Bulletin of the *Transilvania* University of Braşov
Series IV: Philology and Cultural Studies • Vol. 7 (56) No. 2 – 2014

Wooden language and cultural identity in writing journalistic titles in the Romanian and German press in pre- and post-communist Romania

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This paper aims, starting from the configuration of communicative relations evoked in the journalistic title (pertaining to Romanian and German media texts, written in Romania in the pre- and post-revolutionary postwar period), to debate over some issues involved in the study of linguistic heterogeneity at the level of authorial peritext. Specifically, the communication intends to present some cultural correspondences detectable in the Romanian and German press in Romania in the pre-and post-revolutionary period in the journalistic title construction. It will address issues related to how wooden language is handled in the two types of press, cultures respectively, as well as aspects of the relationship between otherness and identity within the Romanian and German communities from Romania at the level of verbal post-revolutionary peritext (after 1989).

Key-words: *cultural identity, German and Romanian media texts, wooden language.*

1. Preliminary considerations

In the process of written communication, taking place in mass-media, there are created and propagated values, norms, mentalities, beliefs and ways of life, specific to a certain cultural medium. All these are encoded and transmitted by means of a complex system of terms, forms, expressions, meanings, in a way that is validated by the norms and rules of a given society, configuring the cultural identity of a social group. The cultural identity, viewed as a sum of values, beliefs, customs and traditions, shared by the members of the same ethnic group, is constructed and pointed out firstly by language use.

The present paper presents some aspects regarding the way in which the cultural German and Romanian identity are represented in the field of journalistic communication in Romania, as it is reflected in the linguistic representations detectable at the level of verbal peritext. Exactly, the paper will deal with the specific / particular way to approach to the phenomenon described in the linguistic

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research as "wooden language". The title, as the first stage in decoding the meaning of the journalistic text, uses certain discursive strategies referring to major social-political and cultural events, which are characteristic of a certain society and allow the activating of the awareness of belonging to a cultural group.

The investigation is based on a selective material, extracted from *Neuer Weg (NW)* (between 1948-1992) / *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung (ADZ)* (between 1993-2008) and the Romanian newspapers *Scînteia (S)* (between 1948-1989) / *Adevărul (A)* (between 1990-2008).

2. Theoretical and methodological considerations

A. Wooden Language

Wooden Language presents itself as a linguistic peculiarity, assigned to a political totalitarian context (for example communism or fascism) in the first phase of its research from a linguistic point of view (Thom, 1993), and then, as a result of detailed research (Slama-Cazacu, 2000), identified in the formulation and statements of many speakers or of institutional representatives, mainly belonging to totalitarian societies. Even if the totalitarian regime passed off, the wooden language acts further, getting new forms, due to favouring contexts in the new social-political circumstances.

Revealing its characteristic linguistic features, Slama-Cazacu (2000, 2009, 31) defines the wooden language as "a subsystem of a Language, denoting mostly lexical elements but also idioms, used as *fixed* phrases, stone-still *clichés*, whose sense is determined in the context of a certain "authority (…); they are imitated but also imposed by the political power or groups of individuals with such velleities (…), then spread by *repetition*, by *frequent* usage in the mass media, leading thus to the annihilation of the receivers' thinking, who can become subject to a certain collective suggestion."

Wooden language, produced and imposed by those who are in power, has therefore the aim to annihilate the thinking of individuals by infusing of some mental constructs which should persuade them to adopt certain values, norms, behaviours, beliefs, mentalities desiderated by the Authority.

B. Cultural identity

The cultural identity is defined as a sum of all perceptions and knowledge through which a group of individuals are able to recognize each other as members of the same culture.

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In certain historical circumstances, *cultural identity* may be altered. This may represent the result of:

- a brutal intrusion, based on repression, fear, ideology, methods specific to the totalitarian regime, or
- through a subtle infiltration of the mind with those values and beliefs agreed by the current Power.

In both cases, language represents a key element for achieving the targeted objective.

Therefore, a cultural identity, once created and transported through language, may also be destroyed when it gets into contact with the Wooden Language.

3. Means of destroying cultural identity by using wooden language in Romanian and German-speaking media in Romania (following the verbal peritext axis)

The analysis of the two newspapers from the totalitarian period under scrutiny here demonstrates, first of all, dissolution in the traditional linguistic pattern, resulted from forcing a Soviet pattern over this entire age. This is why one cannot discuss about retaining own ethnical identity, but instead of identities perverted by verbal elements specific to the Stalinist socialist pattern.

However, ***in the beginning of the '50ies***, an attempt was made by the *Neuer Weg* newspaper and *Das Deutsche Antifaschistische Komitee* political organization to apply the spoken language – German, as an identity-related criterion for the Germans living in Romania; these are two areas for grouping ethnic Germans in one single entity. Despite this, the ethnic Germans accept and they enroll in a change process at the level of the entire Romanian society initiated by the political power of that age.

