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CULTURE MATTERS: DESIGNING AND DELIVERING A FRENCH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES (FSP) COURSE FOR THE MEDICAL SOFTWARE SECTOR IN BELGIUM

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Abstract*: This article describes the creation of French for specific purposes (FSP) materials for the medical technology sector for in a week-long course designed for non-specialist French speakers going to Belgium on a three-year medical software project. Language for specific purposes (LSP) generally incorporates general cultural competence, which has long been considered a central component of foreign language education, along with developing competencies and skills based on employers' requirements, language awareness, and professional competencies. Alongside key linguistic skills – for example, vocabulary building in a certain area such as law, medicine, or technology – LSP courses need to equally consider individual regional cultural elements including linguistic variants as an integral part of their specific purpose, instead of adding it as an ancillary aspect. Because of the interconnectedness of language and culture, LSP educators must explicitly and methodically consider cultural familiarity as an outcome by integrating it into the needs analysis, development, delivery, and conclusion of the course. In this example, the instructional team collected and modified materials from textbook and web resources to create an FSP course that included an overview of French medical and technological terminology as well as an introduction to Belgian French, relevant cultural material, and a focus on linguistic authenticity. Using qualitative methods, this article presents the ways in which the FSP course foregrounded culture and demonstrates specific examples from the pedagogical materials designed for students. This curriculum model can serve as a framework for those interested in infusing their FSP curriculum with cultural relevance as an additional specific purpose.*

Keywords: French for Specific Purposes; Belgium; pedagogy; culture; designing and implementing; medical software sector

1. Introduction

Language and culture have a close and complex connection, and it is impossible to fully understand a culture without knowledge of its language. In the twenty-first century, these interrelated elements are crucial for effective functioning of globalized workplaces, international business, travel, work abroad, and our increasingly globalized neighborhoods and civic institutions. For example, US employers report a 53% increase in demand for bilingual workers in the past five years (ACTFL 2019 17), and the COVID-19 pandemic has demonstrated the need for global crisis communication (Piller, Zhang, and Li 2020). With the increasing internationalization of curricula in postsecondary institutions there has also been a meaningful increase of students who possess nuanced cultural understandings (Deardorff 2006). Thus, the need to teach both cultural and linguistic competence remains an urgent priority.

Writing in *The SAGE Handbook of Intercultural Competence*, Michael Byram called on language teachers to be "teachers of language and culture" (2009: 331). Language teaching has long been considered a medium for teaching culture (Kramsch 1993; Sercu, 2006), and language for specific purposes (LSP) courses, which are designed to train international professionals in specific fields, are no different. Among these, French for specific purposes (FSP) courses are currently in high demand, as a recent analysis of undergraduate education in the United States attests (Bouche and Reisinger 2021). Yet, as this article demonstrates, there are multiple layers to this objective of teaching culture.

This article describes the experience of creating an FSP course for the medical technology sector within the context of a week-long course designed for three intermediate (B1/B2) French speakers going on a three-year medical software project in Belgium in which the three students would adapt a new software system to their clients' needs, move crucial health data, and train physicians and nurses on how to use the new software over the course of two years. In addition to the language for specific purpose component, the course also provided an introduction to Belgian French. Because the class was not for university credit, no formal assessments were created; this article describes the experience of course creation and learner feedback from course evaluations.

2. Centering culture in LSP through analysis and course design

In considering variants of a global language such as French, connections between language and culture are especially important, because these variants reflect cultural specificities. With 29 independent nations where French is an official or main language, each locale has produced an abundance of linguistic variants. When discussing culture, learning about a specific variety of French and how it has developed is one way to investigate different countries' histories and cultures, as well as wider societal considerations, in addition to meeting the goal of teaching language for specific purpose. In the example of this course, whereas the learners had already established a good foundation in what is known as standard general academic French through university studies and study abroad programs, in addition to training students in medical and technological French, a second goal was to enhance cultural awareness of how French language use in Belgium differed from the International European French dialect generally taught to those learning French as a second language. Aiming for linguistic authenticity, in addition to technical language skills, exemplifies how designing LSP courses requires deeper knowledge and research.

In professional settings, communicative competence is viewed as wider than linguistic competence (Luka 2007). As Nteliou and Kehagia (2016) have demonstrated, skills for effective cross-cultural communication in a globalized work environment are key in LSP courses in postsecondary education. Given the importance of cultural knowledge and competency in human communication and interaction, FSP courses must build cultural trainings into their design and implementation from outset to conclusion. And because cultural competence is multi-faceted, it is important to consider knowledge of a specific region and its linguistic variant(s). This is particularly key in the case French, a pluricentric language with a global reach. From Senegalese to Swiss variants, there are different nuances and colloquialisms unique to distinct Francophone regions, countries, and cities. This is the case in Belgium, where French is one of three official languages, alongside Dutch and German. French is spoken differently in Belgium, Switzerland, Quebec, and throughout Francophone West Africa. In English and Spanish, similar regional distinctions exist as well. Although the French in Belgium is closer to the French in France, than the French in North America (Quebec), there are frequently used words and expressions unique to Belgian dialects. Belgian French reflects the influence of the languages of the other Belgian regions, the Flemish Region, the Brussels-Capital Region, and the Walloon Region. Belgian French is also infused with vocabulary from Picard, Walloon, Lorrain, and other regional Romance languages. Given this regional context, the course ultimately consisted of an overview of French medical and technological terminology as well as an introduction to Belgian culture and Belgian French.

Like most effective teaching, LSP is an endeavor based on a specific set of goals. As research demonstrates, materials resulting from the needs analysis are based on aspects such as specialty or topic, learner situation, skills needed, and expected outcomes (García Laborda, 2011). In addition, LSP course design and implementation require attention to a number of factors such as student needs, course objectives, and instructor resources available. Because of these varying factors, instructor flexibility is key (Martin 2010). Elizabeth Martin describes the course design as a “cyclical” process “where periodic feedback from all parties involved (coordinators, teachers, students, administrators, etc.) will continually influence course design, materials, and evaluation techniques” (2010: 5). Gisèle Kahn summarized the objective of French for Specific Purposes as needing to be as “functional” as possible, making the point that “la ‘fonctionnalité’ est aussi synonyme de réalisme” (1995: 144). In other words, an LSP course’s success is based on its ability to meet real-world goals. For our learners, this meant specialized terminology as well as an overview of Belgian French. To arrive at these goals, the instructional team followed Basturkmen and Elder’s methodological approach to creating an LSP course. Following these researchers’ emphasis on course design, the instructional team began with two key first steps: needs analysis and description of language utilization in target situations (Basturkmen and Elder 2004). These initial steps were important to weigh the gap between students’ proficiency and the communicative needs of the target situation in order to determine the communicative needs the students may have. In addition, this process included determining the course focus, the terminology to be covered, and the educational methodology. The needs analysis also included specialty, situation of learners, necessary abilities, anticipated outcomes, and cultural skills (García Laborda 2011). Our team found that, in addition to specialized vocabulary for the medical and technological sector, we had to explicitly consider cultural competencies – in this case, Belgian French – as an important objective. We integrated the cultural component of Belgian French into the creation, development, and delivery of the course.

3. Medical software in Belgium: An FSP example

The three students enrolled in the course had all studied in France but had never been to Belgium. Their company, a Wisconsin-based electronic health records software firm, requested a customized course for them before they embarked on the project, which would involve adapting a new software system to their clients' needs, moving crucial health data, and training Belgian physicians and nurses on how to use the new software. In this case, all three learners were in their mid-20s and had a French level of B1 or B2. Two of the three students had begun their French studies in middle school; the other started in high school. All had studied in France (Aix-en-Provence, Paris, and Strasbourg) for durations of two to three months but had never visited Belgium. One student had specific training in French for business, having had attended the École Supérieure de Commerce de Paris during her undergraduate studies.

Conducting a thorough needs analysis for the course ultimately integrated cultural components into teaching activities. Beforehand, we invited students to reflect upon and make comparisons between the different cultural contexts of France and Belgium (CoE/CEFR, 2001). Then, to create relevant learning activities for the group, the instructional team kept cultural proficiency front and center by collecting and modifying authentic material which included medical and technological as well as cultural information that incorporated Belgian French. Because the students were adult learners, their involvement in the design process was key. According to Knowles et al. (2005), adult learners need to self-direct their learning and are more likely to be actively involved in the learning process if the activities chosen are experiential and problem-solving, resembling real-life and work experiences.

4. Creating a tailor-made curriculum

Research shows that LSP textbooks are often insufficient to meet the goals of learners (Beaulieu 2014). Thus designers of LSP courses generally must research, collect, and process the necessary knowledge and information that will provide the foundation of the program's targeted communicative situations. As Christine Noe demonstrates, beginning with a situational context is a useful approach because it emphasizes the discursive nature of specialist language (2003: 197). The type of texts and situations being studied are important to successful outcomes, so the instructional team focused on these specific students and their language-use plans. Successful LSP teaching should be focused on students and their language use plans; as García Laborda demonstrates, students' needs and subjects will shape the tailor-made materials (2011). The data collection of the needs analysis represented a foundational step in the approach to creating an LSP course and considered the linguistic needs of the learners as distinguished by a frequency of terms and structures (Mangiante and Parpette 2004, Richer 2008). More specifically, the analysis consisted of the identification of the communicative situations in which students would be likely to find themselves within the target context during the professional project, as well as in listing linguistic and cultural knowledge that students would need to acquire. To design the syllabus, teacher-designers made lists of activities, speech acts, and cultural knowledge. The set of questions developed by Mangiante and Parpette for designing such a course addressed the areas the course would explore, and the specific lexical information needed for successful outcomes. With this focus as a guide, a more detailed investigation followed, in which the teacher-designers anticipated communicative contexts the three students would expect to encounter, contact dimensions (face to face, email, etc.) they would be using, and codes used in the professional workplace (tone, register). The teacher-designers investigated potential new situations and contexts in which the students might find themselves after completing the course and arriving in Belgium. Finally, the instructional team researched aspects of Belgian culture and Belgian French to prepare the materials.

5. Examples of teaching materials: Language and culture

In this project, the creation of didactic materials first focused on general medical terminology (health symptoms, diagnoses, medical personnel, treatments), then focused on specialized terminology about medical software found on documents on the Internet. The teacher-designers collected authentic documents necessary for the creation of pedagogical resources for specific purposes for the medical technology sector in Belgium. The Internet was a valuable tool the teacher-designers utilized in the cases in which textbooks fell short. Teachers used video documents such as promotional tourism videos, adapted and paired with pedagogical documents, about Brussels and Wallonia. In addition, vocabulary building exercises using new technological terms were incorporated into didactic resources. Students appreciated reviewing what they already knew from standard French courses while building up their lexicon with more specialized terms for their project such as “télécharger un dossier” (upload a file), “synchroniser les données” (synchronize data), and “authentification à deux facteurs” (two-factor authentication). This relevant material gave them a solid preparation for the different lexical referents they would encounter on their project. The teacher-designers also adapted such industry terms as “interface,” “secure messaging,” and “patient portal” into speaking and writing activities. Students practiced scheduling meetings and explaining the steps of using the software to carry out work in collaboration with their interlocutors.

In the case of the significant cultural component to the course, building cultural intelligence and linguistic authenticity was key for the empowerment of students to connect “to a world that is culturally different from their own,” or a skill Stein-Smith has called the “ultimate twenty-first century competency” for global and multilingual citizens (Sercu 2005 1, Stein-Smith 2018). Relevant cultural material also gave the learners a solid preparation for the different cultural referents they might encounter on their project.

This cultural material included Belgicisms, e.g., words, expressions, or phrases that are unique to Belgian French. Introducing students to Belgian French made substantial amount of the course. These sessions were taught by a guest lecturer who was a Belgian native. As *Barbarić* and *Matijević* (2018) demonstrate in their study of teaching cultural competence within an LSP, figurative expressions can be used to improve communication skills and gain better understanding of the social conventions and norms that establish the collective consciousness of a particular target culture, and the Belgicisms presented in our course included such expressions.

For example, all the students knew the French phrase “il pleut” (“it’s raining”), but not “il drache,” which means the same thing. From the Dutch word “draschen,”, it is a Belgian regionalism for a downpour. Equally confusing to students who learned

French in France would be “à tantôt” meaning “à toute à l’heure” (“see you later”). Students also needed to learn “septante” and “nonante” for 70 and 90 respectively (the ventigesimal “quatre-vingt-dix” is still used in Belgium for the number 80). Expressions unique to the country’s capital, Brussels, were also introduced, such as “volle gaz,” an expression from the Flemish meaning “quickly,” or “full steam ahead.” Finally, as in Switzerland and in Francophone North America, “*déjeuner” (“breakfast”),* “*dîner” (“lunch”) and* “*souper” (“dinner”) are used in Belgium instead France’s terms, “petit-déjeuner*,” “*déjeuner,” and* “*dîner.” Whereas most of these students would have encountered the previous example, which is often taught in first-year French courses, other expressions were more advanced. For example, in the realm of the workplace, the idiomatic Belgian phrases such as “ça peut mal” (“there is no risk”), “postposer” (“to postpone”), and “savoir” (used idiomatically to mean “to be able to”) were of a more advanced nature and new to the learners.*

6. Discussion

The needs analysis of the instructional team revealed the necessity of teaching technical vocabulary and structures in addition to orienting students to the linguistic variants of their specific Francophone context in Belgium. Going beyond standard general academic French was key in both cases. As this experience of this FSP course demonstrates, cultural awareness was not just a value-added item but was foundational for the language-learning educational endeavor. *Becoming familiar not only with technological and medical terminology but also Belgian French, not the* International European French dialect with which the learners were already familiar, was necessary. *In their course evaluations, learners provided qualitative feedback about the importance of the time the instructors spent on Belgian French. As their awareness of the influence of Belgicisms in everyday and professional communications increased, they had a greater appreciation for the differences between Belgian culture and what they had learned in their prior study abroad programs in France. The students valued reviewing the specificities of vocabulary for meals and numbers, as well as the idiomatic expressions they might encounter in the workplace.* As one student wrote in the course evaluation, “We were able to talk to [the instructor] about Belgian culture and learn some of the major differences between the French spoken in Belgium and the French spoken in France.… [I]t was interesting to learn that the words for breakfast, lunch, and dinner are a bit different in the two countries. The word the French use for lunch means *breakfast* in Belgium! Things could have gotten confusing in Belgium if I hadn’t learned about these differences.” Although this region-specific vocabulary is often presented in beginning French courses, it proved useful for the students to review it and to delve into more advanced examples. Another student added “I was able to walk away feeling confident and prepared to work in a professional French-speaking environment.” Another student commented, “The cultural aspect was useful and interesting for our day-to-day interactions both socially and professionally.” Although all the students came into the course already confident in their spoken French, knowing about elements of Belgian culture along with key Belgicisms was essential to their assuredness that they could fulfill their professional goals. A student expressed in the course evaluation their appreciation for the “crash course in grammar structures, healthcare and technological terminology, and Belgian culture.”

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper presents an original example of how to approach teaching FSP for medical technology in the site-specific context of Belgium. The course design and delivery experience and its qualitative learner feedback demonstrate how much the concepts, attitudes, and ways of interacting with and looking at the world conveyed in Belgicisms were of importance to students' goals. When students become aware of the span and influence of Belgian idioms, they were able to add to their communication skills and gain better understanding of a target culture.

As this example demonstrates, mutual interactions between language and culture have central significance in teaching and learning another language, both in general language programs and in LSP courses and programs. Indeed, learning a second culture or cultures is often intricately intertwined with learning another language. Teaching language, whether in generalist or in specialist courses, should always be accompanied with teaching culture, including the variants of a language whenever necessary. In addition to teaching technical vocabulary and helpful expressions for professional use, a modern LSP course needs to integrate linguistic authenticity throughout the teaching. Through relevant and authentic materials, teachers can invite students to enter into the process of gradually constructing and refining their understandings of another culture. Regional linguistic distinctions may also be vital, such as in this case students who already knew the International European French dialect but who had not yet experienced Belgian French. As a small yet important component of linguistic authenticity and proficient communication, the inclusion of Belgicisms in the intensive course enabled the learners in this example to better prepare for their project in Belgium and broadened their perspectives on *la Francophonie* in ways they found enjoyable and profitable. When helping develop multilingual professionals who can also be considered global citizens, we need to consider culture just as much as we consider specialized terminology, and this paper presents a course that participated in that endeavor.

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EDUCATION DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN ROMANIA AND ABROAD

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Abstract: *The purpose of the paper is to show the changes underwent by the education system worldwide during covid-19 pandemic both in schools and universities. The education system is undergoing radical changes, with a significant increase in e-learning, distance learning through digital platforms. The main problem with digitizing education is that not all children/students have access to the Internet or do not have the necessary technology. The closure of schools and universities, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, has had negative consequences both on children/students' educational progress and on their emotional health and, moreover, on their online safety. One of the urgent measures recommended was to support families affected by poverty, so that all children/students participate equally in the online educational process, providing them with digital devices such as laptops and a secure wi-fi connection. After the initial shock, teachers, professors and members of administrative and technical bodies in education systems around the world reacted in a truly extraordinary way, trying to transfer the entire teaching activity to the online environment and, in just a few weeks, to become familiar with the operation of digital platforms such as Zoom, Google Meets and Microsoft Teams, which in most cases they were not even aware of before this crisis. Most of them have adapted surprisingly well to the new systems, appreciating the advantages they bring and trying to quickly overcome the inherent problems. The pandemic also had negative effects on interpersonal relationships, as students/children no longer have the context to work and collaborate as a team to develop a task. An undesirable conclusion is that, regardless of the country, the poorest and most marginalized children are in danger.*

Keywords: education; covid-19 pandemic; digitization; university system; students; innovation.

1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic surprised Romania to the same extent that it surprised the whole world. As soon as the nature of the disease began to be understood and the measures and sacrifices that society had to make to survive this challenge became clearer, a huge dilemma was added to the concerns of the health crisis: the crisis of education. The fight against the disease has begun to affect the future in an unexpected way, by limiting access to school education for children and young people. No society has been fully prepared since the first moments of quarantine, and the solutions have been varied, with different success, from one country to another. For Romania, the effort to keep children connected to the education system meant overcoming an important series of difficulties: the unequal access to distance communication technology that both schools, teachers, students and families felt; the ability of teachers to adapt to the methodology of online learning, different from that of interaction with students in the classroom; the stress borne by parents, engaged in a new and very demanding way in the education process; the accumulated psychological effect that social distance had on children and young people. Distance learning did not start during the quarantine period in a totally unprepared way, because online resources, as well as a certain level of experience, especially in the university system, already existed. However, it was not easy for the education system to extend these experiences from a niche level to a general status.

The society has understood how important it is to invest in distance learning, which not only mitigates the immediate disruption caused by covid-19, but also outlines ways of working for the development of more open and flexible education systems for the future. The measures implemented by Romania also took into account the protection of children and young people most at risk, as school closures disproportionately hurt vulnerable and disadvantaged students, who rely on schools for a range of social services - health, nutrition, protection and emotional support. Romania is one of the first states that at the beginning of March ordered the measure of centralized closure of schools, at national level, and the implementation of alternative educational solutions, from a distance. The early initiatives of the Ministry of Education and Research and its partners, in March and April, were diversified to meet the needs of as many affected audiences as possible. A number of online platforms have centralized different types of free digital resources and useful information to support teachers in the use of new technologies in learning activities with students.

The current global crisis triggered by the covid-19 pandemic has affected all areas of activity. From the way goods are produced to the way we spend our free time and the way we get involved in city life to the way we build our plans for the future, all aspects of our daily lives have changed significantly. The education system could not escape the developments of recent years, and the consequences can be significant in the medium and long term. Much of the educational gains of the last decade are lost due to the disruption of schools around the world. The concern is legitimate and urgent, because beyond the elements related to the preparation for professional life, schools convey social skills that are as important, if not even more, than professional skills.

The purpose of this paper is to show the changes underwent by the education system worldwide during covid-19 pandemic both in schools and universities.

2. Does the pandemic of covid-19 definitely change pre-university education?

The education system is undergoing radical changes around the world, with a significant increase in e-learning, distance learning through digital platforms. "Globally, more than 1.2 billion children in 186 countries did not learn in the classroom, amid the onset of the covid 19 pandemic, according to the World Economic Forum". (www.ziarullumina.ro) With such a rapid transition from the traditional to the digitalized learning system, many are wondering if online learning will become a common practice even after the pandemic and, especially, what impact it can have on education.

The pandemic has caused a crisis in the education system and also changes the poles of the debate - from research in the field of neuroscience that categorically opposes the excessive use of technology in schools, to overnight digitalization of education, as the only way to continue the learning process. The trend in the use of technology in education was manifested before the covid 19 pandemic and is reflected in the value of global investment, “which in 2019 was $18.6 billion, either in language application projects, virtual guidance, online video conferencing tools, platforms and learning software, or internet access. It is estimated that by 2025, investments in online education projects worldwide will reach $350 billion”, according to the same source. (www.ziarullumina.ro) The huge sums expected to be allocated to the digitization of education are driven by experts who argued before the pandemic that schools focus on traditional academic skills and lifelong learning, rather than skills such as critical thinking and adaptability, which will be more important for the success of students in the future.

The unprepared and uncontrolled adoption of education through technology causes concern that the transition from traditional to unplanned and rapid learning of online learning provides a poor experience for children and thus they will not benefit from a sustainable education. Others believe that the new hybrid model of education will bring significant benefits and believe that the integration of information technology into education will be accelerated, and online education will eventually become an integral component of school education. “The use of digital educational platforms reduces the time to learn by 40-60%, compared to the traditional classroom”. (www.ziarullumina.ro) However, to achieve the full benefit of online learning, there must be a concerted effort to provide this structure to all children to overcome the replication of a physical class/lecture through video skills, using a range of collaboration tools and methods of involvement, which promotes inclusion, personalization and intelligence.

The main problem with digitizing education is that not all children have access to the Internet or do not have the necessary technology. “Whether in countries such as Switzerland, Norway and Austria 95% of students have a computer for school learning, in Romania 68% of students had access to electronic equipment for online schooling and only half of the students attended the online school. More than 72 million primary school children are out of school, bringing to attention crucial aspects of education from anywhere: access, equity, quality and impact”. (Eurostat 2020)

The pandemic complicates educational issues and obviously raises a number of questions that challenge the ability to find the right answers and the vision of decision makers. The effects of the pandemic are much stronger than initially estimated. “In low- and middle-income countries, almost 70% of children up to the age of ten cannot read or understand a simple text. In low- and middle-income countries, the percentage of children who are unable to read and understand a simple text at the age of ten - which was already over 50% before the pandemic - could quickly reach almost 70% due to school closures and poorer quality of distance learning”. (Eurostat 2020)

The closure of schools, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, has had negative consequences both on children's educational progress and on their emotional health and, moreover, on their online safety. Save the Children survey

data show that “almost half of children do not have access to a tablet or computer, the only devices that can allow real participation in online lessons, and over 50% say that one of the major risks of this period was addiction to internet and, as such, exposure to aggressive content and fake news”. (www.salvaticopii.ro)
The closure of schools and the arbitrary organization of online school courses without tools to assess the quality of the education process, has led to extreme situations. One of these is particularly serious: restricting access to education for vulnerable children, without access to the Internet and / or devices that allow them to participate online. Social inequities have been exacerbated in the case of children who have not had access to online schooling, and isolation, marginalization and discrimination have long-term educational and psycho-emotional repercussions.
The findings of a survey among Romanian children are:

- 47% of children had only a mobile phone at hand to participate in online courses, and 27.2% of children had uncovered school subjects during the suspension of classes. (www.salvaticopii.ro)
- Boredom is the main negative feeling of children (47.5%), followed by fatigue (32.7%), sadness (27.1%) and anger (23.2%). Young children, especially in the primary education cycle, felt the negative impact of isolation more strongly. Adolescents say to a significantly higher extent that they felt lonely, sad or angry. (www.salvaticopii.ro)
- 57.4% of children stated that playing on the phone, tablet or computer was the main recreational activity, followed by time spent in front of the TV (44.9%) and time spent on social networks (40.8%). 7 out of 10 children admit to spending between 3 and 4 hours online a day, and 20.7% over 6 hours. (www.salvaticopii.ro)
- 54.7% of children admit that the biggest risk they were exposed to during this period was internet addiction. False information ranks next, followed by online bullying. (www.salvaticopii.ro)

“While in Spain 5-9% of children, and in Finland 18% of low-income children said they do not have access to a tablet or a computer, in Romania, the estimates are between 250,000 children and 1,800,000 children, i.e about half of the children in primary, secondary and high school/vocational education” (https://www.savethechildren.net/save-our-education-report/) who have only a mobile phone available in their families, which does not allow a real participation in the educational act and no adequate communication with the teacher and colleagues in the class webinars.
Asked what they think the authorities should do to make online schooling more attractive and useful, “36.7% of children proposed creating a general website containing a database of lessons and exercises for all classes, and 28.9% considered it necessary to train teachers to use online applications and teaching lessons”. (https://www.savethechildren.net/save-our-education-report/)
The “Impact of Covid-19 on Children in Europe” report by Save the Children International draws attention to the unprecedented consequences of the pandemic on the well-being, education and safety of children, after comparatively analysing the situation in 11 European countries and regions (Romania, Sweden, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Finland, Germany, Norway, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo).
In each of these countries, the financial pressures on parents produced, between

March and June, an increase in the risk of poverty among children, with the highest percentage recorded in Romania:

Table 1

	Estimated number of children at risk of poverty	Percentage of children at risk of poverty in the total child population
Sweden	200.000	10%
Spain	2.100.000	24%
Finland	112.000	11%
Italy	2.100.000	20%
Romania	**1.300.000**	**34,6%**
Kosovo	approx. 125.000	20,7%
Albania	approx. 160.000	20%

Source: https://www.savethechildren.net/save-our-education-report/

One of the urgent measures recommended for national governments is to support families affected by poverty, so that all children participate equally in the online educational process, providing them with digital devices such as laptops and a secure wi-fi connection.

The Save Our Education report estimates that "in early April 2020, in an attempt to stop the spread of covid-19 virus, 1.6 billion of students globally - 91% of the total number - did not go to school".(https://www.savethechildren.net/save-our-education-report/) For the first time in human history, an entire generation of children around the world were dropping out of school.

An undesirable conclusion, identical to the results of our analyses for children in Romania, is that, regardless of the country, the poorest and most marginalized children are in danger. For them, schools do not only offer children a learning space, these are those safe places where they can receive food, have access to protection and counselling services and play with their friends. Teachers can be for children the people they can turn to first when they need help and those who can protect them. But with the closure of schools, children no longer have these essential elements that the school environment can provide. Among the recommendations of the Report, extremely important for Romania is the commitment to increase the financing of education, the only way that allows the implementation of measures and recovery plans at national level in terms of education in the context of covid-19.

