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

Adriana DĂNILĂ¹, Margareta MANU-MAGDA²

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

¹ Christian University “Dimitrie Cantemir”, adriana.danila2013@gmail.com
² “Iorgu Iordan – Al Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy – Romania, margaretamagda@yahoo.com
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 communities. 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 peritext⁴ (newspaper title, a component of the paratext⁵).

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

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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 Gatu-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" (Cvasnii 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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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

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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.
One of the key conditions for success in building dialogue within the plurilingual 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” 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).
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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. 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German</th>
<th>Romanian</th>
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<tr>
<td>(1a) Mit berechtigtem Stolz können wir auf die unter die Führung der Partei erzielten Erfolge blicken (NW, 1.I. 1951, p. 6)</td>
<td>(1b) Cu ajutorul U.R.S.S. (noi) creăm noi ramuri industriale (S, 4.II.1953, p. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We can look to the great achievements under the leadership of the Party with due pride.</td>
<td>(We) create new industrial sectors with the help of USSR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^9\) 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 units operating as fixed, cliché 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.
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)

The Balkans **must become** a zone of peace!  
(NW, 15.V.1959, p. 6)

(3) *Die Agitationsarbeit darf nicht formell sein!*

Agitation **must not be** formal!  
(NW, 2.III.1956, p. 1)

– 1st active infinitive with imperative value:

(4) *Jede Minute für den Frieden kämpfen!*

We must **fight for** peace one minute at a time!  
(NW, 1.I.1951, p. 1)

– 2nd participle

(5) *Gute und sorgsame Pflege der Treibriemen in jedem Betrieb geboten*

Efficient and careful supervision of belts **is of the essence** in every plant  
(NW, 24.I.1952, p. 4)

– direction adverbials

(6) *In grosser Geschlossenheit vorwärts*

Let’s go **further** with a great deal of unanimity!  
(NW, 9.III.1953, p. 1)

(7) *Nun an den Mais heran!*

Let’s **get started** the maize production!  
(NW, 15.V.1959, p. 1)

– prepositional groups with an imperative value

(8) *Unter dem Stalin'schen Banner des Friedens*

**Under the** Stalinist **banner** of peace  
(NW, 2.XI.1950, p. 2)

(9) *Für pünktlichen und pausenlosen Getreidetransport vorsorgen!*

**Looking after** a punctual and continuous transport of cereal!  
(NW, 21.VI.1953, p. 1)

(10) *Zur Festigung der neuen Währung: Frauen erzielen Leistungssteigerung im Betrieb*

In order to strengthen the new currency: Women obtain better achievements within the enterprise  
(NW, 15.II.1952, p. 2)
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 pușine surle și trâmbițe și 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 găsește un puternic răsunet în rândurile muncitorilor și 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 desfășurare 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 și 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 – realizează fără întârziere!* (S, 12.V.1985, p. 3)

Investments for the recycling industry – delivered without any delay!
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, găsește un puternic răsunet, își 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**


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 agric平torului se află pe cimb, în bătaia vintului și 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 răsăritenă își exprimă recunoștința față 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
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 muncesc în organizat, rezultatele sunt 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.
German

Is this a proper behaviour? (subtitle) Commotion in the entrance to the block of flats

Romanian

(33) *E mai ușor să construiiești decât 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 fruntașe!*  (S, 28.IV.1953, p. 1)
Honour to the enterprises that are ranked first in the competition!
(37) *Toată atenția întovărașirilor 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

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
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**

(44a) leaving out the copula  
\textit{Stalin - Koryphäe der Wissenschaft}  
(NW, 7.III.1953, p. 3)  
Stalin - the master mind of science

(44b) leaving out the copula  
\textit{Agitatorul, prietenul cetățenilor din cartier}  
(S, 2.III.1956, p. 3)  
The agitator, friend to all citizens in the neighbourhood

(45a) leaving out the passive auxiliary  
\textit{Volksbeisitzer nun auch in Hermannstadt gewählt}  
(NW, 9.IV.1949, p. 4)  
Popular jurors are being elected in Sibiu

(45b) leaving out the passive auxiliary  
\textit{Campania agricolă de primăvară – pregătită cu maximă răspundere!}  
(S, 5.II.1985, p. 2)  
The spring agricultural campaign - prepared with maximum accountability!

(46a) leaving out the predicative verb  
\textit{Jungfasane im Giroker Wald}  
(NW, 4.VIII.1977, p. 6)  
Young pheasants in Girok forest

(46b) lack of the predicative verb  
\textit{Activiști 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

(47a) leaving out the main clause  
\textit{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

(47b) leaving out the main clause  
\textit{Când toți locuitorii satului pun umărul}  
(S, 8.I.1985, p. 3)  
When all inhabitants of the village bear a bob

(48a) relative clauses  
\textit{Eine Anklage, die jeder Grundlage entbehrt}  
(NW, 15.I.1953, p. 8)  
A blame which lacks any reason

(48b) relative clauses  
\textit{Acolo unde au domnit bălțile și păpușiul}  
(S, 26.I.1962, p. 1)  
Where the marshes and the reeds used to rule
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*, țăranii, colectiviștii, mineri, petroliștii, activiștii 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.