As a result of the analysis performed, one could see that *both newspapers* exhibit scraps of reality that refer to linguistic structures of the totalitarian age which are established by the Communist political regime. In an attempt made to legitimate the socialist ideology, the totalitarian Power forces upon the society a set of values and rules that the entire collectivity was supposed to identify itself with and everything that was not a part of this set of rules was being rejected and catalogued as outside the Communist group. Thus, the newspapers of that age manifested a trend to divide the entire society in two steep social and political categories, among which an enormous gap is created: *the Communists* and *the enemies of Communism.*

In the 50's, during the period of imposing socialist policies, there is a clear discrepancy between the two conflicting groups that is represented at linguistic level by the use of an abusive, violent verbal style with the purpose of intimidating the group of political enemies. Such terms are selected from the conflictual realm, terms that clearly designate the enemies of the regime, the target of all attacks, clearly prompting to immediate action against them. Terms such as *(G) sabotierende Grossbauern, Saboteure, Grossbauern, Ausbeuter, Spione, Verräter, Imperialisten /*

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(R) saboteur, kulak, spy, traitor, imperialist, bandits, assassins, profiteer come up quite often and they have a clearly negative ideological content.

G

(1) *Werktätige Bauern überführen **sabotierende Grossbauern**'*
(NW, 1.IV.1950, p. 1)
Working peasants convict **saboteur kulaks**

R

(2) *Ţăranii muncitori demască şi trimit în faţa Justiţiei pe **chiaburii sabotori**'*
(S, 13.III.1949, p. 5)
Working peasants expose and bring to Justice the **saboteur kulaks**

The negative attitude towards ethnic groups of Western Europe and America is interpreted as a divergence from the socialist rule, as it is explicitly achieved at linguistic level through abusive verbal actions. Nouns, verbs and adjectives are selected from viperous register of the language. Verbs such as *(G) überführen / (R) a demasca (to expose)* accompany an incriminating noun that, in its own turn, receives a determinative which has a predominantly negative meaning, usually under the shape of a qualifying adjective (*niederträchtige Mörder*) or an adjectival determinative that signifies a political/national affiliation (*G. amerikanische Imperialisten / R. bandiţii monarho-fascişti, ucigaşi hitlerişti, spioni titoişti, colonişti olandezi = fascist-monarchist bandits, Hitlerist assassins, Tito's, Dutch colonists*). All these elements reinforce the violence of the discourse.

In a fierce opposition with the group of nations from the Eastern Bloc, ethnic groups belonging to the "Capitalist Bloc" came up (Americans, British etc.), whose values, rules and institutions are heavily criticized through characterizations including identical syntactical structures and lexical elements, imposed by the Stalinist model *(G) die Feinde der Menschheit und des Friedens / Todfeind des Friedens / (R) duşmanii păcii / negustori de carne de tun, ucigaşi = enemies of peace / mongers of cannon fodder, murderers*.

G

(3) *'Nikos Beloiannis' Opfer - Aufruf zur Fortführung des Kampfes gegen **die Feinde der Menschheit und des Friedens** (subtitle) Tausende Bukarester Werktätige äussern ihre Empörung über das Verbrechen von Athen'*
(NW, 2.IV.1952, p. 5)
Nikos Beloiannis' sacrifice – the call for continuing the action to fight against the **enemies of humanity and peace** (subtitle) Thousand working people from Bucharest express their indignation at the crime in Athens

R

(4) *'Cîrdăşia dintre clica fascistă a lui Tito şi **bandiţii monarho-fascişti dela Atena**' (S, 26.IV.1950, p. 6)*
The conspiracy between Tito's fascist clique and the **fascist-monarchist bandits from Athens**

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In the beginning of the 50's, the German newspapers publish numerous articles that express political adhesion of the German ethnic group to the Socialist doctrine accompanied by a heavy criticism against everything the Nazi political regime had meant.

G

(5) *'**Faschismus** und **Imperialismus**' (NW, 18.III.1949, p. 6)*
Fascism and **imperialism**

(6) '*Die **hitleristische** Losung „Kanonen statt Butter" in englischer Ausgabe' (NW, 1.VI.1950, p. 2)*
The **Hitler** slogan „Cannons instead of food" in English version

To this purpose, in the first issue of the newspaper, on March 13, 1949, one can notice on the very first page an article entitled *Das Deutsche Antifaschistische Komitee, die Vertretung der werktätigen deutschen Bevölkerung in der Rumänischen Volksrepublik (NW, 13.III.1949, page 3)* that fulfils the role of a manifesto: on one hand, it is related to an organization of the German minority group, that recognizes itself as an ethnic minority group (das deutsche Komitee), on the other hand, it explicitly and openly denies the previous policy of the fascist Germany.

The German newspaper publishes articles on individuals belonging to the German minority group who condemn war and support the idea of peace and common understanding.

G

(7) *'„Sag, Mutter, kämpfst du auch für den **Frieden**?"'(NW, 14. I. 1951, p. 2)*
„Tell us, mother, do you fight for **peace**, too?"

One can notice that the headlines below belong to the sixties and they still tackle the Nazi issue from a critical perspective, obviously forced upon by the Party. They refer to the same reference taken from reality, however, by using a slightly different linguistic structure. It is clear that the German minority group in Romania recants the Nazi past and rejects identifying itself with it.

