. "The implied interculturalism of Stella and Stanley. and Blanche's fear of the bastardization of culture, reflects Williams' own contradictory response to the survival of the South in the context of the edgling Civil Rights movement of the 1950s." (Van Duyvenbode 2001: 214)

While Stanley is better acquainted to the place and fits the setting, his description is totally contrasting that of his sister-in-law, showing from the very first instance that he regards women as inferior to men, or at least to himself as he observes them with critical attitude. His belief that his masculinity is appealing to any type of woman, considering the healthy sexual life he enjoys with his wife, who tries to please

him in every aspect of life, makes him act as no one other could contradict or stand up to him for too long. He is the dark male of the play manipulating others through charm or physical force and whatever it takes for him to succeed. As Stanley is an immigrant, his desire to stay in control of his situation is even greater:

> He is of medium height, about five foot eight or nine, and strongly, compactly built. Animal joy is in his being as implicit as all his movements and attitudes. Since earliest manhood, the center of his life has been pleasure with women, the giving and taking of it, not with weak indulgence, dependently, but with a power and pride of a richly feathered male bird among hens. He sizes up women at a glance, with sexual classifications, crude images flashing into his mind and determining the way he smiles at them.
>
> (Williams 1951: 29)

From the beginning of her visit Blanche slowly tries to make things happen, as she desires and Stella being caught in the middle intends to offer her a cosy home, while recovering from her problems and trying to make Stanley happy as well. The sacrifice Stella makes of offering herself to please other people is an unbearable one and leads to the tragic end of her sister, as she refuses to accept reality – that the father of her baby is the rapist of her only sister. By choosing to stay by her husband and newly born child, excluding the burden Blanche could become in time illustrates the way in which Stella is offered no other option in order to have a decent family life.

All throughout the play Stella insinuates that Blanche's nerves are creating problems and she always has to find ways to calm down. The recurrent ritual of bathing characterises Blanche as she wants to get away from the world and wash away her thoughts and feelings. She needs constant reassuring regarding her looks and her taste in fashion. Stella even tells Stanley to "admire her dress and tell her she's looking wonderful. That's important with Blanche. Her little weakness!" (Williams, 1951: 33), but he does not seem the least interested in doing such a gesture; he is focused on the loss of Belle Reve the family estate and the circumstances of how it happened. His hunter instinct is activated and he is determined to have things the way he desires no matter the circumstances:

> As the story unfolds, the audience witnesses the progressive victimization of Blanche by the brutish Stanley. He bristles over Blanche's need to hold on to her illusory world of gentleman callers and a genteel Old South. He cannot see her fragility, her sensitivity, or the empty loneliness that compels her to engulf others. He can only see consuming, castrating intentions, a narcissistic hunger that cannibalizes men and boys. He feels that he must destroy her, or be destroyed.
>
> (Griffies 2006: 112)

The relationship between Blanche and Stanley is a sado-masochistic one, where none of them wants to give up his/her position. She is definitely attracted to him and she admires his body and even the roughness, which characterizes his attitude and style. Kataria views Blanche as a hetaira – that type of woman who subordinates everything to her finding love, who is found in marriages where having a chilled is not seen as a priority or in situations when she is the other woman, very different from the maternally oriented

official female partner. Blanche is an unadapted hetaira or as she could be called a *femme fatale* whose "possessive love and inordinate solicitude might make him seek her image in other women and cripple him psychologically." (Kataria 2009: 9)

Blanche uses her sexuality to get her desires fulfilled and tries to escape in a world of fantasy and illusion where she can find comfort for her situation. The obsession with her husband's suicide is revealed throughout the entire play and her fear of death only makes her run more from the current situation. The attraction between herself and the abuser represented by Stanley is one leading to her destructive lifestyle. The changes she has gone through are best expressed when Stella notices that people like her husband have made Blanche the way she is, transforming her from the young trusting beautiful woman that she was into one who will not accept her alcohol problems, her fears and most importantly will not admit her inability to calm her nerves. In the end when Stella sends her away with the psychiatrist is like the author wants to make sure that his alter ego is saved even though life continues to be rough and sometimes unbearable.

> Stanley cannot accept his passive-dependent feelings without fearing that he will be consumed by feminizing cannibalistic women, and Blanche cannot accept her oral aggressive and castrating wishes without fearing that she will ultimately destroy or push away the man she so desperately feels she needs. So they project these aspects of themselves onto the other, and through projective identification create the victim–victimizing enactment in which each becomes the part of the other they fear the most.
> (Griffies 2006: 121)

The common accepted description of Blanche is that of mad woman, who has bizarre reactions towards different life situations, but as Ribkoff and Tindal state "Blanche is not 'mad' in the way that critics tend to believe; she is the victim of trauma with no communal avenue to mourn her losses and integrate her pre- and posttraumatic selves. The distinction is crucial. To treat Blanche as 'mad', as her community does, is to dehumanize her, thereby compounding her trauma." (Ribkoff, Tindall 2011: 337)

The struggle between Blanche and Stanley also involves Mitch, who is, at first, fascinated with her style, as she is completely different from the women he has met before. Her desire to be liked and her wearing of outfits, which are not available from the women of Stella's type, make her different and appealing. While Mitch is more naïve, Stanley is determined to find out all the details about the loss of Belle Reve and implicitly of the money his wife was also meant to inherit and the vague details his sister-in-law has offered. He wants to defend his friend and show his superiority in his accurate investigation regarding Blanche. The violent and sadistic temper of the protagonist is regarded as a mirror of the author's father who was absent for a long time from his life and whenever he decided to return would only create scandal and anxiety. So, this is the situation leading to his terrible action of raping Blanche and stating that their meeting had been something inevitable. "He feels justified in this destruction because he feels menaced by the passive dependency and engulfing cannibalistic wishes that she represents. He uses his phallic dominance over her not to protect or rescue her, as she

so desperately wishes, but to rape her. The rape sadistically crushes the last of the narcissistic illusions that support her sanity." (Griffies 2006: 114)

The final line given by Blanche to the psychiatrist who came to take her revealing her comfort around strangers and her relying on them is in fact the projection of Williams' inner self fighting violence and destructive mental states, which he found hard to control and surpass. As O'Conner suggests Blanche's departure does not only have to do with Stella's decision to send her away but also with Mitch's rejection when he find out about her sexual past, which he could never accept, but also Stanley's raping her offering her only hostility and no secure place where she could find peace and comfort. Her continuous search for an explanation why her husband was a homosexual and why he stopped finding her attractive after having married her tormented both her mind and soul and his suicide made things even more complicated. Williams' characters once again prove to be an exposure of disturbances troubling generations and generations, sometimes without finding and answer for the devastating situation they are in.

> In retrospect, we can see how intricate and nuanced Williams' characterizations, how inextricably entangled his relationships and actions. Like the blues music that underscores the entire play, it is full of passion, laughter, brutality, and lyricism. And like Blake's tiger, Blanche and Stanley both stand before a backdrop that is dark and mysterious, not easily understood or domesticated, splendid and dangerous, the creations of an imagination that loved both tigers and lambs.
>
> (Tischler 2002: 67)

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Catégoriel et individuel dans les comédies de Plaute

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ABSTRACT: Categorial and Individual in the Plautine Comedies

Within the Plautine theatre, the relation between the categorial and the individual reflected by the characters, either they generically belong to certain social and professional categories, or they are individualized by proper names, is relevant for the Saturnalia symbolic dynamics. Thus, the entire social order is staged and subjected to comic deconstruction, and the proper names function as a referential counterpoint to the symbolic construction of reality evoked through categories. The characters are designed by using abstract categories and this produces a certain dereferentialization, respectively gliding in a completely descriptive horizon (the descriptive theories of proper names can explain this abstractization) and imposes the symbolic and social order. The use of proper names balances this abstract macro-order at the pole of contingency and referential unicity.

KEYWORDS: *social and professional categories, individualization, proper name, referentiality, Plautine theatre*

Dans le théâtre plautinien, le rapport entre le catégoriel et l'individuel reflété dans la dénomination des personnages en tant qu'appartenance générique aux catégories socio-professionnelles ou bien en tant qu'individualisation sous la marque du nom propre, devient relevant pour la dynamique symbolique de facture saturnalique : la présence de ces catégories a pour effet la convocation et la mise en scène de tout ordre social qui puisse être soumis à la déconstruction comique ; l'intervention des noms propres y fonctionne comme un contrepoint référentiel par rapport à la construction symbolique du réel évoquée à l'aide des catégories. La désignation des personnages par des catégories abstraites détermine donc une dé-référentialité, respectivement le glissement dans un horizon purement descriptif (les théories descriptivistes du nom propre peuvent expliciter un tel pouvoir d'abstraction), tout en donnant la place à l'ordre symbolique et social. L'appellation par des noms propres balance ce micro-ordre abstrait vers le pôle du contingent et de l'unicité référentielle.

1. La dramaturgie des rôles sociaux et le théâtre plautinien

La présence des typologies dans le théâtre plautinien, c'est-à-dire la présence des caractères stéréotypes, formalisés dans des répertoires de rôles sociaux, évoque les

relations avec tout le complexe rituel où s'est construite la littérature dramatique, respectivement avec les espèces du théâtre populaire italique, le *mime* et l'*atellane*. Équivalant à la farce orale en vers, l'atellane disposait de tout un répertoire de rôles à masque fixe, qu'on va retrouver chez Plaute, sous une forme remaniée : *pappus*, le vieux vaniteux devenu le père détrôné de manière comique dans le théâtre plautinien, *maccus*, le sot arrogant dont le soldat fanfaron dérivera, *dossenus*, le bavard vaniteux, l'archétype du parasite, *bucco*, le gourmand tapageur, la préfiguration de l'esclave perfide et perspicace, etc.

L'insertion de facture carnavalesque du théâtre comique dans le social explicite ces répertoires de rôles qui *mettent en abîme* la syntaxe sociale en ensemble, la déstructurent de manière esthétique et ritualiste dans la perspective de son renouvellement. L'origine religieuse et ritualiste du spectacle comique, filée aux niveaux discursifs socio-politiques ou par les grilles de la vie privée, entraîne la compréhension de la fonction performative, le jeu dramatique facilitant et renouvelant à la fois le jeu social dans la manière de la *catharsis*. Le cadre originaire des fêtes dionysiaques activait les rites de la régénération et de la fertilité (d'où l'atmosphère généralisée de rire et de joie), mais, plus tard, en Laconie sont apparues des représentations à caractère de farce et de pantomime qui ont préparé la composante sociale et politique du théâtre comique, tout en représentant des types humaines caractérisés par des défauts physiques ou moraux (l'idiot, le parasite, le mendiant, l'avare, le boiteux, etc.). Voilà pourquoi Adelina Piatkowski (1998 : 95) explicite la descendance du théâtre comique latin à partir de ce type de fêtes ritualistes :

> Athenaios pretinde, în pasajul citat că asemenea jocuri comice, cum le numește el, s-au transformat în scenete inspirate din situații reale ale vieții zilnice. Actorii care le dădeau viață se numeau dikelişti (*dikélistai*), în Grecia Magna și în Sicilia se numeau filiaci (*phlýakes*) sau *sofistai*, fiindcă în multe cazuri ironizau învățământul sofistic. În Italia grecizată mai ales de emigranți din Pelopones, ele s-au bucurat de un imens succes. Această specie populară a comediei grecești se află la baza comediei latine denumită *atellana*, dar a influențat și drama satirică, după cum rezultă din opera poetului sicilian Epiharm, din prima jumătate a secolului al V-lea a.Ch., bine apreciat de Aristotel în *Poetica* (I, 1449) pentru deosebitul său talent literar.[1]

Le programme social du théâtre comique utilise aussi des schémas et des structures de facture ritualiste, la performance théâtrale équivalant au rite de l'intégration sociale au cadre duquel, le plus souvent, un jeune homme se confirme en tant qu'actant social pour acquérir, à la fin du parcours initiatique, un rôle social, pécuniaire et matrimonial. Dans son étude dédiée à la poétique de la réflexivité à Rome, Alain Deremetz (1995: 189) identifie de nombreuses équivalences entre le système sémiotique du théâtre comique latin d'un côté et le système social et juridique, de l'autre côté que le théâtre comique codifie selon un schéma ritualiste. Ainsi, ce qui, dans la préhistoire du théâtre comique, fonctionne-t-il dans le cadre d'un complexe ritualiste lié en principal à la fertilité (les jeux des satyres, le drame satyrique), dans le théâtre comique acquiert explicitement la fonction d'un rite d'intégration sociale ; le rapport entre l'individuel et le catégoriel (entre les personnages individualisés et les catégories sociales, les statuts, les rôles) reflète ce schéma fondamental. Du point de vue

pragmatique, comme embrayage du discours et du spectacle comique à l'intérieur de la société qu'il codifie et délecte à la fois, le théâtre comique fonctionne en tant que sociogenèse :

> Le spectacle comique apparaît ainsi comme une construction sémantique où s'élabore une image fictive, mais vraisemblable, de l'antériorité et de l'extériorité sociales et qui donne à voir une reconstitution plausible des fondements du monde communautaire réel, c'est-à-dire de la sociogenèse ; et, comme le discours cosmogonique le fait pour le monde physique, il réalise son but en décrivant les processus du passage du désordre à l'ordre, de l'envers à l'endroit, de l'extérieur à l'intérieur. L'action comique, notons-le, s'achève quand chacun devient, ou redevient, une personne sociale qui a rejoint son lieu; une fois ce résultat acquis, chaque personnage cesse de parler et d'agir et retire son masque.
>
> (Deremetz, 1995: 189)

Le système actantiel du théâtre comique schématise et rend abstrait tout le répertoire des rôles sociaux soumis à l'inversion de l'officiel et du privé, du marginal et du central, du fixe et du mobile, etc., l'espace théâtral fonctionnant comme un espace par excellence carnavalesque où, par l'inversion des rôles, la libération des différences se produit et on obtient la valeur. Ce n'est pas fortuit que les personnages principaux entre lesquels se réalisent les transactions axiologiques fondamentales, tels que le vieux (*senex*) et le jeune homme (*adulescens*), représentent des classes sociales closes et stables, des positions et des statuts officiels (le corps des magistrats, des prêtres, des soldats, des citoyens en général), tandis que les agents à potentiel conflictuel ou adjuvant appartiennent aux couches marginales (les proxénètes, les courtisanes, les commerçants, les parasites ou les esclaves). Tout en suivant la dynamique de l'individualisation par l'intermédiaire du nom propre et du refoulement sous l'anonymat d'une catégorie ou d'une classe d'appartenance, la même logique de l'inversion articule le rapport de l'acteur avec son propre rôle ou avec son propre statut : les personnages à origine sociale officielle et stable (les citoyens, les magistrats, etc.) quittent le rôle sous la marque du nom propre (ils sont des personnages individualisés qui se détachent de leur rôle, le gardant uniquement dans la réserve d'une mémoire sociale), tandis que les personnages secondaires (les parasites, les courtisanes, les proxénètes) se dissolvent sous l'anonymat de classe, officialisant les positions sociales marginales, exclues. Le rapport entre l'occurrence des personnages sous la garantie du nom propre ou de la catégorie sociale marque l'inversion de type carnavalesque et satirique entre les rôles, les positions, les statuts sociaux périphériques ou centraux.

Au niveau de l'action dramatique, la fable comique se déroule selon un schéma initiatique par lequel on apporte des réparations finales à un état initial de déséquilibre, la transition d'un état à l'autre se réalisant par le test d'un actant central, le plus souvent un jeune homme soumis à un rite d'intégration sociale existant dans la subordination du passage de toutes les séries des situations comiques. Eugen Cizek (1994 : 68) a formalisé selon le modèle actantiel proposé par Greimas l'intrigue de la nouvelle comédie grecque (*nea*), reprise aussi par Plaute, tout en obtenant un

schéma standard où un destinateur (D1) propulse un sujet (S) vers le trajet de la conquête d'un objet (O) au bénéfice d'un destinataire (D2), à l'aide d'un adjuvant (A) et faisant face à des obstacles soulevés par un ennemi (Op). Conformément à ce répertoire de rôles en six actants, le sujet est représenté par un jeune amoureux, sans état social et sous la protection de son père, l'objet est représenté par une jeune femme, elle aussi sans état social (une courtisane ou une vierge pauvre), l'adjuvant apparaît sous la forme de l'esclave ou de l'ami habile, l'adversaire bloque le trajet du sujet dans le rôle du père ou bien du proxénète, et le destinateur et le destinataire incarnent des états abstraits qui investissent le sujet soit comme état de déficience, soit comme état de satisfaction.

À la fin du trajet initiatique repérable dans l'intrigue de la comédie, les deux actants marginaux, le jeune amoureux et l'esclave, obtiennent pour bénéfice une intégration sociale soit sous forme de mariage, dans le cas du jeune homme, soit sous forme d'émancipation de l'esclavage, dans le cas de son adjuvant. L'objet de la recherche qui accompagne l'action dramatique à partir de l'état initial de désordre et jusqu'à celle de la solution finale est, en fait, un objet de grande valeur à double nature, matrimoniale et sociale, pécuniaire et juridique : le jeune homme obtient de l'argent pour la rançon de la jeune fille, prouvant ainsi l'ingéniosité de pouvoir acquérir un statut social.

Cette transaction matrimoniale où la femme et l'argent deviennent des objets de grande valeur équivalents du point de vue fonctionnel, transforme l'espace théâtral non seulement dans un espace conventionnellement sociogonique, mais aussi dans une radiographie de nature juridique qui propose pour débat comique le droit de la possession et de l'émancipation :

> Cette transaction, dont la réussite prend une telle importance dans nombre de comédies (et particulièrement chez Térence), relie par conséquent le drame sociogonique au cadre juridique régissant les conditions de la propriété et de la possession pour lesquelles s'affrontent le père et le fils. Pour cette raison, il faut postuler également une équivalence fonctionnelle entre le père et le *leno*, puisque l'un et l'autre luttent pour la préservation de leur bien et combattent, à cette fin, le désir de possession, et donc d'émancipation, du jeune homme.
>
> (Deremetz, 1995 : 190)

La sémiotique théâtrale confirme, par l'ensemble des schémas et des structures actantielles impliqués dans le théâtre plautinien, respectivement par les axiologies y attachées, le rapport vif et réel avec la macro-syntaxe sociale re-présentée dramatiquement ; l'espace théâtral plautinien, fortement raccordé aux formes du théâtre populaire, propose des rites d'intégration sociale, tout en cumulant la fonction esthétique avec celle éthique et instructive et tout en faisant ainsi des pièces mises en scène des espaces fertiles de représentation sociale.

En même temps, un tel appareil esthétique raccordé pragmatiquement à la réalité, permet l'articulation d'une vision sur le social de l'angle dramaturgique, aussi bien que la compréhension de la vie quotidienne en tant que spectacle.

2. Le *Prologus* comme rite de passage dans le théâtre plautinien

Discours de frontière destiné à faire le passage de l'espace réel à celui fictionnel, le prologue de la comédie plautinienne assume sous forme accentuée tout le paquet de fonctions avec lequel le cadre dramatique (la fonction esthétique, religieuse et socio-juridique) est investi : il marque le passage du réel au juridique, fait attention à l'effet de reflet du macro-drame social dans un micro- drame théâtrale, accorde une force incantatoire, religieuse à l'énonciation dramatique. Le *Prologus* comique est un discours-limite, ambivalent par excellence, cumulant deux spatialités différentes (extérieure et intérieure, réelle et fictionnelle) ; il représente une « limite » au sens carnavalesque du mot où les contraires s'unissent ou s'inversent, tout en conservant dans cette ambivalence l'ordre religieux du théâtre comique (la symbolique du *Prologus* conserve la symbolique des formes rituelles des processus divinatoires et initiatiques). Alain Deremetz (1995 : 203) décrit de la manière suivante la fonction du *Prologus* dans le théâtre comique :

> Sorte de Janus Bifrons, *Prologus* marque la frontière entre l'en-deçà de la théâtralité et son espace propre. Figure double aussi, il incarne la comédie dominée, telle que nous l'avons décrite, par l'action réflexive de la métaphore : il est, tout à la fois, l'auteur, le texte, l'acteur et leur métaphore; en lui se réunissent, sans jamais vraiment se confondre, le réel et l'imaginaire, le passé et le présent, le dehors et le dedans (du théâtre), la vérité et le mensonge (de l'allégorie), sans oublier l'histoire d'une tradition (et d'un genre) et un événement singulier (la pièce). Il est l'ostentation du masque et du poème dramatique comme signe et symbole de l'ambiguïté de ce qui va être montré et proféré.
>
> (Deremetz, 1995 : 203)

Les différences entre le prologue plautinien et celui de Térence marquent deux étapes distinctives dans l'évolution du théâtre comique latin, l'un *mettant en abîme* le monde dramatique, l'autre plutôt le discours dramatique : ayant une vocation strictement narrative, d'anticipation du sujet comique, chez Plaute, le prologue a une fonction prédominante ontologique (il reflète deux mondes à la fois) ; réalisé en principal par de longs débats polémiques avec les adversaires littéraires, chez Térence, le prologue reflète les discours théâtraux co-occurrents, il est un métadiscours théoriquement prééminent. Tout en résumant l'action dramatique, le prologue plautinien répond à une fonction esthétique qui court-circuite le processus de la réception envers l'économie de l'effort de compréhension ; celui-ci réalise pourtant, plus profondément, un rituel divinatoire, car, tout en éludant l'action dramatique qu'il offre dès le début en résumé, l'accent est déplacé vers l'effet de transe induite au spectateur, l'invitation devenant ainsi quasi religieuse, vers l'enlèvement de l'espace publique / profane et le transport dans un autre endroit, transcendent, sacré ; le scénario socio-juridique impliqué dans le spectacle comique met le spectateur, justement par cette limite du prologue, dans la situation de juge des états de choses dont les données sont fichées avant la lettre (le rôle proprement dit de l'acteur qui prononce le prologue est semblable à celui de l'orateur médiateur entre les parties d'un procès). La fonction

poïétique du prologue plautinien se dévoile justement par l'extraction de son noyau dramatique, la fable, et, implicitement, par la délimitation nette entre le sujet et le rôle qui attire ainsi l'attention sur les dimensions ritualistes du spectacle théâtral.

Placé dans l'histoire du genre, entre le théâtre populaire et celui de Térence, plus élaboré, le théâtre plautinien bénéficie donc des modèles variés et complexes de la construction du prologue, à partir des formes extrêmement simples jusqu'aux formes complexes qui anticipent le prologue de Térence : ainsi, certains prologues peuvent être centrés exclusivement sur les rites énonciatifs de la *captatio benevolentiae* du publique (tout comme celui de la pièce *Pseudolus*), d'autres résument exclusivement l'action dramatique (v. *Asinaria, Curculia, Stichus*, etc), enfin, d'autres sont composites et complexes, tout comme celui de *Menaechmii*. Un tel prologue cumule plusieurs modèles, en faisant enchaîner les séquences de *captatio benevolentiae* avec les séquences métadiscursives, théoriques (qui conceptualisent certains éléments de la technique théâtrale et de la polémique culturelle), respectivement avec les séquences d'anticipation, en résumé, du sujet de la pièce.

Mais, cette structure apparemment simplifiée du prologue plautinien rapportée à celui de Térence, accentue, comme note de spécificité, son caractère de « limite » discursive fortement ritualisée, plus proche d'une dimension originaire religieuse que d'une certaine pratique discursive ; il propose donc un passage direct et abrupt d'un espace à l'autre, ayant une force perlocutionnaire extraordinaire.

3. Le micro-drame social : le nom propre comme insertion contrôlée dans le social

La fixation de l'identité des personnages plautiniens par l'intermédiaire du nom propre ou des catégories socio-professionnelles dévoile une problématique intimement liée aux mécanismes socio-religieux du théâtre comique, respectivement au fonctionnement de l'espace dramatique en tant que zone de déconstruction et de reconstruction de tout le corps social, en tant que sociogonie. Les jeux autour de l'individualisation à l'aide des noms propres de certains personnages ayant un statut social et officiel bien consolidé, ou bien les dissimulations sous le masque social de certains personnages ayant un statut social marginal, tout cela souscrit pour la logique de l'inversion carnavalesque, selon laquelle les positions officialisées se suspendent et se dissolvent en faveur du marginal. Étant adéquat au scénario initiatique déterminé par l'action comique, l'individu se détache de son rôle ou de son statut social et il quitte la scène comme un simple individu profondément marqué par l'empreinte du nom propre ou bien il se cache sous un masque socio-professionnel qui lui refuse l'individualisation. Ainsi, le jeune homme comme actant principal est-il toujours faible et pas du tout défini du point de vue social, il est un individu masqué par un nom qui, à la fin du parcours initiatique, obtiendra un statut ; aussi, les pères vieillis (une allusion au besoin du renouvellement social et du changement des générations) entretiennent-ils des rapports ambivalents avec l'identité fixée par le nom propre (ils gardent le statut qui leurs est définitoire, mais ils sont aussi des personnages bien individualisés et apparemment indifférents à leur propre statut) ; les proxénètes, les courtisanes, les esclaves se dissipent le plus souvent sous le marquage socio-professionnel, tout en érigeant cette catégorie périphérique au rang officiel.

La définition des personnages plautiniens par le recours aux noms propres ou aux catégories détermine une problématique très subtile, c'est-à-dire celle de l'insertion de l'individu dans le champ social où il se reflète et où il agit : le nom propre et la dénomination sociale ajuste l'identité, soit en la fixant du point de vue référentiel et en l'évacuant du point de vue sémantique (dans le sens d'une dépossession de sa signification sociale), soit en l'étiquetant exclusivement du point de vue social et en lui suspendant les racines référentielles. Les théories pragmatiques sur l'explicitation du nom propre, soit comme signification obtenue par tout un ensemble de descriptions définies, soit comme fixation référentielle sans le recours à aucune signification, pourraient tirer au clair cette dynamique carnavalesque des substitutions de l'individuel et du catégoriel repérable dans le théâtre plautinien ; la problématique sous-jacente pourrait être celle de la construction des identités, des dosages possibles de l'individuel, du fonctionnel et de l'actantiel, du social par l'intermédiaire desquels l'identité des personnages plautiniens s'établit.

La problématique de l'attribution d'un référent aux noms propres reste un problème controversé, polarisé entre une théorie descriptive (celle de Russel-Frège), selon laquelle la relation avec le référent s'établit par un ensemble de traits descriptifs, respectivement la théorie causale (celle de Mill-Kripke), selon laquelle les noms propres ont un référent (fixé de manière ostensible par un baptême initial) sans avoir une signification proprement dite. La problématique de l'identité est souvent corrélée à celle du nom propre, car celui-ci désigne le même individu (la même identité) dans tous les mondes possibles.

La théorie descriptive postule que le sens d'un nom est donné par une description définie associée au nom, le sens du nom dérivant justement de la signification de cette description. Traité comme descriptions abrégées, le nom propre marque sa relation avec le référent par l'intermédiaire de la signification, la théorie de la référence étant impliquée dans une théorie du sens. Reformulée sous une variante moderne (la variante Strawson-Searle), *« la théorie du bouquet »* (*apud* Devitt & Sterelny, 2000 : 65) raffine la signification du nom propre tout en affirmant que certaines descriptions ont une importance plus grande que les autres et demandant au sujet parlant de faire une association fonctionnelle entre le nom et le bouquet adéquat de descriptions. La relation entre le nom et le référent s'établit par une opération d'extraction du sens selon l'importance de tel ou tel ensemble de descriptions. L'échec des descriptions associées et de la dénotation dévoile la problématique des noms vides et de l'opacité.

La théorie causale des noms propres postule que la fixation de la référence vise la fondation causale du nom sur l'objet : le nom est introduit dans la communauté par un baptême formel ou informel, réalisé dans la présence de l'objet qui deviendra à partir de ce moment-là le porteur du nom ; un témoin du baptême ayant une compétence linguistique adéquate obtient ainsi l'habilité d'utiliser le nom et de le transmettre aux générations suivantes ; les sujets absents au baptême acquièrent l'habilité de désigner l'objet par un emprunt de référence, en vertu de la chaîne causale qui unit l'objet à ceux présents au baptême. Le problème de l'emprunt de référence implique donc l'idée d'une chaîne causale par l'intermédiaire de laquelle le nom se transmet à partir du moment originaire du baptême. Voilà pourquoi, la théorie causale simplifie la problématique du nom propre, en la libérant de la densité sémantique et en l'orientant du point de vue usuel et circonstanciel.

L'approfondissement de ces deux logiques du nom propre dans le répertoire plautinien de rôles dramatiques conduit aux conclusions sur la sémantique et la syntaxe sociale incorporées dans le nom, plus précisément sur la manière dont on réalise le raccord du nom propre à l'identité des personnages (un raccord raréfié et circonstanciel ou bien un raccord qui évoque la densité sémantique).

Comme titre d'exemple, les personnages de *Pseudolus* souscrivent à cette logique de l'inversion en ce qui concerne la mise en relief des proportions entre le corpus de significations et de descriptions définies, impliqué dans l'identification des personnages, respectivement en ce qui concerne leur fixation référentielle stricte sous la marque du nom propre ; le rite d'intégration sociale sous-jacent au scénario dramatique articule sa dynamique toujours sous le rapport du balancement de l'identité des personnages entre le pôle purement descriptif ou référentiel. Ainsi, le personnage qui donne le titre de la pièce, Pseudolus, codifie-t-il par son nom un trait, un attribut de nature fonctionnelle (car par le recours à l'astuce et au mensonge fonctionne tout le paquet de stratégies actantielles de la trame dramatique) ; son identité est doublement fixée, tout en camouflant sous la logique de la référentialité (le nom propre en tant que *désignateur rigide*) la logique descriptive du nom propre (il est un individu ancré du point de vue référentiel par un nom, mais celui-ci n'est qu'un paquet de descriptions ; c'est pour cela que la première scène où Pseudolus apparaît, fixe son identité de comique stratégique autour de son jeune maître, Calidorus, auquel il se dédie en tant qu'adjuvant). Le sujet lancé dans l'itinéraire dramatique et, implicitement dans le rite d'intégration sociale, juridique et matrimonial, le jeune Calidorus, est *baptisé* dans sa première apparition en scène même par son adjuvant Pseudolus. Celui-ci le nomme (par le recours à l'idée d'hiérarchie et de statut il lui s'adresse avec l'appellatif « maître »), l'amène dans la scène et le présente, fixe son identité par un jeu de scène et un ensemble de descriptions dont le nom propre s'accroche : tout en sabotant la position, l'esclave joue autour de son maître le scénario de la dérision et il réussit ainsi à arracher graduellement toute une série de descriptions à l'aide desquelles Calidorus se définira (la sémantique de l'absence douloureuse, du chagrin provoqué par l'amour devient l'emblème du jeune Calidorus). En revanche, le père du jeune amoureux, Simo, se désigne lui-même (v. la scène V, l'acte I), tout en vérifiant son autonomie : il entre en scène (le moment du baptême énonciatif devant le lecteur / spectateur) se désignant lui-même en tant que père d'un fils gaspilleur et, implicitement, il se définit par rapport à ses biens, à sa richesse et à son argent ; si son fils est *sommé* par Pseudolus à se reconnaître lui-même sous la marque de l'absence, de la privation, au contraire, son père s'expose sur la scène dramatique exclusivement par l'intermédiaire des relations de domination sociale et pécuniaire. Individualisé par un nom propre (Simo), celui-ci garde sous réserve son statut (le statut circonscrit et décrit le personnage uniquement de manière implicite), il joue en premier plan comme personnage simple, fixé du point de vue référentiel par son nom ; tantôt sous le spectre de son statut, tantôt sous le spectre de son nom (soit dans la zone de la description, soit dans la zone de la référence), il appartient à la rhétorique de l'ambivalence, de l'équivoque et du versatile typiquement carnavalesque.

D'ailleurs, les personnages plautiniens, en dépit des rôles stéréotypes où ils apparaissent (ce qui a fait possible la réalisation des répertoires de rôles), se structurent comme équation entre l'identité et le nom propre (entre leur corps sémantique et la

lettre qui recouvre ce corps), par une syntaxe extrêmement mobile, soumise aux distorsions et aux inversions de toute sorte : d'un côté, la *lettre* des noms propres évoque des étymologies mixtes, grecques et latines, respectivement des modèles culturels hybrides et une intertextualité intrinsèque ; de l'autre côté, les stratégies sur la fixation du nom autour de l'identité (les modalités par lesquelles on fait le raccord du nom à l'identité, son remplissage avec une signification sociale) représentent des stratégies carnavalesques fondées sur des substitutions, des polarités, des détrônements, etc.

Ainsi, l'ample catégorie des esclaves (dont le représentant typique est Pseudolus) dispose d'identités purement circonstancielles, leur corps sémantique s'énonce par des circonstances et non pas par de mots (ils ne sont pas définis par de mots et ils ne se définissent pas eux-mêmes, mais ils se laissent définir par des circonstances et des intrigues) ; individualisés le plus souvent par un nom propre (tel que Chrysaulus des *Bacchides*, Epidicus, Tranio de *Mostellaria*, Palestrio du *Soldat fanfaron*), ils se comportent selon la logique causale du nom propre, en fondant leur nom sur l'objet (sur le corps physique et sur les circonstances où ils s'énoncent durant le trajet dramatique). Dans une situation toute différente se trouve la catégorie de *patrens*, des pères vieux, chefs de famille (tel que Simo de *Pseudolus* ou Euclio de *Aulularia*) ; ils disposent de caractères bien formés (avares, rigides, austers), mais surtout d'un statut sur lequel ils fondent l'identité et le nom (dans leur cas il y a toujours une brèche, un espace de jeu entre l'individuel et le catégoriel). Les jeunes sont définis purement du point de vue fonctionnel, ils sont le moteur actantiel du trajet dramatique, représentant l'état de privation qui, à la fin de toute une série d'entrecroisements des situations comiques, doit être remédié (le nom propre est attribué à ce rôle actantiel faiblement défini du point de vue sémantique). Aussi, les jeunes femmes occurrentes dans la position d'objet de recherche sont-elles le plus souvent des noms sans référence interne (leurs noms se fondent, par une chaîne causale, sur une référence empruntée dont on a connaissance justement par certaines références émises par d'autres personnages) et, surtout, sans une structure sémantique propre. Réduits aux rôles fonctionnels, le soldat fanfaron, l'usurier, le marchand de courtisanes (*leno*) miment une identité sociale, tout comme la représentation de leur catégorie, de la position marginale d'une pseudo-position officielle, évoque le faux, l'imitation et le transitoire; ils imposent de faux devoirs aux jeunes et aux courtisanes, ils renversent les hiérarchies et l'ordre pécuniaire, conseillant les jeunes de voler leurs pères et les courtisanes de se vendre plusieurs fois (ils bouleversent l'ordre pécuniaire tout comme les esclaves stratégiques bouleversent la logique de l'hiérarchie).

Vu en ensemble, le répertoire des rôles dramatiques plautiniens détient non seulement certaines typologies de relevance sociale, mais, étant interrogé du point de vue de la construction des identités par le raccord du nom propre, il dévoile des paquets cohérents de stratégies sur l'insertion du nom propre dans l'ordre social, restructuré du point de vue carnavalesque. L'option pour la logique descriptive du nom propre ou pour celle causale simplifiée dans la création de l'identité fictive des personnages devient relevante pour ce qui est de l'illustration des mécanismes et de la dynamique interne du microdrame social dans le théâtre plautinien ; le jeu subtil entre l'ensemble des stratégies descriptives et le nom est un indice de la solidité du corps social représenté typologiquement

par les personnages, respectivement de la cohérence de la syntaxe sociale représentée justement par la brèche de l'insertion de l'individu dans le champ social.

NOTE

[1] « Athenaios prétend […] que de tels jeux comiques, comme il les appelle, se sont transformés en scénettes inspirées des situations réelles de la vie quotidienne. Les acteurs qui jouaient ces rôles s'appelaient *dikélistai* dans la Magna Grecia/Grande Grèce et *phlýakes* ou *sofistai* en Sicile, car, dans beaucoup de cas, ils ironisaient l'enseignement et la doctrine des sophistes. Dans l'Italie grécisée notamment par les migrants de Péloponnèse, ce type de jeux a connu un grand succès. Cette espèce populaire de la comédie grecque se trouve donc à la base de la comédie latine connue sous le nom d'*atellane*, mais elle a influencé aussi le drame satyrique, selon le témoignage attesté dans l'œuvre du poète sicilien Epiharm, de la première moitié du Ve siècle a. Ch., un poète bien apprécié par Aristote dans sa *Poétique* (I, 1449) pour son talent littéraire extraordinaire. » (notre traduction, I.D. et M.P.)

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Fighting back life in Ruth Ozeki's *A tale for the time being*[*]

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ABSTRACT

Leading a life without any solutions is the author's pretext for self-discovery and personal development. A 104–year-old Zen Buddhist nun sheds an unexpected light on the protagonist's gloomy and subdued to despair existence. Nao, a Japanese-American troubled adolescent, starts writing a diary in order to get a grasp of her life and to come to terms with her present. While readers are immersing themselves into *A Tale for the Time Being*, they are bound to draw parallels between Ruth Ozeki's work and a Bildungsroman principles.
The narrative unravels on a multi-layered life approach basis, splitting hairs and tackling sensitive issues like culture clashes between American and Japanese values, life's frailty, the choice to surrender to life's hazardous steps and to its whimsical shifts, the individual's alienation entailed by a rapidly changing society.

KEYWORDS: *realism, struggling for survival, adjusting to the present, growing mature, suffering, intricate healing processes*

1. Introduction

Why Ruth Ozeki's work? Maybe because it is a novel that seems to remove barriers, grasping the rhythm of life and turning it into incantations. It is a novel-confession, with spatial and temporal levels, permanently interwoven as if they triggered a whole whirl of feelings and emotions. *A Tale for the Time Being* also stands for a writing on introspection and self-discovery, where a pervasive chromatic projection renders in a rather recurrent manner the transitional movement from white to black, therefore from hope to despondency.

And though we know from time immemorial, or as the old Latin saying goes *vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*[1], despair together with *taedium vitae*[2] cannot possibly make for an appropriate *modus vivendi*[3]. For this reason, we see that in *A Tale for the Time Being*, Ruth Ozeki depicts Nao to us as somebody who accepts being defeated by everyone except her fate: *est tanti ab omnibus vinci, dum a me fortuna vincatur*.

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A novel of illusions forged by our modern world, completely enslaved by mercantilism; also a novel of disillusions brought about by an alienated society. The mystery wraps up Ruth's discovery of a breathtaking diary, meant to build unthinkable bridges, over time, between Asia and Canada, between her and a 16-year-old Japanese girl, named Naoko Yasutani. It's Nao's diary, therefore everything is revolving mostly around Nao. So, who is Nao? Is she a secluded adolescent, with a topsy-turvy life, in sore need of a life-saver, as she doesn't count on any fine prospects before her, having incurred all her classmates' hatred and not getting a moment's respite thanks to a father, tortured by remorse, who is definitely well-grounded in suicidal artistry? Unfortunately, she is all that.

It stands to reason that Ruth Ozeki's readership witnesses Nao's indefatigable quest for a genuine self. Nao's adolescence dreams are unexpectedly turned to ashes, without her having the willingness to strike back. The agonizing process of adjustment to the harshness of a cultural pattern to which she doesn't truly belong is vividly described in the novel. Readers can't be but deeply sympathetic to her cause, to her physical, mental, and spiritual journey.

Engrossed in Ruth Ozeki's reverberating novel, we are bound to discover destinies on the verge of annihilation, seduced by *the suicide liberating force*. We also glimpse the attempt to re-spiritualize those human beings, left to drift, having been profoundly challenged by either a cross-cultural clenching or a whimsical economy.

As matters stand, the searing pain Nao is enduring enables her to gradually become aware of an unsuspected inner strength. As the story line unfolds, we are to see that the journey Nao has embarked on is not entirely sheer madness, without anybody who might mean well and the passing of time, devoid of any sense of balance and proportion.

1.1. Writing, a profession of faith

To Japanese-American author, Ruth Ozeki, writing is of primary importance as it allows her to collect those things that have caught her interest, be they stories, impressions, or scenes. Moreover, she whole-heartedly admits that both writing and meditation stand for that type of means she resorts to in order to get a grasp of how life touches a string in her heart. In all likelihood, sharing with her readers what she feels about writing, generally and words, particularly sheds a light on the very process of solving the puzzle of her novel.

> The reason that I write and the reason that I made films, the reason that I've done all of this kind of stuff is that I love to collect things. I'm a collector. When you write, that's what you do: you walk around and collect stories, impressions, and scenes. Everything becomes potential material, and it really changes the way that you interact with your life. In that sense, it's really quite an acquisitive relationship with the stuff that I pass through. Whether I'm acquiring that visually or as text bites, it's pretty much the same kind of process[4].
>
> Fiction is an elemental force that has the power to shape reality in its own image-or images, I should say, because reality, like light, exists not only as a single point or particle, but also as an array of possibilities.

> This is what happens when I'm writing well: I feel better. Writing is one of the means I have available to feel. Meditation is another. Put another way, writing and meditation are practices that allow me to feel my feelings. Otherwise, how would I know?
> "We are what we tell ourselves we are," says my friend and teacher, Norman Fischer. "Language-making isn't incidental or ornamental to human consciousness: it is its center, its essence. No language, no person. No relationships, no tools…Meditation practice brings the mind to a profound quiet that comes very close to the bottom of consciousness, and right there is the wellspring where language bubbles up."
> I'm hopelessly drawn to this wellspring. I sit on my cushion or at my computer, alert, eyes half shut, listening into that profound quiet. I seem to be waiting.
> How am I waiting? Hopelessly (because *hope* can be constricting), and yet curiously, too. Trying to cultivate some patience and trust. Drawn by a longing to be fully who I am, whatever that may be.
> What am I waiting for? Words. Or the world. No, that's not quite right, because this is an intransitive kind of waiting, with no object[5].

An interview[6] with *A Tale for the Time Being*'s author, the Japanese-American writer Ruth Ozeki[7], can be very revealing about its genesis. Who else would we deem right to provide such fascinating insights into the art of writing this novel if not the author herself? In what follows, which is mostly the entire reproduction of the interview, we are to find out why Ruth Ozeki has written herself into her novel as the character *Ruth,* how she feels about Japanese culture and which are the most relevant topics in the novel that prompt readers' reflection.

> Ruth Ozeki**:** *Then the earthquake in Japan happened, followed by the tsunami and followed by the meltdown at Fukushima. And suddenly, when I was watching all of that unfold, I realized that Japan certainly would never be the same and that the book that I had written was no longer relevant.*
> Rachel Martin: *So, Ruth Ozeki reworked her novel. It's called "A Tale for the Time Being." She wanted to acknowledge the disaster in Japan. She also wanted a second character, someone who would discover Nao's diary sometime in the future after it had washed up on the shores of British Columbia.*
> Ruth Ozeki: *As it turned out, that person ended up being a character named Ruth, who bears more than a superficial resemblance to me.*
> Rachel Martin*: Why did you make that decision? You could have come up with any number of other characters to kind of play off Nao. Why did you decide to make it autobiographical that way?*
> Ruth Ozeki: *It was an idea I had when I first started, and I rejected it promptly. It seemed like a terrible idea at the time. And so I proceeded to audition about four or five other characters to play the role of Nao's reader. And I realized that if I could, you know, sort of step back and take the book apart and put myself in there as a character then I would be able to incorporate the tsunami, the earthquake and the issues that arose into the book in a kind of a more considered and serious way. And so that's what I did.*
> Rachel Martin: *In some ways, Ruth and Nao are kind of mirror images of one another. I'm wondering if there was something in her life that did reflect your own experience with culture shock, culture clash. You write about how Nao spent some formative years in California, in Northern California, and she returns to Japan feeling very much like an outsider, even though she is Japanese.*

Ruth Ozeki: *She's ethnically Japanese, but she herself was raised in Sunnyvale, California. And so she feels very much like an American kid. You know, her father loses his job. The family is forced to move back to Japan. She's put into a junior high school where she knows none of the social codes. She speaks Japanese, but not with the same fluency as her classmates certainly. And so she is bullied as a result of that. In the U.S., I remember, you know, when I was little I was always looked at as, you know, the Japanese kid or the Asian kid. And, you know, I did experience some bullying, especially when I was in California.*
Rachel Martin: *But the kind of bullying you describe in the story is really intense. It's very harrowing.*
Ruth Ozeki: *Yes.*
Rachel Martin*: Some of the bullying is frankly too graphic to describe. But can you give us a sense of the level of isolation that Nao feels as a result of this bullying? What happens to her?*
Ruth Ozeki: *One of the things that was, you know, that was devastating to her was when all of her classmates pretended that she no longer existed. They just ceased to see her. And so she became a non - person to them. She became a ghost. You know, that…*
Rachel Martin: *To the point where they actually held a funeral for her.*
Ruth Ozeki: *That's right. They held a funeral for her. And these are stories that I've, you know, that I have read. For Nao, this was a real struggle. I mean, that book is called "A Tale for the Time Being." And, you know, Nao was really struggling with being a being. You know, she had been turned into a non-being by her classmates. The one person in her life who is a source of stability for her, however, is her 104-year-old great-grandmother, old Jiko, who is a Zen Buddhist nun. Her great-grandmother, old Jiko, teaches her to meditate, you know, just sitting with all of the powerful feelings and emotions and conditions of her life*[8]*. You know, in the book, it's couched in a funny kind of way because old Jiko calls it her superpower. You know, but it does turn into the source of her strength, I think, and her patience.*
Rachel Martin: *There's a heavy theme of suicide in this story. Nao is dealing with severe depression and kind of a preoccupation with suicide. But she has it in her DNA. Her father is suffering profoundly from a sense of despondency. And turns out she has a great-uncle who was a kamikaze pilot in World War II who killed himself.* […]

2. Unravelling the mystery

To secure her object, that of bidding life farewell, Nao has first to give expression to her feelings and prevent her great-grandmother's image from sinking into oblivion.

> It's not what you think, since my purpose for writing it before I die is to tell someone the fascinating life story of my hundred-and- four-year-old great- grandmother, who is a Zen Buddhist nun.
> You probably don't think nuns are all that fascinating, but my great-grandmother is, and not in a kinky way at all. […]
> This diary will tell the real life story of my great-grandmother Yasutani Jiko. She was a nun and a novelist and a New Woman of the Taisho era.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)[9]

As far as Nao's writing is concerned, it definitely sets our curiosity agog, striking us as a fresh way to let the cat out of the bag:

> I think it's important to have clearly defined goals in life, don't you? Especially if you don't have a lot of life left. Because if you don't have clear goals, you might run out of time, and when the day comes, you'll find yourself standing on the parapet of a tall building, or sitting on your bed with a bottle of pills in your hand, thinking, *Shit! I blew it. If only I'd set clearer goals for myself!*
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

Overwhelmed by a strong feeling of emptiness, Nao attaches great importance to her failures, despite being merely sixteen-year-old:

> I'm telling you this because I'm actually not going to be around for long, and you might as well know this up front so you don't make assumptions. Assumptions suck. They're like expectations. Assumptions and expectations will kill any relationship, so let's you and me not go there, okay?
> The truth is that very soon I'm going to graduate from time, or maybe I shouldn't say graduate because that makes it sound as if I've actually met my goals and deserve to move on, when the fact is that I just turned sixteen and I've accomplished nothing at all. *Zilch. Nada.* Do I sound pathetic? I don't mean to. I just want to be accurate. Maybe instead of graduate, I should say I'm going to drop out of time. Drop out. Time out. Exit my existence. I'm counting the moments.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

Ruth discovers a Hello Kitty lunchbox, washed up on the shore of her beach home.

> A tiny sparkle caught Ruth's eye, a small glint of refracted sunlight angling out from beneath a massive tangle of drying bull kelp, which the sea had heaved up onto the sand at full tide. She mistook it for the sheen of a dying jelly-fish and almost walked right by it. The beaches were overrun with jellyfish these days, the monstruous red stinging kind that looked like wounds along the shoreline. But something made her stop. She leaned over and nudged the heap of kelp with the toe of her sneaker then poked it with a stick. Untangling the whiplike fronds, she dislodged enough to see that what glistened underneath was not a dying sea jelly, but something plastic, a bag. Not surprising. The ocean was full of plastic. She dug a bit more until she could lift the bag up by its corner. It was heavier than she expected, a scarred plastic freezer bag, encrusted with barnacles that spread across its surface like a rash. It must have been in the ocean for a long time, she thought. Inside the bag, she could see a hint of something red, someone's garbage, no doubt, tossed overboard or left behind after a picnic or a rave. The sea was always heaving things up and hurling them back: fishing lines, floats, beer cans, plastic toys […], Nike sneakers. A few years earlier it was severed feet. People were finding them up and down Vancouver Island, washed up on the sand. One had been found on this very beach. No one could explain what had happened to the rest of the bodies. Ruth didn't want to think about what might be rotting inside the bag. She flung it farther up the beach. She would finish her walk and then pick it up on the way back, take it home, and throw it out.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

It's Oliver, Ruth's husband, who thoroughly makes the inventory of the barnacle-encrusted freezer bag, washed up on the beach and brought home by her.

> He had smoothed the bags flat, laid them out on top of one another in descending order of size, and then sorted the contents into three neat collections: a small stack of handwritten letters; a pudgy bound book with a faded red cover; a sturdy antique wristwatch with a matte black face and a luminous dial. Next to these sat the Hello Kity lunchbox that had protected the contents from the corrosive effects of the sea. The cat was sniffing at the lunchbox. Ruth picked him up and dropped him on the floor, and then turned her attention to the items on the table.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

Missing the hustle and bustle of a metropolis, *marooned on a remote island in Desolation Sound*, *trapped in a fictional world of her own creation, and unable to get away* as the writer herself acknowledges, Ruth, the character, a sort of *doppelgänger*, makes sure she has a library home, hoping to keep up with the times despite leading a secluded life.

> They liked books, all books, but especially old ones, and their house was overflowing with them. There were books everywhere, stacked on shelves and piled on the floor, on chairs, on the stairway treads, but neither Ruth nor Oliver minded. Ruth was a novelist, and novelists, Oliver asserted, should have cats and books. And indeed, buying books was her consolation for moving to a remote island in the middle of Desolation Sound, where the public library was one small humid room above the community hall, overrun with children. In addition to the extensive and dog-eared juvenile literature section and some popular adult titles, the library's collection seemed largely to comprise books on gardening, canning, food security, alternative energy, alternative healing, and alternative schooling. Ruth missed the abundance and diversity of urban libraries, their quiet spaciousness, and when she and Oliver moved to the small island, they agreed that she should be able to order any book she wanted, which she did. Research, she called it, although in the end he'd read most of them, while she'd read only a few. She just liked having them around. Recently, however, she had started to notice that the damp sea air had swollen their pages and the silver fish had taken up residence in their spines. When she opened the covers, they smelled of mold. This made her sad.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

The bag contains, among other things, a surprising copy of Proust's "In Search of Lost Time". But Proust's book is no more than a cover. Inside is Nao's diary, written in purple ink.

> 'In search of lost time', she said, translating the tarnished gilt title, embossed on the red cloth spine. " I've never read it."
> "I haven't, either," said Oliver. "I don't think I'll be trying it in French, though."
> "Mm," she said, agreeing, but then she opened the cover, anyway, curious to see if she could understand just the first few lines. She was expecting to see an age-stained folio, printed in an antique font, so she was entirely unprepared for the adolescent

> purple handwriting that sprawled across the page. It felt like a desecration, and it shocked her so much she almost dropped the book."
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

As the novel unfolds, Ruth reads the diary and develops a bond with Nao. As a matter of fact, she speculates up a lot on Nao's personality and fate, starting with her handwriting that may possibly throw a light on the events. With every turn of the page, Ruth is sucked deeper into an enchanting mystery.

> Print is predictable and impersonal, conveying information in a mechanical transaction with the reader's eye. Handwriting, by contrast, resists the eye, reveals its meaning slowly, and is as intimate as skin.
> Ruth stared at the page. The purple words were mostly in English, with some Japanese characters scattered here and there, but her eye wasn't really taking in their meaning as much as a felt sense, murky and emotional, of the writer's presence. The fingers that had gripped the purple gel ink pen must have belonged to a girl, a teenager. Her handwriting, these loopy purple marks impressed onto the page, retained her moods and anxieties, and the moment Ruth laid eyes on the page, she knew without a doubt that the girl's fingertips were pink and moist, and that she had bitten her nails down to the quick.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

Nao's great-grandmother, a 104-year-old or so Zen Buddhist nun wouldn't be very interested in finding out about the tumultuous life in Tokyo, would she? Yet, contrary to all expectation, she displays a great enthusiasm for every Tokyo-related piece of information. Therefore, Nao has got into the habit of updating Jiko on modern life, on its cultural trends and news items. As a Zen Buddhist nun, old Jiko is praying a lot for all beings who are suffering in the world, hoping to save them.

> My old Jiko really likes it when I tell her lots of details about modern life. She doesn't get out very much anymore because she lives in a temple in the mountains in the middle of nowhere and has renounced the world and also there's the fact of her being a hundred and four years old. I keep saying that's her age, but actually I'm just guessing. We don't really know, for sure, how old she is, and she claims she doesn't remember, either.
> And as I was saying, my old Jiko really likes detail, and she likes it when I tell her about the little sounds and smells and colours and lights and advertising and people and fashions and newspaper headlines that make up the noisy ocean of Tokyo, which is why I've trained myself to notice and remember. I tell her everything, about cultural trends and news items I read about high school girls who get raped and suffocated with plastic bags in love hotels. You can tell Granny all that kind of stuff and she doesn't mind. I don't mean it makes her happy. She's not a *hentai.* But she understands that shit happens, and she just sits there and listens and nods her head and counts the beads on her *juzu*, saying blessings for those poor high school girls and the perverts and all the beings who are suffering in the world. She's a nun, so that's her job. I swear, sometimes I think the main reason she's still alive is because of all the stuff I give her to pray about.

> I asked her once why she liked to hear stories like this, and she explained to me that when she got ordained, she shaved her head and took some vows to be a *bosatsu*[10]. One of her vows was to save all beings, which basically means that she agreed not to become enlightened until all the other beings in this world get enlightened first. It's kind of like letting everybody else get into the elevator ahead of you. When you calculate all the beings on this earth at any time, and then add in the ones that are getting born every second and the ones that have already died- and not just human beings, either, but all the animals and other life-forms like amoebas and viruses and maybe even plants that have ever lived or ever will live, as well as all the extinct species- well, you can see that enlightenment will take a very long time. And what if the elevator gets full and the doors slam shut and you're still standing outside?
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

Nao holds old Jiko in great regard for everything her great-grandmother embodies. For instance, old Jiko has been very careful about keeping her spirit alive, cherishing life and wisely accepting its unpredictability. A sharp-witted person, our 104-year-old Zen Buddhist nun impresses us as she never runs a wild-goose chase. At the same time, we get the chance to see that her great-granddaughter usually speaks her mind, having quite a smooth tongue. Beyond doubt, old Jiko is somebody, and there are plenty of inspirational pages which stem from Nao looking to Jiko for guidance.

> Old Jiko is supercareful with her time. She does everything really, really slowly, even when she's just sitting on the veranda, looking out at the dragonflies spinning lazily around the garden pond. She says that she does everything really, really slowly in order to spread time out so that she'll have more of it and live longer, and then she laughs so you know she is telling you a joke. I mean, she understands perfectly well that time isn't something you can spread out like butter or jam, and death isn't going to hang around and wait for you to finish whatever you happen to be doing before it zaps you. That's the joke, and she laughs because she knows it.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

It's Nao's sincerity and unsophisticated manner of writing that mostly appeal to us, the readers. She is very much attached to her great-grandmother, whom she loves dearly.

> I don't mind thinking of the world without me because I'm unexceptional, but I hate the idea of the world without old Jiko. She's totally unique and special, like the last Galapagos tortoise or some other ancient animal hobbling around on the scorched earth, who is the only one left of its kind. But please don't get me going on the topic of species extinction because it's totally depressing, and I'll have to commit suicide right this second.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

Nao chooses not to indulge in illusions when it comes to the people who might be interested to read about Jiko. Then, why write at all about her? Recently, Nao has also broken the spell of giving utterance to her feelings on a blog, realizing that nobody makes common cause with somebody else but himself.

> Okay, Nao. Why are you doing this? Like, what's the point?
> This is a problem. The only reason I can think of for writing Jiko's life story in this book is because I love her and want to remember her, but I'm not planning on sticking around for long, and I can't remember her stories if I'm dead, right? And apart from me, who else would care? I mean, if I thought the world would want to know about old Jiko, I'd post her stories on a blog but actually I stopped doing that a while ago. It made me sad when I caught myself pretending that everybody out there in cyber-space cared about what I thought, when really nobody gives a shit. And when I multiplied that sad feeling by all the millions of people in their lonely little rooms, furiously writing and posting to their lonely little pages that nobody has time to read because they're all so busy writing and posting, it kind of broke my heart.
> (Ozeki, 2013)

How inspiring has proved to be to Nao her great-grandmother's life? Seemingly, particularly inspiring to the point of making Nao sink into thoughts about her great-grandmother, and devoting herself entirely to immortalize old Jiko through a collection of recollections in an emotional diary.

> The fact is, I don't have much of a special network these days, and the people I hang out with aren't the kind who care about a hundred- and four-year-old Buddhist nun even if she is a bosatsu who can use email and texting, and that's only because I made her buy a computer so she could stay in touch with me when I'm in Tokyo and she's at her falling- down old temple on a mountain in the middle of nowhere. She's not crazy about new technology, but she does pretty well for a time being with cataracts and arthritis in both her thumbs. Old Jiko and Marcel Proust come from a prewired world, which is a time that's totally lost these days.
> So here, I am at Fifi's *Lonely Apron*, staring at all these blank pages and asking myself why I'm bothering, when suddenly an amazing idea knocks me over. Ready? Here it is: *I will write down everything I know about Jiko's life in Marcel's book, and when I'm done, I'll just leave it somewhere, and you will find it!*
> How cool is that? It feels like I'm reaching forward through time to touch you, and now that you've found it, you're reaching back to touch me!
> If you ask me, it's fantastically cool and beautiful. It's like a message in a bottle, cast out onto the ocean of time and space. Totally personal, and real, too, right out of old Jiko's and Marcel's prewired world. It's the opposite of a blog. It's an antiblog, because it's meant for only one special person, and that person is *you*. And if you've read this far, you probably understand what I mean. Do you feel special yet?
> I'll just wait here for a while to see if you answer…
> (Ozeki, 2013)

At first, Ruth is less than confident in Nao's skills as a kind of writer, questioning whether the diary rescued from the shore is worthy of any consideration on her behalf. Ruth also acknowledges the fact that she needs to prioritize as her own writing endeavours haven't successfully materialized yet.

> Ruth looked at the sturdy red book with its tarnished gilt title embossed on the cover. It was lying on top of a tall messy stack of notes and manuscript pages, bristling with Post-its, and wound with cramped marginalia, which represented the memoir that she'd been working on for close to a decade.

> *À la recherche du temps perdu*, indeed. Unable to complete another novel, she had decided instead to write about the years she had spent taking care of her mother who'd suffered from Alzheimer's. Now, looking at the pile of pages, she felt a quickening flush of panic at the thought of all her own lost time, the confused mess she'd made of this draft, and the work that still needed to be done to sort it all out. What was she doing wasting precious hours on someone else's story?
> She picked up the diary and, using the side of her thumb, started riffling through the pages. She wasn't reading, in fact she was trying not to. She only wanted to ascertain whether the handwriting continued all the way to the end, or if it petered out partway through. How many diaries and journals had she herself started and then abandoned? How many aborted novels languished in folders on her hard drive? But to her surprise, although the colour of the ink occasionally bled from purple to pink to black to blue and back to purple again, the writing itself never faltered, growing smaller and if anything even denser, straight through to the very last, tightly packed page. The girl had run out of paper before she ran out of words.
> And then?
> Ruth snapped the book shut and closed her eyes for good measure to keep herself from cheating and reading the final sentence, but the question lingered, floating like a retinal burn in the darkness of her mind: *What happens in the end?"*
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

In view of Nao's cursive writing, short of a mass of corrections, or an avalanche of rephrasing, Ruth has to admit that, though there is an overall impression of *on-the-spur-of-the-moment expression*, what comes across in Nao's diary is by no means senseless.

> Running her fingertips across the soft cloth cover, she noted the faint impression of the tarnished letters. They still retained the shape of *À la recherché du temps perdu*, but they had evolved- no, that word implied a gradual unfolding, and this was sudden, a mutation or a rift, pages ripped from their cover by some Tokyo crafter who'd re-tooled Proust into something altogether new.
> In her mind's eye, she could see the purple ink scripting sinuous lines into solid blocks of coloured paragraphs. She couldn't help but notice and admire the uninhibited flow of the girl's language. Rarely had she succumbed to second thoughts. Rarely did she doubt a word, or pause to consider or replace it with another. There were only a few crossed – out lines and phrases, and this, too, filled Ruth with something like awe. It had been years since she'd approached the page with such certainty.
> *I am reaching through time to touch you."*
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

Ex abrupto[11], Nao's life is turned upside down. Almost everything she is familiar with has vanished into thin air: the company where her father was working has gone bankrupt, irreparably shaking his family financial situation; furthermore, in the wake of such a dramatic shift in their social status, Nao has to cope with another overnight change, meaning that of trading the American life-style (education system included) for the Japanese one. To add the last straw, they are left with no savings, as a result of her father's not very inspired financial investments.

> Timing is everything. Somewhere I read that men born between April and June are more likely to commit suicide[12] than men born at other times of the year. My dad was born in May, so maybe that explains it. Not that he's succeeded in killing himself yet. He hasn't. But he's still trying. It's just a matter of time.
> I know I said I would write about old Jiko, but my dad and I are having a fight and so I'm kind of preoccupied. It's not really a huge fight, but we're not talking to each other, which actually means that I'm not talking to him. He probably hasn't even noticed because he's pretty oblivious to other people's feelings these days, and I don't want to upset him by telling him, "Hey Dad, in case you hadn't noticed, we're having a fight, okay?" He's got a lot on his mind and I don't want to make him even more depressed.
> What we're not really fighting about is me not really going to school. The problem is that I screwed up my high school entrance exams, so I can't get in anywhere good, so my only option is to go to some kind of trade school where the stupid kids go, which is so not an option. I don't particularly care about getting an education. I'd much rather become a nun and go live with old Jiko at her temple on the mountain, but my mom and dad say I have to graduate from high school first.
> So right now, I'm a *ronin*, which is an old word for a samurai warrior who doesn't have a master. Back in feudal times, samurai warriors had to have lords or masters. The whole point of being a samurai was to serve a master, and when your master got killed or committed *seppuku* or lost his castles in a war or something, that was it. *Snap!* Your *raison d'être* was gone, and you had to become a *ronin* and wander around having sword fights and getting into trouble. These *ronin* were scary dudes, kind of like what the homeless guys living under tarps in Ueno Park might turn into if you gave them really sharp swords.
> Obviously, I'm not a samurai warrior, and nowadays *ronin* just means a dummy who screws up her entrance exams and has to take extra classes at cram school and study at home while she works up enough enthusiasm and self-confidence to take the test again. Usually *ronin* have graduated from high school and are living with their parents while they try to get into university. It's pretty unusual to be a junior high school *ronin* like me, but I'm old for my grade, and actually now that I'm sixteen, I don't have to go to school if I don't want to. That's what the law says, anyways.
> The way you write *ronin* is […] with the character for *wave* and the character for *person*, which is pretty much how I feel, like a little wave person, floating around on the stormy sea of life.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

Obviously, Nao gives expression to her feelings in a rather natural, unpretentious way, managing to catch our attention as if she talked to us, as if she unburdened her sorrows to us. Having been raised as an American teenager, going back to Japan and becoming immersed into an unfamiliar culture lead her to gradually sink into a quagmire of angst, solitude, and violence.

> It's really not my fault that I screwed up my entrance exams. With my educational background, I couldn't get into a good Japanese school no matter how much I crammed. My dad wants me to go to Canada. He's got this thing about Canada. He says it's like America only with health care and no guns, and you can live up to your potential there and not have to worry about what society thinks or about getting sick

or getting shot. I told him not to sweat it, because I already don't give a rat's ass what society thinks, and I don't have enough potential to waste time worrying about. He's right about the getting – sick or getting – shot part, though. I'm pretty healthy and I don't mind the idea of dying, but I also don't want to get mowed down by some freaky high school kid in a trench coat who's high on Zoloft and has traded in his Xbox for a semiautomatic.

My dad used to be in love with America. I'm not kidding. It was like America was his lover, and he loved her so much that I swear Mom was jealous. We used to live there, in a town called Sunnyvale, which is in California. My dad used to be this hotshot computer programmer, and he was headhunted when I was three and got this great job in Silicon Valley, and we all moved there. My mom wasn't too thrilled, but back then she went along with anything Dad said, and as for me, I don't have any memory of Japan from when I was a baby. As far as I'm concerned, my whole life started and ended in Sunnyvale, which makes me American.

Mom says I didn't speak any English at first, but they stuck me in day care with a nice lady named Mrs. Delgado, and I took to it like a fish to water. That's just the way kids are. My mom had a tougher time. She never got the hang of English or made many friends, but she was okay with it because Dad was making tons of money and she could buy really nice clothes. So, everything was great and we were just cruising along, except for the fact that we were living in a total dreamland called the Dot-Com. Bubble, and when it burst Dad's company went bankrupt, and he got sacked, and we lost our visas and had to come back to Japan, which totally sucked because not only did Dad not have a job, but he'd also taken a big percentage of his big fat salary in stock options so suddenly we didn't have any savings either, and Tokyo's not cheap. It was a complete bust. Dad was sulking around like a jilted lover, and Mom was grim and tight and righteous, but at least they identified as Japanese and still spoke the language fluently. I, on the other hand, was totally fucked, because I identified as American, and even though we always spoke Japanese at home, my conversational skills were limited to basic, daily-life stuff like where's my allowance, and pass the jam, and *Oh please please please* don't make me leave Sunnyvale.

In Japan, they have special private catch-up schools for *kikokushijo* kids like me, who get behind in their schoolwork after spending a bunch of years at stupid American schools while their dads are on company assignments, and then have to catch up with their Japanese grade level when their dads get transferred back. Only my dad wasn't on a company assignment, and he wasn't getting transferred back. He got laid off. And it wasn't like I'd gotten behind my grade level- I'd only ever been to American schools, so I'd never not been behind. And my parents couldn't afford a fancy private catch-up school, so they ended up sticking me in a public junior high school.

(Ozeki, 2013)

What has Nao ever done to bring her colleagues' contempt upon herself? Well, nothing at all. They have just chosen to bear Nao a grudge as persistently as possible, without sparing any effort whatsoever to give her hell on a daily basis. Consequently, Nao is over head and ears in work, trying to get a moment's respite from such a hostile environment. She doesn't seem to be shilly- shallying between flashing back defiance and enduring everything as it is obvious that she has the *haphazard* odds stacked against her.

> We were totally lying, but it was okay, and we walked the rest of the way not saying anything, because if we even opened our mouths after telling such big lies, the truth might come pouring out, so we had to keep our lips shut. But even if we couldn't talk frankly to each other, I still liked it that my Dad walked me to school every morning, because it meant that the kids couldn't start picking on me until after he'd waved goodbye and turned the corner.
> But they were waiting. I could feel their eyes on us as we stood by the gate, and the hairs on my arms and the back of my neck started to prickle, and my heart started beating real fast, and my armpits were like rivers flooding. I wanted to cling to my dad and beg him not to go, but I knew I couldn't do that.
> "Ja, ne," my dad would say, brightly. "Study hard, okay?"
> And I'd just nod because I knew that if I tried to speak I would start crying. The minute he turned his back, they would start to move in. Have you ever seen those nature documentaries where they show a pack of wild hyenas moving in to kill a wildebeest or a baby gazelle? They come in from all sides and cut the most pathetic animal off from the herd and surround it, getting closer and closer and staying real tight, and if Dad had happened to turn around to wave to me, it would have looked like good-natured fun, like I had lots of fun friends, gathering around me, singing out greetings in terrible English – *Guddo moningu, dear Transfer Student Yasutani! Hello! Hello!* – and Dad would have been reassured to see me so popular and everyone making an effort to be nice to me. And it's usually one hyena, not always the biggest one, but one that's small and quick and mean, who lunges first, breaking flesh and drawing blood, which is the signal for the rest of the pack to attack, so that by the time we got through the doors of the school, I was usually covered with fresh cuts and pinching bruises and my uniform was all untucked with new little tears in it made by the sharp points of nail scissors that the girls kept in their pencil cases to trim their split ends. Hyenas don't kill their prey. They cripple them and then eat them alive. Basically, it went on like that all day[13]. They would walk by my desk and pretend to gag or sniff the air and say *Iyada! Gaijin kusai!*[14] or *Bimbo kusai!*[15] Sometimes they practiced their idiomatic English on me, repeating stuff they learned from American rap lyrics […] You get the idea. My strategy was basically just to ignore them or play dead or pretend I didn't exist. I thought that maybe if I just pretended hard enough it would actually come true, and I would either die or disappear. Or at least it would come true enough for my classmates to believe it and stop tormenting me, but they didn't. They didn't stop until they'd chased me home to our apartment and I ran up the stairs and locked the door behind me, panting and bleeding from lots of little places like under my arms or between my legs where the cuts wouldn't show.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

We can't be but *impressed with* such determination that Nao's zealous colleagues don't fail to display when it comes *to make her feel at ease.* To reach their aim, they even put on a mock funeral for the transferred student Yasutani Naoko, leaving nothing to accident, attending to the most insignificant detail of the event. Beyond any doubt, arranging the mock funeral hasn't been any trifle to them; suffice it to say that they are really committed to let Nao understand to what extent *they truly appreciate her and cherish her presence among them.*

My funeral was beautiful and very real[16]. All the kids in my class were wearing black armbands, and they had set an altar on my desk with a candle and an incense burner and my school photograph, enlarged and framed and decorated with black and white ribbons. One by one my enemies took turns going up to my desk and paying their respects to me, laying a white paper flower in front of my picture, while the rest of the class stood at their desks with their hands clasped and their eyes fixed on the ground. Maybe they were trying not to laugh, but I don't think so. The atmosphere was very solemn and it felt like a proper funeral. Daisuke-kun was pale when his turn came to go up, but he did it, and he offered his flower and bowed deeply, and I almost felt proud of him, which I know sounds kind of perverse but I think maybe you get a little fond of the people you've tortured and whose future you've owned.