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

**German**

(53a) Siege der *Erbauer des Sozialismus* (NW, 11.V.1951, p. 1)
Victories of *builders of socialism*

(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*

(55a) *Eine Stadt der Eisenbahner*, Simeria (NW, 2.IX.1989, p. 5)
Simeria, a town of *railway workers*

(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 to Schwernik

**Romanian**

(53b) Greva *siderurgiștilor britanici continuă* (S, 6.I.1980, p. 6)
The strike of the *British steel workers* continues

(54b) *Succesele constructorilor de tractoare* (S, 28.IV.1953, p. 1)
The *tractor builders' successes*

(55b) *Activiști 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**

(57a) Wie unser *werktätiges Volk* half (NW, 8.II.1951, p. 4)
How did help our *hard-working people*

**Romanian**

(57b) Filmele sovietice se bucură tot mai mult de dragostea și 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
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**

(58a) 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

(58b) Manolis Glezos şi alţi fruntaşi democraţi greci condamnaţi la moarte de călăii monarho-fasciştii

(S, 13.III.1948, p. 6)

Manolis Glezos and other Greek democratic leaders convicted to the death sentence by King's fascist executioners

(59a) Kommunistische Partei Finnlands demaskiert finnische Kriegstreiber

(NW, 8.II.1951, p. 7)

The Finnish Communist Party unmasks Finnish instigators to war

(59b) Pentru pace, impotriva atăţătorilor 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**

(60a) Genosse Josef Wissarionowitsch Stalin ist aus dem Leben geschieden

(NW, 6.III.1953, p. 1/2)

Comrade Iosif Vissarionovici Stalin has died

(60b) Tovarăşul Iosif Vissarionovici Stalin a încetat din viaţă

(S, 6.III.1953, p. 1)

Comrade Iosif Vissarionovici Stalin has died

(61a) 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 Ceauşescu in the Federal Republic of Germany

(61b) 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
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**

(62a)  *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**

(63a)  *Der Leninismus - das Banner der Menschenheitsbefreiung*  
(NW, 24.I.1952, p. 3)  
**Leninism** - the flagship of mankind deliverance

(64a)  *Stachanow - Schulen in den Betrieben*  
(NW, 21.III.1951, p. 3)  
**Stachanov** schools in factories

(65a)  *Die Prüfung vor der Wandzeitung*  
(NW, 1.IV.1950, p. 5)  
The exam taken in front of the **factory newspaper stand**

(66a)  *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"

(67a)  *Die Entlohnung der Arbeit in den Kolchosen*  
(NW, 11.V.1951, p. 6)  
Payment of labour in **collective farms**

**Romanian**

(62b)  *În întîmpinarea primului nostru Plan Cincinal*  
(S, 9.XII.1950, p. 1)  
 Welcoming our very first **Five Year Plan**

(63b)  *Importanţa internaţională a leninismului*  
(S, 26.IV.1950, p. 5)  
The international importance of **Leninism**

(64b)  *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**

(65b)  *O gazetă de perete numai cu numele*  
(S, 25.IV.1951, p. 2)  
**A factory newspaper** that is left only with its title

(66b)  *Cum aplic metoda stahanovistului sovietic Duvanov*  
(S, 2.IV.1952, p. 1)  
How to apply the method of the Soviet **Stakhanovite Duvanov**

(67b)  *Milioane de operaţii pe secundă*  
(S,2.III.1965, p. 4)  
"Gheorghe Gheorghiu - Dej" **Complex brigade for savings**
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**

(68a)  
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

**Romanian**

(68b)  
Mii de țăranii 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

(69a)  
Millionen kW/St Leistungszuwachs/ Maschinenbauersparten Löwenanteil/ Topletzer 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

(69b)  
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.
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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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).
(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**  

**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.
- 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 gutgeheißeene schleichende Assimilation also... da kann doch gleich eine rumänische ADZ erscheinen, die hätte dann ein paar Millionen potenzielle Leser in Rumänien, einem Land mit Minderheiten in Millionenhöhe, wo aber immer noch "Geschichte der Rumänien" 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 rumänischen 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.