G

(8) *'Für den **Nazikriegsverbrechen** kann es **keine Verjährung** geben (subtitle) Für den "Neuen Weg" geschrieben von Constantin Paraschivescu Bălăceanu, Stellvertretendem Vorsitzenden des Juristenverbandes der RVR'*
(NW, 1.IV.1965, p. 3)
There is **no prescription** for **the Nazi war crimes** (subtitle) written for "Neuer Weg" by Constantin Paraschivescu Bălăceanu, vice chairman of the Law Society of the Socialist Republic of Romania

R

(9) *'Împotriva **prescrierii crimelor naziste**' (S, 18.II.1965, p. 6)*
Against **statute of limitation for Nazi crimes**

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As the political regime has strengthened, the harsh negative tone is gradually replaced by a language which ascertains the Power. This relaxation started ***in the '60s***.

Both newspapers promote the same strategies to eulogize the communist regime, with the difference that *Neuer Weg* covers the events from German communities in Romania (Sibiu, Braşov, Făgăraş, Mediaş, Sighişoara, Timişoara, Arad), while *Scînteia* brings in the spotlight extraordinary results achieved in the Romanian area. The German journalist emphasizes events which do not reach national level, but are limited to the German community, where they acquire value and significance, for example the tours performed by the German State Theatre in cities from Transylvania or the driving instructor Josej Weber of Timişoara, a representative of the German ethnic group, who earned his reputation due to his rich training activity. Such accounts use simple, common wording, without affected terms or neologisms.

G

(10) *'„Schneewittchens" Erlebnisse in **Hermannstadt** und **Kronstadt** (subtitle) Von der Tournee des **Temesvarer Deutschen Staatstheaters** durch **Siebenbürgen**' (NW, 25.IV.1965, p. 4)*
Experiences of „Snow White" in **Hermannstadt** and **Kronstadt** (subtitle) About the tour of the German State Theatre of Temesvar in Transsylvania

(11) *'Fünfhundert Personen das Autofahren beigebracht (subtitle) **Fahrlehrer Josej Weber aus Temesvar** hat über 1 Million Kilometer mit dem Dienstwagen zurückgelegt' (NW, 22.VII.1977, p. 3)*
He has taught five hundred persons to drive (subtitle) **The driving instructor Josef Weber from Temesvar** has covered about one million kilometre with the car

R

(12) *'Pe şantierul fabricii de mobilă de la **Balta Sărată**' (S, 15.V.1959, p. 1)*
On the furniture factory site from **Balta Sărată**

(13) *'**Brăila /** Unde se munceşte organizat, rezultatele sînt bune' (S, 18.III.1983, p. 3)*
Brăila / Organised work, good results

Throughout the totalitarian period there are articles about the efforts and voluntary actions put forward by representatives of the German community to demonstrate, through facts which can be perceived in the immediate reality, their adhesion to the standards imposed by the Communist regime. Among others, we notice in the early '50s the type of German Stakhanovist in the person of worker Wilhelm Kaschauer, who exceeded significantly the targets imposed by the factory in Reşiţa. The role of these articles is to strengthen the group identity. The German journalists use words and phraseology expressing superlative to suggest that the German ethnic group is contributing with all its might to building socialism, together with the Romanian people.

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G

(14) *'Arbeitergruppe unter Leitung **des Deutschen Arbeiters Wilhelm Kaschauer** in den Reschitzawerken **überfüllt die Normen**' (NW, 13.III.1949, p. 5)*
Group of workers under the guidance of **the German worker Wilhelm Kaschauer has overfulfilled the production plan** in the Reschitza factory

The Romanian newspaper is equally enthusiastic in presenting actions which demonstrate the communist zeal, where we also witness a significant number of Romanian Stakhanovists and the willingness to apply the Stakhanovist method.

R

(15) *'Urmînd iniţiativa **stahanovistului** N. Militaru' (S, 3.VII.1953, p. 1/2)*
Following the initiative of **Stakhanovite** N. Militaru

(16) *'Filiala A.R.L.U.S. - Iaşi popularizează metodele **stahanoviştilor** sovietici' (S, 14.I.1951, p. 2)*
A.R.L.U.S. - Iaşi popularize the methods of Soviet **Stakhanovites**

The accomplishments of the Regime are emphasized through quantitative assessments; at lexical level, they are expressed through facultative elements such as cardinal numerals with adjectival value, placed before the noun they modify. They indicate huge quantities, in order to highlight the exceptional achievements.

G

(17) *'Kronstädter erwirtschaften über **9 Millionen** Lei (subtitle) Patriotischer Wettbewerb auf Hochtouren' (NW, 25.IV.1965, p. 2)*
The people of Kronstadt generate more than **9 million** lei (subtitle) Patriotic Competition at a sustained rhythm

(18) *'Ferienlager-Unternehmen / Bis zu **17.000** Kinder in einer Saison' (NW, 24.VII.1977, p. 3)*
Vacantion camp / Up to **17.000 children** during a single season

R

(19) *'**414** apartamente peste plan' (S, 1.VII. 1973, p. 2)*
414 apartments exceeding the plan

(20) *'Puncte de reper pentru producţii agricole record (subtitle) La C.A.P. Moşteni-Furculeşti, judeţul Teleorman, **3 200** kg floarea soarelui la hectar' (S, 8.I.1985, p. 2)*
Landmarks for record agricultural yields (subtitle) C.A.P. Moşteni-Furculeşti, Teleorman County, reports **3 200** kg sunflower per hectare

The use of first-person pronouns in the plural form (*us* – included in the verb form / *wir*) is frequent in the statement-titles from the communist period in both newspapers, with the role to indicate unanimous participation, a feeling of belonging to the community, of solidarity with the rules, the beliefs and the interests of the Power.