The whole time they were doing this, Ugawa Sensei was chanting a Buddhist hymn. I didn't recognize it at the time because I grew up in Sunnyvale and didn't have much exposure yet to the Buddhist tradition, but later on, when I heard it again at my old Jiko's temple, I asked her about it. She told me it's called the Maka Hanya Haramita Shingyo, which means something like the Great Most Excellent Wisdom Heart Sutra. The only part I remember goes like this:

Shiki fu i ku, ku fu i shiki.

It's pretty abstract. Old Jiko tried to explain it to me, and I don't know if I understood it correctly or not, but I think it means that nothing in the world is solid or real, because nothing is permanent, and all things- including trees and animals and pebbles and mountains and rivers and even me and you- are just kind of flowing through for the time being. I think that's true, and it's very reassuring, and I just wish I'd understood that at my funeral when Ugawa Sensei was chanting because it would have been a great comfort to me, but of course I didn't because these sutras are in an old-fashioned language that nobody understands anymore, unless you're like Jiko and it's your job. But actually it doesn't really matter because even if you can't exactly understand the words, you know they are beautiful and profound, and Ugawa Sensei's voice, which was usually so mumbly and unpleasant, was suddenly soft and sad and gentle, and he was chanting with feeling, like he really meant it. When he walked up to my desk to offer me a flower, the look on his face made me want to cry because it was so twisted up and full of his own particular sorrow. A couple of times I actually did cry – like when I saw my portrait hung with the black and white funeral ribbons, and when I saw how respectful my classmates were being to me, with their bowed heads and their paper flowers. They must have all gotten together in clubs after school to make those flowers and decorate my picture. They were so serious and dignified I almost loved them.

(Ozeki, 2013)

It is really very fortunate that Nao can find solace in her great-grandmother's witticisms when her misery and despair reach the climax; old Jiko's teachings are definitely met with great enthusiasm and receptiveness as company in distress makes trouble less.

It is equally true that *nisi pe te sapias, frustra sapientem audias*[17]. Consequently, being a gifted person, somebody capable to tell the good from the bad, Nao eventually succeeds in siding with a 104-year-old Zen Buddhist nun.

My old Jiko says that everything happens because of your karma which is a kind of subtle energy that you cause by the stuff you do or say or even just think, which means

> you have to watch yourself and not think too many perverted thoughts or they'll come back and bite you. And not just in this lifetime, either, but in all your lifetimes going way back in your past and into your future. So maybe it's just my dad's karma to end up on a park bench feeding crows in this lifetime, and really you can't blame him for causing a human incident and wanting to move along to the next lifetime pretty quick. Anyway, Jiko says that as long as you keep trying to be a good person and making an effort to change, then finally one day all the good stuff you do will cancel out all the bad stuff that you've done, and you can become enlightened[18] and hop on that elevator and never come back-unless, as I said, you're like Jiko and you've taken a vow not to ride on the elevator until everyone else gets on first. That's the great thing about my great granny. You can really count on her. She might be a hundred and four and say some pretty wacky things, but my old Jiko is totally dependable.
>
> (Ozeki, 2013)

3. Conclusion

Despite the fact that in Nao's life, apparently there is always a thunder in the air to the point that she becomes reluctant to stay alive, convincing herself that her family doesn't stand a chance to happiness anymore, Ruth Ozeki takes readers by surprise, choosing a denouement that, fortunately, proves pessimists wrong:

> " 生 . *Sei*[19]. *Ikiru*[20]. To live. […] To live now, to live for the present."

To live no matter what, to fight your way through life, and never give up might sound like old Jiko's last gift, last grain of sense, the treasure she wanted to entrust to her dear family, with her dying breath.

NOTES

[1] <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Latin_phrases_(V)>: Vanity of vanities, everything is vanity.

[2] <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/taedium%20vitae>: Weariness or loathing of life.

[3] <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/modus+vivendi?show=0&t=1410357762>: A manner of living, a way of life.

[4] <http://www.powells.com/blog/interviews/ruth-ozeki-bearing-witness-by-dave/>.

[5] <http://www.ruthozeki.com/weblog/?category=Random+Thoughts>.

[6] <http://www.npr.org/2013/03/17/174215667/tsunami-delivers-a-young-diarists-tale-of-bullying-and-depression>.

[7] <http://www.ruthozeki.com/about/long-bio/>:

Ruth Ozeki is a novelist filmmaker and Zen Buddhist priest, whose award-winning novels have been described as "witty, intelligent and passionate" by the Independent, and as possessing "shrewd and playful humor, luscious sexiness and kinetic pizzazz" by the Chicago Tribune.

The daughter of a Japanese mother and a Caucasian –American father, she was born and raised in New Haven, Connecticut. She attended Smith College and graduated with

degrees in English Literature and Asian Studies. She received a Japanese Ministry of Education Fellowship to pursue graduate work in classical Japanese literature at Nara Women's University. During her years in Japan, she worked in Kyoto's entertainment or "water" district as a bar hostess, studied Noh drama and mask carving, founded a language school, and taught on the faculty of Kyoto Sangyo University.

In 1985, Ozeki returned to New York City and started a film career as an art director, designing sets and props for low-budget horror movies, including little- known classics such as *Mutant Hunt, Breeders, Necropolis* and *Robot Holocaust.* She then switched to television production, directing documentaries for Japanese TV.

In 1994, she started making her own films. *Body of Correspondence* (1994) won the New Visions Award at the San Francisco Film Festival and was broadcast on PBS. *Halving the Bones* (1995), an award-winning autobiographical film, was screened at the Sundance Film Festival, the Museum of Modern Art, the Montreal World Film Festival and the Margaret Mead Film Festival, among others. Ozeki's films are shown at universities, museums and arts venues internationally.

Her first novel, *My Year of Meats*, was published in 1998 by Viking Penguin and has garnered widespread glowing reviews, awards, and a still-growing readership. A sexy, poignant, funny tale about global meat and media production, *My Year of Meats* tells the story of Jane and Akiko, two women on opposite sides of the planet, whose lives are connected by a TV cooking show. Selected as a New York Times Notable Book, *My Year of Meats* was an international success, translated into eleven languages and published in fourteen countries. It won the Kiriyama Pacific Rim Award, the Imus/ Barnes and Noble American Book Award, and a Special Jury Prize of the World Cookbook Awards in Versailles.

According to Michael Pollan, author of *The Omnivore's Dilemma*, "Ruth Ozeki is bent on taking the novel into corners of American culture no one else has thought to look-but where she finds us in all our transcultural and technological weirdness."

Ozeki's second novel, *All Over Creation* (Viking Penguin, 2003) shifts the focus from meat to potatoes in a story of a family farmer, his prodigal daughter, an itinerant gang of environmental activists and a New Age corporate spin doctor, whose lives and interests collide in Liberty Falls, Idaho. In a starred review, Kirkus called this cast of characters "most fully realized and heart-wrenching in their imperfect yearnings," and declared *All Over Creation*, "a feast for mind and heart." Again a New York Times Notable Book, *All Over Creation* is the recipient of a 2004 American Book Award from the Before Columbus Foundation, as well as the Willa Literary Award for Contemporary Fiction.

Her most recent novel, *A Tale for the Time Being*, has been shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize and will be published in twenty-two countries. It tells the story of a mysterious diary, which washes up on a beach on the Pacific Northwest coast of Canada, in the wake of the 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami. The diary, written by a troubled schoolgirl in Tokyo, is discovered by a novelist named Ruth, who becomes obsessed with discovering the fate of the girl. The New York Times described it as an "intricate parable of a novel" which leads the reader "to contemplate the porous membrane that separates fact from fiction, self from circumstance, past from present." In a starred review, Kirkus called it, "A masterpiece, pure and simple."

In 2006, Ozeki received an honorary doctorate from Smith College. She has been a contributor to the New York Times op-ed page, and her essays and short fiction have appeared in a number of anthologies. She frequently speaks at colleges and universities.

A longtime meditator, Ozeki was ordained as a Soto Zen priest in 2010 by her friend and teacher, Zoketsu Norman Fischer, with whom she continues to study.

[8] <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zazenhttp://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zazen>:

In Zen Buddhism, zazen (literally "seated meditation") is a meditative discipline practitioners perform to calm the body and the mind, and be able to concentrate enough to experience insight into the nature of existence and, thereby, gain enlightenment.

Zazen is considered the heart of Zen Buddhist practice. The aim of *zazen* is just sitting, that is, suspending all judgmental thinking and letting words, ideas, images and thoughts pass by without getting involved in them.

In Zen temples and monasteries, practitioners traditionally sit *zazen* as a group in a meditation hall, usually referred to as *the zendo.*

The practitioner sits on a cushion called *a zafu*, which itself is usually placed on top of a low, flat mat called *a zabuton.*

Before taking one's seat, and after rising at the end of the period of zazen, a Zen practitioner performs a gassho bow to their seat, and a second bow to fellow practitioners.

<http://scbs.stanford.edu/sztp3/translations/shobogenzo/translations/zazengi/za-zengi.translation.html>:

Studying Zen is *zazen*. For *zazen*, one should have a quiet place. Spread a thick sitting mat. Do not let in drafts or vapors; do not admit rain or dew. You should secure and maintain the spot where you place yourself. There are traces from the past of those who sat on a *vajra* [seat] or sat on a rock; they all spread a thick layer of grass to sit on. The place where you sit should be bright; it should not be dark either day or night. The technique is to keep it warm in winter and cool in summer.

Cast aside all involvements and discontinue the myriad affairs. Good is not thought of; evil is not thought of. It is not mind, intellect or consciousness; it is not thoughts, ideas or perceptions. Do not figure to make a Buddha; slough off sitting or reclining.

You should be moderate in food and drink. Hold dear the passing days and nights, and take to *zazen* as though brushing a fire from your head.

[…] Sitting fixedly, think of not thinking. How do you think of not thinking? Nonthinking. This is the art of zazen.

<http://zmm.mro.org/teachings/meditation-instructions/>:

In *zazen*, we focus on the breath. Breath is the vital force; it's the central activity of our bodies. Mind and breath are one reality: when your mind is agitated, your breath is agitated; when you're nervous, you breathe quickly and shallowly; when your mind is at rest, the breath is deep, easy, and effortless. It is important to center your attention in *the hara*. *The hara* is a place within the body, located two inches below the navel, inside the body. It's the physical and spiritual center of the body. In *zazen*, you will begin to develop a relationship with *the hara.* You will practice putting your attention there; putting your mind there. As you develop your *zazen*, you'll become more aware of *the hara* as the center of your attentiveness.

Practicing the breath

Begin rocking the body back and forth, slowly, in decreasing arcs, until you settle at your center of gravity. The mind is in *the hara*, hands are folded in the cosmic *mudra*, mouth is closed, tongue pressed on the upper palate. You're breathing through the nose and you're completely experiencing the breath. Keep your attention on *the hara* and the breath.

We begin to steady and stabilize the mind by counting the breath. We practice by counting each inhalation and each exhalation, beginning with one and counting up to ten. Inhale-at the end of the inhalation, count one. Exhale- at the end of the exhalation, count

two. When you get to ten, come back to one and start all over. The only agreement that you make with yourself in this process is that if your mind begins to wander- if you become aware that what you're doing is chasing thoughts- you will look at the thought, acknowledge it, and then deliberately and consciously let it go and begin the count again at one.

The counting is a feedback to help you know when your mind has drifted off. Each time you return to the breath you are empowering yourself with the ability to put your mind where you want it, when you want it there, for as long as you want it there. That simple fact is extremely important. We call this power of concentration *joriki,* or spiritual power.

When you've been practicing counting the breath for a while, your awareness will sharpen. You'll begin to notice things that were always there but escaped your attention. Because of the preoccupation with the internal dialogue, you were too full to be able to see what was happening around you. The process of *zazen* begins to open that up.

When you're able to stay with the counting and repeatedly get to ten without any effort and without thoughts interfering, it's time to begin counting every cycle of the breath. Inhalation and exhalation will count as one, the next inhalation and exhalation as two. This provides less feedback, but with time, you will need less feedback.

Eventually, you'll want to just follow the breath and abandon the counting altogether. Just be with the breath! Just be the breath! Let the breath breathe itself! That's the beginning of the falling away of body and mind. It takes some time and you shouldn't rush it; you shouldn't move too fast from counting every breath to counting every other breath and on to following the breath. If you move ahead prematurely, you'll end up not developing strong *joriki*. And it's that power of concentration that ultimately leads you to what we call *samadhi*, or single-pointedness of mind.

In the process of working with the breath, the thoughts that come up, for the most part, will be just noise, just random thoughts. Sometimes, however, when you're in a crisis or involved in something important in your life, you'll find that the thought, when you let it go, will recur. You let it go again but it comes back, you let it go and it still comes back. Sometimes that needs to happen. Don't treat that as a failure; treat it as another way of practicing. This is the time to let the thought happen, engage it, let it run its full course. But watch it, be aware of it. Allow it to do what it's got to do, let it exhaust itself. Then release it, let it go. Come back again to the breath. Start at one and continue the process. Don't use *zazen* to suppress thoughts or issues that need to come up.

Scattered mental activity and energy keep us separated from each other, from our environment, and from ourselves. In the process of sitting, the surface activity of our minds begins to slow down. The mind is like the surface of a pond- when the wind is blowing, the surface is disturbed and there are ripples. Nothing can be seen clearly because of the ripples; the reflected image of the sun or the moon is broken up into many fragments.

Out of that stillness, our whole life arises. If we don't get in touch with it at some time in our life, we will never get the opportunity to come to a point of rest. In deep *zazen*, deep *samadhi*, a person breathes at a rate of only two or three breaths a minute. Normally, at rest, a person will breathe about fifteen breaths a minute- even when we're relaxing, we don't quite relax. The more completely your mind is at rest, the more deeply your body is at rest. Respiration, heart rate, circulation, and metabolism slow down in deep *zazen*. The whole body comes to a point of stillness that it doesn't reach even in deep sleep.

This is a very important and very natural aspect of being human. It is not something particularly unusual. All creatures on Earth have learned this and practice it. It's a very important part of being alive and staying alive: the ability to be completely awake.

It is also important to be patient and persistent, to not be constantly thinking of a goal, of how the sitting practice may help us. We just put ourselves into it and let go of our thoughts, opinions, positions - everything our minds hold onto. The human mind is basically free, not clinging. In *zazen*, we learn to uncover that mind, to see who we really are.

[9]<http://books.google.ro/books?id=lsItpf9T9qAC&printsec=frontcover&dq=a+tale+for+ the+time+being&hl=en&sa=X&ei=mSE9U8-Ncv_ygO0koCADw&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q= a%20tale%20for%20the%20time%20being&f=false: *A Tale for the Time Being* by Ruth Ozeki, 2013

[10] <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Bosatsu>: (Buddhism) A divine being, worthy of Nirvana who remains on the human plane to help men to salvation. A Buddhist who has attained *prajna*, or Enlightenment, but who postpones Nirvana in order to help others to attain Enlightenment. Japanese, rōmaji: *bosatsu.*

[11] <http://latin-phrases.co.uk/dictionary/e/>: Without preparation.

[12] <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suicide_in_Japan>:

Suicide in Japan has become a significant national social issue. Japan has a relatively high suicide rate, but the number of suicides is declining and has been under 30,000 for 3 consecutive years. 71% of suicides in Japan were male, and it is the leading cause of death in men aged 20-44.

Factors in suicide include unemployment (due to the economic recession in the 1990s), depression, and social pressures. In 2007, the National Police Agency revised the categorization of motives for suicide into a division of 50 reasons with up to three reasons listed for each suicide. Suicides traced to losing jobs surged 65.3 percent, while those attributed to hardships in life increased 34.3 percent. Depression remained at the top of the list for the third year in a row, rising 7.1 percent from the previous year.

In Japanese culture, there is a long history of honorable suicide, such as ritual suicide by samurai. There has been a rapid increase in suicides since the 1990s. For example, 1998 saw a 34.7% increase over the previous year. This has prompted the Japanese government to react by increasing funding to treat the causes of suicide and those recovering from failed suicides.

The most frequent location for suicides is in Aokigahara, a forested area at the base of Mount Fuji. In the period leading up to 1988, about 30 suicides occurred there every year. In 1999, 74 occurred, the record until 2002 when 78 suicides were found. That record was eclipsed the following year, when 105 bodies were found in 2003, and again in 2004 when 108 people killed themselves there. The area is patrolled by police looking for suicides, and altogether police records show that 247 people made suicide attempts in the forest in 2010- 54 of them successfully.

Railroad tracks are also a common place for suicide, and the Chūō Rapid Line is particularly known for a high number.

Historically, Japan has been a male-dominated (patriarchal) society with strong family ties and correlating social expectations; however, the bursting of the bubble which brought about the death of the "jobs-for-life" culture has left these heads of families unexpectedly struggling with job insecurity or the stigma of unemployment. Japan's economy, the world's third –largest, experienced its worst recession since World War II in early 2009, propelling the nation's jobless rate to a record high of 5.7 percent in July 2009. The unemployed accounted for 57 percent of all suicides, the highest rate of any other occupation group. As a result of job losses, social inequality has also increased which has been shown in studies to have affected the suicide rates in Japan, proportionately more than in other countries.

A contributing factor to the suicide statistics among those who were employed was the increasing pressure of retaining jobs by putting in more hours of overtime and taking

fewer holidays and sick days. According to government figures, "fatigue from work" and health problems, including work-related depression, were prime motives for suicides, adversely affecting the social wellbeing of salary men and accounting for 47 percent of the suicides in 2008. Out of 2,207 work-related suicides in 2007, the most common reason (672 suicides) was overwork.

Japanese society's attitude toward suicide has been termed "tolerant", and in many occasions, suicide is seen as a morally responsible action. Public discussion of the high rate of suicide also focuses on blaming the economic hardship faced by middle-aged men. During Japan's imperial years, suicide was common within the military. This included suicide when a battle was lost. The samurai way of glory was through death, and ritual suicide was seen as something honorable.

The cultural heritage of suicide as a noble tradition still has some resonance.

In 2007, the government released a nine-step plan, a "counter-suicide White Paper", which it hopes will curb suicide by 20% by 2017. The goal of the White Paper is to encourage investigation of the root causes of suicide in order to prevent it, change cultural attitudes toward suicide, and improve treatment of unsuccessful suicides. In 2009, the Japanese government committed 15.8 billion yen towards suicide prevention strategies.

Japan has allotted 12.4 billion yen ($133 million) in suicide prevention assets for the 2010 fiscal year ending March 2011, with plans to fund public counseling for those with overwhelming debts and those who need treatment for depression.

Amid the overall increase in self-inflicted death for 2009, the government claims there have been encouraging signs since September. The Cabinet Office said the number of monthly suicides declined year-on-year between September 2009 and April 2010. According to preliminary figures, compiled by the NPA, the number of suicides fell 9.0 percent from the year before.

13 <http://www.uwegielen.com/Bullying%20and%20Ijime%20in%20Japanese%20Schools%20A%20Sociocultural%20Perspective.pdf>

The students spend numerous hours together in a work-oriented environment. Thus, Japanese society became extremely concerned about school bullying in the 1980s not because Japanese schools were especially violent in nature, but precisely because the more extreme bullying incidents stood out in an otherwise achievement driven, highly structured, conformist, demanding, and often stressful environment.

As a matter of fact, bullying began to increase at an alarming rate even as school violence in general decreased in the early 1980s. From 1982 to 1986, acts of school violence decreased from 4, 315 to 2,801 incidents, although they have increased considerably in recent years (The Japan Times Online, 2001; The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, 1999, 2000). Bullying in schools was recognized by scholars and others as a distinct category of problematic behaviors, which needed to be distinguished from other types of school violence.

The corresponding Japanese word for bullying is *Ijime.* It is a term rather frequently used in everyday speech both for certain school situations and for other forms of "mobbing" in work situations or elsewhere. According to Kojien, one of the reliable Japanese dictionaries, the Japanese word, *Ijimeru* (verb of *Ijime*) is described as "to treat a weak person(s) harshly." Other dictionaries use translations such as: "to be cruel to, to tease, to annoy, to bully."

The prototype of *Ijime* involves bullying in order to gain some sort of advantage over others, who are handicapped and stigmatized in terms of their physical characteristics, social class background, meek personality, and so on.

It should be added that the term *Ijime* tends to have a feminine ring to many Japanese ears, pointing as it does to the more indirect styles of aggression. These include strategies designed to isolate a person socially, teasing the person in a destructive way, spreading rumors and slandering victims, whispering behind a person's back, introducing subtle innuendoes, ganging up on a person, and in general, the not so gentle arts of social manipulation and intimidation. In the American psychology literature, such strategies are often referred to as relational rather than physical aggression.

Ijime is a conspicuous and widely discussed phenomenon, although Japanese schools are not generally violent places. At the same time, discussions of *Ijime* strike a special nerve among many Japanese commentators, because they readily recognize it as a difficult-to-avoid and "dark" collectivistic phenomenon, frequently shrouded in secrecy. It represents the unattractive underside of a group-oriented, pressured, conformity demanding, highly regulated, but also rapidly changing society.

Many victims remain quiet about their difficult lives and neither parents nor teachers or school principals are likely to understand the full extent of bullying at the schools. The victims may believe that bullying is their own responsibility and they should endure it, they should not "bother" others with their problems; their teachers are unable or unwilling to help them, and telling authority figures about the bullying situation may only lead to further bullying incidents rather than their disappearance. In other words, some victims may fear acts of revenge by their classmates and so-called friends.

[14] *Iyada! Gaijin kusai!:* How disgusting! She smells like a foreigner!

[15] *Bimbo kusai!:* She smells like a pauper!

[16] <http://www.uwegielen.com/Bullying%20and%20Ijime%20in%20Japanese%20Schools % 20 A%20Sociocultural%20Perspective.pdf>

A highly dramatic and widely publicized case of school bullying occurred in 1986 in a junior high school, located in Tokyo: a 13-year-old student hanged himself and left a despairing suicide note, accusing several boys of having created a living hell for him. *In one instance, when he came to* school, he found that the Ijime group leaders had placed his desk in front of the class and arranged a mock funeral including burning incense, his photograph, flowers, and a condolence card that had been signed by most of his classmates and some other boys together with his homeroom teacher and three other teachers. Through this arrangement, he was made to understand that in the eyes of his classmates and some of his teachers, he was somehow a failure as a human being.

[17] <http://en.allexperts.com/q/Ancient-Languages-2210/2012/12/pupilius-syrus-maxim-571.htm>: Unless you grow wise yourself, you will listen in vain to the wise.

[18] <http://www.iep.utm.edu/mencius/>:

Better known in China as "Master Meng" (Chinese: *Mengzi*), Mencius was a fourth-century BCE Chinese thinker whose importance in the Confucian tradition is second only to that of Confucius himself. In many ways, he played the role of St. Paul to Confucius' Jesus, interpreting the thought of the master for subsequent ages while simultaneously impressing Confucius' ideas with his own philosophical stamp. He is most famous for his theory of human nature, according to which all human beings share an innate goodness that either can be cultivated through education and self-discipline or squandered through neglect and negative influences, but never lost altogether.

Mencius remains a perennially attractive figure for those intrigued by moral psychology, of which he was the foremost practitioner in early China.

Mencius inherits from Confucius a set of terms and a series of problems. In general, one can say that where Confucius saw a unity of inner and outer in terms of *li* (ritual propriety), *ren* (co-humanity), and the *junzi* (profound person) - *xiaoren* (small person)

distinction – Mencius tends to privilege the inner aspects of concepts, practices, and identities. For Mencius, the locus of philosophical activity and self-cultivation is the *xin (shin)*, a term that denotes both the chief organ of the circulatory system and the organ of thought, and hence is translated here and in many other sources as "heart-mind." Mencius' views of the divine, political organization, human nature, and the path toward personal development all start and end in the heart-mind.

A heart-mind that sympathizes is the sprout of co-humanity [ren]; a heart-mind that is aware of shame is the sprout of rightness [yi]; a heart-mind that defers to others is the sprout of ritual propriety [li]; a heart-mind that approves and condemns is the sprout of wisdom [zhi]…If anyone having the four sprouts within himself knows how to develop them to the full, it is like fire catching alight, or a spring as it first bursts through. If able to develop them, he is able to protect the entire world; if unable, he is unable to serve even his parents.

The primary function of Mencius' moral psychology is to explain how moral failure is possible and how it can be avoided. As Antonio S. Cua has noted, for Mencius, moral failure is the failure to develop one's *xin* (heart-mind). In order to account for the moral mechanics of the *xin*, Mencius offers a quasi-physiological theory involving *qi* (vital energy) – "a hard thing to speak about", part vapor, part fluid, found in the atmosphere and in the human body that regulates affective-cognitive processes as well as one's general well-being. It is especially abundant outdoors at night and in the early morning, which is why taking fresh air at these times can act as a physical and spiritual tonic. When Mencius is asked about his personal strengths, he says: *I know how to speak, and I am good at nourishing my flood-like* qi.

[19] <http://www.jp41.com/kanji/sei.html>: *life, birth.*

[20] <http://japanese.about.com/od/wordoftheday/p/word31.htm>: *to live; to be alive; to exist.*

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Buddhist Detachment: Failure Turned into Success

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the analysis of the Trilogy from the perspective of Buddhist teachings. It argues that all the instances of failure described in the previous chapters have an echo in Buddhism through the prevailing concept of suffering seen as purification. The Buddhist concepts discussed concentrate on the representation of the Four Noble Truths as a method of explaining the narrators' failed life, rebirth as a way to attain liberation from an oppressive body, and the detachment of the mind from all conceptual models of thinking. The narrators' isolation and impossibility of movement are given meditative connotations, which allow a natural path towards enlightenment. Their failure to live is thus ennobled by their spiritual arrival at a superior level where everything they experiment is in a sense a form of mental progress. The epistemology of failure in the Trilogy welcomes the opportunity for deep insight into aesthetics rich in philosophical, linguistic and religious aspects. This study offers a contribution to the idea that Samuel Beckett's Trilogy is a resourceful literary creation which paradoxically succeeds in achieving success through a complex approach to the theme of failure.

KEYWORDS*: Budhhism, humanism, suffering, spiritual detachment, liberation, success*

In Buddhist teachings (Eliade, 2007: 93) every failed or spiritually lost life on earth may be turned into a serene existence through immobility and meditation. Suffering is a purifying phase in the search for enlightenment (and thus success). Molloy, Malone and the Unnamable undergo complex instances of physical, psychical and existential suffering, which lead them to salvation. Buddhist detachment saves them through isolation and the impossibility of bodily movement. Their texts can be considered meditations meant to help them redefine themselves and their lives. In its quality as the central theme of the Trilogy, failure is the only path which can lead them towards success through detachment and an intermediate and compulsory step towards Beckett's success.

According to Paul Davies (2000: 54), Beckett's work is associated with Buddhism in the sense that it approaches the theme of the end of humanism seen in the disposal of humanist norms. Beckett focuses his work on the detachment from fear, desires, pleasures and hope in an attempt to avoid his characters' suffering, outlining thus the primary insights of Buddhism. Davies also affirms that there is no doubt of the fact that Beckett could perceive Buddhist teachings in depth and could understand and feel its inner aspects:

> The Buddhist is likely to say of Beckett and of many other writers and artists, they have seen what is simply the case. They do not need to have had the imprimatur of the Buddha to do so, any more than the contemporary artist needs the permission of Derrida or Lyotard to contemplate the shards of ideological historicism. The sky, the space of perception, is wider than that.

The Trilogy can be read under the interpretation of the Buddhist Four Noble Truths, with a complex input on detachment as a means of salvation. Mircea Eliade (1986: 91) offers a clear view about the Four Noble Truths, stating that they represent the pure essence in Buddhist teachings. They were first mentioned by Buddha during his experience of enlightenment and they all relate to suffering – its nature, origin, cessation and the path leading to cessation.

The Four Noble Truths deal with the concept of suffering or pain. For the Buddhist, the world dominated by ignorance is full of suffering. Human experience, be it of any nature, causes suffering.

> Suffering, as a noble truth, is this: Birth is suffering, aging is suffering, sickness is suffering, death is suffering, sorrow and lamentation, pain, grief and despair are suffering; association with the loathed is suffering, dissociation from the loved is suffering, not to get what one wants is suffering — in short, suffering is the five categories of clinging objects
>
> (Ñanamoli, 1993: 186)

The body means suffering because it is the place suffering resides in; senses, objects and perceptions mean suffering because they lead to suffering; the pleasure itself means suffering because it is followed by suffering Thus, man's life in his body, whenever it is attacked by desires and passions, means suffering.

David Pattie (2000: 108) mentions Arthur Schopenhauer's pervasive influence on Samuel Beckett's writings. For Schopenhauer, he says, *"to exist was to suffer, the only course for the suffering individual was to deny his or her will to life (the blind striving force that united the body with the rest of the world)."* As it can be seen, Samuel Beckett could have taken part of the Buddhist interpretations of life from Arthur Schopenhauer as he knew the concepts of Buddhism and applied them widely in his philosophy.

Gottfried Büttner (2002: 115-117) also points out Schopenhauer's influence on Beckett's thinking and his literary creations:

> Schopenhauer's pessimism was very close to Beckett's own, and he was to heed the three ways of enduring the misery of existence that Schopenhauer recommended: art, or aesthetic contemplation, compassion, and resignation. /… / Resignation, for Schopenhauer, consisted in the denial of the will-to-live that it is the role of tragedy to evoke: At the moment of the tragic catastrophe, we become convinced more clearly than ever that life is a bad dream from which we have to awake. To this extent, the effect of tragedy /.../ is the dawning of the knowledge that the world and life can afford us no true satisfaction, and are therefore not worth our attachment to them. In this the tragic spirit consists; accordingly it leads to resignation. /… / Complete resignation

> could lead to the wish to finish one's life, but whereas Beckett's protagonists often reflect on suicide as a way of ending their suffering /… / they never follow through.

Buddhism encourages the complete detachment from everything and everybody who might produce suffering through their imminent presence in people's lives. Through Schopenhauer, Beckett embraces a similar idea in the Trilogy and chooses to consider that the only solution for the narrators' liberation from failure is their full abandon in the detachment from everything which is not worth our attachment to them. One by one, Molloy, Moran, Malone and the Unnamable abandon the reality they create for their texts and reach a superior sphere –the 'enlightenment' spoken of by the Buddhists –, where there is no failed existence or suffering, but complex understanding leading to successful life cycles.

Samuel Beckett allowed his pessimistic thinking to be carefully transmitted to the four narrators of the Trilogy and to carefully drive them towards enlightenment by an intricate developing of the theme of suffering and its effects.

Molloy's judgement also starts from the idea that the single fact of being in the world means suffering. As a man, Molloy undergoes a complex state of suffering which comes as a result of low esteem and negative judgement. He feels obliged to write an account of his most recent, unsuccessful attempt to find his mother. His writing evolves under a sense of obligation without being aware why the obligation exists. Although Molloy definitely knows he does not work for money, he is also in complete unawareness of the motif which compels him to write. Neither does he know for what he works. He continues his striving activity although he strongly despises writing and experiences the deep suffering it brings to him. Molloy results in a solitary invalid who finds writing compulsive because it is dictated by an inner voice.

If Molloy's reasons for suffering are to be analysed, it will be obvious that they are simply the results of his mental torments. He continuously tries to redefine himself as a human being through great use of memory. As he remembers fragments of his life, he struggles to put them down not in a rational manner, but rather in a way which to be able to transmit his physical and mental limitation.

In his suffering, Molloy longs for salvation and, to attain this goal, he turns towards the principal idols to which human beings have looked for protection and guidance in the successive phases of their history. In *Molloy*, part one, this role is assumed by the figure of the mother and the various women who minister to Molloy's needs in the course of his journey. In part two, these maternal figures are replaced by Youdi and other male authority figures, including Father Ambrose, who embody the rule of paternal law. The detachment from suffering may result here in the ultimate search for initial origins.

The nature of Molloy's passions is transformed into incomplete stories, which may symbolize the product of his mind in search for a hidden wish to understand life and the suffering it causes: *"The words engraved themselves for ever in my memory, perhaps because I understood them at once, a thing I didn't often do"* (*Molloy*, 49). Nevertheless, the ultimate detachment for Molloy comes in a moment when suffering could have been expected to appear as a natural cause of events. At the recall of his first love's death, he simply says: *"the indifference with which I learnt of her*

death /… / an indifference softened indeed by the pain of losing a source of revenue" (*Molloy*, 58).

This interpretation is also suited for Malone, as he is even closer to the full suffering of agony, and for the Unnamable, who resides in a special world mainly characterized by inconsistence and pain.

> I don't feel very well, perhaps I'm going, that would surprise me. It is a passing weakness, everyone has experienced that. One weakness, then it passes, one's strength comes back and one resumes. That is probably what is happening to me.
>
> (*Malone Dies*, 252)

In Buddhist teachings, people are told that their attachment to both objects and other human beings leads to profound suffering. Both Molloy and Malone are deeply attached to their possessions, which come to occupy a central part in their texts. Only when they succeed in leaving them aside can spiritual detachment intervene in their minds. After having written their inventories, Molloy and Malone seem to have entered a sphere of detachment from their surrounding objects.

Thus, the analysis of these examples from the three novels of the Trilogy under the light of the Four Noble Truths leads to the following ideas based on Buddhist interpretations: the existence in this world is a great and painful illusion; the attachment to objects and, consequently, people's desires constitute the cause of all pains and suffering; pains and suffering caused by desires and the illusion of an existence may be stopped through meditation and enlightenment; enlightenment is tangible through absolute detachment and renouncement of all wishes.

Suffering has widely been classified in various categories, but there are three groups, which best define the precise type of suffering existent in the Trilogy. The first is represented by physical suffering, including disease and death. Beckett exemplifies this idea in the episode when Moran suffers from local paralysis and, at the same time, he wishfully contemplates the pleasures of total paralysis:

> Such are the advantages of a local and painless paralysis. And it would not surprise me if the great classical paralyses were to offer analogous and perhaps even still more unspeakable satisfactions. To be literary incapable of motion at last, that must be something.
>
> (*Molloy*, 140)

Molloy's physical disabilities are also increased to such an extent that he is gradually reduced to crawling: "But he who moves in this way, crawling on his belly, like a reptile, no sooner comes to rest, and even the very movement is a kind of rest, compared to other movements, I mean those that have worn me out" (*Molloy*, 90).

Molloy and Malone both suffer physical pains; this is the reason why they are compelled to remain in bed, writing while waiting to die.

> Now my sick leg, I forgot which, it's immaterial here, was in a condition neither to dig, because it was rigid, nor alone to support me, because it would have collapsed. (*Molloy*, 35)

The second type is represented by psychical suffering, including all failures and disappointments in one's life. The narrators in the Trilogy can easily be included in this category, as they all undergo mental failure and incapacity of adjustment to a normal life. They even create failed lives for their characters and place them in a world of profound mental suffering. They often feel sad, lonely and depressed when they become aware of the fact that they are unable to satisfy their needs by themselves.

Molloy and Moran use writing as a way to recreate their mental sanity and to understand their mission in the world. Malone, on the contrary, needs to create his own world so that he might understand the rules and principles that govern it. He hopes to reframe in this way that mental perception of the real world he lives in and transform it into another, which to make him able to grasp the true nature of things. Nevertheless, his plan also implies a mental suffering: "But perhaps I shall not succeed any better than hitherto. Perhaps as hitherto I shall find myself abandoned, in the dark, without anything to play with" (*Malone Dies*, 180).

The Unnamable's psychical suffering is outlined by his necessity to go on with his continuous mental divagations in search of a non-existent self. The dialogue between the Unnamable "I" and his overwhelming tyrants displays the conception of a realm in which suffering is the norm. The torment felt by the Unnamable is described in terms of confusing scenes which fail to express complete ideas about psychical suffering, the centre feeling of the text. Neither the Unnamable, nor his characters are given the chance to avoid this type of suffering and furthermore, it is increased as time goes by and gradually affects the characters:

> As long as he suffers there's hope, even though they need none, to make him suffer. But how can they know he suffers? Do they see him? They say they do. But it's impossible. Hear him? Certainly not. He makes no noise /… / But suppose, instead of suffering less, as time flies, he continues to suffer as much, precisely, as the first day. That must be possible. And but suppose, instead of suffering less than the first day, or no less, he suffers more and more, as time flies, and the metamorphosis is accomplished, of unchangeable future into unchangeable past.
>
> (*The Unnamable*, 367)

The third type of suffering is exemplified by the existential suffering – people are permanently conditioned by what they know and they depend on their home, friends and their own personality. They often do not dare to approach the unknown and remain at the simplistic level of routine. The unknown is largely approached by Samuel Beckett in the Trilogy in the sense that it represents a feeling of dissatisfaction. Moran frequently writes in his report that he dislikes having to leave his home and everything related to it and start a journey into the unknown in order to find Molloy: "Thus I was able to say to Gaber, Let him give this job to someone else, I don't want it, and Gaber was able to reply, He wants it to be you" (*Molloy*, 107-108).

For the Buddhist, the body is nothing more than the place where evil may reside. Consequently, liberation from this prison represented by material life is to be continuously at the centre of thoughts. This liberation is the greatest of all blessings and the most sublime goal. The body is not considered to be clean enough and thus unworthy of any kind of attachment. The body is also thought to cause the greatest

suffering and pain and to permanently keep them together with the man who cannot detach himself from his own body. For this reason, the complete liberation from pain is only possible through a thorough detachment from body.

Malone embraces the resolution of a desired detachment from his failed body. He struggles towards death as a method to empty his body, which seems to annoy him. The body is a prison that both fails to protect and to be an instrument of help. Malone moves within the sensation that he is more and more trapped inside it and he hints at the idea that a being should not need a physical form in order to exist. Spirituality is thus put above physicality, as Buddhism advises, and, with this suggestion, Beckett makes a step forward and places a slightly uniformed introduction for The *Unnamable*.

> I am far from the sounds of blood and breath immured. /…/ Cowering deep down among them, I feel nothing. It is there I die, unbeknown to my stupid flesh.
>
> (*Malone Dies*, 186)

Rebirth represents a fundamental concept for Buddhism. The complex process of death and birth resides in an interesting Buddhist explanation, which can find an echo in *Malone Dies*. Buddhists believe that what is normally accepted as 'death' represents in essence the cessation of vital functions of the body. When the physical body loses vitality, it is no longer able to sustain the current of conscience, which represents the mental part of the process. Nevertheless, as long as there is a perpetual wish to keep on existing and to hold on to life, the current of conscience does not stop once the life of the body is lost. Driven by the desire to preserve its existence, it bursts out again under the shape of a new physical body, one that has just been born. Thus, rebirth takes place immediately after death (Coomaraswamy, 2006: 113-114).

As a human being, Malone denies himself the possibility of spiritually accepting his existent condition and begins to acknowledge the possibility to acquire a new and better existence after the present one is totally finished. Beckett's character would, if given a choice, opt for death, which in Malone's case could be considered synonymous with peaceful sleep and to rest at long last. Birth and death, despite being opposites, are both physically painful experiences. Still living, Malone mentally experiences his presence in his mother's womb, visualizing and feeling his own birth in the context of his room. Through the description of Malone's death, which literally becomes a birth into death, Beckett suggests that people die completing the process of returning to the initial space the way they came into this life. Malone feels that he is swelling, that he is about to burst:

> The ceiling rises and falls, rises and falls, rhythmically, as when I was a foetus. Also to be mentioned a great rise of rushing water, phenomenon mutatis mutandis perhaps analogue to that of the mirage, in the desert. The window. I shall not see it again. Why? Because, to my grief, I cannot turn my head. Leaden light again, thick, eddying, riddled with little tunnels through to brightness, perhaps I should say air, sucking air. All is ready. Except me. I am being given, if I may venture the expression, birth into

> death, such is my impression. The feet are clear already, of the great cunt of existence. Favourable presentation I trust. My head will be the last to die. Haul in your hands. I can't. The render rent. My story ended I'll be living yet. Promising lag. That is the end of me. I shall say no more.
>
> (*Malone Dies*, 283)

For Malone, however, death is an easy way out, since it provides tranquillity from the burdens of life. So both life and its cause, birth, are painful in a way that death is not. Birth is the beginning and the end. It is the beginning of pain and the end of peace. On a different level, Malone might assume his earthly death as a new beginning, as a clear-stated new birth. He is somehow suspended between the life he hardly can live in this world and the life he might be able to better lead in a different sphere, after having completed his present cycle.

> Yes, an old foetus, that's what I am now, hoar and impotent, mother is done for, I've rotted her, she'll drop me with the help of gangrene, perhaps papa is at the party too, I'll land headforemost mewling in the charnel-house, not that I'll mewl, not worth it.
>
> (*Malone Dies*, 225)

As in many ideas that Malone develops and seems deeply convinced of, this idea has its opposite counterpart: "I shall never get born and therefore never get dead" (*Malone Dies*, 225). The Buddhist connotation this statement could imply leads to the concept of "dying-into-life", a possibility Malone simply speculates to spiritually exist. Malone genuinely fails to accomplish his inner desire to close the circle of life and step out of it, as physical restraints prevent it: "If I had use of my body, I would throw it out of the window" (*Malone Dies*, 218). Malone has no strength to take his own life, for he is not in control of his actions. His 'mind' and 'body' interrelation is central to an understanding of a mental wish to die, coupled with a physical inability to carry it through. This idea perfectly fits into the Cartesian fashion, where the mind gives orders which the body is unable to obey. He remains motionless with no other possibility but 'to move' his mind for his body and to reach, by the power of thought and deep psychological analysis, where his spirit desperately needs to rest.

Buddhism sees incarnation as a spiritual embodiment in flesh. It refers to the conception and birth of a human being as a material completion of an entity whose original manifestation is immaterial. In the Buddhist tradition, an incarnation is a deceased person's rebirth into a superior human being. Thought, volition and wish are very powerful during lifetime, but they become predominant feelings at death time and they condition the next birth. Buddhist teachings of the non-self imply that there is no fixed soul that occupies a body, has its determinacy within it and then, at the death of the body, moves to another one. On the contrary, Buddhist teachings sustain the fact that a soul has the need to reincarnate in order to be able to get born again and improve its existence.

Malone is experiencing the agony of incarnation, the agony of being in a body. He needs to find his way out and, in his exhaustion, he lacks physical aid and spiritual

determination to do it peacefully. The spirit of failure that surrounds this novel might also be a consequence of an unfulfilled normal process of dying. In the very first lines of the story a wide circle of Malone's agony is opened and left aside in its unpolished form while the narrator feels the need to justify the remaining time by exposing parts of his memory. He sometimes feels he is already dead and his thoughts and feelings merge randomly outside his body:

> There is naturally another possibility that does not escape me, though it would be a great disappointment to have it confirmed, and that is that I am dead already and that all continues more or less as when I was not.
>
> (*Malone Dies*, 219)

While meditating about the troubles of his self, Malone wonders whether the present world is not wholly in his mind.

> You may say it is all in my head, and indeed sometimes it seems to me I am in a head and that these eight, no, six, these six planets that enclose me are of solid bone. But thence, to conclude the head is mine, no, never.
>
> (*Malone Dies*, 221)

The origin of suffering can be identified within the wish which determines reincarnations. This deep wish is always looking for new satisfactions, such as the wish to satisfy the pleasures of senses, the wish to perpetuate and the wish to self-annihilate. The wish of self-annihilation can lead to suicide and, consequently, it is often considered to have negative influences on people. Suicide is not something unfamiliar with the Trilogy's narrators, as they often take it as a salvation from their hard life.

While wandering around the town after his encounter with Lousse, Molloy attempts unsuccessfully to commit suicide in order to end his pains. *"But the thought of suicide had little hold on me. I don't know why, I thought I did, but I see I don't"* (*Molloy*, 78). Malone also wishes to escape through suicide into a less painful existence. Unlike Molloy, however, this is not a circular novel: Malone just starts writing at a given moment and stops only when death holds his hand. It is soon made clear under what conditions he is working: *"I could die today, if I wished, merely by making a little effort. But it is just as well to let myself die, quietly, without rushing things"* (*Malone Dies*, 179). Molloy, on the other hand, was not allowed to die, having to write his text for the man who collected them. Nevertheless, Malone assumes he might be Molloy's reincarnation in the following words: *"Something must have changed. I will not weigh upon the balance any more, one way or the other. I shall be neutral and inert I shall die tepid, without enthusiasm"* (*Malone Dies*, 179).

Losing the comfort of his home and also the perspective of getting them back in a near future, Moran begins to experience the longing for death more and more intensely. As a result, the idea of suicide starts invading his mind and soul. Having built a fire one night for warmth, he thinks of the pleasures of his burning himself to death: *"and in the end, overcome with heat and weariness, I lay down on the ground near the fire and fell asleep. Perhaps a spark will set fire to my clothes and I wake a living torch"* (*Molloy*, 147).

Suicidal thoughts drive Moran towards the incapacity to accept his life and his human condition. Although he has better capacities of thought and movement than Molloy, he experiences a great dissatisfaction with their outcomes in real life. Moran is a failed man because he chooses to be so, whereas Molloy is doomed even from his birth to accept his incapacities of leading a normal life. Both Molloy and Moran undergo a process of transformation from people into mere living entities who will only accomplish something the moment they end their human existence and move to the realm of death. In order to obtain illumination, a Buddhist has to find both the detachment from the cycle of reincarnations and the detachment from his present life and the actions he has to complete in it. The present life is thus the result of the deeds done in the previous lives and at the same time it has a genuine influence on the next existence. For Malone, the present life might be a transitory way towards self-understanding as he feels detached from the outer world and from its people as if he were watching them distantly and recording their acts:

> In a word there seems to be the light of the outer world, of those who know the sun and moon emerge at such an hour and at such another plunge again below the surface, and who rely on this, and who knows that clouds are always to be expected but sooner or later always pass away, and mine. /… / The noises too, cries, steps, doors, murmurs, cease for whole days, their days.
>
> (*Malone Dies*, 221)

Malone's mental conceptualization of life makes him create a unique universe in which he is the essence backing the closure of an epoch and facing the representation of a different one. This stage might be considered his agony, the period when the soul has left the body and makes the object of the combination of the two worlds.

The Buddhist meditation implies isolation, a certain immobilization of the body, an intended discipline of thought and a careful breathing control based on a regular sequence. The next phase of meditation is represented by getting into the sphere of the subconscious and pure contemplation. The one who meditates is now fully detached from his proper senses and focuses on one of the three characteristics of existence: the impermanence, the non-ego and the pain.

The climax of the meditation presupposes the accession to a space which represents the limit between the consciousness and the unconsciousness, a kind of transcendence at the border of the ephemeral world. Nevertheless, this state of mind does not also represent the moment of experiencing high spirituality, as meditation alone is not able to provide enlightenment.

In *Malone Dies*, one enters the period of modern individualism, in which, unshielded from dependence, Malone ("man alone") looks vainly to himself for the guidance that others had formerly provided. Being isolated in a limited space, his room, and having no possibility whatsoever to move, Malone resides in thinking and using his memory in order to attain spiritual freedom. He has a distinguished intention to report what he sees as he comes upon it, in the same way Molloy and Moran had done, as he needs to provide utility to the spare time he has. In his writing process, Malone feels as if he were playing a game never knowing where he is going to

because of his lack of control over what happens. *"And I call that playing. /... / Already I forgot what I have said. That is not how to play"* (*Malone Dies*, 189).

But between the intercourses of his game, mainly introduced by "What tedium", Malone cannot avoid admitting that he can hopefully be his own company. This desperate attempt at curing his solitude left him no alternative but to turn inward, to look for company inside himself instead of outside. To this end he abandoned the world around him in favour of the world within him. As he now discovers, this commitment to himself and to the unknowable, a strategy inimical to a game of ready-made forms, has left him quite as much alone as before. So long as each move is still a search for something other than the pleasure of the search itself, Malone is still playing with and involved in representation.

The Unnamable is also capable of admitting his impossibility of movement: *"But the days of the sticks are over, here I can count on my body alone, my body incapable of the smallest movement"* (*The Unnamable*, 300- 301).

Mircea Eliade (2006: 25-29) makes a generous presentation of the Buddhist idea that suffering is the only way towards liberation. Suffering in itself has no value for the world if it cannot lift the heavy weight of pain from the shoulders of humanity. At the basis of the philosophy of pain is man's wish to set himself free from the torment produced by a triad of suffering: the suffering caused by gods, the suffering caused by nature and the inner or organic suffering.

In the Trilogy, God affects Molloy, Moran, Moran's son and Malone for the mere reason that He permits them to be born and to be obliged thus to pass through all the suffering of life. The Unnamable's detachment from any kind of deity might be his own making himself a god for Worm and Mahood. Nature is always Moran's pursuer, a real character in the text participating in the discourse and having a truly powerful delineation mostly for Moran:

> The branch was thick and full of sap and did not burn when I stuck it in the fire. I held it by the thin end. The cracking of the fire, of the writhing brands rather, for fire triumphant does not crackle, but makes an altogether different noise, had permitted the man to come right up to me, without my knowledge. If there is one thing infuriates me it is being taken myself by surprise. I continued then, in spite of my spasm of fright, hoping it had passed unnoticed, to poke the fire as if I were alone.
>
> (*Molloy*, 150)

Inner and organic suffering provides an opportunity for the realization of life's uselessness in a world of unsettled activities. The Unnamable becomes aware of his incapacity to get an identity so that he might be able to live. In this light, his present state is thus futile and it offers meaningless connotations upon his already confusing existence. At one point in his monologue, he tries to give a sense to his life through thinking and the possibility to transmit his thoughts when he says:

> No, perhaps I'll say it, even with their language, for me alone, so as not to have not lived in vain, and so as to go silent, if that is what confers the right to silence, and it's unlikely, it's they who have silence in their gift, they who decide, the same old gang,

> among themselves, no matter, to hell with silence, I'll say what I am, so as not to have been born for nothing.
>
> (*The Unnamable*, 325-326)

The Unnamable's inner suffering is emphasized by his own discourse only to finally find himself detached from everything: surrounding environment, tormentors and characters. Common suffering represents an alienation from oneself, from one's fellow man, and from nature; the awareness that life runs out of one's hand like sand, and that one will die without having lived; that one lives in the midst of plenty and yet is joyless. Through the ability to find detachment, the Unnamable proves to have reached a superior sphere which might be compared to the enlightenment of Zen Buddhism.

Although Samuel Beckett denied in various occasions his familiarity with Zen Buddhism, he was considered to have an innate knowledge of its teachings. Lawrence Shainberg (1987: 2) offers a generous explanation of this idea:

> Not a few critical opinions had been mustered over the years concerning his debt to Buddhism, Taoism, Zen and the Noh theatre, all of it received /… / with curiosity and appreciation and absolute denial by the man it presumed to explain. 'I know nothing about Buddhism', he said. 'If it's present in the play, it is unbeknownst to me'. Once this had been asserted, however, there remained the possibility of unconscious predilection, innate Buddhism, so to speak. For years I'd been studying Zen and its particular form of sitting meditation, and I'd always been struck by the parallels between its practice and Beckett's work. In fact to me /… / it seemed quite impossible that he didn't have some explicit knowledge, perhaps even direct experience, of Zen, and I had asked him about it that very first night at his hotel. He answered me /… / he knew nothing of Zen at all.

An obvious presence of Zen Buddhism in Beckett's work is also outlined by Paul Foster (2006) in *Beckett and Zen – A Study of Dilemma in the Novels of Samuel Beckett*. He analyses Beckett's presentation of the meaning of existence, human mind, suffering and the chance of salvation by applying the concepts of Zen Buddhism in his prose.

Zen means people's ability to know themselves and to become satisfied with what they are. It means to find the permanent source of vital energy that bursts from the most profound spheres of the human being. Taisen Deshimaru (1993: 146) states that the true Zen or the eternal truth can find their existence only based on human personality. If they want to acquire the veritable Zen, people must find their proper spirit by simply sitting in the correct position. This is the only way towards the discovery of the pure ego; it presumes that sitting in meditation itself (i.e. zazen) is an expression of Buddha nature.

The Zen method means to attain detachment of mind from all conceptual models of thinking and perceive reality directly. Mircea Eliade (2007: 107) affirms that in Zen Buddhism, enlightenment is believed to exist within people even from their birth; the only thing which must be done by people is to let it arise. The way towards enlightenment is the final target and the benefits of this state may be felt only when

a complete detachment can be obtained. Practitioners of Zen believe that Enlightenment, the awakening of the Buddha-mind or Buddha-nature, is people's natural state, but has been covered over by layers of negative emotions and distorted thoughts.

The complete detachment and the enlightenment for the Unnamable appear in his numerous instances of self-isolation and retreat. Beckett demonstrates here his pervasive intent to emphasize detachment and solitude as pre-requisites to concentration. If the Unnamable is considered to be concentrated during the entire monologue, then the existence of his ultimate detachment is to be seen between the lines: *"I'll concentrate again /... / Slough off this mortal inertia, it is out of place, in this society"* (*The Unnamable*, 333).

In Buddhist detachment, the soul reaches such superior spheres that it grasps the meanings and sensations of non-human ability to understand. This is an instance of personal liberation and the accomplishment of a unique state of mind. The Unnamable reaches detachment the moment he resides in the struggle to attain enlightenment as a moment of revelation with regard to everything that precedes it. Thus, the connection of the three texts of the Trilogy may be read as a continuous search for detachment, starting with Molloy and his personal failure to live, continuing with Moran's incapacity to fulfil two tasks –the one exterior to him, that of finding Molloy, and the inner one, that of finding the Molloy inside himself – passing through an intermediary phase represented by Malone before the final detachment attained only by the Unnamable.

There is another sequence of Zen Buddhism interpretation in *The Unnamable*. Samuel Beckett uses the recurrent image of the circle in the third novel of the Trilogy, which could be read as representing the Unnamable's entire universe under the form of Zen ideals of simplicity and spontaneity. Yasunari Takahashi (2002) begins his study *On Mindlessness: Beckett, Japan and the Twentieth Century* by making an interesting presentation of the philosophy of the Zen circle and by pointing out the relational ideas he interchanged with Beckett himself on the matter:

> Invited to come to his [Beckett's] flat on boulevard St. Jacques, I took the liberty of presenting him with a volume of Zen art that included a few drawings of circles. Zen priests like to draw a simple circle with one swift sweep of a China-ink brush, often with an epigram or a poem inscribed beside it. The circle is interpreted as a symbol of the idea of *mushin* (*mu* is a prefix negating the word that follows it; *shin* signifies 'mind', so that *mushin* translates as 'no-mind', or 'the state of being without mind'). It is supposed that only those monks who have attained *satori* (i.e. 'enlightenment' in Buddhist philosophy) are able to draw a beautiful circle with true spontaneity. /… / I was glad of the attention Beckett paid to these circles, because, as I told him then, I was particularly interested in the circular metaphors or structures to be found ubiquitously in his works. Having listened to my explanation, Beckett smiled and said: "But I can't draw a circle like these." Certainly, Beckett would be the last person to claim enlightenment for himself, even if he would have very much liked to do away with the mind altogether, just like an ideal Zen monk. (38-39).

The Unnamable is a proof of Samuel Beckett's unrecognized exemplification of a Zen-like "no mind" state. The circle appears throughout the Unnamable's discourse

under different aspects, offering a complete image of a monologue without a pre-established anterior judgement which to fix it in an unalterable explanation.

There are two moments in *The Unnamable* when the circle is mentioned as a mindless "family circle." The first one hints at Mahood's estrangement and self-isolation from an understanding of family: "he remembers the exact spot in the garden and the kind of life he led there before joining the family circle" (*The Unnamable*, 324). The second one is represented by the Unnamable's metaphoric use of the word "circle", which has high imaginative connotations. It implies again the security of a family, security which the Unnamable is totally deprived of from the very beginning of the novel. Here, he seems to strive for the "intimacy" a family could provide even if, at the end of this fragment, a touch of disappointment is to be felt: "Let us keep to the family circle, it's more intimate. We all know one another now, no surprises to be feared. The will has been opened, nothing for anybody" (*The Unnamable*, 375).

The Unnamable himself seems to be in the middle of an unclear circle with protective implications: "Close to me it is grey, dimly transparent, and beyond that charmed circle deepens and spreads its fine impenetrable veils" (*The Unnamable*, 300). The suggestion of this statement leads to an application of judgement-free entrapment on both mental and physical terms: "For a collar, fixed to the mouth of the jar, now encircles my neck, just below the chin" (332).

There is also an image of circular movement denoting the Unnamable's high preoccupation with circles which suggest the repetitive cycle of nature and life:

> If I could be in a forest, caught in a thicket, or wandering round in circles, it would be the end of this blither, I'd describe the leaves, one by one, at the moment of their growing, at the moment of their giving shade, at the moment of their falling.
>
> (*The Unnamable*, 399)

The circle image in *The Unnamable* is interpreted, according to Zen Buddhism, as mindlessness exemplification. This implies that the entire monologue goes round in circles in a complete detachment of the mind. The Unnamable starts and finishes in the same place and in the same atmosphere, without any progression: "*Where now? Who now? When now? Unquestioning. I, say I. Unbelieving"* (291); "*where I am, I don't know, I'll never know, in the silence you don't know, you must go on, I can't go on, I'll go on"* (414). The "no mind" circularity is also pointed out by Robert Champigny (1975: 122) in terms of the structural approach: "words are killed with words, which in turn need words to kill them. Since, however, there needs to be a last word, it will be 'I'll go on'."

Through Buddhist detachment thus Beckett's narrators are saved from a failed existence. Since they are already physically isolated and partially immobile, they succeed in completely isolating themselves at the spiritual level, too. Their texts may be the mere product of their minds' meditation in search of an escape from the suffering they have to endure. Consequently, failure is turned into success for the Trilogy's narrators.

In the same spirit, studying failure to its deepest sides, Charles C. Manz (2002: 38) considers that failure is a real fuel for success. He states that, on a piece of paper, failure

looks like a hole; turning the paper upside down, though, we can see the mountain of success. It is all a matter of perspective. By use of such ideas, failure is redefined and seen as a passable moment in the way towards success. He considers that most successes one might have in a life time happen thanks to the power of failure. This idea has its outmost appliance in Beckett's Trilogy if we are to consider that the writer built a novel of success on approaching different aspects of the theme of failure.

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L'exil de Sonia Kaleva Anguelova dans *Abécédaire des années d'exil*

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ABSTRACT: The exile in Sonia Kaleva Anguelova's *Abécédaire des anneés d'exil*

Our study, which aims, among other, Francophone and its problems of recent decades, offers to talk about Sonia Kaleva Anguelova, a Bulgarian-born writer of modern Canada, and her novel *Abécédaire des années d'exil*, an events story about her life after the escape from the Bulgaria of the 70s.
We shall talk about her situation of refugee from a former communist country, meeting both *language* and *social and cultural difficulties* in the context of her newly adopted country. Characters and events come together and relate to each other, difficult situations are upsetting the flow of time; her love and disappointment, the friendship of the others intersect in a quite different atmosphere. Exile becomes a bridge that connects mentality, customs and habits of an old country to bring them to a new one.

KEYWORDS: *language, social, cultural*

Introduction

Si nous nous proposons de parler de la littérature canadienne d'expression française, ou plutôt de la littérature québécoise et de son contexte plurilingue, nous devons parler premièrement d'une littérature francophone qui, pour faire valoir son importance, a beaucoup lutté contre la suprématie de l'anglais sur son territoire. Carrefour de cultures et de mentalités, cette nouvelle littérature s'impose par la diversité de ses sujets, par la sensibilité d'expression de ses écrivains, natifs ou exilés de tous les coins du monde.

Dans cette atmosphère d'amalgame de cultures et de langues, Sonia Kaleva Anguelova, écrivaine d'origine bulgare, réfugiée de son pays natal depuis 1970, publie en 2001 son premier ouvrage, *Abécédaire des années d'exil*[1], quintessence de ses problèmes d'exil, de ses amours et de ses déceptions, de ses questions sur la démocratie et la liberté. Même si nous ne sommes pas devant un roman, dans le vrai sens du mot, mais devant un récit de vie (la vie d'une Bulgare exilée au Québec, les temps du communisme), nous observons la radiographie d'une société où l'écrivaine rencontre *des difficultés* tant *langagières* que *sociales et culturelles* dans le contexte de son nouveau pays d'adoption. Elle nous présente donc, comme dans un véritable abécédaire (livre de chevet à la portée de ceux qui ont connu l'exil) des personnages et des événements qui se rencontrent et se rapportent les uns aux autres ; elle nous raconte aussi des situations sans issues qui viennent bouleverser la coulée de sa vie sur un territoire, autre

que le sien. Amoureuse de sa propre culture et langue, elle a fait quand même connaissance des cultures espagnole et latino-américaine lorsqu'elle était à La Havane, mais elle écrit ce roman de vie en français, langue qui lui permet de parler librement de ses expériences et de son nouveau pays d'adoption.

1. L'exil

L'exil, selon les dictionnaires, est un *« (…) état (social, psychologique, politique...) d'une personne, (…) qui, volontairement ou non, a quitté sa patrie, sous la contrainte d'un bannissement ou d'une déportation, (…) d'une persécution »,* personne qui *« vit dans un pays étranger »* et se confronte à des *« contraintes sociales spécifiques (langue, insertion, identité...) et souffre d'un sentiment d'éloignement de la patrie (nostalgie, déracinement...)*[2]*»*.

La notion d'exil a évolué de sa valeur à charge romantique du XIXe siècle ou à charge politique du XXe siècle, si spécifique pour les personnalités célèbres qui ont connu une terre d'asile, à une valeur plus commune destinée aux anonymes obligés de chercher la vie parmi les autres, ceux d'une autre race que leurs ancêtres. L'exilé est vu à travers sa « dimension anthropologique », comme individualité déterminée par un *« (…) sentiment de dépaysement » par « (…) des contraintes sociales, économiques et politiques inhérentes à l'exil»*[3].

Pour Sonia Kaleva Anguelova, jeune adolescente anonyme au moment de sa décision, l'exil, qui est volontaire d'ailleurs et implique une contrainte, devient un pont qui relie les mentalités, les coutumes et les habitudes d'un ancien pays pour être rapportées ensuite à un nouveau pays. Elle nous parle donc, dans cet *Abécédaire des années d'exil*, écrit dans la langue de son exil, de *ses expériences langagières, sociales (politiques) et culturelles* rencontrées lors de son refuge, voulu, au Canada.

1.1. Difficultés langagières

Sonia Anguelova s'est enfuie de sa Bulgarie natale dès 1970, après une première expérience vécue, à La Havane (de 16 à 19 ans à l'occasion du travail de son père), pour arriver finalement au Canada, territoire complètement différent comme langue, mentalités et contexte social. Le premier problème auquel elle se confronte, est, naturellement, la nouvelle langue.

Mais elle est une autodidacte. Arrivée sur ce nouveau territoire, le Canada, elle apprend la nouvelle langue, le français, en écrivant, en copiant des mots et des phrases, en écoutant le souffle, l'âme de celle-ci. Elle a réussi ainsi à pénétrer la coquille dure de l'exil : la langue de l'autre.

1.1.1. La nouvelle langue

Immigrée d'un pays de culture slave, elle éprouve beaucoup de difficultés du point de vue de *l'accent* même si l'espagnol, appris à la Havane, l'aide en quelques sortes : *« **Accent** : Au début, je croyais que l'accent disparaîtrait. Peu à peu. Avec le temps.*

A force de se frotter aux accents de différentes régions (…) Au début, je voulais qu'il disparaisse. Plongée au plus profond du territoire du Québec, j'ai fait taire les autres langues. La première, la maternelle, et les autres, celles que j'apportais dans mes bagages. Des langues que je déportais. (…) » (p. 9).

Sonia se rend très bien compte qu'une nouvelle langue s'apprend dans un contexte vivant, en parlant directement aux autres mais, en même temps, en oubliant toutes les autres langues apprises pour que l'accent du pays d'origine ne résiste plus:

> La langue n'est pas comme le vin. Enfermé, mis en bouteille, il mûrit, devient meilleur.
>
> Une langue enfermée perd sa couleur, son goût, sa tenue. Une langue a besoin d'être secouée au grand vent. Une langue a besoin d'un coup de langue. De claquer dans la bouche comme linge mouillé au vent.
>
> Les mots ont besoin de respirer. De jouer. Dans des moulins à paroles.
>
> Et il se peut qu'après les avoir sortis de l'entrepôt du dictionnaire ou du parking de la mémoire, après les avoir secoués au grand vent, on trouve des mots, des expressions démodées, hors d'usage. Ces mots entrent alors au musée de la langue.
>
> (*Ibidem*)

Même si elle fait des efforts désespérés en vue de faire disparaître cet accent, comme il résiste encore, elle a la sensation que celui-ci lui rappelle sans cesse sa situation d'*immigrante* : « *Dans cette langue que j'ai apprise ici, l'accent demeure. Aussitôt la bouche ouverte, le premier mot envolé avant même d'avoir entendu mon nom. On me demande : Pouvez-vous épeler ? On m'identifie épelée. Depuis plus de dix ans j'épelle. »* (p. 10)

Tout est réduit finalement à la « couleur particulière » d'une langue, c'est-à-dire, à son accent (p. 116). Ses jugements sont assez durs, sa révolte est vive ; ce n'est pas donc un problème d'accent qui l'identifie parmi les autres Canadiens mais la réticence des autres à la rencontre d'un Autre : « *(…) J'ai appris depuis longtemps les noms des gens d'ici. Quand apprendra-t-on le mien ?* (p. 10) *;* ***Immigrante*** *: Pendant combien de temps vais-je m'identifier par cette appellation ? »* (p. 56).

Si elle a le courage d'appartenir à un nouveau pays, parlant une nouvelle langue (qu'elle ne maîtrise pas encore trop bien, v. **Journal**, p. 60), si elle a le courage de devenir une des leurs, eux, les autres, ils ne l'ont pas. *Epeler* reste leur mot d'ordre.

1.1.2. La langue des ancêtres

« *Plongée* » (p. 9) dans un nouveau pays qui ne la rejette pas mais qui ne l'assimile point, Sonia pense toujours dans *son ancienne langue*, celle de ses ancêtres. C'est là que se refugie l'écrivaine, aux moments de sa détresse sentimentale ou existentielle : *« C'est en chantant que je me suis consolée dans les moments difficiles ; des chants bulgares dans les premières années d'exil »* (p. 116).

L'accouchement de sa fille en est un autre un exemple car les actions les plus simples ou les plus profondes, elle ne les pense qu'en bulgare :

> **Accouchement** : Madame, madame, réveillez-vous ! M'entendez ?
> - Koi mi govori ? Kadé sam ?...

- Madame, m'entendez-vous ?
Oui, mais je ne peux pas parler… Je suis loin, tellement loin… (p. 11).

La langue de son pays est celle qui revient sans cesse, même sous forme de définitions génériques : *«* **Jivot** : Vie *dans ma langue maternelle* » (p. 59), **Otchaianié** : *Mot bulgare pour exprimer* le désespoir. » (p. 82) ou de simples mots chargés de nostalgie : *« **Bozà**, buisson faite de millet fermenté. Boisson de mes années bulgares* » (p. 19) « *Nous disons l'inverse : Noire Mer.* ***Tcherno moré*** » (p. 30).

Pour elle, la langue maternelle est un organisme vivant, qui a un avenir au moment de la libération du pays : *« Des pays conquis, soumis à la langue des colonisateurs comme le fut ma langue maternelle, qui a vécu cinq cents ans en captivité, comme la langue s'exprime-t-elle une fois libérée ? »* (p. 116).

Mais ce sont les autres langues d'adoption qui définissent son propre devenir, c'est la réalité à laquelle elle a fait appel tout au long de sa vie : *« **Langues :** Je m'endors en espagnol, tire la couverture des rêves en bulgare, ferme les yeux sur la « nacht » allemande, et vacillent les couleurs de la langue québécoise. »* (p. 63).

Pour elle, chaque voix est *«* (…) *porteuse d'un langage. Chaque langue – le français, l'anglais, l'espagnol, l'arabe, le russe, l'allemand – demande un réajustement vocal »* (pp. 115-116). Toute langue a un accent particulier ou une *« couleur particulière »* (p. 116), l'important est de la faire vivre, de la chanter, d'entendre « sa voix » interne (*Ibidem*), de s'abreuver à « son souffle » (*Ibidem*) : *« (…) Une langue transportée, transposée, imposée à un peuple, sur un autre territoire, ne peut pas rester la même »* (*Ibidem*). Elle évolue avec ceux qui la parlent et qui y croient.

