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SOMMAIRE

FONDEMENTS DU DIALOGUE CULTUREL

Alexandru GAFTON

Social dynamics and the linguistic norm/7

Lucian CHIȘU

In search of its own identity: mass-media in post-communism/25

Adriana CUCIUREANU

Romanian culture within UNESCO cultural heritage/41

CONFLUENCES

Petre Gheorghe BÂRLEA; Ana Maria PANȚU

The etymologic structure of Romanian mythonyms (II)/51

Cecilia-Iuliana VÂRLAN

Difficulties and constraints in translating philosophical texts. Mechanisms of reception and the (in)stability of meaning/69

Marinușa CONSTANTIN

La relation Latin-Roumain dans l'évolution des mots dérivés avec le préfixe ÎN-/83

Corina SANDIUC

*Languages and cultures in contact: the French language and
the maritime terminology/95*

Alina-Magdalena Preda

*L'adaptation des termes d'origine française aux traits
caractéristiques de la phonologie roumaine/105*

CONVERGENCES ET DIVERGENCES IDENTITAIRES

Naveen K MEHTA

*Suffering: blessing in disguise (exploring Kālidāsa's
Abhijñānaśākuntalam and Shakespeare's Othello)/119*

Angela STĂNESCU

*Fiction with a mission: history as lived experience in Salman
Rushdie's novels/129*

Suela KOÇA

*Analysis of the use of English set phrases and their Albanian
equivalents/139*

Maria Mocanu

*Notes from manuscripts and old books from Moldavia. I-IV,
Corpus edited by Ioan Caproșu and Elena Chiaburu.
Fragments of history/149*

LA QUALITÉ DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES LANGUES ET DANS LA RECHERCHE

SOCIAL DYNAMICS AND THE LINGUISTIC NORM

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Abstract:

This paper employs a neo-Darwinian point of view to describe the dynamics to which language is subjected from a linguistic, social, and intellectual perspective. In particular, we follow the differences between how language evolves in traditional communities and how it mutates in today's world, with all the possible consequences of paradigm change.

Key words:

Language, dynamics, linguistic, social, intellectual perspective.

Preliminaries

Although seemingly just a means of communication, language –as one of the functions of the human being– is a reality produced through evolution. It has gradually developed into a complex organism which partially overtook the roles of other means of transmitting information (since any sign or symptom, such as gestures, mime, the flushing of the face, sweating, etc., can be expressed in linguistic form) while developing new competencies towards this purpose (starting with the economical character of the second articulation and ending with the finer semantic and stylistic nuances). It has thus come to convey various types of information:

affective, emotional, volitive, behavioural, intellectual, cognitive, aesthetic, social, ethno-psychological, etc. The functions of language progressively tailored its structure, as verbal and non-verbal communication needs generated formal reorganisations. These, in turn, led to anatomic modifications which further increased language's ability to convey information, enhancing it with new roles (language not only communicates, but is communicated; it not only expresses, but emphasises) and values (which indicate attitudes and hierarchies with axiological or cultural roots).

Due to the fact that language captures and conveys reality in ways ingrained with its own structural and functional characteristics, those who speak it (and through which it is spoken), both individuals and groups, have come to perceive this organism as an autonomous reality, and to use it as an instrument. Since language is a form of human behaviour like any other, the adaptation of its speakers to its requirements in various communication situations led to a marked congruity of their behaviours. That is, insofar as the speakers possessed multiple idiolects, they developed different linguistic behaviours for each of their social circles: one for the circle of friends, one or more for the different members of the family (the father, the authoritative uncle, a younger brother, an older sister, etc.), one at work, one with a friendly bartender, one with a rigid clerk, and another one in the academic auditorium – the members of each social category tend towards the same type of behaviour. Through its symbolic values (familiar, intimate, official, occasional, etc., depending on the context and the degree of familiarity, intimacy, etc.), language became a factor of identification with a group, be it ethnic, spatial, social, etc. Between language and speaker, as well as between the linguistic norm and community, a cybernetic type of relationship has been established.

The language of a community tends naturally towards homogeneity, with the contacts between different usages delimiting and shaping the linguistic norm. Individuals who are socially organised across a contiguous territory exist as members of a group, which in turn may be an integral part of a larger community. Although individuals and groups within the community exhibit variations typical of the different parts of the same organism, the anatomy and physiology of the “whole” show a reasonable degree of homogeneity, manifested on a linguistic level through the emergence of a linguistic norm. At the same time, even though language manifests itself and interactions occur on an individual level, given the

social character of language, i.e., the fact that individuals must somehow (either positively or negatively¹) relate to the group, and the fact that language serves the purpose of communicating with other individuals, the use of language results in the crystallization of a linguistic norm, a compromise accepted and practised by the group.

In a natural way, to the extent permitted by the general conditions of the times, individuals and groups within a linguistic community are always in contact. Whether they are ample and intense (when occurring on an individual or social (micro)group level), or rather limited, the results of these contacts depend on their extent – not only in the number of those involved or the area of contact, but also the prestige and authority of the participants. The first consequence of these contacts is stability, through the establishment and consolidation of an efficient norm which stabilises the language. The other consequence is variability, through the diffusion and adoption of linguistic changes. The interplay between these two sets of effects generates reactions of either acceptance² or (conservative) rejection of the elements arisen and transmitted through contact.

If a community were deprived of contacts with other communities, the evolution processes occurring inside it would be relatively slow-paced, governed by the same tendencies and dynamics as a live and autarchic organism. If, within that community, evolution of all kinds did not increase social stratification beyond a certain level, one would expect language to exhibit similarly unimportant variations. Although the lack of diatopic and diastratic differentiation only characterises certain primitive societies (micro-communities spread across a limited territory and with a weak social

¹ On how society and the group control the individual, and on the process of actually learning the group's norm, see G.R. Cardona, *Introduzione all'etnolinguistica*, UTET, Bologna, 1976, p. 95-97.

² It is not important in itself that changes to the linguistic norm occur. What matters is for these changes to be integrated into the existing norm a) without endangering its structural integrity, and b) with the endorsement of an authoritative segment of the community. Over at least the past fifty years, this role has drifted from the hands of those competent and with authority (i.e., reflective and experienced speakers, not necessarily linguists) to the bulk of the speakers, remarkably imitative and thus prone to homogenisation. The "takeover" of the endorser role by a (sub)mediocre majority stems from socially equalitarian changes through which the bulk of society participates in a variety of social activities, resulting in a waning social division of labour, with the "competent" minorities originating from the same incompetent majority.

stratification), this hypothetical situation is relevant as a theoretical, ideal one, serving as reference for what actually happens in more evolved societies.

In reality, a language spoken across a certain territory tends towards a degree of stratification that depends on both the physical extent of the geographical territory itself and the social stratification of its inhabitant community. Spatial and social distances are natural stratification factors, and can only be attenuated through the circulation and interaction of individuals. Even then, groups formed naturally as a consequence of these stratifications tend to conserve their sub-identity as part of the larger community³.

Interactions on a diatopic and diastratic level

In general, linguistic areas (or rather the groups that they delimit) cannot avoid the effects of linguistic evolution occurring in those neighbouring territories that use the same language, since contact with neighbours is inherent. While attempting to safeguard the linguistic characteristics it has developed and cultivated through evolution, the group may react to outside innovations in such a way as to conserve – proportionally to the force, means, and efficiency of this reaction, as well as to the stakes at play – its own individualising features. Since no group exists as an immutable and indivisible entity, the ultimate factor one must have in mind is the individual, who can act by himself, as part of the group, as its representative, or as a coagulant and catalysing factor.

Studying the process of stratification within a language at the level of local patois and referring to how in such a case speakers belonging to different patois can nevertheless understand each other, A. Meillet asserts the existence of certain rules of correspondence between these patois, rules which speakers are mindful of, and which constitute themselves into a “moyen de transposer en gros un parler dans l’autre”⁴. The same savant also

³ Even though they may function better as part of larger conglomerates or organisms, elements in the Universe (from the tiny atomic nucleus to the eukaryotic cell and up to the most massive galaxy clusters) tend to delimit themselves and maintain a certain degree of identity (often to the limit of their own extinction), with all the energy spent on the interplay between simple existence and participation in a superior “whole”.

⁴ See A. Meillet, *Différenciation et unification dans les langues*, in *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, H. Champion, Paris, 1921, p. 111. Similarly to any situation where two or more entities sharing a common space are necessarily driven to compete, groups also tend to acquire prestige in order to become models and gain pre-eminence over other

shows that “Dès l’instant que des hommes appartenant à des groupes divers emploient des parlers déjà différenciés, ils ont le sentiment de ces règles de correspondance (...)”⁵.

Different groups with more or less different norms often have opposing tendencies with roots at the level of the individual. The central factor is what could generically be called *prestige*. While proving the predominantly social character of language evolution, A. Meillet shows that, although linguistic innovations partly originate in anatomical, physiological, and psychological realities, what actually settles the forms and determines linguistic evolution is the social environment of the speakers. This idea, prevalent in the Saussurean linguistic school, is nuanced by Meillet beyond a strictly theoretical and abstract interpretation: “Toutes les langues connues, populaires ou savantes, trahissent la préoccupation d’un mieux dire qui partout conduit les sujets parlants à emprunter le langage de ceux qui sont censées parler mieux. Chaque différenciation est tôt ou tard, et parfois immédiatement, suivie d’une réaction qui tend à rétablir ou à instaurer l’unité de la langue là où il y a unité de civilisation”⁶.

Social dynamics of groups, a consequence of socialisation and of the individual’s tendency to search for new forms of identity, leads to (sometimes marked) variations in the idiolects, which result in an increased heterogeneity of individual speech. In this context, one might argue the existence of a relation of indeterminateness between individual variations that have social significance and the linguistic structures⁷. What W. Labov affirms when referring to the individual (“every speaker we have encountered shows a shift of some linguistic variables as the social context and topic change”⁸) also applies to the community as a whole, as discussed

groups. After hierarchy is established, subordinate groups may exhibit tendencies of preserving their identity in various ways and with various means of action.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁷ Cf. W. Labov, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, Washington, 1966, p. 5.

⁸ W. Labov, *The Study of Language in Its Social Context*, in *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Philadelphia, 1972, p. 208. Of course, the occurrence of some forms may be caused by a special situation of communication –the dialectological interview–, and therefore by the onset of the interviewer–informant relationship. It is remarkable that as a rule, regardless of the dialectological source area of the interviewer, the relationship between the two participants is centred on two coordinates: the *literary* / *popular* one, and the one based on social group stratification (cf. AD, p. 36f).

by J. Gillieron: “Le langage est ainsi l’objet d’une étude incessante, un travail d’assimilation et de retouche, qui paralysent la liberté de son développement, soit qu’un parler fier de soi et dédaigneux de voisins qu’il juge inférieurs, peut-être parce qu’ils représentent un état social moins avancé, se prenne lui-même comme modèle, refonde à son image les mots qui lui viennent du dehors et impose à la diversité historiquement régulière de ses éléments une régularité factice, mais actuellement saisissable, soit qu’au contraire des parlers, qui ne veulent plus ou ne peuvent plus être indépendants, trouvent hors de chez eux ce qu’ils tiennent pour le modèle du bien dire et refaçonnent leur personnalité méprisée à l’image de celle qu’ils admirent”⁹.

The two situations illustrate in a clear way how the one and the same language naturally experiences both diatopic and diastratic stratifications. Speakers have the ability to observe these differences and seem to have the tendency to alleviate them. The latter type of action, however, does not manifest itself as (re)unification, but rather as conquest or assimilation. Groups within the same community and individuals within the same group are not on a position of equality, because the natural tendency is not towards quasi-amorphous and unspecialised unification of cells in a functional organism, but towards hierarchization and refined stratification of specialised “tissues” as part of an efficient structure. In essence, whether we look at the linguistic norm of a random community or group, or at the literary norm itself, that language form is nothing else but a reasonable compromise established through the refinement of the norm belonging to the group that won the linguistic “battle”.

Individuals and groups normally exhibit behaviours that promote the homogeneity and stability of the linguistic norm (its imitation and weight within the group being its most obvious vector), with a subgroup often assuming the role of custodian of the norm. It is, at the same time, just as usual for both individuals and groups to exhibit evolutionary tendencies with either internal causes (with roots in social or cultural dynamics, gender or age dynamics, mentality changes, as well as certain structural or functional requirements of the language), or external ones (mainly related to circulation and interaction). Some individuals may show a strong tendency to revolutionise the norm, and some may even escape by assimilating different norms (other regional norms or the literary norm).

⁹ In *Études de géographie*, p. 74.

Relation to external norms

As participant to the linguistic act, especially in the role of listener, one has the ability to notice differences between one's own norm and an external one with which one comes into contact, an ability that may facilitate or impose the reorientation of one's discourse towards and according to the expectations of the recipient. If the speaker identifies sufficiently many or good reasons, he might feel compelled to either reduce or cancel some of the vertically significant differences, or to mark them accordingly¹⁰. In that case, speech gains formality of some sort, through the use of elements from the interlocutor's norm, or from the more elevated aspect of the speaker's own norm, that is, by generating the highest form of the linguistic norm of his vernacular. In general, the causes that lead there are related to the stakes that the speaker has in mind.

A hierarchy is always established between two norms that come into contact. Whether one of them is the literary norm or both are regional or social norms, from the point of view of the speaker there is always a ranking. Usually, an individual who masters the supradialectal literary norm uses it almost exclusively, since it is the result of an effort to learn an instrument considered the most perfected and widely-accepted, and therefore universal. At times, however, even when fully capable of using the literary norm, the individual may choose otherwise for reasons he considers to be important. For instance, interacting speakers belonging to the same (regional) norm may consider the use of a different norm—even the literary norm, and even if it is mastered by all the participants— as an aggression. The literary norm does not, therefore, necessarily and universally find itself on a privileged position. For certain classes of diatopically and diastratically delimited speakers, their linguistic norm is the one that truly counts.

In Cameroon, for instance, Pidgin English (also known as Cameroonian Creole or Kamtok), is used for insults or in less serious situations when one can joke, while Bangwa is used in all other communication situations. In the Central African Republic, French is the official language, while Sango is the vernacular. The former is used for official purposes and as an instrument of ascension on the social ladder¹¹. The choice of language depends on the context, and ignoring conventions may lead

¹⁰ Cf. Ch. Bailly, *Le langage et la vie*, Zürich, 1935, p. 156, where it is stated that "l'entendeur est –toutes choses égales, d'ailleurs– plus conscient que le parleur".

¹¹ J. Leclerc, *Langue et société*, deuxième édition, Mondia Éditeurs, Québec, 1992, p. 31f.

to the social expulsion of the perpetrator. Even though the above examples refer to norms that do not exclusively originate in the language of the locals, but of their conquerors, these situations are significant since in both cases the tendency of the bulk of the speakers is to reject not only foreign languages but also superordinate norms, and so to favour not only their own languages but also their own norms.

Upward social mobility

In general, communities tend to safeguard their identity through conservative and retractile reactions towards innovations, whether these are internal or generated by interactions with other groups. Their reactions are aimed at preserving the particularities that characterise and differentiate the community, i.e., the entity's identity. Within itself, the group perceives, recognises, and imposes subdivisions on all levels of language, for all categories of speakers (according to age, gender, cultural and intellectual status, education, social status, etc.). Nevertheless, the group maintains its unity, and a rigorous control is performed on each subdivision. In this way, both the existing members of the group and those who –aiming to obtain this status– have been recognised as aspiring to it are subjected to a severe control aimed at conserving the linguistic norm, i.e., a true “language police”¹².

Both speaker and group can react against intrusions that threaten to affect the norm, through conscious changes aimed at maintaining the equilibrium between the part and the whole. This type of group cohesion can manifest in numerous ways. Speakers of a local patois may intentionally preserve their characteristic (regional or local) particularities, even upon contact with the literary norm. The most educated speakers may return to the etymon, or may simply refine their speech. For example, although stress is a markedly physiological trait, which depends on the dosage of exhaled air, it may be changed on purpose when a term is adopted by a much too broader category of speakers, from which the educated ones wish to dissociate. This is how, for instance, rom. *ántic* and *butelíe* become *antíc* and *butélie*, respectively, how *tráfíc* pairs up with *trafíc*, and *caractér* with *carácter*. In turn, the normal speaker may come to adopt both variants, which determines the instructed speaker to invent a new position to retreat

¹² W. von Wartburg, *Problèmes et méthodes de la linguistique*, second edition, S. Ullmann, Paris, 1963, p. 26. For the social implications of obeying or ignoring the norm, and the importance of the individual's compliance to it, see Chr. Baylon, *Sociolinguistique. Société, langue, discours*, Nathan, Paris, 1991, p. 165-168.

on: semantic differentiation (which is not terribly successful from the point of view of functionality and efficiency, since *tráfíc* is now meant to refer to ‘illegal trade or exchange of goods’ and *trafíc* to ‘vehicles on roads, or the flux thereof’, while *caractér* should have the meaning ‘mental and moral qualities distinctive to an individual’ and *carácter* ‘written or printed symbol, or letter’). Such reactions indicate the existence of cohesion within the community, labelled by S. Puşcariu as “regional solidarity”¹³, and are characteristic of live organisms driven by their survival instinct.

As it failed to resist the pressures of the supradialectal norm, the utterance of the former literary Banat subdialect became to a great extent a regional norm. In fact, it was not the case that the patois from which this norm emerged and on which it was based resorbed its literary aspect due to its local prestige, but that its prestige, as well as the literary aspect’s ability to survive, allowed it to take the place of the local patois. Many of today’s regionalisms are old particularities of literary dialect which were not selected by the supradialectal literary norm, a situation similar to how the norm changes its position within the community¹⁴.

On the other hand, however, speakers may manifest and follow tendencies of adjustment to the linguistic particularities of their interlocutor. This reaction is an indicator of both the adaptability of organisms and the possibility for causes to develop that set in motion this complex pattern.

A special type of propensity towards upward mobility emerges during dialectological interviews. Due to the special circumstances of this subtype of linguistic contact, the subject may exhibit reactions of adjustment to the interviewer’s own linguistic norm. In this respect, individuals who during dialectological interviews are striving to pass as representative models of the vernacular in question are comparable to those who refuse it. Both types are

¹³ S. Puşcariu, LR II, p. 310-311. Advancing the idea of linguistic stratification (within relatively small groups) formed by various criteria and aimed at creating new norms, A. Meillet shows how it may result from acts of will, sometimes with far-reaching consequences: “Quand il ne se produit pas de réactions, la différenciation aboutit à des résultats tels que l’utilité du langage en est singulièrement diminuée” (A. Meillet, *op.cit.*, p. 116). Also cf. Millardet, *Linguistique*, p. 270, then p. 275, where he talks about a „tradition phonétique locale”. A. Dauzat observes that „l’action du groupe est, particulièrement notable en matière de phonétique” (in *Les patois*, p. 65). Cf. W. Labov, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, Washington, 1966, p. 405.

¹⁴ For examples from Anglophone areas of how phonetisms belonging to the authoritative norm are enforced, but also of how elements belonging to the subordinate norm may be preserved, see Hagège, Haudricourt, p. 148-149.

conscious of the differences between norms, and some of the individuals are able to make an effort to alleviate them. As for those who refuse collaboration, they declare in this manner their incapacity of obtaining a satisfying result from that effort. Their gesture does not betray indifference towards the distinctions between norms, but rather the exact opposite. One way or another, all informers make comments on a linguistic level and emit reflections about their own norm (even when that is the literary norm), which apart from the ability of observing differences between norms also indicates a preoccupation in this direction¹⁵.

E. Petrovici¹⁶ encounters subjects with variegated speech (“grai împestriat”), owing to their attempts to pronounce “more literarily”, and who avoid, for instance, the palatalization of dentals “and of course of labials” (p. 50), then a subject who is ashamed to pronounce /k'/, /g'/, because he maintains that –except for youngsters and shepherds (“flăcăii și ciobanii”), who palatalise– people in the village no longer speak like that (p. 69), or another one who pretends that palatal occlusives for *p* and *b* are characteristic of women (“măierește se zice așa”) (p. 70, 73-74). He also points out that in the village of Vinători (in Mureș county), the locals are embarrassed to pass as representatives of a patois they consider unpleasant, though with each other they do speak exclusively with palatalized labials (p. 87).

Talking about the conscious reactions encountered in speakers belonging to the dialectal norm, S. Pușcariu presents a form such as *vinimă* for *inimă*, acquired from a subject in point 122 of ALR¹⁷. The informer wishes to prove his ability to adopt forms belonging to the norm used by well-educated people –to adapt his speech, even partially, to the requirements of the educated norm–, and to operate with the principles of the educated norm by applying them to his speech. Somewhat mindful of the mistakes he risks making at any moment by acting this way, he reacts excessively against his own forms and eliminates the palatal consonant, replacing it with the corresponding labiodental. Such a situation shows that *inimă* was pronounced in that point of ALR with a voiced palatal approximant, with the depalatalization following the model /yin/ < /vin/, /yisat/ < /visat/. A similar situation is

¹⁵ Cf. S. Pușcariu, *Études de linguistique roumaine*, p. 85, 189-190. The literature on this subject is actually very rich in examples that attest changes in the speaker’s usual discourse, depending on his social position, geographic origin, gender, the listener’s age, etc. The example of the country priest given by Pușcariu on p. 85 is therefore typical. (While on a trip in the mountains, S. Pușcariu is helped by the local priest. Before leaving, the latter addresses a villager: “Bade Ioane, sînt *potcoviți* caii?”, after which he turns to S. Pușcariu and explains: “Cînd pleci călare pe munte trebuie să te uiți mai întîi dacă calul este bine *potcovit*.”). S. Pușcariu also describes the case of an individual who employs multiple norms, depending on his interlocutor.

¹⁶ In EPI.

¹⁷ S. Pușcariu, LR II, p. 238-239, where the author talks about hyper-zeal (“hiperzel”).

that of *viarili rîsului*¹⁸, where hyper-regression from *y* occurs through the modification of the initial sequence of the word *gheare*. Conversely, a form such as /yînrⁱ/ for /vinerⁱ/ ‘vineri’ results from overbidding the dialectal phonetism, and possibly from a reaction that tries to settle things on solid ground (i.e., on the speaker’s own vernacular, the one language form he truly masters)¹⁹.

Apart from the psychic mechanisms of surrender which come into play, these exaggerations indicate the existence of active capabilities of analysis and orientation of the speaker, who by means of language constructs a speech, sometimes unlocatable (“iréperable”), but always in relation to a different level which he compares to his own, and from which he borrows the mechanisms of change²⁰.

The tendencies illustrated above refer to temporary contacts through which speakers only make some sort of exercise inside their own environment, upon interacting with representatives of an external environment, with all intentions strictly limited to the duration of that contact.

However, situations occur that determine the speaker of a regional norm to adopt a different regional norm, particularly in the case of an individual relocated from one place to another. While outside their environment, surrounded by speakers of another norm, these individuals no longer act on a temporary impulse, but on the need to adapt to the norm of the majority. Comparable to those who suffer this spatially determined pressure are those who reinvent themselves for social purposes. That is, the same process of abandoning one’s norm occurs in individuals who seek to ascend on the social ladder, and who consequently adopt the literary norm. These are two situations in which individuals give up their own norms for social reasons. This sustains the idea that normally, even when he recognises the superiority of another norm (be it parallel or superordinate), the individual will not adopt it or use it unless there are important reasons for him to do so.

In fact, the reasons that strongly determine the speaker to preserve the linguistic norm (but also the social, moral, behavioural, aesthetic, mentality,

¹⁸ This is how situations like *livian* for *lighean*, *viară* for *gheară*, etc. appear, all pointing out that, in the mind of the speaker, such a correspondence exists.

¹⁹ See AD, p. 293.

²⁰ From a phonologic perspective, one should stress that it is not mandatory for these changes to ease the articulation, since the principle of economy in language, often acting in less direct and obvious ways, is not the driver of this type of change if narrowly interpreted under the particular aspect of its ease of use.

etc., norms) of his group also influence the individuals who wish to get accepted and settle into that group. Even though, in that case, it is no longer about maintaining the group's identity through the loyalty of its members, but about converting the individuals who pursue access into the group, the stakes are the same and therefore the requirements remain unchanged²¹.

The speaker belonging to the dialectal norm (either inferior from a social point of view or just unpopular in the group he wishes to join) is subject to considerable pressure from the group to adopt the types of behaviour that characterise the group. He will perhaps try to eliminate differentiating peculiarities from his speech, and adopt instead the corresponding traits of the norm he aspires towards, since access to that norm primarily regards those elements that are in most contrast between the two norms. Being characteristic to social classes and individuals in social ascension, equipped with mobility²² and driven by social stakes²³, this process may generate "socially" or "socio-symbolically conditioned variants", which would not represent distinctions in the universe of primary discourse but would only serve to express the relative social status of the speaker²⁴.

²¹ For transitions between norms, the defence of one's own norm, and the conservativeness of groups, and for the relationships between various groups and the literary norm, see Shick, p. 293 and 323f.

²² See also M. Tiugan, *Sociolinguistics analysis of a phonological variable*, in RRL, t. XXII, 1977, p. 431-444, who, following the steps of W. Labov in a discussion on "lack of Security", shows how "*The linguistic insecurity* is specific to the speakers which adopt standards of correctness imposed by a group other than their own reference one and leads to hypercorrection because the speakers did not internalise yet the forms lately learned. So they are not able to apply the rules which can tell them where their «correction must stop»" (s.a.) (p. 437). The proof that hypercorrection is a hallmark in particular of this class of speakers, who focussing on pronunciation or on their speech in general control themselves to an exaggerate reaction, is also discussed in two other papers by the same author, *The depalatalization of d before e. A Sociolinguistic Approach*, in RRL, t. XXIII, Supplément (1978), p. 55-63, and *The pronunciation of the diphthong [ia] in the Speech of Bucharest City Community*, in RRL, t. XXIV (1979), p. 491-498.

²³ Along these lines, see also J.L. Fischer, *Social influences*, p. 52: "even though the mechanisms of psychic economy are becoming better understood in diachronic phonemics, they are not always sufficient to fully explain the progressive adaptation of variant forms; (...) people adopt a variant primarily not because it is easier to pronounce (which most frequently is, but not always), or because it facilitates some important distinction in denotational meaning, but because it exposes how they feel about their relative status versus other conversants".

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

The success of an individual who builds himself a linguistic and behavioural structure similar or identical to that of the group towards which he aspires depends on finding comparison terms, having access to the model structure, possessing the capacity to analyse the language of that model, and responding to the reactions of others to his new behaviour. The method of choice is imitation by way of analogic substitution, with the main goal of the process being to discard his own old norm and adopt the new one instead²⁵.

This process is not effortless and its results are not guaranteed. Exaggerations often appear as a result of inadequate usage of the target norm, and they essentially stem from the difficulty of equally mastering two norms²⁶, since the natural tendency is to regard and assess the target-norm (the unknown) from the perspective of one's own norm (the known). Practically, these speakers exhibit the same behaviour as children: they apply rules from "langue" in order to get through to a "parole" which they do not know.

The existence of such realities may on the other hand generate reactions of preserving social stratification by expressly marking it in a number of ways, including linguistically. In general, an organism such as the literary norm or a superordinate norm –a construction that required a laborious evolution process, the creation and enforcement of certain principles, as well as protocols and criteria for its working and development– exhibits identity-safeguarding tendencies directly proportional to the quantity and quality of the energy spent on developing that norm, as well as to its functional value.