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G

(21) *'Mit berechtigtem Stolz können **wir** auf die unter die Führung der Partei erzielten Erfolge blicken' (NW, 1.I. 1951, p. 6)*
We can look to the great achievements under the leadership of the Party with due pride

(22) *'So arbeiten **wir** im Hermannstädter Deutschen Theater' (NW, 15.V.1959, p. 2)*
This is the way in which **we** work in the German Theatre of Hermannstadt

R

(23) *'**Vom creşte** vite mai multe şi de rasă superioară' (S, 9.IX.1953, p. 1)*
We'll breed more and superior cattle breeds

(24) *'**Salutăm** din inimă încheierea armistiţiului în Coreea' (S, 29.VII.1953, p. 3)*
We salute with all our heart the Korean Armistice

The abbreviations used in *Neuer Weg* are taken from the Romanian language as they were in use at the time and published as such in the newspaper. Nevertheless, either the lead or the main text provides the explanation of that abbreviation in German:

- UMS – Hermannstädter Maschinenbau
- ONT – Oficiul Naţional de Turism (National Tourist Office)

This indicates an openness of the German culture to adapt to a communication style which is specific for the Romanian culture: it is a need to understand and use current abbreviations.

The totalitarian media from the two newspapers activate certain rigid syntactic patterns which popularize the values of the socialist society:

➢ The nominal style rich in nouns derived from verbs, in genitival attributes and qualifying adjectives.

G

(25) *'(headline) Dem 23. August entgegen (title) Für eine breite Front der demokratischen Kräfte (subtitlu) Wesenszüge der revolutionären Schöpfergeistes der Politik unserer Partei bei der Umgestaltung der Gesellschaft (II)' (NW, 4.VIII.1977, p. 1)*
(headline) To honour the 23rd of August (title) For a broad front of the democratic forces (subtitle) Major traits of the revolutionary creative genius of politics encouraged by our Party in the transformation of society

R

(26) *'Nicio întreprindere în afara întrecerii socialiste! (subtitle) Chemarea la întrecere socialistă în cinstea zilei de 1 Mai găseşte un puternic răsunet în rîndurile muncitorilor şi tehnicienilor' (S, 1.IV.1950, p. 1)*
No enterprise outside the Socialist competition! (subtitle) The call for Socialist competition to honour the 1st of May is heartily embraced by workers and technicians

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➢ The mobilizing formulas which anchor the message in the semantic scope of the urge to action and give emotional strength to the idea of cooperation.

These formulas have different structures in Romanian and in German.

For German, we may mention the following types of mobilizing formulas:

– Use of active infinitive with hortative value

(27) *'Zusatzprogramm verantwortungsvoll **erfüllen** (subtitle) Generalversammlungen der Werktätigen im Zeichen der Beschlüsse des grossen Forums der Arbeiterklasse' (NW, 24.VII.1977, p. 1)*

Additional programme **must be** responsibly **accomplished** (subtitle) General Assembly of working people largely dominated by the resolutions of the Great Forum of the working classes

– Use of participle II

(28) *'Gute und sorgsame Pflege der Treibriemen in jedem Betrieb **geboten**' (NW, 24.I.1952, p. 4)*

Efficient and careful supervision of belts **is of the essence** in every plant

– Prepositional groups

(29) *'(headline) Im Geiste der Anweisungen des Genossen Nicolae Ceauşescu, der vom Politischen Exekutivkomitee des ZK der RKP festgelegten Massnahmen (title) Durch organisierte Tätigkeit **zur** Einlösung des Solls unter umsichtiger Energiebewirtschaftung' (NW, 23.I.1985, p. 3)*

In the spirit of the directives of comrade Nicolae Ceauşescu, of the measures established by the political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (title) By means of organised activities **towards** fulfilling the plan while carefully managing the energy consumption

– Direction adverbs

(30) *'**Vorwärts** zu neuen Siegen' (NW, 1.IV.1965, p. 1)*

Forward towards new victories

– Modal verb *müssen / dürfen* + infinitive

(31) *'Die Agitationsarbeit **darf nicht** formell **sein**!' (NW, 2.III.1956, p. 1)*

Agitation **must not be** formal!

For Romanian we identified the following patterns of mobilizing formulas:

– Use of conjunctive

(32) *'**Să terminăm** secerişul la timp!' (S, 29.VII.1953, p. 1)*

Let's finish harvesting on time! - exclamation-based nominal groups, usually associated with a simple comparative adjective with enhancing role or including lexical elements (nouns, adjectives) whose semantic component involves mobilization.