3. Digitization and innovation of the university system during Covid pandemic

Although the idea of digitizing education systems has been debated for some time, the acceleration of this initiative under the Covid pandemic has been truly impressive. „All levels of education, from kindergarten to university, have been severely affected by the new coronavirus, and most institutions have either been completely closed or operated at very limited capacity for several months".(Chan, R. Y., Bista, K., Allen, R.M., 2021:65) After the initial shock, millions of teachers, professors and members of administrative and technical bodies in education systems around the world reacted in a truly extraordinary way, trying to transfer the entire teaching activity to the online environment and, in just a few weeks, to become familiar with the operation of digital platforms such as Zoom, Google Meets and Microsoft Teams, which in most cases they were not even aware of before this crisis. Most of them have adapted surprisingly well to the new systems, appreciating the advantages they bring and trying to quickly overcome the inherent problems:

Advantages of online learning:

- The ability to offer and participate in educational courses at home, without the need for a physical presence in a classroom that may raise significant logistical and temporal problems for students living far from the premises of the respective institutions.
- Ease of close interaction between students and teachers, using the chat function of digital platforms even during the actual courses.
- An overall improvement in both the quality and quantity of digital resources available. (Swartz, L., Nyman, D., Livingston, M., 2021)

Disadvantages of online learning:

- Reducing social interactivity with other students, a particularly critical factor especially for young people at the beginning of their higher education.
- Difficulties for those disciplines based on experimental or practical activities, such as biology, pharmacology, medicine, archaeology, performing arts, fine arts, architecture, engineering and many other specializations.
- Difficulties in accessing those libraries that do not have fully digitized resources, especially for students and researchers specializing in the humanities and social sciences.
- Difficulties for teachers unfamiliar with digital platforms and resources.
- Socio-economic division, which significantly hinders the activities of those teachers or students who do not have modern technological devices or uninterrupted high-speed internet access.
- Difficulty of concentration for some students, especially for younger promotions, in online courses compared to the same face to face courses.
- Psychological issues related to social isolation or reduced social interactions despite the strengthening of psychological support networks within most university institutions. (Swartz, L., Nyman, D., Livingston, M., 2021)

Universities, from the medieval model to the new digital models

Universities survived many serious religious, political, financial and health crises. They were set up long before the world had access to large-scale paper. „In the last 30 years, following the explosion of the Internet in the world (in 1993), universities have adapted, supplementing both the quantity and quality of resources available online". (Dempsey, P.R., 2021:87) Innovative pedagogical techniques such as classroom reversal have been adopted in many university courses in response to the widespread availability of information, transforming the professor into a guide that would rather direct the interest of his students. Even the

idea of distance learning began to be implemented a few years ago, but only in the case of a very small number of courses because face to face education, considered of superior quality by most institutions, remained the preferred form of university decision makers. Massive Online Open Courses (MOOCS), where thousands of students participate in free courses offered by leading universities worldwide (where tuition fees apply only to assessments), appeared in 2007, but did not become as popular as originally expected due to several reasons, including limited social interactivity in courses and the high dropout rate.
The covid-19 pandemic, perhaps for the first time in the history of higher education, has transformed distance education into the new standard teaching method for almost an entire academic year. Both the quality of the courses and the level of teaching were not always at the previous level of in-person education, at least not for all students, but overall the results obtained are certainly remarkable. The large number of distance learning courses present a clear opportunity for the new normal, but it also comes with a number of specific challenges, some of which are mentioned:

- Traditional universities wishing to enter the territory of online education will face stiff competition from other educational providers such as Coursera, edX and, more recently, even Google. Prospective employers may be increasingly interested in non-formal education obtained outside of traditional university systems as long as they can continue to employ individuals with the necessary practical and theoretical skills.
- In some countries (United States, Australia, United Kingdom), university costs have risen exponentially in recent decades, and during the pandemic there has been a heated debate over the justification of these costs in the new online educational setting. (Chan, R. Y., Bista, K., Allen, R.M., 2021)

Virtual and integrated international mobility

The covid-19 pandemic had „a negative impact on the mobility of international students, both those seeking full-time courses abroad and those in exchange for experience". (Johnston, D., Lopez, I., 2021:24) The Erasmus program, one of the European Union's flagship initiatives, started in the 1987-1988 academic year with an estimated 3,000 participants. Over the next three decades, it has allowed almost three million students to take university courses abroad, both inside and outside the borders of the European Union.
Shortly after the onset of the health crisis caused by the new coronavirus, many international students decided to interrupt their Erasmus programs, or otherwise cancelled their plans to start them. In the last academic year, 2020-2021, the number of students who participated in the Erasmus program was much lower than in 2018-2019, before the coronavirus. Even after the eradication of this virus, we cannot expect the number of international students to return to the level of the years before the pandemic.
The social and political impact of this practically reduced mobility within the European Union is expected to be particularly significant, given the great beneficial effects of the exchange of experiences among students.
The motivation for international physical mobility has been closely linked to social, cultural and personal reasons, such as knowledge of other cultures, languages, other cities or peoples; and, of course, virtual mobility is much less attractive in this regard. However, virtual mobility could allow the individual choice of the most

attractive online courses offered by a whole series of partner universities, which could be followed during the same semester as long as the considerations of the study programs allow it. „Thus, students could build their own integrated and improved curriculum, tailored to their particular interests”. (Ko, S., Rossen, S., 2019:98) As additional incentives, parent universities could offer short-term physical mobility scholarships (summer/winter schools, conferences) to partner universities to those students who participate in online courses offered by those institutions, allowing them to learn in person the teachers and colleagues with whom they interacted in the online environment for several months. Moreover, in order to make this integrated model a truly successful one, it is absolutely necessary to improve the visibility of online course offers (publishing course programs, configuring teacher profiles, incorporating feedback provided by previous students).

It is well known that the mobility of university staff is the main factor in forming close relations between university institutions, in improving the quality of exchanges of experience for students and in increasing the visibility of the institution and its international reputation. As in the case of student mobility, the covid-19 pandemic dramatically reduced the physical mobility of university staff, making it even impossible in some places. Instead, many online seminars (webinars) were organized, allowing students to participate in online education offered by specialists from abroad. The quality of online education can indeed be very high and has the great advantage of not requiring physical travel. In the post-covid world, it would be a positive thing to keep this new and convenient structure of the webinar, also having the advantage of allowing a better knowledge of colleagues before inviting them to take a series of in-person courses, a very serious commitment for all parties involved (both guest teachers, their hosts and students taking those courses).

Similarly, the covid-19 pandemic had a particularly negative impact on the international physical mobility of administrative and technical staff, a very important component of the Erasmus program. International relations, research, IT and accounting departments, libraries, they could really share models of good practice specifically associated with their professional practice in conferences/ workshops. After the onset of the health crisis, the vast majority of these events were either cancelled or postponed indefinitely. However, the interactivity between the staff of the partner institutions remained particularly intense, thanks to the online meetings on the digital platforms. In the post-Covid era, we would like such interactions to continue, allowing for the pursuit of good online professional practices that give administrative and technical staff in several institutions the opportunity to work together, especially in particularly difficult tasks, such as the elaboration of international projects.

The digital push facilitated by the covid-19 virus can help us in this regard, because now access to information is becoming more widespread. The role of educational institutions at all levels must now no longer be to provide information in itself, but to present concepts in order to understand the information we already have access to and to use it in developing new ideas, connecting the distinct points in a creative way. We must have the courage to renew our educational curricula, removing certain technical information that is difficult to learn and easy to forget, focusing on fundamental concepts in all disciplines.

Employability, cross-sectoral education and artificial intelligence
„Higher education is a huge investment of time and resources from students, their families and even society as a whole, and ensuring a high degree of employability of graduates is a fundamental responsibility of all universities".(Tate, K.J., 2021:41) However, the rapid development of all economic sectors makes it very difficult to predict what types of service will be available in the future. Digitization and artificial intelligence, on the one hand, make the human factor redundant in a whole series of activities, and on the other hand constantly create new requirements that are sometimes difficult to solve. Therefore, universities need to constantly renew their strategies, and the following considerations can be really useful in this regard:

- The education received must make all students good learners, because they will have to acquire new knowledge and skills throughout life.
- Students must be exposed to diverse learning environments, including within non-academic institutions.
- Graduates must not only look for jobs, but must also be encouraged to become job creators by assessing the new requirements and needs of society and forming companies, firms or other organizations capable of meeting them. Optional courses for the development of entrepreneurial skills should be offered in all disciplines of study, using interdisciplinary approaches wherever possible.
- Universities need to maintain continuous contact with non-academic organizations in order to better understand their vision and needs and to be able to take these needs into account in the development and revision of university programs without neglecting, of course, the sharing of that fundamental information for each discipline.

4. What we lost, what we gained
Firstly, we lost the direct relationship between students and teachers. The so-called classroom activity is an articulated complex of activities aimed at transferring multiple knowledge from teacher to students. This fundamental relationship was already subject to significant changes, related not only to the modification of the tools available to the teacher, but also to the overall vision, the philosophy on the formation of young generations. From the figure of authority (given by age and the monopoly on knowledge) to the figure of the partner in discovering things that deserve to be discovered and used, the role of the teacher was already in a process of change. The relationship mediated by the digital universe is not necessarily equivalent to the relationship in the classroom space. This change in the educational paradigm is, in the long run, more important than the changes in technology in the classroom, because the new roles of the teacher are those that constitute the framework for the use of technology. Especially for young students, the proximity of the teacher (and the way he/she understands and assumes the roles in the classroom) is fundamental.
Beyond the familiarity of the relationship (after all, most students are in a world of adults concerned with their development), the teacher communicates with his/her students also non-verbally: his/her position in the classroom, the way he/she moves, gestures and facial expressions contribute when transmitting information. Students, in the process of socializing and acquiring social communication skills, have only to gain from their exposure to this type of communication, and the

absence of this stimulus, along with cognitive and emotional gain from socializing with classmates and school, can have significant consequences in adulthood.
„Unlike learning content, social knowledge cannot be compressed or replaced, it cannot be approached selectively”. (Swartz, L., Nyman, D., Livingston, M., 2021:82) Here is actually the problem, because in socializing between peers of the same age, students practice behaviours, skills and knowledge that can ensure a good insertion in the world of adults. In addition, the emotional dimension of learning is diminished accordingly. Emotion is an important element in education, as it contributes to the mobilization of students' cognitive resources and allows them to cope with a special stress, that of learning.
Second, the possibilities for feedback are drastically limited. The Romanian education system is very dependent on the grading at national level, so on the measurement in relation to a performance standard; the measurement of progress, on the other hand, is neglected (even if the initial testing was introduced). Class activity allows the recovery of this dimension. Under the conditions of online teaching, the feedback that the teacher can provide and that can guide the student in measuring his/her own learning progress loses two fundamental qualities: proximity in time to the work task that mediates information about learning and comparative dimension.
Thirdly, the increase in the degree of teachers’ insecurity. „Much of the effectiveness of teaching and learning depends on the familiarity of the two partners involved in the training process (teacher and students) with mutual expectations”. (Smith, S., Budhai, B.K., 2021:11) The digital environment, fundamentally equalizing, raises issues when communication is hierarchical - in the end, the relationship remains unequal, even if only because one of the two poles has more responsibilities than the other. Teachers have fewer tools to identify training needs, which can also translate into increased conservatism in pedagogical reflection (which is only partially dependent on the modernity of the communication environment). In other words, the teacher is faced with the loss of normal behavioural mechanisms, which only increases the degree of insecurity and limits the possibilities of communication.
Of course, online teaching does not only have negative aspects. There are a number of gains, some more obvious than others. First, an increase in design capacity. The digital teaching environment involves a more detailed design of teaching-learning-assessment activities. This requires a lot of reading in-depth study of the programs and the assumption of a reading focused on the medium-term development of skills. Design must take greater account of students' autonomy in learning and the diversity of sources of information. As a consequence, the transformation of the teacher into a mediator and the abandonment of the role of information holder is accelerating. Given that students must largely work independently and outside the classroom, the teacher is required to emphasize the procedural aspects of teaching, therefore to highlight ways to ask questions, search for information, formulating opinions based on their use.
In other words, „the current crisis only underscores the need to reorient teaching and learning from information to the ability to do something relevant with information - it's another way of saying that the focus is on skills”. (Pal, S., Quang Cuong, T., Nehru, R.S., 2021:102) Second, the degree of student participation has changed. The recurring discussion about the visibility of students in the virtual classroom indicates that the internal dynamics of the group of students are

changing. A number of teachers indicated that students less involved in classroom activities became much more active in the virtual environment. In any case, most digital platforms offer the possibility of working in groups, of autonomous activities (also in groups defined by the teacher) and of real-time communication. The ability to adapt to this new communication environment tends to become a criterion for aggregation within groups of students who, although present for some time, were somewhat blurred by other elements (from clothing to possession of the latest phone model).

Third, it increases the number of sources available to students when they learn (during online activities or when preparing homework). Even though they were available before the health crisis, they have now become everyday tools. Hence, the inherent risks related to the quality of sources, their relevance for teaching-learning, the change of emphasis at the level of teaching from the use of sources to their management and information processes.

Fourth, the questioning of the relationship of teachers with other groups with vested interests (stakeholders). Although their participation has been established for a long time, only the current crisis has highlighted the fact that the relationship between the school and these groups (especially parents) is a tense one. In any case, the degree of involvement of parents in the school's life has become much more significant, and this is, despite communication problems, a very important gain.

5. Conclusions

The covid pandemic has had a dramatic impact on the world; but, despite all other crises, it can bring certain benefits to our societies. Education, and in particular higher education, can benefit from this fascinating digital boom that we have recently noticed. High quality online education can be particularly useful not only for formal education, but also for informal education, for long-term education and for most staff active in higher education institutions.

At the beginning of the pandemic period, the education system was forced to adapt, to turn its attention to investment in technology, resources and the training of education providers. These aspects were necessary for the direct beneficiaries of education to obtain optimal learning conditions.

The most effective tool for involving students in academic activities and maintaining access to learning were online courses. However, on the other hand, the lack of access to technology or the fast and reliable access to the Internet have prevented students from rural areas and disadvantaged families from benefiting from the same conditions.

Losses are balanced by gains which will be predominant in the long run. Obviously, at the level of knowledge and at the level of socialization there are losses. They are also blurred by rapid digitization and increased emotional maturation of students. Likewise, the situation in which many parents found themselves, namely to participate in the education of their children, made them look at the school activity in a new light.

The success of online transfer depended on a variety of factors, among which the priorities were: the prior preparation of teachers for the use of e-technologies, the ability of schools to provide technical and didactic assistance to teachers and students and the ability of teachers to take on learning counselling tasks, in addition to the usual didactic role.

Online learning has affected a number of important aspects: the quality of the learning relationship, the cooperative dimension, the monitoring and objective evaluation of students' progress. The online system caused in the first months of the pandemic a series of inequalities and disparities between students: the increase of education costs in terms of personal technical equipment, disadvantaged children from economically difficult environments; students with learning difficulties progressed harder than those with good results in the classical system; some disciplines, especially vocational ones, have been disadvantaged in the online system. Online studies have allowed us to focus on the essential aspects of learning, but have made a smaller contribution to the formation of personality, behaviours and social values.

Thus, the pandemic influenced the quality of education, bringing negative effects on it and affecting the interaction between teachers and students. In addition to this aspect, through the online courses there was a decrease in the quality of information and the degree of interest that students give to the classes. Due to the fact that they are not stimulated by the new teaching and learning techniques, students prefer to inspect the teaching materials individually. Moreover, a need identified among students was to access new courses in the professional or personal sphere, which in turn satisfy the need to deepen the materials presented during the classes. The pandemic also had negative effects on interpersonal relationships, as students no longer have the context to work and collaborate as a team to develop a task.

To conclude the level of education during the pandemic registered a decrease due to the fact that no measures were taken regarding the technological investments for children/students.

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THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE SKILLS AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCES

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Abstract: *Globalisation and internationalisation have caused massive changes in several fields of life worldwide, with significant transitions in Hungary. The advent of multinational companies, including SSCs (Shared Service Centres), has impacted the labour market both internationally and domestically. The activity and the management of these companies have increasingly required good intercultural communication competencies and a high level of foreign language skills from graduate entrants. Considering multinational companies' predominantly culturally diverse environments, where employees can only complete their jobs effectively and successfully if they possess the necessary skills, the expectations are hardly surprising. Internationalisation has also influenced university education. International students often come to Hungarian higher education institutions to participate in international programmes offered by universities. Excellent intercultural communication competencies and foreign language skills may be the key to students' success.*

Keywords: intercultural communication competencies, university language teaching, non-parametric statistical procedure, foreign language use at work

1. Literature review

The most pressing problems of the 21st century can only be solved at international level. Such issues include sustainable development, climate change, global health, infectious diseases, and overpopulation. As a result, the role of universities has also changed, with increased collaboration between universities, through international research projects, joint publications and international conferences across borders. Moreover, universities and colleges should also provide global and international education, given the growing demand in that area (Edelstein, 2014).
One of the most dynamically developing sectors in the economy of Hungary is the SSC sector. It emerged in the 1990s, and its presence in Hungary has been determined mainly by access to skilled labour. However, its most significant obstacle to future development may be the inadequate language skills (Juhász, 2017). In addition to professional knowledge, SSCs expect graduates to prove

competence in a variety of soft skills, such as motivation, teamwork, loyalty, proactivity, dedication, the ability to work independently, openness to learning and knowledge of at least one foreign language (English).

Training workers to meet these expectations constitutes a significant challenge for educational institutions. Subjects that develop students' skills and abilities, even by non-standard teaching methods, should be included in the curriculum alongside the professional topics (Juhász, 2018).

Fast paced global technological and economic change has led organisations to demand new competencies. In the future, there will be a shift in competence expectations to which both higher education institutions and graduates will have to adapt. As regards the companies, there is a need to change the selection and training strategy (Tóthné and Hlédik, 2017). Employers and students assess foreign language, IT, and communication skills as crucial competencies. Employers see the development of critical competencies mainly in education through professional practice, independent project work, dedicated classes, and competence development training.

Today's labour market has become highly competitive, and professionals who can meet global challenges are more likely to succeed. In addition to excellent qualifications, professionals must meet the international market requirements: they must be fluent in at least one foreign language. This state of affairs poses a challenge to higher education institutions, as the expectations of foreign language skills vary from subject to subject, and the language background of incoming students can be very different. According to companies, graduates and the existing workforce cannot meet their foreign language needs satisfactorily. Employers use recruitment and selection methods – interviews in a foreign language, work-related tests, placement tests, group work and case studies in a foreign language – to select the candidates with the best language skills (Szűcs et al., 2013).

In multicultural organisations, where employees come from diverse cultural backgrounds, intercultural communication may be hampered by a combination of factors: language and behavioural differences, differences in role expectations of the interacting partners, differences in situational understanding, different ways of thinking and working, different time orientation and time management. Problematic tasks include setting up and running multicultural teams, managing cultural conflicts and decision-making in multicultural organisations (Borgulya, 2015).

Intercultural competence is part of the international competencies skill set, together with interpersonal, foreign language, global scientific and professional competencies. The acquisition of intercultural competencies covers the following four areas: attitudes, extensive cultural knowledge, intercultural skills, and critical cultural awareness. If individuals can develop these four dimensions, they will be able to behave and communicate appropriately in intercultural situations (Van den Hoven et al., 2015).

The cultural background of members in a culturally diverse group also influences effective leadership styles, and the lack of language skills can be a barrier to successful performance (Aritz and Walker, 2014). Language barriers can be a source of negative emotions within a multilingual group. Within the group, conflict can arise between native and non-native speakers of the group's working language, as the latter may feel they have limited communication skills and, consequently, experience anxiety, confusion, stress, shame and frustration. Managing these conflicts constitutes one of the tasks global managers are expected to perform, and it requires intercultural competence (Tenzer and Pudelko, 2015).

Intercultural competencies should start during the learning years in secondary school and should continue during university and college studies (Mcguire-Snieckus, 2015; Awad, 2016; Dodge, 2016). Students need to receive training that prepares them for the challenges of the 21st century: they need to be able to function effectively within and outside their own ethnic and cultural communities (Banks, 2001). However, it requires well-trained teachers who possess, in their turn, high intercultural competencies. Multicultural teaching competence is necessary to enable educators to adequately address diversity issues in multicultural classrooms (Kucuktas, 2016). Multiple measurement tools are now available to measure the multicultural competencies of academic staff (Acar-Ciftci, 2016; Banks, 2018). Nowadays, there are several types of foreign study tours/ visits, students can access higher education institutions across borders, and scholarships are also available. Universities can collaborate with local authorities and NGOs to develop students' skills for future employment while training abroad (Fantini et al., 2017). Staying abroad can significantly contribute to the development of intercultural competencies. Living abroad develops self-confidence, self-initiative, determination, resilience and the ability to work in a team, although the individuals' personal characteristics also play an important role, just like the host culture, the length of stay, or the acculturation strategies (Behrnd and Porzelt, 2012; Belt et al., 2015).

When selecting employees for expatriate assignments, it is essential for global organisations that they choose those who are best suited for intercultural development (Saarentalo-Vuorimäki, 2015). This calls for the use of a tool that can measure such progress. Kumar and Kamalanabhan (2014) developed the Measurement of Intercultural Development (ICD), which can help HR professionals, managers, consultants, universities, and educational institutions to select the right individuals and manage intercultural groups, facilitating self-assessment, self-improvement and increasing overall effectiveness (Kumar and Kamalanabhan, 2014). The selection of staff suitable for the international job market depends on several crucial factors. One of these is the country to which the study tour is made, as the cultural distance between the two countries is not always the same. Faster intercultural integration and better performance can be expected with less cultural distance (Matveev, 2017). Several studies have been conducted on how employees in the host company can adapt to the multicultural working environment occasioned by the arrival of foreign workers, who need to be able to interact with workers within their own country and culture (Lefringhausen, 2017).

Intercultural communication competence refers to the ability of an individual to establish and maintain effective communication in a multicultural environment, taking into account and assimilating different cultural backgrounds. It requires developing the right intercultural mindset, skills and sensitivity (Ihtiyar, 2017). In a semiotic interpretation, intercultural communicative competence refers to the ability of individuals to cope in a foreign culture and environment (Topcu and Eroglu, 2017).

The best way to measure intercultural communicative competence is to use a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. These may include skills and personality traits tests, case studies, interviews, observations, as well as self- and peer assessments (Behrnd and Porzelt, 2012; Neculaesei, 2016; Matveev, 2017).

2. Material and method

In order to examine the students' competencies, a questionnaire was designed and applied to students at the University of Debrecen. The questionnaire was compiled based on the work of Hunyadi and his co-authors' suggestions concerning the methodology (Hunyadi et al., 2000), and it included numerical, open and closed, textual, and attitude questions.

Since it was essential to examine the students' intercultural communicative competence, which includes attitudes, we also used Babbie's (2000) method, which argues that the best way to assess attitudes is to formulate them in the form of short statements and ask the respondents to what extent they agree (Babbie, 2000). Responses were given on a five-point Likert scale, with the following options: 1= rather untypical, 2= hardly typical, 3= moderately typical, 4= very typical, and 5= fully typical.

The 20 statements used in the questionnaire were formulated based on a study of the instruments used to measure intercultural communication competencies. The statements included dimensions and attitudes that could be tested when assessing these competencies. The data obtained was analysed with the Windows 23.0 SPSS statistical software. Our research applied the following methods:

A non-parametric statistical procedure, Pearson's chi-squared test, was used to examine the correlation between the variables in the study. This method is a non-parametric statistical procedure that tests the existence of a significant difference between an empirical and a theoretical/ conditional frequency table. The latter represents the independence of the variables of interest (variables of low ordinal measurement level at most). Therefore, if we reject the null hypothesis, we can say that the variables under investigation are not independent of one another.

In our case, the independent variables are the three variables assumed to be important in job placement. The dependent variables are the different intercultural communicative competence variables, which were initially twenty in number, but were combined during the analysis and only twelve of them were included in the analysis. The first and the last two response anchors of the five-point Likert scale categories in the questionnaire were merged, so the following categories were used in the analyses: 1= rather untypical, 2= moderately typical, and 3= rather typical. In cross-tabulation analyses, we also looked at the adjusted residuals, i.e. whether we found an over-represented value in a cell compared to the expected distribution. If the value of the adjusted residuals was greater than |2|, the value in the given cell was highlighted. According to Lázár (2009), if the value of the adjusted residual is higher than |2|, there is a significant relationship between the two categories. The analysis also took into account the Cramer'V coefficient, which provides information on the strength of the relationship between the variables as follows: <0.3: weak relationship; 0.3-0.5: moderate relationship; >0.5: strong relationship (Crewson, 2006).

3. Research questions and hypotheses

Does the perceived importance of written and oral communication in a foreign language impact the students' intercultural communicative competence?

Do students' perceptions of the importance of participating in professional trips abroad influence different intercultural communicative competencies?
We formulated two hypotheses for our two research questions, the first of which included two sub-hypotheses.

H1.a. Hypothesis: *"The perception of the importance of adequate written foreign language communication significantly influences the students' various intercultural communicative competencies."*

H1.b. Hypothesis: *"The perception of the importance of adequate oral communication skills in a foreign language has a significant impact on the students' various intercultural communicative competencies."*

H2. Hypothesis: *"The perception of the importance of participating in professional trips abroad and of the importance of getting along there (lectures, conferences) has a significant impact on the students' various intercultural communicative competencies."*

4. Results

Our research has revealed significant differences between several empirical and theoretical/ hypothetical frequency tables, i.e., we have successfully identified several correlations between variables perceived to be important in job search and different communication competencies.
In the first stage of our analysis, we investigated whether there was a noteworthy correlation between the variable "Ability to communicate well in writing at work (with colleagues, clients) in one or more than one foreign language" and different intercultural communication competencies. (Table 1.) The first significant correlation was identified with the competency variable "I would be happy to communicate orally in a foreign language at work and collaborate with foreign colleagues" (χ^2=16.08; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.11). Students who are happy to communicate in writing in a foreign language are significantly more likely to be glad to communicate orally in a foreign language at their future job and work with foreign colleagues. However, those who are reluctant to communicate in writing in a foreign language are significantly more likely to be unwilling to communicate orally in a foreign language at their future job and work with foreign colleagues.
The subsequent strong correlation was found for the competence variable "I enjoy learning and communicating with foreign students" (χ^2=16.80; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.12). Students who enjoy communicating in writing in one or two foreign languages are significantly more likely to enjoy learning and communicating with international students. On the other hand, the number of respondents who are reluctant to communicate in writing in a foreign language is significantly higher among those who are unwilling to learn and communicate with international students. Essential correlations were also measured for the variable "I like to make friends with foreigners and feel comfortable in the company of foreigners" (χ^2=12.91; df=2; p <0.05; Cramer'V=0.10). Students who considered it essential to communicate well in writing in one or more foreign languages in their job were more likely to meet foreigners and feel comfortable in the company of foreigners than students who did not consider written communication in a foreign language essential and were significantly less likely to be comfortable in the company of foreigners and make friends with foreigners. The following notable correlation was

found for the variable "I like to watch foreign language programs, films and read foreign language newspapers and news" (χ^2=19.28; df=2; $p < 0.05$; Cramer'V=0.13). Students who considered it vital to be able to communicate in writing in one or more foreign languages were significantly more likely to watch foreign language programs and films and read foreign language newspapers and news compared to students who did not consider it important to be able to communicate well in writing in one or more foreign languages. Conversely, students for whom it is not vital to communicate well in writing in a foreign language are significantly less likely to watch foreign language programs and films and read or watch foreign language news.
The next correlation was measured for the variable "I enjoy learning a foreign language" (χ^2=24.20; df=2; $p < 0.05$; Cramer'V=0.14). Students who indicated in the questionnaire that it was important to be able to communicate well in writing in one or more foreign languages in their job were significantly more likely to learn a foreign language than those who did not consider it important to be able to communicate well in writing in a foreign language. We explored another significant relationship for students for whom being able to communicate well in writing in one or more foreign languages was irrelevant. They are significantly less likely to be willing to learn a foreign language compared to those for whom communicating in written foreign languages is essential for employment. A correlation was found regarding the variable "I like to learn and read about other cultures." (χ^2=16.42; df=2; $p<0.05$; Cramer'V=0.12). Students for whom good written communication in one or more foreign languages is significant for employment are significantly more likely to learn and read about other cultures compared to students for whom written communication in one or more foreign languages is irrelevant. Students for whom it is unnecessary to communicate in writing in one or more foreign languages in the workplace are significantly less likely to be willing to learn and read about other cultures than students for whom it is critical to communicate well in a foreign language.
The subsequent correlation was identified for the variable "I can easily understand foreign language texts and speech" (χ^2=7.72; df=2; $p<0.05$; Cramer'V=0.08). Students for whom it is necessary to communicate well in writing in one or two foreign languages in the workplace are significantly more likely to understand foreign language texts and speech compared to students for whom this is not important. At the same time, students for whom it is not important to communicate well in writing in one or more foreign languages are significantly less likely to understand foreign language texts and speech in the course of their careers compared to students for whom it is essential to communicate well orally in one or two foreign languages.
The following correlation concerns the variable "I consider foreign language education and language skills important." (χ^2=12.12; df=2; $p < 0.05$; Cramer'V=0.10). Students for whom it is useless to communicate in writing in one or two foreign languages at work, as opposed to those for whom it is meaningful, are significantly less likely to consider foreign language education and language skills necessary.
The last remarkable correlation identified was for the variable "I consider my foreign language skills to be good" (χ^2=19.66; df=2; $p<0.05$; Cramer'V=0.13). Students for whom it was essential to communicate well in writing in one or more foreign languages in their job were significantly more likely to rate their foreign

language skills as good compared to those for whom it was not important to communicate well in writing in a foreign language. However, students who did not consider it significant to communicate well in writing in one or more foreign languages rated their foreign language skills as significantly lower compared to those who believed it was imperative to communicate well in writing in one or more foreign languages.
Overall, in the cross-tabulation analysis of our variable "Ability to communicate well in writing in one or more foreign languages at work (with colleagues, clients)" with our intercultural communicative competence variables, we measured nine significant correlations, which confirmed H1.a. hypothesis.