Ecrire devient alors pour Sonia Anguelova un nouveau moyen d'existence, une modalité de faire sortir les mots, d'apprendre, d'aimer, de plonger dans la nouvelle langue choisie pour son exil :

> **Ecrire** : (…) Lire et relire autant de fois les mots je t'aime. (…) Amour écrit : autre visage de l'amour, donné à voir, à décoder, à savourer. Et quand l'amour est parti, ces mots ne sont plus que feuilles sèches dans l'herbier du cœur. (p. 32)

> **Jaser** : Quand on veut aborder des sujets sérieux, on veut se parler, quand on veut juste échanger sur le temps qu'il fait, parler de tout et de rien, on jase. (p. 59)

1.2. Difficultés politiques/sociales

Si Sonia Anguelova réussit à s'approprier la nouvelle langue du territoire d'adoption, elle se pose encore des questions d'ordre politique ou social, compte tenu le fait qu'elle est une réfugiée d'un pays ex-communiste. Elle compare sans cesse l'idéal de démocratie ou de liberté, notions si étrangères pour son ancien pays, et la réalité canadienne à laquelle elle se confronte.

1.2.1. La démocratie

L'immigrante Sonia Anguelova vient d'un pays où l'idée de démocratie n'existait pas ; c'est justement pour cette raison qu'elle a librement choisi l'exil en quittant la

Bulgarie natale. Mais au Canda, la définition du terme semble changer pour elle. Dans une discussion avec son amie Odette, Sonia expose ses idées vis-à-vis du problème de *la démocratie*, vue à travers les yeux d'une réfugiée politique. Elle se considère en quelques sortes une privilégiée qui ne peut pas se soulever surtout contre ceux qui ont décidé de l'accueillir. Mais, la fête internationale de la femme, à laquelle elle a participé, s'est transformée en désastre : des arrestations pour les gars et des gaz pour les femmes :

> **Démocratie (et illusions perdues) :**
> Sonya : Je ne sais pas si tu vas comprendre, mais je suis devant un dilemme. Je vais essayer de t'en faire part. Tu sais, avant cet événement, inimaginable pour moi, je croyais fermement habiter un pays extraordinaire. Un pays juste, démocratique. C'est d'ailleurs pour ça que j'ai choisi le Canada comme terre d'exile. (…) Au début, je me disais que tu parlais en tant que militante, que c'était juste de l'idéologie ! (…) Comment croire que la fête internationale des femmes allait se terminer par des arrestations ? Quand je suis partie, à sept heures du soir, avec les enfants, fatiguée, tout était normal. (p. 27)
>
> Sonya : (…) Quand je pense que c'est devant ces mêmes policiers que je suis allée parler de la violence faite aux femmes !
> Odette : Ils ne s'en sont pris qu'aux gars. Nous, les femmes, on nous a dispersées par des moyens plus doux.
> Sonya : Les substances qui brûlent les yeux, les gaz, tu appelles ça des moyens doux ? (pp. 27-28)

Elle s'imaginait le Canada comme un pays où les droits des citoyens sont respectés, image qui a donné d'ailleurs un sens à son exil, mais elle y découvre toute une autre réalité :

> Sonya : Je pensais qu'ici on était libre de faire partie des organismes ou partis politiques.
> Odette : Oui, bien sûr, tu as le droit mais, démocratie ou pas, le gouvernement veut connaître ses opposants.
> Sonya : Pour moi, c'est difficile de gueuler contre ce gouvernement. N'ai-je pas été acceptée ici à titre de réfugiée politique ? (p. 28)

Sans le vouloir, elle compare les répressions de son pays et celles qui ont bouleversé son image sur la démocratie canadienne et son système de valeurs :

> Sonya : Explique-moi quelle est la différence entre la répression dans les pays du Bloc de l'Est et ici ?
> Odette : Peut-être qu'ici nous avons les moyens de nous défendre.
> Sonya : C'est vrai que chez nous il ne peut pas y avoir de groupes de défense des droits et il n'y aura jamais un avocat qui n'oserait s'attaquer à l'Etat.
> Odette : La répression ici est plus subtile. (…) Personne d'ici n'aurait voulu se mouiller, se mettre à dos de gros noms (p. 29).

Et sa conclusion devint de plus en plus amère : « *Sonya : On dirait que pendant neuf ans j'ai vécu dans un pays inventé. Décidément, je n'apprendrai jamais. Depuis ma leçon à Prague, je devrais être plus méfiante » (ibidem).*

1.2.2. L'avenir=L'exil

Pour Sonia Anguelova, l'exil est une partie intégrante de son devenir, de son existence future. C'est la porte ouverte vers une autre réalité, soit qu'elle soit dure ou non, vers une autre mentalité, vers d'autres problèmes, plus complexes. La définition qu'elle donne au mot *exil*, par des phrases courtes, elliptiques, suggère, en même temps, l'espoir, le courage qui ont marqué tous ceux qui ont décidé de tenter l'horizon de l'inconnu ; d'ailleurs l'année invoquée, 1989, la date de la tombée du communisme dans les pays de l'Est de l'Europe, parle de la détermination de ceux partis à la quête de leur liberté :

> Trente septembre 1989. Deux mille cinq cents Est-Allemands. Corps à corps. Deux mille cinq cents dans la cour de l'ambassade à Prague. Non pas prisonniers, mais en quête de liberté. Sans patrie. Sans bagages. Un garçon, deux petites mains agrippées aux barreaux, attend. Sans pleurs. Sans impatience. Deux mille cinq cents corps en un seul. Six cents autres à Varsovie. Première vague se déversant vers des territoires d'espoir. Vers l'exil. (p. 36)

Sonia voulait fuir un pays qui était sous l'influence *« rouge »* du *« château fort »*, le *Urss* (p. 106). Elle ne le décrit qu'en employant la métaphore, qu'en augmentant sa force et son influence dans l'ancien espace communiste :

> **Urss** : Au tout début, c'était un grand pays. Immense. Secret. Mystérieux. N'entrait pas qui veut dans ce pays. Les regards se heurtaient aux murs. (…) Tous croyaient la forteresse invincible. Leur force était dans le secret. Le secret derrière les murs. Leur force était dans la discipline. Leur force était dans l'uniforme. L'uniformité. Tous pareils. Tous pour un. Tous devant l'Un. Anonymes. En rang. Ils partaient cueillir les fruits, faire les récoltes, une chanson aux lèvres : « J'aime mon pays, le plus grand, le plus fort, l'invincible. ». Il n'y avait pas de faibles, pas de forts, tous pareils sous le drapeau rouge. Tous pareils ? (*Ibidem*)

Elle se rappelle très bien les événements même si, les dernières années du communisme, elle les a vécues en exilée. C'était un pays qui cachait ses *« atrocités »*, ses *« morts »*, ses *« fous »* ; une *« peur »* constante détruisait son peuple ; on voyait partout *« la corruption »* des grands du jour, *« le mensonge »* de toutes leurs actions (*Ibidem*) mais personnes n'en parlait pas. C'était un pays qui limitait tout, qui ne demandait que de l'obéissance, un pays en total désaccord avec l'homme et son idéal de connaître et de se connaître. L'idée de remplacer *« (…) les murs de pierre par des murs de verre »* (*Ibidem*) n'a fait qu'augmenter la terreur : voir à l'extérieur signifiait voir à l'intérieur aussi, *« Regarder jusque dans leur intimité »* (*Ibidem*).

Une fois le pays libéré, Sonia voit tout à fait différemment l'ouverture vers l'ouest. Cette porte ouverte, offerte après la révolution de 1989, n'a fait que détruire l'âme la plus pure de ses habitants au nom de l'exploration de ce nouveau continent appelé suggestivement, « la liberté » :

> C'est un continent à explorer. A mesurer. Chaque pouce carré d'habitation. A palper. Les tissus rudes des vêtements. A analyser. L'air et l'eau. A scruter. A la loupe. Le pain. Les œufs. Demander : « combien ? » Un continent à explorer.

> Des aventuriers déguisés en journalistes, sociologues, ethnologues (…) se lancèrent à la découverte avec leur caméra et leur magnéto, les deux pieds dans la boue, scrutant les visages blêmes des femmes et des vieux aux filets de provisions, essayant de tirer quelques mots contre un paquet de cigarettes ou du savon importé. (*Ibidem*)

L'intérêt de ceux qui sont partis à la découverte des pays ex-communistes ne vise pas la découverte d'un ancien continent et d'un pays au seuil de sa nouvelle existence mais le sensationnel : les alcooliques, les fous, les gens pauvres, les mendiants, les sans-abri, les affamés, les enfants exploités (qui existent quand même partout dans le monde entier) (pp. 107-108).

Mais cet événement, qui a bouleversé tant de pays, a eu une importance à part : ces nations ont repris conscience de leur propre langue, de leur identité, de leurs habitudes et coutumes si chères mais oubliées dans le trouble des temps écoulés : « *Des voix aux intonations différentes se firent entendre. On se regarda droit dans les yeux. On vit les différences (...) On osa sortir des vieux habits colorés, on dépoussiéra des mots oubliés : découverte de soi, de ses émotions, de sa personnalité, de ses responsabilités, marché libre et propriété privée.* » (p. 108)

D'un œil critique, Sonia Anguelova voit la fausse pitié des étrangers qui ne cherchent que de nouvelles possibilités de faire valoir leur soin envers l'autre, en imposant leur manière de vie et/ou leurs mentalités à un peuple oublié du monde et des autres, vivant au rythme de ses ancêtres :

> Avant, tous portaient le pays et ils étaient des millions. (…) Ils ne savaient pas comment se tenir debout, habitués à se soutenir les uns les autres. Ils ne savaient pas comment se tenir debout tout en étant différents les uns les autres. (…) Avant, le monde entier se sentait humilié par l'écrasante, l'imposante figure du pays, par son ombre. Avec la transparence de ses murs et les visites libres, voilà que le géant est devenu un gros chat domestiqué. (…) Ils se voyaient petits, mal habillés, mal coiffés, mal éduqués à côté de ces étrangers qui sont bien chaussés et sentent bons. (…) L'étranger a pitié du vieillard ratatiné, de la vieille *babouchka*. (…) Vite, qu'on les maquille, qu'on les habille, qu'on les parfume, qu'on leur mette entre les mains un câblosélecteur, qu'on les branche sur LE MONDE !
>
> Et que *McDonald's* leur remplisse l'estomac et que Coca-Cola leur soif … d'exotisme ! (pp. 108-109)

1.2.3. La liberté

La liberté sillonne les pages de ce livre. C'est le mot le plus cher de Sonia, une jeune femme très volontaire. Pour elle, *l'exil était le synonyme de la liberté,* de la possibilité de penser, de s'exprimer librement : *« C'est d'ailleurs pour ça que j'ai choisi le Canada comme terre d'asile »* (p. 27), *« Je pensais qu'ici on était libre de faire partie des organismes ou partis politiques »* (p. 28) avoue sans cesse Sonia. Être libre signifie parler *une langue libre.* Alors elle se pose même la question sur sa propre langue comme langue *« (...) des pays conquis, soumis à la langue des colonisateurs comme le fut ma langue maternelle qui a vécu cinq cents ans en captivité, comment la langue s'exprime-t-elle une fois libérée ? »* (p. 116).

Elle veut être libre comme individu qui appartient à un pays qui respecte les droits des hommes, comme femme qui vit dans une famille où chacun respecte l'autre. Elle veut vivre et aimer librement. C'est ainsi qu'elle a décidé de *naître à la maison*, comme tant de femmes avant elle. Son choix, même désapprouvé par son mari, c'est son choix, tout comme sa décision de venir habiter le Canada, les temps du totalitarisme de la Bulgarie natale. C'est un choix librement consenti de vivre selon ses propres règles. Enceinte avec le deuxième enfant du couple, même si T. (son mari) n'est pas un mari modèle, la narratrice se rappelle son désir de « vivre » sa grossesse, son accouchement pour que personne n'existe entre elle et son futur bébé (p. 111). Les préparatifs menés à bons termes, les livres lus, les amis avertis, elle ne fait qu'attendre le grand événement : *« Jamais je ne m'étais sentie si belle, aussi épanouie. Je me promenais dans la forêt et je me sentais aussi féconde que la terre (…) »* (*Ibidem*). Cet accouchement est la définition même d'une naissance, de sa deuxième naissance, sur un sol autre que le sien ; c'est ainsi qu'elle devient libre dans le vrai sens du mot : *« Je suis l'enfant qui vient au monde. Je suis la mère. La vie m'est donnée double »* (p. 113).

Mais ses moments de détresse, sentimentale ou matérielle, la couvrent de leur rideau lourd. La liberté tant désirée ne lui a apporté que du malheur. Désorientée, elle cherche un refuge incertain (pourquoi pas une autre variante de liberté ?!), un refuge occasionnel dans le *« **Lsd** : Une fois. Voyage son et lumière à travers les lettres d'une affiche phosphorescente. Pas de limites de corps et d'espace. »* (p. 65).

1.3. Difficultés culturelles

La culture est, pour Sonia Anguelova, l'âme de chaque peuple. C'est dans la culture que chaque nation se rencontre par ses habitudes, ses croyances, ses traditions. C'est toujours ici que chaque nation rencontre l'autre, en parlant d'elle-même et s'ouvrant vers l'autre.

1.3.1. La culture bulgare

Partie à la recherche de la liberté et du devenir personnel, fuyant un régime totalitaire d'un ancien pays communiste, Sonia Anguelova rencontre la culture de l'autre. Elle cherche l'assimiler, dans les limites de son gros cœur, elle s'efforce, en même temps, de comprendre les nouveaux symboles, de respecter les autres et leurs traditions mais elle n'oublie pas l'harmonie de sa propre culture, les habitudes et les ressorts intimes de l'âme bulgare.

Balancée entre les siens et les autres, elle se rappelle avec nostalgie le son de *l'accordéon* et la chanson d'une jeune fille, fin de vacances dans *« (…) un train bondé »* dans la Bulgarie natale :

> Un train bondé. La fin des vacances. (…) On parle, on regarde défiler le paysage. Ça sent la sueur, le tabac. (…) Soudain, un son. Gai. Un son qui prend l'air, qui respire et en fait des mélodies. (…) Les yeux s'ouvrent, s'allument les sourires. Des têtes s'accrochent à la porte du compartiment. Que les mains de la jeune fille sur le clavier sont habiles ! Et lui, il brille dans sa parure dorée. (p. 10).

La couleur d'un tissu devient pour elle une variante de vivre le rêve, de se sentir libre mais tournée vers le souvenir : c'est la broderie de la chemise nationale : *« Qu'est-ce qui traverse les couleurs, les formes, les motifs et nous va droit au cœur dans un bout de tissu il y a des milliers d'années ? Est-ce le souffle d'une jeune fille, assise face à la forêt, un jour du mois de mai, qui brode sur la toile le soleil, les bourgeons et l'espoir de l'été à venir ? » (p. 23).*

Ou la Mer Noire, la fameuse *Tcherno moré* (p. 30), est vue comme une mer interne, une mer qui lui appartient : *« Cette mer intérieure qu'on essaie de calmer. Avec de la musique, de la nourriture, du thé. On invite les pêcheurs, on lance des filets. Nos rêves s'alimentent dans notre mer intérieure. »* (p. 31)

Les icônes sont d'autres symboles chers à son âme : elles lui rappellent sans cesse qu'elle a quitté un pays mais, en même temps, une religion qui avait établi une relation étroite avec elle. Le regard de ces icônes est le seul qui compte pendant son exil voulu, d'ailleurs, c'est le seul qui lui parle pendant ses moments de détresse. Elle regarde et se regarde dans le souvenir du miroitement de *« (...) l'icône de La Vierge Kataphygi et Jean le Théologien (...) du monastère de Poganovo »* (p. 47) tout en écoutant le message sacré de l'âme en communion totale avec la divinité et en essayant de faire valoir et de partager la richesse spirituelle de son peuple :

> J'avais l'impression que les deux personnages étaient là pour moi, qu'une relation s'établissait entre eux et moi. (…) Tête-à-tête intime avec une icône. Dialogue à trois voix. Elévation de l'esprit, abandon du monde matériel, dépouillement, austérité. Invitation, au-delà des différents degrés d'évolution de chaque humain, au travail personnel de dépassement, pour le divin, le spirituel. (pp. 47-48)

Elle y ajoute *les habitudes de la martenitza bulgare*, fière et nostalgique en même temps car le Canada n'a pas de tels bijoux qui parlent de l'âme d'un peuple :

> **Martenitza** : Porte-bonheur que nous, Bulgares, arborons au mois de mars. Il est toujours fait avec de la soie rouge et blanche. Attaché par un cordonnet, ça peut être deux cœurs, deux pompons. On porte la martenitza à son poignet ou on la fixe à ses vêtements. Ma mère a toujours pris soin de nous envoyer des martenitzi, à moi, aux enfants et aux amis chers. J'ai gardé les plus belles, celles qui me rappellent mon enfance. (p. 73)

Le chocolat de la valise maternelle est un autre point d'appui qui parle du non-oubli du pays d'origine. La mère, fatiguée, venue de la Bulgarie natale, magicienne d'un temps non-vécu par les enfants d'un autre présent, celui du Canada moderne, la mère donc crée le pont entre les deux civilisations et cultures :

> **Valise** : Ma mère arrive dans ce village où tout le monde se connaît. Elle arrive fatiguée morte. Verte. L'arrivée de ma mère est un grand événement au village. Je m'en rends compte quand je vois le nombre d'enfants au seuil de la porte. (…) Ils s'assoient à distance et contemplent ma mère, son chapeau, sa valise énorme, ses airs d'ailleurs, comme si d'un moment à l'autre elle allait faire quelque tour de magie. (…)

> Elle ouvre sa valise. Ô miracle ! une grosse boîte de chocolats apparaît. (…) Etape suivante : la photo avec la vedette. La photo-souvenir de l'accueil. Devant le saule pleureur. (p. 110)

1.3.2. La culture canadienne

Le nouveau pays d'adoption, lui aussi, impose ses propres marques culturelles. *La recette à la rhubarbe* apprise en Gaspésie (p. 94) est un intermezzo culinaire symbolique qui parle d'une pérennité des traditions dans un amalgame de nations, chacune avec ses habitudes et ses nostalgies.

Dans la vision de Sonia, le Canada a un *« sport national »* (p. 25) : *déménager* : tout le monde change de domicile car, sur ce nouveau territoire, changer signifie se transformer, devenir tout un autre qui est capable de continuer sa vie.

Les fêtes sont des occasions extraordinaires pour les Canadiens de se distraire, de socialiser : *« **Fêtes** : Toutes les occasions sont bonnes. Les pleines lunes, la récolte du foin, les anniversaires. Et la Saint-Jean-Baptiste »* (p. 37). Mais Sonia Anguelova, désireuse de comprendre l'autre, fait des comparaisons et, de temps en temps, elle critique : *« La première dans le pays d'accueil. La fête nationale (...). Qu'ont en commun « Au chant de l'aluette » – est-ce qu'il y en a, en ville, des alouettes ? – « La complainte du phoque » en Alaska – l'Alaska fait-il partie du Québec ? – et « Gens du pays » – le Québec n'est-il pas une des provinces du Canada ? » (Ibidem).*

L'Autre[4], celui qui représente la nouvelle civilisation qui l'adopte, est, pour la narratrice, celui qui entre en contact avec elle, même si l'on parle d'un Canadien ou d'un autre immigrant. D'un côté, cette relation est marquée par la distinction immigrants/Canadiens, image extraordinairement surprise dans l'évocation de la fête nationale ; de l'autre côté, cette fête nationale est particularisée, transposée dans la situation concrète de l'écrivaine, une immigrante qui parle d'un autre pays devenu le sien, un pays qui lui impose la langue, la culture, les mentalités. (**L'immigrante**, p. 56) : *« Cette foule de trois mille personnes (...), cette foule où les couleurs vives des habits des immigrants se confondent avec les petits drapeaux bleu et blanc en papier qu'on leur a distribués, cette foule d'hommes noirs, blancs, asiatiques, des femmes, « hijabs », turbans et saris confondus, frappait des mains et essayait d'ajuster ses langues aux tournures et turlutes de la langue québécoise. »* (p. 38)

Au commencement, elle est choquée par les habitudes que la vie lui impose : oublier la nature, *se soumettre à la ville* : *« Ne parlez pas de nuages, on n'a plus le temps de les voir, de se laisser rêver. Pas de lyrisme ! Parlez le langage de la ville : entrecoupé, pressé, fébrile, instantané, souvent inutile. Ne parlez pas de ce qui dure : ni d'objets, ni de sentiments, ni de nous. Car nous vivons de marchandage, de profits.* Fast ! Fast food fast world, fast love. *»* (p. 79)

Mais ce nouveau pays, par la présence de ses *îles,* réinvente la vie simple des ancêtres de tout le monde, une variante possible de sa Bulgarie si chère :

> (…) La terre finit là où le ciel commence
> La mer finit là où la terre commence
> Le ciel finit là où la mer commence. (…)

Chacun suit son propre rythme. (…)
Comment les autres vivent-ils cette retraite loin de la civilisation ? Comme une libération, comme une condamnation ou comme un privilège ? (pp. 48-53)

Partie à *la découverte de son pays d'accueil*, Sonia Anguelova voit les différences et les ressemblances entre ces deux pays, son intégration se superposant sur le non-oubli du pays d'origine.

Le nouveau pays, synonyme du mot *sol*, qui revient sans cesse dans ses souvenirs et rêves, a le pouvoir de lui donner la force à continuer sa vie parmi les autres que ceux de sa race. Cette terre, tout comme le sol de son ancien pays, porte en elle une voix des ancêtres même si ceux-ci ne sont pas les siens. Alors elle se forge un autre pays, comme amalgame des voix de plusieurs ancêtres à la fois : *« **Pays** : Que l'on soit de ce pays ou d'un autre, du moment que nos pieds touchent le sol, nous marchons sur des corps ensevelis, dans des cendres de ceux qui ont vécu. Que l'on soit de ce pays ou d'un autre, peut importe la couleur, la forme, le cri, nous reposerons nous ensemble. Serons le sol. La terre d'appui pour la plante du pied d'autrui. »* (p. 85)

Et, intégrée dans cette nouvelle communauté, Sonia Anguelova peut se frayer le propre chemin, tout en respectant les règles des autres et, en imposant, en même temps, les siennes : *« Donner, partager ce qu'on a sans rien demander en retour, c'est se donner à soi-même. J'étais de bonne humeur après. Donner aux autres, être au service des gens qui ont besoin de s'appuyer, en toute sincérité, je peux peut-être le faire d'autres façons aussi. Être sur une scène et réciter de la poésie, n'est-ce pas la même chose ? » (p. 97).*

Dans son périple à la quête de soi même, *le Cuba* est un pays intermédiaire pour Sonia et son adolescence, le pays de son premier amour, de sa première découverte ; c'est le pays qui lui a tout offert et qui ne lui a rien demandé mais elle, elle a tout refusé : *« (…) une poignée de main. Regards se croisent. Se nouent. Profondeur. Stature. Attirance. (…) Plonge dans ses yeux, avide. (…) O Cuba…* cuando Sali de Cuba, dejé mi vida, dejé mi amor… *(…) Je rêve à toi, Cuba. Paradis perdu et retrouvé. »* (pp. 23-24)

Curieuse, entrant en contact avec les autres, mettant en pratique leurs habitudes, comme dans son expérience avec *le tipi*, la tente *« (…) des Indiens d'Amérique du Nord »* (p. 101), Sonia essaie d'assimiler les autres car, pour elle, assimiler signifie être assimilée, connaître les autres signifie être connue et respectée.

2. Conclusions

L'ouvrage de Sonia Kaleva Anguelova, *Abécédaire des années d'exil*, nous parle, dans le contexte d'un pays qui a reçu beaucoup d'exilés, *des difficultés langagières, sociales* et *culturelles* rencontrées par la narratrice lors de son arrivée au Québec. Le contact avec la langue de l'Autre, avec les mentalités, les coutumes, les habitudes d'un autre pays, signifie, pour l'écrivaine d'origine bulgare, se forger une personnalité capable de bien comprendre la terre d'exil, le Canada, et de se bien comprendre pour pouvoir se frayer le propre chemin.

Sonia Anguelova raconte donc ses difficultés (langagières, sociales/politiques, culturelles) dans le contexte d'une nouvelle terre d'abri mais elle en sort vainqueur

au moment où la destinée lui parle. Elle cherche toujours une liaison entre deux pays, le pays natal et le pays d'adoption, des pays si différents comme langue, culture, mentalités, système politique et social ; elle remémore sans cesse les souvenirs du passé pour les superposer sur l'image du présent pour qu'ils deviennent plus réels que la réalité en elle même.

Appartenant à deux cultures, Sonia Anguelova écrit dans la langue d'adoption qui est plus souple, plus fluide ; d'ailleurs c'est la langue de la liberté, de l'avenir ; elle n'oublie jamais l'autre, plus dure, plus imprégnée de passé et de souvenirs, une langue que les ancêtres de ses rêves parlent, une langue qui n'est pas vouée à l'oubli.

NOTES

[1] Toutes les citations renvoient au roman de Sonia Kaleva Anguelova, 2001, *Abécédaire des années d'exil*, Lanctôt Editeur et Sonia Kaleva Anguelova.

[2] *Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé (TLFi) : exil* in http://atilf.atilf.fr

[3] Jean-Michel Belorgey « Exils », in *TERRA-Ed.*, Coll. « Reflets », mars 2005. URL : <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exil>.

[4] Camelia Manolescu, 2010, « L'A*becedaire des années d'exil* de Sonia Kaleva Anguelova », *Analele Universitatii din Craiova,* Seria Stiinte Filologice, *Langues et littératures romanes*, an XIII, nr. 1, Editura Universitaria, pp. 53-64.

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The mythology of the Nichita Stănescu's language. Invention and innovation

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ABSTRACT

One of the most striking stylistic particularities Nichita Stănescu's poetry was apparent beginning with volume *A Vision of Feelings* and, crucially, alongside the volume *11 Elegies*.
It concerns the enormous capacity of Nichita Stănescu's discourse to assimilate in a poetic manner a considerable number of technical-scientific terms, the capacity to create a posture of enunciation, which is objective, detached, and impersonal. Because the scientific registry of N. Stănescu's poetry comprises complex aspects, which through their complexity surpass the limitations of the present subchapter, the approach of only two core problems relevant to the defining of his poetic originality is relevant.

KEYWORDS: *Nichita Stănescu, poetic language, invention, innovation*

Contextual extensions and combinations of valence

A first reading of Stănescian poetry produces discomfort. The reader is confused by the large quantity of specific terminology, terms, which are integrated into very peculiar poetic contexts. A statistical pattern of operation is not necessary in order to ascertain the fact that Nichita Stănescu radically changes the composition of the Romanian poetical lexicon by extending relevance not only towards the popular, familiar and slang oriented core, as Tudor Arghezi has done before him, also allocating focus towards the areas of terminology specific to various sciences.

An inventory, without claiming completeness, reveals the existence of a large number of terms belonging to the field of *anatomy* (52 title words). A true "anatomic atlas" could reconstruct the summation of these terms, using largely self-designation or subjective representations of the anthropomorphized object-universe.

Their analysis confirm the very accurate intuition of Nicolae Manolescu (1970: 3) regarding the lyrical corporeality of Nichita Stănescu:

> His lyrics expresses corporeality in the sense that it utilises anatomic notions as poetic concepts. The eye, the eyebrows, the hands, the shoulders, the knees, the ribs, all constitute a genuine language throughout his craft (…). No other poet has ever

used the body largely. Never have the anatomic representations seen such organic lyricism.

Nichita Stănescu not only as a literary denomination inside the process of corporeal self-description uses all this terminology, but it is also extracted inside a figurative space marked by a violent logic of lexical associations which are paradoxical and oxymoronic. On the one side, the bones, as parts of the human body, are given contrasting chromatic epithets (*the black bone of the forehead, the beding of light,* visually (*you, translucent bones, A Midwinter Night's Dream; the skeleton with livid bones. Harmonisation, moral, nervous sternum, Axios! Axios! The gentle bone that decorates the hand*).

Music, on the other hand, sees terminology enter the composition of certain anthropomorphised metaphors based on the semantic transfer abstract/concrete, totally unusual within the Romanian poetic space: *the skeleton of the moment dashing across eternity; the bone of the false idol of breath* (*The Idea of Mouth), winter liquefies its long white bones; the shiny bones of stars (Fire and Ice).*

What is surprising here is not necessarily the uniqueness of one image or another, which can elicit the paradoxical associations of the surrealists, but rather the consistency of imagery transfers, which form a personal poetry that is fundamentally anthropocentric.

Thus, Stănescian poetry sees insistent invocations of *blood* with its properties transferred onto other referents (it *coagulated* sadness – Song, *history coagulates into solemn words – The Slit Man*, contiguous notions finding themselves in hyponymy, such as *wound, lymph, plasma (*sea of plasma*,* the greenish plasma of poplars.), *protoplasm* alongside blood which is the dynamic essence of organic existence, Nichita Stănescu often mentions the *brain*, at times in shocking imagery, reminding us of Picasso's cubism (*the blue brain, Harmonisation*), and its constitutive and auxiliary elements : *meninges*, a term often used by Stănescu in the feminine gender : *frail meninges, my sweaty meninges, my gentle meninges* (*The Buffon and Death).*

The poet's anatomic drawing boards do not lack in terminology designating reproduction and gestation, using them exclusively in metaphors associated with the object-universe: *the gentle sex of flight* (*Fallstaff or the Evasion of the Myth*), *chimeras of the universe* (*To Invent a Flower*).

Of all the organs of perception, the *eye* enjoys an almost exclusive allocation of attention with enormous occurrences (*the blue boulders of the eyes*) described with great attention to its anatomic details: *the orbital cavity, the eyelids, the pupils*; sometimes within an anthropomorphised metaphor: *the green pupils of the grass.*

Though it is not absent altogether, hearing is not so much reflected in the Stănescian terminology: *the ear, its pavilions, the eardrum,* less frequently invoked and usually within figurative contexts – *harmonious eardrum* (*Of the Soul*).

The richness of the anatomic terminology poetically exploited by Nichita Stănescu is without precedent in Romanian poetry. No other Romanian poet, except Ion Barbu in the field of Mathematics, has ever made such a coherent effort to substantiate a personal style using a specialised vocabulary.

This enterprise demonstrates that Nichita Stănescu abundantly possesses the *imagination of concrete forms* (as he characterises himself in the *7th Elegy*, although he is an abstract poet in equal measure. The effect of using anatomic terminology is in fact intensely concrete, both in the achievement of bodily description of the lyrical self, as well as in the generation of anthropomorphised metaphors.

On the contrary, the metaphor is maintained, in as far as it relies on the element of surprise produced by the transfer of the word from on stylistic registry to another (scientific-poetic), as it is confirmed by the images engraved onto a specific zoological term: *the cetacean air* (*Harmonisation*).

The exact sciences are another great source of terminological selection for Nichita Stănescu's poetry, revealing the equal fascination of the poet for the rarefied area of concepts, paradoxically placed in the service of empirical abstractness.

Physics provides title terms sometimes used denotatively only for their lexical uniqueness: molecules, electrons, and velocity.

An enormous imaginative force animates the Stănescian poetic representations based on scientific notions. If the concepts borrowed from Physics usually produce abstract associations, the ones elected from the field of Chemistry are meant to materialise the metaphorical merging or comparison, especially when they are based on names or elements of chemical substance or on characteristics belonging to them: *space of chloride, lazy dances of ebony, with shades of phosphorus they shall strike you down* (*President Baudelaire*).

Syntactic Innovations

A. Particularities of Constructing the Direct Object

One of the most striking syntactic deviations of Stănescian poetry which establishes itself through insistent recurrence consists of changing the syntactic status of intransitive verbs.

The systemic transitivity of certain verbs which do not know this syntactic use within the common language has drawn the attention of Nichita Stănescu scholars from an early stage, linguists and non-linguists alike, who were content to note the presence of the phenomenon, without adding further comments as to the poetic justification behind this deviation widely represented in the poet's work starting with the volume *A Vision of Feelings* and ending with his posthumous works.

The verbs which are forcefully transited by breaking a strict rule of sub-categorisation (the impossibility of the intransitive verbs to combine with a direct object) are grouped according to the analysis made in three distinct syntactic-semantic situations.

a) The first is represented by the one in which the transitive action, performed by the human agent, placed in the position of the grammatical subject falls upon an

inanimate patient. This layout of syntactic displacement of the logical-semantic roles is specific mainly to the poet's early poetry, especially his first three volumes (due to the connection between categories as syntactic functions and case specific categories/logical-semantic roles) (Pană Dindelegan, 1972 : 23).

The relationship between the describer-character and the object-universe is directed by the imaginary pattern of cosmic expansion as it relates to the human subject, transforming the world in accordance with his dictatorial fantasy. The linguistic reflex of this unidirectional orientation from the human agent towards the surrounding universe consists of the presence of a great number of transitive verbs, many of them originating from forceful transitivity (either by breaking a restriction that is purely syntactically combined with the direct object as is the case of the following verbs: to rise, to silence; or belonging to a semantic restriction as is the case with the verbs: to hiss, to hurt, whose transitivity is severely limited by context):

> I hiss at the moon and I rise and I change it into a big love.
>
> (*Emotion of Autumn*)

> (...) the tendons of strained light/ sounding as the wave freshly risen from the sea,/ which time, by swimming, silences and hurts them.
>
> (*Song*)

This type of constructions decreases substantially after the volume *The Right to Time*, as the centrifugal emotions of the lyrical self, of ruling the moon through imagination are diminished alongside the robust drive and serenity of the juvenile period.

In his later poetry several such constructions continue to occur, presenting core verbs which lead towards a different semantic direction.

One of these is the verb *to be*, whose transitivity allows the lyrical subject to declare its poetic identification with all the possible forms of existence – paraphrasing the famous Rimbauldian formula "Je est un autre":

> (...) I am the equal of all that is, /from fish to bird, /from grass to apricot, /from goat to rabbit. All of this I am each passing moment.
>
> (*Metamorphoses*)

In his posthumous works, one frequently encounters the transitive verb *to silence* betraying the obsession of approaching a territory beyond language, a territory of the non-word, an obsession reminding us of Mallarmé's *A Silent White Poem*, Rilke's *Mistrusting the Word*, and *Silent Word*.

> I made into a groom/the flying vulture/and sang to him in silence/with sweet remembrance
>
> (*At the Vulture*)

> I beg of you, let us silence nature! /Let us silence all that exists.

> I would say if only I could say what needs to said/I would be silent if I could silence silence. Silent tower/I am Screamer
>
> (*The Crushing*)

b) The second situation is represented by the placement in the position of the direct object of the reflexive pronoun corresponding to the subjective persona, a syntactic position directed by a verb, which has suffered a forced transition.

This construction becomes an expression of the processes taking place within the inner space of lyrical subjectivity, a space whose limits are perceived as oppressive.

c) A distinct situation where transitive verbs are attracted through force is the one in which the human persona is distributed into the position of the direct object, appearing from a logical-semantic point of view to be the patient of an action performed by a non-human agent (shadow, death, vulture, nature, lover, water, angel, God), including a physical or spiritual sub-structure of the subjective persona (the eye, the feeling).

From a syntactic standpoint this situation and the one discussed at point a), presents analogies to the so-called periphrastic causative constructions, in which case we encounter an intransitive and non-agentive base construction. Eg.: *The eye* ^{A}*DOES*^{A} *I die => "my eye hurts"). (Himself)*

The poetic relevance of this syntactic transformation consists of the specifically modern mutation of vision proposed upon the lyrical subject: it loses the poignancy of emotions and the imaginative omnipotence of its own romantic period, he lives no more, but lets himself be experienced, he no longer controls the object-universe, becoming its prisoner including his own perishing corporeality.

The examples, countless in all the stages of Nichita Stănescu's works, but mostly in his later poetry, *Epica Magna, Imperfect Works, Anti-metaphysics* are relevant in this respect:

> (...) with every shadow (...) my soul lessens.
>
> (*Enghidu*)

> [She] gently uncombed her blonde hair/numbing me with death.
>
> (*A Change of Heart*)

> (...) my long mane sat over the sands.
>
> (*Desert*)

Another aspect of constructing the direct object in Nichita Stănescu's poetry, utterly unnoticed by critics, consists in:

- the extension of the morpheme "on" from the personal direct object (characterised through semantic features individualised on a human level utilising the direct non-personal version of the nominal object, non-individualised and even none-defined (for the construction of the direct object in Romanian) (Pană

Dindelegan, 1976: 279).

In his poetry, Nichita Stănescu commonly deals with:

- Inanimate objects as personalised and individualised presences, which is reflected in the method of construction of the position of the direct object. The construction appears in the volume *The Right to Time*, but its use shall be intensified in the poet's later works:

A game of passing, faster, slower, / for my eye and myself creating the trees (...)
(*Enghidu*)

Why did you make the tree/ was it to humiliate me (...)?
(*Why?)*

(...) give me, mother, out of solitude only/ number seven (...)
(*The Plowing*)

If, in the case of inanimate nouns, the aforementioned construction works as a discrete form of personification, in the absence of the actual canonical figure,

- in the case of those animate but non-human, the same construction has an individualisation role:

Let's go, I say, without mercy, let us hunt the stretin stag (...)
(*The Arrowing of the Stretin Stag and Harpooning of the Otter Fish*)

(...) and you shall see with your own eyes (...)/ the black goats of the cliff drowning.
(*My Daemon towards me*)

A surprising construction is that through which Nichita Stănescu personalises and individualises indefinite and negative pronouns placed in the position of the direct object (with the help of the morpheme "on" and even that of the clitic doubling), although there is a semantic incompatibility in the Romanian language between non-defining and the "on" constructions, between defining and doubling.

The above-mentioned phenomenon must be put in connection with the conversion of the indefinite and negative pronouns into nouns, both being methods of representation of the empty decay, often invoked in the poetry of Nichita Stănescu.

B. The extension of the combinatory valences of certain words

In this sense, the main Stănescu's innovation consists of the extension of the possibilities of certain verbs (verbal expressions) and adjectives to select prepositional objects. The most widely represented ones are the prepositional objects preceded by the preposition "by":

This is how we go blind/deaf and crippled by a simple word.
(*You're not going to come*)

Or by the relaxation of a semantic restriction based on a selection of the respective object:

(1) Oh, wide-awakeness, impregnated by the objects of the world.
(*Cosmogony or Lullaby*)

(2) Not even sadness can make me beautiful/ (...) not even the street emptied by your absence.
(*Song*)

(3) Only a moment (...)/ let me be separated from you.
(*Only a Moment*)

(4) The horse had been calmed by the saddle/ and the mountain had been calmed by the vultures.

(*Through the Orange Tunnel*)

Consequently, the aforementioned syntactic deviations trigger a reformulation of semantic structures related to regent words. Therefore, *impregnated* (1) becomes the expression of a *pregnant fullness*, *naked* (2) accumulates the values of the adjectives *desolate* and *solitary, alone* (3) gains the connotations of beneficial isolation, a saviour of individuality (the verse is an exhortation addressed to death).

Other prepositional objects, fewer in number in Stănescu's poetry are built with the preposition "why":

Why does the walker walk? / Why does the mover move? / Why do the tremblers tremble? / Why does he who has teeth chatter (...).
(*Sibylline Books*)

C. The Contextual Extension of an Adjectival Construction

The poet has a true affinity for this type of construction which is strongly marked by affection, bestowing innovation towards the amplification of the afforded adjectival registry currently admitted in this position.

The syntactic deviations achieved through semantic drifts, a household specialty of Nichita Stănescu's style, are more numerous than the deviations from the rules of strict sub-categorisation (the creation of new syntactic valences).

The poet loosens the semantic restrictions dealing with the combination of poetic terms, generating paradoxical associations of imagery surprising metaphorical connotations and even syllogisms.

Overwhelmingly, these innovative constructions are the expression of different states of mind, emotions and actions of the subjective self, which would explain the capricious logic of the imagery at hand. In the construction inventory, an already existing syntactic pattern is indicated with respect to the poet's decision to undertake a certain sematic freedom:

Constructions with the verb TO GET:

I am getting + adverb *(sick, hot*):

Oh, I was getting far (...)

(*Woman*)

I am getting + nominative noun *(sleepy, thirsty, hungry, homesick*). The preposition "for" – conjunctional sentence:

I am getting homesick for my village/to leave):
I am getting (...) death for the sublime.

(*The Quiet after the Myth*)

Constructions with the verb TO BE:

I am + adverb *(well, easy, hard, lonely*):

I'm no longer feeling beauty/ I'm feeling lonely.

(*Calling*)

Constructions with the verb TO GET:

I am getting + nominative noun *(sick, weak, dizzy*):

I was getting sweet scarlet death.

(*Incantation*)

The verb TO GIVE + supine (to drink, *to suspect, to work*), in the example extracted from Stănescu's poetry, we are dealing with the loosening of a selective restriction and not the invention of a supine for the verb *to die*, as it is the opinion of Ecaterina Mihăilă, 1985: 34-35), a form existing in the language ("*It's hard to die young*", "*It's easy to live*, *to die is harder*"):

Oh mother, give me and my friends something to drink/ and after our thirst for life has been quenched/ give us, oh mother, something to die for.

(*To hand-feed me*)

Firstly, by introducing sematic deviations inside syntactic patters pre-existing in another language, these constructions constitute *powerful elements of stylistic surprise*, based on the readers' frustrated horizon of expectation.

Secondly, they overwhelmingly transport enunciations referring to the perceptions, sensations, the physiological states, the inner emotions of the subjective person, proposing therefore *an intensely subjective vision based on the relationship between the human being and the object-universe.*

The contextual semantic incompatibilities introduced by the poet are first of all

concerned with the original representation done through unconventional means of the use of Romanian poetry in general, of the fundamental movement of association generated by the lyrical self in connection with the surrounding cosmos. The preferred semantic infractions perpetrated by the enunciating subject consisted of:

- the placement of a concrete noun instead of an abstract one*: "I'm getting grass, goat, autumn, Noah". "I got poplar, kernel, pit, angel, priest, pyramids, Einstein".*

One is compelled to notice the grouping of these concrete nouns, often in long enumerative series, expressing the aspiration to identify the lyrical self with an entire array of forms of existence.

- the association of words providing a contradiction of terms: "*I am getting death from the sublime*", "*it's getting late early*".

- the substitution of nouns, which designate corporal possession, perceptions, sensations, physiological states, the inner emotions of the human subject with nouns, concrete in general referring to external referents belonging to that respective noun: "*I'm making leaves, I'm making horses*", "*I'm gold, glass, earth, vultures, water, mountain etc*", "*my devil hurts, the verb, copper, milkweed, the dog, the rabbit, the stag, the tree, the board, the setting, etc.", "the streets hurt", "I'm cold from words", "my trees and my birds are numb", "I am sick with song, windows, number one …".*

These substitutions, which are quite numerous, provide, perhaps, the most comprehensive imagery of the expanding body projected by the imagines subject inside the poem, using identification with all the elements of the surrounding cosmos.

The replacement of the modal adverbs, used in verbal expressions (containing personal pronoun in the dative case) through adverbs of place or time: "*I was getting far*", "*I was getting late early*". This way, the states of mind, the emotions of the human subject are no longer just qualified ("it's hard/easy for me to…"), but portrayed, becoming sentimentality of "the far", a feeling of the existential lateness.

All of the semantic-syntactic deviations entail, in fact, a radically different way of implementing metaphoric significance. The difference between the canonical metaphoric patterns such as: "*My beloved is autumn sky, clear and pink*" (*Baudelaire*) and "*I'm getting autumn"* (*Nichita Stănescu*) consists in the logical condensation of the process through which the metaphorical poles are related (the subjective feeling and the invoked season). Decisively though, the difference resides in the fact that poetic significance is achieved not only though an innovative semantic association, but also though the semantic infringement of a systemic rule.

D. Stages of Discourse Syntactical Deconstruction

The displacement of natural word order in a sentence represents an old

characteristic of the poetic language, a trademark of what Nichita Stănescu called *syntactic poetry*.

Traditional cases of topical turbulence represented by *syntactic inversions* and *various dislocations* in Stănescian poetry were analysed by Ecaterina Mihăilă (1985: 43), who noticed, and rightfully so, that it was characteristic for Nichita Stănescu to practice a procedure, refining it to the point of exhaustion, in one and the same poem or even in multiple poems written in the same period.

One must notice early on that the poet does not excel in these classic derangements regarding the order of poetic enunciation. Most examples of *syntactic inversion* quoted by Ecaterina Mihăilă belong to the early poetry of Nichita Stănescu, when the poet was still partially devoted to a traditionalist poetic diction:

> On their stripe, the arrow of the bodywent upwards/tensing each and every age.
> (*Upward Movement*)

> If I should turn but one thought from you,/
> I shall find that there is nothing left behind me/
> Of this I testify on my knees/
> I utter not words for any ear.
> (*Andru Weeping*)

Along with the displacements of the direct objects illustrated above, the author also notes the forward movements of the adjectival determinants, more spectacular where they are combined with tiny dislocations of elements placed between the adjective and its regent:

> (...) I burn myself in the depth of my eyes/ lights I have never before touched...
> (*Enghidu*)

The topical dislocations are also selected, from Nichita Stănescu's early poetry, when this procedure as well as the one before it, act as a partial filter of ambiguity of the poetic enunciation and not as a form of expressive disarticulation:

> (...) like a gaze thrust forward/ through the ether of hot [memories].
> (*Song about the Youth of the Hero*)

Abnormal Syntactic Connections

A striking particularity relevant to the formulation of the connections based on the copulative coordination in the poetry of Nichita Stănescu: the elements associated through coordination present either a high degree of semantic incompatibility, or as the procedure becomes increasingly more daring, they belong to different grammatical classes, obtaining unforeseen effects of understanding.

The coordination of two adjectives can bear stylistic relevance if:

(1) they belong to incompatible semantic spheres and if,
(2) they are, in addition, dislocated by the presence of the regent nominal:

(1) Dear, long and Christian cemeteries (...)

(*Without Baptism*)

(2) (...) unveiling the same old blue [iris] and orange.

(*The Invisible Sun*)

The final stage in the process of language deconstruction in Stănescu's poetry is represented by the development of a personal technique of stripping away the semantics of the word through a sui-generis discursive mechanism. This is nothing more than the negative pennant of the operations through which poetry in its constructive effort generated the super-sign or the lyrical hyper-sign.

The syntactic resorts of this regression towards the null sign (non-word) are of great interest:

> An ice station on a field of ice/ with icy rails/ with a train of ice./ Then/ two ice station/ on two fields of ice/ on two sets of icy rails/ with two trains of ice./ Then/ three of ice/ with three of ice/ and three of ice./ Then, ice of ice/ with ice of ice/ with a station of ice/ with two trains of ice/ with then of then/ with then of ice.
>
> (*The Station*)

The main syntactical infraction of this text consists of the hallucinatory proliferation of the same pattern of construction, inside of a discourse which seems to be infinitely catalysed. The total suppression of predication, illusively substituted by the repetition of narrative adverbs, brings into contention the massive clustering of nominal groups, offering the text a densely descriptive character.

In the beginning, the description keeps a systemic aspect, using enumeration to specify the components of the tableau (*station, field, rails*). These proliferate in a hallucinatory manner but in accordance with a mechanic logic, revealing the predilection of Stănescu's visionary descriptions for the contemplation of uniformed multiplicity.

If in the beginning the stereotypical determinants of names still have a referential, non-denotative function (*station, field, icy rails*); in the second part of the text they are put in the service of the process of semantic displacement, through the generation of absurd combinations (the tautology *ice of ice*) or syntactically impossible combinations (the determinants of certain deictic words without notional content: *then of ice*) in the utterance *then of then,* the regent as well as the determinant have become null words. This text is singular in the illustration of discursive mechanics disseminated by the poet of the *Unwords*.

If in the poem *The Station*, Nichita Stănescu exploits the function of repetition and stereotypical determination, amplifying everything to the point of nonsense, in *Goodnight,* he achieves similar results performing a negative description of the

poetic object, not through the accumulation of attributes, but through consecutive elimination of those respective attributes.

The end-point of this act of negation is the contesting of language itself which along with the elimination of the referent has lost its reason for being:

> Why do you have no hands?/the Uncaressed one asked me./-Because my rabbit was stolen from my arms and my arms along with it/-Why was the rabbit stolen from your arms/ the rabbit from your arms?/he asked me when I had no arms/ but blood instead of arms/ the one who asked the question asked me/-Because they stole the rabbit for running,/ That's,/(…) that's why I was left without a rabbit/ because he was left without running/ which they tore from his tasty rabbit body./-What running? What running? / - The one from the green grass which was left without roots. / - What roots? What roots? / - The ones that were left without soil. / - Which soil? / - The one that was left without a sun/ and it is left black, black, black, / in the light of my eyes/ which I no longer have. / - What have you lost that makes you speak? / What have you lost that makes you speak? / Don't you think that far too many beings spin around with nothingness/ around an orbit? / I turned and Asked/ I'm not saying what. / That's my business. / Apart from this, I advise and guide you/ don't you dare use your tongue in this manner/ except for silence. / This way, children, / a torn tongue doesn't speak, / it bleeds. / Goodnight!
>
> (*Goodnight, Imperfect Works*)

Nichita Stănescu's process of reformulating speech does not appear in its entirety. What sets the author of *Unwords* apart from other post-war authors is the very *coherent and systemic character of the subversions performed by him inside and even against the system of the language*.

It is not the variety of types of deviations that is of interest to the poet, but rather the consistent implementation of some personal rules specific to his poetic system, making his poetic style always recognisable. It is not the great number of suffixes and prefixes enlisted in the poetic derivations that bestows relevance to the originality of the lexical creations obtained (especially with the negative and the depriving prefixes) but their vast contextualisation.

It is not the exhaustion of formal patterns of lexical creation that substantiates the object of Stănescu's reform, nor is it the experimentation of the list of possible conversions in the Romanian language. Similarly, the problem can be raised for all morphologic and syntactic departments, inside which the poet focuses his offensive targeting several precise targets (the extension of the category of comparison, the personalisation and reflexivity of certain verbs, the poetic reformulation of the particularities of construction regarding the direct object, the loosening of restrictions which deal with syntactic and semantic word combinations).

The systematic aspect of the deviations proposed only through an exhaustive research of the poetic work of Nichita Stănescu clearly demonstrates that we are not dealing with minor trifle experimentations, but rather with a comprehensive poetic project in the service of which the poet places an extraordinary sense of language (that polyglossia of the Romanian language, as the poet liked to joke about) and a robust verbal energy.

One fact or another, regarded separately, may appear as minor exercises, ludic improvisations made on the canvas of the language. Integrated though, in the organic ensemble of his work, like the rocks of a mosaic, they participate in the configuration of a unique linguistic experience within the post-war Romanian poetic space.

It is very surprising the fact that Nichita Stănescu explored all of the departments of the language simultaneously, in order to give the full measure of his poetic resourcefulness. Not completely content with language, contesting its structural limits and the arbitrary nature of its signs, the poet was, at the same time, unsatisfied with *"the phonetic, morphologic and syntactic poetry*" (*The Physiology of Poetry*), dreaming of what he called a "metalinguistic poetry":

> I feel, as natural logic, that tendency of poetry to become metalinguistic, above the material world of language, redeeming itself to notions. Great poetry has indeed never resided inside metaphors or ideas, it has sought for itself an autonomous area, all to itself, as a fundamental dimension of the human spirit, utilising human language as a vehicle and nothing more, a vehicle transporting exactly all that is characteristic and particular to humanity, differentiating it from all that is, something different from humanity, situating it within an egocentric or eccentric cosmos bestowing meaning and purpose to the existential phenomenon.
>
> (1990: 191)

Somewhat improper, because it refers to the idea of "meta-poetry", of "poetry of poetry", the term metalinguistic employed by Nichita Stănescu is "read" by us as trans-linguistic, because the latter properly justifies the "transgressive" direction of Stănescian poetry, of its major objective to go "beyond" the limitations of the given linguistic system.

In this respect, we notice that the *"poetics of the unword"* (a metaphorical denomination for the propensity of poetry towards that "autonomous area", desired by the poet) must be perceived as a bivalent reformative action, constructive and deconstructive at the same time.

On the one side, poetry *goes beyond the word* (the simple sign with its semantics estcblished through the use of the common language) towards *the super-sign* or *the hyper-sign*, activating in this respect, lexical, morphologic and syntactic mechanisms (lexically composed, ad hoc agglutinations of unusual, derived signs, fictitious words, words made up through conversion, personalised verbs which are contextually afforded new meaning, syntactic "galaxies" of words etc).

On the other hand, poetry *descends under the limitation of the word towatds the null sign or the unword*, placed inside the discourse through an array of no less ingenious procedures (derivations with privative and negative prefixes, ludic separations, awkward conversions, fictitious deprived of any structural remnants linked to the morphological system, operating with single-plane signs such as the phoneme/letter, with lexemes with no conceptual content such as onomatopoeias, deconstructions of meaning using techniques based on discursive mechanics).

A vast material offered in this direction is the analysis of the lexical,

morphological and syntactic deviations themselves, as uncommon sources of metaphorical significance (E.g.: creations derived with metaphorical meaning such as *staggy body, to grass,* the creation of the appositional metaphorical epithet through paratactic composition - *word, child, kings, animals, emperor heart* etc., the metaphorical meaning of personalised impersonal verbs - *to snow, to rain, to blow*, that of forced transitivity – "*my eye is killing me*", or that of the loosening of semantic restrictions based on the combination of words: "*I'm being made to pour", "I'm being made to die for the sublime*").

The establishment of a poetics of the un-word, which is exclusively transgressive, appears to be the final step achieved by the lyrical subjectivity in its attempt to extend its dominion over the material of language.

After the poetic voice has time after time experienced different methods of textual organisation and various stylistic registries, after it has accepted games of perspective and games of language, it proposes its own linguistic utopia – a poetic language marked by incidents and specific deviations, which instil and overthrow the signs, challenging their semiotic potential, and at the same time denouncing its fragile conventionality.

It is quite certain that the poet has placed into contention a great deal of the conventions which, until him, were directing the construction of the lyrical discourse, violently renegotiating his contract with the reader. He placed into contention the very purpose of the words as support for the act of communication. In its act of negation, it hides an optimistic paradox: descending into the meaningless layers of vocabulary, the poet does not abdicate from his status of semiotic animal. He continues to utter words in order to create super-signs, live his utopia until the very end, His Cry of despair is one of victory as well: "*The word is dead! Long live the Word!*"

Technical and Mathematical – Hermeneutic Symbols

Mathematical terminology is present as well in the poetry of Nichita Stănescu, without the poet continuing along the trajectory initiated by Ion Barbu. The mathematical terms are not used in Stănescu's poetry as hermetic symbols and are not integrated inside an elliptical syntax, contracted, an additional filter for the isolation of the lyrical act as was the case with his predecessors.

Nichita Stănescu utilises mathematical terminology as well as physical and chemical terminologies, for the games of stylistic contrast he enables.

The best represented terminology id the one he borrowed from geometry, starting with the name of the discipline, applied in the description of the subjective person's interior self ("*it had burnt like napalm the geometry of the heart, known/ by me and me alone*", *Self-Portrait in the Fourth Dimension*), and continuing with the numbers of the geometrical figures or the category adjectives corresponding to them, utilised either as symbols of ideal perfection, surreal, or as an expression of emotions, a point defined in the axiomatic manner of Euclid.

However, what radically sets him apart from Ion Barbu, with whom he was

often superficially associated, is the fact that this terminology is not put to work for the construction of an ideal geometry of existence, of pure prototypes, deriving from Platonism, but, on the other hand, it constantly serves the representation of the human subject both materially and spiritually.

The drawing of his face is associated with either the rhomb or the oval, or even the triangle, while the positive states of mind are upwardly vectored (*vertical red*), and the negative ones, marked by sometimes irreducible limitations are associated to geometric bodies, enclosed spaces in general (the sphere, the cube, the cylinder, curved, concave and concentric spaces), within an anti-Barbian symbolic shape.

In the poems he explicitly associated with geometric forms, such as *Euclid's Quarrel, The Choosing of the Sphere, Lesson about the Cube* and *Lesson about the Circle*, the poet clearly distances himself from a geometric perspective, purged by the real in the context of existence.

His gestures are symbolic – the rejection of the sphere, based on the justification that it is not beautiful, the shattering of a corner of a cube, the cutting of the circle – are all equivalent with the option of embracing what is real, with the acceptance of imperfection as inherent to all concrete forms, including artwork.

Nichita Stănescu reintegrates numbers in their concreteness, cancelling all of the basic operations utilising numbers. The expression of this poetic vision can be found in two ludic texts, where the numbers are used in abundance like in a children's game, providing only a pretext in a plea for *accepting the unique and unrepeatable nature of concrete forms*:

> One plus one equals two, / one plus one equals three/ or four or five …/ (…) This count/ is a dream, a slogan. / a hard 2 is not the same as a soft 2/ a long 2 is not the same as a short 2/ and this is because/ it's all the same/ so two equals one/ (one is the wife of 1)/ 1 in the vocative/ is not the same as 1/ in the imperative!
>
> (*Poetic Mathematics*)

> We know that one times one equals one,/ but a unicorn times a pear/ we don't know the result./ (…) Oh, but a blanket/ multiplied by a rabbit/ equals a redhead woman, of course, / a cabbage divided by a flag/ equals a pig,/ a horse without a tram/ equals an angel,/ a cauliflower plus an egg,/ equals a talus…
>
> (*Another kind of Mathematics*)

Beyond these ludic exercises, the numbers return relatively frequently in the poetry of Nichita Stănescu, the poet showing a genuine obsession of origin, translated through the cultivation of symbols, such as the number 1: "*I'm sick of the number one*" (*Axios! Axios!*)

Another field of terminology poetically harnessed by Nichita Stănescu belongs to the technical field. Without displaying vast wealth, this terminology, also activated at that time by futuristic poetry, is able to create shockingly concrete images. The poet builds metaphors through the transfer of properties belonging to technical objects onto natural elements or the human body.

Therefore, he talks about "*the great sprockets of seasons*" (*The Right to Time*

II), "*the black cliché of the lake*" (*Autumn Dawn*), about the nights "*as propellers" (At the Beginning of the Nights).* The words are compared *to* "*electric trains*" or "*race cars*" (*Ars Poetica*), and their force of penetration generates an unusual association, substantiated in the metaphor "*linguistic laser*" (*Unwords*). Even the character-self can be described with a discrete sense of humour "*as wise and with spare parts*" (*Loss of conscience through knowledge*) or as seeing itself make an incursion into the structure of matter, a "*raid*" inside the stones.

The tension of the inner emotions is released through the explosion of corporeal structures, a striking metaphor of the interior disharmony of modern man "*exploded heart*", "*It usually exploded like a temple*", (*Deafeated Anti-matters*), or explodes within in *Bengalese fires "the unseen part of my self/ being illuminated by Bengalese fires" (Bird Passing through a Cloud)*

In general, when it comes to Nichita Stănescu, the use of scientific terminology is tributary to oxymoronic logic.

The most unexpected associations between objects, phenomena, reigns, orders of imagery (abstract/concrete) fall in succession in his poetry with astonishing celerity. The registry aims at suggesting a paradoxical logic of imagery placed in the discursive act, eliciting incredible flexibility on te part of the reader.

Another example, chosen at random from the thousands of paradoxical imagistic combinations of Nichita Stănescu, demonstrates the same rapid change aim, reuniting in one single verse two zoomorphic representations of the object-universe: "*Nails of leaves scratched the cetacean air*" (*Harmonisation*)

The Violent Negotiation of the Contract with the Reader. Stylistic Registries of the Stănescian lyrical voice

The attempt to take back the spirit of the old language, though the introduction in the text of some archaic linguistic samples, is a relatively late enterprise of the Stănescian body of work.

The samples can be dated, mostly, from the period after the volume *In Sweet Classical Style* and exposes a refined pleasure of the cultural game. Nichita Stănescu was a fervent reader of the old chronicle texts and old authors in general, as it is evident from his reading notes published in volumes or in the written press, or from some of his original parodies created in accordance with the chosen literary models.

Practicing within area or another, reconstructing the semantic load of certain ancient words, the colouring of some grammatical forms or some out-of-use syntactic constructions, the poet undertakes suggestive exercises of virtuosity acting like a child, as did Arghezi in "*the poem of the old hag and the crumb*", thoroughly enjoying in an aesthetic manner the pleasure of being an accomplice to the obsolete eras of Romanian poetry. Daniel Dimitriu signalled a few such words and archaic constructions in the poetry of Nichita Stănescu, stating that they are sometimes justified extra-linguistically, by the need to evoke the spirit of an époque, but that, it most often materialises the poet's struggle to bring himself closer to *"the primary stages of the language, its naïve*

and incredibly prolific age, the age when the word would undertake a huge effort in order to capture meaning and stabilise its form." (Dimitriu, 1997: 285)

The updating of the archaic registry is symptomatic of the poet's ludic intentions (not necessarily a need for parody), one such stylistic exercise has neither the reach nor the seriousness with which the Romantics looked back towards the past and its naïve poetry, regressing towards the mythical age of language (the analysis of Eminescu's archaic poetic layer of language is interpreted by Mihaela Mancaş, 1991: 40): *"(...) was answered to the soldier."* (*The Discharge*), *"(...) An idea was taken from my mind."* (*Transfiguration*)

One can easily observe that, in general, archaic forms are used in the singular, as colourful elements of contrast in comparison with the broader stylistic context of poetry. There are few existing examples which underline another element which doubles the baseline archaic construction, such as the ancient form of the preposition "*gre"* or a verb with a changed conjugation: it is recalibrated (it selects the present tense suffix of the 1st conjugation). The ancient forms of nouns appear accidentally, without having any relevant frequencies.

In *Sweet My Leather Chalice,* they are reported by the resurrection of the gallant-obsolete tonality of the troubadour poetry, with all the common places of the erotic rhetoric of obedience and devotion:

> Drink from my leather chalice/ Madam, we have only hard wines./ (…) I am a carpet underneath your feet and a ring on your hands, / my stamina is your earring.
>
> (*Sweet My Leather Chalice*)

The lexical or phonetic archaisms experience limited use from the poet. They generally appear harmonised in context, or placed in the service of the parenthetical style, or even the creation of an Eminescian sound structure:

> You shall also see, when you begin to love, she who will be your wife.
>
> (*Someone's Teachings to his Son*)

> Let her fly with my forsaken thought/ and forever spreading roots/
> just like the warhead would grant voice/ to the walls of cities.
>
> (*Not even an autumn*)

The simple negation, a construction attested between the 16th and 18th century, becoming archaic only in the second half of the next century, is used as a powerful stylistic effect employed on a syntactic level. (Gheție, 1978: 177)

It is confirmed that the use of negative pronouns in the formulation of simple negation has the effect of turning those respective pronouns into nouns, making empty change a character in itself. Nichita Stănescu utilises the simple negation in other contexts, surely aiming at creating an element of stylistic surprise:

> I therefore testify on my knees of these, / words that do not deserve the lifting of my ear.
>
> (*Andru Weeping*)

> inside you cannot see, / green leaf, very green leaf,/ nor can you feel or smell/ as the silky silk.
>
> (*Cantos*)

There are few Stănescian texts that assemble a homogenous archaic stylistic formula. Far from being a religious poet, Nichita Stănescu does structure some of his poems based on the model of prayer (*Prayer, Humble Prayer*), without conferring them the specific nuances of a text from that era.

Only in *The Gospels of Autumn* does the lyrical voice re-sequence the tonality of old religious texts, insistently repeating verbs in the future with enclitic auxiliaries or by topically inverting the predicate and the subject/direct object, two syntactic features which were mostly characteristic to the language of our first religious texts from the 16th century:

> In our Gospels we shall write about the fall/ of the autumn leaves. / Mathew will say: / -The green leaf of the green shall fall in the autumn. / Marc will shout: / -From the burden of life because of life, on life shall the autumn leaves fall
>
> (*The Gospels of Autumn*)

The text is based on the repetition within multiple variants of the same logical sentence (*Leaves Fall in the Autumn*), but the lack of imagery is substituted though the careful staging of the discursive situation.

The Gospels, as alternate stories, focused on the same referent, are taken as an expository model of this poem, so that the polyphony of lyrical "voices" may prophetically support (through a generalised future), the vision of a twilight world in full dismemberment.

Someone's Teachings to his Son, is officially declared a palimpsest-text. It re-enacts the model of Byzantine parental literature of *The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Teodosie,* practicing a very modern type of intertextuality compared to the imaginary translation from the sonnets of Vasile Voiculescu, and, in general, with an entire modern and post-modern practice of grafted textualization on a pre-existent literary structure.

What is ultimately solidified is not, of course, the ideal substance of the original, but only the stylistic layer of discursive organisation. The wise tone, the direct and affectionate (*my dear*), the rigorous assembly of this corpus of wisdom and morality in paragraphs (I through XI), the solemn expression ("*all that exists possesses a celebration of its own"*, "*the most miraculous fact of existence is the fact that it is*", "*the male shines beautifully in his incapacity to give birth*"), the rhetoric accumulation of conditionals, no less than twelve in the 4th part of the poem, the emphatic repetitions ("*And all that/ exists is nearly left without space by that which/ exists where they want to celebrate the self* "), and all these elements compete to create the appearance of a moralising discourse of the era, even in the actual absence of grammatical and lexical archaisms, discretely marked in the text ("wife", "guest", "plate", the dative which uses "esse" – "*that which is/ pleasant to the eye can replace a shirt"*).

Spatial limitations do not compel the reading of a single sample:

> Don't be in a hurry to run. / Stay put! / even the core of the iron/ pours lazily inside the iron. / look at the iron and be like it. // and now, my dear, I'm going to teach you/ what you must do/ when you will no longer be able to be. / Wash yourself and clean yourself! / The Phoenix doesn't like/ carcases and dirt!
>
> (*Someone's Teachings to his Son*)

In fact, Nichita Stănescu shies away from this temptation, though proving himself to be a passionate commentator of Romanian literary folklore texts.

The folklore texts are few and far between in his works and are mostly ludic. The poet appears to only desire to give his pen a try in this registry, allowing his fellow writer from the same generation, Ion Gheorghe, the vast constructions, the resizing of indigenous mythology, the fantastic surreal folklore.

What surprises is the emergence of lines which are folkloric in the appearance in one of his volumes, *Laus Ptolemaei*, dominated by an exhibit which is scientific, learned, cold, and impersonal. Nevertheless, the poet appears to relish the sudden shifts in stylistic registry, the contrasts in formulas, the collages assembling the most paradoxical of styles.

Therefore, part I of *Song for Taking out the Water from the Ear* oscillates in tonality between the song of estrangement (of longing and weeping) and the worldly song, with echoes from the Văcăreşti and Conachi poets:

> Damn you trees, to be/ white and painted/ on the flake of feather torn/ from the clouds with drained face. / (…) cause I'd rather die/ than long for something/ and I's rather perish/ than see my words as heavy iron/ as they try to ascend towards the skies, / the words with the body of air/ the letter with the laughter of air …/ Only the heaviness is heavy/ only the wheel kept spinning/ yesterday and the day before …/ Oh Soul, you'd be better off dead.
>
> (*Song for Taking out the Water from the Ear*)

The imprecation grafted onto the verbal repetition ("*Damn you trees, to be"*), *the anaphoric structures ("I'd rather", "the words", "only"*), the tautological definition ("*the heaviness is heavy*") which has the purpose of intensifying, the symmetry of modals ("*than see*", a component of crossed anaphors), the rhyming pattern, are the elements characteristic to the folkloric lyrical song which the poet uses as support to make his painting essential (the trees are "*white"*, the clouds have a "*drained face", "the cold falls into the cluster bean"*)

Another text, *Oh Tree, Oh Tree*, a song or another way to say it, as a fast target on plants, centred upon the lyrical folkloric motif of the tree as a double vegetable of man, reconstructs not only the stylistic matrix of the folkloric text, but also uses intertextuality to bring forth a similar Blagian poem, *Oh Black Cherry Tree*, resorting itself from the processing of the folkloric model.

Another compositional parallel forged on the reciprocity between the animal and vegetal kingdoms, the growing of the chorus stanza, and, in general, and of a

broader system of repetitions of enumerations provide easily recognisable elements belonging to the structure of folk poetry which the poet takes over with a steady hand:

> Oh tree, oh tree, / you have hearts by the thousands/ and shadows by the hundreds/ the dog never barks at you. // you wear your hearts on a sleeve/ I hold my heart in the evening, / my body surrounding it, // (…) Only my one heart/ keeps getting barked at by the moon. // (…) But when autumn becomes winter, / your hearts fall/ from green to yellow/ as I saw in mister hornbeam. // Only my black heart/ sits unfallen and whole.
>
> (*Oh Black Cherry Tree*)

The poem, *Go Go Go, Little Goat, Go!*, is also entirely ludic, grafting onto the typical structure of folk song (direct address, the chorus verse, the system of holorimes etc) an elevated lexical layer which has a contrasting effect ("heel", "the yoke – king" etc.), paradoxical formulations, syllogisms:

> I stamp my bone and my shank/ and I hit the moon with the year. / I stick my heel/ where it's freezing cold. // Go, go, go, little goat, go, / My darling bleater, / I will hit you with myself/ and with green in the blueness/ Here comes the cloud to rain on our parade/ Cloudiness, black eggs. // Go, go, go, little goat, go/ and I beg of you don't tread/ You crack open the yoke king/ perhaps only beyond the law/ only if nobody were to shout/ go, go, go, little goat, go.