(33) *'(headline) În fiecare întreprindere, la fiecare loc de muncă (title) **Acţiuni** perseverente, multilaterale pentru **creşterea în ritm** mai înalt a productivităţii muncii' (S, 12.IV.1977, p. 1)*

(headline) In every enterprise, at every workplace (title) Persistent, multilateral **actions to increase at a higher pace** work productivity

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– Prepositional groups

(34) *'**Sub steagul** întrecerii socialiste, în cinstea zilei de 23 August şi a Festivalului!' (S, 17.VI.1953, p. 1)*
Under the flag of socialist competition, in honour of the 23rd of August and of the Festival!

(35) *'**Spre** noi realizări în dezlegarea tainelor Universului' (S, 12.IV.1973, p. 5)*
Towards new accomplishments in unveiling the mysteries of the Universe

– Passive-reflexive formulas

(36) *'Cu abnegaţie şi eroism, metodic şi disciplinat, **se face** totul pentru salvarea vieţii omeneşti. Oriunde există o fărîmă de speranţă, nici un efort cruţat!' (S, 8.III.1977, p. 5)*
With abnegation and heroism, methodically and with discipline, everything **is being done** to save human lives. No efforts spared wherever there is a spark of hope!

– Direction adverbs

(37) *'Cu chipul lui Stalin în inimi **înainte**!' (9.III.1953, p. 3)*
With Stalin's face in our hearts, **forward**!

The critical discourse against Western Europe and the United States of America continues, but less vehemently and it is limited to the political sphere where certain decisions and events are commented negatively. Such criticism is published under the international news column and they are expressed lexically by using depreciatory words. The German newspaper often presents negatively the political situation from the capitalist Germany.

G

(38) *'US-Flugzeuge **bombardieren** friedliche Bevölkerung' (NW, 1.IV.1965, p. 4)*
US-airplanes **bomb** peaceful civilian population

(39) *'Kaum greifbare Ergebnisse (subtitle) Dissonante Töne auf dem **Bonner Wirtschaftsgipfel**' (NW, 12.V.1985, p. 2)*
Little tangible results (subtitle) Notes of discord at **the economic summit in Bonn**

R

(40) *'**Uneltirile** SUA se poticnesc' (S, 26.I.1962, p. 4)*
USA **contrivances** blunder

(41) '*Măsuri americane pentru împiedicarea demonstraţiilor **antiimperialiste**' (S, 15.IV.1965, p. 6)*
American actions to prevent **anti-imperialist** demonstrations

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4. Attempt to re-construct the ethnic identity at the level of journalistic language after 1989

A. Abandonment of communist wooden language usage. adapting the verbal strategies to the new realities

After the fall of communist regime, both newspapers attempt a re-construction of cultural identity and an abandonment of the forms of communist wooden language. This happens first of all by giving up the pompous, laudatory style and the noun phrases excessively expanded by ornate epithets and genitival attributes. Instead concise formulations appear which focus on important information.

In both newspapers, one can notice the orientation to the occidental and American model which provide a significant clue in establishing values and norms. The German newspaper shows an obvious tendency to refer to reunited Germany, German speaking countries (Austria and Switzerland) but also to the German minorities in other countries.

In the political news of both newspapers, written at the beginning of the 1990s, it's easy to notice that there are some terms used with new political meaning and the attempt to offer an explanation for the meaning of these words in the text: *(G) Dialog, Demokratie, demokratisch, Kooperation / (R) dialog, parteneriat, cooperare, restructurare, democraţie, autonomie, privatizare = dialogue, partnership, cooperation, restructuring, democracy, self-determination, privatisation.*

G

(42) *'**Kooperation** mit den USA und Deutschland (subtitle) Tinca: „Schreiben der 300" eine Beleidigung' (ADZ, 5.VII.1995, p. 1)*
Cooperation with the USA and Germany (subtitle) Tinca: „Communication of the 300" – an offence

R

(43) *'Pentru **dialog**!' (A, 1.II.1990, p. 1)*
For **dialogue**!

(44) *'Începe marea **privatizare** în comerţ şi turism (subtitle) Vreţi să cumpăraţi un magazin sau un hotel?' (A, 10.I.1992, p. 3)*
The great **privatisation** in tourism and commerce started (subtitle) Do you want to buy a shop or a hotel?

The countries belonging to the former communist Eastern bloc are presented in the early 1990s as facing serious economic, political, social problems; they recognize their east European identity and appraise it critically, describing it with negative attributes: weak economy, because it was destroyed by the communist regime, political inability of government to solve economic and social problems. For this reason, they wish the alignment with west-European standards. The outlining of a

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negative perception of east Europe is indicated by a series of words and phrases with depreciative connotations, used:

- both by (un)official east European representatives: **(G)** *Probleme, Streiks, nicht vom Himmel fallen, das Gerangel (încăierare), Streit, Kreditbedarf, Schulden* / **(R)** *evoluţii contradictorii = contradictory developments,*
- and by members of the west European culture, especially by the politicians: **(G)** *dringend, nötig, kein Entwicklungsmodell, Privatisierung, Sanierung, Auseinanderbrechen des Landes (Jugoslawien)* / **(R)** *contradictorii, a debutat cu stângul, abuz de putere, corupţie = contradictory, it began at the wrong end, abuse of power, corruption.*

In both newspapers, the intentions and actions of occidental governments to support financially the east European countries are pointed out.