Table 1: The importance of written communication in a foreign language at work in correlation with the intercultural communication competencies

Ability to communicate well in writing at work in one or more than one foreign language	**Rather untypical** *N* (adjusted residual)	**Moderately typical** *N* (adjusted residual)	**Rather typical** *N* (adjusted residual)
	I would be happy to communicate orally in a foreign language at work and collaborate with foreign colleagues.		
Not important	231 3,9	109 -0,7	185 -3,3
Important	235 -3,9	159 0,7	269 3,3
	I enjoy learning and communicating with foreign students.		
Not important	222 3,5	173 -0,2	130 -3,5
Important	230 -3,5	237 0,2	242 3,5
	I like to make friends with foreigners and feel comfortable in the company of foreigners.		
Not important	211 3,4		217 -3,1
Important	218 -3,4	135 0,3	356 3,1
	I like to watch foreign language programs, films and read foreign language newspapers and news.		
Not important	164	68	293

	4,4	-0,8	-3,3
Important	144 -4,4	103 0,8	462 3,3
	I enjoy learning a foreign language.		
Not important	45 1,5	159 4,4	321 -4,9
Important	45 -1,5	138 -4,4	526 4,9
	I like to learn and read about other cultures.		
Not important	93 3,5	159 1,2	273 -3,5
Important	77 -3,5	193 -1,2	439 3,5
	I can easily understand foreign language texts and speech.		
Not important	220 2,6	98 -0,2	207 -2,4
Important	245 -2,6	135 0,2	329 2,4
	I consider foreign language education and language skills important.		
Not important	60 3,4	35 -1,2	430 -1,7
Important	43 -3,4	60 1,2	606 1,7
	I consider my foreign language skills to be good.		
Not important	245 4,3	81 -0,5	199 -3,9
Important	245 -4,3	117 0,5	347 3,9

Method: cross-tabulation analysis
Source: Authors' own compilation, 2023

In the second stage of our analysis, we examined whether there was an outstanding correlation between the job-related variable "Ability to communicate well orally in one or more foreign languages at work (with colleagues, clients)" and the different intercultural communication competence variables (Table 2). A significant correlation was first identified for the competence variable "I like watching foreign language programs and films and reading foreign language newspapers and news." (χ^2=7.30; df=2; $p<0.05$; Cramer'V=0.77). Students who are comfortable communicating orally in a foreign language are significantly more likely to be moderately comfortable with watching foreign language programs, films and reading foreign language news compared to students who do not consider it essential to communicate well in one or more foreign languages in their job.

Table 2: The importance of oral communication in a foreign language at work in correlation with the intercultural communication competences

Ability to communicate well orally in one or more foreign languages at work (with colleagues and customers)	**Rather untypical** (person) (adjusted residual)	**Moderately typical** (person) (adjusted residual)	**Rather typical** (person) (adjusted residual)
	I enjoy watching foreign-language programs and films and reading foreign-language newspapers and news.		
Not important	45 1.2	11 -2.6	100 0.8
Important	263 -1.2	160 **2.6**	655 -0.8
	I enjoy learning foreign languages.		
Not important	22 **3.5**	37 -0.1	97 -1.9
Important	68 -3.5	260 0.1	750 1.9
	I like travelling abroad.		
Not important	10 0.8	26 **2.8**	120 -2.9
Important	53	100	925

	-0.8	-2.8	**2.9**
	"I consider foreign language learning and language skills important."		
Not important	22 **2.8**	16 1.3	118 -3.0
Important	81 -2.8	79 -1.3	918 **3.0**

Method: cross-tabulation analysis
Source: Authors' own compilation, 2023

The following essential correlation was explored for the competence variable "I enjoy learning a foreign language." (χ^2=12.45; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.10): students for whom it is not vital to communicate well orally in one or two foreign languages are significantly less likely to learn a foreign language compared to those for whom good foreign language oral communication is crucial at work.
We also measured a correlation for "I like to travel abroad." (χ^2=9.16; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.09). Students who do not consider it essential to communicate well orally in a foreign language in their job are significantly less likely to enjoy travelling abroad compared to those who think it is important to communicate well orally in one or two foreign languages.
The last crucial correlation concerns the competence variable "I consider foreign language learning and language skills important." *(χ^2=10,08; df=2; p<0,05; Cramer'V=0,09).* Students for whom it is vital to communicate orally in one or more foreign languages are significantly more likely to consider foreign language proficiency and foreign language learning to be essential. Students for whom it is crucial to communicate orally in one or more foreign languages are considerably more likely to assess foreign language learning and proficiency as meaningful.
Overall, we found four essential correlations in a cross-tabulation analysis of our variable "Ability to communicate well orally in one or more foreign languages at work" with our intercultural communicative competence variables, which confirmed H1.b. hypothesis.
In the third stage of our analysis, we investigated whether there was a significant correlation between "Taking part in professional trips abroad and being successful there (lectures, conferences)" and various intercultural communication competencies (Table 3).
A significant correlation was first identified for the competence variable "I like communicating in a foreign language" (χ^2=10.08; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.09). Students for whom the ability to go and do well on professional trips abroad is vital, are significantly more likely to be willing to communicate in a foreign language compared to students for whom the ability to go on work trips abroad as part of their job is not essential. At the same time, students who do not consider the ability to go on a professional trip abroad and get along well there important were significantly less likely to communicate in a foreign language than students who considered it essential to go on a professional trip abroad.

The next vital correlation was measured for the variable "I would like to communicate orally in a foreign language at work and collaborate with foreign colleagues" (χ^2=43.58; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.19). Students who feel that the ability to travel abroad and do well there is crucial are significantly more likely to communicate orally in a foreign language at work and collaborate with foreign colleagues compared to students who do not find the ability to travel abroad for professional trips in their job search essential. However, students for whom the ability to travel abroad on business trips is not essential are significantly less likely to communicate orally in a foreign language at work and to work with foreign colleagues.

The following notable association was measured for the competence variable "I enjoy learning and communicating with foreign students" (χ^2=24.40; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.14). Students who consider it vital to travel abroad for professional trips and be successful in the workplace were significantly more likely to study and communicate with students from abroad than students who do not consider it vital to travel abroad for professional trips. Alternatively, students who do not consider it vital to go and do well on professional trips abroad are significantly less likely to study and communicate with students abroad.

We discovered an strong correlation for the variable "I like making friends with foreigners and feel comfortable in the company of foreigners" (χ^2=35.94; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.17). Students for whom the ability to travel abroad and do well in their careers is crucial are significantly more likely to make friends with foreigners and feel more comfortable in the company of foreigners than students for whom travelling abroad for professional trips is not vital. In contrast, students for whom the ability to go on professional trips abroad is not an important part of their job prospects are significantly less likely to make friends with foreigners and feel comfortable in the company of foreigners.

A vital correlation was revealed for the variable "I like watching foreign language programs and films and read foreign language news" (χ^2=32.83; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.16). Students who think it is relevant to travel abroad and do well in their jobs are significantly more likely to watch foreign language programs, films and read foreign language newspapers and news than those who do not think it is necessary travel abroad for professional trips. In contrast, students who do not think it is critical to travel abroad for professional trips and do well there are significantly less likely to watch foreign language programs and films and read foreign language news compared to students who think it is imperative to travel abroad for work.

The variable "I enjoy learning a foreign language" (χ^2=22.80; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.14) similarly suggested a strong correlation. Students who feel it is paramount to go on professional trips abroad and do well there are significantly more likely to learn a foreign language enthusiastically than students who do not feel it is necessary to go on professional trips abroad. Students for whom it is inessential to travel abroad on professional trips are significantly less likely to gladly learn a foreign language compared to those for whom it is relevant to travel abroad on professional trips.

The variable "I like learning and reading about other cultures" (χ^2=16.42; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.12) affirmed another robust correlation. Students who rate the ability to go and do well abroad on professional trips relevant are significantly more likely to be willing to learn and read about other cultures than students who do not

rate it as decisive to go and do well on professional trips abroad. At the same time, students who do not think it is vital to travel for professional trips abroad and do well in a job are significantly less likely to study and read about other cultures than those who think it is essential to travel for professional trips and do well abroad.
A good correlation was also perecived for the variable "I like travelling abroad" (χ^2=26.29; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.15). Students who find it crucial to travel abroad for professional trips and do well there are significantly more likely to want to travel abroad than students who rate it as unimportant to travel abroad for work and do well there. However, students for whom the ability to go and do well on professional trips abroad is inessential are significantly unlikely or moderately likely to enjoy travelling abroad compared to students for whom it is important to go on professional trips abroad.
Another strong correlation was also revealed for the variable "I would like to study or work abroad" (χ^2=48.96; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.20). Students who think the ability to go on professional trips abroad is critical are significantly more likely to study and work abroad than students who think it is insignificant to go on professional trips abroad. At the same time, those for whom the ability to go on professional trips abroad is unnecessary are significantly less likely to want to work abroad compared to students for whom it is crucial to go on professional trips abroad and do well there.
The variable "I can easily understand foreign language texts and speech" *(χ^2=24,78; df=2; p<0,05; Cramer'V=0,14) also suggested a robust correlation*. Students for whom it is relevant to go and do well on professional trips abroad have a significantly higher level of comprehension of foreign language texts and speech compared to students for whom it is inessential to go on professional trips abroad. At the same time, students for whom the ability to go on professional trips abroad is unimportant, have significantly more difficulty understanding foreign language texts and speech than students for whom it is vital to go on professional trips abroad and be successful there.
The following variable where we found a significant correlation was "I consider foreign language education and language skills important" (χ^2=35.80; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.17). Students who rated it as imperative to go and do well on professional trips abroad were significantly more likely to rate foreign language education and language skills as essential than students for whom going on professional trips abroad was secondary. However, students for whom the ability to go and do well on professional trips abroad is inessential are significantly unlikely or moderately likely to enjoy travelling abroad compared to students for whom it is important to go on professional trips abroad.
The variable "I consider my foreign language skills to be good" (χ^2=30.43; df=2; p<0.05; Cramer'V=0.16) proved also significant, and it was the last notable correlation tested on the employment-related variables. Students who think the ability to go on professional trips abroad and get by in the global job market are relevant are significantly more likely to go on professional trips abroad and become successful. However, students who find it irrelevant to go abroad and do well on professional trips judge their foreign language skills as significantly poorer compared to students for whom going abroad is essential for their job prospects.
Overall, in the cross-tabulation analysis of the variable "Ability to go on professional trips abroad and do well there (lectures, conferences)" with our intercultural

communicative competence variables, we measured a consequential correlation for all 12 competence variables, which confirmed our H2. Hypothesis.
On the whole, the third job-search related variable („Ability to go on professional trips abroad and do well there (lectures, conferences)" measured the most outstanding correlation on the intercultural communicative competence dimension, showing that this variable has the highest effect on students' various intercultural communicative competences.

Table 3: The importance of professional trips abroad in correlation with the intercultural communicative competences

Ability to go on professional trips and perform well (lectures, conferences)	**Rather untypical** (person) (adjusted residual)	**Moderately typical** (person) (adjusted residual)	**Rather typical** (person) (adjusted residual)
	I enjoy learning foreign languages.		
Not important	330 5.3	100 -0.3	168 -5.3
Important	255 -5.3	111 0.3	270 5.3
	I want to communicate orally in a foreign language at work and with foreign colleagues.		
Not important	277 6.0	130 0.0	191 -0.6
Important	189 -0.6	138 0.0	309 6.0
	I like learning and communicating with foreign students.		
Not important	260 4.8	184 -1.8	154 -3.3
Important	192 -4.8	226 1.8	218 3.3
	I like making friends with foreigners and feel comfortable in the company of foreigners.		

Not important	252 5.3	118 0.8	228 -5,7
Important	177 -5.3	114 -0.8	345 5.7
	I enjoy watching foreign-language programs and films and reading foreign-language newspapers and news.		
Not important	183 4.4	98 2.5	317 -5,7
Important	125 -4.4	73 -2.5	438 5.7
	I enjoy learning foreign languages.		
Not important	59 3.4	165 2.8	374 -4.5
Important	31 -3.4	132 -2.8	473 4.5
	I enjoy learning and reading about other cultures.		
Not important	100 2.9	185 1.8	313 -3.7
Important	70 -2.9	167 -1.8	399 3.7
	I like travelling abroad.		
Not important	41 2.7	83 4.1	474 -5.1
Important	22 -2.7	43 -4.1	571 5.1
	I would like to study and work abroad.		
Not important	166 5.4	187 2.5	242 -6.6
Important	97 -5.4	158 -2.5	381 6.6
	I can easily understand foreign language texts and		

	speech.		
Not important	263 4.4	116 0.4	219 -4.7
Important	202 -4.4	117 -0.4	317 4.7
	I consider foreign language learning and language skills important.		
Not important	75 5.2	58 2.6	465 -5,7
Important	28 -5.2	37 -2.6	571 5.7
	I consider my foreign language skills to be good.		
Not important	283 5.3	93 -0.5	222 -4.9
Important	207 -5.3	105 0.5	324) 4.9

Method: cross-tabulation analysis
Source: Authors' own compilation, 2023

Out of all the significant correlations found, the most robust relationship in the cross-tabulations was identified for the Cramer'V coefficient value "Communicate well orally in one or more foreign languages at work (with colleagues, customers) and "I enjoy watching foreign language programs and films and reading foreign language newspapers and news." (Cramer'V=0.77). The weakest link has been established with the variables "Ability to communicate well in writing in one or more foreign languages at work." and "Understanding foreign language texts and speech easily" (Cramer'V=0.08).
Based on the completed methodological analyses and the results obtained in response to our research questions, it can be stated that the significance of written and oral communication in a foreign language and the students' perception of the importance of participating in professional trips abroad influence the different intercultural communicative competences.

5. Summary

It is well known that the role and significance of intercultural communicative competences in foreign language teaching are becoming increasingly essential. Consequently, foreign language teaching in higher education also seeks to respond to the new demands of globalisation and equip students with the knowledge to communicate effectively and appropriately with people from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, there is no doubt that developing intercultural communication competences, assessing students' needs and meeting their expectations are crucial pedagogical tasks. The research presented here sought to answer the question of how students' perceptions of the significance of foreign language written and oral communication affect their intercultural communicative competence. A further part of the research examined whether students' perceptions of the importance of participating in professional trips abroad affect their various intercultural communicative competencies. In our analysis, we only pointed out the significant results. Based on our methodological analyses and the results obtained in response to our research questions, we can state that the importance of written and oral communication in a foreign language and the students' perception of the significance of participating in professional trips abroad influence the intercultural communicative competencies. In light of this, all our hypotheses have been confirmed. However, the significant relationships obtained require further analysis and are beyond the scope of this study. In conclusion, we can say that the proper development of intercultural communicative competence is a vital prerequisite for both foreign language learning and language teaching success.

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„MEINE LYRIK SEI IN MEINER PROSA ENTHALTEN.“[1] LINGUISTISCHE ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR LYRIK UND ZUR PROSA VON HANS BERGEL

“MY LYRIC IS CONTAINED IN MY PROSE” – ABOUT THE LANGUAGE IN THE LYRIC AND PROSE OF HANS BERGEL

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Abstract: „Meine Lyrik sei in meiner Prosa enthalten.“ Linguistische Überlegungen zur Lyrik und zur Prosa von Hans Bergel
Über Hans Bergels Lyrik zu schreiben, ist eine ungewöhnliche Herausforderung für den Forscher. Der siebenbürgisch-sächsische, nach Deutschland ausgewanderte Autor ist vor allem für seine Prosatexte bekannt; seine Lyrik muss sich in seinem Werk bloß mit dem zweiten Platz begnügen, das bedeutet aber nicht, dass Hans Bergels Gedichte keine gut gelungenen lyrischen Texte sind. Er beschreibt eine Vielfalt an Räumen, deren Stimmung und Kolorit nicht nur den Lyriker, sondern auch den Prosaautor zeigen und nähert sich einer Ortsbeschreibung nicht nur kontemplativ an, sondern denkt über ihre geistigen Zusammenhänge nach. Die erstaunliche Gedankenfülle von ihm manifestiert sich in einem inspirierten Strom der Sprache, dem er sich überlässt. Jeder literarischen Äußerung Bergels sind Musikalität und Reichtum der Sprache gemeinsam. Im allem, was Bergel schreibt, steht seine ganze Persönlichkeit, seine reiche Erfahrung mit der Literatur und mit der Welt. Er registriert die Erlebnisse, Gefühle und Gedanken, die er auf seinem Lebensweg aufzeichnete und erlebt er seine Erfahrungen neu, durch die Sprache. So kann die Erzählung ohne die Musik der Sprache, und das Gedicht ohne philosophische und essayistische Exkurse bei ihm nicht existieren.
Die Forschung über die gegenwärtige siebenbürgisch-sächsische Literatur betont diese Seite von Hans Bergel nicht, trotzdem gibt es einige Philologen, die sich über die Lyrik des Autors sehr kurz und bündig äußern. Dieser Forschung möchte sich die Arbeit mit dem obigen Titel anschließen, indem sie neue Aspekte des Werks von Hans Bergel untersucht. Die Beschäftigung mit der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Literatur als Minderheitenliteratur ist vor allem fachwissenschaftlichen Gefahren ausgesetzt, weil die Forschung sich von Anfang an auf einen spezifischen Kontext konzentriert und sich in einem quasi vorgegebenen Rahmen bewegt. Man stellt sich aber die Frage, ob man entweder mit traditionellen oder mit modernen Mittel aus diesem Rahmen ausbrechen und der Thematisierung des Werks von Bergel neue Wege vorschlagen kann. Auf diese Frage möchte der vorliegende Beitrag eine Antwort geben.

Key-words: Bergel, Lyrik, Prosa, Sprachgebilde, Bildhaftigkeit, essayistische Exkurse.

[1] Das Zitat entstammt einem Brief des Autors Hans Bergel vom 11.10.2014. an die Verfasserin des Beitrags.

Abstract: “My Lyric is Contained in my Prose” – About the Language in the Lyric and Prose of Hans Bergel. *Writing about the lyric of Hans Bergel is an unusual challenge for the researcher. The Transylvanian author, who emigrated to Germany, is known especially for his prose texts; his lyric falls on the second place in his writings, but this doesn’t mean, that Hans Bergel’s poems aren’t successful lyrical texts. He describes in them a variety of places, in which the atmosphere and colours reflect not only the lyrical side, but also the narrative side of the author. Bergel approaches the description of a place contemplatively and reflects on its spiritual correlations. His astonishing wealth of thoughts manifests itself in an inspired stream of language to which he entrusts himself. Each of Bergel’s literary statements has in common the musicality and richness of the language. In everything Bergel writes, one can find his entire personality, his rich experience with literature and the world. He registers the experiences, feelings and thoughts that he has recorded along his life path and he relives his experiences through language. Therefore a story cannot exist without the music of the language, a poem without philosophical and essayistic incursions. The research on the contemporary Transylvanian literature does not focus on this side of Hans Bergel, but there are a few philologists, who refer concisely to the lyric of the author. This paper with the above title would like to widen this research, by revealing new aspects of the work of Hans Bergel. The study of Transylvanian-German literature as minority literature has subject-related risks, because research focuses from the outset on a specific context and operates within a quasi-prescribed framework. One wonders, however, whether it is possible to break out of this framework with either traditional or modern means, and suggest new ways of addressing Bergel’s work as a theme. This paper seeks to answer this question.*

Key-words: Bergel, lyric, prose, linguistic structure, visuality, essayistic excursions.

1. Einleitung

Hans Bergel, der siebenbürgisch-sächsische, nach Deutschland ausgewanderte Autor ist vor allem für seine Prosatexte bekannt. Wenn es allgemein gefasst werden sollte, konnte Bergel von vielen Prosaautoren der Weltliteratur die Kunst des Erzählens lernen. Wie er selbst behauptet: Von Kleist kann einer lernen, was erzählerische Gliederung ist, von Hemingway, wie epische Atmosphäre hergestellt wird. Flaubert ist in der lucidité seiner Prosa beispielhaft. Stifter und Sadoveanu sind Meister der Naturschilderung. Die Russen überragend im Anpacken großer epischer Formen.[2] Bei der kritischen und geschichtlichen Widerspiegelung des Kontextes, in dem das Bergelsche Werk entstand und sich entwickelte, müssen diese Worte des Autors besonders beachtet werden. Schon in seinem 1985 erschienenen autobiografischen Essay *Der Tod des Hirten oder Die frühen Lehrmeister* schreibt Bergel über seine ersten literarischen Erfahrungen und zeigt ein frühes Interesse für westeuropäische, russische, aber vor allem altgriechische

[2] Im Brief Bergels an die Verfasserin des Beitrags, vom 11.10.2014.

Literatur. Diese Texte machen einen bleibenden Eindruck auf den jungen und prägen auch den späteren Schriftsteller (Martschini, 2005:69). Wenn man sich auf eine Reise durch das Werk Bergels sich begibt, „wird man immer wieder von überraschenden, ja erregenden Entdeckungen belohnt” (Motzan, 2009:163). Nach der Lektüre seines Essays *Die Novelle als klassische Kunstform* kann der Leser/die Leserin z.B. erfahren, dass der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Schriftsteller, ebenso wie Heinrich von Kleist, „seine fiktionalen Prosatexte mittleren Umfangs fast durchweg als Erzählungen bezeichnete” (Motzan, 2009:167).

> Bergels schriftstellerisches Werk entfaltet sich gleichzeitig auf verschiedenen Ebenen: auf dem der politischen Literatur, der Geschichte, der Kunstkritik und –historie, der erzählenden Prosa, der Essayistik, Monographie und Protrātistik. Bergels Werkverzeichnis füllt 15 eng bedruckte Seiten und zählt allein 21 selbständige Buchtitel auf (Mieskes, 2009:86).

Dem Hauptprotagonisten der *Erzählung Die Rückkehr des Rees* gleich, wohnt auch in Bergel ein unstillbarer, fast quälender Wunsch, hinterlassungsfähige Kunstgebilde zu schaffen. Seine Suche nach der perfekten Form des Ausdrucks führt ihn oft auf eine unbewusste Weise zur Gestaltung von Gedichten. Walter Myss nennt Bergel einen poeta doctus (Myss, 2009:38), der sowohl zur Theorie und Analyse der Dichtung, d.h. zum Essay, als auch zur Lyrik und zur Gattung des Romans hingezogen fühlt. „Wo Bergel das Beste gelingt, sind Herz und Kopf deckungsgleich” (Myss, 2009:38). In der Forschung im Bereich der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Literatur ist bislang nur fragmentarisch der Versuch unternommen wurden, Hans Bergels Lyrik in seinem Gesamtwerk zu verankern und zu bestimmen, trotzdem gibt es einige Studien, die sich über die Lyrik des Autors äußern, allerdings kurz und bündig. Im Leben des jungen Bergels, der seine Überlegungen in seiner Adoleszenz literarisch noch nicht derartig geschliffen ausdrücken wusste, nahm die Lyrik bereits einen Platz.

> In dem Roman *Wenn die Adler kommen* erwähnt er in einer autobiografischen Spiegelung, dass schon der kleine Peter Hennerth Gedichte verfasste. Diese Gedichte wurden von der Großmutter gesammelt, was Peter nur durch Zufall entdeckt, als er etwas aus ihrem Zimmer holen will... (Martschini, 2005:71).

Manfred Winkler ist der Ansicht, dass Bergel, der Erzähler und der Essayist sich vor allem immer wieder der Natur lyrisch nähert (Winkler, 2009:132). Seine Lyrik, die oft auch in erzählende Prosa umgestezt wird, ernährt sich aus dem genau beobachteten und wiedergegebenen Vorgang. Hier müsste man auch Raluca Rădulescus Ansicht anführen, der nach Hans Bergels Lyrik zum größten Teil der Erlebnisdichtung zuzuordnen sei (Rădulescu, 2015:145). Dieser Behauptung kann zugestimmt werden, denn Hans Bergel beschreibt eine Vielfalt an Räumen, deren Stimmung und Kolorit nicht nur den Lyriker, sondern auch den Prosaautor auszeichnen. Bergel nähert sich einer Ortsbeschreibung nicht nur kontemplativ, sondern denkt über ihre geistigen Zusammenhänge nach; Raum und Erlebnis können bei ihm nicht getrennt werden, weil ihre Beziehung für die Identitätskonstruktion des Autors von einer besonderen Wichtigkeit ist.

Das Gesamtwerk Bergels zeichnet sich durch eine Vielfalt von narrativen Ausdrucksformen aus, folglich ist es unmöglich, dieses Werk nur von der Perspektive einer überwiegend kognitiven Welt von Fakten und Informationen auszuwerten. Die Rezension von Bernd Appelt (Appelt, 2012:1-2), weiterhin eine Rezension von Anita Széll zu dem letzten erwähnten Gedichtband (Széll, 2015:133-136) erhebt keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit der linguistischen Analyse, trotzdem beinhaltet linguistische Anregungen zur Lyrik von Bergel.
Der vorliegende Beitrag bietet eine Analysemöglichkeit der verschiedenen Aspekten der Lyrikgestaltung bei Bergel, im Vergleich mit seinen Prosatexten. Die Abgrenzung zwischen lyrischen und nichtlyrischen Texten bezieht sich im Rahmen dieser Forschung auf literaturwissenschaftliche, linguistische und ästhetische Aspekte, wobei auf Probleme der Spezifik literarischer eingegangen wird. Lyrische Texte bedienen sich derselben auβersprachlichen Wirklichkeit wie Prosatexte, aber unter dem besonderen Aspekt der Verallgemeinerung und künstlerischen Gestaltung, wodurch der Autor die Realität auf seine subjektive, ganz persönliche Weise eine künstlerische Botschaft transponiert. Bergels Lyriktexte sind sprachliche Gebilde, die formal in einem besonders hohem Maße durchgearbeitet, überstrukturiert sind. Die durch Denotation aufgenommene inhaltliche Bedeutung seines Textes wird auf vielfache Weise von sprachlichen Auffälligkeiten überlagert, die vom Leser mit Sinn aufgeladen werden und dem Text von Bergel seine assoziationsreiche Vieldeutigkeit geben.
Im Werk von Hans Bergel können sich – neben den horizontalen Bezügen, die sich in der immer weiterlaufenden Wort- und Satzfolge ergeben – durch die Anordnung der Verse Bezüge herstellen, die durch klangliche bzw. optische Mittel verstärkt werden. Für Geisteswissenschaftler können aus lexisch-grammatischer und stilistischer Sicht Beobachtungen verschiedener Konstituentenstrukturen von Lyriktexten Bergels im Vergleich mit seinen Prosatexten besonders lehrreich sein.