The poem *Autumn is Leaving* (from the volume *The Winter at the End of the World*) is also achieved in the folk registry finding itself closer to the elegiac tone of the late Blagian poetry. The eerie premonition of death is communicated discretely through the mediation of expressive folk stereotypes (repetitions which have a compositional role – "*I gave up my gold ware with a heavy heart*", the ternary anaphora – "*chimeras of* …", the symmetrical trial adjectival determinants – "*robbed, unwatched and unloved"*, the enumerations made in threes – "*suns*", "*stars*", "*weather*", "*bones*", "*skin*", "*veins*", the pronominal enclisis, the exploitations of collective expressivity – "*the gold ware", "the leaves", "the silverware", "the butchery"* etc.):

> Autumn is leaving, good riddance/ and winter is most welcome/ I gave up my gold ware with a heavy heart/ from all of the leaves/ robbed from my forest/ unwatched and unloved/ / I gave up my gold ware with a heavy heart for all the silverware/ of the first snows/ chimeras of suns/ chimeras of stars/ chimeras of weather/ When it's freezing cold/ the bones close in/ a thousand skins/ over the pantry/ all of the veins/ hijacked the blood/ when the heart beats.
>
> (*Autumn is Leaving*)

The most original Stănescian text written in a folk style remains without a doubt, *Green Leaf of Blueness*, which transcends its model through the originality of the linguistic game. An admirable analysis of this poem can be found at Ioana Em.

Petrescu (1989: 27), who interprets it as a sui-generis "ars poetica" of the author.

The poem is constructed through the dislocation and recombination with apparent absurd effects of certain folk traditional poetic schemes, such as introductory stereotypical formulations ("*green leaf of...*", "*and I said…*"), mediators ("*seas take me, they take me*"), syntactic figures such as anadiplosis ("*on a bone-made whistle/ from the bone of the leg*"), anaphora duplicated by caesura ("*and I said apple to say seeds, / and I said tree to say boards, / and I said North to say Souths*" etc.), the enumerative parallelism ("*on a bone-made whistle/ from the bone of the leg/ which sings to me chillingly, / and from the bone of my hand/ whistling for a week, / from the archway bone/ the world's cold accolade/ over two great bones/ where the polar eyes roam* ") (*Green Leaf of Blueness*)

Starting from this formal matrix, the poet lets his imagination run wild in the combination of words based on purely subjective logic, mostly oxymoronic. Spurred by a ludic drive, he therefore commits that which is characteristic to him, cascade linguistic infractions, breaking both the rules of syntactic and word combinations as well as the logical layer of sentences.

The contradiction in terms ("*green leaf of blueness*", "*apple of pear*", "*lie of truth*", "*bird of fish*"), the transgression of spatial order ("*with the head on my belt, / with the heel on my back/ and the eye in the horseshoes*"), or the temporal infractions ("*running on a field of night/ from one to seven/ from seven to ten/ a cold life has befallen me*"), the imaginary denomination ("*I see corcoy with joy, the unknown colour*"), the random numeral repetitions ("*and I drew lots and said six/ and I said one of two", "as it was grown on my shoulder/ a number two to two, / from three to three there is grass/ and from four to four a necklace,/ and from five to five a tree, / and from six to six a man*"), the extension of corporeal poetry over certain external references , ("*I feel pain in my fantastic horse*"), are but a few such deliberate stylistic "derailments" which remind us of the experiments of avant-garde in general.

What is surprising in such a Stănescu's text is not the novelty of the games of language themselves but their paradoxical with the folk pattern and the enormous verbal energy, which fuels them. Taking on, but reversing the folk model ("*everything I've adapted in reverse/ on a whistle of bone*"), the poet distances himself indirectly from an entire tradition of folklore processing in the Romanian poetry, rejecting all of the common places of iconic embellishment, of expressionistic styling, of the magic of enchantment.

Taken as a pretext, the folk text is transformed in fact into an arse poetica through which the poet *"celebrates the act of poetic naming of the world, as a painful attempt of poetry to correct the logic of the real."* (Petrescu, 1981: 31)

This recoil of poetry is generally supported by deconstructive procedures (lexical deconstructions, anagrammed permutations of words, the proliferation of negative derivatives, the transgression of borders separating morphological classes, the cancelation of the word as a significant unit of language, reducing it to significant or letter, asyntaxism).

The disembodiment of the word or the *unwording* are terms created by the poet

in order to designate this powerful orientation of his poetry towards negative categories.

Alongside the multiple games of language, the untiring stylistic transformation, the attempt to construct an object-language, a poetic language, which is a threat not only to the usurpation of the linguistic norms in use, but also the infringement of some vital mechanisms of the linguistic system itself (Diaconescu, 1975: 485-486), which constitute the final stage achieved by the lyrical "voice" in its attempt to subjectively remodel the raw material of language.

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On John Berryman's Frantic Passage

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ABSTRACT

John Berryman (1914-1972) was one of the authors from the "middle generation" as he himself identified it, who was mostly concerned in his literary career with the public aspects of confessional poetry, which is also the domain that cultivated his taste for analysing the relation between public image, personal drama, consumerism and their finality. As his entire life was shadowed by various addictions his work and brilliance as a poet were also influenced by his bad habits that, although led to a succession of crisis, also turned him to frantic rushes towards his work. The paper entitled *On John Berryman's Frantic Passage*, aims at discussing John Berryman's strongly autobiographical work from the perspective of the poet's role of preserver of unity in the compositional act and from that of the individual that could not refrain from pursuing his road to self-destruction.

KEYWORDS: *confessional poetry, public image, identity*

John Berryman's strongly autobiographical work is centred mainly on the "middle generation" author's personal experience and the public aspects of confessional poetry since he had the "habit of responding to each new crisis in his life by producing broad, general, and abstract explanations of his problems, accompanied by avowals to correct his bad habits, and always ending with his frantic hustling into work and its ideas as both a disciplinary corrective to the neurotic patterns recurring elsewhere in his life and as the sole achievement upon which he wagered his life and happiness" (Bové, 1984: 104). Berryman's addictive behaviour (for food as a schoolboy, for liquor as a professor and for women as an adult) "served Berryman as much as it consumed him" and "saved him as much as it sickened him unto death" (Bloom, 1983: 478).

The American author was born on October 25, 1914, in McAlester, Oklahoma, in the family of a banker and a schoolteacher, and spent the first years of his life in a small town of 3.000 inhabitants (Anadarko) being raised under a rigorous Roman Catholic education. The period of the family's moving to Tampa, Florida was also the time when his parents' marriage began to shake and his father to present the first signs of suicidal tendencies, threatening to drown himself and take little John with him if his wife ever left him. Only two years after this, John Allyn Smith, would deliver his strategy and shoot himself under little John's window. Berryman never visited the grave of his father

although he had had a close relationship with him. In the second stanza from *Dream Song* 76, "Henry's Confession" there is a clear reference to the suicide of his father:

> in a modesty of death I join my father
> who dared so long agone leave me.
> A bullet on a concrete stoop
> close by a smothering southern sea
> spreadeagled on an island, by my knee.
> – You is from hunger, Mr Bones
>
> (Berryman, *apud* Martz, 1969: 43)

Dream Song 143 also touches on the same subject:

> He was going to swim out, with me, forevers,
> and a swimmer strong he was in the phosphorescent Gulf,
> but he decided on lead.
>
> That mad drive wiped out my childhood.
>
> (Berryman, *apud* Martz, 1969: 44)

The dominating influence of his mother, Martha Smith, also affected his ability to relate and communicate with the people around him and to deal with his anxieties enabling him to create elaborate defensive myths about his suicidal father as being the cause of all his problems. Martha is probably the root of Berryman's own poetic psyche as well as the trigger of his tendency for extremes as he "believed that there are two kinds of people, and he wanted to be both of them. He seems to have been temperamentally committed to trying to have it both ways. In his private life he tried for monogamy and promiscuity; world travel and serene domesticity; alcoholic partying and disciplined productivity; scholarship and poetry writing, and so on. The same double tendency is clear in his poetic convictions. 'A man must choose,' says Yeats, but Berryman refused. He sought, if not exactly perfection of the life and of the work, at least a fullness of both, each in the other." (Davis, 1988: 33)

After his father's tragic ending the family moved once again, this time to New York where Martha married another banker, John Angus McAlpin Berryman. Berryman adopted John and his little brother and kept a close connection with them even after he and their mother got a divorce, ten years into their marriage. John attended the South Kent School in Connecticut, complying with his mother's request and trying to please her over-demanding wishes, although he did not find his place there: he felt misunderstood, bullied and misplaced in a school that concentrated on sports rather than on intellectual activities. After his graduation from the Columbia University (where he took after Professor Mark Van Doren who planted the first seeds of a literary career into his mind), he took off to Cambridge, England with a two years fellowship at Clare College where he wrote poetry and read Baudelaire, Yeats, Blake, and the Symbolists and perfected his style.

During his first marriage (eleven years), Berryman had a passionate love affair that almost drove him to suicide and murder (he thought of killing his mistress for not leaving her husband and follow him) and that is also the source of inspiration for his *Sonnets*. The suicidal depression aggravated by heavy drinking and the stress of creation forced him to undergo psychoanalytic treatment (from 1947 to 1953) and destroyed the first and the second of his marriages. His third and last wife was twenty-five years younger than him but this did not prevent him from following his road to self-destruction, and of leaping from the high bridge over the Mississippi.

Besides being a heavy drinker Berryman was also a compulsive womanizer who consumed every relationship with a mixture of passion, agony, guilt and self-torment transposed in his work: "Berryman […] has taken on the whole modern world and has come to poetic terms with it. At the same time, he has taken on himself, and has come to poetic terms with that too. He has seen the wreck of the modern world (or, better, the modern world insofar as it is a wreck) and the wreck of his personal self in that world. He is not a pessimist but has, rather, what we would have to call a tragic view of human life – with good reason for holding it. Yet, not surprisingly, the tragic view finds its complement in a comic view, his wild and so often devastatingly effective sense of humor. He is preeminently a poet of suffering and laughter." (Martz, 1969: 5)

Berryman's "Elegy, for Alun Lewis" betrays the poet's wish for a quick death:

Little attention we paid to each other alive
But Death has made us friends. Your death, not mine.
I am dying slowly; still my lesser rate
Unfits me by the wisdom of the State
(Lucky) for the privilege of your rapidity.
Now envious I hear of that exploit
And sit down to these poems of yours and grieve.
Grieve for a stranger made strangely a friend,
"Killed in an accident on active service."
All, all an accident? Familiar glowers
The universal furnace, restless and careless powers
Who club us wall to wall ahead of them
In brightening darkness through the narrowing hours.
You died a strange way. Your blood on my hand.
– Hand flexing so, white hand of this age
Heart stops to look on, what have we done?
Only the death to come can make us friends.
But hesitate (soul quicks) grotesque amends
To the dissolving slain. Take up your nature for
The future which these strangers from their minds
– Clouding-dismissed with horror and courage."

(Berryman, *apud* Pikoulis, 1984: 100)

His poetry alternates the idea of the poet's role of preserver of unity in the compositional act and of the external modern life that he dramatizes according to his self-image of resentment, guilt and suffering: "Berryman's 'genius' consists not just of his self-admitted guilt, but also of 'blind resentment and bitterness against Fate, Humanity – which can find no proper object – that produces the self-destroying hysterical rage which a hundred times I have conquered and twice I didn't but slapped and beat myself.'" (Bové, 19843: 107)

"To be effective in freeing Berryman from the resentful constraints of his mother and the rest of the mad-making world he experienced and to release his own resentment against himself and his lovers" (Bové, 19843: 107) Berryman's poetry required a sacrifice from the poet himself: "crucified upon his own imagination, upon his projection of his own imagined crucifixion, the poet has no choice but to pursue even greater sufferings as the scenes of his own narcissism, as the materials and conditions of his own poetry" (Bové 1984: 107). His rite of passage, his road to transcendence also meant the immortality of his poetry.

Homage to Mistress Bradstreet was Berryman's first representative poem that brought him fame and a place among his literary contemporaries and was published in the Partisan Review in 1953 and then, in 1956, as a volume. Throughout his career, Berryman was honored with several prizes such as the Shelley Memorial Award in 1949, the Harriet Monroe Poetry Prize in 1957, the Pulitzer Prize for poetry in 1965, the Bollingen Prize in 1968, and the National Book Award for poetry in 1969.

Homage to Mistress Bradstreet is essentially an interior monologue having a female protagonist – Anne Bradstreet – narrate the story of her life and how it feels to be a special individual in a world that does not understand you. Through the voice of the poet we are revealed how she is imagined in the grave:

The Governor your husband lived so long
moved you not, restless, waiting for him? Still,
you were a patient woman. –
I seem to see you pause here still:
Sylvester, Quarles, in moments odd you pored
before a fire at, bright eyes on the Lord,
all the children still.
"Simon…" Simon will listen while you read a Song.

Outside the New World winters in grand dark
white air lashing high thro' the virgin stands
foxes down foxholes sigh,
surely the English heart quails, stunned.
I doubt if Simon than this blast, that sea,
spares from his rigour for your poetry
more. We are on each other's hands
who care. Both of our worlds unhanded us. Lie stark,

thy eyes look to me mild. Out of maize & air

your body's made, and moves. I summon, see,
from the centuries it.

(Berryman, *apud* Martz, 1969: 26)

Not only for Berryman but also for other writers of his generation, the subjects of death and of suicide became very present in their work. Berryman's numerous Dream Songs that deal with the idea of suicide and of an encounter with death stand on the line between the physical world and the prospect of a world beyond it: "Unable to name in full the desire for death that it seeks, such poetry represents this urge for absence as a gathering storm of physical instances this side of the leap into the wished-for space of death. The degree to which such a desire and such an act is a creative force, or whether it intimates a destructive potential is a highly debatable issue. The choice of suicide may emanate from a number of circumstances: insurmountable grief, incessant melancholy concerning the human situation, loss, nihilistic despair, death itself" (McGowan 2007: 245).

The Dream Songs questions the ultimate existential dilemma: how to face death, the only constant in life and the transitory action between the realms of the finite and the infinite. By answering the fervent question of whether suicide is the last act of subjective consciousness or the perfect act of self-delusion Berryman ends the uncertainty of the division between understanding the absolute and the act of finitude. However, death, as Kristeva argues, is not what stops the process of creation: "Opposite to religion or alongside it, 'art' takes on murder and moves through it. It assumes murder insofar as artistic practice considers death the inner boundary of the signifying process. Crossing that boundary is precisely what constitutes 'art.' In other words, it is as if death becomes interiorized by the subject of such a practice; in order to function, he must make himself the bearer of death." (Kristeva, (1974) 2002: 56).

The American author's fascination with the issue of suicide migrates into Berryman's other work (*Love & Fame* and *Delusions, Etc.*) which betray the language's inevitable failure to produce the absolute essence of its own capacity: "The abstract nature of language, that produces its own failure to communicate, underpins and simultaneously undermines these attempts to write that which circulates beyond language. The fissure that opens between the impulse to say and the resulting linguistic expression of that impulse becomes an abyssal breach that collapses the fragile possibilities of poetic expression." (McGowan, 2007: 248)

The variety of feelings expressed by the human being experiencing life, the anticipation and fear of death and the pain generated by such feelings manifests itself precisely in the human impossibility in front of it. Berryman acknowledges that our abyssal condition cannot be resisted. His "desire for death was strong" but by choosing suicide over life or the natural process of dying the author probably felt that he was capable of taking things into his own hands:

I never changed. My desire for death was strong

but not strong enough. I thought: this is my chance,
I can bear it.
I'm not a Buddhist. I studied the systems long,
the High Systems. Come hunt me, ancient friend,
and tell me I am wrong.

The poetic maelstrom of silence, solitude and death created by Berryman becomes the essence of his poetic expression: "The ultimate possibility of human existence, whether perceived in the fantasy of suicide or the search for a language that precedes the essence of the word, hastens the poet's journey through geographies of grief and despair seeking for the elusive Absolute, both there and not. The poet exists in an endless geography of grief, then, conscious." (McGowan, 2007: 255)

As Levinas states,

> The structure of pain, which consists in its very attachment to pain, is prolonged further, but up to an unknown that is impossible to translate into terms of light – that is, that is refractory to the intimacy of the self with the ego to which all our experiences return. The unknown of death, which is not given straight off as nothingness but is correlative to an experience of the impossibility of nothingness, signifies not that death is a region from which no one has returned and consequently remains unknown as a matter of fact; the unknown of death signifies that the very relationship with death cannot take place in the light, that the subject is in relationship with what does not come from itself. We could say it is in relationship with mystery.
>
> (1989: 40)

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La retraduction : une nécessité ou simplement un exercice de style ?

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ABSTRACT: Retranslation – Necessity or Mere Stylistic Fancy?

By considering two successive translations – made by Radu Cioculescu and Irina Mavrodin – of the beginning of *Swann* and *Guermantes*, two of Marcel Proust's novels, we aim to prove that retranslation is a necessary stemming out of the need to bring literary works into present, to update them in accordance with the receiving language's evolution in term of lexical and / or syntactical structures of the phrase, and, not least, to the reader's tastes and demands. Any translation or retranslation is a recreation of the original, with the translator free to decide the level of fidelity with certain set boundaries; so much so that each new version retain the specific traits of the original discourse, while at the same time bearing the stamp of the translator's talent and skill.

KEYWORDS: *retranslation, plural reading, translation's historicity, naturalizing, reception*

1. Argument

Pour accéder à l'universalité, l'œuvre littéraire doit être écrite dans une langue de grande circulation, que plusieurs lecteurs puissent comprendre à un niveau satisfaisant ou, comme il arrive dans la plupart du temps, être traduite dans différentes langues, la qualité de la traduction assurant au texte la lisibilité, afin de faciliter sa réception.

Le fait qu'une œuvre littéraire jouit de plusieurs traductions successives soulève la question naturelle, que chaque lecteur se pose : pourquoi a-t-il été nécessaire d'une nouvelle traduction, qui n'est séparée de la précédente que par un bref délai de temps ? S'agit-il d'un «vieillissement» de la première traduction, qui ne correspond plus au nouveau contexte culturel, qui ne satisfait plus le goût et les attentes des lecteurs de la langue cible ? Ou bien c'est le résultat d'une évolution naturelle et des transformations survenues dans la langue cible au long du temps, qui imposent une nouvelle traduction, une nouvelle façon d'aborder le texte original et, pourquoi pas, l'utilisation d'une nouvelle technique d'écriture ?

Ce ne sont que quelques questions auxquelles nous essayons de répondre dans l'analyse des traductions de l'incipit de deux romans de Marcel Proust, *Du côté de chez Swann* et *Le côté de Guermantes*, la première traduction appartenant à Radu Cioculescu[1] et la seconde à Irina Mavrodin. Les deux traductions sont basées sur les textes de la maison d'édition Gallimard, collection « Bibliothèque de la Pléiade ».

La retraduction de Proust en roumain ne se justifie pas par des changements majeurs au niveau lexical ou syntaxique que le roumain aurait pu enregistrer pendant les quelques dizaines d'années qui séparent la traduction de Radu Cioculescu de celle d'Irina Mavrodin quoique, de façon évidente, le roumain ait eu, comme toute autre langue par ailleurs, un caractère dynamique, et sa tendance à innover et à s'enrichir soit incontestable. Le goût ou les attentes des lecteurs eux non plus n'ont subi de modifications notables, compte tenu du fait que les Roumains vivaient sous le régime communiste, dont le but était à l'époque de construire la société socialiste multilatéralement développée et de forger l'homme nouveau, doué d'un profil moral exemplaire, citoyen dévoué jusqu'à l'extrême à l'esprit de l'époque. En tout cas, on essayait de former un prototype de communiste diamétralement opposé à l'atmosphère décadente dépeinte dans les romans de Proust et aux relations interhumaines très complexes qui caractérisaient la société bourgeoise de la fin du XIXe siècle.

Le motif principal de la retraduction du cycle romanesque proustien serait, à notre avis, la nouveauté de l'écriture, l'aspect de cathédrale de cette œuvre, dont l'échafaudage est magnifiquement élaboré et où évoluent des personnages forts et insolites, de sorte que l'intérêt pour l'auteur et pour la façon dont il décrit le déclin de l'aristocratie française ont fasciné les lecteurs roumains, qui ont eu, dès la première traduction, l'intuition de la valeur de Proust et de sa technique de composition. C'est exactement ce qu'Irina Mavrodin, écrivaine, herméneute et traductrice, a réussi à surprendre dans les traductions qu'elle a faites en 1987 et 1989. Elle s'est déclarée captivée par le style de Proust, par sa phrase arborescente, par ses nombreuses allusions culturelles, par la polyphonie et l'intertextualité de ses romans. Par ailleurs, la traductrice a été pleinement consciente de la contribution que la traduction de Proust en roumain a eu sur la « flexibilisation du roumain, à son raffinement »[2]. (2009 : 189) Pourtant, il y a également un second motif, subreptice, qu'on lit entre les lignes – une sorte de fronde contre le régime communiste de la part de la traductrice.

2. Cioculescu /vs./ Mavrodin

Pour faire une bonne traduction, il faut procéder à une intense activité d'information et d'approfondissement non seulement du milieu où l'auteur d'une œuvre s'est formé et a créé. Une analyse poussée des particularités de son style et de son écriture s'avère être également plus que nécessaire avant de se mettre au travail. Comme un vrai exégète, Irina Mavrodin s'est documentée pour tout savoir sur Proust et sur la genèse de ses romans, sur leurs côtés poétique et poïétique. C'est toujours elle qui signe la préface, les notes et les commentaires et même un tableau chronologique avec les données significatives de la vie et de l'œuvre de Proust, pour que sa réception par les lecteurs roumains soit totale. Radu Cioculescu s'est limité (uniquement) à « traduire »[3] le cycle proustien en roumain, en ne dévoilant rien de l'effort[4] du travail traductif ou du laboratoire de création de Proust ; le premier volume du cycle, *Swann*, traduit par Radu Cioculescu n'a ni avant-propos, ni préface[5].

Irina Mavrodin a le mérite de prendre comme point de départ la prémisse proustienne de l'œuvre comme « traduction », c'est-à-dire comme communication médiate de la vérité sur le monde, plus précisément d'une double « traduction », donc d'une double médiation, parce qu'il ne s'agit pas seulement de convertir un système linguistique dans un autre, mais d'un transfert de sens d'une langue dans une autre. Chacune des langues en contact, en tant que dépositaire d'une culture et d'une civilisation à part, constitue l'endroit où se manifeste une immense pression, une friction qui doit être « domestiquée »[6], le transfert d'une langue à l'autre se faisant, dans la plupart des cas, avec des pertes stylistiques, sémantiques ou culturelles importantes, saisissables au niveau de l'écriture. Plus un texte est marqué stylistiquement, plus il est difficile à traduire et les difficultés au niveau de l'écriture sont insidieuses, parce que

> Modelul tiranic oferit de scriitura unui mare creator, ce a marcat limba în care se traduce, în mod definitiv, este aproape totdeauna adoptat, în mod deseori voit, alteori involuntar, ca soluţie. Scriitura ireductibilă a originalului este astfel redusă la una deja cunoscută publicului pentru care se face traducerea[7].
>
> (Mavrodin, 2006 : 135)

Lorsqu'elle explique le processus effectif de traduction d'un chef d'œuvre, Irina Mavrodin invoque tout d'abord le type spécial de connaissance « immédiate, globale et sensorielle » (*Idem* : 78), la certitude que l'esprit de la langue n'est pas suffisant pour faire une bonne traduction, que le matériel linguistique avec lequel le traducteur travaille nécessite un façonnage particulier, par lequel on arrive à surmonter sa résistance, on dépasse les aspérités et les frontières des langues, on évite les pièges et les non sens. Autrement dit, le texte doit être compris dans ses particularités les plus intimes, car on comprend mieux ce qu'on déconstruit et ensuite on reconstruit soi-même. (Cf. *Idem* : 78-79).

Loin d'être un simple exercice de style, la traduction est une alchimie, une autre création où le traducteur, tout comme un maître cuisinier, garde les ingrédients du texte-source, mais il a la liberté de modifier, entre certaines limites, les quantités et parfois il en rajoute un peu, pour que le produit fini gagne en saveur et qu'il satisfasse le goût des consommateurs de la langue cible. La traductrice partage le point de vue d'Antoine Berman[8] et invoque le caractère historique de la traduction, sa caducité comme raison d'une nouvelle traduction. Parce que la traduction, comme l'œuvre elle-même, est écrite sur les sables mouvants de l'évolution des langues, des cultures et des civilisations. C'est pourquoi la traduction s'inscrit dans une série ouverte des traductions, étant déterminée

> […] de o istorie deschisă a societăţii şi limbii în care se traduce. Traducătorul este un individ concret, care foloseşte o limbă concretă, aflată la un anumit moment al evoluţiei sale, ceea ce impune o pluralitate diacronică a traducerii. Traducerea ne apare astfel, spre deosebire de opera originală, ca o lucrare mereu reîncepută, niciodată încheiată[9].
>
> (Mavrodin, 2006 : 135)

En examinant les différences entre les deux traductions et les solutions ponctuelles auxquelles recourent Irina Mavrodin et Radu Cioculescu, au niveau micro et macrostructural, nous noua rallions à l'opinion unanime des traducteurs professionnels qui estiment que toute traduction est perfectible, car elle est un baromètre qui indique les changements produits dans la langue et dans les mœurs au moment où l'on effectue la traduction. Car les deux sont influencées non seulement par les attentes des lecteurs, mais aussi par les exigences des éditeurs et des mandataires. La traduction porte en même temps la marque des mentalités, des connaissances encyclopédiques et du talent du traducteur, chacun contribuant à une meilleure lisibilité du texte et à la naturalisation de l'œuvre dans la langue vers laquelle elle est traduite.

2.1. Niveau microstructural

Les différences les plus évidentes entre les deux traductions apparaissent au niveau lexical, l'emploi d'un certain lexème illustre tant l'évolution de la société et des coutumes roumaines à travers deux décennies, que la prédilection du traducteur pour un mot ou syntagme. Ainsi, Radu Cioculescu se sert très souvent du mot *nădejde* [espoir], qui provient du slave (*Swann,* 1968 : 4), alors que Irina Mavrodin préfère le mot *speranţă* [espérance] (*Swann*, 1987 : 36), mot emprunté à l'italien. De même, dans l'incipit de *Swann*, Radu Cioculescu utilise de façon répétée le mot *slugă*, *slugi* – p. 4 [domestique, domestiques], un emprunt à l'hongrois, qui, à part sa valeur dénotative de « personne embauchée pour des travaux dans la maison d'un autre » (*DEX* online) a également une valeur connotative, de personne humble, qui manque de personnalité et de fierté ou de « personne qui soutient et défend aveuglement les intérêts d'un autre en échange d'un avantage matériel » (*Idem*). Pour la même notion, Irina Mavrodin emploie un terme sans connotations évidentes, *servitor, servitori* – p. 36 [serviteur, serviteurs], qui provient du français, tant pour la sonorité du mot que pour sa « modernité », ce mot étant fréquemment utilisé par les lecteurs de la fin du XXe siècle.

La tendance d'Irina Mavrodin à actualiser certains termes et à utiliser des lexèmes plus connus par la masse des lecteurs apparait également dans l'incipit des *Guermantes.* Par exemple, Radu Cioculescu emploie le mot *jupâneasă* (1969 : 5), ayant le sens de femme de ménage[10], alors qu'Irina Mavrodin opte pour le mot *bonă* (1989 : 14), dont le sens est de « gouvernante », femme embauchée par une famille pour élever les enfants. Le choix de ce terme transféré directement du français[11] se fait au détriment d'un autre terme, beaucoup plus usité en roumain, comme *doică, dădacă* [nourrice], mais justifié par le désir de la traductrice de garder l'emphase du texte proustien, mise en évidence par les guillemets.

De même, pour le syntagme *valet de pied*[12] Radu Cioculescu utilise comme équivalent le mot *lacheu* [laquais] (*Germantes*, 1969 : 6), dans le sens de « serviteur dans les maisons des aristocrates, habillé en livrée » (*DEX* online), alors que Irina Mavrodin opte pour *servitor*[13] [serviteur, valet] (*Guermantes*, 1989 : 14), terme plus général, mais qui perd justement l'information portant sur la façon

d'être habillé, en livrée, et qu'il devait accompagner son maître dans le fiacre pour l'aider à y monter ou à en descendre. Ces détails liés à un fait culturel devenu obsolète après la disparition des fiacres et l'entrée dans l'ère de l'automobile et des moyens de transports mécanisés sont importants pour les connaisseurs, alors que les lecteurs communs sont plus accoutumés au terme employé par Irina Mavrodin.

On remarque la même option de la traductrice pour un mot plus connu par la majorité des lecteurs : elle utilise le mot *împărăţie* (*Guermantes*, 1989 : 15) [empire, royaume], mot dérivé de *împărat* [empereur] ; Radu Cioculescu préfère le mot *empire*, le correspondant direct du mot français *imperiu* (*Guermantes*, 1969 : 7). Les Roumains n'ont pas eu d'empires, ils ont eu une histoire mouvementée, et ont été plusieurs fois annexés à d'autres empires. Dans leur mental, le mot *împărăţie* a une connotation affective, ce mot étant fréquemment utilisé dans les contes populaires ou cultes. En plus, le mot a également développé d'autres valences plus générales, de direction[14], de pouvoir (pas nécessairement la direction d'un pays par un empereur).

Il faut également remarquer qu'Irina Mavrodin utilise des termes plus précis qui se réfèrent aux sons faits par les oiseaux. Ainsi, elle se sert du terme *ciripit* [gazouillement] (*Guermantes*, 1989 : 14), alors que Radu Cioculescu emploie *piuit*[15] [piaulement] (*Guermantes,* 1969 : 5). De même, pour parler du bruit que font les trains en entrant ou en sortant de la gare, Irina Mavrodin opte pour le terme *şuierat* [sifflement], (*Swann*, 1987 : 35), alors que Radu Cioculescu utilise *fluierat*[16] [sifflement] (p. 4).

La traductrice aime nuancer les termes afin que le lecteur roumain puisse ressentir le plaisir de la lecture du texte proustien, tout comme le lecteur français. Ainsi, *egoismul nervoşilor* [l'égoïsme des nerveux] (*Guermantes*, 1969 : 6) de la traduction de Radu Cioculescu devient *pretinsa ''sensibilitate'' a oamenilor cu nervi delicaţi* [la prétendue ''sensibilité'' des gens aux nerfs délicats] (1989 : 15)[17] dans la traduction d'Irina Mavrodin. La phrase *Je me sentais péniblement bossué...* (Proust, 1994 : 14) a comme équivalent chez Radu Cioculescu la construction *mă simţeam neplăcut deformat* [je me sentais désagréablement déformé] (*Guermantes*, 1969 : 6), alors que Irina Mavrodin est plus sensible aux nuances et donne pour équivalent la structure *mă simţeam dureros de umflat* [je me sentais douloureusement gonflé] (1989 : 15), ce qui rend parfaitement en roumain l'expression de Proust.

La même attention aux rigueurs du texte proustien est à remarquer à travers tout le processus de transfert des sens du français en roumain, Irina Mavrodin faisant preuve non seulement de fidélité par rapport aux structures en usage en roumain actuel, mais aussi à la plasticité, à l'éclat du texte proustien. La structure *souffler la lumière* (*Du côté de chez Swann*, 1993 : 13) est rendue par une neutralisation totale dans la traduction de Radu Cioculescu, par *sting lumina* [j'éteins la lumière] (1968 : 3), qui ne tient pas compte du fait qu'à l'époque de Proust on utilisait encore des bougies ou des ampoules à gaz, parce que l'électricité était rare même dans les maisons des aristocrates, c'est pourquoi Irina Mavrodin préfère l'expression *sting lumânarea* [j'éteins la bougie] (1987 : 35). Dans le même para-

graphe, Radu Cioculescu se sert d'une expression un peu bizarre en roumain (*voiam să pun la o parte volumul*[18]) ; Irina Mavrodin la remplace par *voiam să pun jos volumul* [je voulais poser le volume (sur la table de chevet)].

2.2. Niveau macrostructural

La phrase proustienne, gigantesque, arborescente, extrêmement complexe « outil d'exploration pour les plus grandes profondeurs ou hauteurs, donne l'impression d'être formée d'innombrables tronçons ajoutés les uns aux autres par l'entremise de *qui* et de *que* répétés »[19] (Mavrodin, 2006 : 79), constitue une vraie pierre de touche pour tout traducteur, quelque expérimenté qu'il soit. Comme l'observait déjà Irina Mavrodin dès la traduction des premiers romans du cycle, la phrase proustienne n'est pas souple, fluide, féminine, par contre, elle est une vraie machinerie

> [...] puternică şi greoaie, care gâfâie din toate încheieturile, lansată obsesiv, cu toată forţa, spre infinitezimale particule de necunoscut, care i se sustrag, pe care le prinde, care îi scapă din nou, retrăgându-se în straturi tot mai profunde, sau tot mai la suprafaţă, pe care le apucă iarăşi[20].
>
> (2006 : 79)

La difficulté du traducteur est de réussir à garder son rythme, sa cadence et son ampleur. S'il la rompt, l'effet stylistique de l'original se perd. S'il la garde comme telle, il doit trouver une solution intelligente de surmonter la résistance du roumain, pour que le résultat n'en soit pas une phrase rocailleuse, difficile à suivre, où la métaphore, la métonymie et les synesthésies proustiennes s'estompent. Irina Mavrodin compare, à juste titre, la phrase de Proust à une grosse pâte, mais qui est encore suffisamment liquide pour couler « parmi tous les interstices de la matière dont elle s'empare, s'arrêtant comme si elle était solidifiée, pour redémarrer ensuite, coulant encore et encore, jusqu'à boucher totalement les plus petits trous et homogénéiser l'ensemble[21] » (*Idem* : 79).

Consciente des responsabilités du traducteur et de la nécessité de fidélité vis-à-vis d'un tel texte, la traductrice estime que la phrase proustienne est une unité prosodique, qui ne commence pas par hasard par un certain mot pour finir par un autre, parce que l'ordre des mots, les reprises, les répétitions, les mots clé ou les leitmotivs ont une importance particulière pour obtenir l'incantation spécifique pour la phrase de Proust. C'est pourquoi, dans la mesure du possible, la traduction doit respecter la longueur de cette phrase et l'ordre des mots et, dans la mesure où le roumain s'y prête et s'y plie, l'amplitude, le rythme et ses compliqués contournements et reprises.

Nous illustrons la nécessité de respecter les tournures des phrases proustiennes par un exemple tiré de *Le côté des Guermantes*[22], où l'on peut facilement remarquer les inspirées solutions ponctuelles qu'Irina Mavrodin trouve pour ne violenter ni l'ordre des mots, ni la ponctuation du roumain. Chez la traductrice, l'impression que le verbe est séparé de son objet direct n'est pas si saillante que dans la traduc-

tion de Radu Cioculescu, qui ne sépare pas par deux virgules la subordonnée relative explicative de sa régissante : *nu primise de la portarul care nu ne cunoştea încă*,[23] *semnele*... [n'avait pas reçu du concierge qui ne nous connaissait pas encore, *les signes...*]. En plus, Irina Mavrodin prend soin de ne pas changer le sens des phrases (ex. : *mă adaptam tot atât de greu la noile lucruri pe cât de uşor le părăseam pe cele vechi* [je m'adaptais aussi difficilement aux nouvelles choses que je ne quittais les anciennes]), comme le fait Radu Cioculescu, qui affirme le contraire (*asimilam tot atât de lesne lucrurile noi pe cât de uşor le părăseam pe cele vechi* [j'assimilais avec la même aisance les nouvelles choses que je ne quittais les anciennes]). De même, la traductrice trouve une tournure plus proche du sens que Proust transmet au lecteur francophone par l'entremise du sentiment de déracinement de la vieille servante après l'emménagement dans une nouvelle maison, alors que Radu Cioculescu transgresse l'un des principes français de la calophilie, celui de ne pas terminer la phrase sur un verbe.

> De aceea, dacă-mi bătusem joc de ea care era adânc mâhnită că trebuie să părăsească un imobil în care eram „atât de stimaţi de toţi", şi îşi făcuse bagajele plângând, potrivit riturilor de la Combray, şi spunând că fosta noastră casă era superioară tuturor celorlalte case, în schimb eu, care asimilam tot atât de lesne lucrurile noi pe cât de uşor le părăseam pe cele vechi, m-am apropiat de bătrâna noastră servitoare când am văzut că instalarea într-o casă în care nu primise de la portarul care nu ne cunoştea încă, semnele de respect necesare bunei sale hrane morale, aproape o prăpădise.
>
> (traduction de Radu Cioculescu, *Guermantes*, 1969 : 5-6)

> De aceea, chiar dacă-mi bătusem joc de ea pentru că, nefericită că trebuie să părăsească un imobil unde „toată lumea ne preţuia atât de mult", îşi făcuse bagajele plângând, conform ritualului de la Combray, şi declarând că nu vom mai găsi niciodată o casă ca aceea de unde plecam, m-am simţit aproape de bătrâna noastră servitoare când am văzut – eu, care mă adaptam tot atât de greu la noile lucruri pe cât de uşor le părăseam pe cele vechi – că instalarea într-o casă unde nu primise din partea portarului, ce nu ne cunoştea încă, semnele de preţuire necesare bunei ei hrăniri morale, o cufundase într-o stare vecină cu moartea.
>
> (traduction d'Irina Mavrodin, *Guermantes*, 1989 : 14)

Cependant, Radu Cioculescu a le mérite d'avoir offert, avec beaucoup d'honnêteté, la première bonne traduction de Marcel Proust, en affrontant les difficultés inhérentes de cette première entreprise de faire connaître au public roumain quelques volumes du cycle proustien, sans pourtant atteindre (par ailleurs, il ne s'est même pas proposé ce but !) l'envergure de la traduction faite par Irina Mavrodin.

3. Les notes du traducteur

Les notes et les commentaires du traducteur sont particulièrement importants pour faciliter la lecture et la naturalisation du texte proustien. Radu Cioculescu ne signe pas lui-même les préfaces et les notes du traducteur qui, comme nous avons précédemment montré (voir Note 5) du Ve volume du cycle, *Guermantes*, n'y figurent

même pas. Au premier volume, *Swann*, l'avant-propos est signé par Ovid Crohmălniceanu, un critique littéraire avisé, bon connaisseur de l'œuvre de Proust, qui en fait une ample synthèse et montre sa spécificité. Pourtant, on ressent le manque d'explications et d'informations sur le texte que le traducteur, en tant qu'écrivain de second degré, aurait dû fournir aux lecteurs non seulement pour les éclairer sur des faits historiques et culturels que Proust insère dans son texte, mais également sur les options de traduction[24], sur l'historicité[25] de certains termes, sur des erreurs dans la citation[26] des écrivains français, sur al déformation[27] volontaire de mots que Proust utilise et les met dans la bouche de ses personnages qui manquent d'éducation. C'est pourquoi la traduction d'Irina Mavrodin vient compléter le désir d'information du lecteur roumain et satisfaire ses attentes et ses exigences.

Conclusions

Loin d'être simplement un exercice de style, la retraduction d'un texte littéraire lui confère dans une langue étrangère non seulement de valeur, de force et de vigueur, mais elle prouve en même temps l'option créatrice, le choix inventif qui porte la marque de la personnalité et du talent de tout traducteur qui refait l'ouvre, la réinterprète, en lui offrant un nouvel éclat.

Comme toute traduction est finalement une interprétation personnelle et une nouvelle vision sur l'original, la nécessité et le désir de retraduire un texte littéraire devient une sorte de garantie qu'un auteur mérite d'être lu et connu par une nouvelle génération, ayant des aspirations différentes, que le traducteur doit satisfaire.

La comparaisons que nous avons faite entre les deux traductions de Cioculescu et de Mavrodin met en évidence en égale mesure l'évolution des goûts des lecteurs roumains et une certaine dynamique du roumain qui tend à s'enrichir avec de nouvelles structures, mais encore un fait historique moins évident peut-être pour le lecteur non avisé, à savoir la préférence de Cioculescu pour les mots autochtones, dans son désir de «naturaliser» Proust et de l'«implanter» dans le sol littéraire roumain, d'autant plus que la période de décadence de la noblesse française n'était pas inconnue dans la Roumanie d'après la seconde guerre mondiale. C'était l'époque où le pays subissait un processus de russification et de construction du communisme.

D'autre part, la préférence d'Irina Mavrodin pour les néologismes, les mots d'origine française et italienne est une manière subtile et subversive de résistance et de fronde contre le communisme, dans sa période la plus noire, lorsque les valeurs occidentales étaient mises à l'index et lorsque tout contact avec l'idéologie bourgeoise était durement puni. Par la retraduction de Proust, Irina Mavrodin a réalisé un vrai pont entre deux langues et deux cultures rapprochées tant par leurs origines, que par leurs affinités, mais artificiellement séparées par le régime communiste autoritaire roumain, fait pour lequel nous croyons que sa traduction gagne un plus de valeur et de consistance, sans pourtant nier les mérites de Cioculescu, un vrai pionnier de la traduction de Proust en Roumanie !

NOTES

[1] La première traduction de Proust en roumain a été faite par Radu Cioculescu, *Swann*, roman paru en 1945 et publié à Bucarest par la Maison d'édition des Fondations Royales. Cette traduction a été republiée en 1968 chez la maison d'édition « Biblioteca pentru toţi » (BPT, La bibliothèque pour tous), dans la collection « Editura pentru literatură » (L'édition pour la littérature), variante qui se trouve à la base de notre analyse. C'est toujours en 1968, à la Maison d'édition pour la littérature universelle, que Vladimir Streinu publie *În partea dinspre Swann* [*Du côté de chez Swann*], le premier volume de *À la recherche du temps perdu*, qui ne fait pourtant pas partie du corpus analysé. La dernière traduction, celle d'Irina Mavrodin, garde les mêmes titres, à savoir *Swann* (1987) et *Guermantes* (1989), les deux étant publiés par la maison d'édition « Univers ».

[2] Notre traduction.

[3] La maison d'édition BPT avertit les lecteurs du volume *Guermantes* que la traduction de Radu Cioculescu a été révisée par sa femme, Eugenia Cioculescu, alors qu'Irina Mavrodin a révisée elle-même sa traduction, comme elle avoue dans son livre *Despre traducere – literal* şi *în toate sensurile* [Sur la traduction – littéral dans tous les sens].

[4] Irina Mavrodin (2006 : 31) affirme que le travail du traducteur est un travail de bénédictin, fait avec « beaucoup de patience et d'humiliation. Je pourrais même dire que c'est un travail fait avec le double sentiment de la durée et du provisoire ». (Notre traduction)

[5] Dans le volume V de la série *À la recherche du temps perdu*, *Guermantes*, la préface est signée par Ovid Crohmălniceanu, la traduction étant précédée d'un tableau chronologique, les deux étant nécessaires pour introduire le lecteur dans l'atmosphère de l'œuvre proustienne et pour le familiariser avec les moments les plus importants de la vie de l'auteur.

[6] Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, New York, Routledge (1995 : 4).

[7] Le modèle tyrannique offert par l'écriture d'un grand créateur, qui a marqué la langue dans laquelle on traduit, de façon définitive, est presque toujours adopté comme solution, souvent volontairement, d'autres fois involontairement. L'écriture irréductible de l'original est ainsi réduite à l'une déjà connue par le public pour lequel on fait la traduction. (Notre traduction)

[8] *L'œuvre ne peut ni vieillir, ni mourir, tandis que la traduction, oui.* (A. Berman, 1990 : 2).

[9] [...] par une histoire ouverte de la société et de la langue dans laquelle on traduit. Le traducteur est un individu concret, qui utilise une langue concrète, située à un certain moment de son développement, ce qui impose une pluralité diachronique de la traduction. Ainsi, la traduction nous apparait-elle différente par rapport à l'œuvre originale, comme un ouvrage toujours recommencé, mais jamais fini. (Notre traduction)

[10] En roumain, le terme a également le sens de « femme d'homme riche, de boyard ; femme qui vit en ville ; marchande ». (*DEX* online)

[11] *Chaque parole des «bonnes» la faisait sursauter.* (M. Proust, 1994 : 13)

[12] Serviteur en livrée qui escorte son maître, l'aide à monter ou descendre de voiture. (*TLFi*)

[13] Personne embauchée pour des travaux domestiques, homme de peine, serviteur. (*DEX* online)

[14] Par exemple, sur le Forum du Corps National des Policiers du 5.01.2012 on peut lire : *Ce mai ştiţi, aţi mai întrebat pe acolo, pe la împărăţie, ce se mai aude?* (forum cnp.tubefun4.com) [Avez-vous des nouvelles de la direction?]

[15] Ce sont les petits des oiseaux qui piaulent.

[16] D'habitude on considère que c'est le bruit fait par l'air qui sort de la bouche en passant à travers les lèvres ; le train fait un bruit plus fort et plus aigu, comme celui d'une sirène.

[17] *la «sensibilité» prétendue des nerveux grandit leur égoïsme.* (M. Proust, 1994 : 14)

[18] Normalement on dit en roumain se *pune de-o parte* ou *se dă la o parte* [mettre de côté].

[19] Notre traduction.

[20] [...] forte, lourde, qui halète de toutes ses jointures, lancée obsessivement, à toute allure, vers des infinitésimales particules de l'inconnu, qui s'en dérobent, mais qu'elle arrive à rattraper pour lui échapper de nouveau, tout en se retirant dans des couches toujours plus profondes ou plus superficielles, et qu'elle rejette de nouveau.

[21] Notre traduction.

[22] Aussi, si je m'étais moqué d'elle, navrée d'avoir eu à quitter un immeuble où l'on était «si bien aimé de partout» et où elle avait fait ses malles en pleurant, selon les rites de Combray, et en déclarant supérieure à toutes les maisons possibles celle qui avait été la nôtre, en revanche, moi qui assimilais aussi difficilement les nouvelles choses que j'abandonnais aisément les anciennes, je me rapprochai de notre vieille servante quand je vis que l'installation dans une maison où elle n'avait pas reçu du concierge qui ne nous connaissait pas encore les marques de considération nécessaires à sa bonne nutrition morale, l'avait plongée dans un état voisin du dépérissement. (M. Proust, 1994 : 13)

[23] C'est nous qui soulignons la virgule.

[24] Dans la note 122 de *Swann* la traductrice mentionne le fait que chez Proust beaucoup de mots se répètent, dans une sorte d'insouciance stylistique volontaire, la reprise du verbe *dire* étant parfois obsessive. La traductrice choisit de l'éviter, autant que possible, par l'alternance du verbe *a zice* [dire] avec *a spune* [affirmer] ou *a declara* [déclarer]. (Mavrodin, 1987 : 399)

[25] Dans la note 21 de *Guermantes*, Irina Mavrodin explique que le lexème *ennui* du texte original n'est pas employé par Proust avec son sens actuel de *plictis, plictiseală* [cafard, manque d'intérêt], mais avec celui du XVIIe siècle, sens gardé dans le parler populaire. (Mavrodin, 1989 : 527). De même, dans la note précédente, la traductrice attire l'attention sur le lexème *sabraque*, forme parallèle de *chabraque* (R. pătura care se pune sub șaua calului) et qui, dans un emploi régional, désigne une fille / femme de meurs légères et qui, par un glissement de sens, renvoie dans le texte au fiacre dans lequel voyageait la duchesse de Guermantes.

[26] Dans la note 16 du même volume, Irina Mavrodin attire l'attention que Proust a cité de façon erronée un vers de Corneille *Seigneur, que de vertus vous nous faites haïr !*, en mentionnant que la variante correcte est *O ciel, que de vertus vous me faites haïr !* (Mavrodin, 1987 : 394)

[27] La traductrice montre dans la note 48 que *parantèse* est la forme incorrecte de *parantèle,* utilisée par la vieille servante Françoise, et qu'elle a transférée en roumain une forme toute aussi incorrecte, *famelie*. (Mavrodin, 1987 : 394)

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Enjeux de l'écriture fragmentaire dans *Hôtel Saint-Georges*, de Rachid Boudjedra

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ABSTRACT: Issues of fragmentary writing in *Hôtel St. Georges* by Rachid Boudjedra

Based on the distinction *fragmental/fragmentary writing* (Marc Gontard, *Le Roman français postmoderne. Une écriture turbulente*), this study analyses Rachid Boudjedra's novel *Hôtel Saint-Georges* from three different perspectives: the game between the fragments composing the modularly structure of the novel, submitted in any point to a destructuring/restructuring process; the impossibility of a stable meaning of the fragment or of the text as a whole; the fragment as the most suitable form of the memory writing but also of the ambiguity, variation, plurality.

KEYWORDS: *fragmental, fragmentary, memory, writing, variation*

Introduction

Le fragmentaire est incontestablement un point de convergence de l'écriture romanesque contemporaine, autant en ce qui concerne la mise en place d'un univers narratif, que la construction du sujet.

Dans ce qui suit, nous nous proposons d'analyser les enjeux de l'écriture fragmentale/fragmentaire dans le roman Hôtel Saint-Georges de l'écrivain algérien Rachid Boudjedra. Dans une perspective analytique, notre réflexion visera d'une part, les particularités de la structure du récit et, d'autre part, la polyphonie, la variation, la pluralité d'un texte ouvert.

Hôtel Saint-Georges : l'écriture romanesque entre histoire et « chroniques intimes »

Iconoclaste, subversif, scandaleux, agressif sont seulement quelques-unes des modalités de désigner l'écrivain Rachid Boudjedra qui, malgré sa personnalité controversée et ses diverses prises de position inouïes, s'est imposé pendant les dernières décennies comme l'un des maîtres de la littérature-monde. En témoigne son œuvre impressionnante, publiée autant en français qu'en arabe, dont nous rappelons quelques titres: poésie : *Pour ne plus rêver* (1965) ; essais *: La Vie quotidienne en Algérie* (1971), *Naissance du cinéma algérien* (1971), *Journal palestinien* (1972) ; romans : *La Répudiation* (1969), *L'Insolation* (1972), *Topographie idéale pour une agression caractérisée* (1975), *L'Escargot entêté* (1977), *Les 1001 années de la nostalgie* (1979), *Le*

Vainqueur de coupe (1981), *Le Démantèlement* (1982), *La Macération* (1984), *La Pluie* (1987), *La Prise de Gibraltar* (1987), *Fascination* (2000), *Les figuiers de Barbarie* (2010) *Hôtel Saint-Georges* (2011), *Printemps* (2014) ; scénarios cinématographiques : *Chronique des années de braise* (Palme d'or du Festival de Cannes, 1975) et *Ali aux pays des mirages* (« Tanit d'Or » du Festival de Carthage, 1980).

S'il fallait résumer cette œuvre par une seule caractéristique majeure, celle-ci serait sans doute l'articulation de l'histoire collective et individuelle, « intimement liées et déterminantes l'une de l'autre […] La société, le politique, le culturel considérés par rapport aux traumatismes qu'ils provoquent chez l'individu sont l'objet d'une remise en question menée sur le mode subversif. De ce point de vue, l'œuvre de Boudjedra pourrait se résumer en "une seule et même phrase" qui se répète avec des acteurs différents » (Bonn, Naget & Mdarhi-Alaoui, 1996). « Tous mes romans », affirme l'écrivain, « sont des "revisitations" lancinantes du passé et du présent de mon pays dont on ne dit pas assez l'histoire catastrophique. Moi je la ressasse parce que j'ai mal à l'Algérie que j'aime passionnément parce qu'elle a trop souffert » (2010).

Mais, s'il reconnaît que ses romans se nourrissent du « perpétuel ratage humain » (*Ibidem*), que ce soit sur le plan personnel ou historique, l'écrivain se garde bien de ne pas confondre, de ne pas mélanger art et idéologie, tout en faisant de l'histoire « un adossement fondamental » (*Ibidem*) de ses romans, ce qui leur confère « une ouverture, une amplitude et une charge émotionnelle irremplaçable » (*Ibidem*).

Fasciné par l'écriture, Boudjedra éprouve très tôt le « besoin vital d'écrire pour survivre » (*Ibidem*), pour « atténuer un peu la douleur du monde » (2003). L'écrivain est bien conscient de la position qu'il occupe sur le territoire des lettres algériennes : fonder une littérature de la subjectivité, gommée dans le monde arabo-musulman, renouveler, quels qu'en soient les risques (tout comme Salman Rushdie, pendant la « décennie noire » algérienne, il est condamné à mort par les intégristes islamistes) l'écriture romanesque en défiant les interdits, en cassant l'hypocrisie sociale, en brisant le fameux « triangle taboutique » sexualité – religion – politique, dont il parle dans de nombreux entretiens. Pourtant, malgré sa réputation mondiale rapidement acquise, il ne quittera jamais le territoire des lettres algériennes, avouant qu'il désire écrire algérien et que sa seule source d'inspiration est l'Algérie : « J'ai la passion de l'Algérie et je n'ai nulle envie d'écrire sur autre chose. Mais quand j'écris sur l'Algérie, j'écris sur l'homme. Mes personnages sont universels, et mes thèmes, le destin, la souffrance, le rapport entre la grande histoire et l'histoire intime, peuvent toucher tout lecteur quelle que soit sa nationalité » (2011).

Le roman *Hôtel Saint-Georges* n'y fait pas exception. En fait, selon les aveux du romancier, il clôt un cycle consacré à la guerre d'Algérie, auquel appartiennent aussi *Le vainqueur de coupe*, *Le démantèlement* et *Les figuiers de Barbarie*, mais il semble bien qu'il soit aussi le point final du long roman à accents autobiographiques, que Rachid Boudjedra a inauguré avec *La Répudiation*. *Hôtel Saint-Georges* est, dans la vision de son auteur, « un texte de compassion, un texte sur la souffrance des hommes, quand bien même ces hommes sont des soldats français ou des harkis chargés des basses besognes, de la torture, c'est-à-dire des hommes qui ont fait du mal à l'Algérie. Plus encore que d'apaisement, je parlerai de pardon » (*Ibidem*). En ce qui

concerne le choix du titre, l'option pour le nom du plus ancien hôtel d'Alger, construit par les Français, est le « symbole de la réconciliation possible » (*Ibidem*). Le roman a comme point de départ des faits et des personnes réelles :

> Mon roman n'explique pas, n'analyse pas. Il donne à voir et à s'émouvoir. Les comptes de la guerre d'Algérie ne sont toujours pas réglés et ne le seront jamais. Mon roman s'est inspiré de personnes réelles ; Kader le harki, Jeanne, je les ai connus. Et j'essaie ici de poser un problème jamais abordé, celui du calvaire des soldats français envoyés à l'abattoir et qui ont participé à la guerre souvent malgré eux. C'est le cas de Jean, un ébéniste diplômé de l'école Boulle et qui se retrouve à fabriquer des cercueils minables pour les soldats qui ont perdu la vie et à qui l'on n'a pas le moyen de proposer une sépulture décente. Jean est fasciné par l'Algérie, mais il ne découvre ce pays que dans son malheur, et il se tait. Dans la lettre qu'il écrit à Jeanne, il exprime 30 ans de vie muette, il raconte ce qu'il n'avait jamais osé dire, il met fin à la schizophrénie dans laquelle son silence l'avait plongé. Jean a été détruit par la guerre ; quand il écrit, il est déjà mort (*Ibidem*).

Le livre amène donc en premier plan, deux destins individuels, celui de Jean, l'ébéniste français anéanti par la guerre, et celui de Kader, le harki, mercenaire au service de la France et responsable d'actes de torture extrêmes infligés à ses conationaux. Deux destins qui se croisent dans « le vide sidéral de l'impuissance humaine devant la complexité de l'Histoire » (Temlali, 2007) et qui sont retracés par une écriture

> marquée par la même volonté obsessionnelle de restituer le passé, questionné, acculé, mis au pied du mur. L'auteur démolit aussi assidûment que dans les autres romans les mythes des ancêtres, si héroïques dans l'imagerie commune qu'ils en deviennent des entités flottantes et immatérielles. L'histoire nationale n'est importante qu'en ce qu'elle éclaire le présent anxieux des personnages et de leurs rêves prodigieux, régulièrement déçus ou refoulés. Elle n'a de pertinence qu'en ce qu'elle jette la lumière sur les racines de cette névrose algérienne qui a produit le FLN, le FIS, l'autoritarisme, l'intégrisme et les massacres collectifs des années 90 (*Ibidem*).

Deux personnages broyés par la machine infernale de la guerre, incapables de guérir, seulement de survivre, d'assumer et de se libérer, grâce à des confessions tardives, le poids de l'horreur qu'ils ont subie (Jean) ou provoquée (Kader).

Après la mort du père et après avoir reçu sa longue lettre de confession posthume, Jeanne fait deux voyages en Algérie : le premier seule, afin de respecter le dernier vœu de Jean – répandre quelques grammes de ses cendres dans la baie d'Alger, afin qu'il repose à jamais dans le pays qu'il avait tant aimé, malgré son malheur ; le deuxième, pour revenir sur les traces du père, pour comprendre sa passion, en compagnie de certains membres de sa famille de Rac. La vie de Jean et de sa famille va ainsi interférer avec celle d'une famille algérienne inconnue jusque là et « l'arrivée de Jeanne à Alger agit comme un révélateur de la vie cachée » (*Ibidem*) de cette famille à « secrets incandescents » (*Ibidem*). Ainsi, « dans les interstices de l'Histoire, celle de la Révolution et du monde, s'écrivent d'autres chroniques intimes » (*Ibidem*).

Tour à tour, à part Jeanne, Jean et Kader, neuf autres personnages prennent la parole et révèlent des bribes de vies vécues dans le tourbillon hallucinant de la violence, de la névrose, de la déréliction, du mensonge, du cynisme. Le chef de la famille est Sidi Mohammed, le patriarche mélomane, lecteur raffiné d'Ibn Khaldoun et de Lacan, père de Rac, de Zigoto, de Yasmina et de Nabila, profondément attaché à la cause de son pays. Un homme de la réussite, aguerri par la vie passée « dans les prisons françaises, les faillites françaises, les tortures françaises, les mépris français »[1] (*HSG*, p. 157), épris d'une épouse fantasque, mais restant en retrait par rapport à sa famille, avec laquelle, malgré les apparences, la communication est difficile.

Le geste de Sidi Mohammed de céder Nabila, à la suite des insistances de sa femme, à son oncle maternel sans enfant, est à l'origine de la vie ratée de sa fille. Celle-ci sera violée pendant son adolescence par l'oncle collabo et le lourd secret, qu'elle confie à Jean, lors de l'une de leurs conversations à l'Hôtel Saint-Georges, la marquera pour la vie. Médecin, installée en France, elle raconte à Jean, lors d'une rencontre accidentelle, son errance sentimentale, son incapacité de surmonter le trauma ancien, mais, comme la première fois, celui-ci reste opaque à ses confessions et disparaît.

Conscient de la gravité de son geste qui a gâché aussi sa vie, le père l'assume lucidement, tout en admettant son refus ou son incapacité de sauver sa fille : « Je n'ai jamais pu (ou voulu) penser au malheur de Nabila » (*HSG*, p. 160) et par cela, la faille qui les sépare, malgré la force des sentiments qui les unit. C'est toujours Sidi Mohammed qui surprend l'essence du personnage de Nabila, qui « n'était pas dans le malheur, elle incarnait le malheur même » (*HSG*, p. 251).

Yassin Temlali voit dans le personnage de Rac, « un patriarche moderne et compréhensif » (*op. cit.*). Il est, en quelque sorte, *le maillon* le plus stable de la chaîne familiale. Zigoto, avec lequel il entretient une relation compliquée, affirme :

> Tu as toujours réussi ce que tu as entrepris. Tu as toujours eu des principes, parfois rigides. Inhumains. Mais tu t'y es tenu. À la fin de la guerre, tu aurais pu être ministre, mais tu as préféré t'inscrire à la fac. Et même ça, on te l'a reproché. Tes chers camarades de maquis, qui, pour la majorité d'entre eux, ont très vite retourné la veste… Vous aviez raté le coche, mais vous aviez payé le tribut du sang comme tout le monde. (*HSG*, p. 240).

Par une subtile mise en abîme (où s'agit-il plutôt d'autofiction ?), Boudjedra fait de l'écrivain communiste subversif son porte-parole. Par exemple, Rac a la même conception de l'histoire qui s'actualise dans *Hôtel Saint-Georges* :

> Il ne s'intéressait pas aux grands axes de l'Histoire, ses guerres, ses armistices, ses résistances, ses pactes, ses accords et ses falsifications, mais au revers de la médaille, aux détails et aux petits mouvements presque imperceptibles. Insaisissables, fuyants. Il s'intéressait aux petites gens qui la font, cette Histoire, presque par hasard, presque sans le savoir, ou sans savoir ce qu'ils font, ce qu'ils ont fait. Eux, donc, ne faisant qu'exécuter les ordres, aller à la boucherie, croire – naïvement – qu'ils allaient remodeler le monde grâce à la guerre, aux massacres, aux génocides, à la torture. […] Rac disait : "L'Histoire, mais ce n'est qu'une accumulation de futilités ! Rien que du filigrane ! C'est ça l'Histoire… (*HSG*, p. 226).

Même situation pour la passion pour l'Algérie, qui, selon Rac, « n'est pas un pays, c'est une drogue » (*HSG*, p. 30). Au-delà de cette image d'homme fort, intransigeant, mais généreux, Rac se définit lui-même comme un être torturé par ses passions inassouvies, qui vit dans l'ambiguïté, qui se cherche continûment, en proie à un « désarroi permanent », à une « épouvante incurable » (*HSG*, p. 137).

Pour fuir le malheur, Rac multiplie les expériences sexuelles, qu'il avoue ensuite, incapable de maîtriser un besoin pervers ou sadique, à sa femme Mic. Si la compréhension et la pitié de celle-ci le rend encore plus malheureux, le contact avec ses amantes passagères lui apporte

> une sorte de fraîcheur nécessaire à mon état calamiteux. […] Ce n'est qu'avec les femmes, aux moments que je passais avec elles dans la nudité d'une chambre spacieuse dans laquelle s'engouffrait un petit port de pêche, que je ressuscitais. Que je revenais à un état d'extraordinaire lucidité. Proche de l'extase ? Ou était-ce l'extase même ? La jubilation dans son sens mystique, telle que la décrivent Saint Augustin et Ibn Arabi (*HSG*, p. 137).

Malgré l'intensité de leur passion, la relation avec sa femme française Michelle demeure compliquée, le personnage évoquant, à un certain point de ses confessions, « le flou caractéristique de nos rapports » (*HSG*, p. 175). Ancienne porteuse de valises, acquise très jeune à la cause de l'Algérie, institutrice à Bugeaud après l'indépendance, ensuite médecin à Alger, Mic partage avec Rac une passion inaltérable pour son pays d'adoption : « […] j'ai toujours l'Algérie dans la peau » (*HSG*, p. 37).

Bien qu'auprès de Mic il atteint un équilibre précaire, Rac est déstabilisé par les rapports difficiles avec le reste de sa famille : « avec tous ces désordres, ces brisures et ces fêlures, je ne savais plus où j'en étais. Le fatras familial. Ces zones glauques et visqueuses. Ce monde immonde qui me hantait jusqu'à l'hallucination » (*HSG*, p. 137). La relation la plus tendue, faite paradoxalement, d'amour et d'hostilité, est celle avec son frère cadet Ali, que très jeune, il surnomme Zigoto. Commandant de bord à Air Algérie, Ali est en quelque sorte un double en négatif de Rac, qui s'est réfugié « dans l'ironie, la dérision et l'excès » (*HSG*, p. 82). La complicité du fils d'Ali avec les membres d'un réseau terroriste qui projetaient d'assassiner Rac, détériore davantage leurs rapports. Pourtant, les deux frères autrefois très proches et très complices ne peuvent nier une évidence : ils sont tous les deux des êtres de l'excès.

C'est d'ailleurs le trait qui les relie à leur neveu Kamel, qui se définit, à son tour, comme « un être de l'inassouvissement. Jamais satisfait. Jamais repu. Jamais comblé » (*HSG*, p. 90). Professeur cardiologue, chef de clinique, avide de pouvoir, trafiquant de drogues, grand amateur de femmes, Kamel cache en réalité un profond malaise : un manque de confiance en soi et un trauma profond du à l'incompréhension d'un père trop absent, par lequel il s'estime trahi et dont il n'hésitera pas à profaner le cadavre. Ses excès, surtout sa cruauté qui le poussent à des gestes extrêmes, font de Kamel un marginal dans une famille qui, dans sa vision, « n'était d'ailleurs pas une famille, mais un marécage familial souvent gluant et sordide » (*HSG*, p. 63). Cet homme qui « avait toujours vécu dans les chimères et les mythes » (*HSG*, p. 106) sera finalement exécuté par ses complices trafiquants de drogues.

Avec ses parents, Hamid et Yasmina, et avec sa sœur Leïla, Kamel partage le lourd secret d'une grand-mère paternelle prostituée, que Leïla compare à un véritable personnage faulknerien, et du crime perpétré par le grand-père contre l'amant de celle-ci. Tout cela marque le caractère des personnages et rend l'univers familial encore plus accablant.

Tous ces narrateurs qui prennent tour à tour la parole, pour éclairer leurs rapports familiaux ou leur participation à l'histoire, confèrent au récit l'épaisseur et la tension du vécu qui échappent souvent aux chroniques historiques objectives.

Hôtel Saint-Georges : multiplicité et fragmentaire

La grande provocation pour Rachid Boudjedra, afin de faire entendre toutes les voix des personnages et de faire entrer toutes leurs histoires intimes dans un récit qui ne s'enlise pas, était de trouver le type de narration et la forme textuelle la plus adaptée à son projet. La narration à la première personne et le ton feutré de la confession assuraient l'authenticité tonale et l'autonomie des voix. Le fragment, comme forme-texte ouverte, mobile, et inachevée était également le meilleur choix qui s'offrait à l'écrivain pour couvrir l'ensemble des confessions fragmentaires, pour suivre le mouvement parfois sismique de la pensée, pour rendre les ellipses, les moments suspendus de la narration « Le fragment, lieu même de la production de la pensée, manifeste autant la vie, celle de l'esprit d'une part, que celle du rapport au monde d'autre part » (Angé, 2007 : 27). Nous empruntons le syntagme *forme-texte* à Caroline Angé (*Ibidem*) parce qu'il nous semble le plus approprié pour préciser notre propre point de vue : nous ne considérons pas le fragment un genre en soi, nous l'envisageons comme une forme textuelle variable, malléable, qui peut prendre les apparences les plus diversifiées et, de la sorte, participer de tout genre littéraire.

En outre, nous nous plaçons dans la perspective de Marc Gontard qui, dans *Le roman français postmoderne. Une écriture turbulente*, distingue entre *texte fragmentaire* et *texte fragmental* : « Dans le premier cas, ce qui est en cause c'est soit l'inachèvement (œuvre posthume) soit l'incomplétude (manuscrit endommagé ou partiellement perdu). Dans le second cas, l'adjectif fragmental, désigne une écriture, une esthétique concertée » (2003 : 82).

À la base de cette distinction, nous retrouvons l'analyse de la problématique du fragmental par Paul Valéry, à laquelle Jean-Louis Galay consacre l'étude « Problèmes de l'œuvre fragmentale : Valéry » (in « Poétique », n° 31, 1977). À la conception de l'œuvre comme système clos, élaboré, « comme contrôle du désordre et de l'instabilité » s'oppose celle du texte fragmental « inorganisé, hétérogène […], subvertissant le principe d'Unité et donc celui de Vérité […]. L'écriture fragmentaire apparaît au contraire comme une écriture spontanée, discontinue, qui ne délivre que des Vérités provisoires » (*Ibidem*).

Nous remarquons aussi la convergence de l'affirmation de Marc Gontard – fragmental, désigne une écriture, une esthétique concertée – et de celle de Caroline Angé : « le texte fragmentaire dans son mode d'apparaître rend lisible et visible une stratégie de l'objet textuel » (*op. cit.* : 24). Dans le cas de *Hôtel Saint-Georges*, il est

évident qu'il s'agit d'un choix délibéré, grâce auquel le roman n'a pas d'équivalent dans ce que Boudjedra a écrit auparavant, ne reproduit aucune recette.

Le texte se compose de 69 fragments, qui représentent autant de prises de parole des douze narrateurs, réparties tel qu'il suit : Rac-9, Jeanne-9, Jean-8, Kader-4, Nabila-6, Kamel-5, Yasmina-5, Mic-7, Sidi Mohammed-5, Leïla-3, Hamid-3, Zigoto-5. Chaque fragment, à l'exception des trois derniers, a des dimensions presque égales (trois pages maximum), comme si l'auteur s'était imposé une sorte de contrainte oulipienne d'écriture. En outre, ce découpage assure un rythme constant et confère du dynamisme à la progression du récit.

Les trois dernières interventions, celles de Jean, de Rac et de Jeanne, beaucoup plus courtes – une page environ pour celles de Jean et de Rac, une seule ligne pour Jeanne – sont en quelque sorte des sommaires qui concluent à tout ce qui a été dit auparavant : on apprend, avec Rac, la difficulté de vivre au présent, on lit la fin de la lettre de Jean qui, une fois de plus, avant de dire adieu à sa fille, revient sur sa période algérienne tellement éprouvante, mais tellement présente dans sa mémoire :

> Ce qui m'intrigue, maintenant que je vais mourir, c'est que ma période algérienne est un mélange de bonheur très grand et de malheur terrible. Il me faudrait en faire la synthèse pour mourir libéré de tout ce fatras de l'Histoire qui a pourri ma vie. Après tout, et je le vérifie chaque jour un peu plus depuis que ce cancer s'est incrusté dans mon estomac, vraiment *« Le but de la vie est de se préparer à la mort »*. Et c'est ce que j'ai fait, sans vraiment le savoir. La période algérienne m'a permis de vérifier cette formule. Peut-être que j'étais déjà mort avant de devenir un fabricant de cercueils à la chaîne. La moisissure était déjà en moi. Elle est déjà en nous tous. *(HSG, p. 253)*

En ce qui concerne la dernière intervention de Jeanne, « Puis, plus rien… » (*HSG*, p. 259), celle-ci est en accord avec une affirmation antérieure de Rac : « Derrière Jeanne, il y avait l'intolérable souffrance de son père Jean. Il y avait la douleur et le malheur du monde. Derrière Jeanne, il y avait le vide aussi. » (*HSG*, p. 139) Si cette phrase clôt du point de vue formel le récit, elle est en même temps une plongée dans le vide, qui l'ouvre vers l'indéfini et vers l'infini, mais qui souligne aussi la difficulté d'un « après » existentiel et narratif.

