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The use of language in constructing hybrid identities. Local and global in German and Romanian written press in Romania

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The paper aims at presenting some aspects regarding the way in which German and Romanian cultural identity is represented in the field of journalistic communication in Romania, as it is reflected in the linguistic constructions employed in pre- and post-revolutionary written press (namely before and after 1989). Generally speaking, the definition of the concept of " hybrid identity" implies taking into account the specificity of the various historical periods in the coexistence of the ethnic groups considered (in this case, we refer to the communist and post-communist period reflected in the written press). For this study, the authors adopt the theoretical viewpoint of cross-cultural pragmatics (Wierzbicka 1991) in assessing the language facts. The investigation is based on selective materials extracted from the German newspapers existing in Romania – "Neuer Weg" (NW) 1948-1992) / "Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien" (ADZ) (1993-2008), and the Romanian newspapers "Scînteia" (S) (1948-1989) / "Adevărul" (A) (1990-2014). In presenting the linguistic facts that mirror the hybridisation of the linguistic identity of the German community in Romania (Manu Magda 2012) on the level of journalistic language (Dănilă 2016) we take into consideration the two aforementioned periods: the ("early" and "late")" communist period", when there prevailed the "marked" forms of the "wooden language", which is characterised, in general, by the elimination of specific actualisations of linguistic identity and the adoption of Russian clichés; the "post-communist period", defined by two parallel directions: "re-evaluation of linguistic identity" (indicated by convergence towards the core linguistic identity, i.e., the one from Germany), "linguistic globalisation" (indicated by convergence towards the international linguistic community, dominated by the "*imperialism of the English language*"; *this direction can be noticed in relation to both languages explored – Romanian and German*).

Key words: cross-cultural pragmatics, written press, group identity, hybrid identity, linguistic globalisation

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1. Preliminary considerations

1.1. Scope of the work

The paper belongs to the very actual scientific research area, dealing with *the modalities of dialogue realization in multilingual communitie*s. We shall attempt - starting from certain peculiarities of codes used in the Romanian public space (specifically that of Transylvania) - to refer to *some pragmatic aspects of communication in such pluri-lingual communities.* Having contact between different cultures and thus, different linguistic groups, leads to the formation of *hybrid and complex identities*.

One of the most easily available means for experiencing the linguistic habits of one nation/ community is represented by *mass-media*. *Media-based communication* represents a special type of communication achieved through media discourse. Mass-media worldwide presents itself as a genuine "framework" of *the* intra- and inter-community *social dialogue*, favouring reciprocal influences among various social-cultural categories.[3]

The present research paper challenges the notion of identity in relation to language by looking at how identities are created in communication encounters. Concretely, the paper aims at presenting some aspects regarding the way in which *German and Romanian cultural identity* is represented in the field of journalistic communication in Romania, as it is reflected in the linguistic constructions employed in pre- and post-revolutionary written press (namely before and after 1989). We shall limit ourselves essentially to text analysis, a very suggestive one for the topic under research, to the analysis of the verbal peritext[4] (newspaper title, a component of the paratext[5]).

The investigation is based on selective materials extracted from the German newspapers existing in Romania – *Neuer Weg (NW)* (1948-1992), *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien (ADZ)* (1993-2008) – and the Romanian newspapers

[3] Social dialogue (SD) represents a collective discursive activity, which is attended by groups having a certain sociological profile (please take into consideration the distinctive element, the dominant feature), achieved through a series of representatives, through various means and paths, in order to justify and reach certain political, economic or cultural objectives (according to Guțu-Gomalo 1991).

[4] We specify that *verbal peritext* represents, based on our understanding, "the level of verbal sequences accompanying the newspaper (authorial) text that are mediating the "author-text-reader" relationship, thus ensuring the "stage of guiding and influencing the reader, the preliminary stage before the actual reading" (Cvasnîi Cătănescu 2006: 7).

[5] *The specific paratext for printed media* includes two types of discursive productions: *peritext and epitext,* discursive objects of verbal and non-verbal nature, whose space for display is represented by the journalistic work. Paratext, reduced to the peritext + epitext formula, may be: of authorial origin (when delivered by the author) or editorial one (when built and decided by the editor). However, printed media capitalizes mostly on the two paratextual components: the editorial peritext and the authorial peritext and only to a small extent the editorial epitext.

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Scînteia (S) (1948-1989), *Adevărul (A)* (1989-2014).[6] The authors adopt the theoretical viewpoint of *cross-cultural pragmatics* (see Wierzbicka 1991, 1997) in assessing the language facts.

1.2. Theoretical and methodological considerations

1.2.1. What are the pluri-lingual communities?

In the process of intercultural exchanges, *language appears as a means of communication, as well as an expression of a certain cultural identity, with a unique and precise history of its own, that has developed in a certain context.* This represents, at the same time, a dynamic cultural product of a civilisation which is carrying over social symbols, a spiritual linkage (a spiritual connection) for a nation and, at the same time, a competition play field among the various "subcultures" using it. Consequently, a paramount objective for a multicultural community is *pluri-lingualism.*

Due to own cultural charges, carried over by each language, the process of inter-cultural communication among individuals who know the language of "the other" also entails:

- *shaping signification and behaviour codes, partially different from the one existing in each mother tongue,*
- *increasing permeability for inter-cultural communication and perception.*

1.2.2. The hybrid identity concept

Identity represents the feeling of appurtenance to a social group in which an individual shares a series of feelings with the others such as: family, language, nation, ideology, professional group and so on. Only on such grounds we can speak

[6] *Neuer Weg* was the first German-language daily press organ addressing a nationwide audience in Romania under the communist regime. The first issue of the newspaper was published on March 13, 1949. In 1992 *Neuer Weg* was closed down. It was replaced by *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien* (ADZ) a German-language daily newspaper based in Romania, first published in 1993. It is currently the only German language daily newspaper published in Eastern Europe.
Scînteia ("The Spark" - title borrowing from the Russian *Iskra*) was a newspapers edited by Communist groups at different intervals in Romanian history. During Communist Romania (since early 1948), it was the barometer of policy changes, and the main medium through which the regime indicated its aims.
Adevărul (meaning "The Truth") is a Romanian daily newspaper, based in Bucharest set up in 1989, just days after the Romanian Revolution, replacing *Scînteia*, organ of the defunct Romanian Communist Party. *Adevărul* became one of the most popular and trusted press venues. (see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki, Müller 2001 and Olshausen 2005). See also SOURCES in the References.

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of *national identity, linguistics identity, ethnical identity, group identity and even European identity.*

One of the key conditions for success in building *dialogue within the pluri-lingual communities is represented by the development of intercultural competence by its inhabitants, specifically its fundamental component, and the intercultural communicative competence*.

The intercultural competence is ranked among the most required basic skills for individuals in today's world, a world that is going through a *globalization process.* The stages in training this skill are the following: changing the human behaviour by accepting cultural influences; perceiving various "cultural patterns" that are different from one's own patterns, in order to be valued, without positive or negative hierarchical system; identifying the standards of one's own culture and judging the effects of its interaction with other cultures (awareness of one's own culture); enlarging the "patterns" of one's own cultural behaviour through the flexible use of "cultural rules", adopting some norms from other cultures in a selective manner (through hybridization), making some rational cultural choices in specific situations, surmounting "intercultural conflicts".

"Hybridity"[7] commonly refers to "the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone." Hybridisation takes many forms including cultural, political and linguistic forms. The concept of hybridity refers to the integration (or, mingling) of cultural signs and practices from the one culture to another. The assimilation and adaptation of cultural practices can be seen as positive, enriching, and dynamic, as well as oppressive." The movement of cultural hybridity is so brisk, that one can hardly speak of discrete national cultures that are not fundamentally informed.