2. Die Sprache der Lyrik von Bergel

Von den drei von Bergel herausgegebenen Gedichtbänden (*Zikadensommer*, *Im Spiegellicht des Horizonts* und *Der schwarze Tänzer*) wurde im Rahmen dieser Beitrag zugrunde liegende Untersuchung der letzte Band berücksichtigt, weil einige Gedichte dieses Bandes mit Prosatexten besser vergleichbar sind.
Die lyrische Stimmung des ausgewählten Bandes ruft oft die Schönheit vergangener Epochen auf. Dieser Prozess erfolgt in Anlehnung an Mythen (Rădulescu, 2015:145), die in enger Verbindung mit den ausgewählten Schauplätzen stehen. Bei Bergel entsteht eine seltsame Mischung von Lyrik und Epik in der Form eines Gedichts. Er gehört zu denjenigen Dichtern, in deren Gedichten die Prosa und in deren Erzähltexten das Dichterische lebendig ist. Der deutsch-israelische Lyriker Manfred Winkler (Jerusalem) schrieb über ihn, seine Lyrik sei in seiner Prosa enthalten: „Wohl ist der Erzähler am Werk – plötzlich aber ist der Lyriker da." (Winkler, 2016:151). Bergel selbst behauptet, dass seine Gedichte „Experimente des Umgangs mit der Sprache sind – der Pianist würde sagen: Sie sind Fingerübungen."[3] Der Dichter versteht Dichtung als Intensivierung im Ausdruck, im Vortrag, im Gestus der Darlegung, vielleicht als eine größere Freiheit des Ausdrucks, folglich ist eine Diskussion über das Verhältnis von Form

[3] Im Brief Bergels an die Verfasserin des Beitrags, vom 11.10.2014.

und Inhalt seiner Werke immer angebracht. Das Zusammenspiel und Zusammenwirken rationaler und emotionaler Kräfte, die einen zum literarischen Schreiben führen, haben zur Folge Bergels Rückkehr zu Szenerien, in denen vergangene Kulturen und Völker, darunter auch das eigene Volk (die Siebenbürger Sachsen) auftreten. Bei Bergel ist nicht bloß der interpretatorische Rahmen, sondern das Grundmuster der Lebensgeschichte vorgegeben. Die herbstliche Stimmung, die Metaphern des Verfalls fehlen aus diesen Gedichten nicht, die Texte nähern sich aber immer an die Prosa an, indem der Autor im linearen Stil der Parataxe und Hypotaxe philosophiert. In dem Gedicht *Siebenbürgische Passion* (Bergel, 2012:119) kann man diese Harmonie der Dichtung und Prosa nachvollziehen:

> Erst wenn die Wunden je vergessen sind
> und sich ein künftiges Geschlecht befreit
> auf einen neuen Stundenschlag besinnt,
> wird Leid und Zeit zu Sinn und Ewigkeit. (Bergel, 2012:119)

Der Kreuzreim des Textes ist nicht auffallend, die Zeilen folgen wie in einem Prosatext einander; was der Leser als erstes an den Zeilen bemerken kann, ist die im linearen Stil der Parataxe und Hypotaxe gebaute Reihenfolge der Hauptsätze und Nebensätze. Auf den ersten Blick fällt der sorgfältige grammatische Aufbau und nicht die gewohnte Musikalität eines Gedichts auf. Der Kreuzreim und der Paralellismus aus dem letzten Vers stellen lyrische Aufbauelemente und tragen gleichzeitig zum Fließen des Textes im Stil der Prosa bei.

Im Gegensatz zu Bergels Gedicht wirkt die *Siebenbürgische Elegie* von Adolf Meschendörfer trotz des thematischen Ähnlichkeit auf einer anderen Ebene des Verständnisses; der Inhalt der Verse ist eher pessimistisch.

> Wohlvermauert in Grüften modert der Väter Gebein,
> Zögernd nur schlagen die Uhren, zögernd bröckelt der Stein.
> Siehst du das Wappen am Tore? Längst verwelkte die Hand.
> Völker kamen und gingen, selbst ihr Name entschwand. (Meschendörfer, 1967:7)

Die deutschsprachigen Gruppen Rumäniens „hatten eine unterschiedliche Geschichte, unterschiedliche Konfessionen und Dialekte und wiesen verschiedene kulturelle Entwicklungsstände auf" (Martschini 2005:14). Ein besonderer Grund für das Pessimismus von Meschendörfer hätte sein können, dass die Ausbildung eines nationalen Bewusstseins und Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühls nach dem ersten Weltkrieg durch die räumliche Distanz zwischen den deutschsprachigen Gruppen Rumäniens zusätzlich erschwert war.

Obwohl die Thematik, wie gesagt, ähnlich ist, nämlich das Verschwinden einer ganzen Nation aus einer Gegend, wo sie Jahrhunderte lang zu Hause war, drücken die zwei Autoren ihre Gefühle auf ganz verschiedene Weise aus. Verschiedene Persönlichkeiten derselben Kultur können unterschiedliche Modi und Konzepte der Selbstbeschreibung oder der Selbstreflexion entwickeln, vor allem wenn sie in verschiedenen Perioden dieser Kultur ihre literarische Tätigkeit ausüben. Bergel gehört der Generation der deutschsprachigen Gruppen Rumäniens, die die Folgen des Dekret-Gesetzes vom 8. Oktober 1944 im

Alltagsleben für eine lange Zeit gefühlt hat, trotzdem anders als Meschendörfer, der zu der Zeit schon 67 Jahre alt war. Die Deportation und die Zwangsarbeit, die laut diesem Gesetz auf die deutschsprachige Bevölkerung Rumäniens wartete, „betraf alle Männer zwischen 17 und 45 und alle Frauen zwischen 18 und 30 Jahren [...] Die in Rumänien verbliebenen Deutschen wurden durch gesetzliche Benachteiligungen und die Landreform von 1945 hart getroffen" (Martschini 2005:35). Die persönlichen Wunden bestimmen die Dichtung auch verschiedenerweise. Der im Jahre 1944 neunzehnjährige Bergel hatte noch die Möglichkeit der Entwicklung einer breiteren Perspektive über das 20. Jahrhundert und seine Ereignisse. Meschendörfer, der 1963 gestorben ist, hatte keine Chance mehr dazu, das politische Bild und die menschenrechtlichen Prinzipien Europas im 21. Jahrhundert kennenzulernen.

Beide Gedichte sind eine Art Selbstreflexion; ganz offenkundig wird die Nation als ein Alter-Ego des eigenen Daseins imaginiert. Bei Meschendörfer, wenn es um den Zweck des lyrischen Ausdrucks geht, ist alles Reim und Rhythmus: Kreuzreime und Halbreime und natürlich Daktylen, die formal eine Senkung durch die erste betonte Silbe und die zwei darauffolgenden unbetonten Silben darstellen. Bei Bergel ist der Rhythmus weniger prägnant, nur dann entdecken wir ihn, wenn wir seinen Text mehrmals aufmerksam lesen. Die Verse bestehen aus Jamben, und mit der Hebung entsteht eine optimistische Stimmung im Text. Über die Geschichte zu schreiben, sich mit den Folgen der Geschichte auseinanderzusetzen, ist bei ihm überhaupt nicht sinnlos, sondern „ein Drama der Freiheit" (Müller-Funk, 2008:302).

Eine mögliche Interpretation dieser Versmaßkonstruktionen könnte folgenderweise lauten: Meschendörfer ist seiner Heimatsehnsucht anheimgefallen, er hat aufgegeben, seine Zeilen sind eindeutig pessimistisch, Senkungen und negativ konnotierte Verben, wie z.B. *modern, verwelken, entschwinden*, zeigen, dass Siebenbürger Sachsen aus ihrem eigenen Land langsam verschwinden. Bergel dagegen möchte diesen inneren Kampf um das Überleben nicht aufgben, sondern sucht nach Lösungen der Bewahrung einer nationalen Identität. Hebungen im Versmaß und positiv konnotierte Verben bzw. Substantive, wie z.B. *befreien, Sinn* und *Ewigkeit* zeigen zumindest die Hoffnung auf eine Versöhnung mit der Geschichte und auf die Möglichkeit des Weiterlebens, trotz Wunden und Leid. Bei Bergel kann also die Geschichte als „der Schauplatz des Kampfes" (Müller-Funk, 2008:302) verstanden werden, „an dessen Ende der Tod und die Zeit überwunden werden" (Müller-Funk, 2008:302).

Das Gedicht *Siebenbürgische Passion* – in beiden Bänden vorhanden – wird im zweiten Band*, Der schwarze Tänzer,* thematisch durch das Gedicht *Mutterland* (Bergel, 2012:146) ergänzt. „Jede Kultur ist auf das Wiederspiel von Erinnern und Vergessen gegründet" (Müller-Funk, 2008:302), ebenso die Narrative einer bestimmten Kultur. Die *Passion* ist ein Blick ins Vergangene, das *Mutterland*-Gedicht ein Blick in die Gegenwart von Hans Bergel. Rilke schrieb, dass der Mensch „mit vierzig sein letztes Gesicht"[4] habe. Gemeint ist, dass der Mensch ungefähr bis zum 40. Lebensjahr jung genug ist, sich innerlich zu ändern und fähig ist, in einer neuen Umgebung Wurzeln zu schlagen, noch wandlungsbereit genug, um Heimat zu erleben. Bergel war 43, als er das Land seiner Herkunft verließ. Nach Rilke hatte er bereits sein letztes Gesicht. Er kam also zu spät ins neue Land (Deutschland). Selbstverständlich vollzog er den Wandel auf der Verstandesebene,

[4] Im Brief Bergels an die Verfasserin des Beitrags, vom 11.10.2014.

aber er zögerte, sich von der emotionalen Ebene des bis dahin gelebten Lebens loszureißen, und wollte es auch nicht, je näher er sein neues Umfeld kennen lernte. Sowohl Erinnern als auch Vergessen hatten ein erschreckendes Gesicht dem siebenbürgischen Autor gezeigt. Erzählungen über die verlorene Heimat erscheinen in allen seiner Sammelbänden; das eklatanteste Beispiel einer Erzählung, welche die oben erwähnte Thematik ausführlich beschreibt, ist *Die Rückkehr des Rees*. Manfred Winkler meint, diese sei diejenige Erzählung, die an den meisten Stellen die Charakteristika der Dichtung aufweist. Seines Erachtens wirken Lyrik und Prosa bei Bergel in einer eigenartigen Harmonie der Gattungen zusammen: „Prosa, Lyrik und Drama werden zu einer für seinen Ausdrucksstil charakteristischen ästhetischen Einheit und wirken als solche." (Winkler, 2016:165). Winkler ist nicht der einzige, der eine derartige Meinung äußert; Peter Motzan spricht in seinem Exkurs über Bergels Novellen, vor allem über *Die Rückkehr des Rees* als über einen Text, der die klassische Kunstform der Novelle an vielen Stellen überschreitet (Motzan, 2005:415-421).
Anhand dieser Erzählung von Bergel soll im Folgenden die Interpretation der Funktion der Lyrik in Hans Bergels Prosatexten erfolgen.

3. Sprachgebilde in der Prosa von Bergel

In einem Brief an die Verfasserin des vorliegenden Beitrags äußert Bergel den argumentativen Strang, der auch für die folgende Analyse übernommen wurde: „Ein in Reime und Strophen gefaßtes Sprachgebilde ist noch lange nicht Dichtung. Während eine sprachlich vollendet gestaltete Prosa Dichtung sein kann. Der Unterschied zwischen *Schriftstellerei* und *Dichtung* liegt ja nicht in der äußeren Form."[5]
In seinem 2016 erschienenen Band mit dem Titel *Die Verweigerung der Negativität* veröffentlicht Bergel Gedichte an Manfred Winkler und einige Teile seiner Prosatexte von neuem, darunter auch die Novelle *Die Rückkehr des Rees*. Manfred Winkler meint, „dass Hans Bergel, der Kunst- und Naturverfallene [...] in der Novelle *Die Rückkehr des Rees* einen Höhepunkt erreicht, auf dem Prosa, Lyrik und Drama zu einer für seinen Ausdrucksstil charakteristischen ästhetischen Einheit werden und als solche wirken (Winkler, 2009:137).
In der Novelle kann nachvollzogen werden, wie Bergels schon erwähnte Idee über Sprachgebilde seiner Textgestaltung dient: Das Schreiben von Gedichten – so wie er es betreibt – ist für ihn Training für den Umgang mit der Sprache. Und diese Geschicktheit macht seine Prosatexte an einigen Stellen ausgesprochen lyrisch.

> Alles was du tust, ist ein Suchen.
> Alles Suchen ist ein Suchen der Form.
> Alles Suchen der Form ist ein Suchen der Ruhe.
> Alles Suchen der Ruhe ist ein Suchen des Todes – mitten im Leben.
> (Winkler, 2016:164)

Die Form der Textgestaltung, aber vor allem die Wiederholungen, die in dieser Textpassage das Gerüst des Ausdrucks bilden, erinnern den Leser an die Gattung des Gedichtes. Wenn der Leser die Form dieser Zeilen mit einem sogenannten

[5] Im Brief Bergels an die Verfasserin des Beitrags, vom 08.08.2015.

Mantra-Gedicht vergleicht, wird er gleich sehen, dass die Metrik der beiden Texte übereinstimmt:

> Den Vögeln schenktest Du Lieder
> Und die Vögel gaben Dir Lieder zurück.
> Mir gabst Du nur eine Stimme,
> Doch fragst Du nach mehr,
> Und ich singe. (Bennett, 2012:1)

Es handelt sich um Daktylen, die an einigen Stellen mit Spondeen variieren. Weitere Textteile der Erzählung von Bergel sprechen darüber, dass bei ihm nicht nur die Form der Zeilen, wie in dem Beispiel vorher, einem Mantra-Gedicht gleichen kann, sondern dass auch die inhaltliche Parallele in der Beziehung Mensch – Natur in diesen Zeilen anwesend ist:

> Luftpeitschen schlugen auf die Wasserfläche ein. Der Himmel war so nahe, dass es aussah, als flögen immer wieder einzelne durchhängende Wolken nahe über sie hinweg. Manchmal schimmerten irgendwo Lichtstreifen... (Winkler, 2016:162)

Hans Bergel spricht über die Möglichkeit des Friedens, die von der Natur dem Hauptthelden, auch wenn nur für einen Moment, angeboten wird. Die Fähigkeit der Natur, dem Haupthelden Trost zu geben, ihm Mitleid zu zeigen oder sogar mit ihm zu fühlen, erinnert aber den Leser auch an die Volksdichtung und an die am Anfang des Beitrags zitierte Aussage von Raluca Rădulescu, dass Hans Bergels Gedichte zur Erlebnisdichtung gehörten. Es ließe sich sogar sagen, dass diese Gedichte Prozesse der Identitätskonstruktion seien. „Um wer zu sein, muss man erzählen können“ (Müller-Funk, 2008:147). Hans Bergels Gedichte, im Vergleich zu seinen lyrischen Prosatexten, sind folglich eher episch konstruiert; es handelt sich dabei nicht nur um eine aufmerksame und bewusste Mischung von lyrischen und Prosa ähnlichen Merkmalen im Aufbau der literarischen Äußerung, sondern auch um eine spannende Auseinandersetzung des Dichters mit dem Verhältnis von Form und Inhalt der Texte. Diese Bestrebungen in der Textkonstruktion kann in mehreren Gedichten erkannt werden; zwei Textbeispiele dürften diese Feststellung unterstützen:

> Doch als der Tag sich rundete
> und wir uns wiedertrafen,
> trug ich die Welt,
> so sagtest du,
> die meine Welt von jeher war,
> von neuem in dein Leben,
> und dass du nun beim Abschied
> aus meiner Welt, die ich dir wiedergab,
> hinaus trittst
> und mich mit ihr allein lässt hier
> für immer ... (Bergel, 2016:135)

> Du nickst den blau-und gelben Blumen zu

im Sonnenlicht vor deinem Haus
auf Westjudäas Bergen –
ein bißchen müde,
alter Jude unterm herbstesblauen Sabbathimmel,
ein bißchen müde... (Bergel, 2016:135)

Die Zeilen des ersten Gedichts mit dem Titel *Kaddisch für Manfred Winkler* beinhalten Temporalsätze und Attributivsätze in Form von Hypotaxen, die von noch zwei Parataxen am Ende ergänzt wurden. Der für ein Gedicht typische Ausdruck entsteht nur durch die Aussage *so sagtest du*, die mit der Absicht der Betonung der Dramatik des Geschehens eingeschoben wurde. Mit einer ähnlichen direkten Anrede wird die Distanz zwischen Dichter und Leser reduziert, so ließe sich sagen, dass der Leser auch im zweiten Gedicht mit dem Titel *Der mit den Blumen spricht* die Gewissheit erlebt, dass es sich um eine lyrische Äußerung handelt. Sonst besteht die Form der Strophe aus einer situativen, beinahe mathematischen Aneinanderreihung von Satzgliedern: Auf zwei Lokalbestimmungen folgt eine Modalbestimmung, die am Ende wiederholt wird. Durch diese Wiederholung erreicht Bergel, dass sein Gedicht einen lyrisch-melancholischen Ausklang aufweist, in dem aber für den Leser noch eine spezifische Botschaft steckt: „...die Geschichte und das Schicksal der europäischen Juden sind gewissermaßen Teil des kollektiven Gedächtnisses geworden” (Müller-Funk, 2008:255), folglich ist es nicht schwer, den „alten Juden” generell als den „alten Menschen” zu verstehen, der von dem schweren Schicksal der Menschheit müde geworden ist.
Die Strategie des Schreibens bringt bei Manfred Winkler den funktionalen Begriff von Sinn und Bedeutung ins Spiel. Seine Gedichte drücken nicht so viele Gefühle aus, klingen beinahe trocken im Vergleich zu Bergel, seine Stimme gehört einem fast neutralen und außenstehenden Erzähler, aber Versmaß, Stilfiguren wie die Wiederholung sind zweifelsohne das Gerüst einer lyrischen Äußerung. Er ist jedoch durchaus ein Poet in seinem lyrischen Text:

Unsäglich der Verzicht
Unsäglichkeit
eigenster Verneinung
Zum Bejahen ist die Erde da. (Winkler, 2016:129)

Diese Zeilen des Gedichts *Wir gehen uns selber entgegen* erinnern an jene eines Haikus: kurz und bildhaft, bzw. die letzte Zeile beinhaltet eine Art Schlussfolgerung. Winkler verfährt ebenso in seinem Gedicht mit dem Titel *Ein Bild auf der Wand.*

Das Gedicht erwacht aus dem Schlaf –
Niemandsland
ein Bild auf der Wand
verklungenes Versmaß
abendlicher Brand eines Labyrinths
hinter den Fichten (Winkler, 2016:129)

Weit davon entfernt, Geheimnisse zu lüften, scheint die Lyrik von Winkler neue zu produzieren. Diese Strophe, obwohl sie kaum Reime enthält, trägt die typischen

Merkmale des Gedichts, einzelne, vielsagende Wörter, weniger zusammenhängende Sätze, keine Interpunktion, und schließlich die Metasprache, deren Geheimnis nur gewähnt werden kann: Der Autor spricht vom Gedicht und von dessen Form (Versmaß) in seinem eigenen Gedicht; damit zeigt er dem Leser nochmals, dass die Worte des Dichters einer tiefen und vielfältigen inneren Gedankenwelt entspringen, in der die lyrische Form eine konstitutive Rolle spielt.

4. Das Konstrukt von Lyrik und Prosa bei Bergel – Schlussfolgerungen

Bergels Gedichte und Prosatexte leben von Bildern und Bilder sind nur mithilfe der Sprache beschreibbar. Oscar Walter Cisek, der deutschsprachige Bukarester Erzähler und der Mensch, der Bergel das Schreiben als handwerklichen Vorgang bewusst machte, benutzt in einem Brief das Wort Augengier, um Hans Bergels Schreiben zu bestimmen.[6] Das war eine zutreffende Beobachtung: Bergel sieht, was er schreibt, als Bild. Er schreibt also Bilder nieder. Das gilt sowohl für die Prosa, als auch für seine lyrische Produktion. Die Vielfältigkeit der Bilder und des Lokalkolorits charakterisiert auch Bergels Reiseimpressionen und Erinnerungen, und führt oft zu kulturübergreifenden Bestimmungen. An dem Band *Von Palmen, Wüsten und Basaren* ist Bergels Malerblick sehr gut zu erkennen, die *Reisenotizen aus Israel* zeigen an mehreren Stellen die Merkmale einer lyrischen Beschreibung.

> Unter den Tieren ein Steinbock mit überdimensionalem Gehörn, dessen Enden ihm bis zur Kruppe reichten. Er blickte mich lange unbewegt an, ehe er sich umwendete und langsam entfernte. Er hinterließ mir den Eindruck, ein Stück des steinigen Bodens zu sein, über den er ging – Kreatur gewordene Gaia. (Bergel, 2013:34)

Das Bild des Steinbocks spricht für sich selbst: Es handelt sich um eine filmartige, genaue Schilderung eines bestimmten Moments der Bewegung, vor allem mithilfe der Verben *blickte*, *umwendete*, *entfernte*, *hinterließ*, *ging*. Die letzten Wörter dieser Beschreibung beinhalten die griechische Benennung der Göttin der Erde; dieser Name gibt der ganzen Schilderung mythische Dimensionen und führt den Leser in eine Welt der poetischen Fantasie.
Um eine semantische Kluft zwischen europäischen und äußereuropäischen Kulturen zu überbrücken, stellt Bergel durch das Bild des Jerusalemer Basars nicht nur ein Lebensmoment, sondern auch ein klassisches Identitätskonzept des Ostens dar. Der Endeffekt dieser Schilderung wirkt wie derjenige des Gemäldes von William Hogarth mit dem Titel *Gin Lane* (Hogarth, 1988); vielleicht ohne die Tragik, aber sicher mit der chaotischen Fülle des englischen Bildes.

> Und es gibt nichts, was in der Dämmerwelt nicht gibt: Glitzernder Souvenirkitsch, wertlose arabische Keramik- und Kupfergefäße, grell ornamentierte lange Frauengewänder, unsinnigstes Kinderspielzeug wie Plüschteddybären mit blauem Kopf, roten Augen, gelben Beinen und weißem Rumpf, Broschen und Halsketten aus Blech und Buntsteinen, dazwischen ein Friseurladen und ein Hosenschneider in Gehäusen etwas größer wie ein Flugzeugklo. Daneben in Flachkisten ausgelegte geschälte

[6] Im Brief Bergels an die Verfasserin des Beitrags, vom 11.10.2014.

> hartgekochte Eier, deren Dotter Fischaugen gleichen, verzierte Wasserpfeifen, Kerzenhalter, Stoffsandalen, gelegentlich ein CD-Laden mit gellendem Orientgesang. Von prachtvollen Orangen, Zitronen, Äpfeln überbordende Schrägtische, auf Tüchern am Boden ausgebreitetes Gemüse. Unmöglich, die Fülle zu schildern! (Bergel, 2013:62)

Die Zeilen zeigen die Merkmale des reinen Nominalstils, Verben tauchen im Text ganz am Anfang auf – auch da handelt es sich um eine Stilfigur des Oxymorons und des Paradoxes – und am Ende, wo sie die Funktion einer Schlussfolgerung haben. Diese Schlussfolgerung aber, ebenso wie ein Teil der ersten Zeile, ist nach den Regeln der Metrik ausgerichtet: Daktylen und Spondeen sorgen für die melodische und harmonische Symmetrie des Zeilenmaßes und zum Abschließen der Gedanken steht die Senkung: „Unmöglich, die Fülle zu schildern!" Im Vergleich zu der letzten Zeile finden wir in der ersten, dank des Jambus, eine ausgesprochene Hebung: „...was in der Dämmerwelt nicht gibt:". Diese Hebung kann mehrere Funktionen haben: zum einen die darauffolgende Aufzählung einzuleiten – was in einem Prosatext auch durch Doppelpunkt angezeigt werden könnte – und zum anderen dem Leser die Verwunderung des Erzählers zu vermitteln.
Die Musikalität des Versmaßes zeigt sich aber am besten in der letzten Zeile der Reisenotizen: Jambus und Anapäst sorgen dafür, dass die Hebung am Ende dem Buch einen enigmatischen, aber zugleich optimistischen Ausklang verleiht: „Wie klein und wie groß zugleich ist unsere Welt." (Bergel, 2013:81) Einer derartigen Rahmenkonstruktion von Zeit, Narration und Identität ist nicht zu entkommen: Die Welt wird bei Bergel als Ganzes gedacht und auch erzählt.
Hans Bergel nennt seine Lyrik, wie schon gesagt, Fingerübungen. Um mit dem Lyrischen und mit dem Epischen derart zu spielen, wie er es macht, braucht man nicht nur Talent, sondern auch umfassende Kenntnisse der Metrik, der Erzählweisen, der Form und des Inhalts verschiedener Gattungen, aber auch der Kulturen. Manfred Winkler schreibt darüber in seinem Essay *Über die Philosophie des Erzählens* Folgendes:

> Mich verwundert immer wieder sein Wissen... Er wandelt alles, oder fast alles, was er zu sagen hat, in Erzählung um... Auch seine Essays, von denen es viele gibt, wirken auf mich spannend wie seine dramatischen Erzählungen, Novellen oder Romane. Er spricht über Kulturgeschichte, -morphologie und –philosophie. Über Völkerkunde und –psychologie und das griechische Altertum. Über Literatur, natürlich. Über Musik. Sport. Wie einer, der in alldem zu Hause ist. Immer fesselnd. (Winkler, 2016:170)

Hans Bergel gestaltet sein Werk nicht strukturkonservativ; in allem, was er schreibt, steht seine ganze Persönlichkeit, seine reiche Erfahrung mit der Literatur und mit der Welt. Er hütet sich vor sprachlichen Konventionen, seine Erzählweise ist nie eigensinnig oder einstimmig, folglich kann die Erzählung ohne die Musik der Sprache und das Gedicht ohne philosophische und essayistische Exkurse bei ihm nicht existieren. Vor allem aber muss bei der Betrachtung seines Werks auf Folgendes hingewiesen werden: „Bergelsche Dichtung greift hinaus in überästhetische Zusammenhänge, sie greift an den Puls des wirklichen Lebens, greift nach dem Reich bestehender oder gefährdeter Werte" (Mieskes, 2009:88).

Seine Dichtung entbehrt also des gedanklichen Hintergrundes nicht, wird aber niemals zum Lehrbuch, vielmehr läßt es sich getrost vermuten, dass diese Dichtung ein Labyrinth sei, dass sie Assoziationen von einem bedeutenden semantischen Reichtum, feurige Kommentare bzw. vielfältige Interpretationen hervorrufen kann.