G

(45) '(*headline) Nach den Wahlen erst eine demokratische Zukunft (subtitle) Für den* ***Westen*** *ist* ***Ungarn*** *der Pionier unter den Ländern* ***Osteuropas*** */ Im Lande selbst* ***häufen sich die Probleme****' (NW, 1.II.1990, p. 2)*
(headline) After elections first a democratic future (subtitle) **Hungary** is for **the Western countries** the pioneer among the countries of Eastern Europe / **The problems are mounting up in the country**

R

(46) *'**Evoluţii contradictorii** în economia poloneză' (A, 1.II.1990, p. 6)*
Contradictory developments in the Polish economy

(47) *'**Cehoslovacia**: Măsuri de prevenire a **abuzului de putere**' (A, 18.IV.1991, p. 6)*
Czechoslovakia: Actions to prevent **abuse of power**

(48) *'Ministrul agriculturii acuzat de **corupţie**' (A, 1.IV.1994, p. 1)*
Minister of Agriculture accused of **corruption**

We can also see that both european areas are labelled with neutral formulations which contain references to their geographical location: *(G) der Westen, westlich, Osteuropa / (R) ţările occidentale, comunitatea euro-atlantică, Europa de Est, Europa Răsăritenă = Western countries, Euro-Atlantic Community, Eastern Europe* or with the name of the country to which the respective area belongs, thus having a metonymycal meaning.

G

(49) *'Kein **Osteuropa**-Entwicklungsmodell (subtitle) EGB-Generalsekretär zum Streit über Sanierung oder Privatisierung' (NW, 13.IV.1991, p. 2)*
No **East Europe** - development model (subtitle) EGB General Secretary about the dispute over renovation or privatisation

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R

(50) *'Repercusiuni ale schimbărilor din **Europa de Est** asupra politicii **ţărilor occidentale** (subtitle) Declaraţii ale preşedinţilor Franţei şi Italiei' (A, 1.II.1990, p. 6)*
Repercussions of **Eastern Europe changes** on **Western countries** policies (subtitle) Statement of the French and Italian

B. Usage of new forms of communication, appropriate for ethnic specificity

After the fall of the communist regime, ***the German community*** constructs its identity by including itself in the German minority group which they evaluate positively but also by referring to other ethnic groups with which they establish contacts: among the most important we can mention:

- the Romanian community, the ethnic majority within which they live and with which they permanently remain in touch
- the German speaking community (Germany, Austria, Switzerland), regarded as main yardstick, as it is the area where literary standard German is spoken.

This aspect can be identified first in the news and reports about the events in the area of the German minority in Romania, reinforcing the idea of belonging to the values and traditions of this minority; for example the building of the House Adam Müller Guttenbrunn in Timişoara, which is going to be a cultural centre of the German ethnic group and a retirement house, an institution, which the people of Timişoara already call "Deutsches Haus" (German House); the conference of the German and Romanian historians on "Nationalism" at Goethe Institute; the crashing down of the fortified castle wall in Sighişoara.

G

(51) *'Baubeginn am **AMG-Haus**' (NW, 8.VI.1991, p. 1)*
Starting the construction of the **AMG-House**

(52) *'Von Oberth zu Vlad Dracul (subtitle) Abschluss der Feierlichkeiten in **Siebenbürgen**' (ADZ, 1.VI.1994, p. 1)*
From Oberth to Vlad Dracul (subtitle) Closing ceremony in **Transsylvania**

The news regarding the political status of the ethnic German group in Romania, the achievements and problems that German minorities in Romania and in other countries face, are relevant in this respect.

G

(53) *'**Deutsche Minderheit in Polen** gleich behandeln' (NW, 12.IV.1991, p. 1)*
German minority in Poland has to be treated equally

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The Romanian newspaper contains seldom news about the national minorities living in Romania, for example about the Hungarian ethnie when it seems to be some ethnic problems.

R

(54) *'(headline) Actualitatea politică şi „actualitatea eseistică" în (title) Chestiunea **maghiarilor** din România' (A, 18.IV.1991, p. 3)*
(headline) Political actuality and "essayistic actuality" in (title) **Hungarian** issues in Romania

At the same time, there are articles that emphasize the co-operation of different social categories, belonging to the German minority in Romania, with institutions from Germany at political, economic, social, educational level. They inform about organizations with the seat located in Germany, which express their intention to support the German minority in Romania and the Romanian community financially. This cooperation is usually preceded by a preliminary visit of the German representatives in order to gather documentary evidence about the situation in Romania. The newspaper *Neuer Weg* relates it and mentions some deficient aspects regarding the activity of the Romanian authorities.