All cultures turn out to be hybrid. Hybridity is a crucial factor where a notion of the past is "negotiated as fragmented sets of narrated memories and experiences with which to mobilize contemporary communities." (Vîlceanu 2010, 153)

Inclusion of *hybrid identity* at a concrete level implies taking into account:

- *the specificity of the various historical periods* in the coexistence of the ethnic groups considered: here we take into consideration the number of speakers, the degree of openness of linguistic communities, thus social mobility, degree of segmentation within the verbal repertoire, the social-linguistic level where the influences are exerted: language, dialect, sociolect (in this case, we refer to the communist and post-communist period reflected in the printed media) and
- *the identification, on the basis of linguistic facts*, of what happens with a person's identity when (s)he uses several languages while exchanging information with other interlocutors and which influences determine a *group's identity* (see Hall 1990).

[7] For the definition of the concept in question, see Kapchan & Turner Strong 1999.

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2. Romanian-German linguistic relations in terms of media-based communication in Romania

The linguistic area of historical Transylvania provides "the original picture" of overlapping three totally different languages: *Romanian, Hungarian and German.* It was often required during the process of everyday living for the speakers to be competent in using all the three of them in the communication process. [8] Relationships between the ethnic groups, quoted below, would evolve from mere influences due to the *mutual exchange of words and things to massive influences in terms of the linguistic behaviour of speaker, mostly a pluri-directional one*.

In presenting the linguistic facts that mirror the hybridisation of the linguistic identity of the German community in Romania (see Manu Magda 2012) on the level of journalistic language (Dănilă 2016) we take into consideration three periods:

1) The (*early* and *late*) *communist period*, when there prevailed the *marked* forms of the *wooden language*, which is characterised, in general, by the elimination of specific actualisations of linguistic identity and the adoption of Russian clichés;
2) The *post-communist period*, defined by the *re-evaluation of linguistic identity* (indicated by convergence towards the core linguistic identity, i.e., the one from Germany);
3) The period of *linguistic globalisation* (indicated by convergence towards the international linguistic community, dominated by the "imperialism of the English language"; this direction can be noticed in relation to both languages explored – Romanian and German).

Together with their subcategories, sociolinguistic conglomerates that result from the above-mentioned processes have an important influence on the construction of hybrid identities in the context of the analysed journalistic language.

2.1. The communist period

During the early Communist period, both ethnic groups taken into consideration here were confronted with a planned phenomenon *of identity dissolution* as *the effects of the past Soviet Communist Programme.* In its attempt to legitimize the socialist ideology, *the totalitarian power imposes an overall set of values and rules that the entire community was supposed to identify itself with and anything that was not part of this set of rules was rejected and catalogued as coming from outside the communist group.*

[8] In order to check how this topic has been dealt with, see, among other, Capesius 1934 / 1990.

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A great many features of the *wooden language*[9] *could be identified within the texts subjected to analysis: this entails long sentences with a nominal style which leaves space for the stereotype phenomena (by using the cliché of the Russian and communist wooden language) and the depersonalization (by bringing to a common denominator the ethnic imaginary of "nationalities living together within the same nation" and by imposing the totalitarian Weltanschaung).*[10]

The intention and the achieved effect was that the authority imposes the command over the linguistic code and the technocratic knowledge, preventing another way of thinking, respectively hiding or disguising the true reality. (According to Slama-Cazacu 2000).

Based on the analysis performed, we were able to notice that in both newspapers of that time (NW, respectively S), the scraps of reality that the linguistic structures from the totalitarian period make references to are determined by the *communist political regime.*

One could find the following elements among the most widely used journalistic methods alongside the scope of the research:

2.1.1. At the pragmatic-discoursive level

2.1.1.1. The use, in both papers, of the 1st person plural personal pronoun (*us - not expressed distinctively, included in the verbal form / wir - updated pronoun), with the role of signaling unanimous participation, a feeling of belonging to the community, attaining a state of solidarity with the rules, beliefs and interests of Power*.

German	Romanian
(1a) *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.	(1b) *Cu ajutorul U.R.S.S. **(noi) creăm** noi ramuri industriale* (S, 4.II.1953, p. 2) **(We) create new industrial sectors** with the help of USSR

[9] The *wooden language* concept appeared for the first time within the French linguistic space under the *langue de bois* formula in a paper signed by Thom 1987/2005. The paper, published under the *La langue de bois* title, deals with the analysis of the Russian political discourse, where it identifies great many linguistic elements of the so called *wooden language*.

[10] *The wooden language represents a subsystem of a language made up from lexical units, as well as phrase unitsoperating as fixed, cliche type of expressions*. Their meaning is determined in the context of a certain authority and they are used as an expression of a certain ideology or ideological, economic, political, technological, cultural subsystems that belong to an authority or to a power.

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2.1.1.2. Massive usage of some *mobilizing formulas* (materialized under the shape of injunctive acts of language*: an order, a demand*) where the "mandatory/required/urgent" operator is predominant; these is translated into the following functions:

German

– modal verbs "müssen" / "dürfen" + infinitive (a formula that expresses an objective requirement, a constraint, an absolute demand)

(2) *Der Balkan **muss** eine Friedenszone **werden**! (Rubric title)*
(NW, 15.V.1959, p. 6)
The Balkans **must become** a zone of peace!

(3) *Die Agitationsarbeit **darf** nicht formell sein*! (NW, 2.III.1956, p. 1)
Agitation **must not be** formal!

– 1st active infinitive with imperative value:

(4) *Jede Minute für den Frieden **kämpfen**!* (NW, 1.I.1951, p. 1)
We must **fight for** peace one minute at a time!

– 2nd participle

(5) *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

– direction adverbials

(6) *In grosser Geschlossenheit **vorwärts*** (NW, 9.III.1953, p. 1)
Let's go **further** with a great deal of unanimity!

(7) *Nun **an** den Mais **heran**!* (NW, 15.V.1959, p. 1)
Let's **get started** the maize production!

– prepositional groups with an imperative value

(8) ***Unter dem** Stalin'schen **Banner** des Friedens* (NW, 2.XI.1950, p. 2)
Under the Stalinist **banner** of peace

(9) ***Für** pünktlichen und pausenlosen Getreidetransport vorsorgen!*
(NW, 21.VI.1953, p. 1)
Looking after a punctual and continuous transport of cereal!

(10) ***Zur** Festigung der neuen Währung: Frauen erzielen Leistungssteigerung im Betrieb*
(NW, 15.II.1952, p. 2)
In order to strengthen the new currency: Women obtain better achievements within the enterprise

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Romanian

– the use of subjunctive

(11) ***Să îmbunătățim*** *munca în schelele petrolifere!* (S, 8.II.1951, p. 1)
Let's improve labour in oil extracting installations!

– nominal exclamatory groups, usually accompanied by a simple adjective, by an adjective with a comparative degree, an indirect object with an intensifying purpose or through lexical elements (nouns, adjectives) whose semantic component entails an action of mobilizing forces

(12) ***Mai puține surle şi trâmbițe şi mai multă treabă****!* (S, 1.IV.1950, p. 2)
Less clarions and trumps and let us work more!

(13) ***Nicio întreprindere în afara întrecerii socialiste!*** *(subtitle) Chemarea la întrecerea socialistă în cinstea zilei de 1 Mai găseşte un puternic răsunet în rândurile 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

– prepositional groups, most of them worn-out, turned into stereotypes due to lengthy overuse

(14) ***Pentru o mai bună desfăşurare*** *a învățământului de partid*
(S, 28.IV.1953, p. 3)
For a better organization of party education

(15) ***La luptă pentru*** *pâinea poporului!* (S, 25.IV.1951, p, 1)
Let's go fighting for the bread of the people!

– reflexive verbal constructions using the passive mood

(16) ***Se poate*** *şi cu nutrețuri ieftine!* (S, 18.II.1965, p. 3)
We can do it also with cheap fodder!