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DISKURSMARKER IN DER INTERIMSPRACHE BEI DEUTSCHSTUDIERENDEN IN DER REPUBLIK NORDMAZEDONIEN

DISCOURSE MARKERS IN THE INTERLANGUAGE BY STUDENTS OF GERMAN IN THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA

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Abstract:
Die in dieser Arbeit vorgestellte Studie ist ein Teil des Forschungsprojekts "Die Rolle der expliziten Anweisung in der Entwicklung pragmatischer Kompetenz im Englischen und im Deutschen als Fremdsprache” (“The role of explicit instruction in developing pragmatic competence in learning English and German as a foreign language”), das derzeit an der “Goce Delchev” - Universität zu Štip, Republik Nordmazedonien, durchgeführt wird. Diese Studie untersucht die Verwendung von pragmatischen Markern bei mazedonischen Germanistikstudenten. Sprecher verwenden sie, um einen glatten Redefluss zu erreichen und ihren Gesprächspartnern zu helfen, die Bedeutung ihrer Äußerungen angemessen zu entschlüsseln. Die Studie beschreibt die Untersuchung von Diskursmarkern in der Interimsprache mazedonischer Fremdsprachenstudierenden. Die Interimsprache bezieht sich auf die Sprache, die Lernende während des Lernprozesses einer Fremdsprache verwenden. Die Untersuchung von Diskursmarkern in der Interimsprache mazedonischer Fremdsprachenstudierenden könnte dazu beitragen, das Verständnis ihrer Verwendung von Diskursmarkern im Kontext des Fremdsprachenlernens zu verbessern. In diesem Beitrag wird versucht, die Verwendung von pragmatischen Markern in der Rede von mazedonischen Deutschlernenden zu analysieren sowie ihre Häufigkeit und Funktion in der Sprache darzustellen. Die Analyse wurde mit 30 Teilnehmern, die Germanistik studieren, an der Abteilung für deutsche Sprache und Literatur der “Goce Delchev” Universität zu Štip durchgeführt. Durch die Analyse von Daten aus einem Korpus mazedonischer Deutschlernenden wird untersucht, ob und wie explizite Anweisungen die Verwendung von pragmatischen Markern beeinflussen. Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie können Lernenden und Lehrenden helfen, die Rolle von expliziten Anweisungen beim Erlernen und Unterrichten der deutschen Sprache besser zu verstehen und effektivere Unterrichtsmethoden zu entwickeln.

Schlüsselwörter: Pragmatik; Diskursmarker; Interimsprache; pragmatische Funktion und Häufigkeit der Verwendung.

Abstract: The study presented in this paper is part of a research project entitled "The role of explicit instructions in developing pragmatic competence in learning English and German as a foreign language," currently being conducted at the "Goce Delchev" University in Shtip, Republic of North Macedonia. This study examines the use of pragmatic markers by Macedonian students of German. Speakers use them to achieve smooth speech flow and help their conversation partners appropriately decode the meaning of their utterances. The study describes the investigation of the discourse markers in the interlanguage of the Macedonian foreign language students. The interlanguage refers to the language used by students during the process of learning a foreign language. Investigating discourse markers in the interlanguage of the Macedonian foreign language students could contribute to improving our understanding of their use of discourse markers in the context of foreign language learning. This contribution attempts to analyze the use of pragmatic markers in the speech of the Macedonian learners of German and to present their frequency and function in the language. The analysis was conducted with 30 participants who are studying German at the Department of German Language and Literature at the "Goce Delchev" University in Shtip. The analysis of the data examines whether and how explicit instructions influence the use of pragmatic markers. The results of this study can help learners and teachers better understand the role of explicit instructions in learning and teaching the German language and develop more effective teaching methods.

Key words: pragmatics; discourse markers; interlanguage; pragmatic function and frequency of use.

1. Einleitung

Die Studie, die in diesem Beitrag vorgestellt wird, wurde im Rahmen des Projekts "Die Rolle der expliziten Anweisung in der Entwicklung pragmatischer Kompetenz im Englischen und im Deutschen als Fremdsprache" durchgeführt. Dieses Projekt wurde in Zusammenarbeit mit der Südosteuropäischen Universität zu Tetovo durchgeführt und es wurde teilweise durch die geringe Anzahl von Studien dieser Art in Nordmazedonien, sowie durch den wachsenden Bedarf an der Entwicklung neuer Forschungsmethoden motiviert. Die Ziele des Projekts sind:

1. Die Verwendung von pragmatischen Markern durch mazedonische Deutschlernende zu untersuchen.
2. Im Rahmen dieses Projektes wird untersucht, ob und wie explizite Anweisungen die Verwendung von pragmatischen Markern beeinflussen.
3. Unterschiede in der Verwendung von pragmatischen Markern zwischen mazedonischen Deutschlernenden und Muttersprachlern zu bestimmen.
4. Die Rolle der expliziten Anweisungen bei der Entwicklung von Pragmatik in der Interimssprache bei mazedonischen Deutschlernenden zu untersuchen.
5. Empfehlungen für die Verwendung von expliziten Anweisungen im Sprachunterricht zu geben.
6. Erhöhung des Angebots an kulturübergreifenden, interkulturellen und interimsprachlichen Pragmatikstudien.
7. Entwicklung moderner Methoden zur Datenerhebung und -analyse; und die Ergebnisse der empirischen Forschung mit den Bildungs- und Kommunikationsbedürfnissen der Gesellschaft zu vergleichen.

Das Ziel dieser Studie ist es zu untersuchen, wie die mazedonischen Deutschlernende (MDL), die nur wenig Kontakt zur realen Kommunikation in der gelernten Fremdsprache haben, pragmatische Marker (PM) verwenden, um

reibungslose Kommunikation zu erzielen. Insbesondere analysiert diese Arbeit die Verwendung von PM bei mazedonischen Deutschlernenden.
Der vorliegende Beitrag konzentriert sich auf die Diskursmarker (DM) bzw. auf die pragmatischen Marker der Sprache. Diskursmarker sind in der gesprochenen Sprache sehr verbreitet. In geführten Gesprächen zwischen den Gesprächspartnern kommen häufig Diskursmarker, wie: *aber, na, ja, gut* u.a. vor. Die Sprecher verwenden sie um einen glatten Sprachfluss zu erreichen und ihren Gesprächspartnern zu helfen, die Bedeutung ihrer Äußerungen angemessen zu entschlüsseln. Die DM sind linguistisch codierte Hinweise, die das kommunikative Potenzial des Sprechers signalisieren (Fraser 1996: 168). Sprecher verwenden sie auch, um die Stärke ihrer Äußerungen zu modifizieren oder die sprachliche Absicht der Handlung zu mildern. In diesem Beitrag wurden folgende Forschungsfragen gestellt:
1. Verwenden die mazedonischen Deutschlernenden (MDL) Diskursmarker in ihren Konversationen?
2. Welche DM werden verwendet, mit welcher Häufigkeit und mit welcher pragmatischen Funktion?

Diskursmarker sind Wörter oder Phrasen, die verwendet werden, um die Haltung oder Absicht des/der Sprecher/s-in in einer Unterhaltung zu signalisieren. Im Folgenden wird versucht, die Begriffe Diskursmarker und pragmatische Marker im Deutschen zu erklären und näher zu beschreiben. Der Begriff *Diskursmarker* bezieht sich auf Wörter oder Ausdrücke, die in einer Rede oder einem Text verwendet werden, um die Struktur und den Verlauf einer Unterhaltung oder eines Textes zu gestalten. Dazu gehören zum Beispiel Konjunktionen wie *aber* oder *denn*, die Verbindungen zwischen Sätzen herstellen, oder Ausdrücke wie *also* oder *also nochmal*, die zur Verbindung zwischen verschiedenen Teilen einer Unterhaltung oder eines Textes dienen können. Diskursmarker dienen dazu, die Aufmerksamkeit des/der Hörer(s)/-in oder Leser(s)/-in zu lenken und ihm/ihr zu helfen, die Struktur und den Verlauf der Unterhaltung oder des Textes zu verstehen. Der Begriff *pragmatische Marker* bezieht sich auf Wörter oder Ausdrücke, die in einer Rede oder einem Text verwendet werden, um die Bedeutung einer Äußerung zu modifizieren oder zu präzisieren. Die Begriffe *Diskursmarker* und *pragmatische Marker* werden im folgenden Teil detailliert beschrieben.

2. Diskursmarker vs. pragmatische Marker im Deutschen

Der Terminus *Diskursmarker* stammt aus den 1970er und 1980er Jahren als Folge der neuen methodischen und theoretischen Orientierungen in der Sprachwissenschaft. In der deutschsprachigen Fachliteratur wird der Begriff *Diskursmarker* seit Ende der 1990er Jahre von einigen wenigen Autoren verwendet. (Androutsopoulos 1998; Auer 1998; Gohl/Günthner 1999; Günthner 1999; Lange 1999; Umbach/Stede 1999). In den letzten Jahren kommt dieser Begriff immer häufiger vor (Bayerl 2004; Konerding 2004; Auer/Günthner 2005; Imo 2007; Rehbock 2009; Hartung 2012; Mroczynski 2012; Tissot 2015 u.a.). Die terminologische Präzisierung von Diskursmarkern wird in der Literatur ausgiebig behandelt und hat sich zu einem wichtigen Teil der Pragmatik und der Diskussion über Diskursmarker entwickelt. Verschiedene Autoren, Schulen und

Fachrichtungen verwenden den Begriff *Diskursmarker* auf unterschiedliche Weise und beziehen sich damit auf verschiedene Eigenschaften und Mengen von Ausdrücken. (Blakemore 2002:1ff.). Neben ihm sind andere Termini in Umlauf, die genauso unterschiedlich verwendet werden, etwa (Diskurs-)Partikel, pragmatischer Marker, (pragmatischer) Operator, Gesprächswort oder Gliederungssignal. Es gibt viele Vorschläge, wie man die Inhalte und Begriffe von Diskursmarkern systematisieren und vereinheitlichen könnte, aber diese Vorschläge führen oft zu unterschiedlichen Abgrenzungen und Überschneidungen (Blakemore 2004; Foolen 2011: 218f.; Imo 2012; Heine 2013:1206ff.; Maschler/Schiffrin 2015; Auer/Maschler 2016:1-47).
In der Linguistik sind Diskursmarker Wörter oder Phrasen, die in einer Unterhaltung verwendet werden, um Haltung oder Absicht des/der Sprecher/s-in zu signalisieren. Sie dienen dazu, den Kontext oder die Bedeutung von Äußerungen zu präzisieren oder zu modifizieren. Diskursmarker können auf verschiedene Arten verwendet werden, zum Beispiel, um die Stärke einer Äußerung zu modifizieren oder um die Beziehung zwischen Sprecher/in und Hörer/in zu gestalten. Diskursmarker sind in verschiedenen Sprachen unterschiedlich häufig und variieren in ihrer Bedeutung und Funktion. Sie sind ein wichtiges Thema in der Pragmatik, d.h. in dem Teil der Linguistik, der sich mit der Verwendung von Sprache in sozialen und kommunikativen Kontexten beschäftigt. Die Erforschung von Diskursmarkern kann dazu beitragen, das Verständnis von Sprache und Kommunikation zu verbessern und die Entwicklung von Sprachfähigkeit zu unterstützen.
Die Wissenschaftler, die sich mit pragmatischen Markern beschäftigt haben, sind sich einig, dass diese Elemente die spontane Sprachproduktion und Interaktion vereinfachen und zugleich die Verständigung verbessern, so dass der Sprecher nicht als unhöflich oder ungeschickt wahrgenommen wird (Crystal 1988 in Müller 2005: 1). Es gibt jedoch Meinungsverschiedenheiten darüber, wie die DM genannt werden sollen. Forscher, die sich mehr für die kognitiven Prozesse oder die Diskursorganisation interessieren, bezeichnen diese sprachliche Elemente als Diskursmarker (Fraser 1996; 1999; 2009; Schiffrin 1987), während jene, die sich mehr für ihre soziolinguistische, interaktionale Qualität interessieren, diese Ausdrücke als pragmatische Marker bezeichnen. Andere strittige Bezeichnungen für diese Wörter sind: *Diskurspartikeln, pragmatische Partikeln, pragmatische Ausdrücke*, und *Konnektive.* Da sich unser Interesse auf die soziolinguistische, interaktionale Seite dieser Begriffe konzentriert, wird der Begriff *pragmatische Marker* verwendet, obwohl von bestimmten Autoren auch andere Begriffe verwendet werden können.
Pragmatische Marker haben eine Vielzahl von Funktionen in der Kommunikation. Sie können verwendet werden, um:
-die Stärke einer Äußerung zu modifizieren oder zu mildern,
-die Beziehung zwischen Sprecher/in und Hörer/in zu gestalten,
-die Bedeutung oder den Kontext von Äußerungen zu präzisieren oder zu modifizieren,
-den Redefluss in einer Unterhaltung zu unterstützen,
-das Verständnis des Gesprächspartners zu erleichtern.
Pragmatische Marker (PM) werden oft in der gesprochenen Sprache verwendet und können dazu beitragen, Fluß und Kohärenz von Gesprächen zu verbessern.

Die Funktionen von PM fallen in zwei Kategorien, die von Halliday (1976: 29) als 'textuell' und 'interpersonell' beschrieben werden. Hallidays dritte Kategorie ist die ideationale Kategorie, die den Inhalt darstellt. Obwohl Halliday manchmal kritisiert wird, weil er alle drei Kategorien in die Grammatik der Sprache integriert (Leech 1983 in Brinton 1996), basieren die meisten Taxonomien auf diese Kategorien. (Redeker 1990; Fraser 1996; Andersen 2001; Beeching 2016; Crible 2018) Viele Autoren verbinden die pragmatischen Marker stark mit dem Phänomen der Höflichkeit. PM können eine Äußerung modifizieren oder Solidarität ausdrücken, weil "sie auf Unsicherheit oder Annäherung hinweisen und weil sie oft mit Natürlichkeit, Freundlichkeit und Wärme in Verbindung gebracht werden." (Beeching, 2016: 17) Dies macht die Untersuchung von pragmatischen Markern für die interaktionale Soziolinguistik sehr wichtig. Crible (2018: 9) ist der Meinung, dass pragmatische Marker auch als *Verbindungsstücke* dienen können, die die Aufmerksamkeit des Hörers/der Hörerin aufrechterhalten und ihm/ihr helfen, die Struktur der Unterhaltung zu verstehen. Sie können auch als *Repair-Mechanismen* fungieren, um Verständigungsprobleme zu lösen oder eine Unterbrechung in der Kommunikation zu vermeiden. In vielen Fällen werden sie auch als Mittel eingesetzt, um die Höflichkeit und die soziale Distanz zwischen den Diskurs-Teilnehmern zu regulieren. Pragmatische Marker können auch verwendet werden, um das Selbstbewusstsein des/der Sprecher/s-in zu zeigen oder um die eigene Haltung oder Meinung auszudrücken.
Im Folgenden werden typische formale Eigenschaften und pragmatische Funktionen von Diskursmarkern näher betrachtet.

2.1. Morphologische und Prosodische Eigenschaften

Es ist schwierig, allgemeine Aussagen über die Morphologie von Diskursmarkern zu treffen, da sie sich von flektierbaren Wortarten unterscheiden. Einige Gemeinsamkeiten, wie zum Beispiel die Nicht-Zerlegbarkeit und Einsilbigkeit, können in Untergruppen wie den deutschen Modalpartikeln (*ja, denn, doch* usw.) gefunden werden. Allerdings werden Modalpartikeln von manchen Autoren aus syntaktischen und semantischen Gründen nicht als Diskursmarker betrachtet (vgl. Degand et al. 2013).
Zu den Ausdrücken, die als prototypische Diskursmarker fungieren können, gehören Simplizia wie deutsch *nur, und, dann* oder *weil,* aber auch Derivationen wie *nämlich* oder *während* und Komposita wie *wobei* oder *obwohl.* Auffällig sind Ausdrücke, die zu heute unproduktiven Wortbildungsparadigmata gehören wie deutsch *also,* englisch *because* oder spanisch *además* ['auch', 'zudem']. /Blühdorn & Foolen & Loureda, 2017: 17)
Im Allgemeinen sind Diskursmarker nicht flektierbar. Wenn sie von Ausdrücken stammen, die ursprünglich Flexionsformen hatten oder enthielten, wie zum Beispiel *weißt du*, werden sie in ihrer Funktion als Diskursmarker unproduktiv und durch Erstarrung und Formabbau allmählich unkenntlich. (Blühdorn & Foolen & Loureda 2017: 18)

3.Beschreibung der Studie

Die Teilnehmer dieser Studie waren 30 Studierende der deutschen Sprache, die am Lehrstuhl für Deutsche Sprache und Literatur an der “Goce Delchev” Universität zu Shtip eingeschrieben gewesen sind. Die Teilnehmer der Studie hatten alle eine vierjährige Ausbildung im Fach Deutsch am Gymnasium oder in der Mittelschule absolviert, was bedeutet, dass sie Kenntnisse im Bereich DaF (Deutsch als Fremdsprache) bis zum Erreichen ihres Schulabschlusses (Abitur) erworben hatten.

Einige hatten zusätzlichen Privatunterricht im Deutsch an einer Sprachschule (oder in einem Fremdsprachenzentrum). Nur wenige von ihnen hatten nur kürzere Aufenthalte gehabt. Alle Studierenden haben einen Einstufungstest abgelegt, dabei wurde ihr Niveau der Deutschkenntnisse festgestellt. Ein Test wurde mit den Studenten zur Bestimmung ihres Wissensstandes in Fremdsprache "Einstufungstest - Teil 3", (Schritte international 5 und 6) durchgeführt und die Antworten der Studenten auf B2-Niveau (gemäß der Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmen / GERR) wurden ausgewertet.

Studenten mit Niveau B2 wurden gruppiert und dadurch für die Teilnahme an der Studie ausgewählt. Sie bilden eine homogene Gruppe von Studierenden, die gut in Grammatik und mit genügend Vokabular ausgestattet sind, um ihre Ansichten, Stimmungen und Emotionen auszudrücken. Der Zweck dieser Forschung bestand darin, einen kleinen Korpus von Gesprächen zu sammeln, die von den Teilnehmern produziert wurden. Die Daten wurden mittels Rollenspielen gesammelt, die für die Bedürfnisse der Forschung gemäß den festgelegten Aufgaben erstellt wurden. Die Rollenspiele bestanden aus fünf verschiedenen Situationen, auf die die Teilnehmer reagieren sollten. Alle Studierenden haben an der Studie in der Form einer Partnerarbeit teilgenommen. Die Gespräche werden als semi-spontan betrachtet, da sie in einem experimentellen Umfeld gesammelt wurden; die Teilnehmer der Studie waren nicht über die festgelegten Beobachtungskriterien informiert. Die Studierenden wurden gebeten, frei an dem Gespräch teilzunehmen (als ob sie bei einem Kaffee mit einem Freund wären) und ihre Ansichten und Ideen mitzuteilen. In der Regel gab es am Anfang einige Zögerlichkeit, aber die Studierenden wurden bald in das Gespräch einbezogen und wurden sehr spontan. Fünf Themen wurden für die Forschung ausgewählt: Probleme mit Straßenhunden in unseren Städten, Leben und Arbeiten im Ausland, Körperpiercings und Tattoos, die Zeit, die man mit einer Person gemeinsam verbringen sollte, und das Telefonieren während man Zeit mit Freunden verbringt. Die Gespräche wurden nach Einsammeln transkribiert und analysiert.

4.Diskussion und Resultate

Die folgenden pragmatischen Marker wurden von den MDL ausgewählt: *und, aber, ich denke, wie, ja, na ja, so, nur, okay, gut, sagen, irgendwie, sozusagen, eigentlich, ich meine, nur, du weißt schon, auf jeden Fall, du siehst,* und *hören*. Die Liste der 20 pragmatischen Marker und die Anzahl ihrer Auftritte im Korpus werden in Tabelle 1 dargestellt. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die pragmatischen Marker als nützliche Instrumente für Deutschlernende dienen, um ihre Rede zu strukturieren und zu organisieren. Wir können sie anhand ihrer Häufigkeit in vier Gruppen einteilen:

1. PM mit hoher Häufigkeit des Vorkommens (*und, aber, ich denke, wie, ja, na ja*);
2. PM mit mittlerer Häufigkeit des Vorkommens *(so, nur, okay, gut*);
3. PM mit geringer Häufigkeit des Vorkommens (*sagen, irgendwie, eigentlich, sozusagen, ich meine, nur, du weißt schon*); und

4. PM mit seltenem Vorkommen (*auf jeden Fall, du siehst, hören*).

Tabelle1. Die Häufigkeit des Vorkommens von PM und die Anzahl dieser Marker im analysierten Korpus

PM	Anzahl der Häufigkeit	PM	Anzahl der Häufigkeit	PM	Anzahl der Häufigkeit
und	310, (14.1 %)	nur	87, (3.9 %)	ich meine	35, (1.5 %)
aber	296, (13.4 %)	Ok	75, (3.4 %)	Nur	33, (1.5 %)
ich denke	260, (11.8 %)	gut	66, (3.0 %)	du weisst schon	29, (1.3 %)
Wie	229, (10.4 %)	sagen	56, (2.5 %)	auf jeden Fall	18, (0.8 %)
Ja	212, (9.6 %)	irgendwie	49, (2.2 %)	du siehst	7, (0.3 %)
na ja	189, (8.5 %)	eigentlich	48, (2.1 %)	Hören	2, (0.09 %)
So	163, (7.4 %)	sozusagen	34, (1.5 %)		

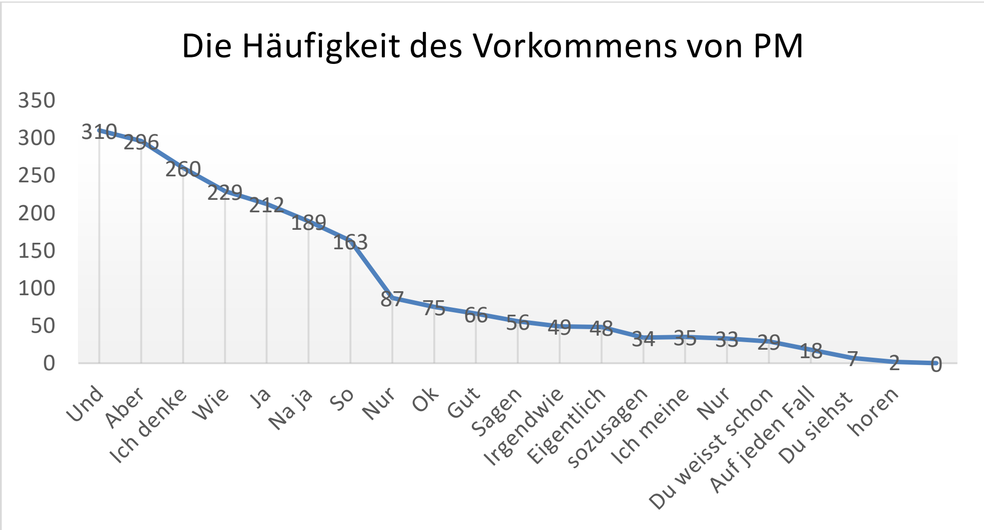

Abbildung 1. Die Anzahl von PM und die Häufigkeit des Vorkommens

Einige Beispiele für pragmatische Marker, die im analysierten Korpus auftreten, sind folgende: *eigentlich* (wird verwendet, um anzuzeigen, dass der/die Sprecher/-in im Begriff ist, etwas zu korrigieren oder zu qualifizieren, was er/sie gerade gesagt hat), *irgendwie* (wird verwendet, um anzuzeigen, dass der/die Sprecher/-in unsicher ist oder seine/ihre Äußerung zweifelhaft, fraglich, ungewiss, unbestimmt, oder unklar ist, *natürlich* (wird verwendet, um anzuzeigen, dass der/die Sprecher/-in empfindet etwas als selbstverständlich, *ja* (wird verwendet, um eine Zustimmung oder Bestätigung anzuzeigen oder zu signalisieren, dass der/die Sprecher/-in der Unterhaltung folgt), *nein* (wird verwendet, um eine Ablehnung oder eine Verneinung anzuzeigen oder um auszudrücken, dass der/die Sprecher/-in der Unterhaltung nicht folgt). Im folgenden Teil des Textes werden einige spezifische Funktionen und Verwendungen einiger dieser Marker, die interessant zur Analyse sind, näher betrachtet.

Aber - dieser PM wird häufig als adversativer Diskursmarker in Gesprächsakten des Widerspruchs verwendet. Plaziert in der zweiten Adjazenzpaarung, impliziert er direkten Widerspruch und eine oppositionsfähige Haltung. *Aber* verstärkt den Widerspruch und betont das Selbstvertrauen, die Durchsetzungsfähigkeit und die Beharrlichkeit des/der Sprecher/s-in. In Verbindung mit bestimmten linguistischen Mitteln kann dieses Wort zu einer emotionalen Steigerung der Äußerung beitragen. *Aber* kann durch zusätzliche Elemente wie Wiederholung eines Schlüsselwortes, adversativen Imperativ, persönlichen Namen oder andere Diskursmarker verstärkt werden, um seine Bedeutung zu betonen. Zum Beispiel: *Aber warte!, Aber, guck mal/hör zu/warte mal; Aber, Peter!* oder *Aber gut!*
Da *aber* offensichtlich einer der stärksten Verstärker ist, verwenden manchmal mazedonische Studierende mildernde Mittel, um ihre Äußerungen abzuschwächen. Selbst dann dominieren die Beharrlichkeit und Durchsetzungsfähigkeit des/der Sprecher/s-in die Äußerung. *Aber* bezieht sich nicht immer auf die vorherige Adjazenzäußerung. Im Gegenteil, der/die Sprecher/-in kann sogar die vorherige Äußerung als möglich anerkennen. Es ist offensichtlich, dass der semantische und pragmatische Bereich von *aber* viel breiter ist, als hier dargestellt. Manchmal ist seine Bedeutung nicht mit seiner grundlegenden Bedeutung des Ausdrucks von Kontrast und Unterschied verbunden, sondern wird aus seiner funktionellen Rolle innerhalb von Gesprächen abgeleitet. In diesem Artikel konzentrieren sich die Autoren jedoch nur auf die Verwendung von *aber* in Gesprächsakten des Widerspruchs.

Ich meine - wird seltener von den MDL verwendet und gehört zu der Gruppe der pragmatischen Marker mit geringer Häufigkeit unter Deutschlernenden mit 35 Auftritten. *Ich meine* wird häufig als pragmatischer Marker verwendet, um anzudeuten, dass der/die Sprecher/-in seine/ihre Meinung oder Einschätzung über die Aussage mitteilen möchte. Es wird oft verwendet, um die Aufmerksamkeit des Gesprächspartners auf das zu lenken, was Sprecher/-in sagen möchte, und um zu verdeutlichen, dass die Aussage, die er/sie macht, wichtig ist. In manchen Fällen wird *ich meine* auch verwendet, um diejenige Absicht des/der Sprecher/s-in zu verdeutlichen, dass er/sie etwas präziser oder genauer ausdrücken möchte. Zum Beispiel: *Ich meine, ich habe es dir schon einmal gesagt*. Hier wird *ich meine* verwendet, um zu äußern, dass Sprecher/-in sicher ist, dass er/sie etwas schon einmal gesagt hat, und dass er/sie jetzt versucht, seine/ihre Meinung genauer auszudrücken. Insgesamt kann *ich meine* als pragmatischer Marker verwendet werden, um die Absicht des/der Sprecher/s-in zu verdeutlichen, seine/ihre subjektive Einschätzung einer Angelegenheit oder seine/ihre persönliche Bewertung einer Situation auszudrücken, oder um zu verdeutlichen, dass er/sie etwas präziser und genauer ausdrücken möchte. Die Bedeutung hängt immer vom Kontext ab.
Es gibt mehrere Anmerkungen zu den obigen Ergebnissen, die es zu beachten gilt. Frühere Forschungen zeigen auch eine hohe Häufigkeit von *ich denke* in der Interlanguage von Fremdsprachenstudierenden. *Ich denke* kann sowohl ein milderndes als auch ein intensivierendes Mittel sein und manchmal ist es schwierig, seine Funktion zu bestimmen. Seine Verwendung in der gesprochenen Sprache deutet darauf hin, dass seine Rolle darin besteht, die linguistische

Höflichkeit, das Maß an Sicherheit der betroffenen Propositionen und die epistemische Haltung der Diskurs-Teilnehmer zu markieren.