D'ailleurs, les soixante-neuf fragments qui composent le récit, sont des formes ouvertes, qui ne font que renforcer l'impression de s'égarer dans une réalité plurielle, ou l'impossibilité de saisir et de figer le/les sens des existences et des confessions multipliées. Chaque fragment est une confession inachevée, une sorte d'îlot textuel, qui participe à la construction archipélique du récit.

L'une des clés de lecture de cette construction paradoxale du roman, très bien délimitée formellement, mais aussi ouverte sémantiquement, est présente dans le texte même :

> […] lorsqu'elle [Mic] me demandait de reprendre le récit que j'avais abandonné la veille au milieu d'une phrase, je ne me faisais pas trop prier, heureux d'avoir échappé au traquenard et réalisé le miracle de ma propre négation et de ma propre fuite devant moi-même (« cette peur de la lacération, de la déchirure et de la fragmentation est idiote », disait-elle). (*HSG*, p. 173)

Le fait que la plupart des fragments finissent sur une phrase suspendue, sur une parole inachevée, sur une interrogation : « Seulement… » (*HSG*, p. 127) ; « Et je me mis à lui parler de Noureddine, mon cousin alco… » (*HSG*, p. 91) ; « Rac sait-il vraiment que je suis un… » (*HSG*, p. 65) ; « J'allais mourir en emportant avec moi une énigme insoluble : Pourquoi les hommes sont-ils si cruels ? » (*HSG*, p. 131) a, par conséquent, une double signification : d'une part, il est le reflet des angoisses, de l'impuissance, de la permanente remise en question d'un écrivain confronté à soi-même et à son texte pendant le processus d'écriture. D'autre part, cette fragmentation épouse le rythme de la pensée de chaque personnage, souligne sa propre fragmentation, sa déchirure intérieure, son incapacité à se dire entièrement.

Cette pensée suspendue, interrompue, cette incapacité physique et morale d'aller parfois plus loin dans la confession est aussi soutenue par une autre évidence de l'écriture de ce roman : dynamique, saccadée, elle ne repose pas seulement sur la force de signification des phrases courtes, elliptiques, mais sur la force des mots, qui concentrent souvent l'essentiel du dit et du non-dit. Le mot est, oserions-nous dire, l'unité fondamentale de signification de ce récit, il est à la fois puissant, dominateur, explosif, concentrant l'essence du sens. À de nombreux endroits du texte, une caractéristique, une sensation, un état d'âme sont décrits par un mot isolé, ou par des suites de mots isolés, figés dans leur isolement au sein du fragment généralement par des points. De cette manière, par moments, le récit progresse plus abruptement, mais l'effet sur le lecteur est maximal : la fluidité du flux de lecture est affectée, mais le lecteur est obligé de s'arrêter davantage sur le mot isolé, d'y réfléchir, de subir pleinement son impact émotionnel : « J'étais abasourdie. Liquéfiée. Presque morte. » (*HSG*, p. 75) ; « J'ai eu une enfance tranquille. Silencieuse. Feutrée. Triste. Morte, quoi ! » (*HSG*, p. 12).

Les saccades de la pensée et de la parole sont encore plus évidentes dans les interventions de Kader :

> Le Rac, il dit à moi Banjour. Je pensé qui lui ? Gueule de bognol. Lui richar. Moi rien. Plazza di Ezze. Li dimonche. Gaouris faire prière à la mosquée des gaouris. Paticceria. Gaouri gros. Mange bacoup bacoup. Boire bacoup bacoup. Gaouri manger porc ! Pas Kader. Fa freddo. Moi triste. Rien faiseé. Rien diser. Rien voir. (*HSG*, p. 110)

Certains des fragments qui composent le récit sont, à leur tour, illustratifs pour l'écriture fragmentale : des extraits de chroniques, des citations, des slogans publicitaires se mêlent parfois aux confessions des personnages, dans un jeu intertextuel et de mise en abîme déstabilisants. Par exemple, le texte attribué à l'inconnue qui aide Kader à son arrivée en France, est en réalité l'incipit de *Topographie idéale pour une agression caractérisée*, autre roman célèbre de Rachid Boudjedra, qui traite du drame des immigrants maghrébins. Comme dans de nombreux autres passages de son récit, Boudjedra provoque son lecteur, en faisant appel à ses compétences encyclopédiques.

Ce qui surprend dans la construction du récit est le bouleversement de la chronologie. Si le repère temporel majeur est la guerre de libération de l'Algérie, à laquelle se rapportent la plupart des personnages, pour le reste des événements évoqués il n'y a pas de repère concret, le récit ne propose que des approximations : temps de « "l'absence de temps", le temps de l'écriture fragmentaire échappe à toute appréhension ; un

présent sans présence, un passé plus présent que le présent lui-même, un futur mais alors sans avenir, appartenant déjà au passé » (Hoppenot, 2001).

Une temporalité encore plus déroutante étant donné que certaines interventions sont placées dans le récit après la mort des personnages : à la page 123 du roman, on peut lire : « Hamid est mort. Kamel est mort. Yasmina est morte ». Par la suite, les trois personnages prennent encore la parole. Cette temporalité trouble nous autorise aussi à penser que la place des confessions dans le récit est interchangeable et que, à quelques exceptions près, les mêmes fragments textuels pourraient réorganisés selon d'autres schémas, cette mobilité incontestable étant le signe de l'ouverture de l'œuvre et de l'impossible figement du sens ou de la structure romanesque.

Une autre clé de l'écriture et de la lecture du roman est dévoilée par Rachid Boudjedra dans l'une de ses interviews déjà mentionnés, « Rachid Boudjedra : le bruit, la fureur et la compassion » :

> Le texte est en effet polyphonique, en l'écrivant, je pensais à « La symphonie des mille » de Mahler, symphonie que Mahler considérait comme ratée et qui a entraîné son suicide. C'est elle qui inspire à Visconti son superbe film, « Mort à Venise ». Pendant que j'écrivais, j'écoutais cette symphonie en boucle. (*op. cit.*)

Il est évident que cette écoute a aussi profondément marqué l'écriture du roman, car les confessions des personnages passent en boucle. Ce procédé répétitif favorise les variations et la multiplication des points de vue sur un événement ou sur un personnage. De cette manière, par le retour de chacun des intervenants sur un événement ou sur le caractère ou sur ses rapports avec sa famille, ceux-ci prennent forme et se précisent par des couches successives, qui leur donnent de l'épaisseur, et par des éclairages multiples qui les surprennent sous toutes leurs facettes et dans toute leur complexité. Une fois de plus, la multiplication et la relativisation des points de vue, rend impossible le figement du sens/d'un sens unique. Par exemple, le geste de Kamel de piétiner le cadavre d'un père trop peu présent dans sa vie et qui le trahit une dernière fois : transgressant les lois de la jurisprudence musulmane, Hamid ne le favorise pas en tant qu'héritier mâle et lègue en partie ses biens à sa femme et à sa fille, ce qui entraîne le geste abominable du fils. Le retour de la plupart des intervenants sur cet épisode, l'amplifie jusqu'à la limite du supportable. Pareillement, l'évocation des horreurs auxquelles Kader avait soumis ses victimes pendant des séances de torture, touche au paroxysme. Mais, au-delà de la violence, de la souffrance, de l'obsession, de la folie, Rachid Boudjedra suggère sinon la possibilité de réconciliation, au moins la possibilité de comprendre l'abominable et l'impardonnable, afin de les exorciser et de continuer à vivre, même avec le poids de ne jamais pouvoir changer quelque chose à la cruauté humaine ou aux horreurs de l'Histoire.

Conclusions

Le recours au fragment comme forme-texte dans *Hôtel Saint-Georges* a conduit Rachid Boudjedra à un véritable exploit stylistique : forme – paradoxalement dans ce cas – (presque) fixe (du point de vue de ses dimensions constantes) et à la fois ouverte, le fragment a été le choix le plus judicieux pour la mise en place d'une narration polyphonique, pour faire entendre les voix de douze narrateurs et de leur permettre de se relayer de manière dynamique.

En se concentrant sur une écriture fragmentaire elliptique, l'écrivain a éliminé tous les éléments superflus du texte, articulant de manière efficace histoire individuelle et histoire collective, dans un univers narratif sensible et violent, trouble et provocateur. Le fragment s'est aussi imposé comme la formule la plus heureuse de l'écriture de la mémoire qui, souvent, ne peut se reconstituer que sur le mode du fragmentaire, et de l'écriture de la variation, de l'inachevé, de la construction d'un sujet pluriel.

La seule question qui persiste dans notre mémoire, à la fin de ce parcours analytique, est si la peur de la lacération, de la déchirure, de la fragmentation de l'individu peut être surmontée par l'écriture et par la parole, ou seulement exhibée.

NOTE

[1] Toutes les citations du roman *Hôtel Saint-Georges* seront suivies du titre du roman abrégé en *HSG* et du numéro de la page. La pagination est celle du volume publié en 2011, aux Éditions Grasset & Fasquelle.

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Entretiens

« Rachid Boudjedra : écrire c'est survivre ». [en ligne] URL : <http://wwwjohablogspotcom-kaouah.blogspot.ro/2010_09_01_archive.html>, mis en ligne 27 septembre 2010. (Page consultée le 10 mars 2014).

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CIVILIZAȚIE
C I V I L I Z A T I O N
CIVILISATION

Analyse psychologique de l'accouchement traditionnel dans l'Adamaoua et l'Est du Cameroun

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ABSTRACT: Psychological analysis of traditional childbirth in Adamawa and East Cameroon

After 38 weeks covering the period of gestation, the foetus must come into a world that is completely different from the intra-uterine environment in which he lived. The environment that hosts him must be secure to facilitate its transition, its survival in turn its full quality development. Choices related to health care will observe pregnancies are analyzed by Bee and Boyd (2008). They also guide that on the place of birth. Despite the actions of the State and certain international organizations (UNICEF) in some areas of our country on parental education, traditional childbirth remains the best choice for many parents. We analyze its impact on the newborn and even its future development by relying on theories of developmental psychology. The study aims to analyze this form of giving birth by the profane, qualitative method. This involves collecting data from practitioners and mothers who are describing and explaining the rituals of traditional childbirth. It appears that the choice of this form of giving birth is justified by the inaccessibility to a hospital, economic reasons, the culture, but also by the social representations related to the hospital. When giving birth does not present any complication, the newborn has a chance to survive despite an environment that remains insecure, but he is receiving no consideration to assess his future physical and mental condition.

KEYWORDS: *giving birth, traditional childbirth, development, birth, newborn*

Introduction

L'accouchement est l'étape qui marque la transition entre le milieu intra-utérin et l'environnement où se passera toute la vie de l'individu. L'objectif de cette étude est de faire un examen et une analyse psychologique de l'accouchement dans un contexte traditionnel.

Depuis des siècles et même au XXIe siècle où nous nous situons, les conséquences sur la mère et le futur enfant restent désastreuses lorsqu'il n'y pas un bon choix du spécialiste qui assiste la femme enceinte et pendant l'accouchement. C'est ainsi que le problème de mortalité périnatale et maternelle reste d'actualité. Plusieurs mesures sont prises par les États pour résoudre le problème. Au Cameroun, le gouvernement a souscrit à plusieurs engagements et initiatives pour atteindre les Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement no 4 et 5 dont l'accroissement et l'amélioration de la

couverture géographique de l'offre de CPN et le lancement en 2010 de la Campagne pour l'Accélération de la Réduction de la Mortalité Maternelle en Afrique (CARMMA) dans le cadre du programme santé de la reproduction de la stratégie sectorielle de la santé 2001-2015. Autres mesures prises concernent la subvention et la gratuité de plusieurs composantes de la CPN tels que le dépistage du VIH-SIDA, le vaccin antitétanique, les antirétroviraux, la supplémentation en vitamine A, le traitement préventif du paludisme, la distribution des moustiquaires imprégnées, le renforcement de l'offre des soins obstétricaux et néonatals d'urgence avec notamment des kits de césarienne.

Cependant, les statistiques de 2009 et 2010 révèlent que, si 83,3% à 85% des parturientes ont effectué en moyenne une visite prénatale, 60% en ont eu quatre et seulement 35% celle du premier trimestre. La recommandation de l'OMS est normalement de 4 consultations avant l'accouchement pour réduire la mortalité infantile et néonatale. Les rapports de l'INS (2011), du MINSANTE (2011a ; 2011b) et de World Bank (2011) présentent 1000 décès pour 100 000 naissances au Cameroun. Or, la CPN a des avantages notamment : la sensibilisation sur les signes d'alerte et de danger, la détection et le traitement précoce des situations à risque et l'amélioration du recours à l'aide appropriée lors de l'accouchement (Prual *et al*., 2002 ; Ndiaye *et al*., 2005 ; Mbuagbaw & Gofin, 2010). L'estimation des besoins non satisfaits de la CPN est supérieure à 40% dans les régions de l'Est, du Nord-ouest, de l'Ouest et du Sud. Il existe une proportion significative de femmes échappant à toute CPN dans toutes les régions avec cependant une plus forte concentration dans le Centre, l'Extrême-nord, le Littoral, l'Adamaoua, le Nord-ouest, l'Ouest et le Sud-ouest. La moitié des femmes accèdent à la CPN dans des formations sanitaires informelles ou chez des accoucheuses traditionnelles (Minsanté, 2011a ; 2011b). Par ailleurs, les rapports des enquêtes menées par Bonono et Ongolo-Zogo (2012), Zogo (2011) sont un cri d'alarme pour 306 femmes attendues chaque année au Cameroun ainsi que les familles de 4 500 femmes qui décèdent chaque année des suites de couches. La recension des écrits sur ce phénomène est de mise.

1. État de la question

Les recherches sur la parentalité ont été abordées en mettant en relation les facteurs tels que la fécondité et le niveau socio-économique de la femme. Des études historiques et culturelles mettent l'accent sur l'espacement des naissances, le rang et le sexe du nouveau-né. D'autres études décrivent le contexte d'accouchement et des rituels réservés aux premiers moments de vie du nouveau-né. Dans cette partie, nous présentons quelques-unes, afin de montrer la particularité de l'actuelle étude.

La plupart des études dans les pays en voie de développement dans la seconde moitié du XXe siècle mettent l'accent sur la corrélation entre les données sociodémographiques et la maternité, et plus spécifiquement entre le niveau d'instruction et la fécondité. La corrélation inverse entre le niveau d'instruction et la fécondité des femmes est l'une des découvertes les plus remarquables et les plus solides de la recherche en sciences sociales de la deuxième moitié de ce siècle (Basu et Aaby, 1998 :

10). Leurs analyses se sont fondées d'abord sur des théories cognitives pour lesquelles l'instruction entraînerait un changement des valeurs et de la perception du monde chez les individus, et modifierait les points de vue, les idées et les modes de pensée des femmes (LeVine et White, 1986). Le projet de la parentalité devient l'objet d'un choix conscient et bien réfléchi grâce à l'accès à la scolarité. Ensuite les théories du changement instrumental, par contre, estiment que l'instruction modifie les conditions objectives de prise des décisions, augmente le coût d'opportunité du travail féminin (Caldwell, 1980 ; Ainsworth, 1988 ; Lloyd et Gage-Brandon, 1992). Ces modèles de type micro-économique soutiennent que, le désir de la maternité est moins élevé lorsque le niveau d'instruction est élevé. Cependant, les auteurs ne mettent pas l'accent sur les soins à apporter à l'enfant pendant les périodes pré et postnatales.

Molet (1976) avait décrit les rites liés à l'accouchement traditionnel à Madagascar où la femme était appelée à accoucher sans crier et était avec son nouveau-né enfermés dans une pièce qui ne pouvait s'ouvrir pendant huit jours, périodes où il y a d'autres rituels pour la sortie de l'enfant et de la nouvelle accouchée. L'auteur n'aborde pas l'influence de cette pratique sur le développement de l'enfant.

En revanche, les études historiques et culturelles ont abordé la problématique de la parentalité en mettant l'accent sur d'autres facteurs comme l'espacement de naissance, la composition par sexe, etc. (Delaunay, 1994 ; Hertrich, 1996 ; Johnson-Hanks, 2002).

La situation vécue au Cameroun est aussi décrite au Sénégal. L'enquête menée par Almamy Malick Kanté et Gilles Pison (2010) sur le recours aux soins à Bandafassi en 2007 au Sud-Est du Sénégal révèle que le taux de mortalité maternelle est de 911 décès pour 100 000 naissances vivantes en moyenne au cours de la période 1976-2006. Durant leur grossesse, 17% des femmes n'ont consulté aucun personnel de santé. Il est à noter que près de 10% des femmes ayant consulté un personnel de santé ont effectué en parallèle une consultation chez le guérisseur. Pour le lieu d'accouchement, les résultats de leur recherche montrent que parmi les 239 femmes interrogées en 2007, 86 % ont accouché à domicile (dans la concession, les champs, etc.), contre 14 % en maternité.

Ces auteurs ont aussi examiné l'influence de la construction d'un hôpital moderne au cœur d'une zone rurale du Sénégal mal équipée jusqu'alors, la zone de Bandafassi, et dont l'objectif était de faire reculer la mortalité maternelle, très élevée, en offrant des soins de haut niveau notamment en obstétrique. De leurs recherches, il en ressort que quatre ans après son ouverture, il n'y pas eu d'évolution sur les comportements des populations. Pour eux, l'offre en soins de santé en quantité et en qualité, n'est pas un facteur suffisant pour améliorer la santé des populations. Chez les Sereer du Sénégal par exemple, « l'accouchement est une étape initiatique de la vie de la femme qui se doit d'enfanter seule et en silence. Ce stoïcisme étant la condition pour passer honorablement du statut d'épouse à celui de mère ».

D'après les études menées par Cantrelle et Locoh (1990) en Afrique Subsaharienne, la tradition est d'accoucher à domicile. Chez les Peuls de la région du Fouta Djallon, en Guinée, les accouchements ont lieu à domicile, sans aucune assistance, *« la coutume laissant la femme seule avec Dieu »* (Cantrelle *et al.*, 1992). Ces études

évoquent le contexte traditionnel d'accouchement, sans montrer son impact sur le nouveau-né.

Aubaile-Sallenave (1997), décrit les premières périodes de vie de l'enfant avec l'entrée en jeu des pratiques rituelles complexes et qui demeurent vivantes dans les sociétés traditionnelles et pense que, les premiers jours de vie du petit enfant maghrébin sont riches d'expériences mettant en éveil ses sens olfactif, gustatif, auditif, et dans une moindre mesure visuel et tactile.

Fellous (1981 : 202) s'est intéressé à la socialisation de l'enfant en milieu traditionnel Bambara. Chaque étape du développement social de l'enfant est codifiée. Il existe donc un lien entre l'âge, l'éducation et la socialisation. Les rituels concernent ainsi la naissance, la circoncision, l'excision et le mariage.

Pour Dumas-Champion (2002), l'enfant dans la société Masa (Tchad) reçoit toute l'affection et a une valeur selon son sexe, sa nature ou son rang dans la fratrie. Le premier né par exemple est celui qui donne une place à sa mère car c'est par sa naissance qu'elle bénéficie de son intégration sociale au sein de sa belle famille. Les rituels sont pratiqués sur les naissances gémellaires par les enfants moins pubères, malheureusement l'auteur ne nous en décrit pas le contenu, mais le but est d'éloigner le risque de mort qui pèse sur ces enfants.

Sénécal (1973) fait la critique de la place accordée à la pédiatrie dans les pays du tiers monde. Pour cet auteur, cette spécialisation est consacrée à la population qui se situe entre 0-15 ans et précise que la vie ne commence pas avec la naissance et aussi la croissance n'est pas achevée à 15 ans et le paradoxe est que c'est cette population qu'on retrouve dans les statistiques de la morbidité et de la mortalité. Des évènements survenant lors de la grossesse peuvent avoir des conséquences irréversibles sur le devenir de l'enfant à la période postnatale. L'auteur relève la période avant 6 ans comme celle de vulnérabilité infantile, où il y a un fort taux de décès dans les pays du tiers monde car, sur 1000 naissances, 150-300 meurent avant l'âge d'un an. Cette situation est déterminée par le contexte d'accouchement dont l'actuelle étude aborde.

2. Insertion théorique

La théorie que nous utilisons pour expliquer le problème que soulève cette étude est celle des fonctions parentales. Celles-ci concernent les rôles parentaux dans les tâches quotidiennes. Ces tâches maternelles et paternelles englobent tout ce que les parents doivent concrètement apporter à l'enfant tout au long de son développement. La conception d'un enfant est un projet commun des parents. Aussi, les théoriciens du développement de l'enfant décrivent le contexte d'un accouchement, ses stades et l'évaluation du nouveau-né qui nous intéresse.

Pendant la période prénatale, le milieu intra-utérin où se développe le fœtus doit être sain pour éviter des conséquences futures irréversibles et favoriser son bon développement intégral. La mère doit à cet effet être en bonne santé, avoir une alimentation appropriée et éviter la consommation des substances toxiques. Elle doit aussi contrôler des agents tératogènes qui sont néfastes pour le fœtus. Ceci demande par ricochet que pendant le stade du projet de parentalité et au cours de l'état de gestation, la mère face un choix d'un personnel spécialisé. C'est ce dernier qui va la suivre

pendant toute cette période et qui va l'assister au moment de l'accouchement dans un milieu obstétrique.

Un autre aspect de la fonction parentale est la conséquence de celle décrite et consiste à donner la vie au fœtus. En effet une peinture avait été faite de l'accouchement à domicile dans l'ancienne France du XVIIIe siècle par Riet (1991). Plusieurs accouchées à domicile étaient surprises en activités qu'elles ne pouvaient pas interrompre pour éviter un déséquilibre économique dans le ménage. Au cours de ces activités domestiques, elles subissaient chute et heurts qui provoquaient l'accouchement. Ces travaux rudes et répétés pouvaient accélérer un accouchement désastreux. L'auteur évoque également le drame des accouchements solitaire non ordinaire qui ont été un champ de recherche abondante pour les médecins, juristes, etc., et qui sont en effet des cas pathologiques. Ici, la grossesse est dissimulée jusqu'au moment où l'heure d'accouchement survient et la femme accouchée cherche à s'isoler pour faire disparaître les traces après.

Pourtant, le don de la vie favorise l'inscription de l'enfant dans l'arbre généalogique. Poussin (2004) voit en ces fonctions une addition ou encore une complémentarité entre la maternalité et la paternalité. Il relève l'importance de la fonction parentale et déclare que *« rien ne remplace quelqu'un qui remplit correctement la fonction parentale »* (2004:131). Lorsqu'elles sont assumées sans défaillance, elles se caractérisent pendant la période prénatale et néonatale par la prise en charge de la grossesse, le respect des quatre consultations, le choix d'accouchement dans un cadre obstétrique, le contrôle de son état émotionnel, etc. Mais, lorsque des distorsions surviennent dans l'exercice des fonctions parentales à cette période, des conséquences sont les suivantes : absence de bilan sur l'état de l'enfant à la naissance, mortalité périnatales, malformations, morbidité infantile ou vulnérabilité

Les théoriciens de la psychologie du développement ont abordé des choix qui s'offrent liés à l'accouchement. Il peut ainsi avoir lieu dans un centre hospitalier avec un médecin généraliste ou obstétricien, ou une sage-femme. Il doit y avoir des chambres de naissance qui offrent un décor chaleureux pour le travail et l'accouchement, avec la participation des membres de la famille. Il y a aussi la possibilité que cela se passe à domicile mais en présence d'une sage-femme. C'est le cas chez *« 1% actuellement en Amérique du Nord »* (Bee & Boyd, 2008 : 58). Pourcentage plus élevé en Europe où l'on considère que l'accouchement à domicile reste naturel, plus sûr et moins coûteux. Par ricochet, les ménages sont affiliés à des hôpitaux pour favoriser le transfert rapide en cas de complication. Cependant, dans ce contexte, cette forme d'accouchement n'est autorisée que pour des cas de femmes qui ont reçu des soins prénatals de qualité et des grossesses sans complication car le centre hospitalier offre plus de sécurité. En 2005, le gouvernement du Québec a adopté un règlement sur les normes de pratiques et les conditions d'exercice d'un accouchement à domicile. La maison de naissance assure le suivi complet d'une femme enceinte qui concerne les soins prénatals, lors de l'accouchement et les soins postnatals.

Trois étapes de l'accouchement sont décrites. La première qui est celle du travail avec une durée variable de 3-20 heures est longue pour un accouchement avec anesthésie et pour les primipares. Elle comprend trois sous étapes : la première est celle

de latence avec des contractions utérines espacées et peu douloureuses, avec effacement du col de l'utérus et sa dilatation à 10 cm, la seconde dite active avec la dilatation du col à 3-4 cm et se poursuit jusqu'à ce qu'elle atteigne 8 cm, se caractérise par le rapprochement et l'intensification des contractions, le fœtus descend progressivement ; et la dernière, dite de transition, est celle de la dilatation des deux derniers centimètres, est la plus courte mais aussi la plus pénible de la femme, avec des contractions très rapprochées et très intenses. La deuxième phase est celle de l'expulsion du fœtus quand le col est complètement dilaté, 10 cm et se termine avec la naissance de l'enfant. L'accouchée est donc encouragée à pousser au cas où l'anesthésie entrave l'envie de le faire ; les problèmes liés à ce stade sont ceux de la présentation du siège qui peut causer la détresse fœtale, aussi la compression du cordon entre le col utérin et la tête du bébé, supprimant ou réduisant l'apport du sang maternel vers le bébé donc de l'oxygène au fœtus. Une anoxie qui peut endommager le cerveau du fœtus et même entrainer la mort. Une autre catégorie d'accouchement anormale est celle dite par césarienne. La dernière phase de cette étape dure moins d'une heure et rarement plus de deux heures. À 80% des cas, il y a le recours à l'épisiotomie (incision du périnatale) pour faciliter l'accouchement. Le nouveau-né lavé est posé sur le ventre de sa mère ou confié à son père. La dernière étape est celle de l'expulsion du placenta et des autres tissus provenant de l'utérus afin d'éviter les risque d'hémorragie.

Le bébé expulsé doit faire l'objet d'une évaluation. L'indice d'Apgar est utilisé pour son état physique selon cinq critères : la fréquence cardiaque, la respiration, le tonus musculaire, la réponse aux stimuli et la couleur de la peau selon une échelle d'évaluation comprise entre 1 et 3 points (Bee & Boyd, 2008). L'enfant se porte bien lorsque le résultat de l'examen donne au moins 7 points, entre 4-6, il a besoin d'assistance, entre 1-3, il est dans un état critique. L'échelle de Brazelton permet aussi de mesurer le comportement néonatal 30 mn après son expulsion. Elle concerne les réflexes, les capacités d'interaction, les capacités motrices et physiologiques, les réactions aux stress, ainsi que la capacité de maintenir un état calme et de se mettre en état d'alerte. Leur but est de déceler les troubles neurologiques.

L'évaluation concerne aussi le poids de l'enfant qui peut être affecté par des agents tératogènes. Dès que l'enfant pèse moins de 2 500 grammes à la naissance, il a déjà un faible poids, moins de 1 500 grammes, c'est un très faible poids et moins de 1 000 grammes, ce sont des cas extrêmes. Aussi, des nouveau-nés prématurément peuvent présenter un faible poids. Les conséquences du faible poids à la naissance sont : plus faible réactivité à la naissance et dans les premiers mois de vie, développement moteur plus lent et troubles respiratoires. À long terme, en l'absence d'une meilleure prise en charge des besoins de l'enfant par les parents, des conséquences peuvent s'observer sur le plan cognitif avec des difficultés d'attention et d'apprentissage.

3. Méthodologie

La partie méthodologique de cette recherche s'articule autour de la question qui guide l'étude, de la méthode, du site et des résultats.

3.1. Questions de recherche

L'objectif que nous poursuivons à travers cette étude consiste à examiner et analyser l'influence sur le nouveau-né de l'accouchement dans un contexte traditionnel. Pour l'atteindre la question principale qui nous guide est la suivante : *comment la pratique de l'accouchement dans un contexte traditionnel peut avoir une influence sur le nouveau-né ?* Pour mieux comprendre, nous l'avons éclatée en plusieurs : Qui pratique l'accouchement traditionnel ? Où se pratique-t-il ? Quel est le matériel utilisé pendant l'accouchement et pour l'évaluation du bébé ? Quelles en sont les conséquences ? Pour apporter des éléments de réponse, nous avons utilisé une méthode que nous présentons par la suite.

3.2. Méthode de recherche

La méthode qualitative, profane, de type descriptif et explicatif est celle que nous avons utilisée pour avoir les résultats de l'étude. Son usage se justifie par le fait que l'objet d'étude est un phénomène de résistance, de culture (Mucchielli, 2009 ; Deslauriers, 1988 ; 1991). Les données ont été recueillies grâce aux entretiens qui ont nécessité l'élaboration des guides d'entretien. Deux guides ont été élaborées dont un était destiné aux pratiquantes et l'autre aux accouchées. Les résultats ont été analysés grâce à la technique d'analyse de contenu. Pour y parvenir, une grille d'analyse inspirée de l'indice d'Apgar et du contexte d'un accouchement théorisé par les psychologues du développement a été élaborée. Ce qui a donné les résultats que nous allons présenter.

3.3. Sites de l'étude

L'étude a eu lieu dans la Région de l'Adamaoua, particulièrement dans le Département de la Vina, Arrondissement de Ngaoundéré deuxième ; et dans la Région de l'Est, Département du Haut-Nyong, Arrondissement de Dimako, deux localités du Cameroun. La première région est frontalière du Nigéria à l'Ouest et de la République Centrafricaine à l'Est. Elle est la troisième par sa taille avec une zone montagneuse qui délimite le Cameroun forestier du Sud et la savane du Nord. Ngaoundéré est son chef-lieu de la Région et du département de la vina. Ses autres départements sont : le Djérem, le Faro-et-Déo, le Mayo-Banyo et le Mbéré. L'islam est la principale religion et les peuls constituent la principale ethnie qui a étouffé les ethnies locales qui ont presque perdu leur culture, leur identité. Sa population est de 1 080 500 habitants avec une superficie de 63 701 km^2. Le taux d'analphabé-tisme reste encore un problème important dans cette région et concerne la population comprise entre 15-25 ans (32,42% pour les hommes et 66,69% pour les femmes). La culture et la religion guident de manière importante les comportements de la population. Les accoucheuses traditionnelles et les femmes accouchées interrogées sont toutes de la Vina.

La région de l'Est est quant à elle située au Sud-Est du pays, avec pour chef-lieu Bertoua. D'autres régions limitrophes sont celles du Centre, du Sud et de l'Adamaoua. Ses départements sont Boumba-et-Ngoko, Haut-Nyong, Kadey et Lom-et-

Ndjerem. Sa population est de 755 100 habitants avec une superficie de 109 011 km^2. L'étude a eu lieu dans le Haut-Nyong, plus particulièrement dans l'Arrondissement de Dimako. La forêt de type équatoriale qui couvre la région influence de manière archétypale les activités et les comportements des populations.

3.4. Population et échantillon de l'étude

L'étude s'adresse à toutes les femmes accouchées traditionnellement et celles qui exercent cette forme d'accouchement. En revanche, la technique d'échantillonnage boule de neige est celle que nous avons utilisée. Le chef du quartier communément appelé Djaoro dans l'Adamaoua, nous autorisait à accéder dans la concession pour nous mettre en contact avec des femmes accouchées traditionnellement et un autre guide nous conduisait chez les pratiquantes. Grâce à cette technique, nous avons pu rencontrer deux pratiquantes dans chaque site et la saturation des données du premier site nous a imposée la limitation de l'échantillon à quatre femmes accouchées.

4. Présentation et analyse des données

La présentation des résultats s'articule autour des données anamnestiques des pratiquantes et des accouchées d'une part, de la description du contexte d'accouche-ment traditionnel d'autre part.

4.1. Données anamnestiques des participants

Elles concernent d'un côté les accoucheuses traditionnelles et de l'autre les femmes accouchées.

4.1.1. Données anamnestiques accoucheuses traditionnelles

Quatre accoucheuses traditionnelles ont été identifiées dont deux qui sont en situation de monoparentalité suite au décès de son conjoint pour l'une, et suite au choix personnel pour l'autre notamment à l'Est. Deux sont mariées sous le régime polygamique dans l'Adamaoua. Elles sont respectivement âgées de 43, 48, 51 et 55 ans. Elles ont des points communs, car elles sont toutes ménagères avec absence de scolarisation. Elles ont toutes accouché traditionnellement et la pratique de l'accouchement a été transmise par leur mère pour deux, et acquise suite à l'expérience personnelle pour les deux autres. Elles sont mères de 6, 8, 8 et 9 enfants respectivement.

4.1.2. Données anamnestiques des accouchées

Nous avons un échantillon de huit accouchées traditionnellement avec des caractéristiques ainsi présentées dans le tableau.

Tableau descriptif des accouchées traditionnelles

Accouchées	Âge	Situation familiale	Niveau scolaire	Nombre d'enfants
Sujet 1	16	célibataire	Absence de scolarisation	1
Sujet 2	19	concubinage	secondaire	2
Sujet 3	16	célibataire	primaire	1
Sujet 4	35	Mariée-polygamie	Absence de scolarisation	4
Sujet 5	18	célibataire	secondaire	1
Sujet 6	25	célibataire	primaire	3
Sujet 7	19	concubinage	secondaire	2
Sujet 8	19	Mariée-polygamie	primaire	1

La lecture de ce tableau montre que les primipares sont plus nombreuses, soit la moitié de l'échantillon, et sont également les plus jeunes, 16, 18 ans. Ce qui peut justifier leur immaturité dans la prise de décision quant au lieu d'accouchement, doublée des difficultés économiques et de l'influence culturelle.

4.2. Contexte d'accouchement traditionnel

Les résultats que nous présentons décrivent le lieu d'accouchement, le matériel utilisé, l'évaluation du nouveau-né et les soins dont il bénéficie, selon l'indice d'Apgar.

Il ressort du contenu des discours des participantes que l'accouchement traditionnel pour les deux sites de cette étude se réalise dans une cuisine, une chambre ou au pied d'un arbre. Le matériel utilisé est constitué du whisky traditionnel appelé « *arki* » qui joue le rôle de stérilisateur, la lame rasoir pour couper le cordon ombilical mesuré à l'aide du doigt (l'auriculaire), le fil à tresser, un petit couteau en cas d'absence d'une lame, une natte, le pagne et le miel pour accentuer les étapes du travail.

Concernant l'évaluation du nouveau-né, il ressort des contenus des entretiens que les fréquences cardiaques ne sont pas évaluées, aussi, la maîtrise de qualité de la respiration est ignorée, ainsi que la méthode de sa stimulation lorsqu'elle est retardée. Le tonus musculaire n'est pas aussi évalué car les accouchées ne décrivent aucune méthode, et les réponses aux stimulations ne sont pas observées. Cependant, la couleur de la peau est observée.

Les soins apportés au nouveau-né sont : scission du cordon ombilical, nettoyage à l'aide du bagne, bain dans une eau préparée avec les matières végétales, habillement, 7 jours avant sa sortie pour certains, 40 jours pour d'autres.

5. Interprétation des résultats

Les résultats présentés montrent qu'il y a immaturité chez la majorité des accouchées ainsi que les difficultés économiques qui justifient le choix pour cette forme d'accouchement. La non prise en compte des besoins du nouveau-né, la transition brutale entre le milieu intra-utérin et celui extra-utérin, le contexte d'accouchement non sé-

curisant, ainsi que les difficultés de son évaluation peuvent avoir un impact irréversible sur son développement avenir et justifient de la défaillance parentale. C'est ce qui peut être à l'origine de nombreux cas de décès néo-natals.

6. Discussion

La précarité, la pauvreté, la culture justifient aussi le choix pour l'accouchement traditionnel. Par ailleurs, les critiques vis-à-vis de la qualité des services en milieux hospitaliers sont des arguments qui œuvrent pour l'évitement de ces milieux par de nombreuses familles (Beninguisse, 2003 ; Almamy Malick Kanté & Gilles Pison, 2010). En outre, les statistiques liées à la mortalité néonatale, ne distinguent pas les cas des hôpitaux de ceux issus des accouchements traditionnels

7. Conclusion

Cette étude avait pour objectif d'examiner et d'analyser l'accouchement dans un contexte particulier : traditionnel. L'indice d'Apgar décrit par les théoriciens du développement humain a été exploité pour analyser les contenus issus des entretiens avec les participantes. Il en ressort que le contexte d'accouchement traditionnel, bien que faisant partie des us dans certaines localités (Otovescu, 2010), présente des risques pour le développement futur du nouveau-né. Des pathologies pouvant être précocement prises en charge ne sont pas détectées à cause du manque de matériel pour une évaluation et aussi de l'absence de compétence des accouchées traditionnelles. En revanche, il est opportun que des études interculturelles abordent la problématique du développement des enfants accouchés dans le contexte traditionnel.

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Annexes

Annexe 1 : *indice d'Apgar*

Signes observés/points	3	1	2
Fréquences cardiaques	Absente	Moins de 100/mn	Plus de 100/mn
Respiration	Absente	Faibles pleurs et respiration superficielle	Pleurs vigoureux et respiration régulière
Tonus musculaire	Flasque	Légère flexion des membres	Bonne flexibilité
Réponse aux stimulations	Aucune	Faible mouvement	pleurs
Couleur de la peau	Bleue, pâle	Corps rose, doigts et orteils bleus	Rose partout
Réponse des pieds à la stimulation			

Annexe 2 : *guide d'entretien avec les accoucheuses traditionnelles*

1. Identification (âge, origine, niveau d'instruction, langue, religion, profession, situation familiale, nombre d'enfants)
2. Quelques données sur les femmes reçues
3. Lieu de l'accouchement
4. Matériel utilisé lors de l'accouchement
5. Description d'une séquence d'accouchement
6. Évaluation du nouveau-né
7. Solutions apportées aux cas compliqués
8. Raison de la pratique

Annexe 3 : *guide d'entretien avec les femmes accouchées traditionnellement*

1. Identification (âge, origine, niveau d'instruction, langue, religion, profession, situation familiale, nombre d'enfants)
2. Motivations de l'accouchement traditionnel
3. Nombre de fois
4. Matériel utilisé lors l'accouchement
5. Description d'une séquence d'accouchement
6. Évaluation du nouveau-né
7. Solutions apportées aux cas compliqués
8. Raison de ce choix

Autour des notions de *culture* et de *sous-culture* dans le cadre de l'étude comparative des milieux carcéraux français et roumain

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ABSTRACT: About the concepts of *culture* and *under-culture* within the framework of the comparative study of the French and Romanian prison environments

The civil society is built around the values shared by all individuals, values constituting its culture. Beyond the common culture, we equally experience what we call under-culture: the under-culture of teenagers, the under-culture of violence or the under-culture of prison, the latter constituting our point of interest. As far as the liberty-depriving environment is concerned, the assimilation and adoption of these under-cultures mark a distancing of the individual towards the conducts and values accepted by the civil society and his approach towards values less known/accepted by the society. Discussing notions such as *culture* and *under-culture* enables the researcher to consider the detainees in a double perspective: subject-speaker and social actor at the same time. We consequently aim to confront the elements constituting the culture of the civil society in general and the elements constituting the under-culture of the prison, underlining at the same time the functions of the culture and those of the under-culture.

KEYWORDS: *society/community, culture/under-culture, comparative approach, French-Romanian prison environment*

I. Introduction

Dans cette contribution, nous nous proposons de thématiser le milieu de réclusion en tant qu'institution de l'État et le discours carcéral en tant que discours institutionnel. Cette démarche scientifique part de l'observation du contexte[1] où les sujets-parlants détenus mettent en pratique leur discours, donc dans ce que Goffman appelle *« institutions totalitaires »*[2] (1968 : 41), et du constat qu'il y a des éléments discursifs et extra discursifs qui rapprochent le discours du milieu de la prison du discours institutionnel. Visant la présentation des milieux carcéraux distincts du point de vue de l'organisation et de la constitution de la population carcérale, cette étude traitera des points suivants :

- Considérations sur la notion d'*institution* ;
- Le discours carcéral, un discours institutionnel ;
- Les axes de la culture dans la société civile ;
- Les axes de la sous-culture carcérale dans la situation d'étude comparative des milieux de réclusion français et roumain ;

- Fonctions de la culture dans la société civile ;
- Fonctions de la sous-culture dans le milieu de réclusion.

II. Problématique et objectifs

En accordant une attention particulière aux références des disciplines comme la sociologie, la linguistique, la sociolinguistique et la psychologie sociale, le but de la présente étude est d'identifier des détails qui permettent une analyse du milieu de la prison dans une perspective interdisciplinaire. Cette recherche se focalise sur un aspect sociétal et implique un regard multiple sur la communauté socio-discursive du milieu de réclusion des deux pays, la Roumanie et la France. L'enquête présentée ici vise la compréhension du fonctionnement du milieu de réclusion et l'évaluation de la capacité des sujets parlants à s'adapter à une culture d'un État étranger et à la sous-culture du milieu punitif, inconnues jusqu'au moment du changement de leur statut social. Dans cette optique, on développe les aspects suivants :

- le milieu de la prison est une microsociété qui se construit sur des principes et valeurs évoluant parallèlement avec ceux de la société commune, qui développe ses propres règles et qui définit son identité par l'affirmation d'une *« contre légitimité linguistique »* (Bourdieu, 1983 : 103) ;
- la prison est analysable sur plusieurs aspects : institution de l'État, milieu de socialisation et de revalorisation de la personne incarcérée après le décalage de perception qui s'installe dans le mental de l'individu et les réalités du milieu commun, communauté socio-discursive et sociolinguistique ;
- le milieu de la prison est un milieu de rencontre des cultures locales, régionales et d'État et des sous-cultures carcérales dans un contexte mono- et multilingue.

III. Méthode de travail

Pour avoir une méthode plus pertinente du point de vue sociolinguistique, on a du reconsidérer la méthode de travail et faire appel à la biographie linguistique. Pour cela, le chercheur a conçu un questionnaire[3] à questions ouvertes, moyen qui a permis aux répondants d'offrir des détails importants concernant la vie de prison. Le questionnaire proposé aux répondants contient cinq parties qui se concentrent progressivement sur l'illustration du monde carcéral à partir de la personne incarcérée en tant qu'individu jusqu'aux relations que celui-ci développe dans le nouveau milieu :

- la présentation individuelle de la personne détenue ;
- le milieu de détention ;
- les collègues de détention[4] ;
- les activités au sein de la prison ;
- les relations avec la famille/les amis.

Cette technique est prêtable aux études empiriques et concerne la présentation autobiographique du sujet impliqué dans la recherche et la description des expériences

linguistiques et culturelles que le détenu vit dans une communauté mono-/multilingue, mono-/multiculturelle, plus précisément dans un cadre institutionnel privatif de liberté. Celui-ci accomplit dans une certaine mesure son identité en tant qu'acteur social et aussi en tant que sujet parlant qui présente les situations de vie à l'aide du nouveau discours. La technique utilisée aide le chercheur à connaître la perception de son sujet sur lui-même/les collègues de détention/le personnel de la prison sur le milieu carcéral/la société civile.

IV. La prison en tant qu'*institution*

Notre recherche propose pour le début quelques précisions sur la notion d'*institution*. Au sens large, l'institution représente une forme d'organisation des rapports sociaux dont le fonctionnement s'appuie sur des normes imposées en fonction des particularités de chaque domaine d'activité. En s'identifiant à l'autorité donnée par des règlements arbitrairement établis, l'institution impose à la collectivité certaines normes comportementales et discursives.

Ce sont des idées que l'on retrouve aussi dans la théorie de Dominique Maingueneau qui soutient que

> Par « institution », on n'entendra pas seulement ces structures exemplaires que sont l'armée ou l'Église, mais plus largement, tout dispositif qui délimite l'exercice de la fonction énonciative, le statut des énonciateurs comme celui des destinataires, les types de contenus que l'on peut et doit dire, les circonstances d'énonciation légitimes pour un tel questionnement.
>
> (1991 : 18)

L'existence de l'individu dans une certaine institution permet à la fois la distinction entre deux statuts sociaux qu'il vit simultanément. Dans le cas de l'exercice d'une profession ou dans le cas d'un isolement imposé dans des périodes différentes de sa vie, si on parle d'une peine privative de liberté, cette dernière situation a comme conséquence la reconstruction de son idiolecte. Dans cette optique, la mise en pratique du discours institutionnel liée à l'exercice d'une profession met le sujet-parlant dans une position valorisante aux yeux des membres de la société civile, par conséquent des utilisateurs du discours commun. En opposition avec les institutions standardisées, la prison représente une institution de la déviance au niveau socio-discursif, où l'on enregistre ce que Lebrun appelle « perte de repères ».

En paraphrasant Pierre Bourdieu (1982) et suivant le sens qu'il donne à la notion d'*institution*, nous donnons une définition du milieu de réclusion en soutenant l'idée que ce dernier *« est représenté linguistiquement et/ou langagièrement par les moyens permettant au sujet parlant-détenu de faire des représentations mentales*[5] *sur lui-même, sur ses collègues de détention et de construire sa ' façade sociale' »* (Goffman, 1973 : 30-33) et au niveau relationnel, par les autorités représentant l'institution de la prison, celles-ci imposant une réalité sociale nouvelle à la personne privée de liberté.

V. Le discours carcéral, un discours institutionnel

Le traitement du discours de la prison en tant que discours institutionnel s'avère intéressant dans le changement de notre perspective sur l'analyse des représentations sociales[6] et mentales des prisonniers. En analysant ces premières en tant que produit de la pensé collective, Moscovici (1961) établit des liens entre les représentations sociales et trois référents socio discursifs : communication, (re) construction (du réel) et maîtrise de l'environnement. La production du discours commun met en évidence la liberté de création discursive des sujets-parlants membres de la société civile, créativité qui a comme points de départ la diversité d'âge des inter actants, leur instruction, la spontanéité de leurs réactions lors des interactions verbales et la variété des situations de communication. En opposition, la construction du discours institutionnel impose aux inter actants un nombre limité de situations de communication et dont la mise en pratique est faite par des locuteurs uniformément instruits. Il se caractérise par une diversité réduite d'énoncés ainsi que par une distribution limitée dans l'espace public. En suivant les opinions de Krieg-Planque (2009 : 65) on accepte que cet équilibre se manifeste pour ce qui est des éléments lexicaux par des phénomènes de formulations conventionnelles, […] et de figement[7].

La communauté socio-discursive de la prison représente *« une catégorie de locuteurs non homogène »* (Guilbert, 1973). Plus que dans un milieu institutionnel standard, les sujets- parlants existant dans l'institution de la prison se trouvent à la limite d'un discours dont la mise en pratique est valorisante et /ou non valorisante selon l'historique personnel de chaque individu en tant que personne libre/détenu et selon les critères du milieu de réclusion. Le discours du milieu carcéral est valorisant dans le cercle restreint de la communauté de la prison et dévalorisant en rapportant les sujets parlants formant la population de la société carcérale aux yeux des locuteurs appartenant à la société civile. Dans cette lumière, de l'expression du statut au sein du groupe social, le discours institutionnel est un discours autorisé. Suivant l'interprétation de Pierre Bourdieu (1975 : 183-190), lors de la manifestation du discours institutionnel, ce ne sont pas les mots qui s'imposent, mais le contexte (le lieu et le but de l'interaction).

VI. Traits du discours carcéral en tant que discours institutionnel

a. Le discours institutionnel est hiérarchisant et imposé de l'extérieur au sujet-parlant par les coordonnées du nouveau contexte social. Il est donc lié à l'histoire de l'institution qui existe en dehors de ses éventuels « locataires ». Le vouloir dire du locuteur se réalise non pas *« avant tout dans le choix d'un genre du discours »* (Bakhtine, 1984 : 284), mais après une négociation entre les manifestations discursives pré institutionnelles dominantes jusqu'à un moment donné dans le répertoire du sujet-parlant et les formes limitatives et consacrées par la pratique collective du nouveau discours. On parle donc d'une évolution du discours du sujet-parlant du *vouloir dire* vers le *savoir dire*.

b. Le discours institutionnel se caractérise par un aspect situationnel. En tant que discours se développant autour des échanges oraux (interlocutifs) et écrits (monolocutifs), le discours institutionnel impose au sujet parlant l'appropriation de la compétence situationnelle. Cette compétence se concrétise dans le processus d'adaptation du sujet parlant à la nouvelle situation de communication et, en même temps, doit tenir compte de *« L'identité des partenaires de l'échange, de la finalité de l'échange, du propos en jeu et des circonstances matérielles de l'échange. »* (Charaudeau, 2000)[8]

VII. Les axes de la *culture* dans la société civile

Avant de nous concentrer sur l'énumération et l'explication des axes de la culture, nous pensons nécessaire un éclaircissement des notions de *société* et de *communauté*, vu les notions de culture et de sous-culture autour desquelles notre étude se construit. La *société* se définit donc par un nombre très élevé d'individus, dont les relations sont impersonnelles, conventionnelles et contractuelles. Dans la société, le statut de l'individu est acquis. Par contre, la communauté se remarque par un nombre moins élevé d'individu entre lesquels les relations se développent affectivement, à partir des us et des coutumes connus et acceptés par tous les membres. Ces us et coutumes ont un caractère normatif. Au sein de la communauté, le statut de l'individu est attribué.

La notion de *culture* comporte deux directions de définition : suivant les théories de Edward Taylor, on prend en considération tous les éléments constitutifs de la culture *« matérielle et spirituelle, éthique ou institutionnelle, qui organise et réglemente la vie sociale »*[9]. À ce *« tout complexe »*, comme le nommait Taylor (se référant à la connaissance, foi, art, morale, loi, coutume, habitudes, aptitudes) s'est ajouté, aux décennies 2-3 du XXe siècle la composante linguistique et la communication, en général, les représentations, les idéologies (d'après Edward Sapir).[10]

Pour nous faire une idée sur le fonctionnement de la communauté culturelle et de la communauté sous-culturelle avec ses deux aspects mono- et multi-, nous proposons un éclaircissement des notions de *culture* et de *sous - culture*, tout en mettant en lumière une série de traits les rapprochant et / ou les distinguant. En lignes générales, la *culture* représente les valeurs que partagent tous les membres d'une certaine société[11]. Dans la vision du Guy Rocher[12], la culture représente *« L'ensemble des moyens collectifs dont dispose l'homme ou une société pour contrôler ou manipuler l'environnement physique, le monde naturel. »*

En dehors de la culture partagée par tous les membres de la société, il y a aussi ce que l'on appelle sous-cultures[13]. L'assimilation et l'adoption de ces dernières marquent une distanciation de l'individu des comportements et des valeurs acceptés de la société commune et son rapprochement des valeurs moins connues/acceptées par celle-ci. Les sous-cultures prennent naissance et se développent parallèlement à la culture commune et se manifestent dans des situations particulières de contexte social, de préférences artistiques, d'âge, etc. La discussion des deux notions nous permet de voir les sujets analysés dans une hypostase double : sujet-parlant et acteur

social à la fois. Les aspects qui déterminent la formation d'une culture sont variables en fonction de la région. On mentionne :

- *Le langage*. Si on parle du langage en tant que facteur déterminant dans la construction de la culture d'une société, il faut mentionner ses caractères unificateur et/ou divisant. En dehors de son rôle principal, assurer l'intercommunication, le langage assure l'inter compréhension[14] entre les membres de la société en question. On affirme ainsi le rôle que contexte social et le milieu ont dans la construction du langage. L'évolution du langage et celle de la société sont interdépendantes ;
- *Les symboles*. En lignes générales, les symboles, liés à l'historique d'une société, se concrétisent dans des représentations mentales que les membres d'une certaine société se font sur des idées ou des concepts qui ont marqué certains moments de l'évolution d'une société. Ces symboles, liés à l'histoire d'une société, définissent l'identité de celle-ci ;
- *L'idéologie*. Définie de manière très générale comme l'ensemble des croyances d'une société, la notion d'idéologie met ensemble les axes de la pensée collective et évolue en tenant compte de différentes étapes de l'évolution de la société ;
- *Les valeurs*. L'éducation, par exemple, constitue pour toute société une des valeurs transmissibles au niveau collectif ayant comme but l'amélioration du comportement individuel. La relation entre l'éducation et la culture peut être analysée tout en suivant trois plans distincts du point de vue du contenu, mais convergents pour ce qui est de la perspective des finalités : le plan de la transformation par l'éducation de l'être humain éducable en un acteur éminemment culturel, le plan de l'éducation en tant qu'action de transmission et de production de la culture et le plan du rôle de l'éducation dans le contexte du rapport culture-civilisation ;
- *Les modèles de comportement*-en fonction du milieu où la société évolue, on rencontre certains des 7 types de modèles de comportements[15] découverts par René de Lassus : battant, obéissant, dévoué, rebelle, manipulateur, militant, incorrigible;
- *Les traditions*. La tradition d'une société représente un lien entre son passé et son présent, un lien représenté par la sélection que ce dernier fait dans l'héritage de la tradition. Les valeurs culturelles, se transformant en traditions dans le temps, ont un caractère permanent, tout en devenant ainsi des repères pour la conscience d'une société.

VIII. Les axes de la *sous-culture carcérale* dans la situation d'étude comparative des milieux de réclusion français et roumain

On a soutenu dans les lignes précédentes que dans le cas du milieu de la prison on parle d'une sous-culture. D'abord, il est utile de préciser que la manifestation de cette sous-culture a comme prémisse la négation des normes de la culture commune par les acteurs sociaux constituant la population carcérale. On soutient, dans cette op-

tique, que tout comme dans le cas de l'évolution des relations sociales, l'espace physique lui-même de la prison constitue un facteur déclencheur pour le développement de la sous-culture en question. Sans lui donner des connotations négatives, la sous-culture de la prison se développe autour des facteurs suivants :

- *Les habitudes et les comportements développés en prison*. Transmis de détenu à détenu et enrichis suite à la migration permanente des prisonniers d'un pénitencier à l'autre, les habitudes et les comportements définissent une sous-culture carcérale commune à tous les pénitenciers d'un pays et une sous-culture carcérale individuelle, propre à chaque établissement pénitentiaire ;
- *Le folklore de pénitencier*. Patrimoine de la population carcérale et de la prison, le folklore se concentre sur la description de tous les aspects de la vie carcérale. Les vers et les chansons de prison présentent dans une lumière héroïque les détenus, en condamnant par contre le milieu privatif de liberté, le personnel de la prison et l'appareil de la justice. Dans la plupart des situations, les prisonniers n'écrivent pas les morceaux qu'ils composent. Cela permet aux vers créés et transmis de détenu à détenu de garder le caractère oral, collectif et relativement instable au niveau du contenu ;
- *Le langage*. En tant que moyen pour la réalisation de la communication, le langage codé, pour ce qui est du milieu de la prison, représente aussi une modalité par laquelle les personnes privées de liberté s'influencent mutuellement ;
- *La nature de la construction des relations*. Ce processus diffère en fonction du milieu social. Le milieu de réclusion, en essence, constitue un cadre fortement hiérarchise où l'égalité et la coopération entre les personnes incarcérées s'installe après une période considérable ;
- *Le caractère hétérogène de la population carcérale*. Le milieu privatif de liberté est un milieu marqué par une dynamique permanente des personnes incarcérées. Dans les prisons roumaines, les situations où un détenu ayant une condamnation lourde purge sa peine dans un seul établissement pénitentiaire sont rares. Le déplacement permanent des prisonniers (catégorisés comme très dangereux ou faisant partie d'un clan) a comme but 'empêchement des complots qui pourraient avoir lieu entre les détenus en vue de préparer une évasion ou une révolte.

IX. Fonctions de la *culture* dans la société civile

Les recherches concentrées sur le fonctionnement de la société commune ont conduit à la mise en discussion de 4 fonctions importantes de la culture[16] :

- *D'adaptation*. Lors de ses recherches, l'anthropologue américain Clyde Kluckhohn[17] a énoncé la théorie conformément à laquelle la culture constitue le premier élément permettant à l'individu de s'adapter à un nouveau milieu géographique et à son climat. En suivant ses opinions, c'est toujours la culture qui permet à l'individu de trouver des solutions pour s'adapter (maison, nourriture, vêtements) ;

- *De communication*. En essence, la communication prend la forme de l'utilisation du langage et des symboles, ces deux moyens permettant la distinction des individus entre eux et des groupes sociaux entre eux. Dans cette perspective, les individus partageant les valeurs de la même culture établissent la communication plus facilement que si cela devait se faire avec des individus appartenant à d'autres cultures ;
- *D'anticipation*. Liée aux comportements et attitudes, cette fonction vise leur appropriation par l'individu. Partageant la même culture, les individus adoptent des comportements et des attitudes semblables et manifestent des attentes précises les uns envers les autres ;
- La quatrième fonction vise la culture en tant que facteur favorisant le développement de certains types de relations affectives entre les individus du même groupe social. Elle propose l'identification de l'individu avec les mêmes valeurs, symboles, normes et modèles de conduite.

X. Fonctions de la *sous-culture* dans le milieu de réclusion

Par rapport aux fonctions que la culture a dans le cas de toute société, la sous - culture du milieu de détention répond à des fonctions comme[18] :

- *L'intégration*. Démarche individuelle pour tout personne privée de liberté, l'intégration dans le groupe social de la prison correspond à l'acceptation en sens double : *interne*, donc de la part du détenu acteur social, du nouveau contexte social et *externe*, venant des membres déjà existants dans la communauté vers le nouveau-venu ;
- *La communication*. On parle d'un processus qui implique de la part du sujet-parlant détenu l'appropriation de certains savoirs : s'adapter aux nouvelles situations de communication, s'approprier les mêmes codes de communication avec les collègues de détention et utiliser ces derniers;
- *L'adaptation*. Le milieu de réclusion impose une adaptation double. Au niveau du langage utilisé entre les murs de la prison et au niveau comportemental. Dans le milieu de détention, l'intégration de la personne détenue correspond à l'harmonisation du comportement individuel à l'ensemble du comportement collectif spécifique à une communauté sociolinguistique plus restreinte que la communauté source qui présuppose des situations nouvelles de communication, certaines rigueurs et privations ;
- *La socialisation*[19]. Dans le milieu de réclusion, en fonction du nombre de prisonniers / cellule et de leurs activités, le processus de socialisation présuppose l'acquisition de nouvelles compétences linguistiques et socio communicatives par le locuteur pour pouvoir établir un contact avec les collègues de détention et avec le personnel de la prison ;
- *L'innovation*. La communication est multicanale et multi codique (Orecchioni, 1990 : 48). Le milieu de la prison impose la création de nouveaux codes de communication[20] ainsi que la création d'éléments lexicaux qui permettent le

cryptage du message, sa dissimulation et l'éventuelle induction en erreur des non membres de la communauté analysée ;

- *La conservation des habitudes du monde de la prison* est très liée au respect de certaines hiérarchies. Manière de socialisation positive, la conservation des habitudes assure la cohésion de groupe ;
- *La création de nouvelles normes et valeurs*. L'acceptation ou la négation des normes et des valeurs d'une société montre le degré d'intégration d'un certain individu au sein de la communauté en question. Distinctes de celles autour desquelles la société commune se construit, les normes et les valeurs dirigeant la vie de prison sont créées pour que la personne détenue exprime le sentiment d'appartenance[21] au nouveau milieu et le désaccord par rapport à la société qui l'a rejeté.

Conclusions

Pour offrir une perspective nouvelle dans l'analyse du discours de la prison, le chercheur construit sa démarche scientifique à partir de quelques oppositions. La première vise les notions d'*institution* et d'*institutionnel*. Dans un premier temps, nous avons défini l'institution en général et expliqué les raisons qui déterminent le rapprochement de la prison du statut d'une institution. Dans un deuxième temps, l'analyse a permis la mise en évidence des points communs qui rapprochent le fonctionnement du discours carcéral de celui du discours institutionnel standard, ainsi que la réflexion sur les points de distinction.

Progressivement, le développement de cette recherche concernant une approche comparative du milieu de réclusion français et roumain s'est concentrée sur la dichotomie culture/sous-culture, opposition qui a permis une réflexion plus détaillée sur le milieu commun (avec les éléments discursifs et non discursifs qui le composent) comme exposant de la culture par rapport au milieu carcéral comme représentant une sous-culture, tout en s'appuyant sur les mêmes aspects. En détachant le discours de la prison du discours institutionnel au sens strict, le chercheur a souligné le caractère innovateur des éléments lexicaux qui définissent le premier et la variété des situations de communication, le tout dans la perspective du développement dans un milieu mon -/multilingue et mono -/multiculturel.

NOTES

[1]Les ingrédients du contexte sont : le site (setting ou cadre spatio-temporel), le but le but global (la visite chez le médecin) et les buts ponctuels (correspondant aux actes de langage) (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1990 : 16-17).

[2] […] une institution totalitaire comme un lieu de résidence et de travail ou un grand nombre d'individus, placés dans la même situation, coupés du monde extérieur pour une période relativement longue mènent ensemble une vie recluse dont les modalités sont explicitement et minutieusement réglés (Goffman, 1968 : 41).

[3] Le questionnaire est un ensemble de questions rédigées à l'avance strictement posées par A; il produit une série de réponses qui constituent un discours fragmenté, délinéarisé (Blanchet *et al.*, 2013 : 83).

[4] Nous utilisons le syntagme *collègues de détention* étant donné que dans le comportement des prisonniers dans la relation avec le chercheur et avec les responsables de la prison ainsi que dans leur manifestation discursive on remarque une complicité qui a comme but l'exclusion du non membre de la communauté.

[5] Actes de perception et d'appréciation, de connaissance et de reconnaissance, où les agents investissent leurs intérêts et leurs présupposés, et de représentations objectivables, dans des choses […] (Bourdieu, 1982 : 136). En sciences du langage, les représentations mentales ont un rôle de systématisation permettant ainsi l'interprétation de la réalité et ont quelques propriétés : sont conscientes et volontaires dans la mesure où c'est un certain stimulus qui les génère, sont construites à partir de la réalité, sont le produit de la pensée du sujet parlant qui les émet, peuvent être considérées des conducteurs entre la cognition, la réalité et ce qui permet de refléter la réalité.

[6] Les représentations sociales sont des systèmes d'interprétation régissant notre relation au monde et aux autres qui, orientent et organisent les conduites et les communications sociales. Les représentations sociales sont des phénomènes cognitifs engageant l'appartenance sociale des individus par l'intériorisation de pratiques et d'expériences, de modèles de conduites et de pensée (Jodelet, 1989 : 85).

[7] Le figement est un processus linguistique qui, d'un syntagme dont les éléments sont libres, fait un syntagme dont les éléments ne peuvent être dissociés (Groos, 1996 : 3).

[8] « De la compétence situationnelle aux compétences de discours », in *Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve sur « Compétence et didactique des langues »*, 2000.

[9] Les premiers qui ont fait un inventaire des définitions de la culture ont été Kroeber et Kluckhohn, dans l'étude de référence de l'an 1952, *Culture : a critical review of concepts and definitions*, Cambridge (Mass), « Papers of the Peabody Museum of american archeology and ethnology », Harvard University XLVII, 1952.

[10] *Diversité et identité culturelle en Europe*, Tome V, Editura Muzeul Literaturii Române, Bucureşti, 2008, p. 15.

[11] L'ensemble des gens qui partagent le même espace et entre lesquels il y a certaines relations qui s'appuient sur des lois communes (<http://dexonline.ro/definitie/societate>, dernière consultation, le 9 janvier 2014).

[12] Extrait du chapitre IV*, Culture, civilisation et idéologie*, *Introduction à la Sociologie Générale. Première partie l'action Sociale*, 101-107, Montréal, Éditions Hurtubise HMH Itée, 1992, troisième édition.

[13] On arrive ainsi à la conclusion qu'il y a des sous-cultures ethniques, religieuses, d'âge, occupationnelles, territoriales, etc. Il y a une variété très large de sous-cultures, on mentionne : la sous-culture des adolescents, la sous-culture de la violence ou la sous-culture de la délinquance, la sous-culture du faubourg, la sous-culture de pénitencier (<http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/subcultura-incultura-1_514b5dcc00f5182b853a3ce9/index.html>, dernière consultation, le 7 janvier 2014).

[14] […] *intercompréhension* la capacité pour des sujets-parlants de comprendre des énoncés émis par d'autres sujets-parlants appartenant à la même communauté linguistique. […] définit l'aire d'extension d'une langue, d'un dialecte ou d'un parler (*Dictionnaire de linguistique et des sciences du langage,* Dubois *et al*., 1994 : 252).

[15] <http://www.garbo.ro/articol/Psihologie/9293/psihologia-personalitatii-modele-de-comportament contemporane.html> (dernière consultation, le 8 janvier 2014).

[16] <http://www.rasfoiesc.com/educatie/psihologie/sociologie/CULTURA-INFLUENTELE-MULTIPLE-A74.php> (dernière consultation, le 6 janvier 2014).

[17] La communauté scientifique connaît Klunkhohn Clyde Kay Maben (1905-1960) en tant que l'ethnographe qui a étudié de près les Indiens Navajo. Ces recherches lui ont permis d'élaborer une théorie de la culture, surtout dans le domaine des modèles culturels (*patterns*) et des valeurs. Ses activités se sont étendues aussi, entre autres à la psychanalyse, à la psychologie, à la

linguistique, à l'archéologie et à la génétique humaine (<http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/clyde-kay-maben-kluckhohn/>, dernière consultation, le 8 janvier 2014).

[18] <http://adevarul.ro/news/societate/subcultura-incultura-1_514b5dcc00f5182b853a3ce9/index.html> (dernière consultation, le 7 janvier, 2014).

[19] D'après Sykes (1958), il y a cinq privations majeures qui influencent le parcours carcéral de la personne incarcérée: *perte de la liberté, perte des biens, manque du bénéfice de services, privation d'hétérosexualité, perte d'autonomie, perte de la sécurité*. Processus que l'on parcourt dans différents contextes au fur et à mesure des étapes de la vie et qui se manifeste en deux temps, la socialisation est : a. *Primaire* est construite sur l'émotionnel des individus, qui dès le début de leur vie intériorisent, incorporent les codes, les schémas de base – notamment la langue, les dispositions qui leur permettent de se repérer dans le monde social (la famille, les bandes). Lors de la socialisation primaire, les individus forment leur premier univers. Ils deviennent ainsi capables de faire face à la vie sociale tout en incluant dans leur existence les éléments sociaux de base : normes, valeurs, croyances, règles de comportement. b. *Secondaire* se développe lors de l'adolescence et à l'âge adulte. Orientée vers la neutralité affective, la socialisation secondaire représente le processus permettant aux individus de s'intégrer à des « mondes sociaux (professionnel, scolaire) spécialisés » (Lévi-Strauss, 1983 : 42). c. S*péciale* prend comme milieu de manifestation ce que Goffman appelle « institutions totales » (1968 : 41).

[20] Edward Hall s'est intéressé à la communication non verbale dans le domaine de l'interculturel et apporte une approche intéressante au langage et la particularité du temps et de l'espace dans les échanges interculturels. Le chercheur a défini que les problèmes interculturels pouvaient être liés non seulement à des problèmes de langage, mais également et peut être essentiellement à différentes approches que nos sociétés se faisaient du temps et de l'espace (<http://fr.scribd.com/doc/8501730/La-Communication-Interculturelle>, dernière consultation, le 7 janvier 2014).

[21] Dans un ouvrage de synthèse dirigé par Jean-Claude Ruano-Borbalan (1998), l'index renvoie, pour le mot clé *appartenance*, à tous les chapitres du livre et sous la plume de la quasi-totalité des contributeurs. Alex Mucchielli (1986) intitule *Le sentiment d'identité* (c'est nous qui soulignons) le chapitre VI de son *Que sais-je ?* et Bernd Krewer parle d'*appartenance culturelle* (Krewer, 1994 : 171). Le terme *appartenance* est régulièrement employé comme un substitut synonymique du terme *identité* par de nombreux auteurs, lorsqu'il s'agit d'i*dentité collective* (cf. par exemple Camilleri, 1998a et b, ou Gresle *et al.*, 1994 : 173 qui définissent l'identité comme un « sentiment d'unité […] que peut ressentir un individu ou un groupe »).

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Analyse ethnolinguistique du passage des colons allemands au Cameroun de 1884 à 1916

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ABSTRACT: Ethno-linguistic analysis of the passage of German settlers in Cameroon from 1884 to 1916

This work deals with linguistic and cultural evidence of the passage of German settlers in Cameroon. The data used come from the linguistic borrowings present in local languages and flattering or threatening facts present in the popular imagination. Linguistically, it makes an inventory of the vocabulary borrowed from the German language and provides a pragmatic interpretation of occurrences recorded in local languages. It covers the period from the arrival of the Germans in Cameroon in 1884 to their departure in 1916. In a diachronic and synchronic approach, it analyses the different phonological, semantic and pragmatic variables taken by borrowing in a century based on oral sources.

KEYWORDS: *language, culture, civilization, cognition, history*

Introduction

Au moment où le Cameroun bascule sous le protectorat allemand le 12 juillet 1884, le pays n'est pas unifié et le territoire concerné s'appelle Douala (Harry, 1968). Sur cette côte, le commerce avec les anglais était prospère et le pidgin-english servait de langue de large communication même après l'installation des Allemands. Le premier changement formel intervint le 1er janvier 1901 avec la signature d'un décret allemand qui imposa l'usage du mot « Kamerun » sur l'ensemble du pays. En ce moment, la langue douala continuait d'être admise comme langue de l'éducation sous la tolérance de l'église protestante anglaise. Voyant l'influence de l'allemand menacée en dehors de l'administration des affaires formelles, le colon décida de limiter autant que possible l'usage des langues locales hors de leurs ères linguistiques naturelles.