– direction adverbials

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

– the modal "must" + participle, a verbal construction that expresses a genuine need, a constraint, an order.

(18) *Pregătirea însămânțărilor* ***trebuie grăbită*** (S, 15.II.1952, p. 1)
Preparation of sowing **must be hurried**

– verbal participles

(19) *Investițiile pentru industria reciclării –* ***realizate*** *fără întîrziere!*
(S, 12.V.1985, p. 3)
Investments for the recycling industry – **delivered** without any delay!

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2.1.1.3. Using various types of sentences with a pragmatic purpose

A. *Assertive titles are easily remarked due to their opacity and lack of transparency, being quite often placed at an ideological, abstract level*. This lack of personalization is delivered by:

- use of verbs with a descriptive and definition-based value at present tense indicative mood (Romanian verbs such as *a fi, a se afla, a deveni, a însemna, a constata, a reprezenta* / *to be, there is/there are, to become, to mean, to see, to represent/* in German *sein, stehen, entstehen / to be, there is/there are, to become*), which are confined to the role of mere relational elements, and also other verbs that have become stereotypes due to continuous repetition (in Romanian *se bucură, găseşte un puternic răsunet, îşi exprimă / to enjoy, to find a resounding echo, to express* / in German *überfüllt die Normen, erhalten / overfill the plan, obtain*). These titles have an unusual length resulted from linking together extended nominal groups.

German

(20) *Dem 23. August entgegen: Kongressbeschlüsse **sind** Kernstück der Bemühungen um hohe Wettbewerbsleistungen*

(NW, 26.VI.1977, p. 1)

Welcoming the celebration of 23rd of August: The decisions taken by the Party Congress **represent** the very core of efforts for the high achievements attained within competitions

(21) *Die landwirtschaftlichen Maschinen und Geräte **stehen bereit***

(NW, 13.III.1949, p. 3)

The agricultural machinery and installations **are ready**.

Romanian

(22) *Adevărul agricultorului **se află** pe cîmp, în bătaia vîntului şi a soarelui*

(S, 16.IV.1983, p. 2)

The ploughman's truth **lies** out in the field, wind-battered and under the sun

(23) *Oamenii muncii din Germania răsăriteană **îşi exprimă** recunoştinţa faţă de U.R.S.S.* (S, 18.III.1949, p. 6)
The workers in Eastern Germany **express** their gratitude towards USSR

– use of passive constructions that are most of the time associated with nouns in an abstract scope in order to eliminate the agent

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German

(24) *Die Sache des Friedens **wird** von den Völkern der ganzen Welt **unterstützt***
(NW, 1.I.1951, 6)
The issue of peace **is supported** by peoples all over the world

(25) *Exportverpflichtungen **werden** mit allem Nachdruck **eingelöst***
(NW, 1.I.1951, 6)
The export commitments **are paid with** full energy

Romanian

(26) ***Se înfăptuesc** sarcinile noului cincinal stalinist în domeniul construcțiilor*
(S, 9.III.1953, p. 6)
The tasks of the new Stalinist five-year plan **are being achieved** in the construction sector

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

B. *Interrogative titles*

– *partial interrogatives* introduced through specific interrogative words, usually in order to display negative, unfavourable aspects of the social life

German

(28) ***Warum** nimmt sich die Trappolder Kollektivwirtschaft kein Beispiel?*
(NW, 8.II.1951, p. 2)
Why the Trappold collective farm does not adopt a model?

(29) ***Was** lehren uns unsere letztjährigen Frühkartoffelversuche?*
(NW, 21.III.1951, p. 2)
What do our past years experiences teach us in terms of growing new potatoes?

Romanian

(30) ***De ce** întîrzie aplicarea măsurilor de întreținere a culturilor?*
(S, 11.VI.1969, p. 3)
Why is the application of maintenance measures for the crops delayed?

(31) ***De ce** unele abataje „înghit" prea mult lemn?* (S, 12.V.1962, p. 1)
***Why** do certain stopes "swallow" too much wood?*

- *total interrogative formulas* used in order to convey a negative factual situation that is non-compliant with the rules imposed by the regime; the tone is ironical, bantering, even virulent and vitriolic.

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German

(32) *Ist das ein Benehmen? (subtitle) Lärm im Treppenhaus* (NW, 6.I.1983, p. 3)
Is this a proper behaviour? (subtitle) Commotion in the entrance to the block of flats

Romanian

(33) *E mai uşor să construieşti decît să repari?* (S, 21.VII.1969, p. 4)
Is it easier to build than to repair?

C. *Titles expressed through exclamatory nominal statements* as a hallmark of subjectivity in the communication process. During the communist period, these were pointed in a straight and mobilizing fashion against the receiver, thus involving him/ her in a high-paced activity of general interest.

German

(34) *Wieder Opfer der Fremdenlegion!* (NW,9.VI.1949, p. 11)
Victims of the foreign legion, again!

(35) *Bessere Aufklärungsarbeit in Guttenbrunn!* (NW, 2.IV.1952, p. 4)
A better explanatory effort in Guttenbrunn!

Romanian

(36) *Cinste întreprinderilor fruntaşe!* (S, 28.IV.1953, p. 1)
Honour to the enterprises that are ranked first in the competition!

(37) *Toată atenţia întovărăşirilor agricole!* (S,17.VI.1953, p. 3)
All eyes on agricultural collective efforts!

2.1.2. At syntax level

The journalistic titles taken into discussion here are encouraging a heavy, overloaded, tone of the so-called "high style"; this is represented by highly developed, complicated and artificial nominal *groups, including:*

2.1.2.1. Noun accumulations delivered through coordination and/or appositions
German

(38) *Zum Ehrentag der Genossin Elena Ceauşescu weltweite Geltung und Würdigung. Ein wissenschaftliches Werk im Dienste des Fortschritts des Vaterlandes und der Festigung der internationalen Zusammenarbeit*
(NW, 6.I.1985, p. 3)
International recognition and homage on the occasion of the solemn day dedicated to comrade Elena Ceausescu. A scientific work put to the service of progress of homeland and strengthening international cooperation

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Romanian

(39) *Răspuns prompt, muncitoresc, revoluționar hotărîrilor Conferinței Naționale, chemărilor secretarului general al partidului (subtitlu) Cum se acționează în întreprinderi, în institute de cercetare pentru ridicarea pe o treaptă calitati superioară şi sporirea substanțială a eficienței întregii activități economice*

(S, 14.XII.1977, p. 2)

Labourers' revolutionary swift response to the decisions of the National Conference, to the calling of the Party's General Secretary (subtitle) How do the enterprises, research institutes act in order to raise on a superior qualitative step and to substantially increase the efficiency of the entire economic activity

2.1.2.2. *Chains of genitive-based formulas*, each of them being subordinated to the previous one and also a great deal of qualifying adjectives and contextual specifications pointed out through deictic hallmarks of time, place and person:

German

(40) *Der Schulkomplex in Reschitza - ein Spiegelbild der Fürsorge der Partei und Regierung für unsere Jugend*

(NW, 9.XII.1950, p. 4)

School complex in Resita - a mirror for the care shown by our party and our government to our youth

Romanian

(41) *Mesajul **F. D. I. F.** cu prilejul Zilei Internaționale **a femeii***

(S, 2.III.1956, p. 4)

The message from **F. D. I. F.** on the occasion of International **Women's Day**

2.1.2.3. Developed prepositional formulas, turned into triviality and monotony through repetition:

German

(42) *Bedeutende Normüberschreitungen **auf der** Reschitzaer **Baustelle** „11 Construcție”*

(NW, 1.IV.1950, p. 5)

Major over fulfilment of the tasks on the “11 Construcție” Resita-based **construction site**

Romanian

(43) *Întrecerea **în cinstea** aniversării Partidului. **Pentru** cât mai multe economii peste plan!* (S, 21.III.1951, p. 3)

Competition **honouring** the Party anniversary. As many savings **as possible** over the plan!