G

(55) *'Initiativen für **deutsche Minderheiten in Osteuropa**' (NW, 5.IV.1991, p. 1)*
Initiatives for **German minorities in Eastern Europe**

(56) *'Reservenbildung ausser Frage (subtitle) Konsultativkommission beriet über Wirtschaftsfragen / Bundesregierung **stellt Hilfe** im Wert von 2 Millionen DM **bereit**' (NW, 13.IV.1991, p. 1)*
Accumulation of reserves out of question (subtitle) Consultative Council debated economic issues / The Federal Government **provide assistance of** 2 million DM

The German newspaper presents detailed, carefully and accurately the news about Federal Germany but neither the events in the other two German speaking countries (Austria and Switzerland) are neglected. Regarding the German press, we can mention the metonymycal use of country and city names; they are used to indicate the attitude and decisions of the government of a country, a discursive strategy easy to understand and accessible for the readership. There are also news about Germany in the Romanian newspaper but we have noticed a low level of their appearance in the newspaper.

G

(57) *'Fast 14.000 **Asylbewerber** im März in Deutschland' (NW, 5.IV.1991, p. 1)*
Around 14.000 **asylum seekers** in march in Germany

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(58) *'**Schröder** und **Blair** über Europakurs (subtitle) „Volle Mitspieler in Europa"' (ADZ, 1.VII.2000, p. 2)*
Schröder and **Blair** about the course of Europa (subtitle) „Close partners in Europe"

R

(59) *'România aşteaptă credite din **Germania**' (A, 4.IV.1991, p. 1)*
Romania waiting for loans from **Germany**

(60) *'**Germania**: Arestarea unui important agent STASI' (A, 18.IV.1991, p. 6)*
Germany: Arrest of an important STASI agent

The Romanian titles abound in colloquial-informal words and phrases having a comic or ironic meaning, in vocatives, in address terms which anchor the Romanian technique of entitling to the level of orality. The German titles also contain elements of orality but the direct address formulae to the interlocutor are lacking and they are replaced with verbal forms.

There is a tendency of the Romanian journalists from the newspaper *Adevărul* to use words and expressions belonging to the colloquial conversational register of the Romanian language when describing the economic and political deficient situation of the east-European countries.

R

(61) *'Parlamentul albanez **a debutat cu ... stîngul**' (A, 17.IV.1991, p. 6)*
Albanian Parliament **begins ... at the wrong end**

(62) *'Rubla, **cînd la vale, cînd la deal**' (A, 11.III.1992, p. 8)*
The rouble, **downhill, uphill**

(63) *'Domnul Varga **dă cu bîta în legile ţării**' (A, 12.III.1992, p. 2)*
Mr Varga **beats about the bush when it comes to national legislation** – the title includes a wordplay: the name of the politician Varga is associated with the lexical item "bat" for comic effects.

We have found even relics of the communist wooden language (even of virulent stalinist type) in the early 1990s.

R

(64) *'Transnistria; **Complot** şi **banditism** politic' (A, 11.III.1992, p. 8)*
Transnistria; **Complot** and political **banditism** – *complot* and *banditism* are two terms typical of the political Stalinist discourse of virulent type

(65) *'**Se cer bani** pentru oţel şi cultură' (A, 12.III.1992, p. 3)*
Money is requested for steel and culture – passive reflexive formula

In the 2000s, news about political cooperation and financial support provided by occidental countries come to the fore. The German newspaper often presents articles about promoting common cultural countries, initiated by persons coming from west-

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European areas. Unlike *ADZ* newspaper, that relates everything in an objective and neutral manner, the analysed Romanian newspaper prefers plane, ordinary expressions of the colloquial informal language.

G

(66) *'140-Meter Schanze in der Sculerau? (subtitle) FIS-Renndirektor Walter Hofer will **den rumänischen Wintersport fördern**' (ADZ, 1.IV.2006, p. 8)*
140 Meter ski slope in Poiana Braşov? (subtitle) FIS-director Walter Hofer wants to support the Romanian winter sport

R

(67) *'SAPARD – **undă verde pentru** România '*
SAPARD – **green light for** Romania – the European Union approved the selection of 59 projects under a pilot programme.

(68) *'Conlucrare între Paris şi Bucureşti **împotriva „coşmarului ţigănesc"**' (A, 21.VII.2002, p. 1)*
Cooperation between Paris and Bucharest **against the "gypsy nightmare"**

The differences between East Germany, called at the beginning of the 1990s *(G) Ex-DDR, die neuen Bundesländer / (R) RDG, Germania de Est = GDR, East Germany*, and West Germany emerged after Reunification (East West Rifts of United Germany) and they are indicated only in the early 1990s in the political international news: the new Bundesländer in east, integrated into the Federal Germany, have economic, financial (inability to pay), political difficulties, while West Germany undertakes many investments in the east German economy and by the actions they take, they try to integrate east Germany in the west-German structures. The negative considerations regarding the east German group are reflected at lexical level by words and expressions such as: *(G) drastisch erhöhen, Pleite / (R) acuzaţi de înaltă trădare = accused of high treason* or by cardinal numbers expressing a large amount in order to show the low social and economic level.