C'est ainsi qu'une conférence sur l'éducation au Kamerun eût lieu en 1907 sous la présidence du gouverneur Seitz (Harry, 1968). Le 25 avril 1910, ce dernier prit un arrêté précisant que l'allemand était la langue de l'éducation à l'exclusion de toute autre langue européenne et locale. Malgré tout, l'influence du pidgin-english continua de croître au sein de la communauté camerounaise à cause de son système grammatical considéré comme étant plus facile.

Dans une démarche diachronique et synchronique, nous cherchons à savoir s'il existe encore de nos jours des traces de l'allemand dans nos langues locales. Si oui, quelles en seraient les variables phonologiques, sémantiques et pragmatiques un siècle après le départ des Allemands ? Pour le savoir, nous utilisons les sources orales de l'histoire du Cameroun (Dika Akwa, 1974) pour l'inventaire des mots d'origine allemande dans quatre langues camerounaises représentatives des régions marquées par le passage des Allemands. Il s'agit des langues duala parlée à Douala qui fût la porte d'entrée des Allemands, la résidence des gouverneurs et le siège du gouvernorat entre 1885 et 1901 (Abwa, 2010), beti-fang (dialectes bulu et ewondo) parlée à Ebolowa et Yaoundé où l'histoire des Allemands avec les chefs locaux Charles Atangana et Martin Paul Samba fût très mouvementée, shupamem parlée dans le royaume Bamoun où les Allemands s'appuyèrent sous l'administration du Sultan Ibrahim Njoya et fe'efe'e parlée à Banka où l'église catholique installa l'une de ses plus grandes missions. En raison du manque d'informateurs, nous n'avons pas couvert d'autres théâtres des opérations comme Buéa, Kribi, Tibati, Yoko, Yokadouma, etc., où les Allemands étaient aussi passés. Les transcriptions phonétiques se sont faites à l'aide de l'alphabet phonétique africain (APA).

1. Les emprunts lexicaux

Les seules traces linguistiques de l'allemand comme langue de l'éducation nous viennent du shupamem, langue du royaume Bamoun considéré comme ayant été pro-Allemand (Abwa, 2010). On y retrouve les mots « Lera'a [lehrer]» qui signifie « enseignant ». Le mot dérivé est « Lerewa » qui signifie à la fois « école » et « livre ». En effet, le roi Njoya, inventeur du shumom (écriture bamoun), battit un royaume admiré par le colon. À leur arrivée en 1902, les Allemands ne trouvèrent pas nécessaire d'y implanter une administration coloniale, estimant que le territoire était parfaitement administré (Harry, 1968). Aussi, les missionnaires européens furent impressionnés en 1907 par la modernité du royaume Bamoun plus avancée que les autres en Afrique occidentale. Afin de ne pas perdre son privilège et de garder son trône, le Sultan Bamoun n'opposa aucune résistance aux allemands suite au protectorat qu'il avait signé volontairement en 1884. On note que seule une mission protestante s'était installée dans le royaume Bamoun avec l'ouverture d'une école que fréquentaient les enfants du souverain et des autres chefs. Cela permet de comprendre pourquoi dans cette seule partie du Cameroun, on retrouve l'influence de l'allemand sur le lexique scolaire de la langue locale utilisée dès cette époque pour rédiger des dizaines de textes et d'ouvrages (Dugast et Jeffreys, 1950). D'ailleurs en 1908, l'école royale s'appelait « Bamun Schule des Häupling Ndschoya in Fumban » où l'on enseignait l'écriture Bamoun.

La politique linguistique des Allemands qui visait à réduire l'influence de toute autre langue s'est renforcée suite à la volonté des Français d'entrer au Kamerun. C'est ainsi que la demande d'un groupe de missionnaires français catholiques de travailler au Cameroun fut refusée par le gouvernement allemand depuis Berlin. En lieu et place des Français, le colon allemand introduisit les Pallotins de Limburg,

missionnaires catholiques allemands. De même, en lieu et place des missionnaires protestants anglais à l'instar des baptistes de Londres qui parlaient et enseignaient l'anglais et le duala, le colon allemand accepta de nouveaux missionnaires protestants mais, locuteurs de l'allemand. Il s'agissait des allemands de la mission Basel. Par conséquent, l'allemand était devenu la langue dominante mais, le pidgin-english continuait de combler les difficultés linguistiques de large communication à cause de son système grammatical plus simple et donc, plus facile à apprendre.

De cette époque où l'allemand était aussi la langue religieuse, l'on ne retrouve une trace que dans la langue beti-fang (régions du Centre, Sud et Est du Cameroun) où les presbytériens appellent Dieu, « Gotta [zambe] » en référence à « Gott [Dieu] » en allemand. Sans certitude, l'on peut aussi relever que le mot allemand « Pfarrer » qui signifie « pasteur » se traduit par « fara » en shupamem, « fala » en fe'efe'e et en beti-fang.

2. Les emprunts phonologiques

Pendant le protectorat allemand (Harry, 1968), l'on a noté aussi l'existence d'une mission militaire de conquête des territoires plus intéressante pour les Allemands que les missions d'évangélisation et d'éducation. Les traces linguistiques de la conquête des Allemands se trouvent dans la phonologie et l'alphabet de la langue allemande qui ont influencé l'écriture et la prononciation des noms de certains villes et villages du Cameroun. On note principalement la prononciation du son [k] qui s'écrit souvent « c » dans l'alphabet français et « k » dans l'alphabet allemand. Ainsi, l'écriture actuelle des villes et villages de Yoko, Yokadouma ou Kribi a subi l'influence de l'allemand. C'étaient effectivement des théâtres des opérations allemandes. Aussi, le son [v] s'écrit « v » dans l'alphabet français et « w » dans l'alphabet allemand. C'est ainsi que la ville d'Ebolowa se lit jusqu'à nos jours [ebolova] comme en allemand au lieu de [ebolowa] comme ce serait le cas en français. L'histoire rapporte justement que le camerounais, Mebenga M'Ebono, capitaine dans l'armée allemande, s'installa dans cette ville après sa formation en Allemagne à l'Académie militaire allemande sous le nom de « Martin Paul Samba ».

De nos jours aussi, on observe que le nom du Cameroun s'écrit en allemand « Kamerun » dans certains milieux politiques dits « nationalistes » où l'on dénonce la colonisation française. Plusieurs raisons expliquent ce sentiment de défiance de la France. D'abord, l'incapacité des « administrateurs » (Kom, 2004) français du Cameroun alors « sous mandat » de la Société des Nations, puis « sous tutelle » des Nations Unies à conserver l'intégrité du territoire camerounais après le départ des allemands en 1916. Ce pays avait en 1911, une superficie totale de 750 000 Km² (Abwa, 2010). Du 04 novembre 1911 au 04 mars 1916, le Cameroun sous protectorat allemand comprenait une partie actuelle du Gabon, du Congo, de la Centrafrique, du Tchad et du Nigeria. Sous l'administration de la France, le Cameroun perdit dès Mars 1916 près d'un tiers de son territoire, soit 270 000 Km² en violation du traité de Fez destiné à régler le litige sur le Maroc qui permit aussi aux français de céder certains

de leurs territoires d'Afrique équatoriale à l'Allemagne et bien avant le traité de Versailles de 1919 qui régla le sort des anciennes colonies allemandes.

La seconde raison qui justifie l'écriture du Cameroun avec « K » est la volonté des « nationalistes » de marquer le fait que le Cameroun est né en 1884 sous le protectorat allemand et non pas plus tard sous l'administration française ou anglaise comme l'opinion dominante semble vouloir faire passer (Ngoh, 1988 ; Owona, 1996). Et s'il y avait lieu de respecter les frontières héritées de la colonisation, alors ce serait le retour aux frontières héritées de la colonisation allemande puisque qu'au sens réel du mot « colonisation », seuls les Allemands ont colonisé le Cameroun (Kom, 2004 ; Abwa, 2010). À ce chapitre, on note dans le passé très récent que dans le conflit qui a opposé militairement le Cameroun au Nigéria au sujet de la Presqu'île de Bakassi, l'Etat camerounais a fait valoir avec succès devant la Cour Internationale de Justice un vieux traité de l'époque allemande qui datait de 1913.

Enfin, l'écriture du Cameroun en allemand connote une certaine nostalgie de l'époque allemande comparée à l'époque française. Il est difficile de savoir si cette fierté d'avoir été colonisé par les « Njaman [German] » est due à la petitesse de la période de la colonisation allemande (32 ans seulement) ou à la volonté manifeste des colons français à éradiquer de l'imaginaire camerounaise la période allemande en s'employant à détruire les « vestiges historiques » (Eloundou, 2003) ou les « souvenirs de l'époque allemande » (Temgoua, 2003b). On entend même parler d'un « âge d'or » de la colonisation allemande. Au-delà de cette considération discutable, on note l'existence d'un discours valorisant (Brown, & Levinson, 1978) sur les infrastructures allemandes (bâtiments, chemins de fer, ponts, etc.). Dans l'imaginaire populaire, on entend dire : « c'est njaman [c'est allemand] » en référence à la garantie procurée par les produits et marques allemands.

Pourtant, la colonisation allemande et le sillage militaire français (Duval, 2005) ont employé les mêmes méthodes « brutales » (Abwa, 2010) : celles visant à mettre sur pied des politiques linguistiques néfastes pour les langues locales et un droit foncier avantageux aux colons (Monie, 1973) ou celles visant à réprimer les résistances et nationalismes à travers un système judiciaire injuste. Sur ce dernier point, de la même façon que les français érigèrent le code de l'indigénat qui leur permettait d'accuser les nationalistes de « trahison », les allemands enrôlèrent les nationalistes camerounais et les accusèrent aussi de trahison suite à leurs résistances. L'ordonnance allemande du 7 avril 1900 sur la justice camerounaise avait été complétée par la circulaire du 06 octobre 1901 pour tenir compte du statut des indigènes (Tepi, 2001). Il existait un dualisme judiciaire qui permettait de juger différemment les européens et les indigènes pourtant soumis aux mêmes services (Monie, 1973).

C'est ainsi que Martin Paul Samba, officier de l'armée allemande diplômé en 1894 et ayant servi pendant 7 ans dans les expéditions allemandes sous le commandement de Hans Dominik, fut accusé de « haute trahison » après sa démission en 1902 pour avoir dénoncé les mauvais traitements des colons sur les femmes et les enfants dans les villages Bulu ou pour s'être rebellé face à la plus grande considération que les colons accordaient à la tribu des Ewondo au détriment de sa tribu Bulu

à travers par exemple l'intronisation en 1911 de Charles Atangana comme Chef supérieur des Ewondo et Bane (Abwa, 2010).

Aussi, à Douala, le prince Rudolph Douala Manga Bell est accusé de « haute trahison » pour avoir eu la prétention à défendre la souveraineté territoriale du Cameroun conformément du Traité Germano-Duala du 12 juillet 1884 instituant le protectorat et qui stipulait que « les terrains cultivés par nous, et les emplacements sur lesquels se trouvent des villages, doivent rester la propriété des possesseurs actuels et de leurs descendants »[1]. En effet, en 1910, le projet d'urbanisation (« Gross Duala ») du Gouverneur allemand au Cameroun, Théodore Seitz, visant officiellement à faire de la ville, l'un des plus grands ports d'Afrique, prévoit d'exproprier les Douala de leur lieu d'habitation traditionnel qui devait devenir la ville européenne. Le colon promettait aux autochtones l'aménagement de nouveaux lotissements à l'arrière du pays séparés de la ville Européenne par une zone tampon d'un kilomètre de large. Ce projet fût perçu par Rudolf Douala Manga comme étant un « projet d'apartheid » comme on peut lire dans un extrait de sa pétition du 20 Février 1913 : « Nous commençons par nier le besoin de créer une ville européenne et une ville purement indigène (…). En outre, l'assainissement de Douala n'exige pas une séparation spatiale aussi vaste de ses quartiers »[2].

À Douala, Kribi, Ebolowa et Maroua, les chefs traditionnels nationalistes accusés pour « haute trahison » ont été exécuté en août 1914. Les seuls survivants ont été ceux qui ont fait le jeu des Allemands notamment le Roi Ibrahim Njoya des Bamoun et le Chef supérieur des Ewondo et Bané, Charles Atangana. C'est la même pratique qui a été perpétuée par les français qui sont accusés d'être responsables de la disparition des nationalistes de l'UPC dont les plus influents étaient : Um Nyobe et Félix Moumié.

3. Les emprunts culturels

La trace linguistique de la « brutalité des Allemands » (Abwa, 2010) se trouve dans l'insulte « schwein [cochon] » que l'on retrouve dans l'essentiel des langues du Cameroun sous la prononciation [shwan]. On note l'évolution phonologique du phonème /v/ de la graphie « w » qui se lit maintenant /w/ comme en français. Du point de vue pragmatique linguistique, l'implicite (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1986, 2005) qui se dégage de cette insulte est que les Allemands trouvaient que nos aïeux étaient sales comme des cochons. Cette image est restée dans l'imaginaire populaire camerounaise au point où les ressortissants de la ville de Dschang (Ouest du Cameroun) où l'on élève des cochons sont appelés péjorativement « Dschang nkunap [Dschang des cochons] ».

La relation maître-esclave ou chef-sujet est également attestée dans la langue beti-fang à travers le nom « Hermann » qui, écrit séparément en allemand signifie « monsieur [herr] » ou « homme [mann] ». Dans l'imaginaire camerounais, le fait de montrer qu'on est un « homme » ou un « monsieur » est synonyme de défiance. Ainsi, chez les Bulu (beti-fang), l'on demande à quelqu'un s'il veut montrer qu'il est « Hermann » en réplique à son attitude hautaine. Du point de vue pragmatique cognitive (Reboul & Moeschler, 1998), cela implicite, soit qu'un certain Hermann adoptait une attitude de « chef » qui est restée dans l'imaginaire populaire comme

étant une référence de supériorité, soit que tous les « Herr » et les « Mann » (Allemands) qui interagissaient avec les Bulu avaient laissé le sentiment de supériorité. Dans l'histoire, on note l'existence d'un certain Hermann Röhm qui était administrateur du district de Douala au 19ème siècle et qui assistait le juge allemand Niedermeyer président de la Cour de justice.

À l'Ouest du Cameroun, les langues locales emploient plutôt le mot « Njokmasi » qui désigne le « travail de masse » ou mieux « le travail forcé » en référence à l'époque allemande et au mode de recrutement « forcé » (Abwa, 2010) des travailleurs. D'ailleurs, comme au Togo, l'on se rappelle encore des cents coups de fouets des Allemands sur les fesses qui prévoyaient un coup pour le Kaiser : « Ein für Kaiser ! ».

Malgré l'existence de ces faits historiques, il faut dire que dans l'imaginaire populaire camerounais (Fandio et Mongi, 2007), on ne relève aucun discours qui frise l'hystérie collective allant dans le sens de la peur des Allemands. Même à Douala où l'injustice des Allemands avait été durement vécue, l'on note l'existence de la glorification du passé allemand qui s'expliquerait toujours par la « déception » des colons français qui ont administré le territoire après le départ des Allemands. Au lieu de bâtir et de conquérir comme les Allemands, la France s'est donnée une « mission civilisatrice » (Ngando, 2002) mal perçue dans l'opinion. On pense justement que « les Français sont nuls » en référence à un peuple dit « railleur », « luxueux » ou « bavard » par opposition aux Allemands qui sont « pragmatiques ». On peut comprendre que l'imaginaire camerounais s'identifie aux Allemands parce qu'à l'époque, nous étions dans un contexte où « la conquête était force de loi » et par conséquent, la torture faisait aussi partie des méthodes des conquérants dits célèbres dans la société traditionnelle. La « mission civilisatrice » ou le « bavardage » des Français n'avait pas sa place. La France a laissé la transition entre le Kamerun et le Cameroun dans « l'impasse » (Priso, 1994), ce qui pousse alors à parler de glorification par compensation d'un apaisement ou d'une confiance que les Français n'ont pas su ou voulu instaurer jusqu'à nos jours. On peut même parler du négationnisme de la France qui veut être fière de son passé colonial au mépris des crimes contre l'humanité commises et aujourd'hui bien documentées. A l'opposé de l'histoire des Juifs, on ne reconnaît à l'Allemagne que l'assassinat des leaders. Cela semble être moins atroce par l'imaginaire camerounais que « l'intention criminelle » de la France qui visait à exterminer des peuples entiers comme l'atteste la déclaration du colonel Lamberton (1960) au sujet des Bamilékés qu'il estimait être un « caillou dans la chaussure » du Cameroun dont il faut s'en débarrasser. Et des actes de barbarie considérés comme « Génocide non reconnu » suivirent et restèrent ancrés dans l'histoire et l'imaginaire collectif (Kanguelieu Tchouake, 2007). Cette mémoire explosive est une bombe à retardement dans le Cameroun contemporain.

Conclusion

Recherchant les preuves linguistiques et culturelles du passage des colons allemands au Cameroun, nous sommes arrivé à l'aide d'une double démarche diachronique et synchronique au résultat selon lequel les traces de l'allemand sont rares dans les

langues locales camerounaises comparées aux emprunts de l'anglais. C'est peut-être dû à la volonté manifeste des colons français qui ont remplacé les Allemands à éradiquer l'allemand du vocabulaire camerounais. Toutefois, on note l'existence d'une injure qui renseigne sur la qualité dévalorisante de la relation que les colonisés avaient avec le colon allemand. Sur le plan cognitif, on note que l'évocation de la civilisation allemande se fait avec une charge émotionnelle pouvant connoter la nostalgie malgré l'image du nazisme collée à l'Allemagne. En comparaison avec la civilisation française qui suivit le passage des Allemands, on note au contraire le développement d'une espèce de sentiment de rejet malgré la culture des droits de l'homme attribuée à la France. Quel paradoxe ! Est-ce un méfait de la « mission civilisatrice » ou de l'atrocité de la colonisation française ? D'autres recherches sur la perception de la France au Cameroun permettront de répondre à cette question.

NOTES

[1] Sources : *Les Grandes figures historiques du Cameroun*, Collection Biographies, Éditions MEDIA CAMEROUN, pp. 2-3.
[2] Sources : *Idem*.

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Études socioculturelles de la caricature du genre dans la presse privée togolaise : représentation de la féminité et de la masculinité

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ABSTRACT: Socio-cultural studies of gender caricatures in the Togolese private press: representation of femininity and masculinity

This article aims to examine more closely the phenomenon of symbolic violence in the Togolese private press (Sika'a) analyzing the stereotypical treatment of gender through caricature. The form is meaningful and the image is to be seen as a representation of the truth. The purpose of this study is seeking to know the existence of a social truth of the woman and the man whose Togolese press echoed through humor and satire. In this study, the literature review and content analysis were used as tools for data collect. The results show that there is a threat of stereotypes, a reproduction of symbolic violence and the social imagination in the production of this magazine.

KEYWORDS: *Gender, private press, representation, stereotypes, symbolic violence, Togo*

Introduction

La lutte des femmes pour leur liberté est une lutte légitime pour la simple raison que la participation totale de la femme à la vie sociale et économique de sa société est plus qu'une nécessité si l'on veut parler de développement. Mais avant que les femmes ne commencent par réclamer la place qui leur revient de droit, elles ont vécues dans l'ombre des hommes qui ne voyaient en elles qu'une présence réduite à un rôle d'épouses et de mères. En effet, la valeur de la femme en tant qu'être humain ne valait pas celle d'un clou dans certaines sociétés comme semble le traduire ce proverbe Ouzbek qui dit : « Mieux vaut donner naissance à une pierre qu'à une fille car la pierre servirait au moins à construire ». Cette situation ou ces clichés ont pour source plusieurs origines. La place subordonnée de la femme dans la société n'est pas d'ordre naturel mais résulte d'une évolution historique et sociale (Hlomewoo, 2006 : 6).

Pour inverser la tendance dans certains pays du monde à travers les médias, l'on en a fait de l'image de la femme un crédo pour battre en brèche cette conception

surannée de la position inférieure de la femme et les différents clichés et stéréotypes afférents à cette dernière. Aujourd'hui, l'histoire de l'ascension sociale des femmes à travers l'espace et le temps apporte un démenti brutal aux préjugés des adeptes pessimistes des capacités de la femme à entreprendre et à se réaliser. En moins de deux générations, les femmes ont conquis leur autonomie et bousculé le pouvoir masculin au foyer, dans l'éducation et au travail même s'il reste encore du chemin à faire dans un domaine stratégique : celui du politique (Dortier, 2013 : 5). Ainsi existe-t-il par exemple en France aujourd'hui des magazines spécialisés (Amina….) dans l'imagerie de la femme.

La présente étude est structurée en trois parties : (i) la première partie concerne la problématique, le matériel et méthode de la recherche ; (ii) la deuxième partie est consacrée à la présentation des résultats ; (iii) et la troisième partie est réservée à la discussion et conclusion.

1. État du problème

Au Togo, il n'existe pas encore de magazines féminins tels qu'on en trouve dans d'autres pays, notamment dans les pays occidentaux. Jusqu'ici, il n'existait qu'une presse d'information, « généraliste » et plutôt « pudique » sur certaines thématiques. En moins de 5 ans (à partir de 2008), le paysage médiatique togolais s'est enrichi successivement de trois magazines satiriques et humoristiques qui font de l'image de la femme leur fonds de commerce. Mais, à côté des stéréotypes sexuels et matérialistes auxquels d'autres médias du monde nous ont habitués, apparaissent ici des stéréotypes assez inattendus comme ceux liés à la domination ou à la tyrannie supposée de la femme, à la désertion de la femme de son rôle de mère, etc. La nouvelle vision de la féminité qui en découle détermine une nouvelle place de la femme et assigne à l'homme une place corrélative dans les rapports de couple où justement les rôles sont parfois inversés.

L'hypothèse de cette étude stipule que la représentation de la féminité et de la masculinité dans les magazines togolais reproduit l'imaginaire social d'une part, mais s'enrichi aussi d'autre part, d'un détournement de clichés traditionnellement associés aux femmes, entraînant ainsi une inversion d'attributs féminins et masculins.

La caricature par principe est provocatrice, elle déforme, exagère certains vices ou caractéristiques du sujet visé. Le dessin caricatural, peint en réalité l'*anormal* afin de « choquer et occasionner une prise de conscience, parfois une autocritique, ramener à la norme qu'elle exaltera à l'envers » (Melot, 1975 : 123). Aussi peut-on se demander si l'image donnée de la femme par ces magazines créés et dirigés par des hommes reflète la réalité ? Quels sont les clichés ou stéréotypes récurrents ? Quel message ou lecture implicite se dégage de ce traitement ? Ces caricatures produisent-elle pas une violence symbolique et construisent-elle un imaginaire social ? Ce sont les questions fondamentales qui orientent cette étude.

2. Matériel et méthode

Il est aussi exposé dans cette partie de l'étude les méthodes, les outils de collecte des données utilisés et le traitement des informations de base qui a été fait.

2.1. Matériel

2.1.1. Zone d'étude

2.1.1.1. Situation géographique et présentation du milieu humain

Pays de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, le Togo couvre une superficie de 56 600 km² et subdivisé en 5 régions administratives. Sa capitale est Lomé. Sur le plan démographique, la population togolaise est estimée à 6 191 155 habitants en 2011 avec 51,3% de femmes et 48,7% d'hommes[1]. Le taux d'accroissement naturel de 2,58% comparé au taux moyen de croissance (1,1%) sur la décennie précédente accentue la pression en matière de demande de bien-être des populations. La structure par âge est caractérisée par une forte proportion des jeunes de moins de 15 ans, lesquels représentent 47,7% de la population totale. La population potentiellement active représente 48% de la population totale du pays. La densité moyenne de la population est de 80 habitants/km², mais elle varie d'une zone à une autre. Ainsi elle est de 21 habitants/Km² dans la Région Centrale et de 163 habitants/Km² dans la Région Maritime (DGSCN, 2011). Cette occupation spatiale très variable exacerbée par les systèmes de production qui diffèrent d'une ethnie à une autre (Kamana, 2012). Au Togo, 62,6% des habitants vivent en milieu rural (DGSCN, 2011). Cette tendance subit un changement rapide : la population urbaine croît de 4,4% par an contre 2,4% pour la population rurale. Il existe au Togo une quarantaine de groupes sociolinguistiques réparties en six groupes et dont les trois principales (Adja-Ewé, Kabyè-Tem et Para-Gourma-Akan) constituent près de 87% de la population (Kuévi, 1981 : 22-23). Près de quarante-cinq langues locales sont utilisées laissant entrevoir l'individualité de chaque groupe socioculturel. Sur le plan religieux, 60% de la population togolaise est animiste, 18% sont chrétiens et 12% pratiquent la religion musulmane[2].

Figure 1 : Carte de la zone d'étude
Source : www.sig.com

2.2. Présentation de la presse togolaise

La loi n° 90-025 du 30 novembre 1990 sur la presse togolaise a permis la libéralisation des fréquences et l'éclosion des premières stations radios, télévisions privées, et presse privée[3]. Dès lors, le paysage médiatique togolais sera profondément transformé. De nombreuses radios, télévisions privées et presse écrite commerciales, culturelles et confessionnelles voient le jour (Kamana, 2008). De 1990 à 2005, quatre-vingt-deux fréquences ont été distribuées à travers tout le territoire national, soit par le Ministère des télécommunications soit par l'Autorité de Réglementation créée pour gérer les fréquences dans la nouvelle situation de concurrence (Ngbanla, 2006). Depuis lors elle a beaucoup évolué et est marquée aujourd'hui par une floraison de titres et des médias privés qui cohabitent avec les médias publics. L'espace médiatique est régulé par une instance indépendante dénommée, la Haute Autorité de l'Audiovisuel et de la Communication (HAAC). Comme un peu partout dans les pays africains francophones, la presse privée même si elle a obtenu une autorisation d'existence et des textes qui garantissent son fonctionnement, demeure très tributaire d'un environnement économique difficile qui ne lui permet pas de prendre son envol. En ce qui concerne, les magazines qui font l'objet de ladite étude, ils sont presque les derniers nés de la presse privée qui est spécialisée dans la caricature : Sika'a (2008) et Viva (2012)[4].

Figure 2 : Magazines de caricature au Togo
Source : http://www.sikaamags.info

La méthodologie adoptée pour la présente étude s'articule autour de trois phases notamment la recherche documentaire, la collecte des informations puis le traitement et l'analyse des données.

2.3. Méthode et traitement des données

La démarche méthodologique adoptée est qualitative .Elle s'appuie sur l'analyse de contenu pour faire émerger le dénoté et le connoté. Ici, il s'agit d'interroger les images elles-mêmes de manière à en tirer le plus d'informations possibles non seulement sur leurs contenus (en termes de stéréotypes véhiculés sur la féminité et la masculinité) mais aussi, sur les différents actants (femme/homme) et les types d'interactions qu'ils entretiennent. L'étude a porté sur la représentation de la féminité et masculinité dans le magazine caricatural notamment Sika'a. Au total, 90 numéros du magazine Sika'a paru entre 2008-2013 ont été analysé. Deux moyens d'investigations ont été utilisés dans cette étude notamment la recherche documentaire et l'analyse de contenu (Mucchielli, 2006) en vue de rassembler les informations et données qualitatives pour les besoins d'analyse allant dans le sens de répondre aux questions du sujet posé. Le *Stastistical Package for Social Science* (*SPSS*) a permis de mener les opérations suivantes : codification, la conception du masque de saisie et l'entrée des données. Après ces opérations, les données ont été ensuite apurées et un le tri à plat (tirage des fréquences simples) a été fait. Excel a aussi servi à construire les graphiques.

3. Résultats

3.1. Représentation des traits/états des femmes dans Sika'a

3.1.1. Traits physiques des femmes

Les résultats de la *Figure 3* montrent que les traits physiques les plus présentés sont sexuelles (10 fois) imposantes (5 fois) et plus charmantes (3 fois) chez la femme. Elles sont aussi stériles (2 fois) et violentes (2 fois). Les traits physiques les moins représentés (1 fois) chez les femmes sont femme bombes, chiffonnières, effilées, influentes, laides, mastondes, riches, tracassantes et traditionnelles (*Figure 3*).

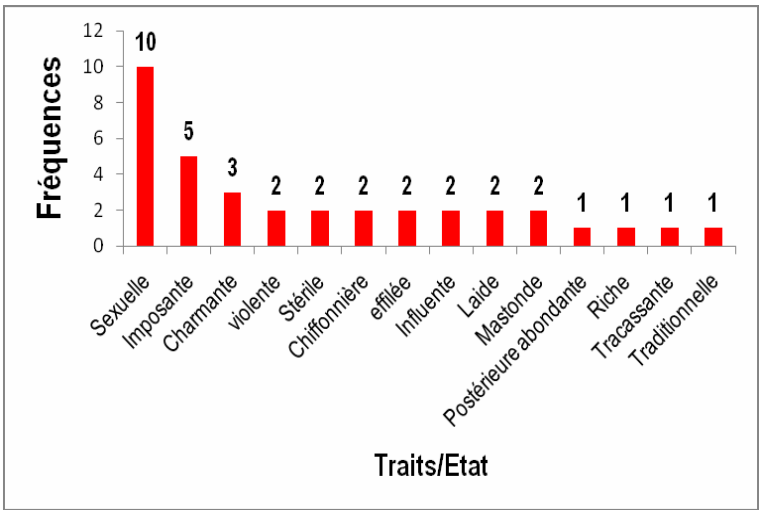

Figure 3 : Représentation des traits physiques des femmes dans sika'a

3.1.2. Traits moraux des femmes

Les résultats de la *Figure 4* révèlent que les traits moraux les plus représentés chez les femmes sont dévergondées (12 fois) imposantes (5 fois) et charmantes (3 fois). Les traits moraux qui sont revenus plus ou moins dans la représentation des femmes sont tricheuses (2 fois), imaginatives (2 fois), sérieuses (2 fois), insoumises (2 fois), tenaces (2 fois), responsables (2 fois). Ceux qui sont les moins représentés (1 fois) chez les femmes sont l'hypocrisie, la grossièreté et pernicieux. (*Figure 4*).

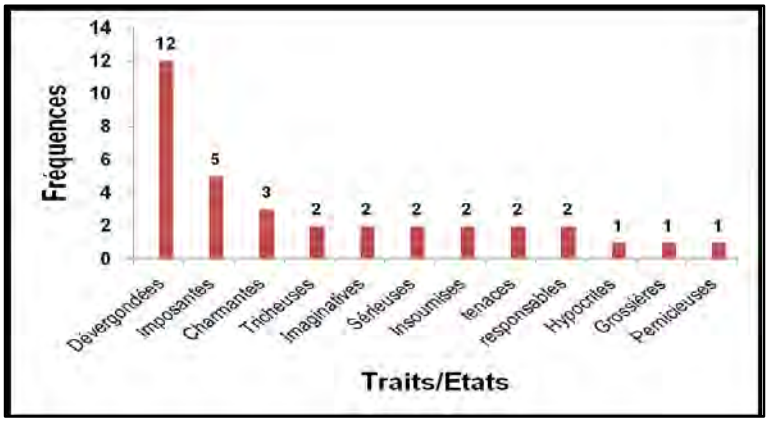

Figure 4 : Représentation des traits moraux des femmes dans sika'a

3.1.3. Traits psychologiques des femmes

L'analyse des résultats de la *Figure 5* révèle que les traits psychologiques les plus représentés sont naïveté (16 fois) suivie de la sensualité (7 fois) et l'attention (3 fois). Les traits psychologiques qui sont plus ou moins fréquents chez les femmes sont désemparées (2 fois), déterminées (2 fois), suspicieuses (2 fois), craintives (2 fois), imprudentes (2 fois) et inconscientes (2 fois). Ceux qui sont revenus au moins une fois chez les femmes sont la jalousie, l'amour, la prudence, l'excitation, la maturité, le défaitisme, la passivité, l'instabilité et l'indiscrétion (*Figure 5*).

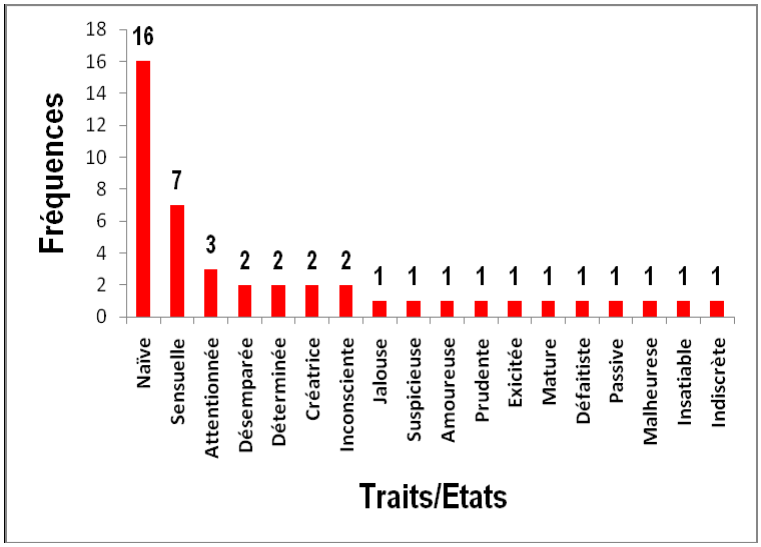

Figure 5 : Représentation des traits psychologiques des femmes dans sika'a

3.2. Représentation des traits/états des hommes dans Sika'a

3.2.1. Traits physiques des hommes

Les résultats de la *Figure 6* montrent que le trait physique les plus représenté chez les hommes est la violence. Ils sont effilés (3 fois) et nains (3 fois). Par contre beaux (3 fois) et édentés (4 fois) sont revenus plus ou moins dans la représentation des hommes (*Figure 6*). L'exercice de la violence peut entraîner une dégradation des femmes et des hommes eux-mêmes.

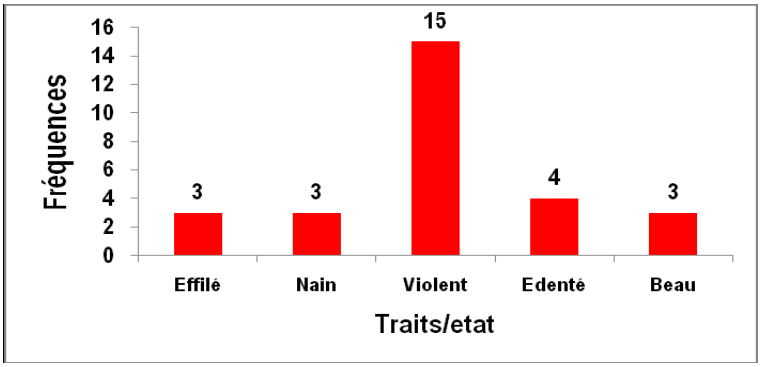

Figure 6 : Représentation des traits physiques des hommes dans sika'a

3.2.2. Traits moraux des hommes

Les résultats de la *Figure 7* révèlent que les traits moraux le plus représentés chez les hommes sont le mensonge (12 fois), irresponsabilité (8 fois), orgiaques (6 fois) grossiers (5 fois). Les préjugés qui font dire des femmes qu'elles sont des sexes faibles conduisent naturellement à penser que les hommes sont les seuls coupables de tout ce qui peut arriver de mal à leur partenaire. Or culpabilité rime avec des termes susmentionnés. Un seul trait moral est revenu au moins deux fois dans la représentation des hommes, il s'agit notamment d'insensibles (2 fois). Par contre les traits les moins représentés (1 fois) chez les hommes sont l'ingratitude, l'ambition et la paillardise (*Figure 7*).

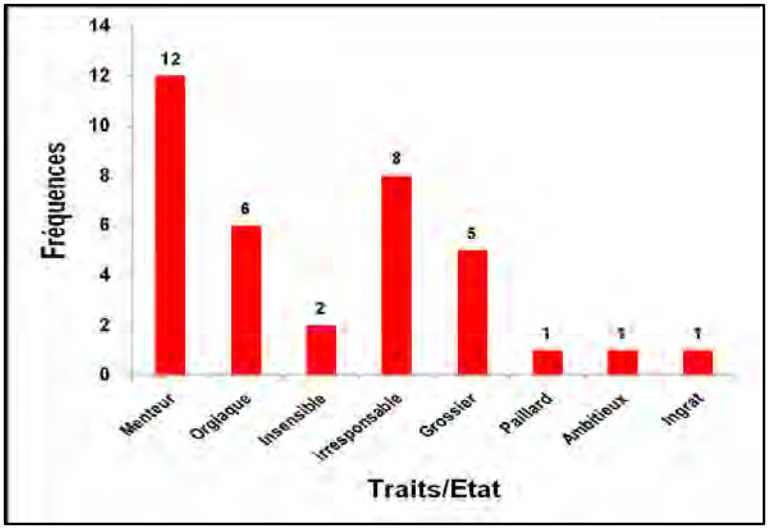

Figure 7 : Représentation des traits moraux des hommes dans sika'a

3.2.3. Traits psychologiques des hommes

Les résultats de la figure 8 confirment que les traits psychologiques le plus représentés chez les hommes sont excitation (18 fois), la détermination (9 fois), libidineux (7 fois), autoritaires, furieux et imprudents (3 fois) contre deux traits qui sont revenus au moins deux fois dans la représentation des hommes, il s'agit notamment d'érotiques et d'abusifs (2 fois). En revanche, les traits les moins représentés (1 fois) chez les hommes sont notamment la soumission, la flexibilité, l'influence, l'intimidation et hypocrisie (*Figure 8*).

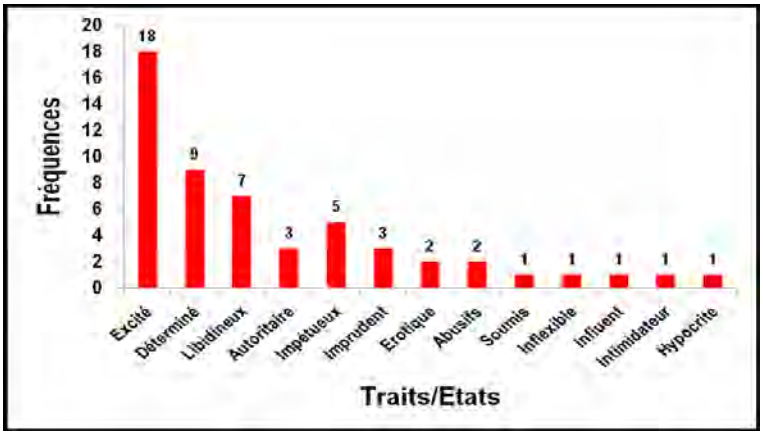

Figure 8 : Représentation des traits psychologiques des hommes dans sika'a

4. Discussion et conclusion

Le sexe est porteur et fait vendre, les journaux. En présentant les femmes sous l'angle sexuel, ils ne font que surfer sur la représentation sociale de la femme.

*4.1. L'*effet solo *dans sika'a*

On désigne par « l'effet solo », l'effet du statut minoritaire dans un groupe : moins bonnes interventions orales des femmes face à un groupe exclusivement masculin que devant un groupe mixte par exemple. Si les femmes sont « la moitié du ciel », pour reprendre une expression chinoise, et même davantage puisqu'elles représentent au Togo 51,3% de la population, pourquoi sont-elles aussi dominées par des hommes au Togo ? Les stéréotypes peuvent contribuer à des comportements qui constituent autant de vecteurs d'identification (Reseir & Gresy, 2008 : 9).

Le caractère quasi universel de la domination masculine n'est pas en soi étonnant. Une société ne peut pas vivre sans règles d'échanges en général et d'échange matrimonial en particulier. Dans cette perspective, ce sont les femmes qui sont échangées puisqu'elles quittent leurs parents pour s'installer chez leur mari. Or s'il y a échange de femmes, elles sont forcément en situation de dominées (Héritier, 1996). La division sexuelle du travail n'est pas une conséquence logique des handicaps naturels liés à la maternité, mais est le produit d'un rapport de pouvoir entre les genres (Friedman, 1984). Labica, dans *Engels et l'émancipation des femmes* (1997 : 175-191) montrait que selon Engels le caractère historique de la place subordonnée des femmes. Selon lui, la place de la femme dans la société était fort considérée et non

négligeable d'autant plus qu'en ces temps, c'était la femme qui faisait tourner le ménage par sa participation à toutes les activités de la vie sociale. Cette participation lui conférait une liberté et une indépendance vis-à-vis de l'homme. Mais l'apparition de nouvelles formes de richesses et l'avènement de l'économie de marché ont fait perdre à la femme cette considération qu'elle avait jadis. Dans les divers médias et notamment dans le magazine sika'a bien des caricatures influencent de façon psychologique la vie des jeunes-filles et une frange non négligeable des femmes actives à Lomé. Aujourd'hui, ces caricatures emplissent les conversations et modifie tant soit peu de façon subreptice les relations interpersonnelles, que ce soit au travail ou dans la sphère privée. C'est dire l'importance et le rôle des caricatures dudit magazine à la fois sur la construction identitaire erronée de la gent féminine au Togo.

4.2. Menace de stéréotype dans Sika'a

Pour les sociologues, le stéréotype est une caractérisation symbolique et schématique d'un groupe, qui s'appuie sur des attentes et des jugements de routine. Les stéréotypes constituent des images qui bloquent, qui figent à un instant donné, qui empêchent d'avancer et qui portent atteinte à l'estime de soi (*Grand dictionnaire encyclopédique Larousse*, 1985). Ils fonctionnent, à longueur de temps, comme des messages subliminaux qui confortent les rôles sociaux traditionnels et les pérennisent. Les résultats de cette étude révèlent que les hommes sont plein de vices. Ils sont notamment menteurs (12 fois), irresponsables (8 fois), orgiaques (6 fois) grossiers (5 fois). Sur le plan physique les résultats montrent que les hommes sont excités (18 fois), déterminées (9 fois), libidineux (7 fois), autoritaires, furieux et imprudents (3 fois) (Cf. *Figures 6*, *7*, *8* et *9*).

Figure 9 : Caricatures extraites du magazine mettant en exergues les profils de menteurs et d'excités des hommes
Source : Paru dans SIKAA N° 136 du Mardi 5 février et 11 juin 2013

Par rapport aux femmes les résultats montrent que les caricatures laissent entrevoir les clichés traditionnels que les hommes ont de la femme pendant longtemps. D'après les résultats, les femmes sont naïves (16 fois), sexuelles (10 fois) et sensuelles (7 fois) (Cf. *Figures 3*, *4* et *5*). Une analyse approfondie du discours de ce lecteur de Sika'a dont le contenu est fidèlement rapporté dans les lignes suivantes apporte un démenti au cliché de femmes naïves : « Depuis que j'ai commencé par acheter sikaa en 2012 je n'ai jamais raté une parution sa ma plait de lire toutes vos parution toutes vos rubriques. Mais ce qui me gènz pour quoi c'est BELLAVI qui gagne toujours et notre fameux sodja Taméa toujours maa ? »[5]

En effet, un rapport sur l'image des femmes dans les médias en 2008 (Reseir & Gresy) révèlent que dans les médias, fleurissent les images de la mère, de l'idiote, blonde de surcroît, de l'hystérique déjantée, sinon de la putain, sans parler de la ménagère. Aussi fleurissent, dans la sphère politique, les trois stéréotypes de la courtisane qui arrive grâce aux hommes, de la « king » à l'identité sexuelle douteuse et qui adopte un comportement dit « l'homme » et de la régente ou la mère qui règne de façon provisoire. Les rôles sociaux (véhiculés par les médias) agissent comme une identité symbolique qu'on endosse au-dessus de la sienne propre afin de correspondre aux stéréotypes du genre ou du sexe social auquel on appartient. Les hommes doivent tous être grands, forts intelligents, pères (pour prouver l'authenticité de sa virilité), ayant la maîtrise de l'argent, la politique et l'économie, puissants, voire violents. Les femmes doivent toutes être plus petites, faibles, soumises, mères (parce que faites pour), ayant en charge le ménage, le soin aux enfants aux personnes âgées, aux blessés, douces et compréhensives[6].

Les caricatures véhiculent des stéréotypes de genre. Elles confinent et enferment les femmes et les hommes dans des rôles prédéfinis, artificiels et souvent dégradants, humiliants et abêtissants pour les deux sexes. Ces stéréotypes participent à une discrimination fondée sur le genre et se font l'écho d'un rapport de force inégal (Reseir & Gresy, 2008 : 9).

4.3. Sika'a : reproducteur de la violence symbolique et de l'imaginaire social

Les résultats de cette étude révèlent que ce magazine crée et géré par les hommes ne peint pas la gent féminine en blanc. En effet, la domination des hommes sur la femme a trouvé une autre explication chez Pierre Bourdieu. En effet, dans *La domination masculine* (1998), il trouve naturelle la domination des hommes sur les femmes. Cette naturalisation des rapports sociaux s'inscrit inconsciemment dans les comportements des dominants-les hommes-et des dominés-les femmes-et les pousses à agir conformément à la logique de ces rapports sociaux. Les hommes doivent se conformer à la logique de l'honneur. Ils doivent toujours faire preuve de leur virilité et les femmes doivent se conformer à la discrétion, au service et à la docilité. C'est ce qu'il appelle « la violence symbolique ». Les médias permettent de gérer la relation entre notre cerveau et notre environnement. Ils sont des agrégateurs d'images, des socialisateurs, et en aucun cas le reflet exact du réel (*op.cit.*). Macé parle, à ce propos, de « médiation médiatique ». Les médias représentent une voie majeure de socialisation.

Les représentations qu'elles génèrent constituent un mode de connaissance ; mais contribuent dans le même temps à l'élaboration des identités individuelles et sociales, à la diffusion de normes, conduites et valeurs (Macé, 2006). Tout système de représentation est aussi un système de valeurs. (...) Il est important de souligner que les représentations ne sont pas le reflet de l'état de la réalité mais donnent à voir une mise en forme, voire une mise en ordre de la réalité, visant non seulement à expliciter un ordre social établi, mais aussi à le légitimer (Cromer, 2008).

Au demeurant, à quoi donc servent ces images de femmes très présentes la plupart des temps dans ce magazine ? Elles sont un puissant moyen dont dispose les hommes majoritaire dans cet organe pour construire et ordonner la femme togolaise. Le sexe est porteur et fait vendre, ce magazine satirique. En étiquetant les femmes de naïves, de sexuelles et de dévergondé, il ne fait que perpétuer encore une fois la représentation sociale des mâles de la femme.

NOTES

[1] Direction Générale de la Statistique et de la Comptabilité Nationale (2011), *Recensement générale de la population et de l'habitat*, Lomé, Togo, résultats définitifs, 64 p.

[2] L'*Enquête Démographique et de Santé du Togo* (EDST) a été réalisé en 1998 au Togo.

3 Au Togo, la constitution relayée par la loi 98-004/PR du 11 Février 1998 modifiée en 2000, 2002, 2004, portant code de la presse et de la communication reconnaît la liberté de la presse en son article premier.

4 Ces deux magazines sont des bimensuels. Mais le premier pour des raisons pratiques a retenu le plus notre attention et a fait l'objet de cette étude. Le deuxième, *Viva*, est dirigé par la même équipe du premier magazine et le contenu n'a pas évolué. Il est à quelque chose près de même contenu.

5 Ce discours est un commentaire de lecteur de Sika'a. Il est tiré du n° 136 du Mardi 5 février 2013 du site du magazine dans la rubrique commentaire. Bellavi qui signifie la petite Belle est une égérie du magazine qui arrive à dominer les hommes grâce à son habillement extravagant, indécent puis une bonne dose de ruse. Au Togo, dans la langue locale Sodja englobe policiers, gendarmes et militaires mais dans le magazine, il s'agit de brigadier de la policier qui est champion de la raquette et a un faible pour les femmes dont le nom est Taméa. La maa renvoie à l'inacceptabilité de voir une femme dominé un homme par ses ruses.

6 Propos de F. Montreynaud, présidente de l'association *La meute*, cités dans l'ouvrage de Jean-Pierre.

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L'ONU face aux défis de l'effondrement et de la reconstruction des États africains affectés par des conflits ethniques

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ABSTRACT: The UN challenges in collapse and reconstruction of African states affected by ethnic conflicts

The collapse of the most authoritarian political systems in 1990s in Central and Eastern Europe has favoured the emergence of the Third democratization around the world. In Sub-Saharan Africa since 1960s, the consecration of the authoritarian party has been justified by the African political elites to preserve social cohesion and promote social justice in plural societies. During the authoritarian period the African leaders have built their political system through the imaginary which says that in Africa the power of an individual belongs to it ethnic group. Nevertheless, from the 1990s the political pluralism encourages the creation of opposition political parties. These new opponents challenge the authoritarian leaders by mobilizing their ethnic group. In some cases, the transition has resulted in a civil war between different political leaders. They manipulate ethnic divisions and are willing to sacrifice their peoples fuelling civil war to gain political power. When conflict erupts, African political elites use the youth, women and children in their rebel movements to attract the attention of the international community. As soon as the rebels organizations occupy a part of the territory they exploit all natural resources to pay weapons. They are aware that using child soldiers and female combatants means put pressure on the United Nations and others international organizations to find a power-sharing agreement between them and the political authorities. However, with the intervention of the UN, it happens that the negotiation of peace agreements leads to impunity and power sharing between the warriors. Rebel movements are transformed into political parties, which menace the foundation of the State in Africa.
This present paper focuses on the contribution of the UN in the restoration and the consolidation of the African States. Il also shows the greed of rebels when they don't respect the peace and agreements which threatens peace and political stability in postconflict period.

KEYWORDS: *State in Africa, power, collapse, postconflict reconstruction, ethnic conflicts*

Introduction

Depuis la restauration du pluralisme partisan en Afrique suite à l'effondrement du bloc communiste dans les années 1990, l'Afrique subsaharienne continue de souffrir de ces déchirures sociales causées par des conflits politiques à résonance ethniques. Ces déchirures sociales nées sous la colonisation ont pris des formes multi-

dimensionnelles selon des aires géographiques et idéologiques après les indépendances. Selon les rapports de l'ONU, l'Afrique subsaharienne a connu 19 guerres civiles déclarées et 11 génocides, alors qu'il y'en avait que 24 ailleurs dans le monde de 1960 à 1980. Au début des années 1990, les Africains représentaient 43% de la population des réfugiés dans le monde. La plupart de ces réfugiés fuyaient les violences politiques et ethniques, et un grand nombre parmi eux mourraient de faim, de froid et de maladies. La majorité de ces réfugiés étaient des enfants et des femmes. Selon les estimations de l'UNICEF, 850 000 enfants auraient pu vivre mais, ils sont morts entre 1980 et 1988 par suite des deux grandes guerres civiles qui ont eues lieu en Angola et au Mozambique (Amoo, 1997). Dans les pays africains en proie à des conflits internes violents, le plus souvent l'État est incapable de contrôler tout le territoire et d'assurer la sécurité des populations locales. Les organisations rebelles qui contrôlent les zones occupées pillent et exploitent illégalement toutes les ressources naturelles qu'ils trouvent sur leur passage.

Ces conflits internes engendrent progressivement l'effondrement de toutes les structures étatiques laissant la place aux organisations criminelles d'opérer dans l'illégalité (Clapham, 1998). Ils constituent une réelle menace contre la sécurité collective et la paix internationales. Ils engendrent la paupérisation de toutes les couches socioprofessionnelles et accroît davantage le risque d'instabilité politique (Menkhaus, 2002). Appréhendé le plus souvent comme le résultat d'un cas extrême de problèmes de gouvernance, de pressions excessives sur les capacités de l'État à gouverner, l'effondrement de l'État devient une question de degré par rapport aux difficultés normales rencontrées dans l'exercice de l'autorité. Au Liberia, en Sierra Leone, au Rwanda et en Côte d'ivoire dans une moindre mesure, les crispations ethniques ont souvent engendré des crispations politiques, conduisant parfois à des conflits armés internes (Châtaignier, 2003).

Ces facteurs conjoncturels consolident le risque d'investissement économique dans les États africains en crise et menacent les pays voisins. L'ONU créé pour préserver la paix et la sécurité internationales œuvre inlassablement en amont à travers ses différents organes dans la diplomatie préventive et le rétablissement de la paix. Elle intervient en aval dans le domaine de la consolidation de la paix et cherche à empêcher la résurgence des conflits et à créer les conditions nécessaires pour qu'une paix puisse régner durablement dans ces sociétés plurales déchirées par les conflits internes (Annan, 1998). Dès lors la question qui coule de source est la suivante : Doit-on considérer l'effondrement des États africains en crise comme un échec du processus de formation de l'État en Afrique subsaharienne ? Comment l'ONU peut-elle contribuer à la consolidation durable de la paix dans les États effondrés suite à un conflit ethnique ?

L'objectif de cette étude est d'analyser le processus d'effondrement des États africains affectés par des conflits ethniques et de démontrer l'existence d'un modèle causal minimal commun importé dans ces États lors de la phase de rétablissement démocratique de la paix. Une telle entreprise nécessite la compréhension des théories des conflits et les mécanismes de rétablissement de la paix déployés par le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU.

Pour analyser les conflits ethniques en cours sur le continent noir, plusieurs théories tentent de saisir les facteurs endogènes et exogènes liés à l'implosion de ces conflits et conflictualités. Mais dans notre analyse, nous nous referons à la théorie des conflits reposant sur les besoins humains dans un contexte de mondialisation de John W. Burton. Selon le politologue américain, outre les besoins biologiques évidents tels que l'alimentation et le logement, les groupes humains manifestent de plus en plus des besoins sociopsychologiques de base qui concernent la croissance et le développement. Ces besoins sont ceux de l'identité, de la reconnaissance, la sécurité, la participation et l'autonomie. L'implosion des conflits ethniques résulte de la méconnaissance ou de la répression de ces besoins de développement qui n'ont pas été satisfaits par les structures étatiques (Burton, 1990).

Les crises identitaires nées du développement inégal des régions et des ethnies, les frustrations historiques, la montée du chômage des jeunes et l'existence des clivages politiques calqués sur les identités ethniques sont donc les ressources politiques indispensables dans le déclenchement des conflits ethniques. Même si tous les conflits internes ne sont pas ethniques, tous les conflits ethniques en cours sur le continent africain ne conduisent pas forcement à l'effondrement de l'État. À cet effet, le politologue américain William Zartman pense quant à lui que : **«** un État effondré est un État qui ne peut plus assurer ni sa sécurité interne, ni sa sécurité externe sur un territoire donné. Il a en outre perdu sa capacité à extraire les ressources et n'est donc plus capables de les allouer. Ces deux fonctions (sécurité et la gestion des ressources) doivent être impossibles à remplir à une période suffisamment longue (Zartman, 1995) ». Généralement la période retenue pour mesurer le degré d'effondrement de l'État en crise est d'un an.

De ce fait, dans notre analyse, nous nous referons aux Etats africains effondrés à la suite d'un conflit ethnique. Ainsi, il s'avère indispensable dans un premier temps d'identifier les causes des conflits ethniques en Afrique (**I**), ce qui permettra d'analyser ensuite les implications de l'ONU en amont et en aval dans le processus de rétablissement de la paix dans les États africains effondrés (**II**).

I. L'identification des causes liées à l'implosion des conflits ethniques en Afrique

Pour mieux cerner les implications de l'ONU dans le maintien de la paix et le processus de consolidation des États africains en crise, les études polémologiques prévoient avant tout les théories et les paradigmes d'analyse des conflits politiques à résonance ethniques.

A. Les causes profondes liées aux processus de formation de l'État en Afrique

L'analyse des causes des conflits ethniques en Afrique nous amène à nous interroger sur la considérable difficulté d'adaptation du modèle étatique occidental aux conditions spécifiques de l'émergence de l'État en Afrique (Cocquery-Vidrovitch, 1983). Plusieurs chercheurs ont tenté d'établir des liens de causalité entre les facteurs endogènes et exogènes. Ils voient dans le processus de l'effondrement de

l'État en Afrique l'échec de l'importation du modèle étatique occidental et le rôle crucial du colonisateur dans l'institutionnalisation de l'imaginaire politique selon lequel en Afrique le pouvoir d'un individu appartient à tout son groupe ethnique ou à son clan. Ils voient dans l'instrumentalisation de cet imaginaire, l'implosion des crises identitaires et par là, des conflits ethniques. Cette construction de l'imaginaire s'opère à travers les clivages ethniques qui existent entre les différents segments communautaires qui vivent sur un même espace. Mais plusieurs recherches se sont focalisées sur les facteurs internes et externes qui aliment ces conflits. Pour ce, les économistes-universalistes voient dans les sources de conflits ethniques, le rôle de la rente dans l'alimentation des conflits. Cette théorie privilégie le comparatisme, les indicateurs normés pour cerner les motivations des organisations criminelles qui opèrent impunément dans les États africains en conflit. Ils dénoncent également l'avidité des mouvements rebelles dans le pillage des ressources naturelles. De ce fait, ils pensent qu'il est plus facile à un pays riche en hydrocarbures de devenir le théâtre des conflits internes qu'un autre pays dépourvu de ces mêmes ressources (Hugon, 2009). On voit par là, les problèmes posés par la découverte du diamant en Sierra Leone et la régionalisation du conflit dans le fleuve Mano (Côte d'ivoire, Guinée et Libéria).Cette approche est utilisée par les experts de la Banque mondiale notamment Paul Collier dans l'identification des sources des conflits internes et l'évaluation des risques d'investissement économique dans les États en faillite. Une seconde approche concerne l'importance de la géopolitique. Les tenants de cette approche géopoliticienne décèlent en matière de politique étrangère, le rôle primordial des puissances étrangères, les réseaux mafieux et transfrontaliers et les stratégies des acteurs privés dans l'insertion de l'économie internationale criminalisée. Les tenants de cette approche, Sambanis et Doyle ont étudié les effets de contagion d'une conflictualité à une autre. Ils concluent qu'un pays est enclin à être en conflit si ses voisins connaissent des conflits internes. Les conflits ethniques du Burundi et du Rwanda ont connu des embrassements suite à l'assassinat des deux présidents d'origine Hutue en 1994. D'un autre côté, la théorie anthropologico-politiste particulariste, quant à elle analyse l'importance des spécificités de terrain, des arrangements entre des acteurs, le jeu des élites néo-patrimoniales dans le développement des logiques de captation des rentes nationales. Pour les théories de l'écologie politique, elles analysent les conflits ethniques sous l'angle des facteurs écologiques qui engendrent la guerre environnementale (Feckoua, 1996). La conjonction de toutes ces théories permettent de mieux analyser les causes des conflits ethniques en Afrique même s'il est vrai que tous les États africains n'ont pas connu les mêmes trajectoires sociopolitiques.

Les conflits ethniques qui ont lieu en Afrique trouvent également leur origine dans l'existence des frustrations individuelles et collectives des groupes sociaux (Herbst, 2000). Le problème fondamental entre tutsi et hutu au Burundi et au Rwanda réside dans l'absence de partage du pouvoir entre les différents segments communautaires. Chaque clan qui a le pouvoir privilégie les siens en ignorant les règles de gouvernance. Au Burundi et au Rwanda par exemple, cette situation a été rendu possible grâce à la complicité du colonisateur. Dans ces deux pays, la coloni-

sation a contribué au renforcement du clivage ethnique. Les tutsi sont donc les premiers à être promus par le colonisateur, ce qui les a permis d'avoir accès aux études et à la gouvernance. Quant aux hutus et les petits composants d'artisans twas, ils sont cantonnés à des activités subalternes. Les missionnaires catholiques et protestants à l'instar du Congo belge n'ont pas permis très tôt aux autres composantes de la société burundaise et rwandaise d'aller à l'école. Au Tchad, cette même situation s'est présentée avec les populations du Sud. Elles sont les premières à être en contact avec le colonisateur, ce qui les a permis d'être scolarisées très tôt par rapport aux populations du Nord majoritairement musulmans. Au Rwanda, lorsque le général Hutu, Juvénal Habyarimana accède au pouvoir en 1973, son souci de favoriser les siens en imposant des quotas dans l'attribution des bourses scolaires et l'allocation des ressources de l'État a suscité une frustration généralisée de la part des tutsis. Ces comportements particularistes entraînent les complications dans la gestion des biens et services publics de l'État rwandais et le détournement de ces fonctions régaliennes au détriment du groupe ethnique Hutu.

En côte d'ivoire, après que le président Félix Houphouët Boigny eut voulu faire de la Côte d'ivoire un pays émergent, il déclarait dès 1970 que la terre appartiendrait désormais à celui qui la mettrait en valeur. Cette politique entraîna une forte migration des populations sahéliennes. Mais vu l'évolution du poids démographique, la montée du chômage, le verrouillage de la constitution contre certains leaders du Nord, et la difficile relation de l'État entre les divers segments communautaires, la Côte d'ivoire va connaître les problèmes complexes tels que l'attribution de la nationalité ivoirienne aux populations migrantes installées depuis des décennies sur son sol (Toulabor, 2002). Le reste des groupes sociaux qui sont exclus dans l'attribution de la nationalité ivoirienne vont remettre en cause l'ordre politique. Ils vont se rallier à la cause des mouvements rebelles pour renverser les gouvernements sudistes. C'est dire que dans les pays où surgissent les conflits internes violents, il existe une corrélation entre la difficile gestion des crises politique et l'implosion des conflits internes qui conduisent généralement à l'effondrement de l'État en Afrique. En termes ethniques, tous les États africains qui connaissent des conflits ethniques souffrent de ce problème de cohésion sociale, de gouvernance, de partage des ressources nationales entre les différentes composantes de la société (voir *Tableau 1*).

Tableau 1 : Processus conduisant à l'effondrement de l'État africain déjà affaiblit par des conflits internes violents.

Défaillance de l'État de droit	État impuissant	État illégitime ou trop clanisé/ ethnocratie	Économie défaillante	Société fragilisée
Impunité et absence de sanctions en cas de violations de la loi	Absence de contrôle effectif du territoire. Absence ou inefficacité des	Confiscation du pouvoir par une oligarchie. (Absence de démocratie,	Pauvreté forte et durable chez les couches les plus vulnérables.	Rupture du contrat social entre l'État et la société. L'État prében-

(Les plus forts ne respectent pas la loi et briment les droits des minorités ethniques ou politiques, etc.)	forces de défense et de police, pillage généralisé des ressources	Contestations violentes des élections, etc.)	Chômage et sous-emplois généralisés.	dier n'est plus capable de prôner la justice sociale
Non-exécution des décisions de la justice. Les lois constitutionnelles taillées sur mesures-absence de justice sociale.	Armée peu ou pas contrôlé par le pouvoir civil. Une armée non républicaine encline à obéir aux ordres des élites néo-patrimoniales.	Absence d'intérêt général (absence de service public et de souci du bien commun, exaltation des clivages identitaires, etc.)	Inflation et déficit budgétaire non maîtrisés (risque de corruption et de prévarication très élevé).	Faiblesse de la société civile et absence de projet partagé de construction nationale
Abus de pouvoir des agents de l'État, discrimination dans les procédures de recrutement dans la fonction publique	Risque de détournements de l'aide internationale (faible contrôle de l'aide internationale). Incapacité à absorber l'aide internationale	Non-respect des libertés publiques (droit des minorités ethniques, religieuses, non-respect des droits de l'homme, etc.)	Part importante de l'économie informelle (risque d'aliénation des jeunes diplômés ou non conjoncturés…)	Marginalisation des groupes ethniques et sociaux hostiles au pouvoir central. Frustration collective généralisée
Non-respect des principes du droit international des droits de l'homme (violations des droits de l'homme par les agents de l'État, l'absence de démocratie, absence de dialogue entre les forces politiques, etc.)	Absence de fournitures des services sociaux de base (faiblesse de l'administration publique, incapacité de l'État à payer régulièrement les fonctionnaires, incapacité à mobiliser les ressources internes pour financer les projets sociaux de base, etc.)	Incapacité de l'État de contrôler ses frontières (conflits dans les pays voisins et incursions des organisations criminelles, présence de combattants irréguliers, etc.) où la menace de contagion devient réelle.	Économie très dépendante de l'exploitation et de l'exportation des matières premières, poids de la dette, incapacité de l'État à attirer les investisseurs privés (le risque-pays élevé)	Tensions ethniques et sociaux fortes et récurrentes. Les questions foncières et de nationalité engendrent des crispations identitaires, fuite des cerveaux et mobilisation de la diaspora contre les élites dirigeantes.

Source : tableau réalisé à partir de l'index des États en faillite du « Fund for peace » (1995 et 2013)

Mais ces crises identitaires naissent et prennent de l'ampleur lorsque les besoins de sécurité, de l'identité du groupe, de la participation des autres composantes de la société aux affaires de l'État ne sont pas protégés par les institutions fortes et impartiales (Clément, 2004). En Côte d'ivoire, la création de l'ivoirité a été une pure imagination politique entretenue par les élites baoulé pour écarter quelques hommes politiques du Nord très influents. Cette manipulation des institutions de l'État ivoirien pour privilégier les siens a entraîné la prise de conscience et la mobilisation de la plupart des élites du Nord derrière les mouvements rebelles. Il est vrai que la manipulation des institutions étatiques pour privilégier les siens n'est pas uniquement l'apanage de la Côte d'ivoire. Tous les États africains souffrent de ces problèmes de cohésion nationale, d'ethnicisation des partis politiques, de manipulation des institutions de la République à travers les mesures de discrimination dans le recrutement de la fonction publique, de l'armée, de la police, dans les grandes écoles de formation, etc. Il se produit une crispation identitaire née de la frustration individuelle et collective des groupes marginalisés. Or, partout tous les hommes aspirent à l'amélioration de leur condition de vie, en ce sens la mobilisation des siens pour garantir la sécurité, la participation et l'identité du groupe social est un véritable défi pour les acteurs politiques. En conséquence, la plupart des systèmes politiques africains qui ont tenté de denier ou réprimer ses besoins humains ont fini par connaître les théâtres des conflits internes ou des protestations violentes.

Cependant, tous les systèmes politiques africains qui connaissent l'existence des clivages ethniques n'ont pas connu les conflits ethniques ni l'effondrement de leur structure étatique. C'est dire que sans la manipulation des référents identitaires pour des raisons alimentaires et idéologiques, la pression ethnique ne peut aucunement conduire aux conflits ethniques.

B. La politisation et manipulation du référent ethnique, révélatrice de conflit ethnique

Engagés comme la plupart des pays africains dans un processus irréversible de libéralisation politique, la Côte d'ivoire, le Burundi, et le Rwanda dans une moindre mesure continuent de s'enliser dans des querelles ethno-régionalistes. Vu le contexte global d'ethnicisation de la vie politique en Afrique subsaharienne, la démocratie a été mal appréhendée par la plupart des élites politiques africaines. Les élites politiques, au lieu de proposer de véritables programmes de sociétés aux populations locales se sont réappropriées du tribalisme. Si dans quelques États africains, le processus démocratique amorcé depuis 1990 a connu une certaine libéralisation douce des régimes autoritaires et monopolistiques, tel n'est pas le cas dans certains États qui connaissent encore des conflits ethniques. L'ethnie en Afrique a été appréhendée pendant longtemps comme un cadre d'identification des groupes sociaux partageant un même territoire. Elle demeure jusqu'à nos jours l'identité propre des groupes sociaux en raison de leur histoire, de leur culture et de leur système politique traditionnel. Dans presque tous les pays africains, l'administrateur colonial a fait un travail d'inventaire et de classement des populations (Chauveau, 1992). En Côte d'ivoire par exemple, ce travail d'inventaire

classe les Bétés au bas de l'échelle sociale. Cet imaginaire entretenu par les organisations politiques s'explique par le jugement négatif porté à l'égard de cette population en raison de leur hostilité au projet colonial. Le Front Populaire Ivoirien dès sa création, s'est toujours appuyé sur la mobilisation des Bété pour réclamer auprès de l'État postcolonial la participation des Bété et des groupes apparentés aux affaires publiques. D'après Bamba Dramane « les signifiants ethniques deviennent véritablement opérationnels, ils se chargent du sens qui émane de cette structuration inégale de la société ivoirienne, manipulés par l'État colonial, ils deviennent les figures centrales d'une société ivoirienne en procès de médiatisation en terme d'ethnicité » (1995). De ce fait, l'ouverture démocratique constitue un appoint important pour les hommes politiques africains d'attiser la haine ethnique pour bénéficier d'une aura internationale. L'État étant faible, ils mobilisent les segments ethniques qui leurs sont favorables contre le pouvoir central. Ils sont appuyés le plus souvent par la diaspora et les entreprises privées qui cherchent à préserver leurs intérêts en Afrique, une fois que ceux-ci arrivent au pouvoir. Ces organisations politiques ou rebelles cherchent à renforcer la cohésion de leurs groupes en limitant également le recrutement des jeunes au sein de leur fratrie à un seul groupe ethnique au sein duquel on choisira les chefs (Banque Mondiale, 2005). Cela revient à manipuler le référent ethnique comme le font les monocraties postcoloniales africaines. Dans le cas du conflit interne en République démocratique du Congo, la rébellion Kwilu impliquait les ethnies Mbunda et pende, tandis que le mouvement insurrectionnel dirigé par le chef rebelle Laurent Kabila entre 1996 et 1997 avait recruté ses premiers combattants auprès des Banyamulenge, les tutsis d'origine rwandaise. Les Banyamulenge sont un groupe ethnique rwandophone vivant dans l'Est de la RDC depuis des décennies, dans la province du Sud-Kivu dans la zone proche avec le Burundi. Ce groupe ethnique souffre de différents régimes politiques congolais. Dès 1981, le gouvernement de Mobutu a décidé de renier la nationalité congolaise aux banyamulenge. Lorsque le multipartisme fut annoncé, tous les hommes politiques promettent à ce groupe ethnique de se ranger de leur côté afin de pouvoir les offrir la nationalité congolaise. L'implication du Rwanda dans le conflit interne en RDC pour défendre ce groupe tutsi constitue une manipulation de l'ingérence étrangère afin de capter les rentes de l'État congolais (Ela Ela, 2006). Ces opérations de purification ethnique sont motivées le plus souvent par toute une chaîne de problèmes essentiellement politiques : mobilisation identitaire sur un critère ethnique et xénophobe, contrôle politique et administratif des zones jugées vitales, la terreur politique contre l'opposition et les segments communautaires sensés la soutenir. L'amplification du référent ethnique procède en grande partie de ce développement des relations de proximité ou de distance par rapport au pouvoir central, principal agent de l'accumulation-redistribution des rentes de l'État. Cette politisation des segments communautaires est un facteur de division et de cristallisation de ces identités ethniques autour de puissants barons et de leaders de mouvements criminels (Barot, 2001). L'exaltation du référent ethnique devient également un appoint important utilisé le plus souvent par les organisations criminelles pour revendiquer l'accès au centre politique. Au Mali, la ques-

tion touarègue qui divise le Nord et le Sud a entraîné la mobilisation des Touaregs autour de leur identité appelée AZAWAD[1]. Les différents mouvements rebelles du Nord-Mali ont toujours prétendu défendre les intérêts du Nord en construisant leur discours politique autour de leur identité, leur besoins de sécurité, d'autonomie, de développement et de participation dans les affaires publiques. Pour légitimer leurs actions politiques sur la scène internationale, les chefs d'organisations rebelles ont souvent recours aux griefs formulés quotidiennement par les populations locales dans les zones désenclavées (voir *Tableau 2*) (Charaudeau, 2005).