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2.1.2.4. The sentences that are *missing their copula,* and their predicate object appears in a noun or adjective option; *statements without a passive auxiliary*, and also the propensity for *leaving the main clause out,* statements characterized by avoiding specific information and placing them in the scope of vagueness and imprecision; preference for title made up from a subordinate clause introduced through a relative pronoun (in German language through a w-Wort), while the main clause is eliminated.

German	**Romanian**
(44$_a$) leaving out the copula *Stalin - Koryphäe der Wissenschaft* (NW, 7.III.1953, p. 3) Stalin - the master mind of science	(44$_b$) leaving out the copula *Agitatorul, prietenul cetăţenilor din cartier* (S, 2.III.1956, p. 3) The agitator, friend to all citizens in the neighbourhood
(45$_a$) leaving out the passive auxiliary *Volksbeisitzer nun auch in Hermannstadt gewählt* (NW,9.VI.1949, p. 4) Popular jurors are being elected in Sibiu	(45$_b$) leaving out the passive auxiliary *Campania agricolă de primăvară – pregătită cu maximă răspundere!* (S, 5.II.1985, p. 2) The spring agricultural campaign - prepared with maximum accountability!
(46$_a$) leaving out the predicative verb *Jungfasane im Giroker Wald* (NW, 4.VIII.1977, p. 6) Young pheasants in Girok forest	(46$_b$) lack of the predicative verb *Activişti bine pregătiţi politic, de înaltă competenţă, cu profund spirit revoluţionar* (S, 9.IV.1985, p. 1) Well prepared, highly competent Communist Party active officers with a high revolutionary spirit
(47$_a$) leaving out the main clause ***Wie** die Friedenskampfkomitee in der Region Rodna wirken* (NW, 11.V.1951, p. 4) **How** does the Committee for the Fight for Peace act in the Rodna region	(47$_b$) leaving out the main clause ***Cînd** toţi locuitorii satului pun umărul* (S, 8.I.1985, p. 3) **When** all inhabitants of the village bear a bob
(48$_a$) relative clauses *Eine Anklage, **die** jeder Grundlage entbehrt* (NW, 15.I. 1953, p. 8) A blame **which** lacks any reason	(48$_b$) relative clauses *Acolo unde au domnit bălţile şi păpurişul* (S, 26.I.1962, p. 1) Where the marshes and the reeds used to rule

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2.1.3. At a lexical-semantical level, we can identify:

2.1.3.1. Generic terms (ethnic groups, appurtenance to a certain region, professional category, political and administrative positions), usually divided at the beginning of the title, with various values:

A. *Generalizing value*, close to synecdoche (the "tot pro pars" variant), which is especially used:

- with reference to certain social-professional, political categories (*muncitori, oamenii muncii, ţărani, colectivişti, mineri, petrolişti, activişti* etc./respectively *Arbeiter, Werktätigen, Bauern, Kollektivbauern, Bergarbeiter, Erdölarbeiter, Aktivisten* etc./ workers, labourers, peasant, collective farmers, miners, oil workers, Communist Party active officers etc.), very often used with the articulated form of the plural, circumscribed in a trend to eulogize such professional groups and to underline the achievements of the regime.

	German		**Romanian**
(49_a)	*Wie die Kinder der **Werktätigen** in Temesvarer UFDR-Heim betreut werden* (NW, 18.III.1949, p. 5) How are the **workers'** children being taken care in the UFDR dormitory in Timişoara	(49_b)	*Mii de **ţărani muncitori** din Ialomiţa pornesc pe drumul gospodăriei colective* (S, 15.II.1952, p. 1) Thousands **of peasant workers** from Ialomiţa are just starting on the road of collective farming
(50_a)	*Deutsche **Kollektivbauern** im Kampf für den Frieden* (NW, 26.IV.1950, p. 1) **German collective farmers** in the fight for peace	(50_b)	*Cu **oamenii muncii** vizitând Doftana* (S, 25.IV.1951, p. 3) Together with **the labourers,** visiting Doftana
(51_a)	*Gute Strasse für **die werktätige Bauernschaft*** (NW, 2.XI.1950, p. 4) Proper street for the working peasants	(51_b)	*Bucurie în casele **colectiviştilor*** (S, 3.I.1953, p. 1) Joy in the houses **of the collective farmers**
(52_a)	***Die Stahlarbeiter** des „Sowrommetall“ - Werkes Rewschitza erzielen bedeutende Einsparungen* (NW,16.IV.1951, p. 4) **The steel workers** of the "Sowrommetall" factory in Reşiţa achieve important savings	(52_b)	***Minerii** dela Combinatul Baia Mare luptă pentru folosirea din plin a timpului de lucru* (S, 1.IV.1950, p. 1) **Miners** from the Baia Mare factory are fighting for fully using the work schedule

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	German		Romanian
(53a)	*Siege der **Erbauer** des Sozialismus* (NW, 11.V.1951, p. 1) Victories **of builders of** socialism	(53b)	*Greva **siderurgiştilor** britanici continuă* (S, 6.I.1980, p. 6) The strike of the British **steel workers** continues
(54a)	*Mehr Aufmerksamkeit der Schulung **der Volksratsaktivisten*** (NW, 9.IX.1953, p. 1) More attention to training the **Party active officers in the local council**	(54b)	*Succesele **constructorilor** de tractoare* (S, 28.IV.1953, p. 1) The tractor **builders'** successes
(55a)	*Eine Stadt der **Eisenbahner**, Simeria* (NW, 2.IX.1989, p. 5) Simeria, a town of **railway workers**	(55b)	***Activişti** bine pregătiți politic, de înaltă competență, cu profund spirit revoluționar* (S, 9.IV.1985, p. 1) Well prepared, highly competent **Communist Party active officers** with a high revolutionary spirit

- nominal groups whose regent element is represented by the Romanian noun *poporul*, German *Volk* / people) with the options (Romanian) *poporul muncitor*, (German) *werktätiges Volk*/ working people, developed through a number of determinative elements (in order to demonstrate the unitary character of the Communist regime and the adhesion of all social categories to the ideas and values promoted by the system) which are strongly stereotyped through repetition and the usage of an ethnonym adjective immediately next to the noun.

	German		Romanian
(56a)	*Unverbrüchliche Freundschaft zwischen **dem deutschen Volk** und **den Sowjetvölkern.** Telegramm Piecks an Schwernik* (NW, 11.V.1951, p. 7) The staunch friendship between the **German people** and **the Soviet peoples**. Pieck's cable toSchwernik	(56b)	*Mesajul adresat **poporului sovietic** şi marelui Stalin de delegația indiană a partizanilor păcii* (S, 3.I.1953, p. 4) The message addressed to the **Soviet people** and to the great Stalin by the Indian delegation of peace partisans
(57a)	*Wie unser **werktätiges Volk** half* (NW, 8.II.1951, p. 4) How did help our **hard-working people**	(57b)	*Filmele sovietice se bucură tot mai mult de dragostea şi prețuirea **poporului muncitor** din țara noastră* (S, 13.III.1949, p. 4) Soviet movies enjoy more and more love and appreciation from the **hard working people** of our country

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B. *metaphorical value,* heavily stereotyped, selected from the negative scope of facts that survived in the Romanian mass-media context in the 50's.