²⁵ Sometimes, however, it is difficult to reveal the exact effect that social pressures in shaping linguistic behaviour, in some situations the individual being more loyal to his small community than to the larger one, i.e., to his own stratum instead of the cultured one. See also W. Labov, *L'influenza relativa della famiglia e dei compagni sull'oppuramento del linguaggio*, in *Aspetti sociolinguistici dell'Italia contemporanea. Atti dell'Congresso internazionale di studi*, Bressanone, 31 maggio–2 giugno, Roma, 1977, p. 11–53; D. Parisi, *Sulla diversità delle competenze linguistiche*, in *vol. cit.*, p. 127–138; Nora Galli de'Paratesi, *La standardizzazione delle pronuncia nell'italiano contemporaneo*, in *vol. cit.*, p. 167–195; Peter A.M. Seuren, *Riorientamenti metodologici nello studio delle variabilità linguistica*, in *Ideologia, filosofia e linguistica. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Rende (cs)*, 15–17 settembre, 1978, Roma 1982, p. 499–515.

²⁶ See, however, the example given by E. Petrovici, who encountered a speaker whose excellent knowledge of the particularities of the patois in various zones of Banat did not affect his own norm, and who kept the traits of all the norms he mastered separated (EPI, p. 43).

For this reason, the education process involves focussing upon and learning the educated norm, and those who already use this norm exert a rigorous control over those who wish to adopt it (and also, mutually, over those who are already using it). At the same time, speakers of the literary norm preserve their linguistic and cultural instrument through a severe demarcation from all other norms. The reactions against the tendency of subordinate groups to narrow this gap are aimed at preserving the linguistically-marked integrity and individuality. Even though the speakers and the custodians of both regional and literary linguistic norms may act with similar means, the former only aim to preserve their identity and, implicitly, their existence, while the latter are also interested in the non-interference of other norms and the sole usage of the literary norm's characteristic features. For this reason, they will not tolerate a certain overlap with the regional norms, but will tolerate principles and even elements inspired by foreign literary norms. Thus, in response to the invasive motion of the regional norms, the speakers of the literary norm will change the accent, the sounds, and in general will return to the etymon just to avoid confusion with the regional norms.

Compared to the stable groups, which only seek to protect their identity, mobile groups –and in particular their members– have the social tendency of acceding to the superior group by any means, sometimes regardless of how well they master the norms of that group, i.e., of the degree of actual integration. The linguistic uniformity thus generated aims to make the norms compatible up to the removal of identifying differences²⁷, with the stakes being in fact social, not linguistic, and with the individual pursuing the escape from his own group and the integration into the target group. This situation occurs in certain epochs, reflecting the tendencies of vertical, upward social mobility.

The current situation reflects more and more this type of behaviour with all its consequences. In older times, social stratification was both clearer and more acutely felt, with no supradialectal norm having an 'equilibrium' role between the various dialects, and therefore without a position for these dialects to aspire to and compete for. Differences were in fact reinforced and functioning as such due to the existence –within each

²⁷ In the sense of removing those differences that, given the social stratification, are unfavourable to that community. Cf. J.C. Corbeil, *Éléments d'une théorie de la régulation linguistique*, in *La norme linguistique*, p. 281-303.

subdialect— of a prestige class which maintained its individuality. The lack of intense contacts between the various groups within each subdialect, as well as between the corresponding groups of different subdialects, the possibility of a somewhat autarchic evolution, and the prestige of each elite class were conditions that favoured the independent evolution, along separate lines, of the patois and subdialects. The intensification of social contacts regardless of the quality of the groups and subgroups, the expansionist tendencies of certain social classes together with their possibilities to accede to superior levels of the social hierarchy —without the linguistic norm being a *sine qua non* condition any more— have led to the formation of a critical mass of the individuals who entered into the social category that traditionally used the literary norm. This social situation unbalanced the linguistic and social scale, in that it deteriorated the filtering and assimilation mechanisms of the literary norms.

Between the regional and the literary linguistic norms there is an intermediary, “standard” norm, a possible meeting point of all the speakers who do not fully master the literary norm, but manage to raise themselves above the local or dialectal particularities. In this place one migrates from the regional norm, sometimes with the intention of continuing towards the literary norm. For some, this intermediate level may be the final destination, while for others it remains a space of accommodation with principles that, being closer to those of the literary norm, are superior to those belonging to the regional norm. While things remain that way, using the standard norm is either a way to pass through an indispensable “apprenticeship” on the way to the literary norm, or to just raise oneself above the status of “dialectal speaker” by acceding into a norm somehow “joined to” the literary norm. Nowadays, however, the standard norm tends to be altered through an overload of vulgarisms, agrammatisms, semantic improprieties, and all sort of linguistic innovations stemming from the excessive instrumentalisation of language. The access into a system of a large number of people who do not possess the qualities inherent to that system inevitably leads to the lowering of the system’s standards and tensions that ultimately give it life and quality.

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Conclusions

As a consequence of natural evolution processes occurring on a linguistic, mental, and social level (language, thought, society), the linguistic material undergoes changes in all compartments of language

(phonologic, grammatical, lexical and semantic). Whether we talk about regional norms or the literary norm, the dynamic and evolutionary equilibrium between the tendency for variability (which generates evolution by adaptation) and the tendency for conservation (which ensures continuity and self-identity) constitutes a process that is natural, normal, and beneficial for the optimal evolution of the language “organism”. Amidst the forces that oppose the stability of language, apart from its own needs to adjust to the events of its own evolution, are the effects of the interactions between individuals and between groups. Linked primarily to upward or even simple social mobility, these interactions put to test the action of the centripetal forces, which act as a conservative filter. In such moments, numerous preservation mechanisms may be set into motion, with the (literary or regional) norm defending itself not against the aspiring individual but against his linguistic particularities, which could affect it. The normal defence mechanism is forcing the individual to integrate, i.e., directing him towards adopting the norm spoken by the social group he intends to belong to. Since social dynamics is a natural process, which ensures the health of the social organism, it is in equilibrium with the conservation forces, and each time an individual succeeds in entering a group through integration, he brings benefits to that group. Obviously, it is sometimes possible, as part of this process, for the superordinate norm to adopt elements brought over by external individuals, which is not a pure coincidence but one of the means by which the norm itself evolves and develops.

The major problems occur when the individual who aspires to a higher social status does not exhibit the capacity and the will to integrate himself through adaptation. By ignoring the adaptation process –notwithstanding his aspiration towards a higher status characterised by certain particularities, exigencies, principles, and operation rules–, the aspirant practically negates the identity of that social status, which makes his access into it a nonsense. In reality, by acceding without a preliminary adaptation process and without obeying the requirements of that group, he dilutes the characteristics of the target group with those of his original one, thus nullifying the very traits he coveted and the identity of the target group. Since this process leaves the individual’s original group unchanged but destroys the filters of the target group –and cancels the criteria that support its exponent groups–, it leads to the transformation of superordinate groups into parallel, alternative groups, depriving society of the groups that lead it forward and that can constitute a goal to aspire to.

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IN SEARCH OF ITS OWN IDENTITY: MASS-MEDIA IN POST-COMMUNISM

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Abstract:

The present research focuses on the mass-media system as it evolved in the first post-communist decade. Right after December 1989, hundreds of newspapers, magazines and other kinds of publications appeared in Romania. Likewise, the number of publishing houses grew exponentially, from a few scores to thousands of titles. During the following years, the first private radio stations started broadcasting and, shortly after them, commercial televisions surpassed the national television in terms of rating.

The journalistic career was embraced by thousands of people activating in all sectors of the media, who did not always have specialist studies in the field. As a natural consequence, the first faculties of journalism appeared and grew in number around the country. During this time, the professional elites emerged, yet the criteria of selection were disarmingly diverse, mostly targeting vocation and rather than, marginally, education.

Our research aims to address this paradoxical situation and, on the other hand, to offer, in a broader picture, the characteristics of the *landscape, the environment and characters* that occupied the foreground of the journalistic stage. Regarding the elites, the emphasis lies on the sheer struggle for primacy, alongside with stunning discrepancies between some people's biography (educational background) and their aims, which offers notable elements worth discussing.

However, in view of public opinion, the journalistic elites have succeeded in raising the professional (journalistic) status to a social position regarded as superior to most public occupations, thus switching the roles they used to have during the communist dictatorship. The relationship between the writer and the journalist is also substantially adjusted by favouring the latter, after decades when, during the communist period, writers seemed to be more sensitive to the contemporary problems than journalists. The research also seeks to establish the contribution of academic journalistic studies to the dynamic of mass-media and to the perpetuation of the silent conflict between certain opinion-leaders among journalists who support professional mentorship and the sphere of academic journalistic studies, which represent the educational alternative.

Keywords:

Post-communism, journalism, vocation, education, profession, statute, elites.

The present text represents a continuation of our preoccupation¹ regarding the evolution of the Romanian media in post-communism. The subject caught the attention of numerous researchers, all the while becoming the legacy of certain specialised institutions, increasingly numerous, some of which were founded for the purpose of registering, quantifying or surveying, both the accelerated dynamic and the effects that mass-media produces in society. The fact is all the more explainable as, in almost five decades, communist totalitarianism created a historical *hiatus* between the Romanian inter-war media, with a very well established role in society, and the communist media, whose attributions were reduced to ideological propaganda.

If, during the time between 1944 and 1989, at different stages and through a sinuous succession, it was possible to regain certain cultural values (in literature, arts, sciences), the representative contributions to the media and the radio were denied the chance of such re-evaluation, due to the fact that the original principles underlying them – the freedom of speech and opinion – had been confiscated by the sole party. The communist media had to abandon their attributes of informing on the reality and, *in corpore*, journalists were transformed into some sort of alchemists in whose jars lies were supposed to turn into gold.

Out of the ashes of the December 1989 Revolution, the new media will be born, with the effervescence of any beginning, becoming the mirror of the burning issues and hot topics confronting Romanian society during the last two decades. While regaining its mission, the mass-media in our country has been going through profound structural transformations.

I. It is unanimously accepted that the liberalisation (be it political, economic or social) which came immediately after December 1989 has served the media in the highest degree. The media was the first to signal the transition to the market economy, achieving in the following years of

¹ *El Dorado sau despre peisaj, medii și personaje în jurnalismul românesc de la sfârșit de secol și de mileniu (El Dorado or about the Landscape, Environment and Characters in Romanian Journalism at the End of the Century and Millennium)*, in the Spiru Haret University Archive (Journalistic series) no. 2, "România de Măine" Foundation's Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001, p. 21-33, *Cultura versus media (cronica unui eveniment dinainte anunțat)* – (Culture versus the Media: the Chronicle of a Pre-Announced Event>), in the Spiru Haret University Archive (Journalism series) no. 3, „România de Măine” Foundation's Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002, p. 21-33.

dynamic evolution, highly significant success. From the very days of the revolution, a few “free” newspapers appeared, followed shortly after, by a veritable avalanche of publications, amounting to thousands at national level². During this time, the main components of the mass-media, the radio and the television, have made noticeable progress. The new media has rapidly, naturally and necessarily connected with its old traditions from the inter-war period. In this respect, the most significant element was represented by the perpetuation of attitudinal journalism, illustrating the so-called “French model”, which was individualised, subjective, repercussive, a vision in which talent, vocation and general knowledge were the ingredients of success in the journalist’s craft. Thousands of journalists emerged almost overnight, as it were, lured by the wonder of the new occupation from all professional or occupational fields.

Shortly after, the first journalism faculties appeared, as part of either state-owned or private institutions. In the absence of consolidated traditions (regarding the teaching of this discipline in the universities in our country), academic journalism adopted the so-called “English model” of media production, where “facts are sovereign, comments are free”. Another interesting and pluralistic aspect is also revealed by the fact that the number of teachers specialised in journalism who actually teach at these academic institutions is insignificant. Having been retrained, they come from other various academic fields, some of them related to journalists, others not even by far. Beyond this paradox there is a strong justification: except for a few teachers of journalism from the former “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy, no other faculty could issue diplomas to attest qualifications in the profession.

Despite the serious impediments mentioned above, the system worked on both sides: with the contribution of such rising new journalists³, issue of

² Some of the great circulation newspapers published since the communist period continue their activity under new titles (*Scânteia* becomes *Adevărul*, *Informația Bucureștiului* turns into *Libertatea*, *Scânteia tineretului* changes its name to *Tineretul liber*, etc.) most of the county official editions become *Libertatea* or add adjectives such as “new”, “free”, but we also note comebacks under “historical” titles, such as *Curierul național*, *Cuvântul*, *Azi*, *Dimineața*, *Ziua*, *Viitorul*, *Evenimentul zilei*, *Dreptatea*, *Curentul*, *Ora*, *Epoca*, *Viața Capitalei*, *Național*, *Cotidianul*, *Cronica română*, *Gândul*, *Observator*, *Meridian*, *Jurnalul național*, *Oglinda*, *Realitatea românească*, *Tricolorul*, *Agora*, *Acum*.

³ We ought to note that many of the people initially engaged in the media had university degrees in the newly founded academic system.

publications, as well as their diversity, continued to grow constantly. At the same time, the universities provided human resource for the media, fresh from the ranks of the youngest generations coming to take on the world in the fast lane.

Beside the unprecedented vigour of the media phenomena, perfectly explainable for those interested in studying its functional resorts in the context after December 1989, the media of this period presented itself in a fabulous-idyllic light, mostly due to the enormous gap between the real number of professionals and all those actively involved in the media.

II. The attempt to convey this new setting, circumstances, and characters in a panoramic picture, however necessary, could not be realised due to the dynamic of the phenomena, difficult to portray other than as a “moving picture”. Even though it is difficult to draw certainties from transition periods, notable attempts⁴ have been made, since statistics is the most efficient method of analysis and representation of the situation in the mass-media. Moreover, there were necessities related to the media’s relation with the economic sphere (characterised by strong competition), which created lines of power with opposed interests, in which manipulation is not unknown, thus making the media stray from their natural ends of putting things into an ordered perspective. We notice that the existing attempts did not manage to draw a realistic picture.

In our opinion, such an unpredictable evolution of the phenomena can be described during several stages.

1. 1990-1997, the stage of the most accelerated progress of the mass-media (written press, radio, television), was characterised by the amorphous, chaotic and inertial accumulation of financial capital. As we described it in our previous research (see note 1), starting with 1990, the space of the media became a sort of holy land (or *El Dorado*), populated by a series of adventurers, some attracted drawn by the idea of fast profit, others by the image of the vigilante, prefigured by the media of those years due to the enormous interest for revelations. In the academic milieu, the attractiveness

⁴ For this, see Mihai Coman, 1996 – *Starea mass-media din România (1996 – The State of the Mass-Media in Romania)*, in *Manual de jurnalism (Tehnici fundamentale de redactare) (Journalism Handbook – Fundamental Writing Techniques)*, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 1999, p. 211-226 and, especially, Marian Petcu, *Tipologia presei românești (The Typology of the Romanian Media)*, Institutul European Publishing House, Iași, 2000.

of journalism for the young generation seems to have been generated by a different model, generously distributed by the TV channels: *Super Man*, the hero who solves all the problems of society, is a newspaper writer.

During this first stage, professional association forms⁵ started to appear and consolidate, as well as the first NGOs and institutions that granted the ever-necessary structural coherence of the mass-media system. The stage is dominated by the idea of accumulation.

2. 1998-2004 is the stage of the first crystallisations, which, even statistically, indicates progress, dominated by contradictory numbers and questionable results. The sources are rather numerous and each represents different initiatives, which leads to the disarming results.

Among the ones worth mentioning, there are: *Catalogul Mass-media din România*, Sfera Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998⁶, which appeared under the coordination of Valeriu Mangu, *Mass-Media din România*, edited by the Romanian Broadcasting Society, Bucharest, 1999⁷, and *Top 99 (Ghidul mass-media din România)*, published by the National Forum Foundation/Freedom House, 2nd and 3rd edition, 2000, and 2002, respectively.

⁵ The Romanian Association of Audio-visual Communication (1990); The Romanian Newspaper Writers' Union (UZP, 1994); The Independent Journalism Centre (1994); The Independent Romanian Radio Stations' Foundation (RIND, 1995); The Press Monitoring Agency (1994), The Romanian Editorial Auditing Bureau (BRAT, 1997); The Romanian Association for Measuring Ranking (ARMA, 2001), The National Council of Audio-visual Media (CNA), The Romanian Press Club (1998), The Romanian Centre for Investigation Journalism (2001), The Romanian Journalists' and Publishers' Syndicate Federation (2001).

⁶ *Catalogul Mass-media din România (The Romanian Mass-media Catalogue)*, Sfera Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, published under the coordination of Valeriu Mangu, can be listed under the significant bibliographies, useful as primary information, giving identification and contact information (name, address, phone number, fax, e-mail, territorial coverage in the form of network and some brief data about the administrative board, updated with the support of certain institutions such as the National Council of Audio-visual Media, the National Library of Romania, BRAT. Furthermore, the catalogue aimed to be a first quasi-complete edition regarding the mass-media and related fields (publishing houses, polygraphic activity, documentation, information) and, in standard modes, it also presents other segments of the informational fields in their territorial-administrative area.

⁷ Realised during January-August 1999, the guide only offers quantitative information about the name or title of the press institution, the name of the leading team, address (phone, fax, e-mail, internet), frequency / broadcasting channel (for radio and television stations), as the editor aims to continue this effort in successive editions "intended to update all the information, so that our research and analysis work will be useful indeed".

A. In our article published in 2001, we presented statistical data and characteristics regarding a larger category of mass-media, thus drawing attention to the important existing data. In this presentation we are restricting the area of the statistical data in the domain of the mass-media to the written press, radio and television, presenting a comparison of the data provided, one year apart from each other: 1998 (*Mass-media Catalogue of Romania*) followed by 1999 (*Mass-media in Romania*).

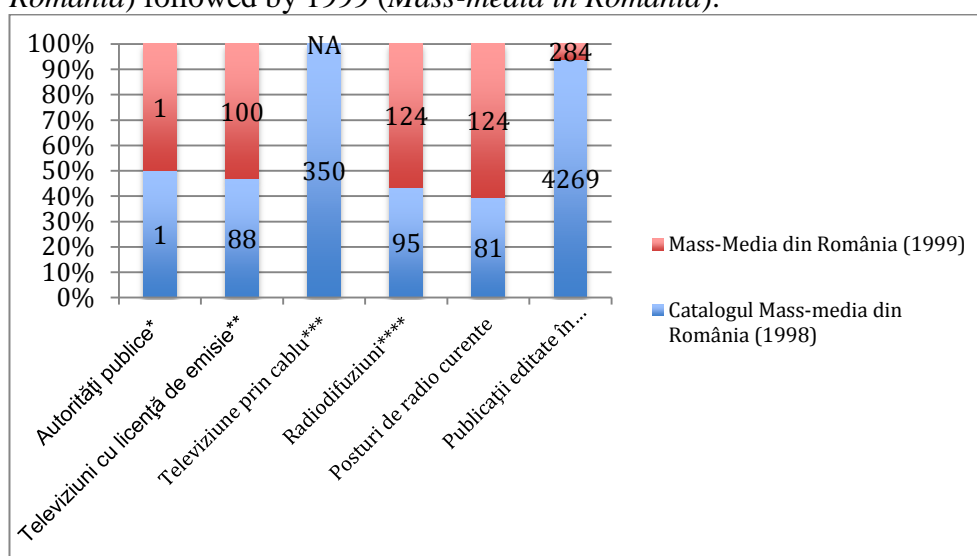


Image 1. Distribution of the media in the first quantitative “attempts”

Note

Current radio stations

*Public authorities (*The National Council of Audio-visual Media*)

**Authorised broadcasting TV stations, licensed to function

***Cable television (broadcasting licenses, authorised, independent, broadcasting stations). Mass-media in Romania do not offer information

****Radio broadcasting stations (Companies owning broadcasting licenses and/or authorising decisions for radio broadcasting)

*****Written publications edited in Romania⁸

⁸ The main drawback of this guide is presenting it under the sign of ideality, turning it from a repertoire to ... repertoire of the mass-media institutions in our country, without explicitly distinguishing between the active ones and those who own a functioning license but do not

B. The discrepancy between the given data is easily noticeable, among others, because, as already mentioned, each of the initiatives had its own well-determined purpose. The main inconvenience of the 1998 guide is that its projection lies under the sign of idealism, transforming it from a repertory to ... a repertoire of the mass-media institutions in our country, without explicitly making a distinction between the active institutions and the ones holding a broadcasting licence but not using it. If, regarding some segments of the catalogue, this difference can be inferred, precisely where the nature of the difference was of major interest, such details⁹ are missing. Entirely different representations are offered by the *Mass-media in Romania* guide, edited in 1999 by the Romanian Society of Radio and Broadcasting, meaning that it does not aim to account for the entire editorial activity in our country, but only to operate a selection out of the large area of offers. Its utility lies in the fact that it offers data regarding all sorts of media: newspapers, periodic publications, ethnic minority publications, radio and television stations around the country. Regarding the selection, we must also add that the authors used their own ranking system. It is obvious that the selection used such criteria as utility, notoriety, institutional affinities, all becoming an evaluating system¹⁰. As it was noticed, the criteria were typological, targeting the institutions having a tight collaboration with the Romanian Society of Radio Broadcasting. The only fact worth remembering

make use of it. If, referring to certain segments of the catalogue, this difference can be deduced, exactly where there was a major interest regarding the nature of the difference, the details are missing.

⁹ For instance, on the press group, the authors do not operate typological distinctions, at least regarding periodicity (daily publications coexist with monthly, quarterly or even yearly publications) or even competence levels (where, through an irony of fate, international level publications of the Romanian Academy are intersected with names such as "Criminals' Academy", "Prostitution academy", "Sex academy"), and not even the geographical-administrative aspect; the sole operating criterion is that of alphabetical order.

¹⁰ It is certain that the name of this guide can mislead. In reality, it illustrates the specificity of public relations activities, where this sort of data is accounted for by a clear purpose, that of creating a database which would be useful for the branch communication relations, with the possible (virtual) partners. Noting that there was the case for "documentation and analysis work", in relation to the name of the guide, we can see this institution more like a Balkan administration's figure of speech.

from the *Note on the edition* is its characterising the phenomenon as “dynamic” and the information as “perishable”.

C. By compiling the information from the sources above and also considering other related ones, which provide less information, our research aims to interpret some of the easily noticeable aspects, relevant after a statistical quantification. The determining emphasis for the second stage appears more nuanced and coherent in *Top 99 (Mass-media guide in Romania)*¹¹, published in successive editions (the last in 2002), which augmented and updated *Top 99*, allowing us to eliminate interpretation differences by focusing on the same content and, to a considerable extent, to “approximate” the sketch portrait of the Romanian journalist, a decade after the revolution and the beginning of the new century and millennium.

In order to avoid tiring and useless repetitions, we sum up some of the conclusions, correlating them with the information offered by the 2002 edition, published shortly after our articles. Thus, we have renounced the distribution in terms of generations considered in our previous study, and chosen to operate with the simplified (age) distinction of *seniors/juniors* with its point of reference in 1969/1970, the (birth) years of those included in the second category both in the old and new catalogue. We have found the same 5/1 ratio for the seniors. However, if we take into consideration the “changes” in the catalogue, meaning the new names in *Top 99*, we can see that they target more than 50% of the previous content. These changes do not alter the mass-media format proportions (“written” press, radio, television), but increase the discrepancy in the seniors/juniors ratio to 8/1 for the first. One can conclude, by way of consequence, that the experience in exercising the journalistic craft represents one of the most certain eligibility criterion.

The facts are much more complexly presented as regards the profile of the successful journalist, worthy of *Top 99*, as the editors of the *Guide*

¹¹ The guide is edited by the *National Forum Foundation/ Freedom House*, which was published with a *Foreword* by James Denton which, aside from the politeness and the inherent congratulations (of any preface), contains the reference ideas of the act. After three years, the third edition of the *Guide* is published, under the same title (missing the *Top 99*, which is, however, present within the volume). The changes have occurred during this time and their significance is worthy of attention within our enterprise.

call it, whose main “ingredients” (studies, qualifications and professional training courses), seen from the perspective of the great changes affecting Romania during the last decades, still offer astonishing answers. For a better focus and visibility of the information, we shall offer some of the data in comparison, as it was presented in the *Freedom House* outlook of the two editions, where we can see the increasing role that the television holds within the system.

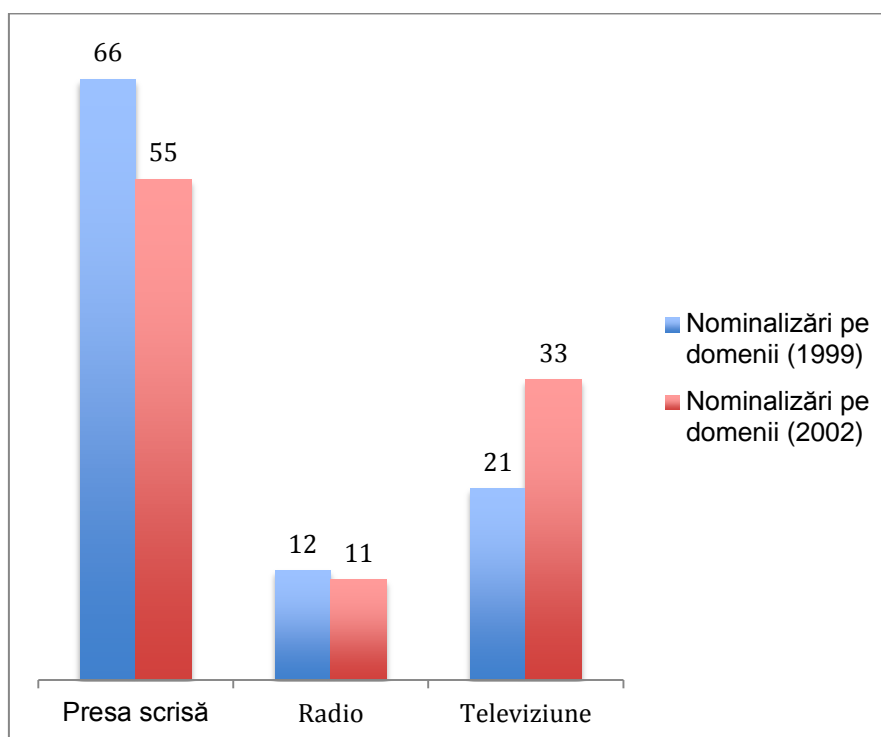


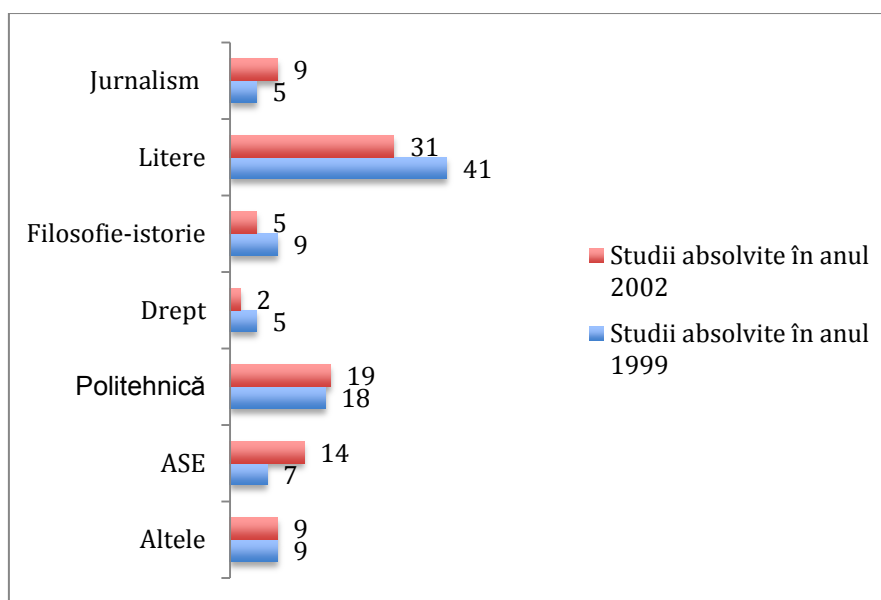
Image 2. The evolution of the media phenomenon according to Freedom House “rankings”

Presa scrisă = *Written press*

Radio = *Radio*

Televiziune = *Television*

Nominalizări pe domenii = *Nominations by domains*



Img. 3. The journalist's profile according to qualifications held.
Comparative data from 1999 and 2002

Jurnalism = Journalism
Litere = Letters/Literature
Filosofie-istorie = Philosophy-History
Drept = Law
Politehnica = Engineering, Technical studies
ASE = Economic studies
Altele = Others
Studii absolvite în anul = Studies graduated in...