Tableau 2 : Discours politique et visibilité diplomatique des organisations rebelles africaines sur la scène internationale

États effondrés	Organisations rebelles	Clivages politico-identitaires	Griefs formulés
Mali	AZAWAD, MNLA	Nord/Sud	*Le Nord-Mali étant sous développé au détriment du Sud
Côte d'Ivoire	MPIGO, MPCI, MJP (FN)	Baoulé/Bété et Nord musulman/ Sud chrétien	*Égard entre le Nord très pauvre et un Sud très développé
Libéria	LURD/MODEL	Autochtone/minorité américano-libérienne	*Confiscation du pouvoir par la minorité américano-libérienne
Rwanda	FPR/Interahamwe ou MRNM	Tutsi/Hutu	*Absence de partage de pouvoir
Sierra-Léone	RUF/Kamajors (CDF)	Créoles/Allogènes	*Contrôle des rentes par une minorité d'esclaves affranchis ou créoles

Source : données compilées par l'auteur.

Ainsi, lorsque le discours politique est ainsi pénétré de référents xénophobes, voire d'appels à la purification ethnique, ce régionalisme assigne à chaque identité eth-

nique un territoire qui lui est propre, au mépris des réalités migratoires et des libertés fondamentales, les larves des conflits ethniques dans cette logique deviennent inévitables.

Face à toutes ces manipulations des référents ethniques susceptibles de conduire aux conflits ethniques ou dans certains cas l'ont engendré, l'ONU dont le but principal est le maintien de la paix et la sécurité internationales s'implique en amont dans la diplomatie préventive et le rétablissement de la paix. Mais, ces implications ne constituent-elle pas une autre mission civilisatrice du monde occidental sur les États en faillite ? La consolidation de la paix après la négociation des accords de paix dans les pays en conflit implique donc l'importation du modèle de reconstruction démocratique dans les États effondrés. Une telle entreprise nécessite la prise en compte des revendications de différentes identités ethniques dans l'élaboration des mécanismes de gestion de la transition de la guerre civile à la démocratie (Lijphart, 1984).

II. Les implications de l'ONU dans le processus de rétablissement de la paix en Afrique

Créé dès 1945 sur les cendres de la SDN, L'ONU œuvre à travers plusieurs mécanismes dans la préservation de la paix internationale. En ce qui concerne le maintien de la paix et de la sécurité internationale, cette mission a été confiée au Conseil de sécurité en vertu de l'article 11 de la charte des Nations Unies.

A. Le rôle de l'ONU face aux réactions internes et externes de l'échec étatique

L'extinction des conflits ethniques nécessite plusieurs approches de solutions. L'ONU dispose dans ce domaine plusieurs mécanismes de prévention et de rétablissement de la sécurité dans un État en crise. Lorsqu'un conflit éclate, le Conseil de sécurité qui dispose d'une série de mécanismes politiques et institutionnels en vertu de la charte des Nations Unies (art. 24) déploie premièrement le mécanisme de diplomatie préventive qui se résume à l'envoi des experts politiques sur le terrain. Ce mécanisme, selon Boutros Ghali, « a pour objet d'éviter que des différends ne surgissent entre les parties, d'empêcher qu'un différend entre les parties ne se transforme en conflit ouvert et, si un conflit éclate, de faire en sorte qu'il s'étende le moins possible » (Bertrand, 1997). Le Conseil de sécurité s'engage dans ce cas dans l'identification des facteurs endogènes et exogènes qui ont conduit à l'éclatement du conflit ethnique. Lorsqu'il constate une violation fragrante des droits de l'homme et l'incapacité de l'État à protéger les populations, il réagit. La charte des Nations Unies a confié au Conseil de sécurité la responsabilité dans la qualification des faits « en cas de menace contre la paix, de rupture de la paix et d'acte d'agression » en vertu du chapitre VII. Dans le cas des conflits internes, le Conseil de sécurité prend des mesures contraignantes dont le respect s'impose aux États et aux acteurs privés dans le conflit. Ces mesures sont motivées par la gravité des faits relatifs aux violations des droits de l'homme et aux règles du droit interna-

tional humanitaire. Cette diplomatie préventive se résume entre autre ; il vaut mieux prévenir, apaiser les tensions avant qu'elles ne dégénèrent en conflits. En vertu du chapitre VI, la charte des Nations Unies prévoit dans le cas des conflits internes la nécessité de régler pacifiquement les différends entre les forces politiques. À cet effet, l'article 33 de la charte des Nations-Unies stipule que « les parties à tout différend doivent rechercher la solution par voie de négociation, d'enquête, de médiation, de conciliation, d'arbitrage, de règlement judiciaire, de recours aux organismes régionaux, ou par d'autres moyens pacifiques de leur choix ». Cette disposition est claire dans sa formulation et donne toutes les prérogatives au Conseil de sécurité s'il le juge nécessaire, d'inviter tous les acteurs politiques nationaux (gouvernement, chefs d'organisations rebelles, groupes criminels apparentés aux belligérants, etc.) et régionaux (États accusateurs d'ingérence), et les groupes d'amis (puissances étrangères directement concernées par l'extinction du conflit) d'imposer le règlement des différends par de tels moyens (Kreipe, 2009). Ainsi, avant d'arriver à la médiation et à la négociation entre les différents protagonistes, le Conseil de sécurité mandate des groupes d'experts politiques qui identifient les acteurs impliqués dans le conflit. Par acteurs, il attend toute autorité, tout organisme, tout groupe et même à la limite, toute personne susceptible de forger le rôle dans le champ social. Cette expertise en amont de la diplomatie préventive conduit à l'institutionnalisation des dispositifs d'alerte et des organes de mise en œuvre des mesures de confiance (organes de sécurisation des accords de paix). Ce mécanisme d'alerte consiste à la collecte systématique et l'analyse de l'information sur des régions en crise. Le Conseil de sécurité utilise l'alerte en vue d'anticiper le processus d'escalade dans l'intensité du conflit ; de développer des réponses stratégiques à ces conflits et de présenter des options d'actions aux acteurs concernés afin de faciliter la prise de décisions (Châtaignier, 2001).

D'un autre côté, l'ONU à travers son programme PIOMM (Programme Interdisciplinaire de recherche sur les causes des violations des droits humains) estime le plus souvent que l'alerte précoce se situe dans un délai en amont de 6 à 12 mois pour que l'organisation puisse entreprendre des actions requises. Elle suppose qu'au délai de 6 semaines à 6 mois corresponde à une alerte donnée à temps, et qu'en dessous de 6 semaines, le temps d'alerte est dépassé et peut correspondre à une situation d'action dans l'extrême urgence (Daziano, 2006). Mais lorsque la médiation tarde et que les acteurs en conflits font fi du droit international des droits de l'homme et aux décisions du Conseil de sécurité, deux mécanismes prévus par la charte des Nations Unies sont utilisés. Ainsi, pour donner effets aux décisions du Conseil de sécurité, la charte met à sa disposition deux systèmes de sanctions :

Premièrement, lorsque le Conseil de sécurité constate le non-respect de ses décisions en ce qui concerne la cessation des hostilités, il décide de la rupture partielle ou totale des relations économiques et diplomatiques ainsi que les communications avec l'État visé en vertu de l'article 41 de la charte des Nations-Unies. L'objectif visé dans ce cas est d'isoler politiquement et économiquement 'l'État ciblé' et les groupes d'organisations rebelles qui pillent et violent les droits de l'homme pour les amener à cesser ces comportements fautifs. Ce mécanisme est de

plus en plus utilisé dans les conflits armés internes. Il a été appliqué dans le cas des conflits sierra léonais et libérien, entre autres, en ce qui concerne l'interdiction de voyager pour Charles Taylor au Libéria et Foday Sanko en Sierra Léone.

Deuxièmement, lorsque les sanctions non militaires deviennent inefficaces face aux violations des droits de l'homme, aux flux des réfugiés, à l'approbation de l'opinion publique mondiale, et au risque de l'effondrement systématisé de toutes les structures de l'État en conflit, le Conseil de sécurité en vertu de l'article 42 de la charte des Nations-Unies, décide ipso facto de recourir à la force armée pour rétablir la paix et la stabilité. Mais cette sanction militaire est de moins en moins utilisée lorsqu'il s'agit des conflits internes car le plus souvent les causes des déchirures sociales tournent autour du partage des ressources de l'État, l'absence d'une justice sociale entre toutes les composantes ethniques de la société. Il utilise de plus en plus les menaces de gel des avoirs économiques des criminels de guerre et décrète un embargo sur les armés afin de freiner le conflit. Au-delà de tous ces mécanismes institutionnels et politiques déployés dans les États en conflits internes, l'ONU tente d'obtenir une transition politique à travers la signature des accords de paix entre les différents acteurs (Diez De Velasco Vallejo, 2009). Cette négociation et la signature d'un accord de paix entre les différents acteurs permet de garantir le déploiement rapide des experts civils et militaires en vue de sécuriser les institutions de la transition et la population civile. Il existe dans ce cas un souci permanent d'encourager le partage du pouvoir entre les différents acteurs politiques qui ont pris les armes et le risque d'effondrement de l'État si ce processus de transition politique échoue (voir le *Tableau 3*).

Tableau 3 : Corrélation entre effondrement de l'État suite à un conflit armé interne et gouvernement de transition en Afrique subsaharienne.

Principaux États en faillite/effondrés (2002-2006)	**Appui de l'ONU dans la négociation des accords de partage de pouvoir**
Côte d'ivoire	Formation du gouvernement issu des accords de paix de Linas-Marcoussis du 24 janvier 2003, d'Accra, de Pretoria et de la Résolution 1633 du Conseil de sécurité des Nations-Unies du 21 Octobre 2005
Soudan	Formation du gouvernement de transition issu de l'Accord Global Inclusif du 3 Avril 2003
Somalie	Formation du gouvernement national de transition issu des accords de paix de Djibouti en 2008, Nairobi en janvier 2004, Eldoret en octobre 2002, d'Addis-Abeba en 1993 et de la Résolution 1816 (2008), 1950 (2010), 2125 (2013) du Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies
Rwanda	Formation du gouvernement de transition issu des accords d'Arusha du 4 août 1993
République Centrafricaine	Formation de gouvernement de transition issu des accords de Libreville en 2013, Ban-

	gui 1998, et de la Résolution 2121 (2013) du Conseil de sécurité sur l'assistance à apporter à cet État effondré.
Sierra Leone	Formation de Gouvernement d'Union Nationale à base élargie issu de l'accord de paix de Lomé du 7 juillet 1999
Burundi	Formation du Gouvernement issu du Protocole de Pretoria sur le partage du pouvoir en date du 8 octobre 2003
Liberia	Formation du Gouvernement National de Transition issu de l'accord de paix d'Accra du 18 août 2003
République Démocratique du Congo	Formation du Gouvernement issu de l'Accord Global Inclusif du 3 avril 2003

Source : données compilées à partir de l'index des États en faillite du « Fund for peace » (2002-2006)

Mais, du fait que l'ONU insiste pour que les différentes organisations rebelles soient signataires des accords de paix aux côtés des autorités officielles de l'État, constitue l'un des indicateurs de l'impuissance relative de l'État et de la reconnaissance explicite de ces mouvements criminels sur la scène internationale. Les mouvements rebelles qui bénéficient d'une reconnaissance internationale à la suite des accords de paix, transforment leurs organisations criminelles en partis politiques. Cette transformation tacite de leurs organisations en partis politiques même si, elle constitue une violation du droit internationale humanitaire permet l'instauration d'un gouvernement transitionnel et un éventuel retour à la paix. À partir du moment où l'ONU obtient la cessation des hostilités à travers la signature des accords de paix, l'État cesse d'être le seul acteur garantissant et symbolisant la stabilité et la sécurité intérieure. Les mouvements rebelles deviennent dans ce cas de figure un contre-pouvoir fort, une opposition qui peut faire basculer la transition de la guerre civile à la démocratie à leur faveur. Pour ce, on assiste le plus souvent à la cristallisation et à la radicalisation des mouvements rebelles dont la signature des accords de paix de sortis de crise consacrent l'institutionnalisation sous la forme d'un gouvernement dirigé par des guerriers (Sindjoun, 2008). D'où l'idée de sécurisation du processus de paix à travers le déploiement des opérations politico-militaires en vue de rétablir définitivement la paix et la sécurité.

L'aide à la reconstruction de l'État effondré devient une conditionnalité démocratique pour tous les États en faillite. Il ne peut y être autrement car toutes les structures étatiques sont en déliquescence généralisée. C'est en ce sens que l'assistance électorale et aux reformes apportées par le système des Nations Unies permettent la désignation des leaders politiques aptes à diriger l'État dans la période de sortie de crise. L'État incapable de faire face seul aux difficultés sécuritaires et économiques se voit contraint d'accepter toutes les injonctions des partenaires techniques et institutionnels (Voir *Tableau 3*).

B. Une assistance limitée face à la restauration de l'autorité de l'État en crise

Le processus de transition de la guerre civile à la démocratie dans les pays en conflits est avant tout, une volonté globale de partage du pouvoir qui doit, d'une part permettre l'accès à la démocratie et, d'autre part, garantir cet accès par des institutions fortes et stables. La résolution des problèmes politiques liés au partage du pouvoir, à la participation et à la reconnaissance de l'identité des différents groupes ethniques, a toujours comme caractéristique pour les acteurs politiques la peur d'être éliminés lors de la négociation des accords de paix. Le Conseil de sécurité prend à cet effet toutes les dispositions nécessaires en vue de garantir la sécurisation des accords de paix sensés rétablir la stabilité. Ainsi, si l'on s'en tient à l'index des États effondrés tel qu'élaboré par le « Fund for peace », on peut affirmer qu'il existe une corrélation entre le gouvernement de transition et l'effondrement de l'État suite à un conflit interne (*Tableau 3*). De ce fait, le défi à la reconstruction postconflit tient compte de cet index des États effondrés qui comporte de nos jours douze indicateurs élaborés par le *Fund for peace*[2]. Il s'agit notamment de : les pressions démographiques montantes ; les mouvements importants de réfugiés et des personnes déplacées ; la mémoire de la revanche des groupes ou la paranoïa collective ; l'exode durable et chronique des ressortissants du pays ; l'inégale répartition du développement économique ; le déclin économique sévère et prononcé; la criminalisation et la délégitimation de l'État ; détérioration progressive des services publics; suspension ou application arbitraire de l'État de droit et violation massive des droits de l'homme; liberté totale et impunité des services de sécurité et des milices privées; émergence des élites représentatives des factions; intervention des autres États ou acteurs politiques externes. Ainsi conçus, les organisations internationales telles que l'ONU considère les États effondrés comme étant une menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationale. De cette logique, si l'ONU ne fait rien contre le risque de menace à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, les zones occupées par des différentes organisations criminelles peuvent devenir des sanctuaires de terrorisme, de piraterie, de trafic des stupéfiants et de contrebande. Pour ce, le premier rôle de l'ONU concerne la sécurisation de l'État effondré. À partir du moment où les accords de paix ont été signés entre les différents protagonistes, elle déploie une série d'opération politico-militaire pour sécuriser les institutions nées de la transition. Par exemple, dans sa résolution 1861, le Conseil de sécurité a autorisé le déploiement en RCA et au Tchad d'une composante militaire de la MINURCAT comprenant au maximum 300 policiers, 25 officiers de liaison, 5200 militaires aussi qu'un effectif approprié de personnel civil.

Tableau 4 : Corrélation entre menace à la sécurité internationale et déploiement des opérations politico-militaires de l'ONU

États effondrés	Mission des Nations Unies en Afrique	Date de présence
Soudan	- Mission des Nations-Unies au Soudan (MINUS)	Mars 2005
Burundi	Operations des Nations-Unies au Burundi (ONUB)	Mai 2004-Déc.2006

République Centrafricaine	- Mission des Nations Unies en République centrafricaine - Mission des Nations Unies en RCA et au Tchad (MINURCAT)	Avril 1998-Feb. 2000 Septembre 2007
Sierra-Leone	- Mission d'observation des Nations Unies (MONUSIL) - Mission des Nations Unies en Sierra Léone (MINUSIL)	Juillet 1998-oct. 1999 Oct.1999-déc.2005
Côte d'Ivoire	- Opération des Nations Unies en Côte d'ivoire (ONUC)	Avril 2004
Libéria	- Mission d'observation des Nations Unies au Libéria (MONUL) - Mission des Nations Unies au Liberia (MINUL)	Sept.1993-mars 1996 Septembre 2003
République Démocratique du Congo	- Mission d'observation des Nations Unies au Congo (MONUC)	Décembre 1999

Source : données compilées à partir des archives du département de l'information de l'ONU

Face à la faillite systématique de toutes les structures administratives et à l'implosion des déchirures sociales, le Conseil de sécurité a revu le mandat de ses opérations politico-militaires. Au niveau militaire, le but principal de ces missions onusiennes concerne la sécurisation du pays et la protection des populations civiles, ceci passe par le désarmement, la démobilisation et la réintégration des ex-combattants. La sécurisation passe aussi par le renforcement de la gouvernance démocratique qui contribue à jeter les bases du maintien de l'ordre et du développement (Clapham, 2001). Pour les Nations Unies, le développement humain peut être freiné dans un pays où l'armée, la police et toutes les instances chargées de la sécurité exercent une emprise sur les institutions démocratiques (PNUD, 2002). C'est pourquoi, elle œuvre surtout dans les pays sortis de conflit à la séparation de la police de l'armée. Cette réforme des armées nationales et la professionnalisation de la police nationale est confiée à l'UNPOL. Elle contribue progressivement à la sécurisation des segments communautaires et au retour de la stabilité politique, à la promotion des droits de l'homme et de l'État de droit, au soutien de la paix au niveau régional, etc. Au niveau politique, l'ONU crée dans les États effondrés des bureaux des Nations Unies dont le but principal consiste à soutenir les efforts entrepris aux niveaux national et local en vue de mettre en œuvre les conclusions du dialogue politique inclusif. Que ce soit en Côte d'ivoire, au Libéria, au Soudan, le Conseil de sécurité appuie les dialogues politiques et pousse les acteurs politiques à adopter des réformes économiques, constitutionnelles, institutionnelles, administratives, en vue de pallier aux problèmes qui sont à l'origine des déchirures sociales (Annan, 2009).

Cependant, malgré les efforts déployés par l'ONU à travers ses différents organes, la paix reste fragile. La consolidation de la paix ne saurait se faire durablement de l'extérieur. Elle doit impliquer les acteurs internes (ONG, société civile) et régionaux (les médiateurs régionaux, les experts indépendants) et les autres organisations internationales dans l'institutionnalisation des mécanismes de résolution des conflits.

Conclusion

Le processus de transition de la guerre civile à la démocratie par lequel on signifie que toute autorité politique doit se fonder sur une compétition électorale entre les mouvements rebelles transformés en partis politiques et les autres forces politiques dans le cadre d'une formule constitutionnelle acceptée, ne peut réussir durablement sans la pression de la communauté internationale. En ce sens, les sanctions onusiennes doivent essentiellement avoir pour but de menacer publiquement les fauteurs de trouble qui tenteraient de reprendre les armes. Deuxièmement, aucun processus transitionnel ne peut réussir efficacement sans l'institutionnalisation de la gouvernance politique, c'est-à-dire l'établissement d'institutions étatiques effectives, capable d'assurer la paix, la stabilité, le règne de l'État de droit et le respect des droits fondamentaux de l'homme. Ce processus de transition quoique significative pour la relance économique, engendre une gestion économique reposant sur les principes du marché, y compris le maintien d'un cadre régulateur réel de l'État, avec pour conséquence une séparation acceptable des pouvoirs entre l'appareil étatique d'une part ceux qui sont engagés effectivement dans la production de l'échange d'autre part. C'est à cette condition que l'ONU peut ramener la paix dans les pays postconflits et favoriser le développement économique.

NOTES

[1] Le terme Azawad signifie bol, mais il désigne aussi la dépression géographique dans le Nord de Tombouctou qui constitue actuellement le territoire des Berebiches autrefois Touaregs, aujourd'hui considérés comme Maures, mais qui parlent principalement le songhoy.

[2] Voir le site <www.fundforpeace.org>.

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Convergences et divergences entre la langue générale et le football en tant que générateur des productions discursives

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ABSTRACT: Convergences and Divergences between Football Language and General Language

It is common knowledge that sport, as an ever-growing social phenomenon and practice, is an integral part of people's everyday life. Its wide spreading into social environments lead us to wonder about the effects such sports-related language may have on people's manner of speaking and, implicitly, upon the language they speak.

This analysis has as its starting point the hypothesis according to which football language could, by relying on the lexical material of the general language, give rise to a completely particular vocabulary. On the one hand, such vocabulary could be related to the general language, sharing with it common traits, thus emphasizing the common points or the convergences, should there be any. On the contrary, football language could stand out by its own traits, from a lexical point of view. The linguistic material thus created could fall under the divergences of this sports-related language.

Thus, this study aims to analyze and clarify, on the one hand, the common points and the distinct ones between football language and general language and, on the other hand, what unites and sets them apart at the same time. To answer the question I have posed and in order to create a corpus appropriate to the precise objective I have established, I have taken original articles from primary sources of sports newspapers, paper and online, French and Romanian, like *L'Équipe*, www.lequipe.fr, http://sport24.lefigaro.fr (for the French corpus) and *Gazeta Sporturilor*, www.gsp.ro (for the Romanian corpus). Working methodology shall rely on the contrastive analysis of some articles of these newspapers to identify the convergences and divergences in the language.

KEYWORDS: *football language, convergence, divergence, sports, general language, contact points*

Cadre général

Le sport est un objet social d'envergure et un élément d'une culture largement partagée qui apparaît de plus en plus comme un miroir de nos sociétés. On peut dire qu'il fait partie de la culture d'un peuple car *« la notion de "culture" a donc bien évolué en un siècle, passant du domaine purement artistique […] et philosophique à celui plus général de la vie collective d'un peuple »* (Nin, 2010 : 93).

Il est acquis que le sport, en tant que phénomène et pratique sociale de plus en plus répandus, fait partie intégrante de la vie courante des gens. Sa forte diffusion

dans les milieux sociaux ainsi que la dimension expressive et souvent symbolique dont le sport témoigne nous mène à nous interroger sur les effets que ce domaine sportif pourrait avoir sur la manière de parler des gens et, de façon implicite, sur la langue générale qu'ils parlent.

L'influence de ce langage pèse sur la manière de parler des locuteurs et, de cette façon, fait en sorte que le vocabulaire du sport s'intègre également dans la culture langagière de chacun au tel point que le langage courant est bien des fois parsemé de termes et d'expressions qui témoignent de cette étendue.

À cela s'ajoute également « la séduction » que le sport exerce sur les locuteurs désireux de s'emparer des termes sportifs afin de rendre leur discours plus expressif dans des contextes sans aucun rapport avec l'univers du sport.

Ce qu'est manifeste, c'est que les termes sportifs font l'objet d'un usage intensif par le grand public et sont de plus en plus répandus dans la langue courante ; néanmoins, les réalités discursives où l'on emploie les mots du sport n'ont pas, dans la plupart des cas, aucun trait à ce champ d'activité. Cette constatation seule pourrait servir de piste pour se pencher sur une observation plus attentive du sport, le football en l'occurrence. C'est pourquoi que l'étude que nous proposons s'intéressera aux niveaux les plus saillants du domaine du sport, en tant que générateur de termes, soit le lexique et l'expressivité de celui-ci.

Problématique et objectifs

Cette analyse prend comme point de départ l'hypothèse conformément à laquelle le football pourrait, en s'appuyant sur le matériel lexical de la langue générale, engendrer un vocabulaire tout à fait particulier. D'une part, ce vocabulaire peut avoir trait à la langue générale, partageant avec celle-ci des caractéristiques communes, ainsi mettant en évidence les points communs ou les convergences.

À l'inverse, le vocabulaire du football pourrait se singulariser par des traits qui lui sont propres, d'un point de vue lexical. Le matériel linguistique ainsi créé peut s'encadrer dans les divergences de ce langage du sport.

Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que le lexique du football est à la fois prodigieusement éloquent et suggestif, ces deux caractéristiques pouvant être exploitées avec maximum d'effet stylistique. Il est au locuteur, au commentateur sportif ou à tout un chacun de profiter de toute la richesse stylistique de ce type de vocabulaire pour représenter d'une manière distincte et pittoresque presque toute production discursive.

Les métaphores sont unes des procédés mises en jeu dont le langage se sert pour décrire le football ; celui-ci est vu par analogies, par comparaisons qui relèvent de l'imaginaire ou du symbolique. Les limites des analogies et des comparaisons ne tiennent qu'aux limites de l'imagination. Plus l'imagination est fertile, plus les métaphores sont en nombre et peuvent dépendre mêmes des productions discursives appartenant aux domaines tout à fait éloignés du domaine sportif.

Ça fait que l'aspect stylistique, à savoir l'expressivité du football au plan langagier bénéficie elle-même d'une analyse au sein de cette étude. L'objectif de cette étude est donc d'analyser et de se mettre au clair, dans un premier temps, sur les

points communs et, dans un deuxième temps, sur les points distincts, sur le plan lexical (le vocabulaire) et expressif, entre la langue générale et le football – en tant que générateur des productions discursives, sur ce qui les unit et les oppose à la fois.

Corpus et méthode de travail

Puisque le sport fait partie de la vie de nombre d'individus et que le langage sportif ait presque envahi le langage général, ce dernier empruntant au langage sportif des termes spécifiques, et que l'intérêt pour sport, en tant que partie de la vie sociale des hommes, soit de plus en plus répandu, il existe également une presse sportive, écrite et électronique, qui nous mettent au courant avec toutes les réalités dans ce domaine et aident à en faire connaître sa terminologie.
En outre, il existe des chaînes de télévision qui diffusent, en direct ou en différé, des émissions, des programmes, des commentaires, des matches, tous portant sur l'actualité sportive.

Les questions d'analyses étant relevées, on poursuit en faisant tout d'abord appel à l'analyse contrastive d'un corpus formé des quelques articles du langage du football en français et en roumain, pour en identifier les convergences et les divergences langagières.

Pour répondre à la question que je me suis posée et pour construire un corpus adéquat pour l'objectif précis que j'ai établi, j'ai tiré des articles originaux des sources primaires, comme les journaux sportifs, écrits et virtuels, français et roumains, comme *L'Équipe* (version papier), http://www.lequipe.fr, http://sport24.lefigaro.fr, *France Football* (version papier), (pour le corpus français) et *Gazeta Sporturilor,* http://www.gsp.ro (pour le corpus roumain), http://www.prosport.ro.

Analyse

En vue d'établir une terminologie pour notre recherche, nous amorcerons l'analyse par quelques brèves mises au point et définitions préalablement nécessaires concernant les notions de langue générale et langue spécialisée pour qu'on puisse se faire une idée précise de leur emploi.

La langue générale ou commune est *« […] ensemble de règles, d'unités et de restrictions qui font partie des connaissances de la majorité des locuteurs d'une langue […] »* (Cabré, 1998 : 115). Cette définition de la langue générale est largement partagée par un autre linguiste, comme Pierre Lerat, conformément *« Une langue est un système de signes oraux et/ou écrits lié à une histoire et à une culture »* (Lerat, 1995 : 18)

D'autre part, la question sur la définition de la langue spécialisée est néanmoins traitée de façon polémique ou bien contradictoire. Cette affirmation appelle quand même quelques remarques. L'une des preuves de cette polémique est la définition de D. Macrea, selon lequel *« Diferența dintre limba comună și aceste limbaje speciale este numai în vocabular, celelalte aspecte lingvistice, fonetica, morfologia si sintaxa, fiind la fel ca ale limbii comune […] »* [La différence entre la langue commune

et ces langages spéciaux est seulement dans le vocabulaire, les autres aspects linguistiques, la phonétique, la morphologie et la syntaxe, étant exactement comme ceux de la langue commune] (Macrea, 1978 : 9, *apud* Chiș, 2001 : 9). Cette position est également partagée par G. Rondeau (1981 : 26), cité également dans *Cuvânt și termen* (2001 : 10), qui dit : *« Il faut noter que tout l'appareil phono-morpho-syntaxique est sous-jacent aussi bien aux Lsp (langues de spécialité) qu'à la Lc (langue commune). Dans les deux cas on a affaire à des ensembles lexicaux qui constituent des sous-ensembles d'une langue commune. »*

À cela s'ajoute la définition suivante par Pierre Lerat : *« La langue spécialisée est d'abord une langue en situation d'emploi professionnel […]. C'est la langue elle-même (comme système autonome) mais au service d'une fonction majeure : la transmission des connaissances »* (1995 : 21).

Dans un autre registre, le langage sportif peut être considéré comme un sous-ensemble de la langue générale, voire un langage de spécialité, d'après Maria Teresa Cabré dans *La terminologie* :

> […] nous parlons de langues de spécialité (ou langue spécialisée) lorsque nous faisons référence à l'ensemble des sous codes – qui coïncident partiellement avec le sous codes de la langue commune – caractérisée par un certain nombre de traits particuliers, c'est-à-dire propres et spécifiques à chacune d'entre elles, comme le sujet, le type d'interlocuteurs, la situation de communication, l'intention du locuteur, le mode d'échange, etc. […]
> (1998 : 115)

Ce point de vue n'est point singulier, cette optique faisant l'objet des autres linguistes, tel comme Kokourek (1991a : 12), cité dans *La Terminologie* (1998 : 118) : *« Pour nous, la langue de spécialité sera une sous-langue de la langue dite naturelle, enrichie d'éléments brachyographiques, à savoir abréviatifs et idéographiques, qui s'intègrent à elle en se conformant à ses servitudes grammaticales ».*

Ces éclaircissements sont nécessaires compte tenu que le football, en tant qu'activité sociale et socialisante, peut être considéré soit comme ayant un vocabulaire spécialisé – partageant en ce cas le lexique commun de la langue générale dont il se sert pour façonner ses termes spécifiques, soit comme une langue tout à fait distinct.
Pour ce qui est de notre option, on a arrêté son choix sur la définition conformément à laquelle le sport, le football en l'occurrence, n'a qu'un vocabulaire spécialisé, c'est à dire en emploi particulier de la langue, qui sert à faire connaître ses réalités spécifiques. Ce choix est justifié par le fait que le sport, soit son vocabulaire spécialisé, emploie le système linguistique (la phonétique, la morphologie, la syntaxe) et le lexique de la langue générale dont il s'empare afin de construire ses termes spécialisés, lui étant dépourvu d'un système linguistique distinct, n'ayant donc autonomie linguistique.

I. Le football, possède-t-il une langue spécialisée ou un vocabulaire spécialisé ?

Pour essayer de déceler les traits communs ou distincts entre la langue générale et une langue spécialisée, j'aurai comme point de départ trois aspects, à savoir l'aspect linguistique, pragmatique et fonctionnel.

a) Du point de vue linguistique, les caractéristiques phonétiques, morphologiques d'un vocabulaire et les caractéristiques syntaxiques des textes appartenant à la langue générale et à la langue spécialisée sont tout à fait identiques en raison du fait que les langues spécialisées (comme sous-ensembles de la langue commune) n'ont aucune autonomie linguistique qui puisse leur permettre de fonctionner parallèlement ou même en opposition avec le système linguistique de la langue générale.

Exemples :

1. Une dizaine de secrétaires d'État seront nommés dans un délai rapide après le discours de politique générale que prononcera mardi Manuel Valls devant l'Assemblée nationale, a annoncé jeudi 3 avril à la presse l'entourage du premier ministre. La veille, une équipe resserrée et paritaire de seize ministres de plein exercice a été annoncée sur le perron de l'Elysée. « On veut garder la même philosophie » d'un gouvernement de combat, a-t-on expliqué de même source[1].
2. Lors d'une interview donnée à la version britannique de Yahoo Movies, Kate Winslet a confié que son nu dessiné au fusain par le personnage de Jack, interprété par Leonardo Di Caprio la poursuit de manière dérangeante. Cette scène de *Titanic le chef* d'œuvre réalisé par James Cameron, vieille de dix-sept ans est symbolique de l'idylle amoureuse de l'héroïne rebelle et du jeune aventurier sans le sou[2].
3. Si le Paris Saint-Germain a encore pris du galon en remportant mercredi contre Chelsea sa première grande bataille européenne depuis son passage sous pavillon qatari (**3-1**), il a aussi perdu son plus illustre combattant, Zlatan Ibrahimovic, fauché en plein vol peu après l'heure de jeu[3].
4. Actuellement engagés en Ligue des champions et en Ligue Europa, le PSG et Lyon sont les deux seuls clubs français encore en lice dans une compétition européenne. Si le club de la capitale est en bonne voie pour accéder aux demi-finales de C1 après son succès contre Chelsea (3-1), la tâche s'annonce plus ardue pour l'OL, confronté à la Juventus Turin jeudi (21h05 en direct commenté), enquarts de la C3[4].

Comme il est bien évident, ces propositions sont identiques du point de vue linguistique (phonétique, morphologie, syntaxe) parce qu'ils emploient le même système graphique, le même système phonologique, morphologique et syntaxique, bien qu'appartenant aux domaines différents : politique et culture (les deux premiers extraits) et sport (les deux derniers extraits). On peut donc conclure qu'il y a des convergences de ces systèmes linguistiques. Ces propositions sont parfaitement compréhensibles par tous les locuteurs sur tous les plans linguistiques, bien que les textes appartiennent au domaine général et au domaine sportif.

L'autre aspect linguistique en examen dans cette analyse, le vocabulaire, mérite lui-même une étude plus approfondie, parce que c'est le vocabulaire spécialisé du football qui donne à ce dernier sa spécificité.

Le football, en tant qu'activité sportive, de même que toute autre activité interhumaine, réclame un appareil conceptuel qui puisse représenter cette activité de manière distincte. Par suite, ayant comme point de départ le lexique de la langue générale, défini comme *« […] l'ensemble des unités formant le vocabulaire, la langue d'une communauté, d'une activité humaine, d'un locuteur, etc. »* (Duboit *et al*., 2007 :

282), le football est parvenu à engendrer un vocabulaire en mesure d'expliquer toutes ses réalités particulières. Telles réalités propres au football concernent l'organisation de cette activité et les acteurs impliqués.

Dans ce cas, le terme de vocabulaire *« est d'usage courant dans les études portant sur des corpus spécialisés : vocabulaire de l'aviation, vocabulaire politique, etc. ».* Pour R.L. Wagner *« le terme de vocabulaire désigne conventionnellement un domaine du lexique qui se prête à un inventaire et à une description »* (Duboit *et al.*, 2007 : 508).

Loin de s'en tenir à un inventaire restreint et borné, cet appareil conceptuel dont les termes sont les représentants langagiers d'un domaine n'est pas aucunement clos ou renfermé entre des bornes infranchissables ; bien au contraire, ce domaine d'activité est toujours en plein essor. Un bon nombre des sujets-parlants s'intéressent à ce sport, ces dernières appartenant aux catégories sociales diverses et provenant des milieux hétérogènes, caractéristiques qui imposent une certaine spécificité au parler de ce sport. Le football est tout à fait un élément de la culture d'un peuple, comme le dit Jean Claude Michéa[5], qui explique que *« le football est l'exemple par excellence d'une activité qui relève de la culture et devrait être reconnue comme un phénomène culturel majeure […] »*. Cette idée est confortée par le fait que *« l'adoption de certaines normes et de codes plus ou moins symboliques contribue également à l'intégration des différentes communautés et marque l'appartenance à une culture populaire, revendiquée comme telle*[6] *»*.

Ces points de vue représentent autant d'arguments à l'appui de l'évolution du lexique du football, de son expressivité, de sa richesse, arguments qui ne cessent pas de se multiplier. Le vocabulaire d'un domaine d'activité est dans un procès évolutif constant et continuel, son développement étant le résultat soit de l'extension du domaine, soit de l'enrichissement qu'apportent les catégories hétérogènes qui y sont impliquées.

Si l'on considère que le vocabulaire du football, en tant que vocabulaire spécialisé d'un domaine d'activité – tel que celui-ci a été défini ci-dessus – fait partie du lexique de la langue générale et que la langue générale jouisse des procédés d'enrichissement lexicale qui s'appliquent également aux tous les sous-ensembles de la langue, ci-inclus les vocabulaires de cette langue, il ressort qu'il existe là une convergence entre la langue générale et le vocabulaire du football. De manière plus lapidaire, ce que le vocabulaire du sport et le lexique de la langue générale partagent, c'est l'enrichissement et l'évolution continuelles.

Toutefois, autant la phonétique, la morphologie et la syntaxe permettent une compréhension des textes sportifs, autant le vocabulaire peut rendre les propositions incompréhensibles ou peu compréhensibles, en fonction de son degré de spécialisation (c'est à dire selon son éloignement de ou rapprochement vers un emploi professionnel strict).

Au sein du vocabulaire spécialisé d'un domaine d'activité, on trouve des éléments communs à la langue générale et au vocabulaire spécifique – ce qui facilitent la compréhension d'un texte sportif, aussi qu'éléments spécifiques au vocabulaire du sport, soit en emploi strictement professionnel, trait qui constitue, à l'évidence, l'obstacle auquel se heurtent bien des personnes qui entrent en contact avec le vocabulaire du football, comme le montrent les exemples suivants :

Exemples :

i) vocabulaire commun aux deux types de texte

1. L'Olympique de Marseille a arraché in extremis un point à Bonal face à Sochaux (1-1) grâce à un but de Nkoulou à la dernière minute. L'OM n'a plus gagné depuis cinq journées[7].
2. À cinq jours de leur quart de finale aller de Ligue des champions contre Chelsea, les Parisiens ont délivré une prestation solide, malgré l'absence de quatre titulaires (Alex, Maxwell, Verratti et Matuidi) au coup d'envoi[8].
3. Le coach avait mis ça en place juste avant le match. Il voulait qu'on mette beaucoup de pression sur la défense centrale lyonnaise avec deux attaquants[9].
4. C'est dur à accepter car nous avons vraiment bien défendu. On était en place, les Lillois ont eu des difficultés à se créer des occasions, ils ont eu deux frappes en première période, la même chose en deuxième période. Je pense que nous avons eu de notre côté les occasions très nettes[10].

Comme ces exemples montrent, ce vocabulaire sportif est compréhensible par tous les sujets parlants car il ne pose pas aucuns problèmes en ce qui concerne le sens des mots, ces derniers ayant une fréquence assez élevée.

ii) vocabulaire spécifique du football

5. Perdu dans les couloirs du triste 4-3-3 aligné en début de saison par […], Corgnet flambe dans son nouveau rôle de neuf et demi ;
6. On l'attendait, le voilà. Paris-SG – Monaco, c'est un choc digne de la Ligue des Champions ;
7. Parce que K.B., souvent trimballé sur les côtés la saison dernière, n'avait plus joué seul en pointe depuis plusieurs années ;
8. Toute la saison, le FCSM allait flirter avec la descente et faire du yo-yo ;
9. Capable de vite se projeter vers l'avant et de transpercer les lignes[11].

Une analyse des exemples ci-dessus nous mène à conclure que la compréhension totale d'un texte sportif repose, d'une part, sur la spécialisation du texte en question et, d'autre part, sur un minimum des connaissances de spécialité ; plus le texte est spécialisé, plus on doit faire preuve des connaissances dans le domaine. Le public intéressé au football doit nécessairement être au courant avec les réalités et avec l'appareil notionnel de ce domaine spécialisé.

b) Les énoncés de la langue générale comporte elles-mêmes un **aspect pragmatique** qui se trouve dans presque toutes productions discursives. *« La pragmatique linguistique étudie les rapports qui existent entre les énoncés et le contexte extralinguistique dans lequel l'énoncé est prononcé par le locuteur, à savoir sur les éléments du langage qui n'arrivent pas à transmettre l'information complète si on ne connaît pas le contexte de leur emploi […] »* (Costăchescu, 2013 : 2)

Assurément, les mots décrivant les réalités sportives ne sont pas, eux-mêmes, en mesure d'exprimer actes de langage, comme unités de base de la pragmatique. Il n'est pas donc question de pragmatique du vocabulaire du sport, celui-ci étant seulement une partie de la langue générale, se subsumant à celle-ci. On peut parler par

ailleurs des énoncés comportant un vocabulaire sportif qui se prêteraient à un contenu pragmatique et à une analyse pragmatique.

Il s'ensuit que la pragmatique est un point divergent par rapport au vocabulaire spécialisé du football, cet aspect étant présent seulement dans le discours sportif.

c) La langue, outre son rôle en communication, est employée pour exercer aussi d'autres fonctions. L'**aspect fonctionnel**, représenté par les fonctions de la langue, selon Jakobson, est bien manifeste dans la langue générale et comporte une fonction expressive, référentielle, conative, phatique, métalinguistique et poétique.

Si les langues spécialisées favorisent la fonction référentielle et métalinguistique, à savoir d'informer et d'échanger informations sur des sujets spécialisés, la langue générale privilégie et fait valoir autres possibilités comme les fonctions expressive, conative, phatique et poétique. En s'appuyant sur ces fonctions, la communication devient plus personnalisée, les émetteurs s'impliquent personnellement, les récepteurs le font également ; il y a dans la langue commune de la narration, du dialogue, des interrogations rhétoriques qui permettent un échange permanent entre les émetteurs et les destinataires. Le message lui-même peut revêtir diverses formes, selon les situations de communication. Les langues spécialisées, par ailleurs, sont dépourvues de subjectivité, elles sont dépersonnalisées.

Si l'on analyse un texte sportif, on sera surpris de l'expressivité du langage employé, de la subjectivité des commentaires, de l'implication personnelle de celui qui rédige l'article. La fonction expressive est primordiale et occupe une place autour de laquelle tourne l'article entier. Il y a des cas pour autant où le style impersonnel exprimé par la fonction référentielle et celle métalinguistique se rencontre dans les analyses des matches, les descriptions des effectifs, les notes des matches etc., comme il est évident dans les exemples suivants.

Exemples :

1. 21e minute : Payet récupère un ballon devant sa surface, élimine, contre et remonte quarante mètres avec un quatre contre cinq à jouer et trois solutions possibles : Ribéry à gauche, Valbuena derrière lui et Giroud à droite ;
2. 32e minute : premier corner pour Biélorussie, côté droit, et les Bleus défendent en individuelle, chacun le sien, avec Clichy au premier poteau et Giroud en joueur libre aux six mètres[12].

Tous ces éclaircissements viennent de conforter l'option pour un vocabulaire spécialisé d'un domaine d'activité, football en l'occurrence, plutôt que pour une langue spécialisée. Seule l'expressivité des articles et des commentaires sportifs suffit pour qu'on se rende compte que ces derniers appartiennent à la langue générale et les termes sportifs ne servent que d'un outil qui augmente l'expressivité tout en s'appuyant sur le système linguistique de la langue générale.

Ces conclusions préliminaires ne font que nous conforter dans l'option pour un autre point de vue linguistique à l'égard de ce sport. Le football possède-t-il une

langue spécialisée ou un vocabulaire spécialisé ? – la réponse à cette question, compte tenu des arguments présentés, ne peut être que la suivante : le terme ou plutôt le syntagme « la langue du football / le langage du football » doit être rejeté au profit de « vocabulaire spécialisé du football » ou « discours sportif ».

II. L'expressivité du football – en tant que générateur des productions discursives

Le langage, en tant qu'aptitude de l'homme de s'exprimer, a une fonction fondamentale dans l'acte de communication parce que c'est par l'intermédiaire du langage que l'homme fait transmettre ses pensées et ses émotions. D'entre les fonctions de la langue, la fonction poétique est celle qui porte fortement sur le message lui-même car, comme presque tout message est expressif, cette fonction prend appui sur les structures interpersonnelles du message, aussi que sur les structures discursives de celui-ci.

Tous les individus qui communiquent, qui font passer des messages, le font avec l'intention que leurs messages aboutissent aux récepteurs et que leurs messages parviennent à transmettre ce qu'ils ont voulu à exprimer. C'est là où la créativité et l'innovation langagière de chacun interviennent et reflètent, d'une manière très éloquente, l'évolution de la langue.

L'efficacité du discours, en ce qui concerne la transmission du message, au sein d'une situation particulière de communication ou d'un contexte donné, repose sur la créativité et l'innovation dont on a fait mention. Ce qui est important, c'est que le message passe. Le locuteur pour autant peut choisir que le message ne reste pas inaperçu et, pour ce faire, il fait recours aux moyens par le biais desquels il peut *« augmenter l'information, c'est à dire réveiller l'attention des auditeurs »* (Ardeleanu & Balaţchi, 2005). De tels moyens comme la structuration du message, l'intonation, la tonalité, le rythme, l'ajout de divers déterminants, la prononciation emphatique etc. sont autant de procédés employés pour réveiller toute l'attention des auditeurs.

Aux procédés mentionnés s'ajoutent également les figures de style, eux aussi des moyens vers lesquels on se tourne souvent pour renforcer le rendement des énoncés. Une figure de style, d'après Axelle Beth et Elsa Marpeau dans *Figures de style* (2005), est *« un procédé par lequel on agit sur la langue, en mettant en avant ses particularités, afin d'accentuer son efficacité […] ou en bouleversant, avec plus ou moins de force, son usage courant […] »*.

Les figures de style, eux aussi, comporte plusieurs types de figures, les figures de sens étant celles sur lesquelles on se penchera dans mon analyse, plus exactement la métaphore, parce que, à l'opposé des figures de mots – qui traitent le signifiant des mots, les figures de sens – appelées aussi tropes – porte sur le signifié des mots.

Bien des fois, certains énoncés ont un sens qui va au-delà du sens de la simple mise en relation des éléments du lexique, si l'on considère leur sens commun, général, littéral. Lorsqu'il y une modification du sens conventionnel, c'est à dire il y a un sens figuré que l'on attache à un énoncé, on parle d'une figure appelé *trope*, qui signifie soit « tour », soit « détour », soit « détournement » du sens. Le trope *« est considéré comme un cas particulier affectant le sens des mots dans le discours. Leur sens littéral est relégué à*

l'arrière-plan des énoncés, au profit d'un nouveau sens discursif (ou figuré) qui en occupe le premier plan » (Bonhomme, 1998 : 7). Le propre d'un trope est donc un transfert de signification.

La métaphore, le trop qui m'intéresse le plus pour les besoins de notre analyse, dont l'étymologie vient de grecque (*meta* – succession, changement et *phora* – action de se porter, se mouvoir), *« établit des analogies entre des termes appartenant à des domaines notionnels hétérogènes »* (Bonhomme, 1998 : 60) ou, d'après *Le Robert pratique*, est un *« procédé de langage qui consiste dans une modification de sens (terme concret dans un contexte abstrait) par substitution analogique »* (2011 : 898). Ce que ces deux définitions partage, c'est le terme « analogie » qui s'avère la clef de voûte de la métaphore. La preuve en est une autre définition conformément à laquelle *« cette figure consiste en un rapprochement de deux réalités distinctes. Il s'agit du remplacement du mot «normal» par un autre mot appartenant à un champ sémantique […] différent mais tous deux présentant des similitudes. »* (Ricalens-Pourchot, 2002 : 61)

Il y a donc des ruptures sémantiques qui interviennent en raison de la fusion de domaines notionnels différents. La métaphore est un processus comportant deux étapes :

- une étape où le sens littéral est neutralisé – ce procès de neutralisation intervient parce que le contexte de l'énoncé lui attribue un autre sens et
- une deuxième étape où une analogie est activée.

Au cours cette deuxième étape, on cherche des propriétés communes entre les mots métaphoriques ou « phores » et les termes qu'ils caractérisent « thèmes ».

La métaphore est le trop le plus important parce qu'il est largement répandu dans tous les domaines où on se sert du langage pour communiquer ; elle est plus ou moins créative selon les capacités discursives du locuteur (elle mette en jeu la subjectivité du locuteur) et selon la situation de communication. À part de sa créativité, cette figure de style soulève des problèmes portant sur l'interprétation ; elle est d'autant plus difficile à traduire que les analogies qu'elle fait vont jusqu'à être inaperçues, selon que la rupture d'isotopie est plus ou moins accentuée. Ce problème devient d'autant plus épineux que l'analogie est plus ou moins intégrée dans la culture reçue.

On ne peut pas se passer de la métaphore ; elle est si ancrée dans notre communication, dans notre vie que notre langage sera appauvri sans l'apport d'émotion, d'expressivité et de dynamisme qu'apporte la métaphore ; tel est d'ailleurs la conclusion de George Lakoff et Mark Johnson selon lesquels *« […] la métaphore est partout présente dans la vie de tous les jours, non seulement dans le langage, mais dans la pensée et l'action. Notre système conceptuel ordinaire, qui nous sert à penser et à agir, est de nature fondamentalement métaphorique »* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1985 : 13).

Une fois la métaphore présentée brièvement, je me pencherai ensuite sur quelques réalisations métaphoriques dans les articles tirés des journaux sportifs.

Exemples en français :

1. Défendre bas […] pour <u>couper les ailes</u> de Konoplianka et Iarmolenko ;
2. Les sujets d'inquiétude subsistent, forcément, comme ce côté gauche de la défense bleu où l'absence d'une <u>sentinelle du milieu</u> qui ait la culture du poste, […] ;

3. C'est devenu une évidence pour tout le monde depuis que le tirage au sort a livré son verdict d'éviter l'ogre portugais […] ;
4. Les bleus vont devoir ne pas se laisser anesthésier par l'enjeu […] ;
5. Une intéressante partie d'échecs peut se dessiner ce soir […] ;
6. […] on prépare ce match pour le gagner. Après, en fonction de la physionomie de la rencontre […] ;
7. Je le suivais un peu avant d'être relayé par un équipier car, si tu le suis jusqu'au bout, derrière toi il y a un boulevard ;
8. On peut essayer aussi de serrer le milieu offensif, de l'emmener sur son pied faible, avance l'arrière droit de Saint-Étienne. Mais sans trop laisser la porte ouverte car, s'il est rapide, il va déborder[13] ;
9. […] Fallait-il, qui plus est, lui confier les clefs de la maison, dans l'axe du jeu […] ?[14] ;
10. Ce serait de le réussir maintenant, ce soir, après avoir été giflé sur les deux joues, vendredi, à Kiev (0-2) […] ;
11. J'ai été déçu par le manque d'agressivité. J'espère qu'ils auront faim ! ;
12. L'Équipe avait sondé plusieurs acteurs de L1 […] qui exprimaient leur optimisme sur l'avenir mondialiste des Bleus. Une gifle ukrainienne plus tard, le sentiment optimiste d'une partie de ces témoins s'est affaibli, mais l'espoir demeure[15] ;
13. Quand il s'agit, pour un gardien, de jouer son premier match en Ligue 1, le destin, parfois, ne prend pas des gants ;
14. Pour le foot français, il fait nuit noire dans les oubliettes de l'EUROPE ;
15. L'international serbe est la cerise sur le gâteau d'un recrutement trois étoiles plutôt surprenant […] [16].

Exemples en roumain :

16. Pleacă dinozaurul Dragomir, vine Ginozaurul ! ;
    [Pars le dinosaure Dragomir, viens le Ginosaure][17] ;
17. Baricadă elenă cu dirijor portughez ;
    [Barricade hellénique avec un chef d'orchestre portugais]
18. Cheie franceză și motor nemțesc ;
    [Clé anglaise et moteur allemand]
19. Eu voi fi Balonul de Aur în 2013 […], a declarat taifunul albastru ;
    [C'est moi qui sera le Ballon d'or en 2013 …, a declaré le typhon bleu]
20. […] selecționerul nordicilor își pune toate speranțele în mânjii săi tineri ;
    [… le sélectionneur des nordiques met tous ses espoirs dans ses poulains jeunes]
21. Petrescu are un nume în Anglia. E un tip ambițios și ar putea pleca. Mai ales că la Moscova se strâng nori negri deasupra lui ;
    [Petrescu a un nom en l'Angleterre. Il est ambitieux et pourrait s'en aller. Notamment parce que à Moscou des nuages noirs ramassent au-dessus de lui]
22. Recital Brădeanu[18] ;
    [Récital Bradeanu]
23. Piți, fă-i bărbați până marți!
    [Piti, fais tes joueurs des hommes jusqu'au mardi]
24. Lobby l-a înlocuit pe accidentatul Tătărușanu, iar pe post de cai troieni au apărut Cociș și Stancu […]
    [Lobby a remplacé le blessé Tatarusanu et en tant que chevaux de Troie sont apparus Cocis et Stancu …]

25. Bulevardul din stânga e liber pentru Torosidis
    [Le boulevard de gauche est libre pour Torosidis]
26. La 2-1, grecii au tras de cârmă, aducând meciul în ape ceva mai calme […]
    [À 2-1, les grecs ont tiré le timon, apportant le match dans des eaux plus calmes]
27. N-au știut să țină de minge în puținele momente când au avut posesia […]
    [Ils n'ont pas su garder le ballon dans les quelques moments qu'ils ont en eu la possession]
28. Cu un Cociș peste tot și nicăieri, cu un Marica de regulă uitat în spatele baloanelor […]
    [Avec un Cocis partout et nulle part, avec un Marica d'habitude oublié à l'arrière des ballons…]
29. La prima ocazie, CR7, altfel nervos și nu prea inspirat, a lovit letal din plonjon cu capul […] [19]
    [À la première occasion, CR7, d'ailleurs nerveux et pas trop inspiré, a frappé de manière létale tête plongeante]

La métaphore est présente dans presque tout domaine linguistique. Le sport, où la métaphore est employée dans sa plénitude, s'empare de ce procédé pour enrichir l'émotion, l'expressivité, la passion, le dynamisme du football, qualités sans lesquelles ce dernier sera appauvri. Le football est un domaine spécialisé et à la fois une ressource intarissable où la capacité créative et celle langagière des locuteurs sont mises en jeu pour faire ressortir des effets linguistiques et discursives tout à fait étonnants.

Conclusions

Les exemples présentés et analysés dans cette étude, qui ne représentent qu'une partie de la richesse qu'offre le football en tant que générateur de productions discursives, visent à étayer l'homogénéité linguistique – manifestée sur le plan phonétique, morphologique, syntaxique, etc. – que partagent l'appareil conceptuel appartenant à un domaine spécialisé et la langue générale.

Le vocabulaire spécialisé puise profondément dans le lexique de la langue commune afin de créer sa terminologie. D'autre part, le football, en raison de son rayonnement dans tous les milieux sociaux, c'est à dire grâce à sa capacité de pénétration dans tous les niveaux de la langue, a abouti à influencer la manière de parler des gens à tel point que la langue courante est souvent parsemée avec des termes du sport, football en l'occurrence, plus ou moins spécialisés. Réciproquement, les milieux sociaux donnent au football, et au sport en général, des termes eux-mêmes façonnés – particulièrement d'un point de vue expressif et symbolique – par les communautés linguistiques auxquels ils appartiennent.

On doit s'accorder sur le fait que cela ne pourrait point s'accomplir sans une similitude, voire convergence du système linguistique en question, de sorte que le vocabulaire spécialisé, ou la langue spécialisée en emploi particulière, quel que soit la dénomination employée, puisse s'intégrer aisément dans la langue générale.
Les conclusions qu'on est amené à tirer, en s'appuyant sur les similitudes linguistiques, ne font que conforter la convergence de la langue générale qui s'étende sur

ses sous-ensembles, ci-inclus le lexique et le vocabulaire et, implicitement, le vocabulaire spécialisé que représente le football.

Compte tenu de ces conclusions et comme une observation supplémentaire, on est en droit donc de remplacer la notion de « langue ou langage du football » avec celles de « discours sportif », « vocabulaire (spécialisé) du football » ou « football en tant que générateur des productions discursives ».

NOTES

[1] <http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2014/04/03/changement-de-gouvernement-une-dizaine-de-secretaires-d-etat-bientot-annonces_4395376_823448.html>, dernière consultation le 4 avril 2014.

[2] <http://www.lefigaro.fr/cinema/2014/04/03/03002-20140403ARTFIG00272-kate-winslet-toujours-hantee-par-son-nu-dans-titanic.php>, dernière consultation le 4 avril 2014.

[3] <http://sport24.lefigaro.fr/football/ligue-des-champions/actualites/ibrahimovic-absent-au-moins-4-semaines-688106>, dernière consultation le 4 avril 2014.

[4] <http://www.lequipe.fr/Football/Actualites/Supportez-vous-les-clubs-francais/454269>, dernière consultation le 4 avril 2014.

[5] « Des gradins du stade aux bancs de la classe : Le football comme médiateur de connaissances d'une langue/culture en LVE. » (p. 94). In : C. Vargas, L.-J. Calvet, M. Gasquet-Cyrus, D. Véronique & R. Vion (dirs.) (2010), *Langues et sociétés – Approches sociolinguistiques et didactiques,* Paris, L'Harmattan.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 99.

[7] <http://www.lequipe.fr/Football/Actualites/L-om-arrache-un-point-a-sochaux/453096>, dernière consultation le 4 avril 2014.

[8] <http://www.lequipe.fr/Football/Actualites/Paris-comme-d-habitude/452854>, dernière consultation le 4 avril 2014.

[9] <http://sport24.lefigaro.fr/football/ligue-1/Homes-Clubs/saint-etienne/actualites/cohade-une-belle-revanche-687583>, dernière consultation le 4 avril 2014.

[10] <http://sport24.lefigaro.fr/football/ligue-1/actualites/ils-ont-dit-687440>, dernière consultation le 4 avril 2014.

[11] Les exemples de 5 à 9 ont été tirés de *France Football*, version papier, nº 3519, mardi 17 septembre 2013.

[12] Les exemples de 1 à 2 ont été tirés de *France Football*, version papier, nº 3519, mardi 17 septembre 2013.

[13] Les exemples de 1 à 8 ont été tirés de *L'Équipe*, version papier, nº 21671, vendredi 15 novembre 2013.

[14] L'exemple de 9 a été tiré de *L'Équipe*, version papier, nº 21672, samedi 16 novembre 2013.

[15] Les exemples de 10 à 12 ont été tirés de *L'Équipe*, version papier, nº 21675, mardi 19 novembre 2013.

[16] Les exemples de 13 à 15 ont été tirés de *France Football*, version papier, nº 3519, mardi 17 septembre 2013.

[17] Avec référence à l'ancienneté de Dumitru Dragomir dans le poste de président de la Ligue Professionnel de Football.

[18] Les exemples de 16 à 23 ont été tirés de *Gazeta Sporturilor*, version papier, nº 7274, vineri 15 noiembrie 2013.

[19] Les exemples de 24 à 29 ont été tirés de *Gazeta Sporturilor*, version papier, nº 7275, sâmbătă 16 noiembrie 2013.

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Règles de bonnes manières et de courtoisie dans le *Facet* catalan (XIVe siècle)

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ABSTRACT: Rules of good manners and courtesy in Catalan *Facet* (14th century)

Every society produces a reflection upon its own social norms. These are behaviour models adopted by a society or by a group, and they need a long-term learning of social codes. The medieval era isn't an exception. The Catalan "facet" is a prose text stating manners and courtesy rules for knights and middle classes; sort of Ovid's work's popularization containing a mix of troubadour's tradition of courteous love and pieces of advice upon outfit and good behaviour at table. We are going to analyse the different narrative materials helping its elaboration; besides, we're going to examine the "facet" as an "ars amatoria" defining the good lover's features.

KEYWORDS: facet, *courtesy*, Ars amandi, *Catalonia, Middle Ages*

Au XIIe siècle le genre littéraire des traités de savoir-vivre éclos véritablement[1], particulièrement sous l'influence des *Distiques* du Pseudo-Caton, sorte de manuel de morale destiné à l'enseignement composé au IIIe siècle[2]. Un nombre important de traités, les plus connus étant ceux de Pierre Alphonse ou d'Hugues de Saint-Victor même si ceux-ci ne sont pas directement reliés au savoir-vivre, de poèmes en latin et en langues vulgaires qui permettent de mémoriser avec facilité les normes de comportement circulent alors largement[3]. Les études actuelles montrent

[1] Claude Roussel, « Le legs de la rose », *Pour une histoire des traités de savoir-vivre en Europe*, Alain Montandon (dir.), Association des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Clermont-Ferrand, Clermont-Ferrand, 1995, p. 1-90, plus précisément p. 9-15 ; Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, Londres, Methuen, 1973, p. 104-106 ; Daniel T. Kline, *Medieval Literature for Childres*, New York, Routledge, 2001, p. 63-110 ; Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy : Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet*, Woodbridge, D. S. Brewer, 1984.

[2] *Disticha Catonis*, M. Boas (éd.), Amsterdam, 1952 ; Mary Theresa Brentano, « Relationship of the Latin Facetus Literature to the Medieval English Courtesy Poems », *Humanistic Studies*, vol. XXXVI-1, june 1935, p. 15-16.

[3] Pierre Alphonse, *La Discipline de clergie* (*Disciplina clericalis*), Jacqueline Genot-Bismuth (éd.), Paris, Ed. de Paris, 2001 ; Hugues de Saint-Victor, *De institutione novitiorum ; De virtute orandi ; De laude caritatis ; De arrha animae*. Texte latin par H.B. Feiss et P. Sicard ; trad. française par D. Poirel, Turnhout, Brepols, 1997 ; Stefan Glixelli, « Les contenances de table », *Romania*, XLVII, 1918, p. 1-40 ; Joseph Mo-

que ces nouvelles règles virent plutôt le jour dans les établissements monastiques[4], les écoles-cathédrales[5] et chez les clercs, et qu'ensuite elles furent reprises et largement diffusées par les laïcs[6]. Elles ne seraient pas nées dans les cours princières contrairement à l'interprétation classique de Norbert Elias[7]. Ensuite, ces écrits vont irriguer ce courant de littérature de savoir-vivre et certains vont être repris, recopiés, augmentés et traduits dans différents pays lors des siècles suivants. Parmi ceux-ci on peut noter trois manuels en vers datés du XIIe siècle qui possèdent comme titre « Le courtois » : le *Facetus Cum nihil utilius*, le *Facetus Moribus et Vita* et l'*Urbanus Magnus*[8]. Les deux poèmes qui portent le titre de *Facetus* ont connu un grand succès, tant en latin qu'en langues vernaculaires[9]. Ils s'inscrivent dans une féconde période d'inventions et de progrès dans les domaines de la littérature mais également de réflexion éthique, théologique, philosophique et d'un essor important de l'éducation des laïcs en latin et de plus en plus en langues vulgaires. En effet, toute société possède des normes sociales qui sont des *« modèles culturels de conduite adoptés par un groupe ou une société, légitimés par des valeurs partagées jusqu'à un certain point, et dont les mœurs sont la dimension pratique »*[10]. Dans cette optique, le corps n'est jamais laissé à l'état de "nature". Quel que soit le groupe ou la communauté, quel que soit le lieu ou la période considérés, l'enveloppe corporelle subit des modifications importantes. De même, l'homme social intériorise dès son plus jeune âge des règles et des codes de comportement qui le façonnent, le construisent et lui permettent de s'intégrer pleinement dans la société. Le corps est un produit culturel sans cesse remodelé et il se doit d'acquérir

rawski, *Le facet en françoys*. Edition critique des cinq traductions de deux *facetus* latins avec introd., notes et glossaires, Poznan, 1923.

[4] Jonathan Nicholls, *op. cit.*, 1984 ; Dilwyn Knox, « *Disciplina*. The Monastic and Clerical Origins of European Civility », *Renaissance Society and Culture. Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr*, John Monfasani, Ronald G. Musto (éd.), New York, Italica Press, 1991, p. 107-135.

[5] Stephen C. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness. Civilizing trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 939-1210*, Philadelphie, University of Pensylvania Press, 1985 ; *Idem*, *The Envy of Angels. Cathedral schools and social Ideals in Medieval Europe 950-1200*, Philadelphie, University of Pensylvania Press, 1994.

[6] Frédérique Lachaud, « Littérature de civilité et "processus de civilisation" à la fin du XIIe siècle : le cas anglais d'après l'*Urbanus magnus* », *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public. 32e congrès*, Dunkerque, 2001 p. 227-229.

[7] Norbert Elias, *La civilisation des mœurs*, Paris, 1973 (1ère éd. 1939).

[8] Sur la définition de « courtoisie », cf. Jonathan Nicholls, *op. cit.*, 1984, p. 7-21.

[9] Pour des traductions françaises, voir Joseph Morawski, *op. cit.*, 1923 ; traduction allemande : *Der deutsche Facetus*, Carl Schroeder (éd.), Berlin, Mayer und Müller, 1911, p. 14-28 ; traduction néerlandaises : *Bouc van seden*, W. H. D. Suringar (éd.), Leiden, Van der Hoek, 1892.

[10] Raymond Boudon, François Bourricaud (dir.), *Dictionnaire critique de la sociologie*, Paris, PUF, 1982 ; André Akoun, Pierre Ansart (dir.), *Dictionnaire de sociologie*, Paris, Seuil, 1999.

des "techniques". Chaque culture inscrit ses valeurs, ses croyances, ses canons esthétiques dans le corps, dans un système de savoir-vivre qui repose sur des critères comme l'amabilité, la modération, la dignité, la sobriété... Le sociologue Dominique Picard en a dénombré plus de cent[11].

Ainsi en est-il du *facet* catalan, fortement inspiré du texte didactique *Moribus et vita* déjà entrevu[12]. Influencé par Ovide et très largement diffusé en Europe occidental, *Moribus et vita* est l'un des exemples les plus frappants de la réception d'Ovide comme *praeceptor amoris* dans la littérature latine du XIIe siècle. En effet, au cours de cette époque le natif de Sulmone accède au rang d'auteur scolaire et ses deux célèbres poèmes didactiques, l'*Ars amatoria* et les *Remedia amoris* commencent à figurer au programme des écoles[13]. Ils furent utilisés occasionnellement dans celles-ci au moins jusqu'au XVe siècle[14], voire jusqu'aux années 1520 en Angleterre[15]. Par conséquent, à partir du *facet* catalan, nous tenterons de mettre en relief les divers matériaux narratifs qui ont contribués à son élaboration et de cerner sa spécificité dans l'ensemble de la littérature didactique et morale de cette époque.

I. Le *facet* catalan

A. Définir le *facet*

Facetus renvoie vers un certain type de littérature médiévale de courtoisie destinée à un public laïc[16]. L'adjectif *facetus*, synonyme d'élégant, de spirituel, d'enjoué, de

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[11] Dominique Picard, *Politesse, savoir-vivre et relations sociales,* Paris, PUF, 2003, p. 72-83.

[12] En 1977, le poème a été traduit en anglais par Alison Goddard Elliot, « The *Facetus* or the Art of Courtly Living », *Allegorica. A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, II 2, 1977, p. 27-57.

[13] Rita Beyers, « De l'*Art d'aimer* à l'art d'aimer courtoisement : le *Facetus Moribus et Vita* », dans *Les translations d'Ovide au Moyen Age*. Actes de la journée d'études internationale à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique le 4 décembre 2008, A. Faems, V. Minet-Mahy, C. Van Coolput-Storms (éd.), Louvains-la-Neuve, Institut d'études médiévales de l'université catholique de Louvain, 2011, p. 17-18.

[14] Rita Beyers, art. cit, 2011, p. 17 (art. p. 17-37) ; Vicente Cristóbal, « Ovid in medieval Spain », dans *Ovid in the Middle Ages*, James G. Clark, Frank T. Coulson, Kathryn L. McKinley (éd.), Cambridge-New York-Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 231-256 **;** Michel Gally, *L'intelligence de l'amour d'Ovide à Dante. Arts d'aimer et poésie au Moyen Age*, Paris, CNRS Ed., 2005.

[15] Nicholas Orme, *op. cit.*, 1973, p. 104-106 ; Jonathan Nicholls, *op. cit.*, 1984, p. 62-65 ; Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility. Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 26-27 ; John Gillingham, « From *Civilitas* to Civility : Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England », *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, XII, 2002, p. 271.