	German		Romanian
(58$_a$)	*Nikos Beloiannis' Opfer - Aufruf zur Fortführung des Kampfes gegen* ***die Feinde der Menschheit und des Friedens*** (NW, 2.IV.1952, p. 5) Nikos Beloiannis's sacrifice – an appeal to the continuation of the fight against the **enemies of mankind and peace**	(58$_b$)	*Manolis Glezos şi alţi fruntaşi democraţi greci condamnaţi la moarte de* ***călăii monarho-fascişti*** (S, 13.III.1948, p. 6) Manolis Glezos and other Greek democratic leaders convicted to the death sentence by **King's fascist executioners**
(59$_a$)	*Kommunistische Partei Finnlands demaskiert* ***finnische Kriegstreiber*** (NW, 8.II.1951, p. 7) The Finnish Communist Party **unmasks Finnish instigators to war**	(59$_b$)	*Pentru pace, împotriva* ***aţâţătorilor la război*** (S, 1.IV.1950, p. 1) For the peace, against **war mongers**

2.1.3.2. *Proper names*; these are limited to anthroponymes designating important people in the system (Stalin, Dej, Nicolae Ceauşescu etc.). The respective *proper name* was introduced in the title by indicating the position or all positions occupied by the respective person, a long chain of words that had to be remembered as it was by the general population.

	German		Romanian
(60$_a$)	***Genosse Josef Wissarionowitsch Stalin*** *ist aus dem Leben geschieden* (NW, 6.III.1953, p. 1/2) **Comrade Iosif Vissarionovici Stalin** has died	(60$_b$)	***Tovarăşul Iosif Vissarionovici Stalin*** *a încetat din viaţă* (S, 6.III.1953, p. 1) **Comrade Iosif Vissarionovici Stalin** has died
(61$_a$)	*Friedenspolitik in Aktion (subtitle) Zum Besuch* ***des Genossen Nicolae Ceauşescu*** *in der BDR* (NW, 3.VII.1973, p. 2) Peace policy in action (subtitle) About the visit performed by comrade Nicolae Ceausecu in the Federal Republic of Germany	(61$_b$)	*Într-o atmosferă de puternic entuziasm. Vizita* ***tovarăşului Nicolae Ceauşescu*** *în judeţul Cluj* (S, 12.VII.1969, p. 2) In a truly enthusiastic atmosphere. The visit performed by **comrade Nicolae Ceauşescu** in Cluj county

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2.1.3.3. Linguistic loans and loan translations of Russian origin; these were borrowed or adapted to the phonetic system of Romanian, respectively German language

	German		Romanian
(62$_a$)	*Das Kohlenbergwerk Sinersig trifft Vorbereitungen für den* ***Fünfjahrplan*** (NW, 2.XI.1950, p. 7) The Sinersig coal mine makes preparations for the **five year plan**	(62$_b$)	*În întîmpinarea primului nostru* ***Plan Cincinal*** (S, 9.XII.1950, p. 1) Welcoming our very first **Five Year Plan**
(63$_a$)	***Der Leninismus*** *- das Banner der Menschheitsbefreiung* (NW, 24.I.1952, p. 3) **Leninism -** the flagship of mankind deliverance	(63$_b$)	*Importanța internațională a* ***leninismului*** (S, 26.IV.1950, p. 5) The international importance of **Leninism**
(64$_a$)	***Stachanow*** *- Schulen in den Betrieben* (NW, 21.III.1951, p. 3) **Stachanov** schools in factories	(64$_b$)	*Filiala A.R.L.U.S.- Iaşi popularizează metodele* ***stahanoviştilor*** *sovietici* (S, 14.I.1951, p. 2) The A.R.L.U.S.- Iaşi branch propagates the methods of Soviet **Stachanov-style workers**
(65$_a$)	*Die Prüfung vor der* ***Wandzeitung*** (NW, 1.IV.1950, p. 5) The exam taken in front of the **factory newspaper stand**	(65$_b$)	***O gazetă de perete*** *numai cu numele* (S, 25.IV.1951, p. 2) **A factory newspaper** that is left only with its title
(66$_a$)	*Die besten VdWJ -* ***Brigaden*** *Arads mit der „Roten Produktionsfahne“* (NW, 1.VI.1950, p. 4) The best WdWJ **brigades** of Arad with the "Red flag of production"	(66$_b$)	*Cum aplic metoda* ***stahanovistului*** *sovietic Duvanov* (S, 2.IV.1952, p. 1) How to apply the method of the Soviet **Stakhanovite** Duvanov
(67$_a$)	*Die Entlohnung der Arbeit in den* ***Kolchosen*** (NW, 11.V.1951, p. 6) Payment of labour in **collective farms**	(67$_b$)	***Milioane de operații*** *pe secundă* (S,2.III.1965, p. 4) "Gheorghe Gheorghiu - Dej" **Complex brigade for savings**

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2.1.3.4. Titles that include elements of quantitative evaluation that are circumscribed to the hyperbolic trend of providing titles, that is specific to the totalitarian period - see nouns with a quantitative purpose, frequently used as an attribute with its plural form, such as (R.) "mii" / (G.) "Tausende" (thousand), (R.) "milioane" / (G.) "Millionen" (million).

German	Romanian
(68$_a$) *Kumpel des Sekuler Bergwerks fördern **tausende Tonnen Kohle** für die Planauflage* (NW, 16.IV.1951, p. 1) The miners from Secul mine extract thousands of tons of coal for the plan indicator	(68$_b$) ***Mii de țărani muncitori** din Ialomița pornesc pe drumul gospodăriei colective* (S, 15.II.1952, p. 1) **Thousand of peasant workers** from Ialomița are just starting on the road of collective farming
(69$_a$) ***Millionen kW/St Leistungszuwachs/ Topletzer** Maschinenbauersparten Löwenanteil/ Rekordziffern beim Martinofen* (NW, 15.V.1959, p. 1) Increasing return of investment by millions of kw/hour / The automotive sector is responsible for most of the increase / Record numbers in Martin ovens	(69$_b$) ***Milioane de operații** pe secundă* (S,2.III.1965, p. 4) **Millions of operations** per second

2.2. The post-communist period

2.2.1. General trends

This one is defined by the *re-evaluation of linguistic identity* (indicated by convergence towards the core linguistic identity, i.e., the one from Germany).

A first necessary general observation is that the pseudo-linguistic interaction of the communist media space, strictly directed by the socialist ethics and equity code, was replaced after 1989 by *a new type of interaction*.

Initially all newspapers reflect in the same way a day-to-day reality that persisted for some while after 1989 (transition). Gradually, they modify their titling methods according to their own agenda, in the same spirit as the pragmatic language they are written into. Thus, we assist to a process of differentiation between Romanian and German newspapers, both in the topics addressed, the ideological perspective on the subjects and in particular the language supports the underlying first set.

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For the ex-communist Countries, the moment is correlated with the passage, in the communication sphere, from the *monological society*, supported by the *communist wooden language*, to a *dialogical society*, in which the differentiation between the expression forms corresponds to a search for a *new collective or individual identity*. In this context, it is not by chance that we assist to an actual communicative explosion, essentially focused on the *metadiscourse.*[11]

2.2.2. Transition's metadiscourse

2.2.2.1. In essence, the *German press*, freed from the „double oppression"- the communist dominance and the humiliating position of a *minority on a dissolution course* (by emigration or integration in the Romanian mainstream community) directly expresses, inter alia, the *identity metaspeech*, the need to let go of various stereotypes of the past and return to the roots (the mother-land, Transylvania and the adoptive land, Germany). The dominant type of press is the *story* (adopting a passive shape of evoking the lost homeland) (see 68) and *the editorial* (opinion articles taking an active, militant and assertive form regarding the recovery of the lost homeland) (see 69-70). We are dealing with a *fundamentally past-ridden* contents-type of journalism.