A positive fact regarding the role of academic qualifications, in *Top 99/2002*, the number of those having special journalistic education grows from 5 to 9, almost doubling. There are fewer journalists with *Literature* degrees, from 41 to 31. The professional environment remains dominant, representing almost a third of the total. The so-called opinion (attitudinal) journalism, obstinately practiced in our country, superseding the British model, could argue that the persistently high ranking of this category of studies always represents an open door to all kinds of media. The same decreasing tendency are noticed in regard to other humanistic fields (history, philosophy, law, sociology), ranked as less likely to provide access in the

domain of journalism. In turn, graduates of technical faculties are increasingly present in the profession, while the Academy of Economic Studies, which currently has only optional economic-financial press classes, doubles its visibility, a fact worth noting. Under the chapter *Other (graduated studies)*, the same curiosities¹² occur, some of them being plainly exotic (if sociology-psychology studies seem appropriate for the journalistic profession, it is rather exotic to find that, among the most appreciated 99 journalists of the year 2002, there are no fewer than five graduates of Music School or of the Theatre and Cinema University).

The conclusions we reached twelve years ago showed, as a first observation, that a decade after our country's release from the totalitarian political system, the journalist was still not professionally established, despite the efforts made and the successes achieved. Unlike other areas of social life, where professional inclusion required specialised education, the mass-media were accessible to a huge wave of newcomers, from the most unexpected backgrounds, which constituted the grounds for the now historical dispute between the partisans of the two types of journalism (vocational and academic) to become more acute. Our feeling is that both sides are ignoring each other from the height of their absolute certainties. The opinions of some very influential journalists (Cristian Tudor Popescu¹³, Ion Cristoiu, Cornel Nistorescu) were answered on a rather similar note: "The essence of journalism is extremely heteroclitic from the point of view of professional education. Between the two poles, those of amateurism and professionalism, one can meet a large variety of situations, in general lines, where most of the journalists have gained habits and competences in exercising their profession (...). Some of the journalists have attended short

¹² We are astonished that some of the nominees of the three editions of *Freedom House* (we had the last two for consultation) have "betrayed" the gained position for another, a better one (from the financial, social and political point of view), while others have simply disappeared from the space of the media, partly because of the financial crisis, which had terrible effects on the traditional press published on paper, and partly because of the unprecedented evolution of technologies and the penetration into a new electronic medium, where some of the newspapers with a great tradition in Romanian press history can be found "lock, stock and barrel".

¹³ "Being a newspaper writer means something completely different from having good writing skills : it means having a detective's intuition, stubbornness, courage, physical and psychological resistance, the ability of establishing relationships with people, having an explosive expression that is at the same time easily accessible on the popular level. There is no journalism school: it can only be learnt at the newspaper, by seeing and doing. A good writer has equal chances of becoming an engineer or a Chinese language teacher" (*Noroiul din afară și noroiul dinăuntru* – 'The Mud Outside and the Mud Inside', an editorial by C. T. Popescu in *Adev. Lit.art.*, April 23, 2002, p. 1.).

training courses or have benefited from grants for training or internships abroad; for many, these have been an exotic experience, under the bias that the practices specific to occidental journalism cannot be applied in Romania; moreover, as a defensive reaction, an ideology of talent and innate vocation dominates the discourse of those working in the media, thus valuing amateurism and minimising any attempt of performance training.”

3. 2002 - 2011, the third stage, marks a stable grounding of information as a result of the emergence and activity of “caste” associations, unions and agencies, tanking measurement offices NGOs or other official institutions. The emergence of institutional organisms has increased the interest for defining the professional profile, yet, in current activities, the disputes, which now have turned into polemic, are set on the “rigid” positions perpetuated during all this time, although new researches on the professional profile of the journalist have been added to them.

A. The new contributions come from the area of academic studies. During the same period, some mediation attempts (better called trials) have been made, as a form of cohabitation between vocational and academic journalism. There has been some agreement that any sort of training – practical activity with the editorial staff or internships in the West, student meetings with great editors, even attending lectures given by them – can contribute to an increasingly better certification in the field.

The issue has been approached in the books of certain well-known specialists. In the study *Formarea identității profesionale a jurnaliștilor* (Formation of The Professional Identity of Journalists), Polirom, Iași, 2000, Luminița Roșca showed her preoccupation with defining the professional playfield characterising journalism. She emphasizes the role of the extra-professional domains, which impose the requirements of the field over the profession. *Independence*, connected to the freedom of speech and *legitimacy*, is invoked in the sense of establishing a strategy that allows the professional group to preserve the monopoly over a certain activity. Like other representatives of academic journalism, the author believes that the professional group of journalists is absorbed by the idea that their profession is different from the traditionally established ones (law, medicine, engineering) and states: “Associating journalism with medicine and law is not random, the comparison is made both in specialised works, and, according to the journalists themselves, who, more than once, claim that they exert a profession in the same family as those mentioned” (p. 10). According to Denis Ruellan¹⁴, the author shows that the process of

¹⁴ Denis Ruellan, *La professionnalisme du flou: identité et savoir-faire des journalistes français*; Grenoble, Press Universitaires de Grenoble, 1963 (apud Luminița Roșca, in *quoted works*).

demarcating the journalistic field from the other professional areas is the open access to the profession, where special qualifications and training is not mandatory for those writing for a publication” (p. 17). The work of Luminița Roșca pursues different coordinates. Following the evolution of the Romanian media during the last years, the debates over its professionalism or its lack of professionalism, the diverse and most often controversial argumentations, more than once I have found myself shrugging my shoulders and wondering rhetorically: “What is the use of all these? After all, what is *professionalism*? An honourable answer could be obtained by comparing the norms presented in any journalism textbook, with the practices of the present Romanian media. This sort of comparison is obviously unfavourable for present-day Romanian journalism, if we were only to list the findings of our comparative undertaking: information that is (often) unverified and lacking credibility, headlines that create expectations not always “met” by the content of the text, a lack of clarity at the level of presenting and ranking the information within the text, editing errors, low readability of the newspaper page, incoherent editorial policy. Taking these criteria into consideration, without a doubt you could find yourself on the side of those who state that today’s Romanian press is in a state of transition and – in many cases – manifests a lack of professionalism.” (p.7)

B. Much closer to the type of our investigation is Marian Petcu’s study, *Jurnalism în România. Istoria unei profesii* (*Journalism in Romania. History of a Profession*), comunicare.ro, Bucharest, 2005, which approaches the subject heads-on, making a first and most documented history of the theme, with an impeccable achievement on the diachronic coordinate, without missing the essential data of the preoccupation for journalism in our country, with a stress on academic journalism, from the first attempts up to its institutional edification, whose history is obviously old. Throughout the work, which contains over one hundred pages of documents and annexes (statutes, laws and decrees), the author pleads in favour of academic journalism, mostly supported in the forty pages of the second chapter, called *Învățământul jurnalistic românesc – istoria unei polemici* (*Romanian Journalistic Studies – The History of a Polemic*). The title itself indicates the bitterness at the end of the study: “The fascination generated by the journalistic profession has not diminished, not even after 15 years of post-communist evolution. That is why an impressive number of faculties (unequal in performance, equipment and teachers) prepare journalists for the roughly 2000 newspapers and magazines, 194 television stations and over 130 radio stations in Romania. The high rate of aeration of the editorial staff makes most of the journalism graduates work even for short periods of time. The relationship between the professional community – quite heteroclit and going through an identity crisis – and the journalism schools remains deficient; many of the journalists that hold important positions in the mass-

media system are unable to understand the need for special studies and promote the old theme of talent – vocation – general knowledge” (p. 187). In terms of discourse, Marian Petcu’s undertaking is a *pro domo* one and we agree on its necessity, except for the idea that the journalists holding power positions refuse to step aside in order to make room for academic journalism. No competition functions by apologising and power positions always generate deficient relationships. The need for dialogue remains, and if sometimes the vehemence of oppugn goes beyond limits, that is due, as Marian Petcu “appositively” notices, to academic journalism, which is heteroclitic and going through an identity crisis. Latin has a saying: *qui custodet custodiet?*, which fits the described situation perfectly. Most of the teaching staff in the faculties of journalism come from areas related to this profession, however eclectic, from philology, sociology, psychology, law, philosophy, history and, recently, computer studies, but also from, in harsher terms, exotic areas. The reality that academic journalism was started in our country by mercenaries of different “weapons” cannot be ignored, all the more as some of them do not teach journalism, but, as study programmes show, keep on teaching philology, philosophy, sociology, etc. This has not stopped some of them to mark their territory as founders and then fiercely protect it against...strangers. The Latin saying *qui custodet custodiet?* was never taken into consideration while calculating these deficient relationships. Moreover, the situation is being perpetuated and anyone browsing through a journalism textbook written by multiple authors will be surprised to learn that, at the beginning, the prophets had a different professional orientation. These realities are also part of the present subject’s case.

C. The most recent publication in the field belongs to Camelia Popa¹⁵, a doctor in psychology and, for almost decades, a journalist for “România liberă”, who aims to scan the profession in two stages. The first introduces us into the intimacy of psychological research, in order to establish the basic concepts (profile, features) of the personality factor and the second continues by creating a psycho-professional sketch of the journalist based on the personality profile previously made. The work is unprecedented in the space of national research and, after acquainting us with the theoretical body of coordinates able to represent the value “scaffolding” of the personality traits obtained by abstraction, it advances from the theoretical field, by means of a series of tests given to journalists, to the reality and actuality field activities, thus obtaining the generic “portrait” or the collective (group) profile. Regarding the first two stages, Camelia Popa’s research can be considered a conclusive image of the profession, a picture whose high resolution has been obtained due to using certain scientific

¹⁵ Camelia Popa, *Jurnalistul: personalitate și profesie (The Journalist: Personality and Profession)*, University Publishing House, Bucharest, 2012.

instruments and conceptual filters leaving little room for error. That is why the result is not different from the reality on the field and does not conclusively bend the balance in favour of any of the “sides” claiming authority in the field of journalism¹⁶.

IV. Instead of conclusions, we must frankly admit that the profile of the journalist in the post-communist period holds a series of characteristics that belong, in terms of purpose, to favouring one’s access to all environments, from the highest elite, to the social *underground*, nothing being completely unknown. Its style does not belong to an artist of the word, because his preoccupation is not the inventiveness of language, but “translating” it from Romanian into Romanian. As a means of approaching the realities he enters, he is a communicator who could perfect his methods due to an academic specialization. To me, it seems that those betting on qualities such as investigative intuition, stubbornness, courage, physical and psychological strength, the ability to establish relationships with people, the explosive and easily accessible verb – are right. In general, much like native talent, these cannot be taught in classrooms. The professional space belongs to all these, and if we were to invoke history, the past and the traditions of the media, it becomes easy to understand how much they have in common.

Furthermore, during the last period of time, the evolution of technologies has caused a mutation within the profession. Due to these unpredictable changes, continuously fluid, the profile of the journalist changes almost daily. Without consuming its initial flame, he has already entered a new stage. The Informational Society, also defined as a Society of Knowledge, is open to individual freedom and initiatives, while the electronic environment claims a great future. The consequences in the field are well-known. Under the double effect of the economic crisis and the technological revolution, paper is almost gone. The most notorious journalists have migrated towards television or have become *bloggers*, and newspapers moved online, just like the writers. The number of candidates for journalistic academic programmes is dramatically dropping. Before gaining a strong autonomy, journalism has been integrated in the very new

¹⁶ In fact, the author does not respond to this dispute, joining it with a relevant comment: “He is not a writer, because, due to the custom of his job, he does not have the right to invent, nor to act, even if he intensely takes part in the show of life. He is not a politician, because his decisions do not have an electoral argumentation... nor is he a judge, because his judging does not pass sentences (...) the journalist represents the exponent of a heteroclite professional category, difficult to comprise within the patterns of classic professions. Seen as an incurable dreamer or, at times, as a rigorous analyst, the journalist is a «social product» of his time, but also a well-defined individual, with a set of features that grant him success in his profession (p.7).

and extremely vast field of *communication sciences*, whose specialists have again reconfigured their professional structure.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the domain of journalism and its professional domain are both interdisciplinary. The future itself is envisaged like this, in all areas of activity. It is not a novelty that the first ten top professions did not even exist five years ago. In conclusion, the need for the adepts of the different forms of journalism – currently ignoring each other from the height of their absolute certainties – to meet halfway should become stringent.

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ROMANIAN CULTURE WITHIN UNESCO CULTURAL HERITAGE

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Abstract:

Romanian cultural heritage, whose extreme diversity has been shaped in the course of Romania's entire history, does not only represent an asset of national importance, but, due to the uniqueness of its elements, it is also an integral part of world cultural heritage. Romanian ethnographic heritage – difficult to measure and quantify – can and should contribute to the wealth of global culture.

Key words:

Heritage, doina, călușari, Horezu ceramic art, carol, band

Heritage, which is a word of Latin origin – from *patrimonium*, which means “paternal inheritance”, subsequently extended its meaning to that of “family goods”. UNESCO gives the following definition: “Heritage is the inheritance of the past which we still enjoy today and which we will transmit to the future generations”. In the year 1959, André Malraux, the French minister of culture, stated that the minister had the mission of raising public awareness of the values of their cultural heritage.

Initially, the concept of cultural heritage especially referred to material heritage elements, such as monuments, archaeological sites, works of art etc., and the global list of 1972 comprised only some hundreds of sites from the entire world.

This view has evolved fundamentally over the last decades. In 1992, a WorldMemory database was created, which reviews collections of documents of universal interest (like the Declaration of Human rights, the establishment of the metrical system, etc.).

In the year 1997, UNESCO defined the notion of the “Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, consisting of traditions which must be safeguarded – endangered languages and cultures, almost extinct artisan crafts or forms of folk artistic expression which must be handed over to the next generations. This extended the scope of the preoccupation for the preservation of world heritage.

Over the past decades a new concept has emerged and evolved – that of *vernacular heritage*, meaning the ensemble of artifacts which in the past had utility in everyday life (mills, attics, fountains, ovens, chapels, objects found especially in rural areas, in spaces where modernization did not manage to inflict significant changes).

Another concept which seems to have gained ground in later years as a component of UNESCO world heritage is that of *natural heritage*. In France this is defined as “the ensemble of goods whose existence, production and reproduction are the result of nature’s processes, even if the objects that compose them suffer subsequent modifications from human activity”.

At national level, the regulations regarding the protection of the national cultural heritage are, unfortunately, far from a unitary framework, being dissipated in a multitude of normative acts referring to:

- **Immovable Heritage:**
 - Immobile heritage – historical and archaeological monuments Law no. 43/2000 and Law no. 422/2001
 - Mobile heritage– museums and collections Law no. 182/2000
- **Movable Heritage** – Law no. 26/2008.

Unfortunately, at this moment Romania does not have a comprehensive law regarding cultural heritage, a unitary law subsuming all the disparate legislative acts.

On 12 November 2013, the Permanent Common Commission of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate Chamber celebrated for the first time the UNESCO World Heritage Day in Romania. The Parliament Commission also adopted the declaration regarding the protection and promotion of Romania’s heritage sites on the UNESCO list. On this occasion, the day of 16 November was declared the *UNESCO World Heritage Day*. 16 November 1972 represents the day when The Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage was signed in Paris. It was during the 34th session of the Commission for World Heritage that the day of 16 November was decided on to be celebrated as World Heritage Day. Seven years later, Romania also sanctioned the celebration of this day.

According to the last updated estimates (November 2013), the list of world heritage sites contained 981 protected sites, considered by the UNESCO Committee to be of exceptional value. Out of the 981 sites from

160 states on the UNESCO list, most of them, more exactly 759, are considered as being cultural heritage sites, while 193 belong to the category of natural heritage. There are also 29 mixed heritage sites.

Romania has no less than 32 places, grouped in 7 sites, included on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

On October 17 2003, “The Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage” was created in Paris, which Romania ratified in 2005. Later on, in 2008, the *UNESCO List of Humanity’s Intangible Cultural Heritage* was drawn up.

At present Romania is represented in the UNESCO List of Humanity’s Intangible Cultural Heritage by four elements:

- *Călușul* Ritual (included on 25 November 2005)
- *Doina* (2 October 2009)
- Horezu ceramics (3-7 December 2012)
- Carol Singing Men Bands (alongside with the Republic of Moldova on 3-7 December 2013).

1. The *Călușul* Ritual

(Application filed 2002, nominalization accepted 2005)

An inherent part of Pentecost celebrations, the *Călușul* ritual opened and closed this holiday. *After God’s Ascension towards Heaven on the day of Ispas, the Earth and the world are left without divinity for ten days, until the Descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost day. It is the most critical period of the calendar: the Lord rises to the Heavens without the Holy Spirit descending to the Earth. The Pentecost remedies this situation, when the rebellious souls of the dead who refuse to leave in the world bring great afflictions to the earthlings* (Ghinoiu, 2003, p. 28-32).

In order to appease them, people give alms on the Pentecost Saturday or on the Pentecost morning, calling them endearing names such as Fairies, Beauties, Șoimane etc. In order to chase away the Pentecost evil spirits, the villagers resort to a magical rite: the *Călușul* dance.

The Romanian encyclopedic dictionary defines *Călușul* as a *Romanian popular dance practiced especially in the ancient traditions of the Pentecost*. Dating from the pre-Christian period, the *Căluș* is danced in groups of 7-11 men (*călușari*) wearing sticks in their hands and a special outfit (with ribbons and bells around their legs).

The dancers named **călușari** gather once a year and dress in women's clothes. On their heads they place interlaced coronets of absinth adorned with flowers: they speak like women and, in order not to be recognized, they cover their cheeks with white cloth. In their hands they all have swords without scabbards, with which they would cut whoever would dare to uncover their cheeks. This power has been given to them by an old tradition, so they cannot be blamed when they kill somebody in this way. (Cantemir, 1956, p. 248)

Romulus Vuia, in *The Origins of the Călușari Dance*, mentions that the players are the personification of the Fairies themselves, fact indicated by the very appearance of the dancers.

The ritual is based on the performance of the *band*. Made up of an uneven number of members, from 5 to 13 (like the number of the Fairies), the *calușari* band is led by a character named Bailiff and almost everywhere by a masked personage, the Mute.

The căluși band was constituted by the swearing of an *oath*. The oath of the Călușari band is made in front of the Mute, whose mask embodies the caballing god, and of the Căluș flag, unfolded on the Pentecost Saturday. The ritual is called the *Binding of the Flag* or the *Oath*. The ceremony takes place in secret, in a place guarded from the prying eyes. The oath grants the band's unity and solidarity through the days during which the Căluș is played, which also required faith to the Căluș, total submission to the Bailiff, and the relinquishing of earthly pleasures.

The dancers pronounce in chorus, after the Bailiff: "I swear with Zău, on the soul of my ancestors, on my horses and cattle, to respect the Căluș and its law until the untying of the flag! I swear I will serve the Căluș in faith, honesty, submission and fear of God!" They also swear "not to get drunk and to get along", "to keep clean, with no sexual relations, to heal people". The only character who doesn't take the oath is the Mute who promises „not to talk so that the Pentecost should not take him". Participation in the *Căluș* band was usually pledged for three, five, seven or nine years. "*The one who was received in such a band must come each time, for nine years, in the same band; if he is missing, the others will say that he is tormented by evil spirits and women genii*" (Cantemir, 1956, p. 249). The oath was renewed each year, especially when a new member was accepted in the band.

The most important accessory in the game is the *flag*, a rod of over three meters, on the top of which is tied a wimple and plants considered by popular belief to have healing or prophylactic effects, such as garlic and absinth. The flag is made by the dancers during a certain ceremonial before swearing the oath. During the execution of the ritual, the flag must be held by one of the men, usually the first in the band, and it is not allowed to fall. There is the belief that if it falls, a calamity will happen to the band.

The *Căluș* is the most important folkloric manifestation in which dancing, as a means of expression, has a predominant role. Generally, the men know many dance steps. In the traditional development of the game there were many special moments, like the *căluș hora* (circle dance), in which women gave the dancers small children to play with in order so that they would be protected from illness; they also danced around a salted tripe and a wool stack, which was meant to bring richness to the flocks. *Because they have over a hundred of various games and they are so featly, the ones who play don't even seem to touch the ground and they seem to fly in the air.* (Cantemir, 1956, p.248)

The tradition is still practiced today, especially in southern counties such as Olt, Argeș, Giurgiu, Vâlcea, Dâmbovița, Dolj and Teleorman.

2. Doina

(Application filed in 2008, nominalization accepted in 2009)

Doină, a feminine noun, designates a genre of Romanian folk lyrical poetry and musical folklore, which expresses a feeling of loss, longing, mourning, love, revolt etc. From a musical perspective, it is a lamenting song based largely on improvisation, by using numerous rhythmic and melodic ornaments. It is also known under the name of “long *hora*”, “prolonged song” etc. The literary genre of the *doina* was also adopted by literary poetry. (M. Eminescu, G. Coșbuc, Șt. O. Iosif etc.).

Doina can be sung anytime and anywhere (while working in the field, at home, at the village dance), always solo, with or without instrumental accompaniment (flute, pipe, drone, other improvised instruments, especially wind instruments). The song expresses the emotions and the virtuosity of the composer-singer and makes use of a wide expressive and thematic range – joy, sadness, loneliness, love, social conflicts, etc.

The song, transmitted orally, especially in the family, is attested in documents of the 17th century and is performed in different styles in the

representative regions – Maramureș, Oaș, Năsăud, Făgăraș, Banat, Mehedinți, Gorj, Vâlcea, Dolj, Teleorman, North Moldavia, Vrancea.

Specific to the song is the fact that the stress is placed less on the text than on the singing technique, which is idiosyncratic and defines the individual character of this lyrical expression, considered by the literary critic Dumitru Caracostea “the meridian of Romanian folklore”.

3. Techniques specific to Horezu traditional ceramics

(Application filed in 2011 – nominalization accepted in 2012)

Horezu traditional ceramics is made in the locality by the same name and in the village Olari, where most of the craftsmen are working. Horezu ceramic culture is unique, different from the productions of other pottery centers from the Vâlcea county and the rest of the country. This particular style was attested over 300 years ago.

Processed manually, the production of such pottery includes different processes: from the extraction of the clay, from a place called the Ulmet Hill to fermentation, battering and the formation of “gogoloț”, the clay clump which the potter “feels in his hand” and which the Horezu craftsmen know to transform in unmistakable forms and sizes – bowls, cornered plates, simple tankards or with a “necklace” of cans or hangers, bowls and cups, cooking pots.

They all keep the traditional decoration techniques, the specific motifs of this pottery center: the cock is the mark of Horezu pottery; the tree of life, the snake of the house, the spiral of life, the wheat ear, the bride’s crown, other vegetal or zoomorphic, geometrical or cosmic motifs.

The specific decoration procedures for traditional Horezu ceramics is “jirăvitul”, by which the color is placed on the vessel with the aid of the horn and is pulled, by moving the direction of the initial model with the aid of the “jay”, a stick with pig hair at one end, used to make very fine drawings. Sold as souvenirs of a rare beauty, Horezu ceramics articles are both useful and decorative earthenware.

4. Carol Singing Men Bands in Romania and the Republic of Moldova

(Application filed in 2012, nomination accepted in 2013)

The men caroling band, a product of folkloric oral culture, is a hibernal ritual, attested since the 17th century. Initially, the carols marked the winter solstice, probably a ritual having Roman origins. Subsequently, it

assimilated a Christian message, becoming thus a syncretic ritual (pre-Christian and Christian). Today it is practiced in most Romanian and Moldavian villages, around Christmas and on the Christmas night (24 - 25 December) of each year.

A band of unmarried youths (there may be even several bands in bigger villages) go to each house in the village, singing ritual songs, named *carols*. After singing at one house (the performance is vocal, with minimal instrumental accompaniment), the members of the band are rewarded by the hosts with money and ritual gifts (the Christmas bagel). From the money gathered as gifts for their carol singing, the youths organize a party with music and dance, played by hired fiddlers. In the Republic of Moldova, if a larger sum is gathered, the band builds a fountain in the field or buys a present for the local church.

In some areas, caroling also includes choreographic elements. The repertoire of a men band includes a series of carols destined for certain life situations in the traditional village; there are carols for children and elders, for married and unmarried young people, for shepherds, fishermen, priests etc. The end of the caroling is marked in certain areas by *Zorit*, the interpretation of a carol addressed to the ritual time, followed by the band's festive dinner. If a host does not wish to receive the band, they sanction the house by an "anti-rite", named "dis-caroling". The men caroling band has many functions: announcing a holiday, good wishing, ritual-augural spells, keeping the community's identity.

The Romanian ritual of Christmas Caroling Men Bands is handed down from generation to generation by the youth from the villages in Romania and The Republic of Moldova. The men singing ritual songs (carols) at every house, receiving in exchange symbolic gifts and money, have the important function of keeping the social and cultural identity of the inhabitants and to ensure the cohesion of the communities in which it is practiced, according to UNESCO.

The Inter-governmental Committee for the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage decided that the ritual of caroling fulfills the criteria for being included on this list, presenting a series of arguments in this sense. Among these arguments is the fact that the ritual of caroling is transmitted from generation to generation in an informal manner and that it confers the participants from the villages in Romania and the Republic of Moldova a sentiment of shared identity and prestige.

Another argument mentioned in the official release is that the introduction of the caroling ritual in this list may have the effect of promoting the visibility of this cultural heritage tradition and encourage the dialogue between communities from both countries.

The inclusion of men caroling bands on the UNESCO List of Humanity's Intangible Cultural Heritage signifies a major step taken towards the preservation, but also the transmission of this ritual to future generations.

From Christmas Eve to Epiphany and Saint John, the entire village community takes part in the ritual of caroling: bands of children, lads or men and, more recently, mixed groups, in their quality as heralds, while others (women, householders) in their quality of hosts, each playing a well-defined in the season festivities. In order to gain this recognition, two teams of Romanian and Moldavian specialists undertook an assiduous task for one year, writing letters of intent, reporting on field documentation and the making presentation films. Once the file was finished and sent to UNESCO, the international forum verified the elements proposed to enter the UNESCO list. The criteria can be described as follows: "First of all, the element must be part of the intangible cultural heritage of the proposing countries, namely to belong to the domains: oral traditions, performance arts, social practices, festive rituals and events, knowledge and practices which regard the nature or the universe or techniques and knowledge regarding the traditional crafts. Second, the vivid element, as it is now encountered on the field, must be part of the recognized cultural practices of the communities they belong to, and have been transmitted from generation to generation, thus giving these communities the consciousness of their identity and its continuity. At the same time, they have to demonstrate the contribution of the communities to the completion of the candidacy file and to show that both the proposing state and the communities recognize this element as authentic and are able to protect it and propose it in its authentic forms", explained Dr. Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelată, Associate Professor at the Department of Literary Theory, Universal and Comparative Literature, Ethnology and Folklore of the Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest. She is also a member of the "National Commission for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage", and contributed to the completion of the candidacy transmitted to UNESCO.