Obwohl die Häufigkeit von *ich denke* in der Interimsprache von MDL erwartet wurde, wurde die Häufigkeit von *sagen* überraschend. Die Gesamtzahl der Auftritte von *sagen* betrug 56, wovon 42 regelmäßige Verben waren. Von den restlichen 14 waren 4 im Ausdruck *sozusagen*. Der Rest wurde in verschiedenen Strukturen verwendet: *Ich sage dir*; *Ich möchte sagen; Ich möchte nur sagen; Ich will sagen; Ich würde gerne sagen; Ich würde sagen; Ich muss sagen; Ich kann sagen; und Ich könnte sagen*. Die Deutschlernende verwenden alle mazedonische Pendants und ihre Verwendung im Korpus könnte als Fall von Sprachübertragung betrachtet werden. *Sozusagen* wird oft als pragmatischer Marker verwendet, um anzudeuten, dass etwas metaphorisch oder nicht ganz wörtlich gemeint ist. Es wird verwendet, um zu zeigen, dass der/die Sprecher/-in die Aussage nicht vollständig ernst meint oder um zu verdeutlichen, dass er/sie sich nicht sicher ist, ob die Worte, die er/sie benutzt, die genaue Bedeutung des Konzepts oder der Idee, die er/sie ausdrücken möchte, treffend beschreiben. Zum Beispiel: *Er ist sozusagen der Boss in seinem Büro*. Hier wird *sozusagen* verwendet, um anzudeuten, dass die Person in Frage nicht wirklich der Boss ist, sondern dass sie eine ähnliche Rolle oder Machtposition hat. Oder: *Das Wetter heute ist sozusagen katastrophal*. Hier wird *sozusagen* verwendet, um zu betonen, dass das Wetter wirklich schlecht ist, aber nicht wirklich katastrophal. Insgesamt kann *sozusagen* als pragmatischer Marker verwendet werden, um zu verdeutlichen, dass etwas nicht wörtlich gemeint ist oder um diejenige Absicht des/der Sprecher/s-in zu vermitteln, dass eine Aussage nicht vollständig ernst gemeint ist.

Die Auftritte von *Ich meine, eigentlich* und *sozusagen* werden auch in Tabelle 1 dargestellt. Im analysierten Korpus gehören sie zu der Gruppe mit geringer Häufigkeit. Was *gut* betrifft, gab es 66 Auftritte, mit unterschiedlichen Funktionen. *Gut* kommt in verschiedenen Kontexten vor. Eine mögliche Funktion ist, als Ausdruck der Zustimmung oder Zufriedenheit zu dienen. Zum Beispiel: *Gut, ich verstehe es; Gut, Danke. Gut* wurde von unseren MDLn auch verwendet, um die Qualität oder Wirksamkeit von etwas zu beschreiben. Zum Beispiel: *Das war wirklich gut*; *Das war eine gute Reise.* In manchen Fällen wurde *gut* auch als Ausdruck der Erleichterung oder des Verständnisses verwendet. Zum Beispiel: *Oh gut, ich habe es nicht vergessen*. Insgesamt gab es viele verschiedene Möglichkeiten, wie *gut* als pragmatischer Marker in einem Text oder einer Rede verwendet werden kann. Aber, die Bedeutung hängt immer vom Kontext ab.

Ein weiteres häufig vorkommendes Element im Korpus ist *wie*. Es tritt im Korpus häufiger auf als andere Marker. Der pragmatische Marker *wie* wurde von vielen Autoren ausführlich untersucht (Müller, 2005; Hellerman & Vergun, 2007; Beeching, 2016). Sie fanden heraus, dass *wie* signifikant häufiger zwischen Freunden als zwischen Fremden auftrat. Seine Häufigkeit ist bei Jugendlichen am höchsten und nimmt mit dem Alter ab. Das könnte einer der Gründe sein, warum es in analysiertem Korpus häufiger ist. Alle Teilnehmer in diesem Projekt waren junge Erwachsene, die eine Tendenz hatten, sich mit Gleichaltrigen, die ihre Muttersprache sprechen, zu identifizieren. Es wurden mehrere pragmatische Funktionen für *wie* identifiziert: ein Fokus-Marker, der eine Suche nach einem geeigneten Ausdruck anzeigt, eine ungefähre Anzahl oder Menge markiert, ein

Beispiel oder eine Erklärung einführt und ein Quotativ. Die unten stehenden Beispiele veranschaulichen diese Funktionen.

(1) Okay, aber sie sind gefährlich, sie greifen *wie* Leute an, sie greifen Kinder an…

(2) Ähm... ähm... Sagen wir mal, *wie* ... ähm... Es wäre ... ein bescheidenes Unterkunft... ähm... ein kleines Gebäude.

(3) Sie haben tatsächlich eine Situation, sie haben ähm, *wie* ähm, einen Monat Zeit, um dort wegzukommen.

(4) Könnte sie nicht in einem Haus um Hilfe schreien oder so? Nein, ich denke, *wie*… das ist inszeniert.

(5) Er würde sich nicht um ihn kümmern, […], weil er nicht so viel Geld hat, um zu bezahlen, warum würdest du überhaupt einen Hund haben, *wie, wie*… wenn du dich nicht um ihn kümmern würdest? Ich denke, das ist Unsinn […].

(6) Als Einführung von Erklärungen oder Erläuterungen: "*Wie* du vielleicht weißt, …."

(7) Als Vergleich: "Dieser Mann ist *wie* ein … *wie* ein … […]."

(8) Als Einleitung von Zitaten: "*Wie* er sagte: '….'. "

(9) Als Einleitung von Beispielen: "*Wie* du in unserem täglichen Leben sehen könntest, …."

(10) Als Überleitung zu einem neuen Thema: "*Wie* ich schon erwähnt habe, …."

Der Marker *wie* ist ein Ausdruck, der in verschiedenen Kontexten verwendet werden kann. Eine mögliche Verwendung von *wie* als pragmatischer Marker ist als Einleitung einer Frage, um nach der Meinung oder Einschätzung des Gesprächspartners zu fragen. Zum Beispiel: *Wieso? Wieso denn nicht?*

Wie kann auch als Ausdruck der Vergleichbarkeit oder Ähnlichkeit verwendet werden. Zum Beispiel: *Er ist wie ein Bruder für mich*. In manchen Fällen wird *wie* auch als Ausdruck der Irritation oder Verwirrung verwendet. Zum Beispiel: *Wie konntest du das nur tun?* Insgesamt gibt es viele verschiedene Möglichkeiten, auf welche Weise *wie* als pragmatischer Marker in einem Text oder einer Rede verwendet werden kann. Die Bedeutung hängt immer vom Kontext ab.

5. Schlussfolgerung

Pragmatische Marker sind Wörter oder Ausdrücke, die in einem Text oder einer Rede dazu dienen, die Absichten oder Haltungen des/der Sprecher/s-in oder Schreiber/s-in zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Sie können verwendet werden, um Fragen zu stellen, Vergleiche anzustellen, Emotionen auszudrücken oder andere Absichten zu verfolgen. Die Bedeutung von pragmatischen Markern hängt immer vom Kontext ab. Einige Beispiele für pragmatische Marker, die in analysiertem Korpus häufig vorkommen, sind: *wie, aber, doch, eigentlich, denn* u.a.

Das Ziel dieser Studie ist es zu zeigen, dass Deutschlernende pragmatische Marker häufiger verwenden, als man erwartet hätte. Einige sind häufiger im Korpus zu finden, wie: *aber*, *Ich denke* und *wie*. Ein weiteres erkennbares Resultat dieser Studie ist die Wichtigkeit der Untersuchung von pragmatischen Markern. Es geht nicht nur um die Häufigkeit, sondern auch darum, herauszufinden, wie sie von Deutschlernenden verwendet werden und was die Unterschiede in ihrer Verwendung zwischen Muttersprachlern und Deutschlernenden verursacht. Die Autoren dieses Beitrags sind der festen Überzeugung, dass durch das Studium

von pragmatischen Markern mehr darüber gelernt werden kann, wie Deutschlernende die Fremdsprache zu kommunikativen Zwecken nutzen und welche Probleme sie bei der Strukturierung und dem Managen von Gesprächen haben.
Es ist wichtig, diese Marker zu studieren, um mehr über die Verwendung von Sprache durch Deutschlernende zu erfahren. Das Studium von pragmatischen Markern hat Auswirkungen auf das Lehren und Lernen, da deren unangemessene Verwendung zu Missverständnissen, Schwierigkeiten bei der zusammenhängenden Interpretation und Beeinträchtigungen von zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen führen kann. Sie können in verschiedenen Kontexten verwendet werden, z.B. um Fragen zu stellen, Vergleiche anzustellen, oder andere Ziele zu erreichen. Da ihre Verwendung für die Bedeutung und den Sinn einer Aussage von großer Wichtigkeit ist, ist es angebracht, dass Lernende sie angemessen verwenden, um Missverständnisse und Schwierigkeiten in der Kommunikation zu vermeiden.

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ITALIANO LINGUA TERZA. APPRENDERE E INSEGNARE L'ITALIANO SPECIALISTICO: IL CASO DEL LINGUAGGIO MEDICO

ITALIAN AS A THIRD LANGUAGE. LEARNING AND TEACHING ITALIAN FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES: THE CASE OF ITALIAN FOR MEDICINE

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Abstract. *In the present paper the issue of teaching medical language in the context of learning Italian as LS will be analysed. The first part of the article consists of general notes on different definitions of the Italian for specific purposes, as well as different aspects of teaching process (teaching materials, time, language abilities in the field of Language for Specific Purposes). The second part of a practical nature analyses the aspect of how the levels of knowledge of the Italian language are interconnected with the ability to understand specialized texts. For the purposes of the research, a study was conducted on a group of LS Italian learners with different linguistic abilities, as well as on a group of native speakers. A short questionnaire of 10 gradually difficult questions was submitted to the heterogeneous group of Italian speakers and LS Italian learners. It was assumed that native speakers would answer more questions correctly. It's interesting to see though, that the results of the research disproved the initial hypothesis.*

Keywords: Italian for Medical Purpose; Language for Specific Purposes; language skills

1. Linguaggio specialistico

1.1. Caratteristica

Quando si può affermare con certezza di conoscere una lingua straniera? Quando invece si può sostenere senza ombra di dubbio di conoscere un linguaggio specialistico? È una banalità asserire che la conoscenza approfondita di una lingua straniera (ma anche della propria) non comporta un'immediata comprensione del linguaggio specialistico. Nonostante non esista una definizione di un'alta competenza linguistica nel caso dei linguaggi specialistici, in linea generale si può dire che

> Though distinguished proficiency is described differently for each skill level, across the board it is characterized by very low occurrences of errors, the ability to process and synthesize complex information effectively and quickly, high levels of

control and mastery, superior problem-solving abilities and highly sophisticated performance (Eaton 2012: 2).

Una parziale risposta alla prima domanda è offerta dal *Quadro comune europeo di riferimento per le lingue* in cui la categorizzazione delle abilità linguistiche indubbiamente è facilitata dalla "griglia concettuale" ivi inclusa. Per quanto riguarda la seconda domanda invece, la risposta non è poi così tanto immediata. Nella griglia di autovalutazione della conoscenza della lingua straniera il concetto del linguaggio specialistico compare solo a partire dal livello B2, però la sua comprensione è condizionata dall'argomento che debba essere "relativamente familiare". Per quanto concerne i livelli C1-C2 scompare perfino questa condizione di familiarità:

Tabella. 1. *Linguaggi specialistici secondo il QCER*

	comprensione – lettura	comprensione – ascolto	produzione scritta
livello C1	Riesco a capire articoli specialistici e istruzioni tecniche piuttosto lunghe, anche quando non appartengono al mio settore.	Riesco a capire un discorso lungo anche se non è chiaramente strutturato e le relazioni non vengono segnalate, ma restano implicite.	Riesco a scrivere lettere, saggi e relazioni, esponendo argomenti complessi, evidenziando i punti che ritengo salienti.
livello C2	Riesco a capire con facilità praticamente tutte le forme di lingua scritta inclusi i testi teorici, strutturalmente o linguisticamente complessi, quali manuali, articoli specialistici e opere letterarie.	Non ho alcuna difficoltà a capire qualsiasi tipo di lingua parlata, sia dal vivo sia trasmessa.	Riesco a scrivere riassunti e recensioni di opere letterarie e di testi specialistici.

Seppure sia stata sfatata in più occasioni la convinzione che il livello avanzato corrisponda a quello del madrelingua (Balboni, 2008, p. 63), è abbastanza radicato quel luogo comune che idealizza indiscriminatamente il parlante nativo modello, nonostante le capacità linguistiche varino anche tra i parlante nativi e siano altamente condizionate tra l'altro da tali fattori quali età, scolarizzazione e istruzione.

Il livello di padronanza della lingua propria e straniera è raggiungibile insieme allo sviluppo di generali e particolari nozioni cognitive. In altre parole, se l'apprendente non ha raggiunto un alto livello di competenza linguistica nella propria lingua, con poca probabilità sarà in grado di farlo in qualunque altra lingua straniera, visto il mancato sviluppo del sapere generale e particolare. Infine la comprensione della lingua si basa non solo sulla competenza comunicativa, bensì è un insieme di conoscenze generali sul mondo, processi cognitivi e logici, nonché capacità socio-pragmatiche e culturali:

> Chi impara una lingua straniera, quando viene a contatto con frammenti di produzione linguistica reale si accorge che in ogni manifestazione della L2 è incorporato un insieme (spesso un sistema) di valori, comportamenti, procedure altrettanto peculiari quanto le regole grammaticali: frames, script, norme conversazionali, regole gestuali e prossemiche universalmente condivise nella L2/C2 ma estranee alla L1/C1. In questo caso, piuttosto che di "competenza sociolinguistica" è più corretto parlare di "competenza socio-pragmatica e culturale" (Sobrero, Miglietta, 2011, p. 251).

Descrivere con criteri certi la competenza linguistica pare un compito arduo perché vi sono troppe variabili, inoltre manca un unico modello linguistico di riferimento. C'è chi ha cercato di quantificare la capacità linguistica partendo da un dato certo, ossia dalla conoscenza del numero di parole conosciute dal parlante, l'uso delle quali richiede progressivo sviluppo di strutture grammaticali. Le ricerche però non hanno sortito un effetto sperato, poiché si è notato subito che le capacità lessicali sono interconnesse con altri fattori linguistici:

> (…) vocabulary knowledge is known to be a multidimensional construct (Daller et al. 2007; Meara 2009; Read 2004) which should, therefore, not simply be regarded as a quantitative process (in terms of expansion of one's vocabulary size) but also be considered from a qualitative point of view (in terms of vocabulary depth, e.g. knowledge of different word meanings, collocations, pragmatic rules) (Benigno, de Jong, 2019, p. 8).

Se ciò fosse valido anche nel campo dei linguaggi specialistici, allora anche nel corso del loro apprendimento non si tratterrebbe solo di una meccanica memorizzazione di termini specialistici, bensì di uno sviluppo multidimensionale delle capacità linguistiche, pragmatiche e socio-culturali.

1.2. Livello di conoscenza del linguaggio specialistico

È altrettanto difficoltoso il tentativo di tracciare una linea di demarcazione tra le abilità linguistiche e il livello di conoscenza del linguaggio specialistico. Certo è però che queste due realtà linguistiche, quella della lingua straniera e del linguaggio specialistico, si penetrano. Probabilmente è questo il principale motivo per cui è tanto intricata la questione dell'apprendimento di entrambe: "In other words, LSP (or ESP) incorporates both linguistics and content area knowledge that is specific to a particular context based on the needs of the learners" (Trace, Hudson, Brown, 2015, p. 3). L'italiano della medicina rientra nell'ambito delle "varietà della lingue utilizzate in settori specifici della vita sociale e professionale" (Cortelazzo 1994: 7), quantunque, a seconda dell'ottica assunta nella ricerca, mutino sia le definizioni che le denominazioni delle stesse:

> (…) con nomi diversi e non sempre sinonimi: *lingue speciali* (a partire, almeno, da Devoto 1938a, b), con la variante *linguaggi speciali* (…) *sottocodice* (dardano 1973; Berruto 1974);

> *linguaggio settoriale* (oggi prevalente nell'uso, anche nella variante *linguaggio specialistico-settoriale* (…) *tecnoletto* (Wandruszka/Paccagnella 1974); *microlingua* (Balboni 1982) (Cortelazzo 1994: 7).

Siccome desideriamo sottoporre all'attenzione la questione del linguaggio specialistico dal punto di vista dell'apprendimento, ci sembra di seconda importanza la questione della nomenclatura, perciò ci atterremo al termine generico "linguaggio specialistico" intendendo in questa sede l'italiano della medicina. Pare invece importante notare che in tutti i casi in cui si parla del linguaggio specialistico, esso viene considerato una realtà a sé stante, quasi come se fosse avulsa dalla realtà linguistica circostante. Eppure ogni parlante con graduale frequenza e abilità adopera elementi di quello che viene chiamato linguaggio specialistico. Tanto è vero che anche nel corso dell'apprendimento dell'italiano L2/LS, l'apprendente entra in contatto con strutture e lessico classificato come specialistico, per esempio:

Tabella 2. *Esempi di linguaggio medico a diversi livelli dell'apprendimento della lingua italiana*

livello di competenza linguistica	
A1-A2	Dottoressa: Venga, si sieda sul lettino che la visito. Allora le fa male sempre o solo quando muove il collo. Paziente: No, solo quando muovo il collo, quando cerco di girare la testa… Dottoressa: Proviamo… se le tocco qui sente dolore? Paziente: Sì, abbastanza. Dottoressa: Allora è meglio fare una radiografia. (Fratter, Troncarelli, 2006, p. 197).
B1-B2	Infermiera: Mi dica signora. Paziente: Vorrei sapere perché il dottore non mi ha dato le solite medicine. Infermiera: Mi lasci vedere. Ah, ecco, signora, guardi: le medicine sono le stesse, è cambiata solo la confezione. Paziente: No, no, queste non vanno bene. Da quando le prendo, ho molti fastidi. (…) Ecco dottore, non so come spiegare alla signora che il farmaco che lei prende solitamente è lo stesso, nonostante la confezione sia cambiata. (Chiuchiù, 2016, p. 88-89).
C1-C2	Sempre attraverso la Fda si è appreso che molti consumatori americani, avendo richiesto l'invio dei prodotti a base di diversi psicofarmaci, hanno tutti ricevuto una preparazione che conteneva come principio attivo l'aloperidolo. Questo ritrovato è da tempo un farmaco generico: viene impiegato per il trattamento delle forme schizofreniche e non è privo di effetti collaterali anche gravi. I pazienti americani che hanno ricevuto questo farmaco, invece di quello richiesto, hanno avuto problemi seri: difficoltà di

	respirazione, spasmi e rigidità muscolari nonché tremori. (Alessandroni, Marasco, Melani, Rondoni, 2008, p. 32).

Il linguaggio specialistico in misura variabile fa parte della vita quotidiana di ogni parlante. Invece ciò che a livello avanzato della conoscenza della lingua comporta maggiori problemi nell'uso disinvolto di certe strutture lessicali e grammaticali non è la competenza linguistica, bensì la competenza cognitiva. In altre parole, nell'apprendimento e nello studio del linguaggio specialistico una data lingua è solo un mezzo per esprimere contenuti. Qualora manchino contenuti, è lacunosa o assente la capacità linguistica in un certo ambito. Nell'insegnamento di ogni lingua straniera non si apprendono meri costrutti linguistici, parimenti nell'apprendimento del linguaggio specialistico la lingua è solo una chiave per conoscere e descrivere una data realtà.

2. L'insegnamento della lingua straniera e dei linguaggi specialistici

2.1. Tempo

L'obiettivo dell'apprendimento del linguaggio specialistico è quello di raggiungere un livello di padronanza che permetterà un uso fluente della lingua nell'ambito professionale. Lo sviluppo delle abilità linguistiche va accompagnato dall'acquisizione di altre capacità specifiche che si possono sintetizzare come particolari competenze ricettive e produttive scritte e orali, nonché quelle analitiche utili per comprendere anche significati impliciti:

> People who developed expertise in particular areas are, by definition, able to think effectively about problems in those areas… experts have acquired extensive knowledge that affects what they notice and how they organize, represent, and interpret information in their environment. This, in turn, affects their abilities to remember, reason, and solve problems (Bransford et al., 1999, p. 31).

Nel contesto dei linguaggi specialistici, spesso si indica il lessico come uno dei principali fattori determinanti una corretta conoscenza del linguaggio (Gotti 1992: 240-256), dimenticando che non è un solo elemento ad assicurare una fluente comunicazione: «chi parla in lingua straniera focalizza l'attenzione sulla morfosintassi e sul lessico, ma altre componenti della competenza linguistica vengono trascurate e possono generare nell'interlocutore un'immagine non voluta di aggressività, di inconcludenza, di sprezzo» (Balboni 2000: 32). Alte capacità linguistiche nel settore medico vanno perciò abbinate alle abilità socio-culturali e pragmatiche che possano favorire un'attiva e scorrevole partecipazione allo scambio linguistico tra i parlanti. Essendo le capacità culturali e pragmatiche difficili da misurare l'attenzione si sposta su un elemento facilmente quantificabile, ossia sulla terminologia accostata all'apprendimento di nozioni grammaticali. Però come abbiamo appena accennato il fattore quantitativo (numero di vocaboli conosciuti) non si traduce in quello qualitativo. È vero invece che tanto nel caso

dell'apprendimento delle lingue straniere che dei linguaggi specialistici occorre un consistente numero di ore durante le quali diventi raggiungibile l'obbiettivo di conoscere una lingua a fondo. Soventemente però nella prassi dell'insegnante di linguaggi specialistici quest'analogia non viene rispettata. In questo secondo caso infatti non si parla mai né di livelli di padronanza del linguaggio specialistico, tanto meno si applica il meccanismo di apprendimento visto come un processo a lungo termine.
Gli studiosi dell'insegnamento di lingue straniere sono d'accordo sul fatto che è impossibile raggiungere una soddisfacente conoscenza di una lingua straniera senza un adeguato numero di ore didattiche: "Learning a second language for 95 hours per year for six years will not lead to functional bilingualism and fluency in the second language. Expectations must be realistic" (Archibald et al., 2006, p. 3). Sulla scia di queste osservazioni alcuni studiosi della materia propongono 10.000 ore di apprendimento di una lingua straniera suddivisi in lezioni in classe accompagnate da attività fuori dal contesto scolastico (Eaton, 2012). Sebbene nello studio citato si consideri il caso della lingua inglese L2 in una comunità canadese, quindi con maggiori probabilità di interazioni quotidiane con questa lingua, il numero di ore didattiche indispensabili pare comunque superiore a qualunque curriculum proposto e accessibile agli apprendenti di linguaggi specialistici. Mettendo in pratica queste considerazioni nel campo dell'insegnamento e dell'apprendimento dei linguaggi specialistici, si dovrebbe assicurare un numero minimo di ore durante le quali fosse realistico conoscere almeno nozioni basilari del linguaggio specialistico. Siccome i linguaggi specialistici insegnati alle facoltà di lingue vengono in genere proposti in corsi, il numero effettivo di ore di insegnamento è perciò molto limitato. Di conseguenza per gli apprendenti di linguaggi specialistici è appena possibile acquisire una certa dimestichezza con un dato linguaggio. È indiscutibile che non ci si possa permettere di allargare a dismisura l'offerta formativa, ma sarebbe utile applicare gli stessi criteri vigenti nell'insegnamento delle lingue straniere anche all'apprendimento di linguaggi specialistici. Una mappatura approssimativa di livelli di specializzazione di qualunque linguaggio specialistico, nonché graduali difficoltà di apprendimento dello stesso potrebbero così costituire un punto di riferimento sia per gli insegnanti che per gli apprendenti.

2.2. Materiali

Siccome la comprensione del linguaggio medico è un requisito indispensabile per poter orientarsi nel mondo delle scienze mediche, con tale obiettivo vengono proposti diversi manuali sul linguaggio medico indirizzato ai futuri professionisti dell'area medico-sanitaria. Diversi autori dell'area germanofona e anglofona sembrano più attenti alla questione dell'insegnamento del linguaggio medico (Lippert-Burmester, Lippert, 2014; Riecke, 2012; Michler, Denedum, 2013; Karenberg, 2007; Fangerau et al., 2014; Moisio, Moisio, 2008, Canfield Willis, 2006, Chabner, 2011[a b], 2015; Tannis, Davis, 2010; Nath, 2017; Walker-Esbaugh, McCarthy, Spark 1977). Nel caso del linguaggio medico italiano una riflessione linguistica è di duplice natura. Da una parte le pubblicazioni in merito riguardano aspetti basilari, proposti agli apprendenti dell'italiano come lingua straniera, per cui i testi e le nozioni non vanno oltre certi livelli di conoscenza della lingua straniera (Ignone, Santeusanio, 2011, Forapani, 2004, 2014)[7], dall'altra parte si possono citare pubblicazioni altamente specialistiche in cui prevalgono aspetti linguistici (lessicali, semantici, etimologici, diacronici, contrastivi ecc.) privi però di uno sguardo sulla dimensione pratica del linguaggio specialistico (Dardano, 1994; Grossman, Rainer, 2004; Gualdo, Telve, 2011). Solide basi teoriche sulla natura del linguaggio specialistico e l'abilità ad analizzare il discorso specialistico non vanno scambiate con attive competenze linguistiche indispensabili in una reale situazione comunicativa. Pare che la natura dei materiali didattici accessibili agli apprendenti e agli insegnanti sia determinata dello stato attuale della consapevolezza nell'ambito dell'insegnamento dell'italiano della medicina. A migliorare la situazione non giovano perplessità irrisolte sulla natura dei linguaggi specialistici e sul loro insegnamento: "Le opzioni e le discussioni sulla didattica dei linguaggi specialistici, almeno quella italiana, non stabilisce i metodi ben definiti e non precisa il contenuto dei corsi; non viene risolta la questione quali concetti privilegiare e in quale misura; focalizzare sull'aspetto contenutistico o linguistico" (Szpingier, 2015, p. 57).

Ciò che colpisce è appunto questo divario, in quanto il linguaggio specialistico viene spesso percepito disgiuntamente dalle capacità linguistiche e cognitive degli apprendenti. Aspetti da tenere in considerazione sono invece sia le capacità linguistiche di partenza dell'apprendente sia le nozioni specialistiche già possedute. Di saliente importanza sono anche i destinatari del corso e di conseguenza i materiali specialistici destinati all'apprendimento. Una sola definizione non potrà mai racchiudere la complessità dell'essere umano, e così non esiste un apprendente modello, nondimeno si possono distinguere due macrogruppi di apprendenti e conseguentemente i loro bisogni. I contenuti che dal punto di vista linguistico sembreranno troppo basilari al laureato in lingue e aspirante traduttore/interprete o mediatore linguistico, non lo saranno per un operatore del settore sanitario per motivi professionali interessato ad apprendere la lingua italiana. E *vice versa*: materiali e corsi del linguaggio medico potrebbero risultare troppo difficili per chi non possiede nozioni in materia.

Non bisogna tralasciare la figura dell'insegnante interposto al confine di due materie: la lingua straniera e la scienza, due entità che, come abbiamo segnalato, si condizionano a vicenda. Alcuni studiosi (Dudley-Evans, St John, 1998, p. 13-17) hanno addirittura postulato di sostituire l'insegnante del linguaggio specialistico con la figura del professionista, spostando il baricentro non verso la lingua bensì verso la materia insegnata. Non si può certo dare torto a chi sostiene che solo gli specialisti di un dato settore della scienza siano in grado di insegnare efficacemente la lingua e la materia. Alla fine attraverso l'insegnamento della propria materia si trasmettono anche nozioni linguistiche:

[7] Per uno studio approfondito dei materiali didattici utili nell'apprendimento della lingua della medicina in L2 si veda Polita 2013: 347-365.

> Complessivamente, la didattica dei linguaggi specialistici viene spesso considerata come ponte fra la didattica delle lingue straniere – che pone l'attenzione sugli aspetti relativi alla competenza comunicativa in situazioni quotidiane, in cui la presenza di comunicazione specialistica serve da spunto per discussioni e argomentazioni – e la didattica disciplinare. Questa considerazione comporta il rischio di una perdita di identità e di una continua necessità di dichiararsi parte di una delle due discipline (Cavagnoli, 2007, p. 44).