(70) *Sachsentreffen mit dem Trio Saxones; Am Sonntag Gottesdienst in Holzmengen; Konzerte der Musikschüler; Michelsberger Spaziergänge; Der Mundart gewidmet;Praktikum im Deutschen Bundestag; Volontäre gesucht; Poesie-Festival; Wasserversorgung in Heltau; Radio Neumarkt auf Deutsch; Rumänisches Fernsehen in deutscher Sprache.*

(Nachrichten ADZ, Ausgabe Nr. , vom 24.VII. 2015)

The Saxons meeting with Trio Saxones; On Sunday religious service in Holzmengen; Music Schools students concerts; Michelsberg strolls; Dialect dedicated; German Parliament practice; Volunteers wanted; Poetry festival; Heltau water supply; Radio Neumarkt in German; Romanian television with German language programs.

[11] We usually understand through the term *metadiscourse (*in accordance with Vandle Kopple 1997: 2, apud Camiciottoli 2003: 28) that discourse used by an author in order to help his receiver organize, interpret, assess and shape his/her attitudes in relationship with the topic in discussion. Depending on the functions performed within the discourse, two categories of metadiscourse might be distinguished: *informational or textual* (with the role of supporting the receiver in understanding the primary message, with a reference to its content and structure or to the author's illocutionary objectives) and *attitude-based or interpersonal* (aimed at guiding the receiver in understanding the perspective of the author regarding the content or the structure of the primary discourse).

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(71) *Gedenken an Revolution:* ***Hoffnung auf Aufarbeitung der Ereignisse***
Commemoration of the Revolution: hope in ending the events investigation
(BZ vom 17. Dezember, Wochenbeilage der ADZ)

(72) ***Devisen-Aktionen und -Operationen rund um die Auswanderung der Deutschen aus Rumänien vor 1989*** *Archivunterlagen beweisen: Schmiergeldzahlungen waren von Securitate koordiniert (I)* Von: Hannelore Baier (ADZ, Donnerstag, 8. I. 2015)

Foreign exchange operations and operations around the emigration of Germans from Romania before 1989. The archival documents prove it: bribe payments were coordinated by the Securitate (I)

- The main declared objective of the German press is *the preservation of the ethnical identity*:

(73) *Die Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien (ADZ)* ***ist für den Erhalt der deutschen Identität unerlässlich und soll auch künftig vorrangig über und für die deutsche Minderheit in Rumänien berichten.*** (Martin Bottesch über die Krise der „Allgemeinen Deutschen Zeitung für Rumänien“)
(http://www.siebenbuerger.de/zeitung/artikel/rumaenien/kommentare/)
The *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien (ADZ)* **is totally for the preservation of the German identity and must relate, in the future also, with priority on the German minority from Romania.**

- The titles are symbolical, the contents are nostalgic:

(74) ***Die Störche kehren immer wieder zurück***
Die ehemals sächsischen Dörfer ***wirken wie Enklaven in einem fremden Land****. Die einstige Ordnung, der Fleiß ihrer ehemaligen Bewohner, die fruchtbaren Böden, alles ist spürbar und in der Dorfstruktur noch sichtbar.* ***Vermutlich ist das Ende einer blühenden Epoche in Siebenbürgen durch die Siebenbürger Sachsen längst besiegelt*** *und es gilt Wege zu finden und Chancen zu nutzen,* ***um an die kulturellen Leistungen dauerhaft zu erinnern.***
(http://www.siebenbuerger.de/zeitung/artikel/rumaenien/8245-die-stoerchekehren-immer-wieder-zurueck.html)

The storks keep coming back
The Old Saxon villages **seem to be enclaves in a foreign country**. The former order, the former diligence of their dwellers, the rich land, everything can be felt and seen in the village’s structure. The end of the prosperous times in Transylvanian due to the Transylvanian Saxons was probably long time sealed and now the problem of finding ways and taking al opportunities to permanently remind the cultural achievements is emerging.

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- The *comments* record critical reactions addressed to the Romanian state regarding the policy of ethnical minorities' support in the cultural area:

(75) *Nun wird sicher wieder auf Spenden aus dem Westen gewartet, oder daß der liebe Herrgott das richtet...bzw. lt. Hr. Bottesch die Rumänen, welche Deutsch verstehen... eine von Bottesch gutgeheißene schleichende Assimilation also... da kann doch gleich eine rumänische ADZ erscheinen, die hätte dann ein paar Millionen potenzielle Leser i**n Rumänien, einem Land mit Minderheiten in Millionenhöhe, wo aber immer noch "Geschichte der Rumänen" aber nicht "Rumäniens"unterrichtet wird und die orthodoxe Kirche die vom Staat unterstützte Kirche ist.***

(http://www.siebenbuerger.de/benutzer/seite/joker/)

Most certainly Western help is again expected or for good God to arrange it... or, according to Mr. Bottesch, the Romanians understand German... a well-intended and slow assimilation by Mr. Bottesch... then maybe a Romanian ADZ will be established, it would have several million potential readers in Romania, a country with minorities by the millions but where in schools is still taught „the history of Romanians "not "the History of Romania" and where the Orthodox church is state supported.

(76) *Ich glaube nicht dass die Repräsentanten der Deutschen in Ro etwas "verschlafen", denn diese sind auch nicht dumm. Ich glaube eher dass man sich mit den Mächtigen "arrangiert" und den Weg der kleinsten Hindernisse geht. Wenn etwas abgestoßen werden muss, dann das, was diejenigen am wenigsten schmerzt, die darüber entscheiden. **Und wo der wenigste Widerstand zu erwarten ist. Vielleicht handeln die rumänichen Behörden, die den staatlichen Zuschuss für Minderheiten zurückfahren nach der Devise: "Sä le dea nemții bani, că doară îi ziar nemțesc, ce ne doare pă noi rumîni?"** Würde mich nicht wundern.*

(http://www.siebenbuerger.de/benutzer/seite/karl/)

I don't think that the German representatives in Ro are losing something for "sleeping" since they are not stupid either. I rather think that they are in agreement with the people in charge and are following the minimum resistance path. When something must be removed at that time, then those who bother the decision-makers are removed. And where is expected the slightest opposition. **And probably the Romanian authorities that are returning the minority state aids are acting according to the principle: „Let the Germans give them money, it's a German paper after all, what concern it might be for us Rumanians**?" I wouldn't be surprised.

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(77) ***Dadurch wird es dann endlich soweit kommen, daß die Sb. Sachsen nicht mehr existieren - eine Meisterleistung der bundesdeutschen Politiker (Schmidt, Genscher & Co.) der verschiedenen rumänischen Politiker (1950-1990 wurden sb. Sachsen nach Westeuropa verkauft) sowie nicht zuletzt der Verantwortlichen des Deutschen Forums und der Landsmannschaft****. Bravo...*

(http://www.siebenbuerger.de/benutzer/seite/karl/)

By this we will reach in the end the case where there will be no more Transylvanian Saxons – an exceptional work of the German politicians (Schmidt, Genscher & Co.), of the Romanian politicians (between 1950 – 1990 Transylvanian Saxons were sold to the Western Europe) and least but not last of the responsible people of the German Forum and other associations in the country. Bravo...

2.2.2.2. The publishing policy of the Romanian press is completely different of the one described here above. Its essence is *change* and its main objective is to fight for *development* and *integration* in the *Euro-Atlantic structures*. *The Meta communicational strategies,* used by the Romanian editorials regarding the „European integration" theme, follow the patterns of the present Romanian journalistic speech in its whole, nevertheless reinventing *a wooden language, the integration language.*

(78) *Desigur, reprezentanții BOR au lansat în dezbaterea publică, după cum se va vedea, opinii în nu puține cazuri incomplete, exprimate într-un* ***limbaj de lemn*** *sau conjunctural, însă nu se poate contesta existența lor.*

(A, 22.XI.2006)

Of course the representatives of the Romanian Orthodox Church launched for public debate, as presented below, opinions that were, in many cases, incomplete, expressed in **a wooden language** or conjectural language, but their existence cannot be challenged.