The presence of these traditions on the UNESCO list guarantees the preservation process, but also the transmission to the next generations. “The Ministers of Culture from Romania and the Republic of Moldova are forced to include in their budgets, starting from 2014, the funds for implementing a program for caroling safeguarding, as it was formulated and accepted. Every two years, the proposing states present a report to UNESCO, in which they have to demonstrate that concrete measures are being taken in order to safeguard the traditional element. Otherwise an element can be withdrawn from the representative list”, explained the abovementioned specialist. At the same time, Dr. Ioana Fruntelată underlines the fact that “UNESCO recognition ensures the international visibility of the respective element“. The authorities encourage the non-governmental associations and organizations to develop projects which involve the promotion of traditions “with respect for its authentic characteristics“. “The safeguarding of the ritual’s genuine aspects can only be achieved by the communities which benefit from this heritage, of course with the specialists’ help. One of the methods may be encouraging the informal transmission of the knowledge about the ritual, by involving children and youth in educational projects which valorize the local cultural heritage”, declared Dr. Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelată. She went on to observe that, deeply rooted in the history of the Romanian people, caroling represents without any doubt an important element of national identity and cultural continuity: *“Caroling men bands were attested in Transylvania from the second half of the 17th century, but the tradition is without any doubt much older, as most of inherited oral cultural phenomena are. Being initially a hibernal calendar ritual, associated with the winter solstice, with multiple origins, but with one of its roots in the Roman Saturnalia, this ritual subsequently assimilated Christian significations, becoming a ritual of great impact, in which Christian and pre-Christian elements interlace in a «popular course» of the oral tradition”*.

Finally, on 20 March 2014, the National Commission for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage made the decision regarding the two candidature files proposing the inclusion on the UNESCO

Representative List of two other traditional elements: “Cultural practices associated with the day of 1 March” (Mărțișor) and “Maidenly dance in Romania”.

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CONFLUENCES

THE ETYMOLOGIC STRUCTURE OF ROMANIAN MYTHONYMS (II)

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Abstract:

A monographic study of Romanian mythonyms cannot ignore the problem of the etymological strata from which the corpus of these terms originates. Such an analysis is necessary primarily in order to establish, from this point of view as well, the place of this special area of Romanian onomastics within the Romanian lexical system. From such a perspective we can estimate the extent to which mythonyms confirm the general etymologic structure of Romanian vocabulary and to what extent the terms designating mythical characters in our fairytales are specifically Romanian.

Keywords:

Mythonyms, etymological analysis, etymological strata, substratum elements, the Latin stock.

1. The Slavic Superstratum of Romanian mythonyms

One of the main characteristic features of the Slavic stock of the Romanian language, namely the folkloric/colloquial and archaic aspect of the vocabulary (as well as that of morphological elements, such as the feminine vocative ended in *-o*), are neutralized in the case of the system of mythonymy, insofar as here almost all the terms have an obsolete, folkloric and poetic ring to them.

However, there remains the problem of the chronological and dialectal stratification, as the Latin lexical stock is one of those that nourished Romanian vocabulary during several phases, from several directions and in various ways. As regards the diachronic aspect, one thing is certain: the elements of the Slavic superstratum cannot be earlier than the 9th century,

although the first waves of Slavic peoples passed through the Romanian territory, coming from the Ural Mountains, as early as the 6th and 7th centuries.¹

In principle, Al. Rosetti, the authors at the Romanian Language Institute and Gh. Mihăilă mention four phases: a) Old Slavic (old Bulgarian) loans – the 9th-12 centuries; b) massive medieval loans, from the languages of neighbouring peoples (Bulgarian, Serbian-Croatian, Ukrainian) – the 13th-15th centuries, though with much later continuances; c) rare Polish influences – the 18th c.; d) modern Russian influences (the 19th – 20th centuries).²

As regards the phases of penetration, mythonyms are not very relevant, as they reflect neither the phonetic phenomena specific to an epoch (for example nasalization, the opening of old *o* to *a*, more recently, in pronunciation and writing), nor any certain thematic area, maybe with the exception of saints' names and of several other areas. Nor does the criterion of communication channels function in this case, as all mythological folkloric texts circulated in their oral version, with a colloquial, archaic and regional pronunciation, until they were recorded in writing in the collections of the second half of the 19th century. The only thing we can do, for the purpose of a sub-classification within the group – not very relevant, actually – would be to resort to comparisons with the forms encountered in the onomastic and mythical folklore of the neighbouring peoples – Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Serbian etc. Indeed, these analogies are really helpful in reconstituting, in principle, the origin of the names³, and, where applicable,

¹ I. Pătruț, „Despre vechimea relațiilor lingvistice slavo-române”, in : CL, XIV, 1969, p. 25, and CL, XII, 1967, pp. 21-22. The conclusions of this researcher from Cluj also consider earlier studies: I. Bărbulescu, *Individualitatea limbii române și elementele slave vechi*, București, 1929, p. IV (with the option for the 10th century, as the *ab quo* time of the first Slavonic words retained in Romanian); Sextil Pușcariu, *Limba română*, I, 1940, p. 248 and, especially, Th. Capidan, *Elementul slav dialectal românesc*, București 1952, p. 45. The latter stated that Slavonic terms came from a much earlier time, “before the 10th century, without the possibility of our going up the stairs of time higher than the 8th century”. A synthesis of these opinions is realized in Gh. Mihăilă, *Studii de lexicografie*, București: Editura Științifică, pp. 147-205.

² Cf. Al. Rosetti, 1978, pp. 293-356; 435-439; 441-445; ILR, II, pp. 372-374; Gh. Mihăilă, 1973, p. 10.

³ Useful for mythology in general, and for names of mythical characters, mythical toponymy, etc., are the earlier studies of B. P. Hasdeu, L. Șăineanu, but also the more recent ones, such as A. I. Ionescu, 1978, *Lingvistică și mitologie* (with reference to Slavic mythology), București: Editura Litera; A. Olteanu, 2004, *Homo balcanicus. Features of the Balkan mentality*, București: Paideia; Marianne Mesnil and Assia Popova, 2007, *Beyond*

the hidden significance beneath a name without semantic resonance in our field of reference.

Consequently, the inventory of this group follows the customary criterion of alphabetical ordering:

Arapul (Moor), *Arăpușa*, *Baba* – Hag (*Răcoaia* – Raucous, *Cloanța* – Toothless, *Mușa*, *Relea* etc.), *Babele* (Hags), *Baba Babelor* (Hag of Hags), *Baba Vâja** (Hag Whirly), *Bălan* (Fair-haired), *Bogdan*, *Boz* (Dwarf Elder), *Buga*, *Bujor* (Peony), *Burcea**, *Neica*, *Busuioc* (Basil), *Bușa*, *Caraoschi** (Old Nick), *Cetina* – Needle leaf (*Brazilor** - of the Firs), *Călin** (*Nebunul** - the lunatic), *Ciuda* (Spite), *Ciuda Lumii* (World's Spite), *Cosânzenele*, *Costan*, *Cotoșman*, *Craiul Iadului* (Hell's King), *Craiul Zmeilor* (Ogres' King), *Crăiasa* – Queen (*Zânelor* – of the Fairies), *Crivățul* (North Wind), (*Zăvod* – Dog) *Crai* (King), *Dan*, *Danciu*, *Duna**, *Gârla* (Streamlet), *Gedeon**, *Ghesperița*, *Harap* – Moor (*Alb* - White), *Iovan** *Iorgovan*, *Ioniță**, *Iutele* – Sprite (*Pământului* – of the Earth), *Lelea* (*Năstăsie*), *Limir*, *Loza*, *Manea* (*Câmpului* – of the Field), *Mândra** - Fairest (*Lumei* – of the World), *Mândrul Mândrei* (the Handsome of the Fairest), *Milea* (*Ion*), *Nenea* (*Nea*) *Norocul* (Uncle Luck), *Pahon**, *Pascu*, *Pârlea Vodă* (Ash King), *Pogan**, *Prâslea* (Youngest Son), *Răzor* (Baulk), *Sfânta** - Saint Mother (*Luni*, *Miercuri* – Monday, Wednesday, etc.), *Sfântul* – Saint (*Petru* etc.), *Sfântul Soare* (Holy Sun), *Sărăcia* (Poverty), *Sărăcilă* (Pauper), *Sărăcuțul* (Little pauper), *Scorpi*a (Shrew), *Sila Samodiva*, *Siminoc*, *Smanda*, *Stan*, *Stan Bolovan* (Boulder), *Stanciu*, *Stancu* (*Alesu* – Fair), *Sticlișoara* (Glassy), *Stoian*, *Sucnă* (*Murgă* – Bay Mare), *Sur* – Grey (*Vultur* – Eagle), *Suta** (*Ion*), *Tăleruș*, *Trifon**, *Tuliman*, *Vâlva* – Clamour (*Pădurii* – of the Forest), *Vâlvele* (Clamours), *Vâjbaba* (Whirl-Hag), *Vid Baba*, *Viliș*, *Vișin* (Sour cherry tree), *Vodă* (King), *Voinea*, *Voinicul* (Sturdy Lad), *Voinicul* (*Florilor* – of the Flowers), *Voinicul Voinicilor* (Sturdiest of the Sturdy), *Zinca**, *Zmeul* – (White) Ogre (*Alb*), *Zmeoaica* - Ogress (*Pământului* – of the Earth), *Zori* – Dawn (*de Ziuă* – of Day), *Zorile* (Dawns), *Zorilă* (Dawning).

the Danube. Balkan Ethnological Studies. Translation: Ana Mihăilescu and Mariana Rădulescu. Foreword by Vintilă Mihăilescu. București: Editura Paideia; Sorin Paliga, 2006, *Mitologia slavilor*, București: Editura Meteor.

As a working framework, we have marked with the abbreviation “Slv.” the names encountered in at least three contemporary Slavic languages or those which can be found in the sub-groups of the very ancient epochs of the influences. However, the Romanian word is usually associated, in lexicographic works, with one or two languages, notwithstanding the fact that Serbian and Croatian are considered today as two different languages (as compared to the research of two decades ago, which treated them together, as two dialectal variants of the same language): Bulgarian and Serbian-Croatian, Bulgarian and Ukrainian, rarely Russian.

Beyond these specificities, we come up against the same difficulties of selection and recording as with any etymological stratum: compounds from aloglotic elements (Slavic-Latin, Slavic-Turkish etc.); derivations and conversions, dialectal evolutions, with phonetic, lexical-morphological and semantic modifications effected on Romanian territory; uncertain and debatable etymological reconstitutions; multiple etymology solutions and so on.

The inventory is sizeable enough, confirming the percentage of up to 20% of the general vocabulary of the Romanian language. In fact, the number increases by virtue of the frequency of some key-terms of the Romanian mythological pantheon: *Baba/Babele* (the Old Woman/Women) creates for the Slavic superstratum a group of personages (or the same personage in different hypostases) that is even richer than the one created by the *Moşul/Moşii* (Old Father/Fathers) for the Thracian-Dacian substratum. In addition, there appear a few more personages, which are emblematic for the Romanian mythical folklore, designated by terms of Slavic origin, either as the basic element (Determined element), or as nominalised epithet (the Determiner, often used in isolation as Determined): *Viteazul* (The Brave), *Voinicul* (The Sturdy), *Zmeul* (the Ogre).

If the first of the three may be subject to debate, as a possible result of a multiple etymology (Slavic, Magyar), the other two (actually the most frequent in Romanian mythological onomastics) are indubitably of exclusively Slavic origin.

In addition to these there are the names of rulers, typical of the theme of mythological hierarchies:

Crai (King), *Crăiasă* (Queen), *Vodă* (Prince), *Voievod* (Voivod)

To these we may add the names of personified abstractions:

Ciuda (Spite), *Norocul* (Fortune), *Sărăcia* (Poverty)

And a few names of totemic plants and animals:

a) *Boz* (Dwarf Elder), *Bujor* (Peony), *Cetina* (Fir), *Vișin* (Sour cherry-tree)

b) *Buga*, *Ghesperița* etc.

The demonic and misshapen personages are relatively well represented (the dwarfs and the giants):

c) *Baba Vâja*, (Hag Whirly) *Ciuda (Lumii)* – World's Spite), *Ghesperița*, *Harapul* (Arab), *Scaraoschi* (Old Nick), *Stan Bolovan* (Boulder), *Vâjbaba* (Whirly Old Hag), *Zmeul* (Ogre)/*Zmeioaca* (Ogress) and others.

d) *Cotoșman*, *Pogan*, *Prâslea* (the youngest son), etc.

However, as we have shown, many of these names require special analyses, because their etymologies overlap, intersect or are lost in the process of linguistic and mythological evolution, according to laws exclusively specific to the latter.

Some of them do not have a clear semantic content, as the associations provided by onomastic dictionaries are not at all convincing. Thus, *Burcea* and *Burcilă* are attributed to two homonymous common terms, *burcă*¹, meaning “turtă de făină de păpușoi” (corn flour flat cake), *burcă*² “haină țărănească din lână” (woollen peasant coat). The latter term is attested with certainty in Ukrainian, while, in the case of the former, dictionaries using more cautious records regarding word origin indicate an “unknown etymology”.⁴ Anyway, we would have to rather overstress things if we are to include the term, after all, in the thematic series of professions and occupations.

For such terms as *Pogan* “mare, mătăhălos” (big, thickset) and others, such as *Duna* “Dunărea” (The Danube), two etymologies are indicated: Slavic and Magyar.

What constitutes a special situation for the Romanian language, in this sense, is the word *sânt/sântă* vs. *sfânt/sfântă* (San vs. Saint). This refers to the Latin (colloquial) stratum, as compared to the Slavic stratum (late medieval and scholarly, about the 14th-16th centuries. The forms in *sân* < *Lat. sanctus* are older, as also proved by the fact that the two terms became fused and lexicalized:

Sângeorz (Saint George), *Sânpetru* (Saint Peter), *Sumedru* (Saint Demeter), *Sântana* (Saint Ann), *Sântămărie* (Saint Mary)

⁴ Cf. DEX, s.v.

The Slavonic ones, formed many centuries later, appear with their component elements clearly outlined, from the Slavic *sfetǔ/sfetǐ* (the literary Slavonic form being itself, in fact, a loan from the Latin *sanctus*):

Sfântul Gheorghe (Saint George), *Sfântul Petru* (Saint Peter),
Sfântul Dumitru (Saint Demeter)

Sfânta Maria (Saint Mary), *Sfânta Paraschiva*⁵ etc.

We should also remark the modifications of meaning, a usual phenomenon in the process of loans due to linguistic contacts. *Mândrul* (*Lumei*) etc. means, in everyday Romanian, “Frumosul Lumii (the World’s Handsomest)”, possibly “Orgoliosul Lumii” (the World’s Proudest). However, in Slavic languages, the term *modrij*, *mudrij* means “înțelept, cuminte, rațional” (wise, mindful, sensible). This meaning is still attested in archaic and folkloric texts, possibly under the usual form of fixed expressions, which conserve such old forms and meanings in “fossilised” structures, with a historical and archaeological value, cf. *Nu e modru* “it is not advisable or wise” (to do something).

The Slavic superstratum significantly enriches by giving an archaic tinge and air to the Romanian mythonymic system, thus individualizing it further. To the linguistic loans explicable by the superposition of populations (the migration of the old Slavs), by the proximity with the Slavonic populations of South-Eastern and central Europe (Bulgarians, Serbs, Croatians, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks), by cultural contacts, is also added the specific mythological element: the intense circulation of certain myths, mythological nuclei, themes, leitmotifs, personages and symbols, over the entire geographical and spiritual area to which Romanian culture also belongs. Sometimes, we should also take into account the circulation, through the Slavic medium, of some ancient Slavic or Oriental myths.

2. Adstrata and diverse influences

All the other analysable etymological sources form a relatively meagre group, from a quantitative point of view, which means that mythonyms confirm the general configuration of Romanian vocabulary on chronological and structural strata. There is no other special influence from

⁵ In these latter cases, anyway, there is also the matter of the usual alloglotic compounds, with terms of Hebrew, Greek or other origins.

any of the languages with which Romanian came into geographical, historical or cultural contact, apart from the ones already known to us in terms of their nature, extent and proportions. There is the special situation of the words of Biblical, Hebrew-Aramaic origin, circulating through Greek-Byzantine and Slavic-Byzantine linkages. Hence we infer that the circulation of mythological themes and motifs did not follow different trajectories from the ones which facilitated linguistic exchanges. In their more or less visible manifestation, these influences enrich the inventory of Romanian mythonyms, granting it a certain picturesque quality and strengthening its specific character within the general framework of onomastics and the entire vocabulary, for that matter.

2. 1. Terms of Greek origin

In this special segment of the lexis, too, the Greek influence proves to be relatively productive in the Romanian language, as well as in its entire vocabulary, contributing to the inventory of mythonyms with almost half of the total sum of the terms belonging to the analysable strata of this onomastic segment. What has changed, in relation to the general structure of present-day Romanian vocabulary, is the historical and cultural determination, meaning that the mechanism of recent borrowings, a source of neologisms, does no longer apply in the case of mythonyms, but to these old borrowings are added, transmitted via the rich Greek mythology.

The Greek language belongs to those languages which, in the course of history, repeatedly acted upon Romanian, more than any other language, due to its antiquity, its worldwide cultural authority, and, last but not least, its geographical location in the Balkan space, dominated by the Greeks for centuries.⁶ The first influences came from ancient Greek into Latin, so the Latin words of Greek origin later became Romanian words or penetrated into Romanian through other channels. Illustrative of the case in question, within our mythonymic corpus, are such terms as:

Botezat (Baptised), *Busuioc* (Basil), *Gheorghe* (George), *Ileana* (Helen), *Înger* (Angel), and others.⁷

⁶ For the history of Greek influences on Romanian we have used the information from ILR, II, 1969, pp. 366-367; Al. Rosetti, 1978, pp. 231-237; Fl. Dimitrescu (ed.), 1978, pp. 102-108, to which we added the specialist monographic studies.

⁷ The language of folk fairytales uses such terms as *botez* (baptizm), *farmec* (spell), *magie* (magic), etc., derived from the same source.

A few terms were also preserved from the early stage, which directly penetrated into Danube Latin, or Dacian-Romanian, as shown above, meaning the South Danube dialects (Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian) and the North Danube Dacian-Romanian dialect. It is the case of some words such as *Broatec* “broscoiul” (“the frog”, in fact the lad turned into a frog by a magic spell), *Ciumă* (Plague) and *(Voinicii fără)Frică* [(Valiant Men without) Fear].⁸

Other terms also came from Byzantine Greek between the 7th and the 15th centuries, permeating the vocabulary as everyday terms which became proper names in the folkloric epos, but also in real life, due to the general process of Greece’s cultural appropriation of the whole Balkan Peninsula and even Western Europe, as Greek had become the official language of the Eastern Roman Empire.⁹ In this context, Romanian was even more markedly influenced culturally and linguistically, as Dobrudja was part of the Byzantine Empire between 917 and 1185, and the whole territory inhabited by Romanians lay in its area of economic influence and commercial activity, operating along the course of the Danube, from Constanza to Sulina or Porțile-de-Fier. Some words which became mythonyms penetrated Romanian in this period, such as:

Arghir, *Arhanghel* (Archangel), *Dafin* (Laurel), *Pitic* (Dwarf), *Stihie* (Fury), *Trandafir* (Rose) and others.

Finally, some terms came from Modern Greek, more precisely from pre- phanariot or phanariot Greek (the 15th – 19th centuries), under the given historical conditions¹⁰:

Calomfir, *Năramza*, *Vasilache* and others.

The problem is that many Greek terms had also penetrated into the languages of the neighbouring peoples or of those more remote geographically, with which Romanian came into contact, so that it is often hard to establish if Greek loan words acted directly or through such

⁸ Cf. gr. *brótachos*, respectively *kyma* și *phrix/phrikē*, penetrated into Danube Latin, *apud* P. Gh. Bârlea, 2013, p. 198.

⁹ H. Mihăescu, 1966, *Influența greacă asupra limbii române până în secolul al XV-lea*, București: Editura Academiei. See also L. Găldi, 1939, *Les mots d'origine néogreque en roumain à l'époque des Phanariotes*, Budapest.

¹⁰ The epoch begins in 1453 – the fall of Constantinople – and ends in 1821, with the revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu (which, in principle, also marks the end of the Romanian Middle Ages).

channels as Slavic, Italian, etc. Somewhat in the same situation are the mythonyms from Christian mythology. Although Romanian Christianity is much older than the Slavic one, due to the Romanizing of the Dacian territories, the organization of the Romanian Orthodox Church was realised during this epoch, according to the Byzantine rite, derived from the Slavic connection. Consequently, many Greek terms from this semantic field, including hierarchical or divine names (transformed into mythical characters) have Slavic phonological and morphological features.¹¹

However, these chronological sub-stratifications and geographical distributions are of less importance to us, since no direct link with the circulation of myths in the Balkan region can be established. For their mythological significations and, possibly, for the problems of diastatic selection, generally inventorying them will suffice:

Aleodor (Iliodor, DNFR, s.v.), Alesandru, Alexandru, Ambrozie/Amvrozie, Arghir, Arhanghelul, Calimendru, Calomfir (Bulgarian, Modern Greek Kolofer), Dafin (Laurel), Fănică, George, Gheorghe, Grigoraș, Ileana (Sânziana, Cosânzeana etc.), Marghioala, Medina, Năramza, Nicolae, Niculcea, Piticul, Sanda Luxandra*, Scorpie (Shrew), Ștefan, Toader, Toderăș, Teodora, Trandafir (Rose), Vasile, Vasilache, Vasilică.*

From the point of view of the thematic criterion, proper names for persons and divinities are visibly predominant. Of course, these retain the significations of the common nouns they derived from: *arghyros* “argint” (silver), *gheorghios* “lucrător al pământului, țăran” (farmer, peasant) *naramza* “portocală” (orange) and so on. But most of them were already proper names in Antiquity, so they were often adopted without an awareness of the functioning of the linguistic sign.¹²

Another group could be that of Christian ecclesiastic and divine hierarchies, though, in many cases, with Slavonic adaptations.

¹¹ Gh. Mihăilă, 1961, *Împrumuturi vechi sud-slave în limba română*, București: Editura Academiei.

¹² We must call to mind that, in the case of proper names, however, the motivation of the linguistic sign functions, unlike the case of almost all the other words in the vocabulary of a language. *Interjections* are the exception, as are the words originating in infantile use (interjections, too, originally). Still, in the case of onomastic names, we speak of a “second degree motivation”, as what is explicable is only the choice of the common noun as a proper name, but not the concordance between the object and the common noun.

The doublets of the type *Alexandru/Alesandru*, *Gheorghe/George* show the different channels through which these terms penetrated into the Romanian mythonymic inventory (directly or through intermediary sources – Slavic, Italian, French, etc.).

Some of them are so deeply rooted in Romanian that they become productive through diminutive progressive derivation, regressive derivation, motional derivation, and even through compounding based on the same element, which is repeated for euphonic purposes:

a) *Argint, Arghir*

Nicolae, Niculcea

Ștefan, Ștefăniță, Fănică

Toader, Teodora, Toderăș

Vasile, Vasilică, Vasilache

b) *Sanda Luxandra* (cf. *Alexandru/Alexandra*)

The Greek-Slavonic confluences appear in many cases of mythonymy.

Vera is a Bulgarian name, as I. Iordan affirms, but it also existed as a Greek proper name, *Veras*.¹³ In addition, the Magyar name *Veres*, derived from the appellative *veres* “roșu” (red), is also recorded.

Zinca is the equivalent of the Bulgarian first name *Zinka*, but it can be very well explained by the hypocoristic form of *Zinaida/Zenaida*, which comes from *Zenovia*, with the Greek etymon *Zinos*¹⁴ “viu, în viață” (alive, living).

Calimendru is a corrupt form of the Greek *Kalamandros* “neregulă, neorânduială, harababură” (disorder, untidiness, pell-mell). Most certainly, it belongs to the category of joking names, given to misshapen characters, anti-heroes or helping companions, with the meaning of “zăpăcit”, i.e. “scatterbrained” (I. Iordan, s.v. *Calimendrie*). It can be integrated to the series *Hăbăucul, Tândală*, etc.

Calomfir is integrated in the onomasiological group of aromatic herbs, with a symbolic value in mythology (magical plants, used in casting spells).

¹³ I. Iordan, 1983, s.v.

¹⁴ N. A. Constantinescu also considers, in DO, s.v., that this is a Greek name which entered into Romanian through Slavic linkage. What the author of the well-known DO does not say is the fact that the ancient name *Zenobia/Zenovia*, widespread because it was carried by the queen of Palmira (just as *Roxana* spread on account of the wife of Alexander Macedon, and *Elena* due to the mother of Constantin the Great), is formed through a pleonastic association of a common name, as *zen* is the aor. inf. from *zeno*, *zoēo* “to live”, while *bia/bios* means “life”; thus *Zenobia* would mean “the one living her life”.

The plant (*Chrysanthemum balsamite*) has another name in popular Romanian, *calapăr*, so only this one can be said to have been derived from the Bulgarian *Kalofer* (not necessarily so, since the process may have also functioned in reverse), which does not apply to *Calomfir*, closer in form to Greek. *Trandafir* is undoubtedly Greek (cf. *triantophyloi* “treizeci de petale”, i.e. “thirty petals”), which makes unnecessary any interpretation of the Slavic source.

From Modern Greek came *Marghioala* “deşteaptă, şireată” (smart, cunning) and *Năramza*, cf. *neranzi* “portocal” (orange-tree), though there was also the Bulgarian *naranza*.

Contrarily, *Ileana*, a name so frequently encountered in Romanian fairytales, was phonetically adapted to the linguistic area of South-East Europe, so the Greek *Hellēna*, cf. *helios* “soare” (sun) is rendered, in the languages of the region, by *Ilena*, *Ilina*, *Ilóna*, etc.

Finally, *Ambrozie*/*Amvrozie* belongs, on the one hand, to the category of plant names, as it designates in Romanian a (poisonous) plant, but also to the category of names of magic potions, it being known as denoting the food of the gods in Greek mythology. The term had been used ever since Antiquity as a proper name attributed to people and divinities. I. Iordan mentions a Bulgarian equivalent, as usual, but the word also appears in Latin (*Ambrosius*, *Ambrosie*), as well as in all European languages – Romance, Germanic, Slavic, Finno-Ugric – therefore we do not see why we should consider the Bulgarian source for the Romanian mythonym.

Mythonyms of Greek origin are likely to confirm the extremely rich resources of the respective culture and civilization – ancient and medieval, in particular, both in the field of language and that of mythology. Even if a direct connection between the two domains is not readily apparent, they can be said to have contributed, simultaneously or separately, to the enrichment, universalising and colourfulness of the Romanian mythonymic stock.

2.2. Terms of Hebrew-Aramaic origin

Hamito-Semitic languages are not among the etymological strata of Romanian, but the onomastic system is indebted to them, in relation to the biblical texts and the Christian calendar, as any other modern language, for that matter.

Considering the extraordinary capacity of Christianity to absorb in its own mythology themes, motifs, symbols and characters from the pagan

mythologies preceding it, it is no wonder that Vetro-Testamentary and Neo-Testamentary names are so frequent in Romanian fairytales. In addition, these names are integrated in the Christian calendar, so their proliferation in common onomastics is fully explicable, as is their transfer into folk literary creations.

There is, evidently, the predominance of real first names in the calendar derived from the former phrase-names in the Hebrew-Aramaic stock based on the derivational particle *-el/el-* or *yah-*, “God”, the short for *Elohim* “God”, or for *ie-*, cf. *Iehova* “Jahveh, God”, in combination with other various particles:

Adam, Eva, Gavril, Gedeon, Ioaneș, Ionică, Ioniță, Ion (Buzdugan), Ion (Făt-Frumos – Fair Youth, Prince Charming), Ion (Săracul – Pauper), Ion (Tâlharul – Highwayman), Ioniță, Irimia, Maria, Mihail, Mihăeș, Măriuca, Măriuța, Mărioara, Oanea, Săftica ș.a.

In the case of these mythonyms, the phenomenon of linguistic linkages and of phonological and morphological adaptations operates more than in any other sector of onomastics. In the case of the Romanian language, these names passed, in principle, thorough one of the following links:

Hebrew-Aramaic > Byzantine Greek > Slavonic > Romanian

Hebrew-Aramaic > Christian Latin > Romanian

Hebrew-Aramaic > Slavonic > Romanian

It is possible for a name from ancient mythology to have passed through other channels, with detours through Oriental or Occidental mythologies and languages.