D'altra parte però anche gli stessi studiosi della difficile materia qual è la medicina riconoscono il bisogno di soffermarsi su particolari questioni linguistiche, consapevoli che alla base della scienza poggia la lingua con tutti i suoi meccanismi. Imparare il significato dei termini come *acondroplasia*, *peritoneale*, *transesofageo* senza apprendere le logiche leggi linguistiche che stanno alla base di questi concetti non preclude una loro corretta comprensione, tuttavia favorisce il processo mnemonico e il futuro apprendimento. Inoltre bisogna ribadire che la difficoltà lessicale non consiste solo nei tecnicismi veri e propri (denominati tecnicismi specifici, TS), anzi pare più difficoltosa a causa di tecnicismi collaterali (TC) a cui spesso ricorrono gli specialisti:

> I TC hanno innanzitutto una funzione stilistica e non referenziale come i TS. I TS sono obbligatori in quanto indispensabili per garantire una comunicazione esatta ed adeguata ai contenuti, mentre i TC sono facoltativi nel senso che, pur contribuendo a caratterizzare linguisticamente il testo nel suo complesso, non sono necessari alla corretta trasmissione dei contenuti (Puato, 2020, p. 646).

Una soluzione ottimale sarebbe infatti quella di creare un tandem: insegnante di lingua e specialista, poiché senza negare a nessuno le proprie competenze nel settore, si creerebbe un ambiente favorevole allo studio della lingua straniera nel contesto di una scienza specifica:

> Il professionista come collaboratore – questo ruolo dell'insegnante consisterebbe, nel caso di un'organizzazione ideale del corso, in una sua collaborazione con i veri professionisti del campo scientifico-professionale. In questo reciproco scambio di esperienze, gli esperti provvederebbero a fornire un'approfondita analisi del testo dal punto di vista del contenuto specifico mentre l'insegnante, avvalendosi del loro aiuto, potrebbe integrare tali conoscenze nel suo programma e nelle attività linguistiche del corso (Drljević, 2019, p. 218).

L'insegnante del linguaggio specialistico LS sta al bivio di queste diverse aspettative del suo pubblico, e anche delle proprie. Per soddisfarle occorrerebbe cambiare l'ottica di pensare al linguaggio specialistico come ad una coronazione delle capacità linguistiche da una parte, un inarrivabile miraggio per gli apprendenti della lingua straniera a livello elementare. Il linguaggio specialistico è una realtà a sé stante, certamente radicata nella lingua, la conoscenza della quale non comporta un'automatica capacità di usarle entrambe con la stessa maestria.

2.3. Livelli del linguaggio specialistico

Il linguaggio specialistico raramente viene considerato alla pari di qualunque altra lingua con le sue proprie leggi e difficoltà graduali. Eppure i linguisti nelle analisi del linguaggio specialistico segnalano diverse situazioni comunicative in cui esso può apparire, indicandone anche varianti e registri:

> Un esauriente studio della formazione delle parole in ambito medico – e, più in generale, lo studio del linguaggio medico contemporaneo – dovrebbe fondarsi essenzialmente su cinque tipologie testuali: (a) l'uso orale dei medici, verificato nelle interazioni tra colleghi e nel colloquio con i pazienti; (b) l'uso scritto desumibile da atti ufficiali (cartelle cliniche, referti autoptici, relazioni medico-legali ecc.); c) la lingua dei manuali destinati a studenti di medicina o a laureati perfezionandi; d) gli articoli scientifici; e) i dizionari specializzati (Grossman, Rainer, 2004, p. 585).

A onor del vero, la suddivisione proposta non è del tutto meditata in quanto le due categorie (uso orale e uso scritto), includono già le tre successive. Inoltre, l'uso orale del linguaggio medico indistintamente categorizzato come strumento di comunicazione tra medici e medico-paziente è ben lungi dalla realtà linguistica. Nel linguaggio medico conta maggiormente la specializzazione, mentre di seconda importanza sembrano le tipologie testuali. La macro categoria etichettata come linguaggio medico include sottocategorie più disparate, dalla genetica molecolare, alla chirurgia pediatrica, alla medicina legale, quest'ultima resa ulteriormente difficile dalla commistione di un ulteriore linguaggio specialistico. Qualunque sia l'ambito della medicina trattato, è vero che vi si possono distinguere dei tratti distintivi, come negli esempi seguenti:

Tabella. 3. *Livelli di specializzazione del linguaggio medico*

TESTO A. specializzazione bassa	Non prenda il farmaco: se è allergico all'acido acetilsalicilico, all'acido ascorbico, ad altri analgesici (antidolorifici) / antipiretici (antifebbrili) / farmaci antinfiammatori non steroidei (FANS) o ad uno qualsiasi degli altri componenti di questo medicinale (elencati al paragrafo 6); se soffre di ulcera gastroduodenale (ulcera allo stomaco o alla prima parte dell'intestino); se soffre di diatesi emorragica (tendenza al sanguinamento); se soffre di grave insufficienza renale (ridotta funzionalità dei reni) o epatica (del fegato) o cardiaca (del cuore); se soffre di deficit del glucosio-6-fosfato deidrogenasi (enzima la cui assenza, geneticamente determinata, comporta una malattia caratterizzata da ridotta sopravvivenza dei globuli rossi); se sta già assumendo il metotrexato (a dosi di 15 mg/settimana o più).
TESTO B. specializzazione media	Il paziente giunge alla nostra osservazione in seguito a caduta dall'impalcatura riportando trauma cranico commotivo. Per tale motivo si è recato in PS dove ha eseguito TC encefalo che ha evidenziato una emorragia sub aracnoidea bilateralmente in sede frontale, frattura mastoide dell'osso temporale di sinistra e pneumoencefalo. Eseguito teleconsulto NCH. Consigliato ricovero per osservazione e valutazione ORL. Allo stato il pz è vigile. Ben orientato nel tempo e nello spazio.
TESTO C. specializzazione alta	TC di ristadiazione (dopo 10° sec. Protocollo Folox 4 + panitumamab): non lesioni secondarie del parenchima polmonare; invariato il minuto esito nodulare in sede apicale sinistra. Rispetto al precedente esame, attualmente si osserva lesione secondaria in S4a di circa 13 mm ed altra in S8 di 25 mm. Altra piccola lesione ipodensa di 7 mm in S8. Non evidenti altre lesioni focali epatiche.

Nonostante i tesi appartengano a diverse tipologie testuali (foglietto illustrativo nel caso del testo A, referti medici nel caso dei testi B e C), li accomuna il linguaggio medico dalla difficoltà bassa a quella media e alta.
Nel caso del testo A, destinato al paziente, quindi presumibilmente a una persona a cui non viene richiesta la conoscenza del linguaggio specialistico, si possono indicare alcune caratteristiche:

- è mantenuta una lineare struttura della frase: per una facile comprensione del testo non viene omesso nessuno dei suoi elementi, anche se ciò richiede costanti ripetizioni,
- le frasi sono complete di ogni elemento morfologico (preposizioni, preposizioni articolate, articoli, ecc.),

- il lessico sembra adeguato a un pubblico vario con diverso grado di familiarità con termini specialistici;
- vengono proposti termini equivalenti in forma di definizione o di un sinonimo più diffuso, sebbene meno tecnico (diatesi emorragica = tendenza al sanguinamento; antipiretici = antifebbrili),
- comprensione dei singoli termini viene agevolata dal cotesto: sia per la presenza di termini equivalenti, sia per la costruzione delle frasi.

Benché il testo B abbia caratteristiche comuni al testo A e C, esso tende però a semplificare e omettere elementi morfo-sintattici ritenuti non essenziali a favore della maggiore densità del senso non sempre desumibile solo in base ai termini dati. Il testo C è la quintessenza del linguaggio specialistico semplificato dal punto di vista morfo-sintattico. La comprensione del significato dei singoli termini richiede un’approfondita conoscenza di nozioni specialistiche, in quanto nel cotesto sono assenti elementi chiarificatori. In entrambi i casi:

- la sintassi è molto ridotta: spesso compaiono frasi semplici; prevalgono proposizioni implicite,
- termini altamente specialistici (lesioni secondarie, esito nodulare) non sono accompagnate da termini chiarificatori,
- alcuni termini non sono completi: per ricostruire un elemento eliso (per esempio: lesione [nel livello] S4) risultano indispensabili conoscenze extratestuali,
- il significato di sigle e abbreviazioni è condizionato sia dal contesto che da cognizioni relative al problema presentato.

Paradossalmente una maggiore specializzazione della lingua riduce la complessità morfo-sintattica. Quanto più aumenta il livello di specializzazione del linguaggio specialistico, tanto più decresce la complessità grammaticale del testo. Infatti, la comprensione del testo C avviene nonostante l’abolizione delle leggi grammaticali. La comprensione a livelli ancora più specialistici richiede la capacità di colmare i sensi non espressi basandosi sulle proprie capacità linguistiche e cognitive inerenti all’argomento trattato. A prima vista pare che la padronanza del linguaggio specialistico non richieda una spiccata conoscenza delle strutture grammaticali, poiché queste tendono a venir meno in alcuni testi molto vincolanti. È però un’apparenza ingannevole, in quanto in assenza del senso esplicito è molto più probabile il rischio di fraintendimento. L’abilità a muoversi nel linguaggio specialistico consiste nel vedere anche ciò che manca, quindi nell’andare al di là del testo scritto.

3. Livelli di conoscenza della lingua italiana vs la comprensione del linguaggio medico

Le riflessioni teoriche hanno veicolato la ricerca tra gli apprendenti dell’italiano L2/LS e dei parlanti nativi per sottoporre all’analisi un’eventuale interdipendenza tra il livello di padronanza della lingua italiana e del linguaggio medico. Abbiamo formulato la seguente ipotesi: quanto più aumenta il livello di padronanza dell’italiano tanto più migliorano le capacità di comprensione di un testo altamente specialistico. L’ipotesi iniziale è in netta contraddizione al ragionamento appena presentato, secondo cui il linguaggio specialistico con la sua difficoltà graduale non è di facile intendimento ai non professionisti. Tuttavia l'ipotesi così formulata è servita come punto di aggancio tanto per scegliere intervistati quanto per strutturare il questionario.

3.1 Metodologia e obiettivi della ricerca

Al gruppo eterogeneo di italofoni e apprendenti dell'italiano LS è stato sottoposto un breve questionario di 10 domande di graduale difficoltà. Lo scopo delle domande chiuse era quello di analizzare quanto una buona conoscenza della lingua italiana potesse influire sulla corretta interpretazione dei testi proposti. I brani dei testi medici inseriti nel questionario sono stati estrapolati da testi autentici destinati sia ai medici specialisti che alle persone senza conoscenze specifiche del settore. Per quanto concerne la difficoltà delle domande inserite nel questionario (cf. Appendice A) due provengono da una cartella clinica con alcuni dati anamnestici (domanda 3, 6) e da un referto radiologico (domanda 7). Le restanti riguardano la posologia di un farmaco (domanda 4), modalità terapeutiche (domanda 2, 5), un frammento del consenso informato richiesto per la somministrazione di un analgesico (domanda 8), generiche informazioni sul rischio di insorgenza di un'insufficienza venosa (domanda 1) e su indicazioni e controindicazioni relative all'esame mammografico (domanda 10). Nel caso dei primi due testi, essi vengono trattati come scrittura ad alto grado di difficoltà in quanto destinati agli specialisti. I testi restanti invece costituiscono un vasto gruppo di informazioni destinate all'uso del paziente il quale in diverse occasioni viene chiesto di prenderne visione, di comprenderle e a volte di attenersi alle raccomandazioni incluse (prescrizione, consenso informato). Nel caso di questi testi la lettura consapevole è fondamentale sia dal punto di vista medico che quello legale.
Al questionario hanno partecipato in totale 52 persone, delle quali 27 hanno dichiarato di essere di madrelingua italiana, 12 di possedere un livello di conoscenza dell'italiano C1-C2 e 13 un livello B1-B2 secondo il QCER. Entrambi i gruppi erano composti da laureandi o laureati in materie umanistiche o scientifiche.
Il tempo lasciato a disposizione per ogni partecipante del questionario era di 60 minuti durante i quali si potevano rivedere ed eventualmente modificare le risposte.

3.2. Limiti del metodo

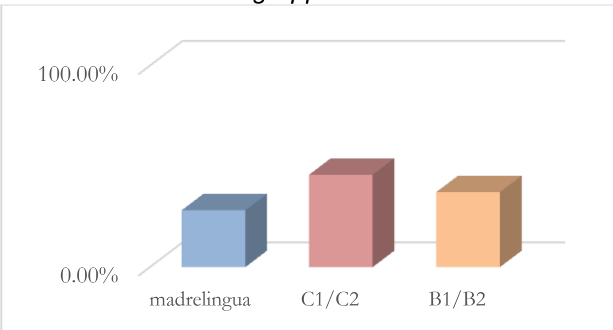
I risultati sono stati ottenuti dall'analisi in base alla correttezza delle risposte scelte. Il questionario (cf. Appendice A) prevedeva risposte chiuse, di cui alcune erano a scelta multipla. La conoscenza della lingua italiana non è stata verificata in nessun altro modo, perciò i livelli di conoscenza della lingua italiana sono meramente dichiarativi. Possono cioè risultare inconsapevolmente modificati da persone sottoposte al questionario. Un altro limite del metodo è legato al questionario stesso, composto da appena dieci domande di variabile grado di difficoltà, il che non è abbastanza rappresentativo, poiché esclude molte altre tipologie testuali. Un'ulteriore limitazione del metodo consiste nella forma stessa del questionario. Essendo esso composto di domande relativamente brevi, non offre al lettore un contesto più vasto che possa rendere più agevole la comprensione delle domande specifiche. Infatti, la graduale difficoltà delle domande e i diversi temi trattati in ciascuna di esse possono compromettere le capacità di comprensione e di conseguenza la correttezza della risposta.

3.3. Risultati della ricerca

I risultati della ricerca hanno smentito l'ipotesi iniziale. Si presupponeva che i madrelingua avrebbero risposto correttamente a un maggior numero di domande, cosa che non è avvenuta. Nei tre gruppi sottoposti all'analisi i risultati migliori hanno ottenuto gli apprendenti dell'italiano a livello di conoscenza d'italiano C1-C2 (Graf. 1). Paragonando le percentuali, il gruppo C1/C2 ha dato il 45,83% di risposte esatte, segue il gruppo B1/B2 con il 37,23% di risposte corrette e finisce in coda alla classifica il gruppo dei madrelingua con il 28,21% di risposte esatte.

Grafico 1. *Percentuale di risposte esatte nei diversi gruppi*

madrelingua	28,21%
C1/C2	45,83%
B1/B2	37,23%



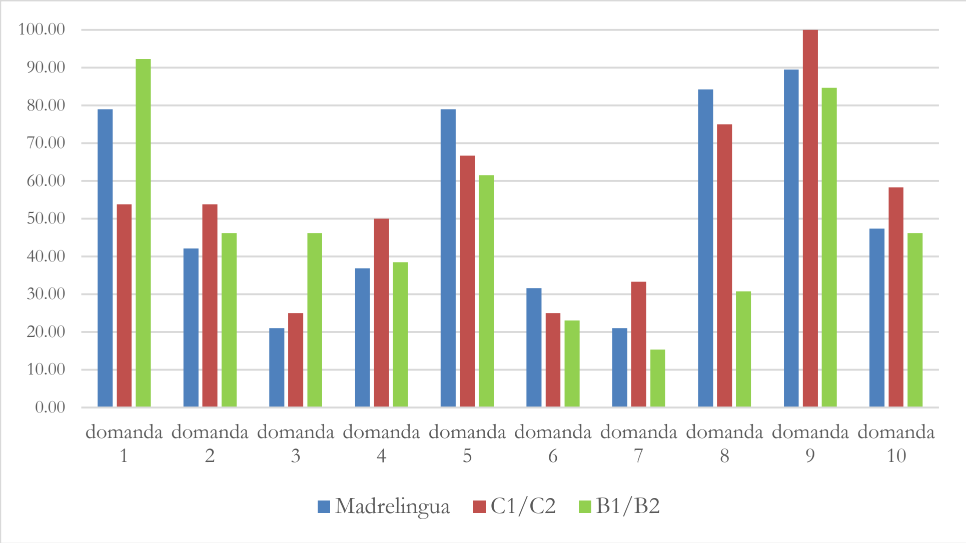
Sebbene il livello di conoscenza dell'italiano possa facilitare la comprensione del linguaggio medico, ciò non garantisce che ogni suo registro e grado di specializzazione siano intesi. Analizzando i risultati delle singole domande (tab. 4), non si nota un trend univoco (Graf. 2):

Tabella 4. *Risultati delle singole domande ottenuti in ogni gruppo*

	Madrelingua	**C1/C2**	**B1/B2**
domanda 1	78,94	53,84	92,30
domanda 2	42,10	53,84	46,15
domanda 3	21,05	25,00	46,15
domanda 4	36,84	50,00	38,46
domanda 5	78,94	66,66	61,53
domanda 6	31,57	25,00	23,07
domanda 7	21,05	33,33	15,38
domanda 8	84,21	75,00	30,76
domanda 9	89,47	100,00	84,61
domanda 10	47,36	58,33	46,15

Nei dati sopra indicati e riportati nel grafico 2 possono colpire alcuni particolari: la percentuale delle risposte esatte nel caso dei madrelingua in alcuni casi è addirittura inferiore al gruppo degli apprendenti C1/C2. Per quanto concerne le domande n. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10 i più abili a scegliere le riposte esatte sono stati gli apprendenti dell'italiano LS. Ha eccelso il gruppo degli apprendenti C1/C2 in quanto ha superato la soglia del 50% di correttezza nel caso di 6 domande, mentre i madrelingua sono riusciti a farlo solo nel caso di 4 domande. Nel caso del gruppo di apprendenti B1-B2 il numero decresce ulteriormente a 3 domande.

Grafico 2. *Percentuale di risposte esatte nei diversi gruppi*

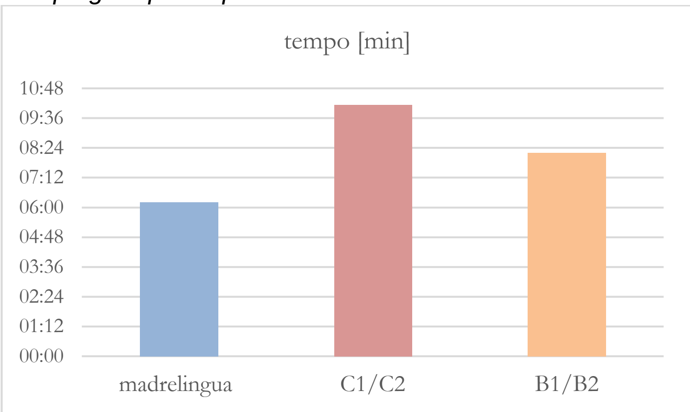


La competenza linguistica non è l'unico fattore a facilitare la comprensione di brevi testi medici. La ricerca meriterebbe un ulteriore approfondimento con un'analisi abbinata alla valutazione di generali capacità linguistiche e conoscenze generali dell'ambito medico. Il fatto che necessita uno studio approfondito sono i risultati dei madrelingua i quali, se confrontati con quelli degli apprendenti, devono destare una certa preoccupazione: a parte le tre domande molto specifiche, le altre sei riguardavano temi medici con cui si presume siano entrati in contatto i madrelingua. Il linguaggio medico era quindi quello dedicato al parlante privo di spiccate conoscenze dell'ambito medico. Per tale motivo si può avanzare un'ipotesi sui sorprendenti motivi dei risultati del questionario. Tanto nel caso degli apprendenti che dei madrelingua avrà giocato un forte fattore psicologico: i primi convinti forse delle loro imperfette abilità linguistiche volevano dimostrarsi all'altezza del compito, mentre i parlanti nativi dando per scontato le loro capacità linguistiche non avranno dedicato sufficiente attenzione al questionario.
Si può ipotizzare ulteriormente che la difficoltà del test consisteva nella tipologia dei testi proposti. L'interpretazione di questi testi oltre alla capacità linguistica generale e specifica richiede anche l'abilità di parafrasi del significato dato. Si può presumere che i madrelingua non incontrando troppe difficoltà nell'intendimento di singole domande, non abbiano avuto bisogno di soffermarsi per analizzarle logicamente. Gli apprendenti dell'italiano invece per capire il senso delle domande

dovevano dedicarci più attenzione per capirne il senso. Così la loro analisi linguistica ha portato i risultati migliori. Infatti, se analizzeremo la media del tempo impiegato per rispondere a tutte le domande del test noteremo, che è stato proprio il gruppo degli apprendenti C1/C2 a dedicare più tempo rispetto agli altri due gruppi (10:07 min).

Grafico 3. *Media del tempo impiegato per rispondere a tutte le domande del test*

	minuti
madre lingua	06:12
C1/C2	10:07
B1/B2	08:12



4. Conclusioni

Se nell'ambito glottodidattico si considerasse il linguaggio specialistico come una lingua con propri gradi di specializzazione, sottocodici e varietà, nell'apprendimento sarebbe necessario adottare gli stessi criteri che valgono nell'apprendimento di qualunque lingua straniera. Ciò che risulterebbe più difficile nell'insegnamento del linguaggio della medicina non sono certo solo le tipologie testuali, bensì l'enorme diversificazione delle specializzazioni esistenti. Nel campo medico un otorinolaringoiatra serio non si azzarderebbe mai a formulare giudizi in campo ostetrico. Per non perire sotto la valanga il peso del sapere, occorre adottare utili accorgimenti. L'insegnante del linguaggio specialistico LS costituisce una risorsa non perché presenti in modo selettivo conoscenze di una materia sconfinata, bensì perché abitua l'apprendente a misurarsi con la lingua. Nell'insegnamento delle lingue conta anche, se non soprattutto, lo sviluppo del senso del pensiero filologico che permette di orientarsi nella realtà che la lingua descrive. Il sapere è sempre espresso dalla lingua, attraverso la lingua si raggiungono le conoscenze, mentre non accade mai il contrario. Il mondo reale ed immaginario è tanto più ricco quanto più ampie sono le conoscenze linguistiche abbinate al sapere.

APPENDICE A - QUESTIONARIO

Domanda 1/10

A rischio di forme serie di insufficienza venosa cronica sono soprattutto le donne over-60, specialmente se in sovrappeso e sedentarie e che hanno alle spalle

diverse gravidanze.
A. donne incinte si ammalano più facilmente di insufficienza venosa cronica
B. l'insufficienza venosa cronica riguarda sia gli uomini che le donne
C. la sedentarietà, l'obesità e gravidanze precedenti sono fattori di rischio dell'insufficienza venosa
D. nessuna risposta è corretta
Domanda 2/10
Terapia a domicilio: Aspirina una compressa alle ore 8 di mattina e di sera.
A. il paziente deve assumere due compresse al giorno sempre alla stessa ora
B. il paziente deve assumere una compressa al giorno alle 8 di mattina o di sera
C. il paziente deve assumere due compresse al giorno di mattina
D. nessuna risposta è corretta
Domanda 3/10
Uomo di 37 anni con menzione di epatopatia cronica esotossica, presentasi alla osservazione per brevità di respiro e severa dilatazione del ventricolo sinistro.
A. il paziente ha problemi di fegato e di cuore
B. il paziente abusa dell'alcol, ha problemi di cuore e difficoltà nel respirare
C. il paziente con problemi di fegato e di cuore è stato ricoverato per un intervento
D. nessuna risposta è corretta
Domanda 4/10
Non prenda il farmaco: se è allergico all'acido acetilsalicilico, all'acido ascorbico, ad altri analgesici (antidolorifici) / antipiretici (antifebbrili) / farmaci antinfiammatori non steroidei (FANS) o ad uno qualsiasi degli altri componenti di questo medicinale.
A. il farmaco non va assunto dai pazienti allergici all'acido ascorbico e all'acido acetilsalicilico contenuti nei farmaci antinfiammatori e antidolorifici
B. il farmaco non va assunto con altri farmaci, quali antidolorifici e antifebbrili
C. il farmaco è sconsigliato in caso di allergie a farmaci contenenti componenti ai quali il paziente è
allergico
D. nessuna risposta è corretta
Domanda 5/10
Prescrizioni: Arto inf. a riposo. Ghiaccio per 2-3 gg. Tra una settimana utile ecografia. Analgesico se dolore.
A. Il paziente non deve sforzare la gamba, in caso di dolore deve assumere un antidolorifico.
B. il paziente deve assumere antidolorifici con ghiaccio per 2-3 giorni
C. l'ecografia della gamba è indispensabile tra sette giorni
D. nessuna risposta è corretta
Domanda 6/10
Il paziente giunge alla nostra osservazione in seguito a caduta dall'impalcatura riportando trauma cranico commotivo. Eseguita valutazione ORL, Paziente ricoverato.
A. il paziente cadendo dall'impalcatura ha riportato gravi lesioni, tra cui la frattura del cranio
B. il paziente è stato dimesso senza altre indagini
C. il paziente è stato ricoverato dopo la consultazione con l'otorino
D. nessuna risposta è corretta
Domanda 7/10

Rispetto al precedente esame, attualmente si osserva lesione secondaria in S4a di circa 13 mm.
A. l'esame ha evidenziato nuove ferite rispetto all'esame precedente
B. il paziente si trova nello stesso stato rispetto all'esame precedente
C. l'esame ha evidenziato segni di neoplasia assente all'esame precedente
D. nessuna risposta è corretta

Domanda 8/10

Io sottoscritta dichiaro che mi sono state fornite tutte le informazioni relative a: procedura anestesiologica (analgesia epidurale), possibilità di strategie alternative di contenimento del dolore, rischi, effetti collaterali e complicanze secondari all'analgesia epidurale nel travaglio di parto.
A. la paziente è sottoposta all'intervento chirurgico in cui è indispensabile l'analgesia epidurale
B. la paziente è consapevole di possibili rischi legati all'anestesia ma non vi sono alternative
C. la paziente sta per partorire perciò è indispensabile il suo consenso per un'eventuale analgesia epidurale
D. nessuna risposta è corretta

Domanda 9/10

L'esame angiografico è considerato il più efficace per la diagnosi di aneurismi, delle malformazioni artero-venose, delle fistole e di tutto ciò che rientra nella patologia steno-occlusiva vascolare. In particolare è l'unico esame in grado di valutare il flusso di circolazione del sangue nel distretto esaminato.
A. l'esame angiografico viene effettuato per diagnosticare diverse patologie vascolari di tipo steno-occlusivo
B. esistono diverse modalità diagnostiche utili per esaminare il flusso di circolazione
C. l'angiografia è una modalità diagnostica molto efficace nel caso di malformazioni artero-venose e altre patologie vascolari
D. nessuna risposta è corretta

Domanda 10/10

La prima mammografia è indicata intorno ai 35-40 anni d'età. Successivamente va ripetuta su consiglio del medico radiologo. Poiché si tratta comunque di un esame strumentale che espone a radiazioni ionizzanti, sebbene a basso dosaggio, se ne deve evitare l'utilizzo in assenza di un'indicazione clinica specifica.
A. l'esame mammografico va ripetuto regolarmente a partire dai 35-40 anni d'età solo quando è necessario
B. per poter eseguire la prima mammografia è necessario consultare il medico che valuterà il rischio legato all'esame
C. la mammografia è un esame sicuro perciò non mette a rischio la salute della paziente
D. nessuna risposta è corretta

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BOOK REVIEW

CARMEN BUENO MUÑOZ / LUIS R. MURILLO ZAMORANO / JOSÉ ÁNGEL LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ: GAMIFICATION AND ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE DURING COVID-19: CASE STUDIES IN HEALTH AND EDUCATION

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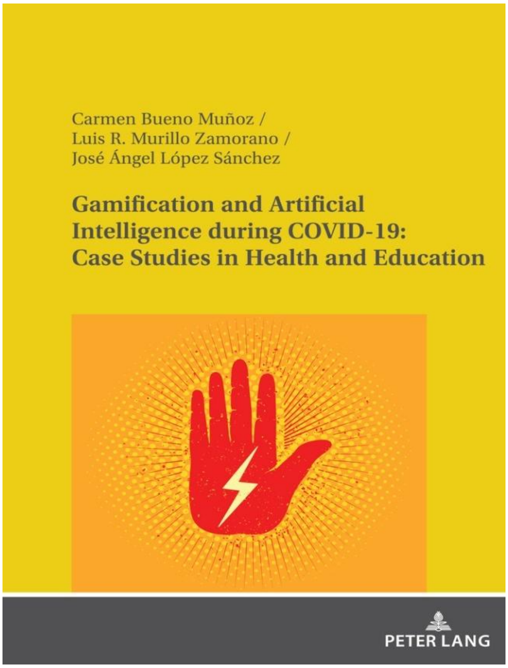

Reviewed work:

Gamification and Artificial Intelligence during Covid-19: Case Studies in Health and Education

Carmen Bueno Muñoz / Luis R. Murillo Zamorano / José Ángel López Sánchez

Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 2022

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The 2022 publication of Carmen Bueno Muñoz, Luis R. Murillo Zamorano and José Ángel López Sánchez, *Gamification and Artificial Intelligence during Covid-19: Case Studies in Health and Education*, – Peter Lang, Berlin, 130 pages – comes as a timely answer to the EU's digitalisation strategies and the worldwide experiences of the past two years by analysing the areas digital tools were massively applied in during the pandemic, shedding light upon its ethical background, too. Two of the main domains digitalisation played a crucial role in were/are health care and education, the authors presenting the two key components of this enhanced process, gamification understood as techniques engaging with the use of digital devices, platforms and artificial intelligence machines use in their analysis, decision making and acting process.