(79) *Functionarii institutiilor europene abia daca se pot face intelesi. Sintagme precum "capacitate de absorbtie", "aquis", "comitologie", "eurocrat" sau "zona Schengen"* ***au invadat presa scrisa sau vorbita si limbajul de zi cu zi al unora.*** *Desi institutiilor europene li s-a cerut sa evite folosirea unor termeni specifici, pentru ca publicul sa inteleaga informatiile transmise de la centru, oamenilor nu le-ar strica un dictionar al termenilor legati de integrarea europeana. Un dictionar de* ***"eurojargon".***

(Jurnalul Național, 1.IV.2006)

The civil servants of the European institutions are barely understandable. Expressions such as „absorption capacity", „acquis", „comitology", „Eurocracy", „Schengen area" **have invaded the written and spoken press as well as some people's day to day speech**. Even though the European institutions were asked to avoid the use of specific terminology in order for

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the public to understand the information sent from central quarters, the people would find useful a dictionary of the words related to the European integration. A **"Euro-slang"** *dictionary"***.**

2.2.3. Post-communist discourse-based titling techniques

Titling in post revolutionary Romanian press predilection is based on oral tradition associated discursive techniques , while the German press discourse-based strategies adopted more sober, more weighted, based on neutral verbal media.

2.2.3.1. At pragmatic – discourse based level

One can notice that Romanian, in contrast to German, whose typological feature is focus on action and the context of communication (preference for the *dellocutory means* in expressing the pragmatic meanings), is oriented towards the participants to the communication (preference for the *allocutory means* in expressing pragmatic meanings).[12]

The linguistic facts illustrate, for instance, the fact that in the majority of context in which in Romanian the *interjection* is present (82), in German one can find the *imperative or its equivalent* (80). The contextual nuancing is made by means of *modal verbs* (**81**), a grammatical manner in German, just as the permanent orientation towards the interlocutor in Romanian is reduced to grammatical items, by *developing the vocative mood,* quite emphasised **(83ab)** in this language (cf. Thun 1979, 196).

German

(80) *Kontakte in Wirtschaft und Kultur* ***investieren*** *(subtitle) Botschafter Israels besuchte Temesvar* (ADZ, 21.VI.2002, p. 1)
Let's introduce new contacts in economy and culture (subtitle) The Ambassador of Israel visited Timisoara.

(81) *Begegnung der FNR-Leitung mit Vertretern der Jugend / Dialog* ***soll fortgesetzt werden***
(NW, 23.I.1990, p. 1)
The meeting of the FNR leaders with the youth representatives / Dialogue **must continue**

[12] Mention should be that we use the word *means* with its meaning in the Franch linguistics (cf. Charaudeau 1992). According to the locutor's position in the act of enunciation, oriented towards the interlocutor, towards self or towards the enunciation, there are three distinct communication means: *allocutory means,* oriented towards the interlocutor, with the locutor rendering his/her intention, position to the interlocutor; *ellocutory means* oriented towards the locator who is expressing his/her own position on the enunciation; *dellocutory means,* oriented neither to the locator nor to the enunciation, but to the message (Bidu-Vrănceanu et al. 2001: 321).

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Romanian

(82) ***Hai să ne plângem de milă !*** (A, 16.V.1998, p. 3)
Let's pitty ourselves!

(83) a. ***Ilie, Ilie, dă-le gol, frăție!*** (A, 28.VI.1994, p. 6)
Ilie, Ilie, score another goal, brother!
b.*„**Nicule, mai dă-le** o sută de lei!”* (A, 5.VII.1996, p. 1)
„Nicu, give them another one hundred lei!”

2.2.3.2. At the level of the syntactic configuration

The German media titration trend is towards linguistic economy, achieved for example by replacing sentences by simple nominal groups (84) or long compound words (85):

(84) *„**Ein Licht inmitten des Elends dieser Welt**”* (NW, 1.VI.1994, p. 3)
A light in the middle of this world's poverty

(85) ***Steuerermäßigungen*** (ADZ, 30.X.2007, p. 5)
Tax deductions

Syntactically speaking, the Romanian media title phrase is often built patterned after paremiologic structures (86) or short exclamatory sentences (87), classified among phraseological units, the latter being eloquent emblems of orality:

(86) ***Paza bună trece primejdia rea*** *... 7 scenarii şi un singur autor: Pentagonul* (A, 27.II.1992, p. 6)
Better safe than sorry… 7 scenarios and one author: the Pentagon

(87) ***Fitness şi acasă!*** (A, 2.II.2006, p. A12)
Fitness at home!

2.2.3.3. At *lexical- semantic level*

Given the frequency of the type of the title constituent terms, some lexical- semantic categories are revealed, among which:

- names accumulation (persons, institutions, companies, parties, organizations)

These accumulations serve an informative function or indicate the focus of an exceptional event. In most cases, proper names are used in a casual version.

German

(88) ***Timoschenko*** *und* ***Juschtschenko*** *wollen wieder koalieren* (ADZ, 28.III,2006, p. 2)
Timoschenko and **Juschtschenko** want a coalition again

Romanian

(89) ***Băsescu*** *şi* ***Berlusconi*** *s-au înțeles pentru amprentare.* (A, 1.VIII,2007, p. 7)
Băsescu and **Berlusconi** go for a fingerprint deal.

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In the Romanian media, the nonchalant evocation of the political world takes from the colloquial orality the model of *designation by first name or by its hypocoristic* (90).

Besides the written posthumous mentioning of *nea Nicu*, the political issues brought up new names accompanied by *forms of address specific to suburban or rural context* (91ab):

(90) *„**Nicule, mai dă-le** o sută de lei!”* (despre ministru, Nicolae Văcăroiu)
(A, 5.VII.1996, p. 1)
Nicu, give them another one hundred lei (about Minister Nicolae Văcăroiu)

(91) a. ***Nea Nicu Văcăroiu** zice că el nu vrea, dar trag indienii de el*
(A, 12.XII.2003, p. 14)
Nea Nicu Văcăroiu claims he doesn't want to, but the Indians don't let him go
b. *Mihnea Năstase a fost azvârlit presei de **mătuşa Dana***
(A, 23.II.2007, p. 7)
Mihnea Năstase was thrown to the press by **Aunt Dana**

- a *revival of the mechanisms of the new terms* in language, in particular through derivation and compositing, linguistic formations establishing a new meaning with a stronger illocutionary force.

What is specific to the German newspaper is that journalists regularly use the *composition* process, resulting in formation of long lexical formations, most often denotative ones, made up of two or more words, often unlicensed in the dictionary, but easily decoded by the reader by understanding the constituent parts of a compound word.

(92) ***Benzinkrise** wird andauern. **Devisenmarktflaute** halbiert Erdölimporte*
(ADZ, 1.VIII.1996, 1)
The gas crisis will last. **Lethargy / Dead season in the currency market** cuts oil imports to half

(93) ***Europa-Euphorie** der Polen läßt nach* (ADZ, 3.IV.1998, p. 3)
Europe's euphoria for Poland going down

The newspaper "Adevărul" prefers using new-formed words in a negative metaphorical sense. There are linguistic constructions that fall within the *colloquial*

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language, even slang and which are characterized by a degree of expressiveness much higher than those cultivated by the German language newspaper.

(94) ***Bugetivorii*** (A, 1.IV.1994, p. 3)
Budgetivores

(95) ***Şpăgarii*** *vor să stoarcă bani de pe urma bolnavilor de SIDA, hepatită şi leucemie*
(A, 7.VI.2002, p. 1)
Bribe addicts want to squeeze money out of AIDS, hepatitis and leukaemia patients

2.3. Identity convergences through globalization[13]

The post-revolutionary journalistic titles contain, without distinction, *international words* (economics, banking, political, medical, IT lexicon, driven by social and historical context - see (96-99)), an explosion of *Anglicisms* (100-107) that pose no problem for the average reader and are used for expression variation and *globalizing era specific discursive processes (abbreviations* performed on different principles - *cropping, logos*).