The original significations are always preserved, but this makes no difference after all, since the generations of post-biblical times do no longer perceive them in their initial contexts, but merely as names of religious origin, saints’ names under whose protection parents try to put their children.

Thus, *Ion*, the most frequent name not only in Romanian, but also in universal onomastics, is found somewhat proportionally in Romanian mythonymy. It is true that, in fairytales, it rarely appears alone; it is accompanied by an epithet, as the majority of such names. In principle, it should be perceived with its ancient signification:¹⁵

¹⁵ Al. Graur, 1965, p. 29.

Hebr. *Iehohanan* “God is merciful” > Rom. *Ioan* > *Ion*, cf. Slavic *Ivan*, German *Johann*, Engl. *John*, Irish *Jan* etc., from din *Iehova* “Jahveh, God” + *han* “merciful”.

Hebr. *mâr* “master, lord” > Greek *Maria*, Lat. *Maria*, Rom. *Maria*¹⁶, etc.

These two names, the most frequent in common traditional Romanian onomastics, also have the most derivative variants, etc., as shown in the enumeration above, thus considerably enriching the series. It should also be noted that *Oanea* belongs to the *Ion*, sub-group as well, representing a reduced form of *Ioanea*.

Săftica is also a hypocoristic from *Elisafta*, representing the shortened and adapted form of the name *Elisabeta* < *Elisbeth* “God is joy”.

From the same root, *el-* or *-el*, which in time began to function more as a prefix or suffix than as an analysable compounding element, were formed many of the other Romanian mythonyms:

Mihail, *Mihaieş* < Hebr. *Michael* “Who is like God?”, cf. the series *Daniel*, *Rafael*, *Nathanael* and others.

Gavril < *Gabriel* < Hebr. *Gabriel*, from the series above.

Ioviţă < Hebr. *Iov*

Irimia < Hebr. *Ieremiah*.

Adam and *Eva*, names belonging to syncretic divinities in the Romanian mythological pantheon (cf. *Moş Adam* – Father Adam, *Moaşa Eva* – Mother Eve, *Moaşa Iana* – Mother Iana), have different etymological bases:

Hebr. *adam* “red” (literally “clay”);

Hebr. *eva* “life”, cf. the Greek correspondent *Zoe*.

As stated before, almost all these entered into Romanian indirectly, via other languages. In fact, they are so widespread in European languages (and from hence to the languages of other continents), that it is hard to establish the course followed by each name in part.

In principle, the direction of evolution was the one outlined above. The phonetic and morphologic aspect of the words, on the one hand, and the religious and cultural history, on the other, entitle us to think that this is the way it happened. In fact, some of these names are recorded in onomastic dictionaries directly with the last etymology, as derived from a Slavic

¹⁶ Al. Graur, *loc. cit.*, pp. 28-29, proposes a different etymology: Hebrew *Mar* – “bitter”, hence *Maria* “Daughter of bitterness”, “Daughter of pain”. For other interpretations see P. Gh. Bârlea, 2007, p. 94.

language or, more rarely, from Modern Greek. For example, *Ilie* (*Sfântul* – The Saint) was also recorded in the series of Slavic origin mythonyms, although its origin is certainly Hebraico-Aramaic:

Eliahu, a combination between the two names used for the concept of “God”, respectively *El(ohim)* and *Yah(ve)*, gave in modern languages *Eliah*, *Elie*, hence the Slavic *Ilia* and the Romanian *Ilie*. The fact that in old Romanian texts the mythonym is also attested under the form compounded with the Latin *sanctus*, in a agglutinated and lexicalized lexeme, *Sântilie*, can represent a proof of its circulation on Romanian territory in an epoch preceding Slavonic and Romanian contacts.

In total, the names of Hebraico-Aramaic origin constitute testimonies of the operation of the mechanism of onomastic transfer in the context of linguistic contacts, as well as points of reference in the constitution of Christian mythology, respectively of the phenomenon of religious and mythological syncretism.

2.3. Terms of other origins

a) The fairytales collected by Ion Pop-Reteganul and other collectors from Transylvania contain *names of Hungarian origin*, due either to the circulation of the respective texts over a larger area to the right and left of the Tisa or to the variants translated from one or the other of the two languages. This is obvious especially when a common first name appears in its foreign version: *Ștefan/Istvan/Istian*.

As in the case of common terms of Hungarian origin, their significance is harder to decipher for the Romanians in the other historical provinces, because the corresponding appellatives preserved their regional, popular and archaic character. However, in much the same manner as with other everyday terms, some of them acquired national circulation, even entering into the vocabulary of standard literary Romanian, such as *Uriș*, (Giant) *Viteaz* (Brave) (for the latter, see also the possibility of accepting the Slavic origin). The other terms need further lexicographic clarifications, which care reveal new components of the onomasiological groups initially established:

Cocișul (coachman),¹⁷ *Istian* (=Ștefan), *Mătăhuz*¹⁸ (*Împărat* – Emperor), *Paripu* (*Roș* –Red),¹⁹ *Pârcălabul* (county prefect),²⁰

¹⁷ Cf. Hungarian *kočis* “coachman”, from *kočia* “cart”, cf. also Serbo-Croatian *kočija*.

¹⁸ Cf. Hungarian *mátaha* “big, heavy man”, cf. also Romanian *matahală* (beefy man).

¹⁹ Cf. Hungarian *paripo* “the fair youth”.

²⁰ Cf. Hungarian *porkalab* “county prefect”.

Șugă,²¹ *Uriașii* (the Giants),²² *Vicleanul* (the Cunning), *Viteazul* (the Brave).

b) From *German* we have few mythonyms, although the two Germanic populations which colonized Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina between the 12th and the 17th centuries may have brought along enough fairytales and stories from German folklore, so richly illustrated in the collections of the Grimm brothers. Practically, the only one attested in our corpus of texts is the name of the anti-hero *Tândală*, considered an adaptation of a word coming from the German *tadeln* “to joke”, from which the Romanian *a tândăli* was formed “to laze about, kill the time”.²³ The other name of German origin is *Măghiran*, cf. German *Mageran* (Marjoram), a species of oregano (*Origamm Majorana*). Although it appears rather as more of an epithet (*Frunză de Măghiran* – Marjoram Leaf), it completes the onomasiological subseries of miraculous plants in the mythologies of many peoples.

c) Somewhat more numerous are the *mythonyms of Turkish origin*, although the system ethno-cultural references is quite different in terms of mythological background. Of particular import was the fact that the Turkish language served as an intermediary both for the transfer to Europe of Arabic or Persian vocabulary, in many semantic fields, and for facilitating, in the Balkan and European space, the circulation of literary folklore, so rich in imagery and symbolism:

Buzdugan (Martel), *Cataran* (Tar), *Cioban* (Shepherd), *Coman* (Cuman), *Piciul* (Tiny Tot).

It is interesting that some names of mythological characters belong to an earlier epoch, before the Romanian Principalities established political, economic and cultural relations with the Ottoman Empire (the 15th – 19th centuries).

Coman is precisely an anthroponym of the lexical family attesting to the Cumanian occupation of the whole Balkan Peninsula between the 11th

²¹ Cf. Hungarian *sugár* “slender, slim”; cf. also Romanian *sugăr*, “labial plant”, “sugărel”.

²² Cf. Hungarian *óriós* “very big, huge”.

²³ In fact, German has a famous type of anti-hero, *Eulenspiegel*, whose name is, however, translated or rather adapted to Romanian as the calc form *Buhoglindă* (Owl-Glass), meaning that there is no re-created variant, but only a translation.

and the 14th centuries²⁴, Comana, Comanița, Comănici, etc. From the Cumans, this Turkic population of the pre-Ottoman period, we have terms which became mythonyms in Romanian fairytales, such as:

Buzdugan (Martel), *Cioban* (Shepherd), *Dușman* (Enemy).

Cataran remains a term of uncertain origin. It can be attributed to the Turkish language only if, as Iorgu Iordan tentatively assumes, it could be a corrupted form of *catran* (tar), cf. Turkish *katran*.

Contrarily, *Piciul* (Tiny Tot) is certain to have come from Ottoman Turkish, as a direct loan of the Turkish *piç* “very short boy”.

The small number of these latter words confirms the scarcity of Turkish terms proper which survived in modern Romanian.²⁵

2.4. Mythonyms of unknown etymology

There are a few character names in the fairytales belonging to Romanian mythical folklore, whose significance, as common names, is known and recorded in the dictionaries of the Romanian language, but whose etymology has not been clarified by the linguists. They constitute, however, linguistic signs of some qualities characterizing fairytale heroes. In other words, their symbolism is worth taking into consideration, as they account for the mentality of the community which created them as character names and in which these texts circulate:

Afin, *Băiet* – Lad (*Sărac* – Poor), *Boghelț**, *Cheleş*, *Crâncu*, *Creață*, *Erete/Herete* > *Hărău* “hawk, eagle”, *Flămândul*, *Flămânzilă* (Hungered), *Jumătate* (Half), *Mogârzea* “big, foolhardy; who speaks with difficulty”; *Neghiniță*, *Păcală* (Trickster), *Pepelea**, *Pipelca*, *Prichiduță*, *Stăncuță* (Little Crow), *Șperlă* “hot ashes”, “a bad man”, *Tâlharul* (Highwayman), *Titirez* “spindle top”, *Țugulea/Țugunea*, *Zăvod* (“big dog”), *Zgâmboi* “tot, toddler”, *Zgâmboiu*.

²⁴ Some contemporary historians consider that these had a more important role in the history of the Romanian people that is commonly believed, cf. Neagu Djuvara, 2010¹⁰, *O scurtă istorie a românilor...*, București: Humanitas, pp. 45 sqq.

²⁵ Of the 14 Turkish origin words attested in contemporary Romanian use, ten are actually words of Arabic-Persian origin, which leaves only four Turkish words proper – almost exclusively used in familiar use vocabulary: *chior* (one-eyed), *ciomag* (club), *hal* (bad state), *soi* (breed), cf. Al. Graur, 1968.

As we have already had occasion to see from the description of the etymological groups discussed above, for some of them there are attempts at explanation by recourse to resembling forms. For others, we have to take into consideration only the figurative meanings. For example, *Boghelț* also means, taken metaphorically, “handsome, big”, *Crâncu* can be related to *crâncen* (fiery), *a încrâncena* (to shudder), (also with unknown etymology), *Șperlă* is also explained as “a bad man”, *Titirez*, as “clever man”, while *Pipelca* must be the regional term (Southern Romania), as well as the popular *papelca*, unrecorded in the Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language, DEX or any others, which circulates, relatively widely, however, with the meaning of “loitering woman, talkative lazy woman”.

2.5. Mythonyms with no equivalences in the common vocabulary

A few other mythonyms are not recorded anywhere, not even by the dictionaries concerned with dialectal elements, which would mean that they are the pure inventions of storytellers, or rather forms so completely modified or phonetically and morphologically corrupted thorough the process of circulation of folkloric myths and texts that they became unrecognizable:

Buicheză, Bulimandră, Ganul, Iele, Letin, Suleica and others.

The first one seems to be one of those ironical names, suited to the character’s role in the text. In this case, we might take into consideration the roots of the Slavic *buia* “to dash”, “to run”, but also the Hungarian *buja* “sensuous, lecherous”; there is also the proper name *Buia* “spoiled, frolicsome, unserious”. *Bulimandră* seems to belong to the same ironical area as *buleandră* “old coat, useless rag”, figuratively “immoral woman”, while *Ganul* could be a variant of quite frequent family names such as *Gană, Ganea*, from the Bulgarian *Gana* (DNFR, s.v.). In the Transylvanian fairytale of I. Pop-Reteganul, this name gives the title of the narrative *Ganul țiganul* (Ganul the Gipsy), from the B type of lucky charms (cf. also *Doftorul Toderăș, Trifon Hăbăucul*), etc., and the unusual form could be explained by the euphonic effect obtained thorough the association of the two terms (*Gană Țiganul > Ganul Țiganul*).

Maybe the most debated Romanian mythonym, after *Făt Frumos* and *Ileana Cosânzeana*, was the word designating the group of the *Iele* (Enchantresses). In these pages, we have accepted the simplest explanation, according to which *iele* comes from the personal pronoun *ele*, (they, feminine plural), as a consequence of the semantic action of the linguistic

tabú. In the course of time, however, diverse other possible sources have been suggested: the Cuman *yel* “wind” (L. Șăineanu), the Sanskrit *val* “death”, (B.P. Hasdeu)²⁶ and others.

Letin can be a Slavonic term as well, related to *leto* “forest” (just as *Zefirin* is a derivative of *zefir*, “zephyr”); there are attestations of names such as *Letinski* “foresty, wild”, just as Bulgarian fairytales mention a giant named *Latin* (LȘ, p. 527). Finally, for *Suleica* there would be the numerous masculine correspondents of family names, including allusions to the name of a species of fish.²⁷

²⁶ Cf. L. Șăineanu, 2012, p. 19.

²⁷ Iorgu Iordan, 1983, s.v.

DIFFICULTIES AND CONSTRAINTS IN TRANSLATING PHILOSOPHICAL TEXTS. MECHANISMS OF RECEPTION AND THE (IN)STABILITY OF MEANING

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Abstract:

The present paper emphasizes the difficulties in translating philosophical texts in general, with a special focus on Romanian translations of German philosophical writings.

Translators of philosophical texts face a dilemma, since they are compelled to oscillate between two translation principles: that of transferring an unaltered message on the one hand, and that of preserving the style which defines the subjectivity of the text, on the other.

In order to overcome such constraints, a thorough understanding of the text message is needed, which raises the issue of the essential role of the reception process in understanding the meaning of a text, especially a philosophical one. We further focus on reception mechanisms and the (in)stability of meaning in the context of philosophical debate and literary critique, since a deeper understanding of these complex mechanisms is extremely useful both during the translation process and when analysing and assessing a translation as a product.

Key words:

Translation; German philosophy; reception mechanisms; (in)stability of meaning.

The typological categorization of a philosophical text as literary or non-literary has been the subject of debate among translation theoreticians, who initially considered it to fall into the category of non-literary writings, which included technical or pragmatic texts, alongside scientific, juridical or publicist ones. This consideration was based on the axiom governing informative texts, according to which rendering the underlying message of the text – including a philosophical text – prevails over the form in which the message is presented. Consequently, the translation of a philosophical text would be conditioned by emphasis on the reception of the text and the correct transfer of the message it contains.

According to P. Newmark, and in the tradition of E. A. Nida, semantic translation preserves the source expression in the target language, regardless of the text type (be it philosophical, religious, political, scientific, juridical, technical or literary), while communicative translation focuses on the win/loss ratio at a morphological, syntactical, lexical, or stylistic level. This ratio and the principle of “no win, no loss”, as P. Newmark expressed it, are the main rules that should influence translators’ choices of translation options, with only one objective – to preserve the meaning of the original text at all costs, and one principle – “no loss, no gain”. Thus, P. Newmark considers translation to be the “*craft*” of replacing a message produced in one language with the same message produced in another language, an action which nevertheless implies “*a kind of loss of meaning*” and which induces a permanent dialectic tension derived from the “*claims*” of both languages involved in the translation process.¹

Magda Jeanrenaud analysed the textual features of philosophical discourse, which she described as a distinct text type that requires specific translation decisions and techniques. She also referred to the variety of opinions on the subject, opinions which are nevertheless consensual in acknowledging the fact that the traditional binary dissociation of pragmatic and literary texts should be overridden.²

In his *Traduire: théorèmes pour la traduction* (1979), Jean-René Ladmiral, a French philosopher and translator, built his translation system upon the opposition: literary texts vs. technical texts.³ But being an experienced translator of philosophy, he realized that the translation of philosophical writings falls somewhere between the translation of literary and that of non-literary texts. According to J-R Ladmiral, a philosophical text could be considered a literary text, in the broader sense, but also a technical one, given the specific technical jargon of its discourse, yet clearly not this either, given its subjectivity, *i.e.* the speaking subject of the text is

¹ Peter Newmark, 1995, *Approaches to Translation*, New York a.o.: Prentice Hall International, p. 7. Cf. Eugene A. Nida, 1964, *Towards a Science of Translating*, Leiden: E. J. Brill and E. Nida, Charles R. Taber, 1969, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 154-168.

² Magda Jeanrenaud, *Traducerea filozofiei, filozofia traducerii*, in: Paul Ricouer, 2005, *Despre traducere*, Iași: Editura Polirom, p. 6.

³ Jean-René Ladmiral, 1994, *Traduire: théorèmes pour la traduction*, Paris: Gallimard. J-R Ladmiral is a Germanist scholar who mainly translated texts from German philosophy – I. Kant, Fr. Nietzsche, J. Habermas.

present within the text itself.⁴ Consequently, translators of philosophical texts face a dilemma, since they are compelled to oscillate between two translation principles: that of transferring an unaltered message on the one hand, and that of preserving the style which defines the subjectivity of the text, on the other.

Mircea Flonta also addresses the topic of dilemmas in the translation of philosophy. On the problem of typological categorization, the Romanian philosopher states that philosophical writings occupy a position between the two extremes of the linguistic spectrum: scientific writings and literary texts⁵.

He goes on to specify that, from the stylistic point of view, some philosophical writings are closer to technical texts, i.e. the representative texts of Anglo-Saxon analytical philosophy, while others are more poetic, such as the philosophical writings of some German-speaking authors, whom he sees as highly innovative since they force the language by creating new linguistic structures and phrases in order to express new meanings.⁶ According to Mircea Flonta, a pure translation, defined as the complete recovery and re-verbalization of the original text meaning and style, is impossible in the case of philosophical texts, since they are - axiomatically speaking - open to interpretation.⁷

Analysing Romanian translations of Immanuel Kant's work, M. Flonta discusses the subjective factors that influence the translator's reception process in the pre-translation phase: the degree of familiarity of the translator with the work of the author whose work he is translating, with secondary sources of commentaries and critical reading, or with the social, cultural and philosophical context in which the respective work was produced. Thus, the translator's attitude, in relation to the target public and the ratio of fidelity to treason, would be deeply influenced by the reception process, which in its turn is decidedly dependent on the above-mentioned degree of familiarity. Should the translator therefore aim for a faithful, unaltered translation, striving to achieve maximum familiarity with the specific zeitgeist and expectations of the target public of the period when the original text was created (not to mention the different cultural space—

⁴ Magda Jeanrenaud, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵ Mircea Flonta, 1997, *Traducere și comunicare interculturală. Cărări înguste și dileme ale traducerii filosofice*, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, p. 5.

⁶ *Id.*, p. 6.

⁷ *Id.*, p. 5.

accounting for the target public in the cultural space in which the original was created)? Or should they favour a translation that is more appropriate to the time (or once again the space) in which it is produced, thus being more intelligible and accessible to *its* target public, but less faithful to the original text? Moreover, should the translator adopt a literal translation, which - in the case of philosophical texts - has the advantage of preserving the ambiguity of the original, to the detriment of naturalness and accessibility? Or a free translation, which would be more natural and accessible, albeit the result of some degree of interpretation, whether consciously acknowledged or not, associated (possibly) with a culture liable to interpretation? Considering the multitude of factors that influence and restrict the translator's comprehension of a philosophical text, M. Flonta asserts that philosophical translations can only ever be *versions* of the original.⁸

Besides the above-mentioned dilemmas, a further subjective factor enters the equation, *i.e.* the translator's skill in finding appropriate lexical and stylistic means (if available in the target language!) and their creativity in inventing new ones, which should not come across as artificial or laborious. A major role is played here by the intercultural aspect of the translation as an act of communication between two cultures with a certain distance between them, measured not in units of length, but in the means of expression that both languages possess at given stages in their development⁹. In this regard, M. Flonta considered the successful outcome of English translations from Immanuel Kant's work to be due not only to the similarity between Old German and Anglo-Saxon, but also to the fact that Latin derivatives - existent in both languages (*deduction, principle, transcendental, apperception, association*, etc.) - were extensively used by the German philosopher in his fundamental work, *Critique of Pure Reason*. Alongside syntax also taken from Latin, I. Kant used Latin equivalents even

⁸ *Id.*, p. 6.

⁹ *Id.*, pp. 10-11. Mircea Flonta's analysis of the development of the Romanian language in the nineteenth century reminded us that, at the time when Mihai Eminescu was translating from I. Kant, the transfer difficulties were enormous, since the distance between the two languages was considerable, leading Constantin Noica, the famous Romanian philosopher, to declare that the Romanian language of that time was "*philosophically untried*". Cf. C. Noica, 'Introducere', in: Mihai Eminescu, 1975, *Lecturi kantiene. Traduceri din Critica Rațiunii Pure*, edited by C. Noica and Al. Surdu, Bucharest: Editura Univers, p. XXIV.

for words that already existed in German (for instance: *intuitio* instead of *Anschauung* and *representatio* instead of *Vorstellung*).¹⁰

The lexicon of philosophical writings, especially of those from the German speaking world, raises considerable difficulties when translating them into other languages, Romanian being no exception. The German language is extremely rich in means of expression and thus very difficult to transfer exactly, since many items do not have an equivalent in Romanian. M. Flonta gives the example of German nouns that generally express a quality and are derived from adjectives by adding the suffix ‘-heit’: ‘*Schönheit*’ (Rom. ‘frumusețe’, ‘calitatea de a fi frumos’, Engl. ‘beauty’, ‘the quality of being beautiful’), ‘*Freiheit*’ (Rom. ‘libertate’, ‘calitatea de a fi liber’, Engl. ‘freedom’, ‘the quality of being free’). The translators’ dilemma begins when there is no Romanian equivalent for the German derivative, as is the case in the following example: ‘*das Gegebene*’ (Rom. ‘datul’, Engl. ‘the given’) – ‘*die Gegebenheit*’ (Rom. ‘calitatea de a fi dat’?, Engl. ‘the quality of being given’?)¹¹. In such cases, translators are left with the alternatives of either lexically enriching the target language by introducing new means of expression – which might appear too technical and artificial – or resorting to explanatory paraphrase which might overload and burden the text.

The same kind of constraints emerge in the case of equating the German term ‘*Deduktion*’ with the Romanian ‘*deducție*’ (Engl. ‘deduction’) through direct borrowing. At the time when I. Kant used the respective word in his work, it referred to a kind of systematic report (Rom. ‘*expunere sistematică*’¹²) and was juridical jargon, a fact which is no longer true today. For a deeper understanding of the text, contemporary readers should be provided with either a special term or paraphrasing accompanied by an explanatory note from the translator.

In addition to specific terminology predominantly borrowed from Latin, I. Kant made use of common German words, to which he attributed new meanings. For example, the German word ‘*Gemüt*’ could have a wide range of Romanian equivalents, depending on the context: ‘*suflet*’ (Engl. ‘soul’), ‘*inimă*’ (Engl. ‘heart’), ‘*sentiment*’ (Engl. ‘sentiment’/‘feeling’), ‘*fire*’ (Engl. ‘character’), ‘*spirit*’ (Engl. ‘spirit’/‘temper’), ‘*caracter*’ (Engl.

¹⁰ Mircea Flonta, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹¹ *Id.*, p. 9.

¹² *Id.*, p. 12.

‘character’). This is an example of the equivalence type *eins-zu-viele* (one-to-many)¹³, described by W. Koller. None of the above mentioned translation solutions seem capable of covering the full meaning of the original word in all contexts it may occur. Hence, M. Flonta suggests that such a word should not be regarded as a special term, but rather translated contextually¹⁴, which was W. Koller’s opinion as well.

Contextual translation once more raises the issue of the essential role of the reception process in understanding the meaning of a text, especially a philosophical one. We shall focus next on reception mechanisms and the (in)stability of meaning in the context of philosophical debate and literary critique, since a deeper understanding of these complex mechanisms is extremely useful both during the translation process and when analysing and assessing a translation as a product.

Since “translation is a deconstruction and reconstruction of the original”¹⁵, then the term ‘deconstruction’ mainly relates to the efforts of clarifying polysemy or semantic concentrations within the text. In other words, translators are primarily readers who interpret messages for retransmission to other readers, usually in the same cultural space. On the one hand, thorough reception of the source text plays a key-role in producing a satisfactory target text. On the other hand, the issue of the (in)stability of meaning should be addressed, since philosophical language exhibits both technical and poetic features. Irina Mavrodin’s considerations are relevant in this context. She places the two types of language, technical and poetic, at either end of an imaginary line and describes them in terms of stability and autonomy of meaning. At one end of the line we have technical language, where the autonomy of words is not debated and the stability of meaning is relatively strong. Hence, translators are not to guess or invent lexemes, but rather identify them in accordance with the existing definitions and their fixed usage. At the other end, that of poetic language, the instability of meanings or more precisely acknowledgement of this instability should transcend the prejudice that sememes are fixed once and

¹³ Werner Koller, 1992, *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft*, 4., völlig neu bearb. Aufl., Heidelberg, Wiesbaden, Quelle und Meyer, pp. 228-240.

¹⁴ Mircea Flonta, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁵ See, for example, Ioana Ieronim, in an interview published by Angela Martin entitled ‘Traducerea: vocație, profesie, hobby?’ [Translation: vocation, profession, hobby?], in: *Cultura*, no. 215 of 19.03.2009, <http://revistacultura.ro/cultura.php?articol=3921> (Aug. 30, 2013).

forever by their usage and that there is only one meaning, or a single 'good' translation, for each word.¹⁶

Regardless of their motivation for reading, a reader - and by extension a translator - is constantly engaged in a complex process of negotiation with the author and with the text itself to interpret and understand the content. The intellectual process of assessing the underlying message takes place both during and after reading and is an active process, influenced by numerous factors including cultural context, tradition, and the reader's (literary) experience. The issue of finding the necessary means to decoding a textual message has been discussed over the years by philosophers, reception theorists and literary critics, who have successively shifted emphasis from the literary work to the author and more recently to the reader as the most important player in the act of interpreting meanings.

Until the 1960s, the reception process for interpreting any work was considered empathetic; the text was autonomous, its meaning fixed and waiting to be deciphered. The reception process was highly determined by tradition and by the author's personality and prestige. Readers were rather passive and often received interpretation models from the authors themselves.

In 1970, Hans Robert Jauss, a German academic, placed his concept of the 'horizon of expectations' at the very centre of his reception theory, thus reconciling the traditional author-work dyad with its audience.¹⁷ A key term in reception theory, the horizon of expectations models the process of reception and interpretation of messages based on aesthetics. H. R. Jauss's theory of reception is based on the initial frame of reference within which the work was created, therefore the reader can and must recreate the horizon of expectations of the original audience in order to avoid a superficial reception resulting from their own subjectivity.¹⁸ The concept 'horizon of expectation' implies the existence of cultural codes - derived from tradition or from literary schools and critiques - that help readers to recognize and assess messages. It is remarkable that this key concept applies not only to

¹⁶ Irina Mavrodin, 2006, *Despre traducere: literal și în toate sensurile*, Craiova: Editura Scrisul Românesc, p. 15.

¹⁷ Mona Momescu, Alina Ologu, 2000/2001, *Introducere în teoria literaturii. Note de curs*, Constanța: Ovidius University Press, p.77. Cf. Vincent B. Leitch, (gen. ed.), 2001, *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, p. 1550.

¹⁸ Hans Robert Jauss, *Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory*, in: Vincent B. Leitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 1550 - 1564.

readers, but to authors as well (including here the authors of original texts in case of translations), since they possess the same cultural code as their readers (including here the translators as readers). Consequently, a permanent regulation mechanism exists between emitter and receiver or, in other words, between the author of the original text and the translator.

Modern reception theories emphasize the text instead of the work. Its meaning, as the result of a negotiation process, crystallizes nowhere else but in the reader. Moreover, it is no longer a continual process, but a sequential one, and it depends on the respective moment of reception. The reader is never 'innocent' and the text is never autonomous:

*"To read is always to read in relation to other texts, in relation to the codes that are the products of these texts and go to make up a culture"*¹⁹.

The instability of language and the temporariness of meaning were addressed philosophically for the first time in the Post-structuralist era. Theoreticians like J. Derrida, J-F Lyotard and M. Foucault examined sources of meaning other than the author by rejecting principles of universalism, rationality, legitimacy and previously established justifications²⁰.