G

(69) *'Der schwierige Weg aus der Pleite (subtitle) **Ostdeutsche** Städte und Gemeinden müssen ihre **Einnahmen drastisch erhöhen** / Kreditfinanzierung **stösst auf Grenzen**' (NW, 4.IV.1991, p. 2)*
The difficult way to get out of bankruptcy (subtitle) **Eastern German** cities and communities must **increase their earnings drastically /** Setting **credit limits**

R

(70) *'Foşti lideri **est-germani** acuzaţi de înaltă trădare (subtitle) Peste 400 de procese în desfăşurare în **R.D.G.**' (A, 1.II.1990, p. 6)*
Former **East German** leaders accused of high treason (subtitle) More than 400 ongoing trials in **GDR**

(71) *'"**Cazul est-german**" şi neliniştea europeană' (A, 17.IV.1991, p. 6)*
"The East German case" and the European unrest

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In this way, West Europe becomes a yardstick, a guideline for east European countries, who wish and hope to take up its models, patterns and suggestions. Especially at the beginning of the 1990s, we can notice a positive evaluation of the forms of occidental culture, while the violation of its own principles and norms and the inability to solve the socio-economic problems of the east Europe cause a disappointment which will encourage and promote the orientation to the occidental model. Thus, all east European countries give their best to get in connection with it. Since 2000, when Romania wants to join the European Union and finally manages it, West Europe is synonym to European Union.

G

(72) *'Zarenstadt als Steuerparadies (subtitle) Sankt Petersburg* ***lockt westliches Kapital*** *mit „Freizone"* ***heran****' (NW, 21.II.1992, p. 2)*
City of the tsars as tax paradise (subtitle) Sankt Petersburg attracts Western capital by means of "duty free zone"

4. Conclusions

The analysis performed in the preceding pages reveals that the wooden language exerts a levelling action, aiming at the dissolution of ethnic identity.

At the level of the linguistic enunciation this fact translates primarily in the lexicon.

Despite the fact that the wooden language of totalitarian regimes tends to be abandoned in the new post-revolutionary democracies, there are indications of the emergence of the germs of new forms of the phenomenon in question, insinuating and subtle ones, which are all based on commonplaces and stereotypes, but selected in a particular manner in the communication of each social group.

In this regard, there are both some commonalities, and some significant differences between the journalistic totalitarian style and the headlining/titling/subtitling strategies used after 1990 between the two types of texts involved in the research. Here are some examples:

There can be noticed, immediately after the "change", a reduction in the length of headlines/titles in favour of shorter, concentrated constructions, summarizing the essential:

G

(73) *'Bulgarien: Dringend Strukturkonzept nötig' (NW, 13.IV.1991, p. 1)*
Bulgaria: needs urgently a new concept of structure

R

(74) *'Stabilitate şi sărăcie' (A, 10.III.1992, p. 1)*
Stability and poverty

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Another observation on the post-totalitarian headlines/titles, extracted from the corpus analysis refers to *the preferential exploitation of the dysphoric semantic fields*. It is about the presence of selected terms in the field of death and destruction vocabulary that induce the subject reader a sense of anxiety and psychological discomfort. The presence of these dysphoric headlines/titles are explained, on the one hand, by the desire of discarding the wooden, rigid and encased in clise formulas and of replacing it by another type of a new uncensored language and – characteristic of the early 1990s – and, on the other hand, by the altered social reality characterized by an increase in violence – many psycho-sociological studies demonstrate the link between media violence and the real life one (see Pruteanu 2007: 334).

G

(75) *'**Schwere Zusammenstöße** in Teheran am Jahrestag der Studentenunruhen' (ADZ, 11.VII.2002, p. 2)*
Violent confrontations in Tehran on the anniversary of student protests

R

(76) *'**L-a călcat în picioare** până l-a **omorât**' (A, 15.IV.1994, p. 10)*
He trampled him until he **killed** him

(77) *'Fiul **măcelărit cu toporul şi cuţitul**' (A, 11.VI.1994, p. 12)*
Son **slaughtered with axe and knife**

Then, as a global phenomenon, there are reported throughout the press numerous loans from English. For example, in the German newspaper, the English word *Comeback* used instead of *Neubeginn* occurs since February 1990 and has a very high frequency usage during the following period.

G

(78) *'Pädagogen versuchen Comeback (subtitle) Erste Schritte zur Schaffung eines Verbands' (NW, 1.II.1990, p. 1)*
Pedagogues try Comeback (subtitle) First steps towards forming an organisation

R

(79) *'Viaţa la **second-hand**' (A, 7.IV.1998, p. 9)*
Second-hand life

(80) *'Un nou **site web** al Microsoft România' (A, 16.XII.2000, p. 7)*
A new Microsoft Romania **website**

The German newspaper differs from Romanian one by the following features:

- the use of colloquial register, typical for the relaxed communication circumstances, much more balanced as compared to the Romanian language newspaper in question, so that the German language newspaper stands out by

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approaching a serious, even familiar tone, but without formulation excesses that violate the rules of neat, controlled expression;

- the presence of many words formed by compounding, that are not registered in the dictionary, but easily decoded by the receiver(s)/readers, due to the knowledge of the meaning of elements in a compound word . These constructs have a lower degree of expression than those used in the Romanian language newspaper and are not part of the language slang, but suggests solidity/endurance and seriousness.

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