[16] « *Facet* », *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises : le Moyen Âge*, Geneviève Hasenohr, Michel Zink (éd.), Paris, Fayard, 1992, p. 441.

gracieux et de plaisant[17] prend au cours du Moyen Âge le sens de bien élevé et de courtois[18]. C'est un synonyme de *curialis* et d'*urbanus* qui s'oppose à *rusticitas*[19]. Au XIIe siècle, le premier poème en latin qui traite des bonnes manières porte le nom de *Doctrina Magistri Joannis Faceti*. Il devint le modèle pour toute la littérature ultérieure de savoir-vivre et Mary Theresa Brentano rappelle que rapidement le mot *facetus* ne désigna plus seulement le poème de *Magistri Joannis* mais également tous les textes qui font référence à ces codes de bonne conduite[20].

En 1192, le canoniste et évêque de Ferrare Huguccio de Pise explique ce mot dans le lexique *Liber derivationum* par l'étymologie « *facetus quasi favens coetus* » (« qui favorise les assemblées, c'est-à-dire la sociabilité »)[21]. Aux alentours de 1480, l'archevêque italien Nicolo Perottus, professeur de philosophie et de poétique à l'université de Bologne, offre dans son ouvrage sur la langue latine, *Cornucopiae,* la définition suivante : « Item a Fando facetus : hoc est elegans in dicendo : & delitias quasdam sermonis habens : quae Facetiae dicunt : a quo facete aduerbium hoc est exculte eleganter ; urbane » reprise par exemple à l'identique dans l'édition de 1552 du *Polyanthea* (1503) de l'italien Domenico Nanni Mirabelli[22]. Plus prêt de nous, au XVIIe siècle, Charles du Fresne définit ainsi *facetus* dans *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* : « Urbanus, bonis artibus et studiis expolitus »[23]. En 1879, B. Hauréau en donne une définition tout à fait juste et claire : *Facetus* « veut dire, non pas le badin, le facétieux, mais l'honnête homme, le galant homme, qui mène une vie régulière, connaît et pratique les usages de la bonne compagnie »[24].

À partir du XIIe siècle, le mot *facetus,* devient le modèle de tous les écrits concernant le comportement, aussi bien en latin que dans les langues vulgaires euro-

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[17] Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*, Paris, F. Vieweg, t. III, 1884, p. 693.

[18] Pour une définition plus approfondie, cf. Anna Bryson, *op. cit.*, 1998, p. 113 ; Stephen C. Jaeger, *op. cit.*, 1985, p. 122, 127, 1254-161 ; John Gillingham, art. cit, 2002, p. 282-283 ; Thomas Zotz, « *Urbanitas*. Zur Bedeutung und Funktion einer antiken Wertvorstellung innerhalb der höfischen Kultur des hohen Mittelalters », dans *Curialitas. Studien zu Grundfragen der höfisch-ritterlichen Kultur*, Josef Fleckenstein (éd.), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1990, p. 409-411.

[19] Alfred Morel-Fatio, « Mélanges de littérature catalane », *Romania*, XV, 1886, p. 192 ; Alison Goddard Elliot, art. cit., 1977, p. 27. Pour l'origine étymologique de *curialiats/urbanitas*, cf. Stephen C. Jaeger, *op. cit.*, 1985, p. 143-162.

[20] Mary Theresa Brentano, art. cit., june 1935, p. 2. Cf. Daniel T. Kline, *op. cit.*, 2001, p. 81-82.

[21] Giralamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana,* t. IV-1, Florence, Presso Molini, 1786, p. 465 ; Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris, Gallimard, 1990, p. 392.

[22] Dominicus-Annius Mirabella, *Polyanthea opus suavissimis floribus exornatum*, Coloniae ex officina Iasparis Gennepaei, 1552, f. 107v.

[23] Cité par Mary Theresa Brentano, art. cit., june 1935, p. 1-2.

[24] B. Hauréau, « Notice sur les œuvres authentiques ou supposées de Jean de Garlande », dans *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques,* t. XXVII/2, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1879, p. 15.

péennes. Le *facet* n'était pas rédigé à l'attention des chevaliers expérimentés, mais pour les jeunes pages ou les écoliers et destiné à être appris par cœur par les « nobles, vilains et clercs et lay »[25]. Il s'agit d'une somme d'aphorismes, c'est-à-dire de sentences énoncées en peu de mots, sur les bonnes manières de se tenir en société, notamment à table mais pas seulement. Son champ d'investigation est beaucoup plus large et varié.

Le *facet* désigne spécifiquement deux poèmes didactiques latins dans la continuation des *Disticha Catonis* qui en représentent des suppléments dans l'enseignement scolaire et mondaine de l'époque : le premier, *Cum nihil utilius,* est un manuel de courtoisie qui compte un peu plus de 250 hexamètres rimés à l'usage des *rudes* (v. 5) ou des débutants c'est-à-dire des personnes mal dégrossies, mal polies à l'égal des paysans et il donne des conseils sur la conduite à adopter, en particulier à table[26]. Il se situe clairement dans la tradition des Distiques de Caton (v. 5). Certains manuscrits l'attribuent à un maître Jean, *magister Iohannes*. Il date sans doute de la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle[27]. Il a fait l'objet de quatre adaptations en français entre les XIIIe et XVe siècles : « Chatons qui fu moult saiges hom » le plus connu (XIIIe siècle), « Qui de translater s'entremet » (XIIIe siècle), « Mieultx vault assambler un tresor » (XIVe siècle) dans lequel les contenances de table sont amplifiées, « Tu dois a Dieu requerre paradis » (XVe siècle). Les traductions du *Facetus* en hexamètres étaient populaires en cette fin du Moyen Age. Les adaptations et nombreux emprunts effectués par les *enseignements* en français en font foi[28].

Le second, *Moribus et vita,* en distiques élégiaques, utilisés pour des sentences morales, également connu comme le *facetus* d'Aurigena[29] du nom de son auteur supposé, poème versifié en latin qui comprend 25 distiques soit 510 vers, est plus raffiné et s'adresse à un jeune homme qui veut conquérir le cœur d'une dame[30]. Il se situe dans la mouvance néo-ovidienne[31]. La moitié du poème est consacrée à la

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[25] V. 5 de « Chieulx qui voelt faitis devenir » (XIVe s.) qui est une traduction relativement libre du *facet* « Moribus et vita » : Joseph Morawski, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 81.

[26] *Der deutsche Facetus*, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 14-28 ; Joseph Morawski, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 3-19 ; *An English Translation of "Auctores Octo", a Medieval Reader*, Ronald E. Pepin (éd.), Lewiston-Queenston-Lampeter, Edwin Mellen Press 1999, p. 41-54.

[27] Rita Beyers, art. cit., 2011, p. 19.

[28] Joseph Morawski, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. XXVIII-XXIX.

[29] Dans le dernier vers, l'auteur fait référence à un certain « Aurigena doctus vate, facetus erit ». Cf. Peter Dronke, « Pseudo-Ovid, *Facetus* and the Arts of Love », *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 11, 1976, p. 128 (réimp. : Peter Dronke, *Latin and Vernacular Poets of the Middle Ages*, Great Yarmouth, Galliard, 1991, article 3 : p. 225-230). Dans d'autres versions, les noms *Narnigena* ou *Narrugena* apparaissent (Claude Roussel, art. cit., 1995, p. 12).

[30] Alfred Morel-Fatio, art. cit., 1886, p. 192-235.

[31] Peter Dronke, art. cit., 1976, p. 126-131 ; *Idem*, « The *Facetus* or the art of courtly loving », *Allegorica*, Alison Goddard (éd.), 2, 1977, p. 27-57. Sur l'utilisation de ce *Facetus* dans les écoles du XIIe siècle, cf. E. H. Alton et D. E. W. Wormell, « Ovid in the medieval Schollroom », *Hermathena*, 94, 1960, p. 21-38 ; *Idem*, 95, 1961, p. 67-82 ;

bonne conduite dans le domaine de la conquête amoureuse (v. 131-384). Daté des années 1130 ou 1140 d'après Peter Dronke et composé d'après lui dans le sud-ouest de l'Allemagne[32], sa plus ancienne référence est lisible dans *Der heimliche Bote*, rédigé selon toute vraisemblance dans les années 1170-1180[33]. Il fut très diffusé en Europe occidentale et traduit en français dans le dernier quart du XIVe siècle sous le titre « Chieulx qui voelt failis devenir »[34] et en catalan sous le titre de « Fasset ».

Bien que l'unique manuscrit du *Facet* catalan date des années 1400, Rosanna Cantavella situe sa rédaction dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle[35], mais Alfred Morel-Fatio dans la seconde moitié dudit siècle[36] et Jacques Joset au mi-temps du XIVe siècle[37]. Ce *Facet* catalan fut édité pour la première fois par Alfred Morel-Fatio en 1886 et cette édition donna lieu immédiatement à de nombreux commentaires tels ceux d'Alfred Mussafia et Emile Lévy[38]. En 1912, Lluìs Faraudo livra une nouvelle édition[39]. Une version récente a été proposée en 1991 par Francesca Ziino[40]. Enfin, en 2013, Rosanna Cantavella édita une version accompagnée du texte latin[41].

Nikolaus Henkel, *Deutsche Ubersetzungen lateinischer Schultexte. Ihre Verbreitung und Funktion im Mittelalter und in der fruhen Neuzeit*, Munich, Artemis, 1988, p. 248-249.

[32] Peter Dronke, « A note on *Pamphilus* », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 42, 1979, p. 225-230, en particulier p. 230. P. Dronke a d'abord proposé une date antérieure à 1170 sans plus de précision : Peter Dronke, art. cit., 1976, p. 130. Sur les problèmes de datation du texte, voir Rita Beyers, art. cit., 2011, p. 19 et 25.

[33] Ingeborg Glier, *Artes amandi. Untersuchung zu Geschichte, Uberlieferung und Typologie der deutschen Minnereden*, Munich, Beck, 1971, p. 18-20 ; *Der deutsche Facetus*, *op. cit*., 1911 ; Peter Dronke, « Metamorphoses. Allegory in Early Medieval Commentaries on Ovid and Apuleius », *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72, 2009, p. 36.

[34] Ces cinq *facets* ont été publiés par Joseph Morawski, *op. cit.*, 1923.

[35] Rosanna Cantavella, *El Facet, una ars amandi medieval. Edició i estud*i, Valence, Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana ; Barcelone, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2013.

[36] Alfred Morel-Fatio, art. cit., 1886, p. 193.

[37] Jacques Joset, « El *Libro de buen amor* y el *Facet Catalán* », *Bulletin hispanique*, 110-1, 2008, p. 282.

[38] Alfred Morel-Fatio, art. cit., 1886, p. 192-235 ; Alfred Mussafia, Emile Lévy, « Corrections au *Livre de courtoisie* », *Romania*, XVI, 1887, p. 107-117. Seuls les 373 premiers vers, sur les 1743 qui contient ce texte, ont été traduits car ils font directement référence aux règles de bonne conduite alors que la suite se rapproche – jusqu'à un certains point - d'un *Ars amatoria* classique dans la lignée d'Ovide.

[39] Lluìs Faraudo de Saint-Germain, « Façet, ço es Libre de Corteria i Sermó del Bisbetó », *Recull de Textes Catalans Antichs*, III, 1912, p. 5-68.

[40] Francesca Ziino, *Il «facet» catalano. Edizione critica di un poemetto del secolo XIV con introduzione e glossario,* Rome, 1991 [mémoire de Maîtrise inédit ; édition consultable sur le site du RIALC : http://www.rialc.unina.it/0.137.htm]

[41] Rosanna Cantavella, *op. cit.*, 2013.

B. Un *Ars amandi*

Le poème connu sous le nom de *facet* catalan est donc un long poème de 1743 vers en catalan, daté du XIVe siècle. Il s'agit d'une vulgarisation pseudo-ovidienne, dont la métrique est en *noves rimades*, c'est-à-dire en octosyllabiques à rimes plates. La forme versifiée doit favoriser la mémorisation. Le manuscrit original, MS 381 (anciennement n° 377), est conservé à la Bibliothèque Municipal de Carpentras[42]. Il occupe les folios 223r-242r. ; originellement, il faisait partie d'un *codex* de 46 folios (n° 487 du fond espagnol, anciennement Libri 11) de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France[43]. Il présente un ample et hétérogène recueil de textes narratifs en vers, datables à la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle[44].

Dans ce recueil, le *facet* coexistait avec d'autres textes très divers : des petits poèmes classés dans la tradition troubadour de l'amour courtois (*poemetti*), comme le *Salut d'amor* et le *Conte d'amor* ; des textes ironiques et satiriques, tels la *Disputaciò d'en Buc ab son cavall*, le *Libre dels mariners* et le *Planys del cavaller Matarò* ; des *noves rimades* d'inspiration didactique et allégorique (*Faula*, *L'arnes de cavaller*), voire religieux (*Cobles*, *Corpus Christi*, *Lausor de la Divinitat*). La variété des textes atteste de la richesse des motifs et des influences culturels qui animent la production littéraire catalane à l'époque du règne de Pierre IV d'Aragon (1336-1387) et de son successeur Jean Ier (1387-1396).

Quoique anonyme, le *facet* fut probablement rédigé par un locuteur catalan en Espagne. Comme l'indique le titre, ce poème s'adresse à quiconque aspire à devenir *facetus*, c'est-à-dire une personne « urbaine, courtoise, polie »[45], et il expose les règles du bon comportement utiles dans toutes les circonstances de la vie. José

[42] Cf. G. C. A. Lambert, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Carpentras*, Carpentras, Imprimerie de E. Rolland, 1862, p. 206-207 ; M. Duhamel, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements. XXXIV*, Paris, Plon, 1901 p. 185. Sur l'histoire du manuscrit, Alfred Morel-Fatio, « Corrections au *Livre de courtoisie* » *Romania*, XVI, 1887, p. 106 ; Léopold Delisle, *Les manuscrits du comte d'Ashburnham. Rapport au Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1883, p. 87-88.

[43] Cf. Paul Meyer, « Nouvelles catalanes inédites », *Romania*, XIII, 1884, p. 264-265 ; *idem*, *Romania*, XX, 1891, p. 193 et 614-615. Sur la vie et les vols de manuscrits par Libri : Léopold Delisle, *Catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois*, Paris, H. Champion, 1888, p. V-XCVI, particulièrement p. XCII pour le vol du manuscrit à Carpentras.

[44] Il faut rappeler que certains textes ne concernent pas le XIVe siècle, et qu'il est difficile de les classer chronologiquement : *Faula* (Torrocella), *Lausor de la Divinitat* (Aymò de Cescars), *Arnès del cavaller* (March), *Cobles*, *Corpus Christi* et l'œuvre de Turmeda ont été composés entre 1365 et 1395 ; *Romans dels set savis* parait plus archaïque et date en XIIIe siècle ; *Stòria de l'amat Frondino e de Brisona* datent de la première moitié du XVe siècle. Les manuscrits signalés 381 et Esp. 48 datent d'environ 1430.

[45] *Facetus* : *urbanus, bonis artibus et studiis expolitus,* dans Charles du Fresne du Cange (éd.), *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, éd. augm., Niort, L. Favre, 1884, t. 3, col. 389b.

Antonio Maravall lui associe trois caractéristiques : la nécessité pour le jeune homme d'apprendre et de mettre en pratique un savoir préalablement codifié ; l'acquisition de normes et de comportements sociaux externes ; la culture des qualités et des vertus individuelles[46]. Dans le *facet*, ces concepts de courtoisie sont entendus comme « art de vie et de penser » (v. 245) c'est-à-dire un comportement qui manifeste par les "convenances extérieures du corps" (*externum corporis decorum*).

Alfred Morel-Fatio et Lluìs Faraudo l'estiment comme un poème *didactique-érotique* et Morel-Fatio le décrit comme un « manuel du parfait séducteur »[47], bref un *Ars amandi* ovidien qui tient de la discipline mondaine, du livre de civilité et bien entendu de l'art d'aimer. C'est pourquoi il préfère l'appellation de *Livre de courtoisie*. Pour Faraudo c'est un traité d'urbanité et un *Ars amatoria*. Le caractère « superficiel et frivole » de ce traité de courtoisie mondaine met en scène des aventures amoureuses qui s'adressent aux jeunes nobles de l'époque[48]. Par contre, Amédée Pagès le considère comme un *ensenhamen de cortezia*, qui expose « les préceptes de la morale individuelle ou sociale ou les vérités de la religion », idée que l'on doit fortement nuancer, et il le rapproche de productions catalanes telles que l'*Harnois du Chevalier* de Pere March ou *Lausor de la Divinitat* de d'Aymon de Cestars, où l'influence des courants français et provençaux est très sensible[49]. Plus récemment Jordi Rubiò, suivant l'approche herméneutique d'abord proposé par Morel-Fatio et Faraudo, a qualifié le *Facet* de « manuel de stratégie amoureuse », ce qui semble plus juste[50]. Pour sa part, Francesca Ziino, qui en a livré une nouvelle traduction, le définit plutôt comme un type de comédie élégiaque en vogue au XIVe siècle[51].

C. La composition du *facet*

Ce poème didactique est un bréviaire qui s'adresse à tous les états de la société à l'instar du *Moribus et vita*[52]. Il offre des préceptes sur la conduite à bien observer dans différentes circonstances en insistant sur les devoirs des plus jeunes comme des vieillards, une originalité du texte, et il passe en revue le clerc et le chevalier, le bourgeois et le marchand (vv. 13-15). Une grande partie des membres de la société est appelée à se conformer à la courtoisie afin d'être « bien éduqué(e) et versé(e)

[46] José Antonio Maravall, « La cortesía como saber en la Edad Media », *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos,* LXV, 1965, p. 528-538.

[47] Cette définition a été proposée par Alfred Morel-Fatio, art. cit., 1886, p. 194.

[48] Cf. L. Faraudo de Saint-Germain, art. cit., 1912, p. 6-7.

[49] Amédée Pagès, *Auzias March et ses prédécesseurs. Essai sur la poésie amoureuse et philosophique en catalogne aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 1911, p. 135-137.

[50] Cf. Jordi Rubiò i Balaguer, *Història de la literatura catalana*, I, Barcelone, Departamant de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya, Publications de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1984, p. 166.

[51] Francesca Ziino, « Alcune osservazioni sul *Facet* catalano », *La narrativa in Provenza e Catalogna nel XIII e XIV secolo*, Pise, Edizioni ETS, 1995, p. 186.

[52] Joseph Morawski, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. XXVI-XXVII.

dans les bonnes manières » (v. 2, 20). Celui qui veut devenir courtois doit posséder certaines qualités : humilité, bonté, franchise, loyauté (vv. 21-29). Comme son modèle, *Moribus et Vita*, le *Facet* exprime la qualité de savoir-vivre. On peut reprendre la réflexion de Rita Beyers qui s'applique à *Moribus et Vita* : « le *facetus* est celui qui est cultivé, qui se conduit en homme du monde, en homme aussi qui connaît sa place dans le monde »[53]. Des mots-clefs reviennent à plusieurs reprises dans le texte : *fasset* s'oppose à « mal ensenyat » (mal éduqué) (v. 46), le verbe « amesurat » (v. 41) renvoie vers la conduite agréable et modérée, l'adjectif « bona mesura » (v. 95) vers la discipline intérieure, la modération, l'humilité et la patience[54]. Ces termes s'appliquent dans les soins pour le corps (vv. 290-295 ; 303-307) et les vêtements (vv. 97-101), les aspirations amoureuses (vv. 354-357) ou dans les rapports aux autres (vv. 74-91). Ces recommandations apparaissent sans originalité. Néanmoins, le poème se distingue par trois traits spécifiques : tout d'abord, il ne prête guère d'attention aux manières de la table, sauf aux vers 107-108 : « Que l'on vive sagement/ dans le boire et le manger également » qui, elles, sont largement traitées dans un certains nombre de textes qui font florès à l'époque[55] ; ensuite, il accorde un très fort intérêt à la bonne conduite dans le domaine amoureux. C'est la partie érotico-didactique appelée habituellement « pseudo-ovidienne » qui décrit amplement la manière de courtiser la jeune fille pour le soupirant qui doit « s'adonner au plaisir également/Et qu'il chante, danse et qu'il soit gai » (vv. 281-282).

Pourtant, troisième point, le plus original, le texte préconise également l'usage de la violence amoureuse dans ses fermes recommandations au jeune amant qui se trouve seul avec l'aimée (vv. 1236-1238 ; 1243-1250 ; 1260-1279). Les femmes sont exclues et présentées assez défavorablement. Certaines sont « dévoyées » et vénales. Elles ne pensent qu'à prendre de l'argent contre de l'amour (vv. 371-373). C'est un regard masculin sans concession alors que les textes didactiques qui s'adressent spécifiquement aux femmes prennent une toute autre forme. En effet, ils leur conseillent de pratiquer une vie honnête à travers la dévotion religieuse, la préservation de leur chasteté et de se préparer à devenir de bonnes et parfaites épouses à l'intérieur du foyer domestique[56].

Moribus et vita contient quatre parties[57]. Tout d'abord, des conseils sur les

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[53] Rita Beyers, art. cit., 2011, p. 20.

[54] Jean Frappier, « Vue sur les conceptions courtoises dans les littératures d'oc et d'oïl au XIIe siècle », *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 2e a, n° 6, avril-juin 1959, p. 139.

[55] Stéphane Glixelli, art. cit., 1921, p. 1-40.

[56] Alice Adèle Hentsch, *De la littérature didactique s'adressant spécialement aux femmes*, Cahors, Impr. A. Coueslant, 1903 (reprint, Genève, 1975). Pour la Catalogne, voir Rosanna Cantavella, « Lectura i cultura de la dona a l'Edat Mitjana: opinions d'autors en català », *Caplletra. Revista Internacional de Filologia*, 3, 1988, p. 113-122 ; *Idem*, « L'educació femenina per al matrimoni : dos opuscles catalans medievals », Rosanna Cantavella, Alfons de Gandia i de Foix (éd.), *Miscellània Joan Fuster IV*, Barcelone, Abadia de Montserrat, 1991, p. 33-57.

[57] Rita Beyers analyse le contenu de *Moribus et Vita* et détaille le plan en annexe : Rita Beyers, art. cit., 2011, p. 37.

bonnes manières, sur le bon comportement dans différentes situations et l'hygiène personnelle ; une brève description des personnes à qui il s'adresse – les clercs et les laïcs – qui inclue différentes professions et métiers avec une attention spéciale portée aux plus jeunes (vv. 1-130). Ensuite, un *ars amandi* d'inspiration ovidienne, rédigé comme un manuel du séducteur pour apprendre au jeune homme la meilleure façon de séduire et de déflorer une jeune fille puis de garder son amour (vv. 131-320). L'auteur suit là le plan du premier livre de l'*Ars amandi* (comment trouver une amoureuse) et du livre II (comment conserver son amour). Le Livre III, qui s'adresse aux femmes sur la manière de trouver un amant, n'est pas pris en considération. La troisième partie est un bref *remedia amoris*, c'est-à-dire qu'il aborde la manière de se débarrasser d'une amie, sous la forme d'une *reprobatio feminae* (vv. 321-384). Les vers 131-384, partie la plus importante du texte, définissent le bon amant et les cinq étapes de la conquête amoureuse et ils expliquent comment maintenir l'amour et *in fine* se débarrasser d'une femme qui ne plaît pas. Enfin, la quatrième partie insiste sur les devoirs de l'ami et de l'amant, pour ensuite parler des devoirs des juges, médecins et des militaires et il se termine en donnant des conseils aux vieillards (vv. 385-510).

Le *Facet* catalan reprend, traduit et amplifie les trois premières parties de *Moribus et Vita* en omettant la dernière. Il se décompose comme suit :

- des conseils sur le bon comportement en rapport avec l'appartenance sociale, et quelques professions et métiers (vv. 1-351), fidèlement traduit des 150 premiers vers de *Moribus et Vita* et assez sensiblement augmenté.

- L'*ars amandi* proprement dit qui contient une amplification considérable de la version latine puisque les 190 vers originaux en représentent plus d'un millier (vv. 352-1370). On peut les diviser en quatre groupes :

* Comment le jeune homme devra choisir sa cible ; par exemple, seulement des jeunes filles ou à défaut des veuves en tant qu'objet de séduction (vv. 352-391)

* les premiers conseils pour une séduction réussie : cibler une seule personne à la fois ; gagner les faveurs de la jeune fille grâce à des manières courtoises afin qu'elle consente à donner son amour ; des conseils sur le bon comportement en rapport avec l'appartenance sociale ; séduire une femme du même milieu social ; établir les premiers contacts ; utiliser les services d'une messagère d'amour (vv. 392-487)

* débuter la séduction. Cette partie augmente très significativement l'original qui passe de 81 à 422 vers (vv. 488-910). Le texte met à la disposition du séducteur des modèles de discours « clés en main » et prévoit les probables réactions de la jeune fille face à l'amant empressé.

* le point culminant de la séduction : 458 vers (vv. 911-1369) pour 67 vers dans l'original. Le soupirant a réussi à intéresser la jeune fille et l'auteur présente différents discours à tenir dans ce cas, en style direct, en insistant sur des mots et expressions qui la flatteront et qui s'appuie sur une forme rhétorique qui s'inspire du

style troubadour *salut d'amour*[58]. Cependant, la section principale porte sur la manière d'approcher physiquement sa conquête dans un but explicitement sexuel mais sans oublier un comportement courtois et correct qu'il faudra nuancer : « ne te comporte comme un porc, mais tel un franc chevalier » (vv. 1169-1170). Le viol n'est pas permis : la femme doit également prendre du plaisir. Cette section se termine par des conseils sur la manière de réconforter la jeune fille qui pleure la perte de sa virginité présumée mais au final il avertit que le séducteur ne doit pas s'engager ni promettre quoi que ce soit.

- dans cette dernière partie, les 64 vers de l'original deviennent 443 vers (vv. 1370-1743) et elle inclut une section finale (vv. 1601-1743) qui présente une *reprobatio feminae* mais dans un sens différent de *Moribus et Vita* puisque l'auteur sur la présumée malveillance du sexe féminin[59]. Morel-Fatio pointe là « une diatribe terrible contre les femmes » bien plus violente que dans *Moribus et Vita*, seulement atténuée dans les derniers vers par quelques réserves[60].

II. Le *Facet* et ses inspirations

A. L'héritage d'Ovide

Le *Facetus Moribus et Vita* est dédié à l'expérience amoureuse (vv. 131-384). Un grand nombre de manuscrits de cette époque, qui circulaient sous forme d'*excerpta*, c'est-à-dire d'extraits, traite de ce thème ce qui en démontre le succès constant et jamais démenti[61]. Puisant à la source de l'*ars amandi* ovidien, ils illustrent la manière de courtiser une jeune femme et les moyens pour conserver son amour. Le *Facet* catalan s'inscrit, avec les nombreux textes pseudo-ovidiens composés entre les XIIe et XIIIe siècles, dont la célèbre comédie élégiaque *Pamphilus*, dans une période historique nommée *aetas ovidiana* où l'*Ars Amatoria* et les *Remedia Amoris* d'Ovide sont fortement imités[62]. D'ailleurs, l'histoire de la notoriété

[58] Le salut d'amour est une épître adressée par l'amant à une dame ou par celui qui aspire à le devenir. Cf. Paul Meyer, « Le salut d'amour dans les littératures provençale et française », *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, 28, 1867, p. 124-170.

[59] Rosanna Cantavella, « *Debate on Women in the Catalan* Facet » : <http://www.uv.es/cantave/FacetWien>.

[60] Alfred Morel-Fatio, art. cit., 1886, p. 194.

[61] P. Dronke fut le premier à noter que le pseudo *Ars amatoria* et le pseudo *Remedia*, attribués à Ovide, sont en réalité des sections du *Facetus*. Du reste, antérieurement ils étaient publiés sans la reconnaissance du statut d'*excerpta*. Cf. Peter Dronke, art. cit., 1976, p. 126.

[62] Cette expression est proposée par Ludwig Traube, *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*, vol. 2 de *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen von Ludwig Traube*, Franz Boll (éd.), Munick, Beck, 1909-1920, p. 113. Traube définit trois périodes : une *aetas virgiliana* (VIIIe-IXe s.), une *aetes horatiana* (Xe-XIe s.) et une *aetas ovidiana* (XIIe-XIIIe s.). Cf. George Vincent Fogarty, *The "aetas ovidiana". The Influence of Ovid on Latin Literature in the Twelfth-Century,* Ph. D., Fordham University, 1973 ; J. Y. Tilliette, « Savants et poètes du Moyen-Age face à Ovide : les débuts de l'*actas ovi-*

des textes ovidiens au Moyen-Age est unique[63]. Leur valeur didactique et morale puisée à la source des *Remedia* et des *Epistulae heroidum* est largement commentée et exploitée. Connus grâce à des *accessus*[64], de courtes introductions aux textes étudiés dans les écoles, ceux-ci enseignaient à fuir les amours interdites et les passions éphémères à travers l'*exempla virtutis* de l'Antiquité classique. Plus explicite encore est le cas de l'*Ars amandi* : *ethicae subponitur, quia de moribus puellarum loquitur*[65]. C'est l'important épisode de l'exil du poète Ovide qui permet une interprétation morale de son œuvre au Moyen Age car cet exil est considéré comme une « punition légitime »[66].

Il existe plusieurs déclinations du texte ovidien : l'Ovide *praeceptor amoris*, l'Ovide *magister ethicae*, et l'Ovide crypto-chrétien considéré comme le prophète du *De vetula* (il s'agit d'un poème anonyme en hexamètres attribué à Ovide jusqu'à le XVe siècle)[67]. Dans le second des trois livres que compte le *De vetula*, un recueil attribué à Ovide – en effet, il fut retrouvé en proximité de sa sépulture supposée –, le poète narre les circonstances de la vie qui l'ont amené à quitter les « jeux d'amour » et les « affaires mondaines », pour se consacrer exclusivement à la philosophie. C'est principalement une aventure galante de jeunesse qui s'est mal terminée, et les ruses d'une vielle entremetteuse (*mezzana*) qui lui ont dévoilé toutes les illusions de la passion amoureuse. Le troisième libre, interprété comme une prophétie relative à la naissance, mort et résurrection du Christ, se termine par

diane » dans *Ovidius redivivus, von Ovid zu Dante*, Michelangelo Picone, Bernhard Zimmermann (éd.), Stuttgart, M und P verl für Wissenschaft und Forschung, 1994, p. 63-104.

[63] Sur la réception d'Ovide au Moyen Age, cf. Peter Allen, *The Art of Love. Amatory Fiction from Ovid to the Romance of the Rose*, Philadelphie, University of Pensylvania Press, 1992 ; *L'Antiquité entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, Chrystèle Blondeau, Marie Jacob (éd.), Nanterre, Presses universitaires de Paris-Ouest, 2011. Pour l'étude des copies latines glosées du poète, Ralph J. Hexter, *Ovid and medieval Schooling. Studies in Medieval Shool Commentaries on Ovid's* Ars amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, *and* Epistulae Heroidum, Munich, Bei der Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1986.

[64] Guglielmo Cavallo, « Ovide au Moyen Age (du IVe au XIIe siècle) », dans *La réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age (IXe-XIIe siècle). Choix d'articles publié par des collègues à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire pour Birger Munk Olsen*, Copenhague, Museum Tusculanum Press/Université de Copenhague, 1995, p. 88-89. Sur les différents modèles utilisés dans les *accessus*, cf. Paul Klopsch, *Einführung in die Dischtungslehen des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980, p. 48-55.

[65] La valeur de l'*Ars amandi* est notamment didactique : le texte enseigne l'art de la conquête amoureuse, concevant l'*ars* dans le sens latin de *tekné*.

[66] En 8, Ovide est brutalement banni de Rome par Auguste. Amer, il passe la fin de sa vie en exil au cours duquel il rédige des poèmes, *Les Tristes* et *Les Pontiques.* Mais c'est surtout sa poésie érotique (*Les Amours*, *L'art d'aimer*…) qui est vulgarisée à l'époque médiévale.

[67] Paul Klopsch, *Pseudo-Ovidius De vetula. Untersuchungen und text*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1967. Déjà Pétrarque mettait en doute la paternité ovidienne du *De vetula* (*Seniles*, II, 4).

une prière de louange adressée à la Vierge. En outre, parmi ces nombreuses déclinations du texte ovidien, existe l'*Ovide maior*, qui représente le *corpus* primaire des *Métamorphoses,* cette véritable « bible laïque », le premier grand recueil des fables mythologiques de l'Antiquité qui s'appliquent à l'exégèse allégorique et morale[68].

Il est également nécessaire d'étudier le contexte socioculturel dans lequel l'œuvre s'est développée et prit son essor. Le *Facet* tient toute sa place dans la culture catalane du Moyen-Âge. L'important étude de Lola Badia[69] permet de distinguer trois modalité de diffusion du texte ovidien en Catalogne : tout d'abord, la tradition ovidienne indirecte en langue vulgaire (citations, gloses, références textuelles, etc.) ; ensuite, les traductions des *Héroïdes* et des *Métamorphoses* par Guillerm Nicoleau et Frances Alegre ; enfin, les textes pseudo-ovidiens rédigés par de nombreuses poètes tels Jordi de Sant Jordi, Ausiàs March et Joan Roìs de Corella, ainsi que par des écrivains comme Bernat Metge, Francesc Eiximenis et Joanot Martorell[70]. Ils étaient probablement tous au fait du *praeceptor amoris* et du *magister ethicae* d'Ovide. La cour royale catalane était un milieu important pour la diffusion de la tradition ovidienne, mais non le seul[71]. Une partie des œuvres d'Ovide étaient également connues à travers des anthologies largement lues et commentées dans les milieux lettrés[72].

Compte tenu des rapports étroits entre le *Facet* et son modèle latin, tant dans le contenu que dans sa tonalité narrative, il existe de très fortes similitudes dans une conception de l'amour complètement dénué d'idéal courtois. Dans le *Facet*, comme dans l'*Ars amandi* ovidien, l'amour n'est pas la dévotion ou l'idéalisation d'une dame ; l'amour n'est pas une source de vertu chrétienne qui apporte *joy et alegransa*, mais plutôt un enjeu de galanterie, un sentiment de frivolité pour l'accomplissement de la conquête amoureuse. L'*ars* du *Facet* se présente comme un ensemble cohérent de conseils pour « accélérer la conquête ». Le choix de la « proie » se base sur des critères d'utilité pratique et de convenance sociale. En fin de compte, la stratégie amoureuse est largement basée sur l'emploi de la force. Le vernis courtois ne doit

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[68] L'exégèse allégorique des *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide débute au XIIe siècle avec Arnulf d'Orléans, mais se développe notamment en XIVe siècle avec les grands commentaires tels l'*Ovide moralisé*, le *Commentarium* de Pierre de Bersuire, les *Expositiones latines* ou les *Allégories vulgaires* de Giovanni de Virgilio.

[69] Sur la présence d'Ovide dans les lettres catalanes au Moyen Age, cf. l'importante étude de Lola Badia, « Per la presència d'Ovidi a l'Edat Mitjana, amb notes sobre les traduccions de les *Heroides* i de les *Metamorfosis* al vulgar », *Tradició i modernitat als segles XIV i XV. Estudis de cultura literària i lectures d'Ausiàs March*, València-Barcelona, Institut de Filologia Valenciana/Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1993, p. 39-71.

[70] À titre d'exemple, on peut citer la présence du poète latin chez Ausiàs March. Cf. Amador Calvo Ramon, *Le référentiel et l'intertextualité dans l'œuvre poétique de Vicent Andres Estelles*, vol. I, Montserrat Prudon (dir.), Université Paris 8, 2007, p. 139-141.

[71] Par exemple, en 1388, le roi Jean Ier demande une copie des *Epistoles d'Ovidi arromançades*. Cf. *Documents per a la història de la cultura catalana medieval*, vol. I, Antonio Rubió i Lluch (éd.), Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelone, 2000, p. 350-351.

[72] Lola Badia, art. cit., 1993, p. 39-71.

pas faire illusion. Ainsi, celui qui réussit à embrasser la femme et qui ensuite n'obtient plus rien d'elle est un sot (vv. 1200 et suiv.) ; Le *jovensel* doit toujours mettre en pratique une stratégie amoureuse, en exprimant parfois de la tristesse, parfois de la joie et se montrer un orateur timide ou passionné quand les circonstances le nécessitent[73]. C'est le jeu amoureux basé sur une certaine duplicité et roublardise.

B. L'influence courtoise

Dans la partie consacrée à l'*Ars amandi* ovidien, on remarque que la narration en vers est parfois entrecoupée de passages en style direct utilisés lorsque le jeune homme part à la conquête de la jeune femme. C'est une innovation de l'auteur anonyme. Il n'existe aucune correspondance avec le modèle latin. Dans le *Facet* catalan alternent donc des phases de dialogue et de narration qui s'étalent de la première rencontre entre les amants jusqu'à la conquête amoureuse. Dans les passages dialogués, on retrouve tous les protagonistes : le *jovensel*, l'entremetteuse (*mezzana*), la *puella* et ses amies.

La voix narrative, sans aucun doute l'amoureux emploie un ton lyrique dans la tradition des troubadours. On peut le constater aux vers 666-821 qui traduisent les vers 209-242 du *Facetus* latin et présentent des thématiques centrales dans la courtoisie : les vertus de la femme ; la soumission de l'amoureux, prêt à refuser la voie qui l'amène au Paradis[74]. Traduits du latin *famulus*, des termes comme *vostre hom* (vv. 788, 879), *servidor* (v. 789) expriment la métaphore de l'amour considéré comme un service féodal[75].

Si on se tourne vers la description conventionnelle de la *puellae* (v. 712 et suiv.) qui se base sur la beauté de la femme, on relève les adjectifs tels que *daurats* (v. 712), *resplandent*, *clara* (v. 723), *luents* (v. 732), qui indiquent la lumière et la splendeur[76]. Les vers 943-1067 s'inspirent du genre de l'*epistolae* amoureuse, autrement dit le *salut d'amour*, porté à son plus haut degré par Arnaut de Mareuil. On peut signaler la présence de ce thème à travers la figure de style de l'anaphore, souvent incluse dans le formules du salut, qui porte sur la manière franche et directe de se rapprocher de la dame, et dans des d'expressions telles que *Deus vos saul* (v. 495). Cette insistance propre de la *descriptio puellae*, rapproche de certaines caractéristiques typiques du *salut d'amour* plutôt que de la chanson d'amour[77].

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[73] Le terme et le concept de *joven* « traduisent une disponibilité spontanée, sans arrière-pensée ni calcul, à se montrer généreux, à distribuer les dons magnifiques et à savoir bien courtiser les dames » : Jean Frappier, art. cit., avril-juin 1959, p. 139.

[74] Cf. vv. 684-687 ; 700-706 ; 800-803.

[75] Jean Frappier, art. cit., avril-juin 1959, p. 141-142.

[76] Raphaela Averkorn, « Les nobles sont-ils toujours beaux ? Quelques remarques sur les descriptions de personnages dans les chroniques médiévales de la Péninsule Ibérique », *Sénéfiance. Le beau et le laid au Moyen Age*, Aix-en-Provence, CUERMA, n° 43, 2000, p. 27-44.

[77] Cf. l'article classique de Paul Meyer, art. cit., 1867, p. 124-170 et plus récemment : Hedzer Uulders, « "Letres qui van per tal afar". Un nouveau *salut* occitano-catalan et la fortune du genre en Catalogne (I) », *Estudis Romànics*, vol. 31, 2009, p. 77-103.

Ces *tópoi* sont fréquents dans les poèmes catalans comme l'a constaté Martì de Riquer. La source de ces motifs doit sans doute être recherchée dans la culture troubadour, dominante en Catalogne à celle époque[78]. L'effusion amoureuse est partout présente dans lyrique courtoise. Pourtant, selon Francesca Ziino, bien que saturé de références courtoises, manquent dans le *Facet* les éléments typiques de cet univers et c'est bien ce qui le démarque véritablement de son modèle latin[79]. Le *Facet* montre, *a contrario*, l'absence quasi totale d'idéal courtois. L'utilisation du langage troubadour est purement rhétorique. Nous ne retrouvons pas les *lletrs d'amor*, mais seulement des arguments pour accélérer la conquête amoureuse. On peut le constater aux vers « gint parlar, mans et humil » (l'amant doit adopter une « voix agréable, douce et soumise ») (v. 1110) et surtout dans l'allocution principale (v. 1113-1150). Le jeune amant a alors dévoilé toute sa vanité (v. 903-909). Toutes ces louanges ne sont-elles pas que des expédients pour avancer masqué et tromper la jeune femme ? Après le long *salut d'amour* (vv. 943-1067), la ruse est dévoilée et l'amoureux est exhorté à utiliser la manière forte pour arriver à ses fins : « Jouant, riant, tu ne dois pas errer/tantôt les cuisses, tantôt les flancs,/par toi qu'ils soient souvent palpés ;/et mets-lui la main à la gorge,/palpe en outre les seins,/et serre-les un peu,/point trop,/car ce ne serait plus du jeu, /…/la cuisse et le ventre de même » (vv. 1223-1229). L'attouchement est une arme de séduction efficace dans la bataille amoureuse.

Les distiques de cette partie (« le cors honrat, lo loc on vos estats » (v. 944) / « il noble lit on vos pausats » (v. 946), « l'ayga on vos batejas, lo capela » (vv. 952-953), sont fortement inspirés du *Salut IV* de Arnaud de Mareuil. Ce troubadour salue la dame et complimente ses nobles qualités : la beauté, l'élégance, la politesse, etc. Par contre, le poème catalan, plus pragmatique sans doute, nomme également des objets de la vie quotidienne : le lit et la table (vv. 945-946).

Si nous considérons le rapport entre le jeune amant et la destinataire du message amoureux, il semble que nous évoluons davantage dans un univers bourgeois lié au commerce, plutôt que dans les milieux de l'aristocratie courtoise. Il est significatif qu'entre les jeunes filles et l'amoureux, l'entremetteuse soit une couturière, la *sartroresa* (v. 459). D'autre part, le jeune homme songe à devenir juge, écrivain, médecin, marchant ou clerc (vv. 199-201) et l'auteur insiste sur les livres qu'il faut aimer (v. 203). Il est tout à fait étonnant que le métier de poète ait disparu alors qu'il est bien présent dans *Moribus et Vita*, remplacé par le *fasia, fisicia* (v. 65-68), c'est-à-dire le « médecin » :

Il est intéressant de noter les ressemblances formelles entre le *Facet* et la deuxième vulgarisation pseudo-ovidienne qui nous soit parvenue de Catalogne, l'*Ovidi enamorat* de Bernat Metge[80]. Comme l'a relevé Francesca Ziino qui reprend Lola Badia, dans l'œuvre de Metge l'amour n'est jamais une tension spirituelle qui enno-

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[78] Martín de Riquer, *història de la literatura catalana*. *Part antiga,* vol. I-IV, Barcelone, Ariel, 1984-1985.

[79] Francesca Ziino, art. cit., 1995, p. 195-199.

[80] L'*Ovidi enamorat* est la traduction en prose du deuxième livre du *De vetula*, qui narre le changement de vie d'Ovide. Ce texte est conservé dans le manuscrit 831 de la « Biblioteca de Catalunya ». Cf. Marçal Olivar, « Un nou manuscrit d'obres de Bernat Metge », *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, 6, 1920–1922, p. 366–377.

blit mais une passion sensuelle qui mène vers la recherche du plaisir[81]. Textes clairement d'inspiration ovidienne, le *Facet* et l'*Ovidi enamorat* sont très proches chronologiquement. Ils témoignent d'une vision émancipée du sentiment amoureux.

Conclusion

En conclusion, portons notre attention sur la critique féroce portée contre les femmes (vv. 1373-1743), et qui constitue le final du poème. Bien qu'il soit inspiré du *Facetus* latin (vv. 323-384), à partir du vers 1600 l'auteur catalan s'en éloigne fortement et développe de nouveaux thèmes par rapport au *Moribus et vita* et aux *Remedia amoris* ovidiennes. Dans le *Facetus* latin il y a moins de vers voués à des attaques contre les femmes même s'ils ne sont pas absents[82]. Il manque notamment des éléments qui dans le *Facet* catalan sont repris de la tradition misogyne, d'origine biblique ou patristique. Ce texte appartient bien à la « littérature misogyne » en vogue aux XIVe et XVe siècle[83]. La femme est perçue comme une figure de l'inconstance, idiote, hypocrite. C'est une proie pour assouvir ses passions dans le droit fil de la vision chrétienne de l'Éden où Eve trompe Adam ; on trouve trace de références à de mauvaises femmes décrites dans la Bible. La culpabilité d'Eve dans la mort du Christ est même soulignée aux vers 1641-1648. Le texte reprend des éléments de la tradition troubadour, et les vers 1696-1713 rappellent les strophes III-IV de la chanson de Marcabruno *Soudadier, per cui es Jovens* qui stigmatise les vices propres aux *falsas putas ardens*[84]. Dans le poème catalan, de même que dans la chanson de Marcabruno, la *fembra vil* est comparée à la Chimère, monstre mythologique dont la tête de lion, le corps de chèvre et la queue du serpent symbolisent orgueil, luxure et fausseté (vv. 1696 et s.). S'il est vrai que la presque totalité du *Facet* contient un pseudo-*Ars amatoria* et un pseudo-*Remedia amoris* ovidiens, ces éléments ne sont pas exclusifs et il est difficile de parler uniquement d'une « doctrine amoureuse » dans ce texte. Le manuel du parfait séducteur n'est constitue qu'une composante fondue dans un discours plus complexe, où dans une finalité didactique il énonce des normes de comportement et de savoir-vivre où l'emploi de la force pour arriver à ses fins est prégnant, tout en critiquant et blâmant la *fembra vil* (vv. 1392, 1635, 1668, 1694). On peut faire sienne la réflexion de Jean Frappier et l'appliquer au *Facet* : « un amant courtois possède en principe les mérites généraux de la courtoisie, mais un héros de roman peut avoir une haute réputation de courtoisie sans qu'il se conduise en adepte et en modèle de l'amour courtois »[85]. Dans le cas présent, le *Facet* enseigne à l'amant courtois de se comporter comme un héros de roman.

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[81] Francesca Ziino, art. cit., 1995, p. 193.

[82] Alison Goddard Elliot, art. cit., 1977, p. 28.

[83] R. Howard Bloch, « La misogynie médiévale et l'invention de l'amour en Occident », *Les cahiers du GRIF*, 47, 1993, p. 9-23 ; Mercè Puig Rodríguez-Escalona, *Poesía misógina en la edad media latina (ss. XI-XIII)*, Barcelona, Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona, 1995.

[84] Jean Marie Lucien Dejeanne, *Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru publiées avec traduction, notes et glossaire*, Toulouse, Édouard Privat, 1909, p. XLIV.

[85] Jean Frappier, art. cit., avril-juin 1959, p. 136.

FASSET[86]

1) Seigneur/ Sire, toi qui veux être courtois
2) bien éduqué et versé dans les bonnes manières,
3) viens écouter ce roman,
4) toi qui veux t'enrichir d'enseignements.
5) Ce roman s'appelle *Fasset*,
6) les meilleurs préceptes en feuillets, je promets,
7) que jamais vous ne puissiez entendre
8) ou écouter pour en tirer des leçons profitables ;
9) et celui qui voudra s'instruire
10) y trouvera maintes choses
11) sur l'éducation et la courtoisie.
12) Chaque jour, s'en instruira
13) le clerc et le chevalier,
14) le bourgeois et le marchand
15) l'enfant ainsi que le vieillard ;
16) tous en tireront de bons conseils
17) et s'en instruiront en toutes situations,
18) s'ils lisent souvent ce roman.
19) Il en est ainsi pour toi qui veux être courtois,
20) bien éduqué et versé en bonnes manières,
21) porté à l'humilité
22) et prompt à la bonté.
23) Veuille ne pas être menteur
24) mais être franc en toute occasion.
25) Aie le cœur ferme et tranquille,
26) si à tous tu veux être agréable ;
27) et ne sois pas susceptible,
28) ou trop mauvais, ou trop râleur ;
29) fais montre de foi et de loyauté
30) et tu seras de tous fort aimé.
31) Car celui qui est fou et sans foi,
32) on ne le croit jamais pour quoi que ce soit.
33) Mais si cela arrive une fois quelque part,
34) mentir ne nuit pas, pourvu que cela dure peu,
35) car dévoiler les vérités
36) des autres brise les amitiés.
37) Tu cacheras le péché de l'ami
38) autant que tu pourras, ou tu le dissimuleras.
39) Si tu veux être bon et courtois
40) et recevoir des compliments en toute chose,

[86] Je remercie vivement don Pedro Casado pour sa traduction du *fasset* catalan.

41) sois agréable, modéré
42) au fond de toi, en sachant de quoi tu parles.
43) Veuille ne pas trop parler
44) ou raconter de vilains propos :
45) on te tiendra pour une personne triviale
46) et aussi pour quelqu'un de mal éduqué.
47) Et lorsque tu voudras louer quelqu'un
48) et donner de ses nouvelles,
49) fais en la louange avec retenue.
50) Ce que tu diras véritablement,
51) ce qu'à son sujet tu auras raconté
52) que ce soit toujours bien la vérité ;
53) car si tu dis des choses qui au contraire n'existent pas
54) ce sera du déshonneur complètement,
55) surtout quand tu en parleras
56) quelque part ; et là-dessus tu ne dois pas faillir.
57) Mais veuille ne pas te taire sur tout,
58) car on te considérerait comme un nigaud.
59) Ce que tu voudras dire ou énoncer,
60) dans ton cœur, tu dois y réfléchir :
61) celui qui parle spontanément
62) est ainsi qu'un cheval à qui on a lâché la bride ;
63) à ce sujet, le sage Salomon a dit
64) que jamais le bavardage,
65) et le fait de trop parler n'importe quand,
66) jamais ne furent pas un péché.
67) Ainsi celui qui veut demeurer courtois
68) doit prononcer peu de paroles.
69) Et celui qui veut être agréable
70) à tout le monde, ainsi doit se comporter :
71) veuille ne pas être prétentieux.
72) A tous les hommes, les bons et les preux,
73) toujours montre un visage souriant.
74) Et sois agréable également :
75) une grande qualité est en celui, pour sûr,
76) qui est bien disposé pour cela.
77) Toujours fais preuve de réflexion,
78) et rejette les gens qui sont prétentieux,
79) afin que tu ne sois méprisé
80) d'aucun homme avisé.
81) Et sois bien studieux
82) et soigneux dans ton métier,
83) avec sagesse et bons conseils,
84) tu ne failliras pas une seule fois.

85) On dit que la pratique rend l'homme maître
86) en quelque art qu'il veuille se mettre.
87) Et lorsqu'il verra qu'on veut le faire
88) se disputer avec violence,
89) alors qu'il n'aille pas rouspéter
90) ni faire mauvaise figure.
91) Ainsi tu feras, selon tes capacités ;
92) pour cette raison ne te laisse pas aller à la dépense,
93) car celui qui dépense plus qu'il ne gagne
94) c'est plus tard qu'il en aura besoin.
95) En toute situation, il faut de la bonne mesure
96) car sans elle rien ne dure.
97) Tu dois prendre soin de te vêtir correctement,
98) qu'on ne puisse te moquer,
99) et de ne pas aller pas te promener crasseux
100) mais propre, dedans et dehors.
101) Et celui qui a peu de vêtement
102) …….
103) ainsi comme vous l'avez déjà entendu,
104) si vous ne l'avez déjà jeté dans l'oubli.
105) Mais pour se vêtir et se chausser
106) on ne doit pas oublier son métier.
107) Que l'on vive sagement
108) dans le boire et le manger également.
109) Et que la plume soit laissée
110) dans la main de celui qui la tient
111) pour raconter toutes ces choses.
112) Ainsi il appartient aux écrivains
113) que l'on apprenne selon les bonnes règles
114) à vivre dans le monde avec éducation.
115) Tu dois plonger ton fils dans la science
116) afin qu'il suive une bonne voie,
117) et pas seulement par la lecture.
118) Mais pour qu'il puisse mieux en tirer profit
119) alors, que le maître le châtie
120) pour qu'il ne s'égare pas dans le mauvais chemin.
121) On dit que celui qui ne bat pas un jeune merdeux
122) ne peut ensuite battre un gueux.
123) Afin qu'il ne puisse folâtrer
124) fais lui fréquenter des hommes âgés,
125) car si avec des vieillards il se fait ami
126) il ne pourra se fourvoyer ou faire des folies.
127) Tiens le prévenu sur le fait d'être agité,
128) car ceux qui sont trop remuants

129) risquent d'avoir le jugement trop léger.
130) S'il a acquis peu de bonnes manières
131) honte il aura quand il sera grand.
132) Pour cette raison, plaisent toujours
133) ceux qui plurent une fois dès le début.
134) Et celui qui fait preuve de pureté
135) depuis sa jeunesse jusqu'à l'âge mûr
136) pour toujours être honnête et chaste,
137) se doit de la préserver de toute étourderie.
138) Et en ce qui concerne le respect des règles,
139) ne cesse d'en tenir compte nuit et jour
140) jusqu'à ce que tu sois empreint de droiture
141) comme on dit de l'or pur qu'il est inaltérable.
142) Sois vaillant et bien attentif
143) studieux en toute chose
144) et principalement dans ta profession
145) afin de ne pas être tenu pour sot,
146) et d'être capable de répandre plus dignement
147) la parole de Dieu tout puissant.
148) C'est un grand déshonneur pour ceux
149) qui abandonnent leur amour propre rien,
150) car la souillure, qui pour certains est une récompense,
151) dites vous qu'elle ne vaut pas un sou.
152) Quand l'auréole a sa légitimité
153) elle paraît plus blanche, fait ce que tu dis
154) afin que tout soit bien clair,
155) car ainsi on doit poursuivre le chemin de sa vie.
156) Toute personne bien élevée doit ses membres couvrir
157) avec des chausses seyantes et de long vêtements,
158) surtout s'il s'agit de membres d'enfants
159) et d'autant plus s'il s'agit de curés.
160) Ce serait pour eux un très grand déshonneur
161) s'ils faisaient voir leur chair nue.
162) Changer souvent tes habits,
163) être pur par la façon de t'habiller
164) et dénué de tout péché,
165) c'est ainsi que tu seras honoré.
166) Sois sage et bien soigneux,
167) et reste réservé,
168) comporte toi correctement et avec bon sens,
169) et observe bien les commandements.
170) Et si Dieu t'a donné du bien
171) ne sois pas chiche en faveurs
172) et aucun homme, à ce que je sache

173) ne fera preuve de plus grande courtoisie,
174) puisque ce que tu as est bien suffisant
175) pour toi mais peut-être aussi pour un autre.
176) Quand tu seras vieux et un homme honoré
177) pour tes années et ton grand âge
178) tu donneras des conseils au peuple,
179) tu lui donneras de bons exemples
180) afin qu'il suive toujours les règles de l'honnêteté.
181) Et ton nom sera cité en référence
182) de sorte que le peuple avec toi
183) ne pourra se fourvoyer ou tomber dans le péché.
184) Ces préceptes tu lui enseigneras
185) et tu lui indiqueras la manière
186) de se construire une vie harmonieuse.
187) Et cela raconte brièvement
188) quelle chose est bien pour l'homme,
189) et laquelle lui plaît et lui convient.
190) Premièrement, si tu as des enfants
191) un certain art de vivre tu leur montreras
192) et ainsi tu leur prouveras
193) que, s'ils se conduisent ainsi,
194) ils pourront vivre selon leurs compétences.
195) Car les hommes de bonne naissance
196) transmettent tous à leurs enfants
197) quelle est la façon de vivre la plus valorisante.
198) Si la littérature leur plaît et qu'ils aient envie de s'instruire
199) ou d'être d'une grande sagesse,
200) ainsi que le ferait un juge,
201) un savant, un médecin, un grand écrivain,
202) petit à petit apprend leur à aimer
203) les livres, car ainsi on doit faire
204) si on veut que les enfants soient instruits,
205) même s'ils veulent pratiquer l'art de l'équitation,
206) prendre soin des chevaux
207) en brossant leur poil véritablement,
208) afin qu'ils deviennent plus savants.
209) On dit que si un enfant a des aptitudes,
210) il n'en sera pas plus compétent pour cela plus tard
211) et il doit être d'abord écuyer
212) avant que d'être cavalier
213) et qu'il fasse l'apprenti volontiers
214) s'il veut être complimenté par tous.
215) Et s'il ne veut pas être cavalier
216) et qu'il veuille être marchand,

217) dis lui qu'il apprenne à connaître
218) les monnaies avec précision.
219) Premièrement il doit faire en sorte
220) d'apprendre à bien compter.
221) Qu'il soit d'un esprit vif et qu'il soit pugnace
222) comme un marchand sage et avisé.
223) Qu'il recherche les lieux qu'il faut
224) pour faire des affaires également.
225) Pour que personne ne puisse le tromper facilement,
226) qu'il sache calculer très exactement,
227) car on dit que cela vaut la peine.
228) S'il ne veut pas être marchand,
229) Et s'il désire d'être forgeron,
230) ce qui exige de la discipline
231) il est nécessaire qu'il ne soit pas paresseux
232) puisque à celui qui apprend peu,
233) lorsqu'il est d'un âge avancé,
234) un bon savoir-faire est nécessaire.
235) Si alors il n'est plus un jeune garçon
236) Et s'il est grand et qu'il a du poil,
237) et qu'il ne sait faire aucun métier
238) Il nous faut alors lui faire honte,
239) lui indiquer comment apprendre maintenant,
240) bien qu'il soit vieux, oui encore,
241) car il vaut mieux avoir un métier qui est pour de vrai. (un vrai métier)
242) Souvent j'entendis rapporter ce qui suit :
243) bête est l'homme qui se moque
244) de celui qui n'a aucun métier.
245) L'art de vivre et de penser
246) n'empêche pas l'homme d'être mauvais.
247) Mais cependant ainsi doit faire
248) celui qui veut être d'une sagesse accomplie,
249) celui qui aime cela totalement
250) et qui veut et demande à savoir.
251) Le savoir ne met pas en valeur
252) Et ne procure aucun profit et aucune richesse.
253) Et la seule chose qui est naturelle,
254) de prendre femme, ce n'est pas une contrainte pour l'homme ?
255) Et la nature produit beaucoup d'hommes
256) bienheureux, riches et joyeux,
257) pour diverses professions véritablement.
258) Et ainsi tout homme dans le monde a
259) la possibilité de faire quelque chose parfaitement.
260) On ne doit pas avoir plusieurs métiers,

261) car peu de profit on peut en retirer.
262) Chacun dans sa première profession
263) peut être bon, à moins d'être sot,
264) pourvu qu'il l'aime bien de tout son cœur
265) sans paresse cachée ou apparente.
266) Ne donne de conseils à personne
267) Et oublie les tracas de la vie.
268) Ainsi par le fait de beaucoup travailler
269) L'homme mourra sans crainte. (sans remords)
270) Mais l'homme doit reposer son corps
271) dans les périodes de fêtes.
272) Qu'il travaille afin de pouvoir vivre
273) avec joie, avec plaisir et rire,
274) car certes la vie embellie
275) par un bon état d'esprit en est anoblie,
276) lorsqu'on se voit dans un état joyeux
277) et que l'on veut que cela dure.
278) Mais celui qui donne de la tristesse
279) vit avec grande avarice.
280) Et le jeune homme dans sa jeunesse,
281) qu'il s'adonne au plaisir également.
282) Et qu'il chante, danse et qu'il soit gai
283) car dans un an il en aura moins à vivre ?
284) Et qu'il soit agréable à tous
285) sagement, ou qu'il sache le faire
286) et qu'il soit amoureux
287) s'il veut avoir son cœur heureux.
288) Mais cependant ceci est donné
289) pour un moment et pour un temps.
290) Et qu'il prenne soin de ses cheveux.
291) De même qu'il ne les colore pas en noir,
292) car cette couleur est utilisée par les hommes âgés
293) et elle ne convient pas aux jeunes gens.
294) Et qu'il les tienne bien peignés,
295) et mieux qu'il les arrange avec goût.
296) Le jeune homme qui se promène crasseux
297) et malpropre, à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur,
298) d'aucune femme et d'aucun homme bien nés
299) Ne sera aimé ni apprécié.
300) Mais lorsqu'il est plus vieux et d'un âge plus avancé,
301) cela ne fait plus partie de ses soucis.
302) Car lorsque c'est la valeur humaine qui compte le plus
303) on ne se soucie pas d'avoir une tenue bien soignée.
304) Mais celui qui veut être courtois,

305) qu'il ne garde pas les cheveux longs
306) car la longue chevelure
307) fait partie des attributs féminins.
308) Qu'il se comporte de façon agréable et courtoise,
309) ainsi que cela est dit ci-dessus.
310) Qu'il soit leste, modéré et agile,
311) et bien à l'aise dans ses mouvements.
312) Qu'il prenne soin de se chausser correctement
313) de chaussures et même de chausses.
314) Lorsqu'il s'apprête, que soient les fesses,
315) les cuisses, les jambes privées de poils. (qu'on ne voit pas les poils).
316) Mais que cela soit fait selon les usages
317) du lieu impérativement,
318) car si on veut se singulariser
319) on sera considéré comme un clown.
320) Il faut vraiment que le jeune homme
321) soit enjoué parmi les enjoués
322) et qu'il soit triste avec les tristes,
323) compatissant et affligé.
324) Qu'il recherche la compagnie des hommes âgés,
325) pour qu'il prenne de bons conseils.
326) Qu'il entretienne des relations avec les bons,
327) ce que doit faire de toute façon chaque jeune homme,
328) car celui qui fréquente les bons
329) ne peut suivre la mauvaise route
330) et dispense à chacun avec discernement
331) hommages et compliments publiquement.
332) Veuille ne mépriser qui que ce soit
333) même s'il vit misérablement
334) et veuille donner toute sa place au faible. (respecter le faible)
335) Incline la tête en présence des grands.
336) Veuille toujours montrer un visage
337) accueillant, et daigne honorer
338) celui ou ceux à qui véritablement
339) tu te dois de rendre hommage.
340) Ne sois pas parmi les grands
341) trop prolixe en paroles
342) et retiens pareillement dans tes pensées
343) ce que tu voudras dire ou proposer
344) car on doit se retenir de trop parler :
345) sage est celui qui sait s'abstenir.
346) Ceux que l'on voit se comporter avec sagesse,
347) avec eux on doit aller de compagnie.
348) Ecoute bien tous leurs propos,

349) parmi eux, comporte toi de manière plaisante
350) car à chaque instant tu t'instruiras,
351) bon sens et raison tu te forgeras.
352) Mais si tu ne veux pas, par aventure
353) de ces choses avoir cure
354) et que tu veuilles tomber amoureux
355) et d'adonner à l'amour des femmes,
356) sache faire ton profit
357) de ce que sur ce sujet j'ai dit ci-dessus.
358) Tu commenceras alors d'aimer
359) ainsi que là je veux te le dicter.
360) Tu te dois d'éviter la nonne sacrée
361) qui a été choisie comme épouse du Christ.
362) Ce péché détruit le corps
363) et l'âme, dedans et dehors.
364) Des femmes qui ont un mari
365) tu te garderas, n'oublie pas cela,
366) car c'est pareillement un péché du même ordre.
367) Aussi sois serein dans ton cœur.
368) Garde-toi des prostituées
369) et surtout des dévoyées
370) car cet amour ne durera
371) que le temps de te prendre ton premier argent.
372) La femme vile ne donne de l'amour
373) que si l'homme est un large donateur

RECENZII
R E V I E W S
COMPTES RENDUS

Cristina-Valentina Dafinoiu și Laura-Elena Pascale, *Limba română: manual pentru studenții străini din anul pregătitor (Nivel A1-A2)*, ed. a 2-a, București, Editura Universitară, 2014, 200 p.

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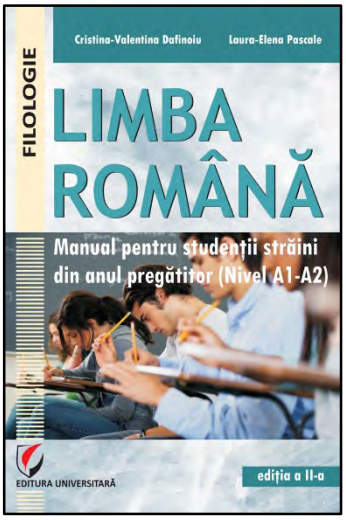

Ultimele decenii au adus pe piața de carte din România un număr mare de lucrări destinate învățării limbii române ca limbă străină, redactate în conformitate cu exigențele de la nivel internațional. În aceeași direcție de modernizare și raliere la standardele contemporane se înscrie și manualul celor două cadre didactice ale Universității din Constanța: Cristina-Valentina Dafinoiu și Laura-Elena Pascale.

Limba română: manual pentru studenții străini din anul pregătitor (Nivel A1-A2) cuprinde 18 unități, dintre care 3 unități recapitulative, și o secțiune de *Anexe* ce include tabele și secțiuni sinoptice pentru noțiunile de morfologie abordate în manual: articolul hotărât și articolul nehotărât, flexiunea substantivului, tipuri de adjective și grade de comparație, tipuri de pronume, paradigme de conjugare verbală pentru indicativ, numeralul cardinal, prepoziții și locuțiuni prepoziționale.

După cum se menționează și în titlu, principalul utilizator pentru care a fost gândit acest manual este studentul străin din anul pregătitor, la care se adaugă acei străini interesați să obțină *„cunoștințe minime de limba română”* (*Cuvânt înainte*, p. 9). Autoarele încadrează lucrarea la nivelurile A1-A2 din Cadrul European Comun de Referință, deși conținuturile morfosintactice ale unităților și vocabularul lecțiilor, cu mici excepții, nu acoperă integral nivelul A2.

Principiile care stau la baza redactării manualului, prezentate în deschiderea lucrării, au fost următoarele: la nivel de conținut, o distribuție echilibrată a competențelor lingvistice (înțelegerea discursului oral, comunicarea orală, înțelegerea textului scris, comunicarea scrisă), la nivel de formă, susținerea fragmentelor de text prin imagini clare, sugestive.

Tematica unităților acoperă descriptorii europeni pentru nivelul inițial: înțelegere și interacțiune verbală cu privire la propria persoană și la elemente din mediul înconjurător, redactarea unor enunțuri simple. Lecțiile au un conținut interesant, majoritatea constând în secvențe dialogale pe teme de interes general (vremea, orașul, cursuri, la supermarket, locuința, la restaurant, la spital etc.) sau descriptive (cu elemente de cultură și civilizație românească: caracteristici de climă, obiective turistice etc.), construite după modelul limbii vorbite actuale.

Fiecare unitate se deschide cu o casetă rezumativ-introductivă (*Vom învăța despre*), în care sunt anunțați itemii morfologici și lexicali ce urmează a fi tratați în unitatea respectivă. Modul de structurare a unei unități pleacă de la un text de lecție, urmat de secțiunea *Vocabular*, în care sunt cuprinse cuvintele și structurile lexicale mai importante din lecția respectivă, o secțiune de morfologie și una de exerciții.

Ordinea de predare a itemilor de morfologie respectă, în cea mai mare parte, succesiunea din binecunoscutul manual universitar Brâncuș, ordine consacrată, cu eficiență dovedită în cele peste trei decenii de la debut. Adoptarea ei de către autoare demonstrează experiență în predarea românei ca limbă străină.

Manualul reușește să evite supraîncărcarea cu elemente de metalimbaj, ceea ce reprezintă un avantaj pentru utilizatorii nefilologi. Un alt atu al manualului este dat de diversitatea exercițiilor: atât exerciții clasice de tip substituție (simplă sau prin expansiune), dar și exerciții structurale de repetare, transformare, îmbinare, precum și secvențe dialogale sau descrieri de imagini.

Lucrarea este atent redactată și încearcă să gradeze cunoștințele astfel încât să nu suprasolicite utilizatorul și să rămână eficientă. Autoarele, cel mai probabil, au tatonat în mod repetat, pe baza unei experiențe didactice îndelungate, cele mai bune conținuturi și formule de predare.

Micile imperfecțiuni inerente în lucrările de acest tip, semnalate mai jos, nu influențează valoarea certă a lucrării. Introducerea unor verbe neregulate sau a unor verbe cu particularități de scriere (*a bea, a veni*) în tabelele cu modele de conjugare pentru tipurile de conjugări ale românei nu reprezintă cea mai bună alegere, din perspectiva unui străin care învață limba română. În general, mult mai eficient este să se predea regula și paradigmele conforme cu aceasta și abia apoi să se introducă paradigme cu particularități (alternanțe vocalice sau consonantice, caracteristici de scriere, verbe neregulate etc.), model conform cu etapele cognitive de învățare (înțelegerea și organizarea logică a materialului, însușirea cunoștințelor, fixarea și reactualizarea, prin trecerea de la general la particular). În secțiunea de vocabular de la pagina 20 conjuncțiile *dar* și *iar* sunt date împreună, putând fi înțelese ca sinonime ce pot fi substituite una cu cealaltă indiferent de context, în timp ce româna are și un *iar* copulativ, ilustrat de altfel de autoare în lecția respectivă.

Partea grafică a fost interesant gândită pentru a răspunde mai multor funcții: explicitează tematica lecției, are rol ostensiv – identificând și fixând anumiți referenți – sau se constituie în elemente introductive pentru exercițiile de comunicare orală. Nu putem să nu remarcăm modernitatea acestei părți grafice: alternanța fonturilor, utilizarea unor simboluri frecvente în comunicarea pe dispozitive electronice: emoticoane, hashtag etc. O nouă ediție ar putea adăuga elemente de policromie și un suport audio pentru un plus de valoare al lucrării.