Jacques Derrida described the relationship between language and the real world and developed his theory on the fact that any written sign is repeatable and can be extracted from its context. Therefore, the meaning of signs cannot be contained within, or reduced to, a finite context²¹. A sign – written or spoken – becomes functional not through its immediate presence, but rather through its spacing from other signs. For J. Derrida, spacing is not necessarily an empty space – a blank or an imperceptible pause between words in written or spoken language respectively – but rather the 'difference' that Saussure emphasized when discussing the linguistic value of signs.²² In *Speech and Phenomena* (1967), J. Derrida deliberately coined the new term 'différance'²³ to emphasize the fact that a sign refers to

¹⁹ Jonathan Culler, 2001, *The Pursuit of Signs. Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction*, London: Routledge, p. 13.

²⁰ Beatrice Hanssen, 'Critical Theory and Poststructuralism: Habermas and Foucault', in: Fred Rush (ed.), 2004, *The Cambridge Companion to Critical Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 280.

²¹ Julian Wolfreys, Ruth Robbins, Kenneth Womack, 2006, *Key Concepts in Literary Theory*, Second Edition, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 103.

²² Ferdinand de Saussure, 1998, *Curs de lingvistică generală* [A Course in General Linguistics]. Translated by Irina Izverna Tarabac, Iași: Editura Polirom, p. 133.

²³ *Apud* Barry Stocker, 2006, *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Derrida on Deconstruction*, New York: Routledge, p. 175. The term was so subtle that the translator of

nothing else but other signs and can thus never reach semantic or syntagmatic stability.

The polysemy of the French word '*supplement*' (which may refer either to a supplement or a substitute) offered J. Derrida the occasion to philosophically review the way style articulates through the language and reality of an author²⁴. The Derridean concept of writing implies the presence of an absence, *i.e.* the presence of the signifier (the written word) in the physical absence of its referent in the real world, which is substituted by the former (or added to it?). The phrase '*il n'y a pas de hors-texte*', which J. Derrida himself calls central to his essay²⁵, becomes a point of reference from which textuality is defined as a structure that is infinitely multiplied in itself, a kind of a *en abyme* representation of presence. That presence is specifically suggested by the concept of '*supplement*', which becomes a kind of a "*blind spot*"²⁶ in the respective text or "*the not-seen that opens and limits visibility*"²⁷. Herein lies the paradox of reception, because it is precisely the language and the reality of an author that bestow surprising diversity of meaning upon a word. Readers are able to recognize the possibility that the message rendered might be other than that intended by the author; in other words, one should ask oneself whether the author, having used a specific word, intended to say more, less, or something else. Hence, when a context is selected in order to stabilize the meaning, the reader (and the translator as well) recognizes at the same time the multiple variants that the context offers. The meaning thus becomes extremely relative and unsettled, since it depends on the specific moment at which the reader negotiates it. In such specific cases, one important issue – according to J. Derrida – concerns the trajectory of the meaning from author to reader. As the text is being produced, the author intentionally uses specific words,

the English edition did not notice it at its first occurrence in the text and translated it as 'difference'. It was not until the next chapter when he realized the misspelling was deliberate and drew readers' attention to '*différance*' as a neologism introduced by the author. Cf. Barry Stocker, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

²⁴ Jacques Derrida, '*Of Grammatology*', in: Vincent B. Leitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 1822-1830.

²⁵ *Id.*, p. 1829. The authors of the cited anthology discussed the English translation alternatives for the phrase, as follows: '*there is nothing outside the text*', a literal and correct translation, but nevertheless deceptive because it is based upon the assumption that an *inside/outside* constraint exists, which was exactly what J. Derrida argued about. Or: '*there is no outside-text*', a translation that is non-literal, but closer to the intention of the French philosopher.

²⁶ *Id.*, p. 1830.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

whose meaning is later negotiated by the reader by selecting only one meaning at a time in order to bring clarity to their analysis of the text. Nevertheless, in retaining only one meaning, the reader is conscious that other virtual possibilities exist and therefore attempts to justify the choice that they have made.

Thus a Derridean critical reading should go beyond tradition and search the text for its *signifying structure*, which the French philosopher described as the relationship between what authors can and cannot control in terms of the language patterns that they use. It is thus extremely important for translators, in their capacity as readers, to recognize the kind of relationship J. Derrida described. This is very difficult since authors themselves are not aware of it due to its difference from the relationship they consciously establish with the linguistic elements they use in their exchanges with the reality of which they are a part. Fatally, J. Derrida's critical reading, in its attempt to make the invisible visible and disclose the essence of that signifying structure, is limited by the same text/language constraints because it results in nothing else but a text whose discourse cannot dominate the language and the reality in which the text has been written.

In 1968, Roland Barthes announced the 'death of the author'²⁸, leaving the reader to derive meaning from a text, which is thus an absence of voices and which begins only when the author ceases to exist. The message of the text is not to be found in the author, but in the polysemy of the language itself (see J. Derrida), that only the reader can detect and understand in all its virtual possibilities. For R. Barthes, the text has lost its theological character; it is no longer the vehicle for a unique message transmitted by the author who is a holder of absolute truth. The text is seen now as a multi-dimensional space in which meanings are not fixed; they exist for very brief moments and they dissolve immediately afterwards. From this vision, R. Barthes attributes a revolutionary character to literature which denies stable meanings and, with them, God and His manifestations: philosophy, science and ethics.

A year later, Michel Foucault examined the empty space left by the disappearance of the author that had been previously announced by R. Barthes and investigated the functions fulfilled by the author as an autonomous category within textual and discourse analysis.²⁹ M. Foucault observed that, even though the author has for a long time been considered the source of the text at its most profound level, until 1500 the function of

²⁸ Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author", in: Vincent B. Leitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 1466-1470.

²⁹ Michael Foucault, "What Is an Author", in: Vincent B. Leitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 1622-1636.

the author was irrelevant to the understanding and interpretation of a text. Even today, claims M. Foucault, the author's importance varies according to the field to which the text belongs.

Stanley Fish, an American literary theorist, revolutionized reception theory by attributing meaning to the reader instead of to the text. In his essay, *Interpreting the 'Variorum'* (1976)³⁰, S. Fish introduces the concept of *interpretive communities*³¹, which are perceived as entities that can grow or decay, with individuals able to move from one to another. This concept explains the stability of reception for a specific group of readers (they read a text in the same way because they belong to the same interpretive community). It also explains the fact that a reader can adopt various interpretation strategies, thus creating various texts from the very same source (because the reader has belonged to various interpretive communities throughout their life).

In *The Postmodern Condition* (1979), Jean François Lyotard debated the question of progress, which he saw as a march of the entire world towards a utopian future³²; he advocated diversity and plurality as they manifest themselves in local differences. In the tradition of Ludwig Wittgenstein, J. F. Lyotard called these local differences "language games" and argued that there was no possibility of comparing them. Therefore it was not possible to create a hierarchy of language games, as language depends only on the context (see also J. Derrida) and the meaning depends on the moment the text was created.

In the same philosophical tradition as J. Derrida, but with anarchic and anti-hierarchic emphasis, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari undermined, among other things, the idea of conceptual stability³³. In *Introduction: Rhizome*, the two authors introduce the concept of *rhisomatic thought*³⁴ characterized by expansion, conquer, variation, interconnectivity etc. The rhisomatic thought was opposed to the patriarchal, arborescent conception of knowledge, which establishes clear-cut filiations and therefore hierarchies.³⁵ As far as literature is concerned G. Deleuze and F. Guattari were not searching for a particular meaning, but rather trying to detect those

³⁰ Vincent B. Leitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 2071-2089.

³¹ Stanley Fish, "Interpreting the *Variorum*", in: Vincent B. Leitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 2071-2089.

³² *Id.*, p. 1610.

³³ *Id.*, p. 1594.

³⁴ Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, "A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia", in: Vincent B. Leitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 1601-1609.

³⁵ *Id.*, p. 1607.

“*lines of flight*”³⁶ along which authors and their texts eluded the imposed order. That is actually a *de-territorialization* from the so-called official culture and a *re-territorialization* somewhere else; generally speaking, the de-territorialization process allows the transition from the verb *to be* (characteristic of arborescent filiation) to the priority of the conjunction *and* in such expressions as *and...and...and...* (characteristic of rhizomes). In other words, this process proposes “*an eschewing of monolithic ideas in favour of ‘disjunctive syntheses’ that allow for genuine interconnection.*”³⁷

For G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, a book is a multiplicity, an assembly of various fluxes with multiple directions. A clear distinction between the three classical instances – the book, the author and the world – is not possible anymore.³⁸ The abdication of this classical trinity and the placing of emphasis on the multiplicity of fluxes – semiotic, material or social – that build a book in the two authors’ vision, leads to a change in the semiotics of perception: one must see things from the inside and not as isolated or from an external perspective.

Jean René Ladmiral subscribed to the same rationale as J. Derrida and his successors, considering it a real ‘scandal’ to translate philosophy, since translation means a series of dissociations of the concepts of philosophy with the respective signifiers in the source language, followed by a series of reconstructions into foreign signifiers in the target language.³⁹

J. R. Ladmiral distinguished between (at least) two types of constraints derived from the necessity to verbalize philosophical concepts: first, at the level of the author of a philosophical text, who has to frame the concepts of his thought into the patterns the source language has to offer; next, a translator needs to understand the concepts perfectly (by reading signifiers only, in the source language) in order to transfer their meaning, if possible, into signifiers in the target language. The target reader is the ultimate receiver in whom the intended meaning of the author of the original text – should finally crystallize. This means altogether that just another level of conceptual alteration is added. J. R. Ladmiral’s alleged ‘scandal’ derives precisely from these consecutive alterations that philosophical concepts endure from the moment they leave the author’s mind. One partial solution to this problem involves retaining terms from the source language unaltered

³⁶ *Id.*, pp. 1601-1609.

³⁷ Cf. Julian Wolfreys, Ruth Robbins, Kenneth Womack, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³⁸ Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, “A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia”, in: Vincent B. Leitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 1606-1607.

³⁹ *Apud* Magda Jeanrenaud, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

in the translation⁴⁰, but then explaining them in the target language by using explanatory footnotes or compensation and adaptation strategies.

After reviewing all these perspectives on reception mechanisms and the issues of meaning (in)stability, it seems now that the work of a translator – especially a translator of literary or philosophical texts – cannot reach perfection. As we have previously discussed, difficulties generated by the typological framing of a philosophical text are only added to the constraints imposed by the reception process and the issues of meaning (in)stability. Mary Snell-Hornby considered that equivalence in translation was an illusion (something that cannot be reached) and proposed the term *approximation*⁴¹ instead. When equivalence is discussed, the horizon expectations of the target audience should be taken into account and the translation should be executed accordingly. This means that different texts will generate different definitions for the translation equivalence, and this may apply even to the same text if it has been successively translated at great intervals of time or for different purposes. Consequently, a good translation may very probably be that which is most appropriate for the needs of its target audience and for the period of time when it is executed.

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⁴⁰ For instance, *Weltanschauung* and *Gestalt* are terms that have been maintained *unaltered* (not translated) in translations from German philosophical texts and remained so in universal thought as well.

⁴¹ Mary Snell-Hornby, „Übersetzen, Sprache, Kultur“, in: Mary Snell-Hornby (Hrsg.), 1993, *Übersetzungswissenschaft – eine Neuorientierung. Zur Integrierung von Theorie und Praxis*, Tübingen: Francke Verlag, p. 13.

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LA RELATION LATIN-ROUMAIN DANS L'EVOLUTION DES MOTS DERIVES AVEC LE PREFIXE ÎN-

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Abstract:

The present study aims to analyze the logical-semantic values of the derivatives formed with the prefix *în-*, considering the relation between Latin and Romanian. This analysis takes into account, on the one hand, the meanings of the Latin prefix *in-*, but also, on the other hand, the development of the meanings of the Romanian prefix *în-*. Consequently, we will systematize the semantic values of one of the most productive Romanian prefixes inherited from Latin, diachronically and synchronically, emphasizing, at the same time, the vivid and extremely dynamic character of the Romanian language, capable of manifesting intensely its lexical creativity from a historical stage to another.

Key words:

Latin, Romanian, prefix, logical-semantic values, derivative.

Rezumat:

Studiul de față își propune să analizeze valorile logico-semantice ale derivatelor cu *în-* prin prisma relației latină – română, având în vedere, pe de o parte, sensurile pe care le comportă *in-* latinesc, iar, pe de altă parte, dezvoltarea sensurilor lui *în-* românesc. Astfel, vom sistematiza valențele semantice ale unuia dintre cele mai productive prefixe moștenite, din punct de vedere diacronic, respectiv sincron, evidențiind, în același timp, caracterul viu și extrem de dinamic al limbii române, capabilă să-și manifeste intens creativitatea lexicală de la o etapă istorică la alta.

Cuvinte-cheie:

Latină, română, prefix, valoare logico-semantică, derivat.

Comme les travaux lexicographiques l'attestent, l'affixe *în-* est hérité en roumain du latin *in-*.¹

¹ Cf. CDER, 2002, s.v. *în-*.

En latin, *in*₁/*in*₋₂ a un double statut, le terme double accomplissant le statu de préfixe, et préposition, et préverbe.

*In*₁, ayant le statut de préposition, est utilisé dans les constructions avec les cas Accusatif, et Ablatif, dans le sens de « în, la, pe, către, spre, până în, împotriva etc. », (dans, à, sur, vers, envers, jusqu'à, contre, etc.), indiquant, en fonction des occurrences, la *spatialité*, après les verbes de mouvement, cf. *in urbem adducere* « a aduce în oraş », (apporter en ville) ; la *spatialité*, après des verbes exprimant un état, *in urbe sedere* « a locui în oraş », (habiter en ville), la *temporalité*, cf. *dormire in lucem* « a dormi până în zori », (dormir jusqu'à l'aube) ; la *relativité*, cf. *in altitudinem* « în înălţime », « en hauteur », etc., avec diverses nuances, comme, par exemple, *finalité*, *modalité*, *causalité*.³

Avec le statut de préfixe, *in*₋₂ a le sens de *intériorité*, lorsqu'on se réfère au temps et à l'espace, cf. *imbibo* « a trage în sine, a absorbi » (imbiber, absorber), *ingero* « a pune în, a introduce, a duce în etc. » (ingérer, introduire dans), *ineo* « a intra în » (entrer dans), *infero* « a purta în, a duce în » (mettre dans, porter dans), *inicio* « a arunca în/pe » (jeter dans/sur), de *passer dans un état nouveau*, cf. *incalesco* « a înfierbânta » (chauffer), *infusco* « a înnegri » (noircir), etc.⁴

Il est important de souligner le fait que le système des « *champs sémantiques* »⁵ du latin classique est constitué sur la base d'oppositions binaires ayant des traits clairement définis. L'existence de ce qu'on appelle « champs » est basée presque exclusivement sur les valeurs concrètes, locales, plus rarement temporelles, des préfixes, réduits surtout aux verbes de mouvement et un peu moins à ceux d'état. Ainsi, aux mots formés à l'aide de *in*- et *ad*- s'opposent ceux formés à l'aide de *de*- et *dis*-, cf. *incingere* « a încinge » (mettre une ceinture) vs *discingere* « a descinge »

² Cf. Alfred Ernout, Antoine Meillet, 2002, s.v. *in*-.

³ Lorsqu'il est utilisé comme préfixe, *in*- subit, d'un côté, des modifications d'ordre phonétique, *-n-* étant assimilé avant les consonnes *g*, *l*, *m*, *r*, cf. *illacrimabilis* « neînduplecat » (impitoyable), *immisceō* « a amesteca în » (se mêler dans), *irrigo* « a aduce apa », (fig.) « a împrăştia » (irriguer, arroser). De l'autre côté, comme on peut observer, le préfixe change son sens lorsqu'il est attaché à une base de nature nominale ou adjectivale, acquérant la valeur de particule négative, comme, par exemple, *ignotus* « necunoscut », « obscur », (rarement) « necunosător » (inconnu, obscure, méconnaissant), *indoctus* « neinstruit », « neînvăţat » (sans éducation). *Ibidem*.

⁴ *Idem*, s.v. *in*.

⁵ Cf. I. Fischer, 1985, pp. 181-182.

(déliaer une ceinture). Dans cette étape du latin, sur la base des verbes de mouvement, on délimite nettement une double opposition : *ad-* vs *ab-*, et respectivement *in-* vs *ex-*.

Le système des préfixes basé sur des oppositions binaires (*ad-* vs *ab-*, respectivement *in-* vs *ex-*) change en latin tardif, car le préfixe *ab-* est éliminé, et *ex-* devient, au moins apparemment, opposé aux affixes *ad-* et *in-*. Par conséquent, pour reconstituer les paires de préfixes, la langue a utilisé, à la fois, la réalisation d'une synonymie entre affixes, *in-* devenant le synonyme de *ad-*, et à l'apparition d'une nouvelle paire, *ex-* étant doublé par l'affixe *de-*.⁶ Les modifications du système de préfixes sont expliquées sur la base de la diminution de la productivité de certains des affixes. Le préfixe *in-* est dominant pendant toute la latinité, démontrant une grande productivité, fait certifié aussi par les correspondances héritées dans les langues romanes.⁷

I. Fischer affirme que, dans la phase du latin danubien, l'affixe *in-* à valeur locale « *ne semble être représenté par aucune formation claire* »⁸, excepté *a încăpea*, d'ailleurs le doublet étymologique de *a începe*, qui a une valeur inchoative.

Dans ce cas, le linguiste remarque deux directions dans l'analyse de la valeur exprimée par les formations avec *în-*, pendant la phase danubienne.

Pourtant, il considère que « *la date de l'attachement du préfixe est incertaine et son introduction dans le latin danubien est douteuse (quoiqu'une forme similaire soit présente en catalan : ancabir, par rapport aux représentants de *capěre des autres langues [...]).* »⁹

Cependant, dans d'autres situations, la valeur locale est exprimée même par les verbes simples, hérités du latin, cf. *includere* > (a) *închide* (inclure, enfermer), *ingluttire* > (a) *înghiți* (engloutir). En plus, le chercheur affirme que, en dernière instance, les valeurs de l'affixe se réduisent à celle

⁶ Voir, pour plus de détails, la discussion in I. Fischer, 1985, p. 186.

⁷ *In-*, préfixe retrouvé dans tout le monde romain, est hérité en roumain, comme nous venons de mentionner, sous la forme de *în-* /*im-*, cf. *a îmbolnăvi*, et aussi en italien *in-/im-*, *insalare*, français *en-/em-*, *emballer*, *enivrer*, espagnol *en-/em-*, *empajar*, *encaminar*, portugais *en/em-*, *embededar*, *encalicar*. Cf. ELIR, 1989, s.v. *prefix*. Comme on peut observer dans les exemples donnés, le terme a subi des changements phonétiques. Dans toutes les langues latines mentionnées, l'affixe est utilisé sous la forme *im-*, *in-*, *em-*, *en-*, devant les bilabiales *b*, et respectivement *p*.

⁸ I. Fischer, 1985, p. 187.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

inchoative¹⁰, illustrée surtout par les formations parasynthétiques dénominales¹¹. En même temps, le linguiste cité souligne que dans d'autres formations roumaines, le préfixe n'apporte aucune nuance sémantique, conformément au roumain (*a*) *încinge* provenu du latin *incingere*, synonyme de *cingere* (enceindre).¹²

De tout ce que nous venons de présenter, il résulte qu'en latin le sens primordial de *in-* est celui de marque de l'intériorité¹³, mais en roumain cette valeur a été gardée dans une moindre mesure, le préfixe acquérant comme valeur fondamentale l'indication d'une transformation, du passage dans un nouvel état.¹⁴

La langue roumaine conserve très bien cet affixe, lequel, au fil du temps, a acquis un grand nombre d'autres valeurs allant vers l'abstrait, comme celle de *similarité par rapport au thème* ou celle de *transformation en l'objet-base*, ou celle d'*hypercaractérisation*, etc. Cette situation est certifiée par les faits de langage retrouvés à la fois dans les étapes anciennes du roumain littéraire, et dans la période contemporaine.

Tout commencement d'une langue littéraire européenne est marqué par une époque « *de traductions et adaptations de textes rédigés en langues de culture antérieures*. »¹⁵

C'est aussi le cas de la langue roumaine littéraire ancienne, dont les débuts au XVI^e -XVII^e siècle sont marqués par les traductions ayant un contenu religieux en langues écrites de l'espace culturel européen, comme le grec, le slave, et, partiellement, le latin.

Dans les textes anciens – *Psaltirea Hurmuzachi*, *Cartea cu învățătură a lui Coresi*, *Liturghierul lui Coresi*, *Evangheliarul slavo-român de la Sibiu, 1551-1553*¹⁶, du XVI^e siècle, bien que le roumain se trouve au début du long

¹⁰ Cette valeur est attestée depuis le latin classique: « *In-* s'ajoute souvent à des inchoatifs, pour marquer l'entrée dans un état nouveau : *incalesco*, *insuēscō*, etc. » Cf. Alfred Ernout, Antoine Meillet, 2002, s.v. *in-*.

¹¹ D'ailleurs, la création de formations parasynthétiques est certifiée par la situation de la langue roumaine contemporaine.

¹² Cf. I. Fischer, 1985, p. 188.

¹³ Alfred Ernout, Antoine Meillet, 2002, s.v. *in*.

¹⁴ FCLR, 1978, II, p. 140.

¹⁵ Eugen Munteanu, 2008, p. 12.

¹⁶ Pour les textes anciens d'où nous citons des faits de langage, nous avons utilisé les sigles : PH = *Psaltirea Hurmuzachi*, CC₂ = *Coresi, Cartea cu învățătură*, CL = *Coresi, Liturghierul, Ev. slav.-rom. = Evangheliarul slavo-român de la Sibiu, 1551-1553*.

processus de formation de la langue littéraire, on utilise intensément la formation de mots avec préfixes, dont *în-* est utilisé.¹⁷

A l'aide du préfixe *în-*, on forme des verbes : a. à partir d'*adjectifs* : „*înbunară omenirii*” (PH), „*îndulci-sea-vor în veselie*” (PH), „*înfrumuseși*” (PH), *a înălbi* (CC₂, CL), *a înflămânzi* (CC₂), *a îngreoaia* (CC₂), *a înmulți* (CC₂), *a înnoi* (CC₂, CL), *a întări* (CL).

b. à partir de *noms* : „*îmbărbătează-te*”¹⁸ (PH), *a înarma* (CC₂), „*mea voiu înfrica*” (PH), *a îndumnezei* (CC₂), *a împăinijina* (CC₂), *a întrupi* (CC₁), *a înfluri* (PH), *a înghimpa* (CC₂), *a înjuga* (CC₂), *a îngropa* (Ev. slv-rom.).

c. à partir de *verbes* : *a împresura* (CC₂), „*mea înacoperi-mea*” (PH), *a încrede* (CC₂), *a înfrânge* (CC₂), *a însemna* (CL) etc.

La majorité des exemples présentés montre que le préfixe forme des verbes dénominatifs, situation héritée du latin populaire¹⁹, selon le modèle suivant :

- a. *préfixe + adjectif + suffixes -a/-i* – dérivés parasynthétiques
- b. *préfixe + nom + suffixes -a/-i* – dérivés parasynthétiques
- c. *préfixe + verbe*.

Ainsi, s'imposent les valeurs sémantiques suivantes :

A. *Valeur éventive* : 1. Les verbes formés avec *în-* expriment une transformation, l'acquisition du trait indiqué par l'adjectif-base à partir duquel ils ont été formés : *a îmbuna* « a deveni bun » ((faire) devenir bon), *a înălbi* « a deveni alb » ((faire) devenir blanc), *a înfrumuseșa* « a deveni frumos » ((faire) devenir beau), *a întări* « a deveni tare » ((faire) devenir fort), etc.

2. Les verbes dérivés indiquent l'acquisition d'un trait dominant de l'objet dénommé par le nom-base, cf. *a îmbărbăta* (faire/devenir courageux comme un homme), *a îndumnezei* (faire/devenir comme Dieu), *a împietri* ((faire/devenir comme une pierre), *a înfrica* (faire peur).

B. *Réalisation d'une action*

1. les mots dérivés indiquent la réalisation d'une action à l'aide de l'objet dénommé par le nom-base : *a împiedica* (empêcher), « *a înfluri* » (remplir de fleurs), graphie du XVI^e siècle, *a înghimpa* (se faire du mal à cause des épines), *a îngropa* (enterrer – mettre dans un trou), *a înjuga* (mettre au joug) etc.

¹⁷ Cf. Al. Rosetti, 1986, pp. 515-518.

¹⁸ Le mot apparaît aussi dans les livres anciens *Evangheliarul slavo-român de la Sibiu, 1551-1553*, et respectivement *Liturghierul lui Coresi*.

¹⁹ Cf. Al. Rosetti *et alii*, 1965, I, pp. 91-96.

Concernant le groupe de verbes dérivés avec *în-* provenus d'autres verbes-base, un groupe d'ailleurs moins nombreux, il est important de souligner le fait que le groupe est formé selon le modèle général de la catégorie majoritaire des verbes délocutives qui ont comme base des noms ou des adjectifs.

Au XVII^e siècle, dans la *Bible de 1688* (*Biblia de la 1688*)²⁰, la dérivation avec *în-* est utilisée souvent. Dans ce texte on utilise, d'un côté, des termes attestés au XVI^e siècle, comme *a îmbărbăta*, *a îndrepta*, et, de l'autre côté, des mots nouveaux apparaissent dérivés avec *în-*, tels *întemeiere*, *încurme(d)zișat*, ou bien les mots attestés évoluent du point de vue formel et sémantique.

Il est important de souligner le fait que, ici aussi, on garde le modèle de dérivation : *préfixe + terme-base + suffixe*. Cette fois-ci, on voit apparaître un nombre plus élevé de suffixes *-at*, *-re*, *-ic*, car la classe morphologique des mots dérivés s'élargit aussi. Hormis les verbes de I^e conjugaison (qui finissent en *a*), et respectivement IV^e conjugaison (qui finissent en *i* ou *î*), apparaissent des noms en *-re* et adjectifs en *-at*, *-ic*.

Les évolutions sémantiques des mots avec *în-* sont, en grande partie, le résultat du calque d'après le grec.²¹

Attesté dans le *Codex de Voroneț* (*Codicele Voronețean*), le verbe *a împărți*, du texte BB, est utilisé dans l'expression *a împărți cu buzele*, ayant le sens de « a face o promisiune luându-l pe Dumnezeu ca martor și acceptând, astfel, eventualele sancțiuni divine » (faire une promesse en prenant Dieu comme témoin et acceptant, ainsi, les éventuelles sanctions divines) :

„Sufletul [...] ce împarte cu buzele să facă bine sau să facă rău.” (BB, Lv. 5, 4)

Le nom *întemeiere*²², utilisé dans la locution adverbiale *cu întemeiere*, signifie « assurément » :

„Și veți lăcui cu întemeiere pre pământul vostru.” (BB, Lv. 26, 5)

L'adjectif *încurme(d)zișat*, attesté dans le livre de Coresi sous la forme du participe *curmezișat*²³, s'impose dans des textes du XVII^e siècle en

²⁰ *Biblia de la 1688* représente, comme on le sait, un premier moment important de raccord de la langue roumaine littéraire aux langues de culture européennes.

²¹ Les calques sont considérés, évidemment, le résultat des traductions.

²² Le terme est attesté par écrit dans BB.

²³ Les participes sont très souvent utilisés dans les textes du XVI^e siècle, cf. *înarmați* (CC₂), *înfricat* (CC₂) etc.

variante préfixée et est utilisé dans le sens de « contrar, care contrazice » ; « oblic » (contraire, qui contredit ; obliquement) :

„*Voiu merge și eu cu voi cu mânie încurmezișată.*” (BB, Lv. 26, 24)

Un cas particulier des variantes préfixées avec *în-* est représenté par le verbe *a înfrânge*, attesté pour la première fois dans la littérature pendant la période 1665-1680.