After an introductory part (chapter 1), the book is structured into five more chapters dealing with gamification during the pandemic in health care and education system (chapter 2), artificial intelligence (AI) in both segments (chapter 3), the applications used in the analysed domains (chapter 4), the ethical issues they might raise (chapter 5), all this summarised in the concluding chapter 6.

If the importance of gamification, through its engaging character, is quite obvious in the domain of education, it might present a novelty for health care, where it "is used to promote healthy habits and behaviors such as physical exercise and to encourage self-management of different aspects related to health status." (Trinidad et al., 2021, in Muñoz et al., 2022, p. 15) and to help to stop the spread of the virus through a responsible attitude. Figures similar to points in games, leader boards showing the lowest level of infection rate in certain regions simulating a competition, the archetypes borrowed from games – heroes (fighting the pandemic) and villains (deniers of the existence of the virus) – location-based applications for warning were all, in this attempt, digital allies of the authorities responsible for the development of almost 67% of all applications. Patient management applications played an important role not only in maintaining physical but also mental health reducing the sense of isolation and cognitive decline with elder people. Other health-related tools were contact tracing apps like: Immuni in Italy, STAYAWAY COVID in Portugal, Corona-Warn-App in Germany, NZ Covid Tracer in New Zealand – controversial to a certain extent as raising ethical issues, such as privacy and personal rights concerns –, as well as sports apps encouraging physical activity and fitness.

In education, besides digital tools facilitating lecture holding and information transfer, gamification helped all participants to cope with stress caused by isolation and students to keep up motivation for academic performance. Some educational platforms to be mentioned are: Solve Education!, Kahoot, Science Level Up, Gamified Educational Network (GEN).

In recent times, artificial intelligence is applied in almost all domains of everyday life, thus, due to data collection, it has played a crucial role in the prediction and monitoring of different diseases, virus spreads, contact-tracking and movement of infected persons. Voice assistants, like Alexa or chatbots, could be used not only in everyday life management, but also in telemedicine, through analysing the patient's symptoms, disease evolution, putting up a diagnosis and offering community support and mental help.

In the context of COVID-19 pandemic AI has also found application in the development of vaccines and drugs and in the repurposing of the latter ones, respectively. It is interesting to see, to what extent AI could back-up educational process. The four areas of its applicability identified by Zawacki-Richter et al. (2020) would be: profiling and prediction for outlining students' performance and dropping out rate, intelligent tutoring system for stating individual learning paths for students, assessment and evaluation supported by proctor programmes and adaptive systems and personalisation for course development and tailoring to learners needs and level of performance. According to Krishnamurthy (2020) the new normality after the pandemic should include AI-based services in education. Besides education and health care, the authors determined both for gamification and AI other application segments, as well, ranging from business to social media and fight against misinformation.

In chapter four the authors try to realise a convergence of the two key components of digitalisation, thus the readers make acquaintance with two applications used in each of the previously analysed domains, namely Dreamlab: Corona-AI and uMore, applied in health care, and, respectively, Century and ELSA Speak, educators could resort to.

Dreamlab: Corona-AI had a twofold effect: on one hand, it provided its users with informational support related to the virus and, on the other hand, by using this app, participants contributed to the research run by the Imperial College London upon the impact molecules of food and drugs could have upon the COVID-19 disease.

uMore is a free application, created from scratch, targeting mental wellbeing by using “cognitive behavioral therapy, acceptance and commitment therapy, mindfulness and behavioral science techniques” (p. 60). Due to its gamified design, its users' engagement in adopting healthy habits is guaranteed.

Initially a payment-based educational platform, Century started to offer its services for free during the pandemic, to help both teachers and students to achieve learning performance and to fill in learning gaps. Thanks to AI, boredom and consequently motivational loss on students’ side and excessive workload caused by the personalised teaching/learning process on teachers’ side could be avoided. The platform used to assist students individually in their learning progress and to inform teachers about it, so that they could help students in a targeted way.

Based on AI, ELSA Speak (English Learning Speech Assistant) helps, due to the speech recognition function, to identify mistakes and improve pronunciation of non-native speakers of English.

The great merit of the book is to present in an objective, unbiased way, not only the advantages but also the drawbacks of the listed digital resources, should the latter be the lack of availability in all regions/languages, the costs they might imply, the reluctance implementing them because of lack of expertise and too high complexity, the dependence on a big set of data, or ethical issues like social injustice, uneven access to digital tools, known as digital divide, distrust of AI, dilemmas concerning individual privacy as AI needs a considerable set of data to function well, issues of transparency, of legal background related to its operation and responsibility in impacting human behaviour.

This is a quality the inconsistency in gendering – referring to the CEO of Century both by she/her and his – and in the use of acronyms – both FL/LF for federated learning, AI/IA for artificial intelligence –, or stylistic and grammar issues like “Some examples of entities whose websites on which this chatbot has been inserted are national, regional and local government bodies (…)” (p. 39), “In the *habit loop* on which the app is based, (…)” (p. 62) etc., continuously present throughout the work, could not affect.

BOOK REVIEW

JULIAN BÖHNISCH: CULTURE'S INFLUENCE ON THE WEBSITES OF GERMAN AND CHINESE COMPANIES. AN ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY ON THE INTERNET

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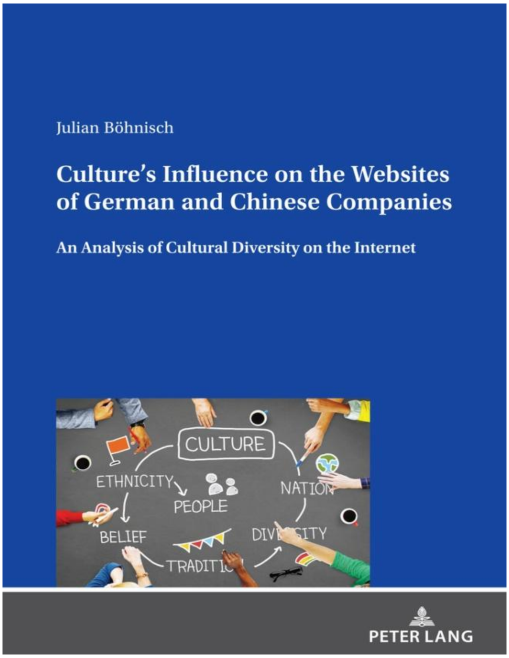

Reviewed work:

Culture's Influence on the Websites of German and Chinese Companies. An Analysis of Cultural Diversity on the Internet

Julian Böhnisch

Peter Lang GmbH, International Academic Publishers, Berlin, 2022

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For those interested in cultural issues, Julian Böhnisch's 2022 publication – Peter Lang, Berlin, 246 pages – might be a real delight. The PhD thesis published addresses cultural differences and their manifestation in the domain of online publicity looking for an answer to the questions "whether culture has traceable influences on the internet presences of international companies and – if so – what impact these influences have on the respective web design." (abstract). In doing so, the author analyses the web pages of German and Chinese companies through the prism of Hofstede's and Hall's cultural dimensions and their XXI. century application to web design by Marcus, Gould (2000) and Würtz (2006).

The book is structured into seven chapters, preceded by both a list of figures and one of tables and by an introduction, and is rounded up by an appendix listing the almost 400 web pages of companies (German and Chinese) activating in four business domains. The worldwide web offers to nowadays' businesses a vast potential, however they might also face a set of challenges and limitations partially imposed by local and regional authorities. Given these circumstances, companies have to find ways and solutions for reaching potential customers, subjects to various political systems and belonging to different cultural groups. For an effective communication with them, companies need to apply an interculturally optimised design for their web pages, the "one-fits-all" formula is not feasible any more.

One of the aims of present book – in concordance with being preponderantly dedicated to empirical research – is to offer possible solutions for these intercultural challenges and to "bridge the gap between theory and practice." (p. 45).

Following a reversed chronology, chapter one offers a literature review upon culture, cultural issues in the last two decades focusing upon their presence in and impact on the internet. Besides the traditional aspects highlighted by Hofstede, Zahedi et al. (2000) found six other individual factors influencing the effectiveness of a website at a certain target group, namely: demographics, professional knowledge, information technology knowledge, flexibility, the ability in processing information and respectively cultural knowledge. In case of highly differentiated products – having many technical details and differences in quality – another factor in this respect is, according to Warden et al. (2002), the availability of a website in the local language. Furthermore, according to Ishak et al. (2012), even religion can impact the way internet and computer are used in general. Concluding, it can be stated, together with Sia et al. (2009) and Faiola and Matei (2006) "that a culturally-adapted web design supports the performance of the target groups in a positive way." (p. 33). Completely conscious of that, Guseva (2013) raised the financial aspect of this cultural adaptation, wondering how many different cultural versions of a website can be supported in terms of cost-effectiveness.

Identifying the gaps and limitations in these studies, – a rather low sample size possibly falsifying the results, and concentration upon a single sector in the analysis – Böhnisch comes to the idea of applying his content analysis to a very large sample size (400 companies) and four branches of activity: technological and engineering, financial, food and fashion industry, the first two not significantly influenced by cultural factors, while the other two all the more.

After these preliminary considerations the author turns, in chapter two, to the analysis of the notion 'culture' – in normative, cognitive, anthropological and symbolic way – and to the overview of Hofstede's and Hall's findings related to it. Only the first four cultural dimensions of Hofstede and Hall's classification of communication into low or high context type are taken into consideration as relevant in terms of their influence upon the web design. Thus, the research of Böhnisch will focus, though not uncritically, upon the two cultures analysed, German and Chinese, with respect to their power distance, individualism/collectivism, masculinity/feminity, uncertainty avoidance and way of communication. Based on the realities of a globalised world, the criticism of Böhnisch targets Hofstede's conviction of cultures being quite stable, hard to change and homogeneous in one country, and Hall's research methods and data similar to "a black box because the way, in which he gained his information, remains obscure to a certain degree." (p. 68). Still, the cultural dimensions in question build a solid and appropriate base for present research.

Chapter three is dedicated to the analysis of internet-related terminology and that of the elements of a website/web page (header, footer, columns, content and navigation, and of web design, such as: navigation system, layout, colour, icons, images and words influenced by the cultural background of the hosting company. On the other hand, cultural background also determines the way users look at, read a website/page, – direction of reading, emphasis laid etc. – while another key element represents the ease of using it. As colours might have cultural loading and icons might be interpreted differently by representatives of different cultures, web designers should use them in a conscious, well-informed way. The usage of multimedia channels supports culturally-adapted web page design, as they are able, through sounds, or feelings conveyed, to turn the low context medium internet into a higher context medium, more appealing for Asian cultures for instance.

Research methodology, consisting of content analysis including web analytics and key metrics like the number of total visits on a site, average visit duration, bounce rates of viewers – leaving the page without taking any action –, data sampling and qualifying samples, is presented in chapter four. By listing the features and steps of content analysis (data sampling meeting certain predefined criteria for comparability, coding schedule and manual, website analysis, measuring performance with SimilarWeb, result evaluation), Böhnisch highlights its advantages and aspects to be minded when resorting to it. This quantitative research method will be completed by a qualitative evaluation of results and their meanings.

The following two chapters (five and six), presenting the empirical findings, occupy a preponderant part in the book. The coding manual established by the author for the content analysis includes the components and subcomponents: navigation (navigation bar, dropdown menu, sidebar, searchbox), images (quantity of images, icons and people in the images), multimedia usage (quantity of videos, sound effects, social media icons), colours and words with a special focus on their quantity. Readers are supplied with a detailed analysis of the website of a company for each of the four domains in question – both on German (Deutsche Bank, Audi AG, Iglo and Adidas AG) and on Chinese side (Industrial and Commercial Bank of China Ltd, Zhejiang Geely Holding Group Co. & Ltd, Kee Wah Bakery and the Chinese version for Adidas AG) – followed by a synthesis of the results for all the 400 enterprises, indicating an overall average for the whole industry and for each activity branch in both cultures individually and then contrastively.

In chapter six, data previously presented as an average is used as a reference point for singling out high performing websites with data above the average according to the amount of total visits, average visit duration and bounce rates. These websites both on German and Chinese side and their performance rates are analysed through the prism of Hofstede's and Hall's cultural dimensions considered for this research. Although it is not in case of all the five dimensions (power distance, masculinity versus feminity, individualism versus collectivism, risk avoidance and high versus low context in communication) that congruent results are obtained, “(...) it becomes clear that the design of the navigation and the use of elements such as images, colors, and icons are determined by the culture.” (p. 193). Culture having thus a great impact upon the way info found on the internet comes to people, adaptation to a respective culture is imperatively necessary. That means for instance that the low context medium internet has to offer to users from high context cultures surrogates for the missing context in the form of more images and words for explanations to avoid misunderstandings. Based on the characteristics of high performing websites in both cultures, Böhnisch puts up a profile of successful internet presences for all the four activity branches, stating that the recipe of success is highly sector and country dependent.

Chapter seven is dedicated to summarising findings and opening new perspectives like finding cost-effective and easy to use tools for creating multiple versions of a website customised to the cultural background of the visitor. These could take the form of templates for internet presences in different cultures.
Although in many respects wider ranging, more up-to-date and valid than other previous studies, presenting definite advantages compared to them, Böhnisch still finds some limitations of his work, such as including also locally operating companies for a larger variety of the samples, potential biases resulting from the cultural background of the web designer, restricting the research to only four activity areas and two cultures, related to the cultural theories taken into consideration etc. Thus, future research could apply content analysis and these findings to other sectors, as well, analyse other types of web presences (internet forums, landing pages etc.), ask Chinese customers to comment upon their experiences with German websites and vice versa, check to what extent culturally-adapted websites result in an increased sales rates and turnover and so on.

Concluding, the book’s strength – of handling a very interesting and timely topic in the era of cross-cultural encounters in a very complex way, with an unusual structuring but, nevertheless, adequate for the research intention –, is slightly overshadowed by lacking accuracy in expression (p. 45, 87, 203) – some even affecting understanding –, typing (p. 31, 34 (footnote), 38, 75, 208, reference list etc.) and the very frequent non-concordance between descriptive text and content of tables and figures in chapter five.

BOOK REVIEW

SIMON WILLIAMS' DISFLUENCY AND PROFICIENCY IN SECOND LANGUAGE SPEECH PRODUCTION

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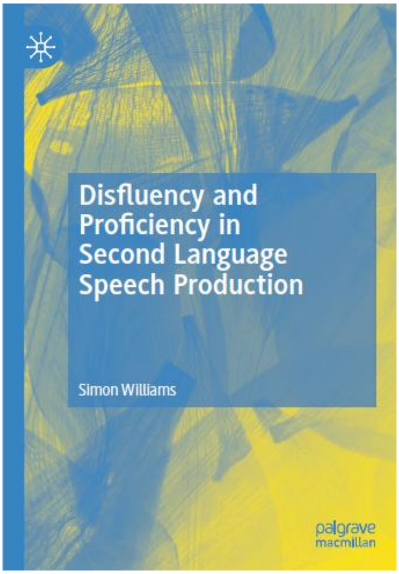

Reviewed work:
Disfluency and Proficiency in Second Language Speech Production

Author: Simon Williams

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A recent release (January 2023) of Palgrave Macmillan, under exclusive licence to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2022, the volume *Disfluency and Proficiency in Second Language Speech Production* is an intriguing and captivating approach on the subject matter of attempting fluency in a foreign language. Written by Simon Williams, the work presents the author's research, observations and findings, with respect to various 'techniques' or 'helpers' employed by non-native speakers, in order to attain or, at least, to aim at a fluent discourse when speaking a foreign language learned as a second language. The author is a native speaker of English and an academic, from the School of Media, Arts and Humanities, University of Sussex, Falmer, UK, bringing his life experience and academic expertise into his writing.

The volume follows a straightforward structure. It begins with XX preliminary pages comprising acknowledgements, transcription symbols, tables of contents, acronyms, list of figures and list of tables. Then the 286 pages of the volume develop, with the main contents organised as follows: a thirty pages introductory chapter, six main chapters of about thirty-forty pages each, and a half-long conclusive one. These eight chapters come up to page 261, to be followed by 4 pages of appendix, references along 3 pages, and then the index on the last 18 pages.

The first chapter introduces the concepts of fluency, disfluency, proficiency, with extensive analysis of the state of art, through numerous references from the literature of speciality. The author briefly depicts here the six disfluencies that will next be each the topic of a chapter. The own words of the author are best to shed light upon the concepts presented and the notions operated with:

> "If a central notion associated with fluency is keeping the talk going, then disfluency is the opposite, a temporary interruption to the flow of speech. The speaker is faced with an ongoing tension between planning and production: keep going and hesitate from time to time to plan the next stretch of talk or carry on regardless and repair the inevitable errors and breakdowns. Thus, fluency has become synonymous with speed, and disfluency with forms of hesitation and repair. Four recognised forms of hesitation are silent pauses, filled pauses, prolongations, and repetitions. Two forms of repair are self-corrections and false starts. These six disfluencies are the subject matter of the central chapters." (p.6)

The impression of listeners rating speeches, the categories of disfluency data according to their collection environment and the fluency 'standards' of CEFR test descriptors are touched here as well and announced to feature, if relevant, in the economy of each following chapter, in separate subtitles or within others.

Also, the strategy of organising the text within the next chapters is disclosed now in this first chapter entitled *Introduction*.

> "Common to each chapter is a general introduction to the disfluency, its formal description, effect on listeners, relation to speaker proficiency, significance in international language tests, and a final comment." (p.6)

As the six chapters on disfluencies each have initial parts all baring the subtitle *Introduction*, this first chapter might have benefited from a more inspired title, still in line with the content provided, of initial steps, approach to the matter, preliminary considerations, setting up or other of the kind; but this is just a personal and very subjective thought. Moreover, even the final chapter, *Conclusions*, follows a similar structure beginning with the subtitle *Introduction* and ending with a subtitle of *Comments*, which again may seem a bit superfluous, but acceptable as long as it makes sense in the flow of the given discourse.

In a subtitle of the same introductory chapter, the usual method of the survey analysis, of the experiments underlying the study is explained:

> "Listeners rate speech recordings of L2 learners for fluency. The recordings are subsequently analysed for acoustic measures such as speed and pauses and the results compared with the ratings. Inferences are made about the features that listeners responded to in making their judgements on fluency." (p.13)

Several studies undertaken into each of the main areas of interest for this volume are presented, referred to and thoroughly discussed within the individual chapters following, on Silent Pauses (SPs), Filled Pauses (FPs), Prolongations(PRLs), Repetitions(RPTs), Self-corrections (SCs) and False Starts (FSs). Acknowledgement of other works is realised by proper and extensive references and adequacy of literature review is proven all along these six chapters as well. Each chapter contains its own quite broad list of references in the end.

The numerous experiments constituting the basis of this volume's analysis and discussion, undertaken and coordinated by various researchers in the field, are laid out in details along the main chapters, with thorough information regarding steps and conclusions. Assessing, comparing them and putting together their results, Williams provides a highly comprehensive synthesis and, besides, brings a great deal of own interpretation and comments.

In *Silent Pauses,* after analysing and comparing results of several studies, the author identifies two basic functions of the silent pauses in spontaneous speech, i.e. a rhetorical one, marking the syntactic unit, and a psychological one, showing hesitation of the speaker when planning what to say next. He also remarks that pauses tend to be "noticeably longer and more frequent in the environment of words lacking cohesion and shorter and less frequent in the environment of words more strongly connected." (p.35).

A general conclusion that comes here, after plenty of examples analysed, is rather straightforward and common sense:

> "Higher proficiency speakers produce fewer SPs than lower proficiency speakers; and, regardless of speaker proficiency, a higher probability of SPs is found before lower frequency words." (p.65)

In *Filled Pauses*, where the material for exemplifications is taken mostly from L1 studies, even the structure of the chapter shows an analysis more into the depth, with third level subtitles introducing for instance a more detailed categorization of this type of disfluency, accounting for location, position, frequency, length, duration, and pitch. Then again, for the effect on listeners, the analysis is broken down into studies of *uh* and *um* with L1 (pp.78-84) and respectively L2 rater studies. Among other fillers mentioned along the chapters we find: *well, but, and, so (p.75), y'know*, *I mean (p.86),* or even *mais, alors, donc* - the French for *but, then, so - (p.93),* then *innit*, *to be honest, er, ah (p.94), eh, ok, ja, also, erm (p.97),* and *euh, eum (p.105).* An interesting observation is given in the end of the chapter, namely that FPs tend to be rare in speech, or maybe rarely noticed or marked as disfluency, partially because they might have an interactional significance, a communicative role. To contrast between producers, it is noted that:

> "While in fluent speakers an FP can alert the listener to the approach of less familiar lexis, on hearing a large number of FPs from a less fluent speaker, listeners may interpret the FP as a sign of general disfluency with no special significance such as approaching low-frequency lexis." (pp.106-107)

Prolongations, the next chapter, also shows elaborate search into their main types of data, with third level subtitles, bringing into light corpora studies, natural language processing, classroom interaction, and elicited data. Found as lengthened pronunciations of diverse monosyllabic prepositions or of the definite and indefinite articles (in forms as *aye, thee, ay:e, thi;y, thuh*) (pp.132-133), prolongations also appear with common fillers (*u:h, u:m*) (pp.133-134) or as *ja-a* ('yes') and *nä-ä* ('no') (p.135), and can be formed to longer words, as well:

> "Prolongations may be a speaker strategy to maintain fluency without the more explicit marker of a filled pause or the potential breakdown of a silent pause Conjunctions, determiners, and other function words are the preferred sites for prolongations, especially the long vowel nucleus of the last syllable, or otherwise a sonorant in the coda." (p.141)

Chapter *Repetitions* is a little shorter than the others and from its very beginning the author notes a somewhat paradoxical situation:

> "Of all the disfluencies, repetition in speech might seem one of the most straightforward to define, yet few fluency studies that include repetitions in their data analysis offer a formal definition, and few give examples." (p.147)

From the 4 pages of reference titles for this chapter alone, the most cited in the first part of this chapter is Maclay & Osgood's work, then Hieke's, Levelt's, Temple's and Olynyk's exemplifications are put forward. Bosker's and Bortfeld's studies are aslo mentioned often.

In the final comments of the chapter comes the explanation that repetitions are considered to occur mostly because of the specificity of the English language, with phrasal constructions, lacking inflections, using pronouns and prepositions as function words, and thus "pronouns are notably repeated the more complex the noun phrase of which they form a part; and prepositions are repeated the more complex the constituent." (p.174)

Self-corrections is the next chapter and it discusses this form of disfluency that is considered very relevant because it can be seen as an indicator of the process of learning, of the conscious effort and concern of the speakers to repair their recognized errors:

> Learners themselves apparently internalise the notion of standard forms and monitor and correct their production to mould it more closely to the target language. (p.179)

Again, third level titles are used to better structure the main types of data categorizing into in or outside the classroom interactions and task effect in elicited data.

The author's conclusion of this chapter is that self-corrections are functional linguistic activities deliberately aiming to check and fix problems identified.

> "Evidence shows that self-corrections are indicative of fertile cognitive work in the speaker and probably reflect a fast-changing and developing interlanguage through monitoring and repair." (p.207)

The same structure as in the previous chapter is found in the final of the six chapters on disfluencies, *False Starts*. Relatively from the beginning we are announced of the dual function of this type of disfluency, i.e. "enabling speakers to express themselves more precisely and improve fluency; and enabling the listener to accommodate the speaker's utterances and clarify the speaker's message."

(p.214). Levelt’s examples are discussed at first to then have analysis of McAllister's or Tree's examples, then Wong's, Walsh & Li's, Buckwalter's, Jung's, Kasper's, Rylander's, Simpson's, Shehadeh's a.s.o., backed up by diverse studies of many researchers referenced along the chapter, from Kormos to Schegloff , from Hellermann to Lee, from Seedhouse to Foster and Tavakoli and many others.
The final remark about false starters is that they are only few with advanced learners and are more likely to be found with lower-level learners and most commonly in tasks that are open-ended or less structured:

> "At this level of speaker proficiency, false starts may also be more salient to listeners as they are less likely to be well-formed, or perhaps because a greater percentage may occur at the middle, end, or prefaced by *and* at the start of an utterance, or (because lower-level learners are less confident of lexis) more likely to interrupt wrong words before their completion." (p.242)

The final chapter, *Conclusion*, offers an overview of the disfluencies discussed along the six main chapters, presenting them together, in a synthesis, on a structure similar to the one already well established in the previous chapetrs: introduction, formal description, effects on listeners, classroom interaction, proficiency levels, and public language tests, ending with comments.
At the very start of this conclusive chapter, readers are provided with a very clearly explained main idea:

> "Disfluencies are a misnomer for a necessary range of techniques that speakers employ to maintain the flow of talk, albeit by temporarily interrupting it. Speakers can select from a repertory of silent pause, filled pause, prolongation, repetition, self-correction, and false start, or a compound selection, e.g. PRL—SP—FP—RPT—FP—SP, as in a false start." (p.247)

In the beginning of the final title *Comments,* the author promotes the doubtless relevance of all these more or less conscious strategies employed by learners and speakers of a foreign language in general so as to prove fluency or to pass for a satisfactorily fluent speaker of that language. At the same time the author puts forward a quite valid observation regarding the mimetic character of speech production with second language learners:

> "Disfluency in L2 learner speech is increasingly accepted as a necessary stage and a by-product of the learning process, e.g. often used to buy time while the speaker prepares the next utterance. Further, because disfluencies are understood to be a product of spontaneous speech whether in L1 or L2, a realistic ambition for L2 learners is to produce disfluencies in a similar way and circumstances to L1 speakers rather than to attempt to reduce or eradicate them altogether." (p.259)

No other conclusion can better synthesize the results of the analyses and discussions in this volume than the authors own remarks given in the final part of this conclusive chapter:

> "No human who reacts spontaneously to their environment can escape the production of disfluencies. Disfluencies are a response to the unpredictability of real-world input and reflect the fact of a physico-

electrical mismatch in speech production, in which the thought process is much quicker than its assembly into syntactic and lexical units and thence their motor articulation in utterances. The system is imperfect but good enough, a state that probably reflects much of human and other living organisms' existence and preserves the possibility of future adaptation better than a notionally 'perfect' system."(p.261)