	German		**Romanian**
(96_{aa})	***Dividenten*** *fallen nicht vom Himmel* (NW, 12.IV.1991, p. 1) **Dividents** don't fall from the skies	(96_{ba})	*Formula adoptată: vânzarea* ***utilajelor inactive*** *şi* ***privatizarea*** *celor productive* (A, 2.IV.1994, p. 7) Formula adopted: sell **inactive assets** and **privatize** the productive ones
(97_{ab})	*Führende* ***Manager*** *aus Industrie und Wirtschaft* (NW, 4.IV.1991 p.2) **Top managers** from industry and economy	(97_{bb})	*Legea 64/1995 – balet păgubos în jurul noţiunii de* ***faliment*** (A, 3.VII.1996, p. 6) Law 64/1995 – wasteful noise around the concept of **bankruptcy**

[13] "The term *globalization* asks for a careful consideration when we reflect on the cultural identity, be it a Romanian, French, European or American one. First and foremost, within this term, *globe* and *global* do not make a reference, as it might seem at a first glance, to the ensemble of all (national, ethnic) state-based entities, without nuances and solid differences in terms of amplitude. Thus it evident that it makes no sense to perform a direct transplant of the American definition of globalization into a culture such as the Romanian one, similarly with the fact that the Romanian vision upon globalization could not be properly received in the United States without the proper inflections." (Golopenţia 2001: http://secolul21.ro/sanda-golopentia-a-gandi-globalizarea/)

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	German	Romanian
(98_{ac})	*Bis zuletzt fehlte **das Quorum*** (ADZ, 14.V.1994, p. 1) Eventually there was no **quorum**	(98_{bc}) *În 1997: 135 milioane de dolari, **investiții** străine pe **piața de capital*** (A, 7.IV.1998, p. 5) In 1997: $135 million, foreign **investment** in the capital market
(99_{ad})	*Langfristiger deutscher **Kredit** für KMU* (ADZ, 3.VI.1998, p. 4) Long-term German credit for KMU	(99_{bd}) *Decesele în **septicemii**, prevenite prin **biotehnologie*** (A, 8.VI.2002, p. 7) Death in **septicaemia cases**, prevented by biotechnology

	German	Romanian
(100_{aa})	*Mehr **Computer** im Einsatz* (NW, 13.IV.1991, p. 2) More **computers** used	(100_{ba}) *IBM a lansat cel mai rapid **computer** din lume* (A, 1.VII.2000, p. 7) IBM launched the fastest **computer** in the world
(101_{ab})	***Die Show** geht weiter* (ADZ, 4.VI.2002, p. 2) **The show** must go on	(101_{bb}) *Divertis – **show-ul** serii de 1 Decembrie, numai la Antena 1* (A, 1.XII.2000, p. 11) Divertis – the evening show on December 1, only with Antena 1
(102_{ac})	***Workshops**, Konzert und Präsentation* (ADZ, 6.IX.2007, p. 5) **Workshops**, concert and presentation	(102_{bc}) ***Work-shop** pentru tinerii traducători* (A, 1.VII.2000, p. 3) Young translators' **workshop**
(103_{ad})	*Studenten-**Meeting** auf dem Bukarester Universitätsplatz* (NW, 23.I.1990, p. 1) Students **meeting** in the University Square in Bucureşti	(103_{bd}) ***Outsideri** cu simțul realității* (A,14.V.1994, 7) **Outsiders** with a sense of reality
(104_{ae})	*Gewinnmaximierung, **o.k.** - aber nicht auf Kosten der Umwelt* (NW, 21.II.1992, p. 1) Maximize profits, **ok** – but not at the cost of the environment	(104_{be}) *Societățile de **broketaj** trebuie să-şi majoreze capitalul social* (A,7.IV.1998, p. 5) **Brokerage** companies should increase their share capital

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	German		Romanian
(105_{af})	***Training****slager der rechtsextremen Wiking-Jugend ausgehoben* (ADZ, 15.IV.1994, p. 2) **Training** camp of young right wing extremists arrested	(105_{bf})	*CNEAA propune autorizarea* ***Planing-ului*** *teritorial* (A, 7.IV.1998, p. 8) CNEEA propose the approval of the territorial **planning**
(106_{ag})	***Labour*** *–* ***Leader*** *gestorben* (ADZ, 14.V.1994, p. 1) **Labourite** leader died	(106_{bg})	*Viața la* ***second-hand*** (A, 7.IV.1998, p. 9) **Second-hand** life
(107_{ah})	*150 gewaltbereite* ***Hooligans*** *erwartet* (ADZ, 7.IV.1998, p. 8) 150 **hooligans** prone to violence expected	(107_{bh})	*Agențiile de* ***rating*** *sunt cu ochii pe România* (A, 18.VIII.2000, p. 5) **Rating** agencies are watching Romania

In the Romanian-language newspaper one can find an abundance of *abbreviations*, especially referring to various political parties, without explaining them later in the text itself, the author of the text considering that logos are sufficiently known to the average educated reader.

What is to be noted for the ADZ newspaper is that it keeps the Romanian abbreviation especially for political parties, without in the first paragraph of the text to appear the logo in question in German translation.

	German		Romanian
(108_{aa})	*Selbstauflösung der* ***SED-PSD*** *abgelehnt (subtitle)* (NW, 23.I.1990, p. 2) – abbreviations are not explained in the text **SED-PSD** self-dissolution rejected	(108_{ba})	*În 30 iunie (titlu)* ***CDR*** *– cele mai multe voturi,* ***PDSR*** *– cele mai multe mandate* (A, 3.VII.1996, 2) In June 30 (title) **CDR** – most votes, **PDSR** – most mandates
(109_{ab})	*Eine blutige Spur des Terrors (subtitle) Seit 20 Jahren steht* ***RAF*** *für eine Kette von Gewalt und Mord* (NW, 4.IV.1991, p. 2) – RAF logo is not explained in the text Bloody trace of terror (subtitle) For 20 years **RAF** has left a trail of terror and violence	(109_{bb})	*Menținând aceleaşi condiții mizerabile (titlu)* ***SNCFR*** *va majora tarifele pentru transportul de călători* (A, 4.VII.1996, p. 3) While maintaining the same appaling conditions (title) **SNCFR** will increase fees for transport of passengers

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3. Final considerations

Aimed at finding solutions to issues that concern the entire society and different groups of individuals, intercultural dialogue is about changing *(in some respects to identity)* propositions that make up the common speech of all participants.

The objective of the discussion is achieved by *transferring certain sentences accepted by one group to another group* that accepts them in turn contributes to widening shared universe of discourse. The latter is amended by deleting *divergent sentences* pertaining to domains of problems that were to be solved. (cf. Guțu Romalo, 1991).

In terms of the purpose of the dialogue, *changes to the universe of discourse common to all participants* are the core matter (see the *globalization* case).

The various models used so far by researchers in explaining the relationship between Western culture and East-European culture have not yet provided a well coagulated answer on how identities and otherness are constructed in the analyzed cultural spaces.

In this context, a type of analysis as the one shown in these pages can serve sketching *prerequisites of communication in multi-lingual communities*.

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Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien (*ADZ*) = daily newspaper, Bucureşti, the first issue 1993

Adevărul (A) = daily newspaper, Bucureşti, the first issue 1989

Neuer Weg (NW) = daily newspaper, Bucureşti, the first issue 1949

Scînteia (S) = daily newspaper, Bucureşti, the first issue 1948

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