Le terme circule dans BB à la fois en variante préfixée, et en variante non-préfixée : *a frânge*, ayant pour étymon le latin *frango*, *-ĕre* (rompre, briser), cf. lat. *infrango*, *-ĕre* (briser contre, abattre, fléchir).²⁴ Mais le sens dans lequel ce terme circule dans notre texte est de « a fi bolnav de blenoragie » ; « a avea scurgere (de spermă) » (être malade de blennorragie ; avoir une perte de sperme):

« *Și s-au înfrânt în curgerea lui.* » (BB, Lv. 15, 33)²⁵

L'évolution sémantique du mot est expliquée sur la base des étymons du turc *frenği*, de *frenk ileti* « boală francească », et respectivement du hongrois *franc*, *francu*, devenus en roumain *franț(ă)*, *sfranț(ă)*. Ainsi, le terme du turc *frenği*, prononcé *frenghi*, a pu être rapproché, par étymologie populaire, motivée aussi du point de vue euphémistique, à certaines formes du verbe *a frânge*, utilisé dans certains dialectes roumains dans le sens de « a avea o boală lumească, o boală venerică » (avoir une maladie sexuellement transmissible). Le sens du verbe, de la variante non-préfixée est passé aussi à celle préfixée *a înfrânge*, et de là à l'adjectif du type participial *înfrânt* « bolnav de blenoragie », « care are scurgere (de spermă). » (malade de blennorragie, personne qui a une perte de sperme).²⁶

Exceptant les évolutions sémantiques de grand effet du texte religieux analysé, expliquées par le prisme du calque, les valeurs sémantiques utilisées le plus souvent dans le texte de la *Bible* sont les suivantes, en fonction du mot-base, comme nous venons de mentionner :

A. Valeur éventive

1. adjectif-base, cf. *a înroși*, *a înverzi*, *a înnegri*, *a însănătoși*, *a împușina* etc.

B. Réalisation d'une action

²⁴ Cf. Vasile Arvinte, 1993, p. 38.

²⁵ Le terme apparaît aussi dans le manuscrit 45: « *S-au înfrântu întru cursul lui.* » (Lv., 15, 33), respectivement dans le manuscrit 4389: « *Ce s-au înfrânt.* » (Lv., 15, 6). *Ibidem*.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

1. nom-base : *a încăleca, a înfășura, întemeiere, însemnare, a înjuga, a încălța* etc.

C. Acquisition de l'objet dénommé par la base

1. nom-base: *a înflori, a înfricoșa, a însănătoși, a îngemăna* etc.

2. adjectif-base: *a îndrepta* etc.

Le XVIII^e siècle marque pour l'histoire de la langue roumaine le commencement du processus de modernisation de la langue littéraire.²⁷

Quant au domaine de la formation des mots, des changements pas du non négligeables apparaissent. La productivité du préfixe *în-* augmente. Ainsi, il apparaît un nombre de plus en plus grand de formes avec *în-* pour exprimer les notions du langage technique ou bien les auteurs du XVIII^e utilisent dans leurs créations à des formes uniques, pour exprimer des faits de langue et style. A partir de ce moment, on peut parler de textes propres roumains qui ont le rôle de moderniser la langue littéraire.

Les premières adaptations des néologismes dérivés avec *în-*₁ datent depuis le commencement du XVIII^e. Dans cette période, Dimitrie Cantemir se dirige vers les néologismes latines-romanes, cf. *înformăluire* « informație » (information) (*Hr.*), *întituli* « a se intitula, a se numi » (s'intituler) (*Hr.*)²⁸. De l'autre côté, D. Cantemir attache aux bases d'origine latine le préfixe *în-*, cf. *a înformui* (< *forma*), ayant le sens de « a aranja, a pregăti, a da o formă aleasă » (arranger, préparer, donner une forme choisie):

„Vulpea dară într-acesta chip și socoteală își orânduie și cuvintele își înformui.” (*Ist. ier.*)²⁹

Le verbe parasyntétique dénommatif a le rôle d'indicateur, envoyant à la concernant la similarité avec l'objet dénommé par le thème, cf. *a împudra, a înauri*.

Un autre dérivé avec *în-* est utilisé par D. Cantemir dans une forme populaire, en utilisant la consonne *-n-* avant la bilabiale *-b*.³⁰

²⁷ Ce processus est déterminé par les initiatives des représentants de l'Ecole de Transylvanie (*Școala Ardeleană*).

²⁸ *Apud* Al. Rosetti, Boris Cazacu, Liviu Onu, 1971, p. 386.

²⁹ Le sigle *Ist. ier.* est utilisé pour le texte de *l'Histoire en hiéroglyphes (Istoria ieroglifică)*, et *Hr.*, pour la *Chronique des temps anciens des roumano-moldo-valaques (Hronicul vechimei a romano-moldo-valahilor)*.

³⁰ Cette graphie était utilisée aussi au XVII^e siècle, dans le texte de la *Bible de 1688 (Biblia de la 1688)*.

„[...] cu condeiul strein şiruindu-să şi înpodobindu-să fără nici un semn de ambiţie, să le poftiască.” (Pridoslovie la Hronicul vechimei a romano-moldo-valahilor)

Le dérivé parasynthétique *a înpodobi* exprime, du point de vue sémantique, l'acquisition de l'objet dénommé par le thème, la réception de l'objet désigné.

Pendant cette période, grâce à la re-romanisation³¹ de la langue roumaine, on emprunte bien des mots et on forme bien des calques suivant le modèle des autres langues romanes. Dans les emprunts du latin et des langues romanes, des affixes nouveaux apparaissent aussi.

Dans notre cas, nous nous référons strictement aux préfixes *in-*₁ et *an-*₅, doublets étymologiques de *în-*₁, entrés en roumain à travers des emprunts analysables, surtout du français³² : roum. *a andosa* < fr. *endosser*, roum. *ambransament* < fr. *embranchement*, *inculpa* < fr. *inculper*, roum. *încorpora* < fr. *incorporer*, cf. lat. *incorporare* et dans une moindre mesure du latin et de l'italien, cf. roum. *a induce* < lat. *inducere*, roum. *a intona* < it. *intonare*.

En même temps, depuis cette période on garde bien des demi-calques et calques suivant des dérivés du français, le préfixe *în-* traduisant soit le *en-*, dans des demi-calques comme *a încadra* < *encadrer*, *a încuraja* < *encourager*, soit le *in-*, dans des calques, cf. roum. *a înscrie* < fr. *inscrire*.³³

Du point de vue des valeurs logico-sémantiques exprimées par le doublet néologique *in-*, les opinions diffèrent. D'un côté, les chercheurs affirment que les valeurs de *in-* sont similaires à celles de *în-*, argumentant que des formes des mots dérivés avec *în-*, et des formes avec *in-* circulent en parallèle. Par exemple, *a încadra* – *a incadra*, *a încarna* – *a incarna*, *a înfiltra* – *a infiltra*, *a încorpora* – *a incorpora* etc.³⁴

De l'autre côté, on considère que « le préfixe savant *in-* n'est pas délocutif en roumain. »³⁵

³¹ Ce processus intensif, connu comme la *relatinisation* et l'*occidentalisation romaine*, est, en fait, l'orientation vers la contemporanéité, qui suppose le contact direct avec les langues romaines. Le concept de *re-romanisation* a deux sens : du point de vue linguistique, il se réfère à un plus de romanisation, et, du point de vue socioculturel, il suppose la modernisation de la culture et de la société roumaine.

³² En français, le préfixe *en-(em-)* est hérité du lat. *in-*, et *in-* (*im-*) est son doublet néologique. Cf. ELIR, 1989, s.v. *prefix*.

³³ N. Ursu, 1961, p. 138. FCLR, 1978, II, p. 141.

³⁴ Cf. FCLR, 1978, II, p. 134.

³⁵ Cf. Ion Coteanu, Angela Bidu-Vrănceanu, Narcisa Forăscu, 1985, p. 235.

Pourtant, l’affixe néologique peut être traité comme tel, car les emprunts latins-romains, comme *a incrimina*, *a infiltra*, sont modelés d’après des mots avec *în-*, cf. *a încorpora*, *a îngloba*. Les formes correctes des mots néologiques sont celles avec *in-*, mais, par attraction, celles-ci sont adaptées à la série des dérivés avec *în-*, comme par exemple *a însufla* (< fr. *insuffler*) ou *a încrusta* (< lat. *incrustare*, fr. *incruster*), qui ont été rapprochés des termes *a sufla*, et respectivement *crustă*.

En roumain contemporain, les valeurs logico-sémantiques de *în-* sont expliquées à travers le sens global des locutions se trouvant à la base des mots dérivés avec cet affixe.

Donc, on distingue trois grandes classes logico-sémantiques des dérivés avec *în-*:

1. locutions supposant la formule *a introduce*, *a pune*, *a intra*, *a fi pus în...*, *a se afla în...* (introduire, mettre dans, être mis dans, se trouver dans...), cf. *a înfăptui* „a pune în fapt”, *a înfățișa* „a pune față în față”, *a însera* „a intra în seară”, *a înnopta* „a intra în noapte” etc.

2. locutions supposant la formule *a (se) face*, *a deveni în chip de* ou *în chipul* (devenir comme), cf. *a (se) încolăci* „a (se) face în chip de colac”, *a (se) înverzi* „a (se) face în culoarea verde”, „a se schimba în verde” etc.

3. locutions supposant la formule *a fi*, *a lua*, *a prinde*, *a cuprinde*, *a da în* (être dans, prendre dans, donner dans...), cf. *a înmâna* „a da în mână”, *a îmbrățișa* „a cuprinde în brațe”, *a îmbelșuga* „a fi în belșug” etc.

Comme on peut observer, ces classes sémantiques peuvent être divisées, à leur tour, dans des sous-classes sémantiques, ayant en vue les valeurs fondamentales du préfixe – éventive, factitive, d’intériorité, de similarité par rapport à l’objet dénommé par la base, etc. Ainsi, les trois sous-classes sémantiques sont dénommées dans les études de spécialité par *a*, *b*, *c*.³⁶

- verbes délocutifs avec *în-*, du type *a*, sont déduits des locutions supposant les formules sémantiques des points (1) et (2), ayant comme terme-base un nom ou un numéral³⁷.

Dans ce cas, le modèle de la préfixation est : *préfixe + nom/numéral + suffixe*, cf. *a îmbrobodi*, *a înaripa*, *a înnopta*, *a însuti*, *a îndoii*, *a înlocui*, *a învrăjbi*, *a învenina* etc.

Les valeurs logico-sémantiques des dérivés sont la *réalisation d’une action ayant l’objet dénommé par le thème*, cf. *a îmbrobodi*, *a învenina*, *a înaripa*, et respectivement d’intériorité dans temps, cf. *a înnopta* ou bien d’acquisition de l’objet dénommé par le thème, cf. *a însuti*.

³⁶ *Idem*, pp. 233-234.

³⁷ *Idem*, p. 233.

- verbes délocutifs avec *în-*, du type *b*, sont déduits des locutions supposant les formules sémantiques des points (1) et (2), ayant comme terme-base un adjectif ou un nom.

Le modèle de la préfixation est *préfixe + nom + suffixe*, par ex., *a încolăci*, *a închegea*, *a înflăcăra*, *a înlemni*, *a îmbujora*, *a împacheta*.

Les verbes délocutifs du type *b* supposent une comparaison avec la base, à savoir, *a înlemni* signifie « a se face în chip de lemn » (faire/devenir comme le bois), *a îmbujora* « a se face ca un bujor » (faire/devenir rouge comme une pivoine), etc. Il est important de mentionner le fait que certains des verbes de cette catégorie impliquent un certain degré de métaphorisation. Les dérivés de la sous-classe *b* indiquent la *similarité avec l'objet dénommé par la base*, cf. *a împâsli*, *a împietri*.

Dans le cas du modèle *préfixe + adjectif + suffixe*, cf. *a înăcri*, *a îndesi*, *a îndulci*, *a înroși*, *a înstrăina*, *a împuternici*, le dérivé acquiert soit la valeur factitive, par exemple, *a înăcri* « a se face/a se schimba în acru » (devenir aigre), soit la valeur éventive, cf. *a înroși* « a deveni roșu » (devenir rouge), etc.

- les verbes délocutifs avec *în-*, du type *c*, sont déduits des locutions qui impliquent les sens du point (3), ayant comme base, le plus souvent, un nom, cf. *a îmbrățișa*, *a înfumura*, *a înzăpezi*, *a învolbura*, *a învăpăia*.

La valeur principale exprimée par les dérivés de la sous-classe *c* est celle de *similarité par rapport à l'objet dénommé par le thème*, en ce qui concerne l'action réalisée par celui-ci, cf. *a învăpăia* « a se aprinde (ca o vâpăie) » (prendre feu), *a îmbrățișa* « a cuprinde în brațe » (embrasser), etc.

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LANGUAGES AND CULTURES IN CONTACT: THE FRENCH LANGUAGE AND THE MARITIME TERMINOLOGY

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Abstract:

The lexical borrowing is a fertile area of research, because it involves the contact between linguistic systems, cultures and spiritual identities. Through this work we try to demonstrate, using linguistic and statistical arguments, that the French language had a major role in shaping the Romanian maritime terminology in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The basis of our approach is the premise that, during this period, French had a great influence over the Romanian language, especially in the scientific, technical, political and cultural areas.

Key-words:

Linguistic contact, Romanian maritime terminology, French influence, calque, loanword.

1. Some observations on linguistic contact

In order to undertake a comprehensive study of a language, we must take into account the forces acting during its evolution. There are two types of factors that can shape a language: internal factors, related to the language system, and external factors, related to the cultural relations that different linguistic communities have with each other. Hence, imitation has played a decisive role in enriching language:

„More intense and active during the beginning periods of the languages of culture, imitation has, from a linguistic point of view, a dual dimension: first, there is the imitation, within a certain linguistic and cultural community, of a model language already existing in the tradition of the culture in question - we might call this kind of imitation, an internal imitation [...]; secondly, we can speak of an external imitation, determined

*by the acceptance of a linguistic model belonging to another language of culture, with a cultural prestige generally accepted in the given historical context."*¹

This linguistic contact has as a corollary the mutual enrichment of languages, since the vocabulary is an open system, which is constantly enriched with new words, phrases and terms, as the communication needs of its users diversify and change.

E. Coșeriu talks about the phenomenon of linguistic permeability, seen as the willingness of each language to accept the structure transfer from a different language. This permeability particularly affects the "weak points", that is those structures exhibiting certain "voids" in the global expressive possibilities, more specifically, the language transfer is favoured by the "incompleteness of existing paradigms as such."²

Some scientific terms appear in our language as early as the seventeenth century, in the chroniclers' writings, in documents, calendars, religious writings, and especially in the works of Dimitrie Cantemir. However, researchers agree on the fact that we cannot talk about a sustained interest in enriching the Romanian language with scientific terms until the arrival of modern culture, towards the late eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century.³

Speaking of lexical loans and the modernization of the Romanian literary language, S. Dumitrăcel also observes that, during this period, many foreign words were borrowed to name the concepts related to new areas and fields, eventually becoming current means of expression and an integral part of the Romanian basic word stock.⁴

Most of these loans were taken from modern Greek, the scholarly Latin, French, Russian, German, Italian, and were found at first mainly in translations of textbooks, fiction and scientific works that have contributed to the modernization of modern literary Romanian language. In our days, the importance of the classical lexical heritage is greater as it underpins international terms, common to many different languages of the world, due to the acceleration of the scientific and technical progress and the intensively frequent cultural and artistic contacts worldwide. This leads to certain processes of convergence between languages sometimes placed

¹ E. Munteanu, 1995, p. 7. (Our translation).

² E. Coșeriu, 1977, p. 222, *apud* E. Munteanu, *loc. cit.* (Our translation)

³ N. A. Ursu, 1962, p. 9.

⁴ S. Dumitrăcel, 1980, p. 23.

within large geographic distances, such as the adoption of virtually identical terminological and reference systems based on Greek and Latin.

2. The influence of French on the Romanian language. Overview

Throughout the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, the French influence on the Romanian language becomes predominant, taking over some earlier influences, such as the modern Greek reminiscences. The French impact on the Romanian language was so strong, that we can say that, to a very large extent, it has changed its lexical physiognomy.⁵

A linguistic influence of this magnitude can be explained by the linguistic kinship between the two peoples, the Romanian and the French, which is related to a common consciousness, of Romance origin. These two languages in contact are, in fact, in a privileged situation, given the fact that we are dealing with two languages genealogically related, that share many words of Latin origin. The Latin character of the Romanian language and the spiritual affinities that bind us to the Western Romance world naturally brought about an unprecedented level of openness on the part of Romanian to the assimilation of French neologisms.⁶

Moreover, loans are not only a linguistic phenomenon but also a social one, confirming the prestige of the donor language, in this case French. Thus, the cultural prestige of France in the early nineteenth century, and the political, economic and cultural ties between France and Romania played an important role in facilitating the linguistic contacts.⁷ This can be explained, as many linguists and historians have pointed out, by the fact that France has been, at the dawn of our modernity, the model for the organization of the Romanian State.⁸

Equally important is the input channel of the new words in language: written or spoken, the two variants being sometimes possible for the same word. The oral loans can be explained by the fact that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, after the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), many sons of noblemen went to study in France and, through them, words and meanings from French entered the Romanian language.

⁵ Th. Hristea, 1997, p. 10.

⁶ See also P. Gh. Bârlea; R.-M. Bârlea, 2000, pp. 29-42.

⁷ See Șt. Munteanu, 1983, p. 143.

⁸ See, among others, I. Iordan, 1954, pp. 70-77.

Al. Graur points out that beginning with the nineteenth century, Latin and Romance words, especially French, have constantly entered the Romanian vocabulary. This influence became stronger with the adoption and implementation of French cultural, moral, social and political values by the Romanian intellectuals of that time.⁹ Words that entered our language during the twentieth century, such as: *a demara, a teleporta, a partaja, achiziție, resortisant, tubular, bilanțier, concurențial*, etc. illustrate the vitality of this phenomenon, even though nowadays we are facing a predominance of the English influence on the Romanian lexicon.¹⁰

Another aspect to be taken into consideration when studying the French loans in Romanian deals with the fields in which they can be found. A large number of French neologisms have appeared in common everyday language as expressions of the concepts necessary for everyday life (e.g. *creion, gri, matineu, obstacol, a traversa, tren, coafor, detaliu, frontieră, opinie, etc.*). However, we can observe the fact that the insertion of the terms of French origin took place, at a conceptual level, especially in the scientific, technical, political and cultural areas.¹¹ We believe not to be mistaken when we claim that most words borrowed from French are scientific and technical terms of various professions (maritime, military, commercial, etc.), and generally terms naming concepts related to a particular sphere of material culture.

The studies and the statistics conducted in this regard are very relevant. For instance, D. Macrea argues that 27 % of all technical and scientific terms are of French origin.¹² Th. Hristea believes that most terms of French origin designate sciences and scientific disciplines, many of them referring to interdisciplinary fields such as pedagogy, docimology, etc.¹³

⁹ Al. Graur, 1963, p. 27.

¹⁰ Cf. G. Scurtu, D. Dincă, 2011, p. 65.

¹¹ Doina Butiurcă notices the fact that the Romanian philosophical language is largely based on terms of French origin, ever since 1846, when A.T. Laurian translated A. Delavigne's manual of philosophy. Some of these terms have survived until our day: *analogie, eroare, filosofie, formă, idee, a imagina, logică, sensibilitate, etc.* (D. Butiurcă, 2006). Many neologisms of French origin were also promoted through the journalistic style. Florica Dimitrescu argues, in support of this claim, that the media contains proportionally balanced linguistic samples, belonging to the administrative, scientific, electronic, medical styles, etc. (Fl. Dimitrescu, 1994, p. 214)

¹² D. Macrea, 1982, pp. 72-81.

¹³ Th. Hristea, 1972, pp. 185-199.

Analyzing the functional styles of the Romanian language, Șerbănescu Andra notes that, given the strictness of the terms and of the terminological constructions, the science and technology have a much richer inventory of French neologisms.¹⁴ Florica Dimitrescu, in her study of the 3,749 words of French origin recorded in *Dicționarul de cuvinte recente* (1982), asserts that the 579 terms of French origin are particularly distributed into the following areas: medicine (96); biology (34); technique (30); physics (24), electricity and seamanship (10), etc.¹⁵

Following these findings, we conclude that the importance of the French language in defining the lexical Romanian physiognomy and strengthening its Latin character is undeniable. The French influence was a constant means of enrichment and modernization of the Romanian language; a lexical semantic analysis of the Romanian words of French origin shows that the majority of lexical items belongs to the most important branches of science and culture, hence to areas where the highest progress and innovations were recorded.

3. The Status of French in the Romanian maritime terminology

Maritime language supposes, given the usage circumstances, a certain multilingualism. Romanian sailors have always been constrained to communicate in a foreign language in order to understand and make themselves understood, and therefore they sometimes tended to imitate, in a "servile" or justified manner, those languages with which they came into contact, whether French, Italian, German, Spanish, English, etc. Because of the many loanwords that have enriched its structure, the maritime vocabulary has a pronounced heterogeneity.

The first Romanian maritime terms were largely drawn from the terminologies of the major maritime powers and referred primarily to the river and inland navigation as the Romanians only recently started to practise sea fishing, being accustomed especially to fishing in the rivers. The terms borrowed at this stage were mostly fishing related terms, coming from the languages of those from which the Romanians have learned fishing: Greeks, Turks, Lipovans, that is those who have a monopoly on sea fishing.

¹⁴ A. Șerbănescu, 1985, pp. 8-12.

¹⁵ Fl. Dimitrescu, 1994, p. 235.

The terms borrowed from the above-mentioned languages first appeared in spoken Romanian, while the terms borrowed from Western languages, primarily Romance languages, spread in the Romanian maritime terminology especially through the literary language (e.g. *curent*, *flux*, *reflux*, *cap*, *deltă*, *port*, *rechin* etc.). We also want to emphasize the fact that the old lexical influences of Slavic, Turkish and Greek origin contributed to the enrichment of the internal structure of the Romanian maritime vocabulary, but not to its modernization, which was achieved through more recent lexical borrowings of Latin, Romance and German origins.

The French influence on our maritime terminology is rather late, having taken place beginning with the second half of the nineteenth century, however its effects were very strong and even dominant in a certain period, when even the terms of German or English origin came into Romanian via French intermediaries. This phenomenon occurred due to the fact that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the foundations of the modern Merchant Marine and the Navy were set by the officers graduating from the Naval School of Brest. The best example of this linguistic impact is *Manualul Gabierului*, published in 1881, which was merely an adapted translation of the first edition of *Manuel du gabier* of the French Navy.¹⁶

The French influence is reflected prominently in the maritime terminology through numerous loans on various aspects related to this field: types of ships (*batisferă*, *cablier*, *cabotier*, *costier*, *escadră*, *petrolier*, *corvetă*, *dragă*, *dragon*, *escortor*, *pasager*, *șalupă*, *șalutieră* etc.), parts of the ship (*artimon*, *babord*, *banchet*, *bordaj*, *bulb*, *cală*, *cambuză*, *carlingă*, *chilă*, *coca*, *damă*, *derivor*, *dunetă*, *etambou*, *etravă*, *gabie*, *palonier*, *panou*, *pavoaz*, *pupa*, *sabord* etc.), rigging and sails (*balansină*, *balon*, *bonetă*, *capelatură*, *cilindru*, *contra-bulină*, *vergă*, *ghidon*, *ghiu* etc.), functions onboard (*aspirant*, *cadet*, *comandant*, *contra-amiral*, *echipaj*, *econom*, *furier*, *gabier*, *lampist*, *magazioner* etc.), bridge and deck mechanisms and instruments (*accelerometru*, *alidadă*, *ancorator*, *anemograf*, *barograf*, *barometru*, *cabestan*, *ejector*, *girocompas*, *periscop*, *presetupă*, *servomotor*, *sextant* etc.), marlinespike seamanship (*bricui*, *cordon*, *manevră*, *nod*, *voltă*, *tur*, *nod* etc.), terms used in the Navy - weapon items (*chiurasă*, *escadră*, *escortor*, *flotilă*, *torpilă* etc.), meteorology and marine geomorphology (*ciclone*, *curent*, *gren*, *hulă*, *maree*, *muson*, *trombă*, *canal*, *ecliptică*, *ecuator*,

¹⁶ See also M. Bujeniță, M. Sala, 1966, p. 293.

efemeride, flux, golf, litoral, mal, ocean, plajă, pol, rechin, reflux, zenith etc.), port facilities (*arsenal, debarcader, deroșeză, dig, platformă, ponton, radă, sonetă* etc.)

As shown in the examples above, the contact with the French maritime vocabulary is mirrored in the Romanian maritime terminology, either through the direct loan, the translation or the calque. Some maritime terms of foreign origin, even if few in number, found correspondents in Romanian without having to borrow or imitate foreign terms;¹⁷ in most situations, however, an equivalent in Romanian was difficult to find, and therefore, at the end of the nineteenth century, most Romanian maritime terms are loans or calques from French:

Among the French wordloans from this period, we enumerate:

acrostol, from French *acrostole*
barograf, from French *barographe*
compresor, from French *compresseur*
elice, from French *hélice*
abandon, from French *abandon*
ambarcader, from French *embarcadère*
amiral, from French *amiral*
bonetă, from French *bonnette*
bulb, from French *bulbe*
cablu, from French *câble*
cadet, from French *cadet*
derivă, from French *dérive*
hamac, from French *hamac*
pală, from French *pale*, etc.

The calques of French origin are also very numerous.

e.g. *afunda*, from French *afonder*.
afurca, from French *affourcher*
aliniament, from French *alignement*
contrabrața, from French *contre-brasser*
costier, from French *côtier*
crucișător (în) *crucișă + ător*, from French *croiseur*
cuplu maestru, from French *couple maître*

¹⁷ We refer here especially to terms relating to rigging.

distrugător, from French *destructeur*
dublu fund, from French *double fond*
măr, from French *pomme*
suprastructură, from French *superstructure*.

The French impact on the Romanian maritime language is strongly felt in the phraseological calques, extremely common in the Romanian literary language and particularly in the scientific lexicon:

e.g. *ancoră ciupercă*, from French *ancre champignon*
ancoră plutitoare, from French *ancre flottante*
atelier plutitor, from French *atelier flottant*
aviso cu roate, from French *aviso à roues*
bric cu pânze, from French *brick à voile*
chilă falsă, from French *fausse quille*
compartiment neetanș, from French *compartiment non étanche*
compas solar, from French *boussole solaire*
corvetă cu pânze, from French *corvette à voile*
curent rectiliniar, from French *courant rectiligne*
navă de linie, from French *navire de ligne*
opera moartă, from French *oeuvre morte*
opera vie, from French *oeuvre vive*
picior de câine, from French *jambe de chien*
rău de mare, from French *mal de mer* etc.

Even if some maritime terms were taken from other languages, such as English, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, etc., a thorough etymological analysis reveals the fact that some of them, in fact, entered the Romanian language through French, which leads us to believe that most Romanian maritime neological terms from the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century came from French.¹⁸

e.g. *afeliu*, from French *aphélie*, German *Aphelium*, cf. Greek *apo* „departe”, *helios* „soare”
amiralitate, from French *amirauté*, Italian *amiralita*, German *Admiralität*

¹⁸ Followed, in the second half of the twentieth century, by the influence of the English language, especially in the field of sport boats and commercial vessels.

brigantină, from French *brigantine*, Italian *brigantino*, English *brigantine*, German *Brigantine*
scafandru, from French *scaphandre*, Italian *scafandro*, cf. Greek *skaphe* „barcă”, *aner* „om”
sistem, from French *système*, Italian *sistema*, English *system*, Latin, Greek *systema*, etc.