(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 instituțiilor europene abia daca se pot face înțeles. Sintagme precum "capacitate de absorbtie", "aquis", "comitologie", "eurocrat" sau "zona Schengen" au invadat presa scrisă sau vorbită si limbajul de zi cu zi al unora. Desi instituțiilor europene li s-a cerut sa evite folosirea unor termeni specifici, pentru ca publicul sa intelege informatiile transmise de la centrul, oamenilor nu le-ar strica un dictionar al termenilor legați de integrarea europeană. 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
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, 23.1.1990, 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 (Baidu-Vranceanu et al. 2001: 321).
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!*
Ilie, Ilie, score another goal, brother!

b. *„Nicule, mai dă-le o sută de lei!”*
„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 și un singur autor: Pentagonul* (A, 27.II.1992, p. 6)
Better safe than sorry... 7 scenarios and one author: the Pentagon

(87) *Fitness și 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

Timoschenko and Juschtschenko want a coalition again

Romanian

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

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

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 mătușa Dana

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

The gas crisis will last. Lethargy / Dead season in the currency market cuts oil imports to half

(93) Europa-Euphorie der Polen läßt nach

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

(94) Bugetivorii
Budgetivores

(B, 1.IV.1994, p. 3)

(95) Spăgarii vor să stoarcă bani de pe urma bolnavilor de SIDA, hepatită și leucemie
Bribe addicts want to squeeze money out of AIDS, hepatitis and leukaemia patients

(A, 7.VI.2002, p. 1)

2.3. Identity convergences through globalization

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German</th>
<th>Romanian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(96) Dividenten fallen nicht von Himmel</td>
<td>(96) Formula adoptată: vânzarea utilajelor inactve și privatizarea celor productive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividends don’t fall from the skies</td>
<td>Formula adopted: sell inactive assets and privatize the productive ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(97) Führende Manager aus Industrie und Wirtschaft</td>
<td>(97) Legea 64/1995 – balet păgubos în jurul noțiunii de faliment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top managers from industry and economy</td>
<td>Law 64/1995 – wasteful noise around the concept of bankruptcy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.” (Golopenția 2001: http://secolul21.ro/sanda-golopentia-a-gandi-globalizarea/)
The use of language in constructing hybrid identities

**German**

(98ac) Bis zuletzt fehlte das Quorum (ADZ, 14.V.1994, p. 1)
Eventually there was no quorum

(99ad) Langfristiger deutscher Kredit für KMU (ADZ, 3.VI.1998, p. 4)
Long-term German credit for KMU

(100aa) Mehr Computer im Einsatz (NW, 13.IV.1991, p. 2)
More computers used

(102ad) Studenten-Meeting auf dem Bukarester Universitätsplatz (NW, 23.I.1990, p. 1)
Students meeting in the University Square in București

(104ac) 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

**Romanian**

(98bc) 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

(99bc) Decesele în septicemii, prevenite prin biotehnologie (A, 8.VI.2002, p. 7)
Death in septicaemia cases, prevented by biotechnology

(100ba) IBM a lansat cel mai rapid computer din lume (A, 1.VII.2000, p. 7)
IBM launched the fastest computer in the world

(101bb) 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

(102bc) Work-shop pentru tinerii traducători (A, 1.VII.2000, p. 3)
Young translators’ workshop

(103bd) Outsideri cu simțul realității (A,14.V.1994, 7)
Outsiders with a sense of reality

(104be) Societățile de broketaj trebuie să-și majoreze capitalul social (A,7.IV.1998, p. 5)
Brokerage companies should increase their share capital
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**

(105af) *Trainingslager* der rechtsextremen *Wiking-Jugend ausgehoben*  
(ADZ, 15.IV.1994, p. 2)  
*Training* camp of young right wing extremists arrested

(106ag) *Labour – Leader gestorben*  
(ADZ, 14.V.1994, p. 1)  
*Labourite* leader died

(107ah) 150 *gewaltbereite* *Hooligans* erwartet  
(ADZ, 7.IV.1998, p. 8)  
150 *hooligans* prone to violence expected

(108aa) *Selbstauflösung der SED-PSD* abgelehnt (subtitle)  
(NW, 23.I.1990, p. 2) – abbreviations are not explained in the text  
*SED-PSD* self-dissolution rejected

(108ab)  
**Romanian**

(105bf) CNEAA *propune autorizarea Planing-ului teritorial*  
(A, 7.IV.1998, p. 8)  
CNEEA propose the approval of the territorial *planning*

(106bg) *Viaţa la second-hand*  
(A, 7.IV.1998, p. 9)  
*Second-hand* life

(107bh) *Rating agencies are watching Romania*  
(A, 18.VIII.2000, p. 5)  
*Rating* agencies are watching Romania

**German**

(109ab)  
**Romanian**

(109bb) *Menţinând aceleasi condiţii mizerabile* (titlu) *SNCFR va majora tarifele pentru transportul de călători*  
(A, 4.VII.1996, p. 3)  
While maintaining the same appalling conditions (title)  
*SNCFR* will increase fees for transport of passengers

Bloody trace of terror (subtitle)  
For 20 years *RAF* has left a trail of terror and violence
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.

References


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