4. Conclusions

In the context of an extremely rich and heterogeneous neologistic lexicon, the words of French origin have entered the Romanian vocabulary since the eighteenth century and continue to show strength today, so that the French contribution to the formation of the modern Romanian language by innovating its vocabulary, both in the common language and the specialized languages, is undeniable.

The study of the Romanian maritime terminology of French influence gives an interesting picture of the socio-cultural and linguistic relations between the two Romance languages, Romanian and French. The neologisms borrowed from French seem to have a privileged status, being dominant in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. In support of our thesis, we conceptually structured the research field from an onomasiological perspective and illustrated the external means of enriching the Romanian maritime language, namely the loan and the calque.

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L'ADAPTATION DES TERMES D'ORIGINE FRANÇAISE AUX TRAITS CARACTERISTIQUES DE LA PHONOLOGIE ROUMAINE

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Abstract:

Adaptation of French terms to the specific of Romanian phonology

This article refers to the transfer of certain terms from one language to another, which is obviously more easily accomplished among languages deriving from the same genealogic group. As far as scientific terminology is concerned, geographical terms respectively, word loans can be direct and complete: the form of the word may be identical in the two languages, but the pronunciation will differ between the donor language and the recipient language. The morphological system of one of these languages can easily “ally” to that of the other language. Romanian scientific vocabulary of French origin has enlarged in a long period of time, has modernised through successive adaptations to the phonetic and phonological system specific to our language.

Key words:

Adaptation, semantics, phonology, linguistic contact, partial /total assimilation.

1. L'adaptation des termes d'origine française

Tout type d'assimilation lexicale suppose, outre les contraintes (règles, conditions) sémantiques, qui ont justifié le transfert proprement dit, des adaptations d'ordre formel, grammatical et stylistique de la langue influencée. On réalise le transfert plus facilement entre les langues qui font partie de la même famille et du même groupe généalogique. On l'a démontré, du point de vue de l'histoire de la langue roumaine, pendant le XIX^e siècle, quand on a renoncé à une bonne partie des mots empruntés aux langues de groupes généalogiques différents (les langues slaves, le grec, le turc etc.), en faveur des mots latino – romans, même si on avait fait longtemps usage des premiers dans la langue roumaine, autant dans les variantes orales, populaires (vulgaires), que dans les variantes écrites, soignées. Cependant, les problèmes d'adaptation ne posent moins de

difficultés même pas pour les emprunts des langues romanes, nées, comme le roumain, de la même « langue – mère », le latin populaire. C'est pendant presque deux millénaires d'évolution séparée du tronc commun qu'on a différencié de façon évidente et, parallèlement aux évolutions sémantiques et morpho – lexicales, les systèmes phonétiques et phonologiques de chaque langue néo – latine, les structures morpho – syntaxiques.

Ainsi, même quand on parle d'emprunts directs et totaux, peut-on trouver certains mots empruntés sans aucune modification formelle, mais que l'on prononce différemment dans les deux langues. De toute façon, ils sont peu nombreux. La plupart des emprunts subissent les adaptations phono – morphologiques habituelles¹, que ne demandent uniquement les conditions objectives des différences naturelles entre les langues, mais aussi des facteurs extralinguistiques, comme :

a) la voie de pénétration des mots étrangers dans la langue roumaine (orale/ écrite ; populaire (vulgaire)/ culte (soignée) ;

b) l'époque de la pénétration des mots étrangers dans la langue roumaine (l'antiquité, la modernité, postérieure à la formation de la langue littéraire supra - dialectale) ;

c) le degré d'utilisation de l'emprunt dans la langue roumaine (utilisation fréquente/ utilisation rare, réservée aux langages de spécialité, qui correspond souvent à l'assimilation partielle) etc.

Dans ces situations mentionnées on réalise la classification des problèmes de l'assimilation, en appliquant les principes de la grammaire contrastive typologique².

Avant d'essayer de systématiser les aspects proprement dits des adaptations, nous nous proposons de schématiser la façon dont les conditions extralinguistiques énumérées plus haut se sont manifestées, dans le cas de la relation particulière français – roumain et de la terminologie géographique.

a) *Emprunts oraux et emprunts par voie écrite*

¹ Pour les problèmes généraux des adaptations que la langue bénéficiaire subit dans le cadre des contacts linguistiques, cf. Marius Sala *Limbi in contact*, Bucarest, Ed. Enciclopedica, 1997. A retenir la théorie de L. Testière, qui, en 1939, soutenait que le système morphologique d'une langue peut « s'allier » très bien avec le système morphologique d'une autre langue (*apud* Liliana Ionescu-Ruxandoiu ; Dumitru Chitoran, *Sociolingvistica*, Bucaest, Editura Didactica si Pedagogica, 1975.).

² Pour les problèmes théoriques et pratiques de la contrastivité, nous avons utilisé Teodora Cristea, *Elements de grammaire contrastive. Domaine français – roumain*, Bucarest, E.D.P., 1977, P. Gh, Barlea, 2000 ; Th. Hristea, 1968 etc.

Comme les deux langues ont des systèmes orthographiques différents, au moins à l'époque actuelle de la langue (il s'agit de la langue roumaine, parce que la langue française a utilisé le même système le long de son évolution, à l'exception de quelques adaptations), les différences formelles des mots, causées par les formes concrètes d'influence – orale ou écrite – peuvent être relativement faciles à établir. La certitude de ces différences est conférée par le fait que l'écriture française se base sur le principe étymologique, tandis que l'écriture roumaine se conforme au principe phonétique (en fait, phonologique). Par conséquent, les mots français qui ont pénétré par voie écrite dans la langue roumaine présentent des particularités plus proches de l'orthographe de la langue donatrice. Cela se passe, évidemment, sans reprendre de façon intégrale les règles de la correspondance entre lettres et sons de cette langue, mais en suivant la règle du roumain, dans certaines conditions, qu'on a pu systématiser et codifier, en grande partie, dans la linguistique roumaine³. De même, les mots qui ont pénétré par voie orale ont été prononcés, bien sûr, ce qui signifie que leur aspect formel s'éloigne de façon évidente de l'aspect originaire⁴. Les deux cas impliquent de nombreux problèmes de correspondance, surtout en ce qui concerne les sons et les lettres inexistantes dans la langue roumaine, aux variations, inconséquences et approximations (estimations) inévitables dans telles situations.

- *Les mots entrés par voie orale*

Moins nombreux dans la langue roumaine, par rapport à la totalité des emprunts, ces mots représentent la meilleure preuve du bilinguisme franco-roumain, dans la variante strictement culturelle mentionnée plus haut. Si on regarde les choses d'un autre côté, ils représentent à coup sûr *des emprunts directs*. Dans les langages de spécialité, de tels emprunts sont extrêmement rares, parce que le transfert de terminologie suppose tout d'abord des études de spécialité, le support écrit des manuels, des traités etc. :

*Barrage,
Canal,
Colline,
Colonne,
Falaise,
Plage,
Site, etc.*

³ Cf. Th. Hristea, p.60-61.

⁴ Cf. Ana Goldis-Poalelungi, 1973, p.68-101.

Ils ne présentent pas la forme écrite de ces mots en français, mais la forme prononcée : *barrage, canal, colline, colonne, falaise, plage, site*).

Un cas évident d'emprunt par voie orale est représenté par les mots dont les terminaisons sont *-ille, -illon, -illage* etc., où la version roumaine ne prend plus de *-l*, même pas dans la variante simple, comme dans le cas des mots *pavilion* ou *grilaj*. Si on a donné jusqu'ici des exemples d'emprunts par voie écrite, un terme géographique de type *turbion* est certainement un emprunt par voie orale, parce que le groupe *-ill-* a entièrement disparu, conformément à l'aspect prononcé : fr. *tourbillon* [turbi:on].

Les mots entrés par voie écrite

En roumain, le support écrit est la modalité la plus utilisée pour introduire la terminologie géographique et toute autre terminologie. Le critère phonétique roumain met en évidence cette vérité :

Aurore (polaire)

Autochtone

Bauxite

Centrale (électrique de réseau de chaleur, hélioélectrique, hydroélectrique, nucléaire, thermique etc.)

Centre (administratif, civique, commercial, historique, industriel, urbain)

Cyclone

Si ces termes avaient été assimilés par voie orale, on les aurait prononcés comme on les avait écrit, parce que dans la langue roumaine fonctionne le principe phonétique (en fait phonologique) de la correspondance entre son et lettre, mais dans la variante roumaine de ceux-ci. On aurait fait la différence surtout par l'entremise de ces lettres ou groupes de lettres qui ont d'autres correspondances sonores en français (*h* muet par exemple), mais qui s'écrivent, en vertu du principe orthographique.

De cette façon, les mots qui contiennent le groupe vocalique *au[o]* en français auraient dû être donnés en roumain par *o* : #*orora, oto[h]ton, boxita*, tout comme les groupes consonne - voyelle du type *ce, ci* de la langue française, propre au son [s] seraient devenus conformément à l'une des particularités les plus prégnantes de la phonétique roumaine (comparable quand même à l'italien, dans ce sens), le son [č] : #*siclon, siclu, sirc, sircuit* ; dans le cas du groupe *c+e* suivi de *n*, on aurait dû donner par [o] en roumain : #*sontrala, sontru* etc. la prononciation nasale accentuée de la langue française, qui transforme en [ã] les voyelles provenues de la propagation régressive de la prononciation nasale.

De nombreux mots qui commencent par la consonne *h* auraient été soumis aux traitements propres. La série de ces mots est très grande, parce que le son en question représente l'initiale de plusieurs préfixes ou préfixaux d'origine grecque du langage scientifique de circulation internationale : *halo-*, *hélio-*, *hétéro-*, *hydro-*, *hyper-*, *halo-*, *homo-* etc. Comme dans la langue française, ils se manifestent graphiquement, mais ne se prononcent pas, leur présence dans les termes empruntés par la langue roumaine est la preuve évidente du transfert par écrit, autrement, les mots proprement dits auraient été donnés sans ce *h* : *#alou*, *asură*, *ectar*, *eliosontrală*, *idrologie*, *omosferă*⁵

Dans des situations relativement comparables on aurait trouvé des mots qui contiennent, dans la langue d'origine, les groupes *in* (du préfixe identique ou de *inter-*), *-ment* (le suffixe adverbial, rencontré aussi dans des formes substantivées), *-on* final (des mots d'origine grecque restés presque inchangés en français), de même que ceux qui contiennent les groupes *ge*, *gi* se comportant de façon similaire que les groupes *ce*, *ci* ; dans ces derniers cas, les mots empruntés par voie orale auraient eu un *j* correspondant en roumain, tandis que la version écrite a facilité le maintien du groupe original, mais dans la variante phonétique roumaine, [ǧ].

Dans cette situation il y a des mots tels que : *interfluviu*, *nivelment*, *orogen*, *orogeneză*, *ozon* etc.

Finalement, les mots composés basés sur l'association suffixale / préfixale d'origine grecque, association usuelle dans les terminologies scientifiques, avec la situation spéciale dans laquelle la voyelle finale (de liaison) *-o* revient, de la fin du premier élément, à l'initiale du deuxième élément, confèrent aux emprunts roumains l'aspect de mots qui contiennent une voyelle double (en hiatus). Or, la langue roumaine n'a de consonnes ou de voyelles doubles ni dans son lexique hérité, ni dans les anciennes créations, autochtones. D'ailleurs, on le sait bien que dans l'orthoépie roumaine on évite de joindre des voyelles aux sons pleins de toute sorte, mais pas même dans la variante écrite de la langue. Par conséquent, les mots

⁵ En ce qui concerne la totalité du lexique roumain d'origine française, les inconséquences se maintiennent encore de nos jours n'étant pas explicables uniquement par les différentes étapes où les mots en question ont pénétrés dans la langue roumaine. Par exemple, à partir de la même paire de préfixoïdes/suffixoïdes on forme deux types différents de concrétisations orthographiques des dérivés intégrés dans le vocabulaire de la langue roumaine: *heterolex/homolex* (*heterosexual/homosexual* etc.), mais *eterogen/omogen*, vois aussi, rom. *Oribil* (<fr. *horrible*), mais rom. *Hotel* (<fr. *hôtel*), cf. P. Gh. Barlea; R. M. Barlea, 2000, p.83.

qui contiennent des voyelles doubles (du même type) sont certainement des emprunts d'autres langues et, en plus, des emprunts par voie écrite :

Zoocénose, zoophage, zooplancton, zootechnique, etc.

- Tout comme dans le cas du vocabulaire général de la langue roumaine, le lexique géographique contient aussi quelques exemples de mots qui entrent dans la catégorie de la double possibilité de pénétration, écrite et orale. C'est le cas d'un mot, comme *bord*⁶. La variante orale de la réception en roumain est restée dans le circuit général, usuel, sous la forme *bor* « marginea circulară, răsfrântă, care înconjoară calota unei pălării » (DEX, s.v.). la variante écrite a pénétré dans le langage de spécialité du transport maritime et de la géographie économique, sous la forme de rom. *bord*. Il est évident que le terme s'est répandu avec cette forme en roumain, grâce aux documents de transport, du « journal de bord » et d'autres écrits obligatoires dans les domaines en question.

Cela disant, la terminologie géographique française influence par toutes les voies habituelles la terminologie roumaine – orale, écrite, mixte -, avec la prépondérance de la voie écrite, normale dans tout langage scientifique.

b) Les emprunts indirects et les emprunts directs

Nous avons montré plus haut que le même mot d'origine française peut avoir deux formes différentes dans deux étapes différentes de la langue roumaine. L'exemple le plus pertinent est justement le mot générique du lexique de spécialité que nous étudions:

gheographie

vs

geografie.

Dans le premier cas, il s'agit de la réception du mot en question du grec, russe, allemand, langues qui ont eu le rôle de fournisseur du langage géographique roumain avant le français. Cependant, dans l'immédiate période qui a suivi, les textes français ont occupé une place de plus en plus importante dans les études de spécialité, en précisant que les premières traductions du français ont été faites, de même, par la filière grecque, russe etc. Si bien que, même si le terme auquel nous faisons référence ici est pris de la *Géographie universelle* (1770), de Buffier, on a fait sa transposition selon l'intermédiaire russe, avec la palatalisation des groupes *ge*, *gi*, d'où

⁶ A retenir que le roumain ne garde que pour éphéméride un sens usuel de la terminologie géographique française *bord (de mer)*, « bordul (marii) », mais aussi de la rivière, de l'océan etc., d'où les dérivés du type : *a aborda*, *a deborda*, *a transborda*, empruntés, quand même, par le roumain, cf. DEX et MG, s.v.

résulte la forme *gheo-* du premier élément de la fausse dérivation aux préfixaux (en fait, il s'agit d'une composition).

Dans cette situation il y a des mots dérivés avec le suffixe *-ique* du français, donnés par l'entremise du (par l'intermédiaire du) suffixe correspondant slave *-iceskij* :

fr. *géographique* > rus. *gheograficeskij* > roum. *gheograficesc*

fr. *magnétique* > rus. *magneticeskij* > roum. *magneticesc*

fr. *tropiques* > rus. *tropiceskij* > roum. *tropicesc/tropicesti*.

De même, les groupes *ce*, *ci*, discutés plus haut, qui donnent le [s] en français, ont l'équivalent [tz] en russe. Par conséquent, la forme roumaine ancienne prend cette variante phonologique, avant de refaire le mot en conformité avec le système phonologique de la langue roumaine. Dans le cas des mots qui contiennent ces phonèmes se produit encore un phénomène phonétique, typique de notre langue : la fermeture de la voyelle *e* à *ă*, après certaines consonnes :

fr. *cercle* (polaire) > rus. *tzerkoli* > roum. *țărc*

fr. *centre* > rus. *tzentr* > roum. *țântru*.

Certains termes sont restés avec ce [tz] en roumain, cf. *comerț*⁷.

Les mots transmis du français en roumain par l'intermédiaire du grec supportent eux - aussi le même type de traitement. Les verbes du premier groupe du français, beaucoup d'entre eux dénominatifs des noms, qui expriment des phénomènes ou des procès naturels et humains géographiques, ont été donnés dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle et même quelques décennies plus tard, jusqu'en 1870, par l'intermédiaire du suffixe verbal du néo-grec *-(a)risi* :

fr. *hydrater* > gr. *hydrarisi* > roum. *hidrarisi*

fr. *migrer* > gr. *migrarisi* > roum. *migrarisi*.

Dans ce cas, certains termes ont gardé la forme initiale même dans la langue roumaine contemporaine, cf. *aerisi*.

A partir de l'année 1795 et, surtout après 1850-1870, on a réalisé les traductions soit par l'intermédiaire de l'italien, soit, le plus souvent, directement du français. Dans ces conditions, la forme des mots roumains change, et les anciens emprunts sont révisés eux - aussi phonétiquement, aux exceptions montrées.

c) *Diachronie et synchronie dans l'adaptation des termes géographiques roumains d'origine française*

⁷ Dans ce type de cas, l'étymon latin *commercium* n'est pas exclu ou, dans tous les cas, la soi-disant étymologie multiple (cf. DA, DEX s.v.).

On a déjà atteint le problème dans les paragraphes antérieurs, parce qu'il est étroitement lié des deux aspects discutés plus haut – la voie de pénétration du terme géographique en question dans la langue roumaine, autant sous l'aspect de la relation oral/écrit, que sous l'aspect direct/indirect. Il est évident que les variantes *gheografia*, *gheograficesc*, *țarc*, *țântru*, *hidrarisi* font partie de l'antiquité, antérieure aux grands changements des années 1850-1870 de la langue roumaine littéraire. Il arrive très souvent que, après ces années, ne change pas uniquement la forme, mais aussi le sens de certains mots. Par exemple, dans la terminologie moderne, *cercle* ne peut avoir uniquement le sens de « circonférence », mais aussi de « surface plane (souvent imaginaire) »; dans la géographie moderne, la notion est incluse dans des termes tels que *le grand cercle*, *le cercle polaire*, *les méridiens*, *les tropiques et l'équateur*, qui, de toutes les parallèles, est, lui-aussi, un grand cercle.

Dans notre étude, ceux qui nous concernent sont la forme et les sens actuels de la terminologie géographique d'origine française; l'analyse diachronique demanderait d'autres approches, envisageant d'autres points de vue. Nous aurions dû montrer, par exemple, la manifestation d'autres phénomènes phonétiques qui accompagnent déjà ceux que nous avons mentionnés déjà plus haut, tels que le comportement de -s- intermédiaires dans le cadre des mots au contenu géographique empruntés avant et après les années 1850-1870. Les variantes sourdes/sonores de ce phonème dans l'évolution du même mot roumain pris du français établissent l'ancienneté dans l'histoire de la langue roumaine, implicitement dans le lexique géographique roumain.

mesosoic vs mezozoic

mesospheră vs mezosferă.

Les chercheurs qui ont consacré leurs études aux aspects historiques des contacts linguistiques franco-roumains ont décrit en détail les procès qui ont marqué les emprunts lexicaux de tous les registres et niveaux de la langue, inclusivement des langages de spécialité⁸.

En ce qui nous concerne, nous nous sommes limités à faire une courte présentation de ces étapes, nécessaire pour mettre en relief le stade actuel des emprunts de termes géographiques du français en roumain.

2. Les particularités phonétiques de l'adaptation des emprunts directs

Comme tout contact linguistique, l'assimilation phonétique des mots d'une langue à une autre langue se confronte, tout d'abord, avec le problème

⁸ Cf. Adam Weinsberg, « Le français et les « néologismes » roumaines », en : *Kwartalnik neofilologiczny*, XIC, 1, 1967, p. 25 sqq. ; Ana Goldis-Poalelungi, *loc. cit.*

des différences de système phonétique. En principe, dans le cas de la relation français – roumain, ce problème se manifeste par deux grandes séries de faits concrets :

a) phonèmes et phénomènes phonétiques spécifiques à la langue française, mais inexistants dans le système de la langue roumaine :

- les voyelles [ɔ], [œ], [ü]
- les semi – voyelles [y], [w] etc.
- les différences de nasalisation pertinente (voyelle + la consonne *n*)
- Le groupe de consonnes qu [kw; gw] ş.a.

b) phonèmes et phénomènes phonétiques spécifiques à la langue roumaine, mais inexistants dans le système de la langue française :

- les voyelles *ă, î (â)*
- les consonnes affriquées palatales *č, ģ*, qui proviennent de l'association de *c* et de *g* avec *i* ou *e*
- la palatalisation donnée graphiquement par *che, chi, ghe, ghi* etc.

Au passage des mots de la terminologie géographique française à la terminologie géographique roumaine, on remarque l'effort des traducteurs et des utilisateurs du langage en question de trouver les meilleures solutions, de réduire autant que possible ces discordances, de remplacer les sons spécifiques de la langue - base avec des sons qui se rapprochent, autant que possible – comme lieu et façon d'articulation – de la langue -cible. En dépit de tous les efforts, dans le processus massif de transfert par la voie de l'emprunt proprement dit, on constate de nombreuses formes hésitantes, concurrentes, des cas de doublets et même de triplets phono - morphologiques. On peut poursuivre ce phénomène surtout en diachronie. On peut constater que, dans différentes étapes du contact linguistique français – roumain, le même mot emprunté du français reçoit des aspects phonétiques différents dans la langue, en fonction de la voie par laquelle il a pénétré (écrit/oral), en fonction de l'intermédiaire étranger qui a facilité la relation en question (le grec, le russe, l'allemand, l'italien) et, pas en dernier lieu, en fonction du degré d'évolution de la langue roumaine, dans sa variante littéraire. Mais il y a souvent la même situation, même dans le cas de la synchronie. Des formes concurrentes, des hésitations dans la structure d'un enveloppement sonore en conformité avec la structure phono - morphologique de la langue roumaine, peuvent apparaître dans la même période de temps et, parfois, même chez le même traducteur et dans le même texte.

En ce qui concerne la terminologie géographique, nous poursuivons, premièrement, les aspects généraux de l'assimilation phonologique, sans détails diachroniques. Autrement dit, nous pouvons considérer que notre analyse vise la perspective synchronique de ces phénomènes linguistiques.

- Le traitement des voyelles

- fr. *oe* [ö] devient roum. *o*: *équateur* > *ecuator*
facteur > *factor* (*de mediu, pedogenetic* etc.)
migrateur > *migrator*
roum. *u*: *fleuve* > *fluviu*
roum. *oe*: *foehn* > *foehn*, cf. și *loess*⁹
roum. *oa*: *nébuleuse* > *nebuloasă*
- fr. *u* [ü] deviant roum. *iu*: *abrupt* > *abrupt*
allure > *aliura*
roum. *u*: *cuvette* > *cuvetă*
dureté > *duritate*
écluse > *ecluză*
- fr. *e* [ə] (*e mut*) devient roum. *e*: *déflation* > *deflație*
déjection > *dejecție*
delta > *deltă*
déchet > *deșeu*
roum. *ă*: *argile* > *argilă*
averse > *aversă*
avalanche > *avalanșă*
capitale > *capitală*
planète > *planetă*
roum. *u*: *baromètre* > *barometru*
roum. *ø*: *néoderme* > *neoderm*
autotrophe > *autotrof*
pétrole > *petrol*
- fr. *eau* [o] devient roum. *ou*: *plateau* > *platou*
roum. *o*: *careau* > *caro*
roum. *ea*: *réseau* > *rețea*
- fr. *au* [o] devient roum. *au*: *faune* > *faună* (voyelles en hiatus)

⁹ Dans le cas des mots empruntés par le français d'autres langues. *Foehn*, par exemple, provient du français suédois, où il représente une adaptation du lat. *Favonius* (« vent favorable »). *Loess* est emprunté de l'allemand *Loess*, cf. fr. suéd. *Lösch*.

- roum. *o*: *saut* > *sot* (discontinuité, „saut”, catastrophe naturelle)
- fr. *oi* [oa] devient
 - roum. *oa*: *emboîtement* > *emboatement*
 - roum. *ua*: *couloir* > *culuar*
- fr. *ou* [u] devient
 - roum. *o*: *réservoir* > *rezervor*
 - roum. *u*: *cours* > *curs* (d’eau etc.)
 - courant* > *curent* (d’eau)
- fr. *ai* [e] devient
 - roum. *e*: *falaise* > *faleză*
 - drainage* > *drenaj*
 - roum. *a*: *glacière* > *glaciar*
 - rom. *eu*: *déblai* > *debleu* (sapements pour l’aménagement de certaines chaussées, voies ferrées etc.)
- fr. *y* [ü] devient
 - roum. *i*: *polyculture* > *policultură*
 - polygone* > *poligon*
- fr. *o* devient
 - roum. *o*: *albédo* > *albedo*
 - roum. *ou*: *cargo* > *cargou*¹⁰
- fr. *é* (e aigu final) devient
 - roum. *ée*: *alizés* > *alizée*
 - roum. *eu*: *défilé* > *defileu*.

- Le traitement des consonnes

- fr. *c* suivi de *e* ou *i* devient en roum. [č]: *centrale* > *centrală*
- circuit* > *circuit*
- fr. *c+e* muet, en position finale, devient en roum. ță: *convergence* > *convergență*
- la règle reste valable aussi dans le cas fr. *y*: *cycle* > *ciclu* (*vegetal*)
- en position finale *c+i* peut devenir ț: *convergence* > *convergență*
- fr. *ch* [š] devient en roum.
 - ch* [h]: *architecture* > *arhitectură*
 - ș [š]: *flisch* > *fliš*¹¹
 - hachure* > *hașură*
 - niche* > *nișă*
 - converger* > *convergență*
 - drénage* > *drenaj*

¹⁰ Le mot français représente une abréviation de la forme *cargo*, qui a donné aussi, en roumain le mot *cargobot*. La forme initiale française provient de l’anglais *cargo-boat*.

¹¹ Le français *flisch* est ici un emprunt direct de l’allemand *Flisch*.

- fr. *h* initial devient en roum. *h*: *hydrologie* > *hidrologie*
hydraulique > *hydraulic*
hôtel > *hotel*
roum. *ø*: *horizon* > *orizont*¹²
humain > *uman*
- fr. *h* aspiré devient roum. *h*: *hégémonie* > *hegemonie*
roum. *ø*: *hygiène* > *igienă*
- fr. *j* devient en roum. *j*: *jonction* > *joncțiune*
roum. *i*: *projet* > *proiect*
- fr. *ph* devient roum. *f*: *cartographie* > *cartografie*
géographie > *geografie* etc.
- fr. *qu* [k] devient rom. *c*: *quartier* > *cartier*
roum. *cu*: *équateur* > *ecuator*
roum. *chi*: *équidistance* > *echidistanță*
- fr. *-s-* intervocalique devient roum. *z*: *abrazion* > *abraziune*
érosion > *eroziune*
orogénèse > *orogeneză*
- Parfois, même *-ss-* (double *s*) devient en roum. *z*: *bassin* > *bazin*¹³
- *t+i* devient en roum. *ți*: *adduction* > *aducție* > *aducțiune*
action > *acțiune*
- Les consonnes doubles du français deviennent consonnes simples en roumain :
 - fr. *accumuler* > rom. *acumula*
 - fr. *adduction* > roum. *aducțiune*
 - fr. *commune* > roum. *comună*
 - fr. *barrage* > roum. *baraj*
 - fr. *flottation* > roum. *flotație ș.a.*
- Certaines consonnes sourdes (*t*, par exemple) tombent avant les palatales sourdes ou sonores, au passage du français au roumain :
avant-poste > *avanpost*

¹² L'origine française du roum. *orizont* est discutable, à cause de la présence du *-t* final. Celle-ci justifierait plutôt l'origine grecque ou latine *horizon*, *-tis*, peut-être même l'origine italienne *orizzonte*. Par conséquent, les dictionnaires roumains préfèrent indiquer une étymologie multiple, cf. DEX s.v.

¹³ Le mot *a*, de toute façon, un comportement phonétique atypique dans le processus d'assimilation, parce que dans la version roumaine la nasalisation de la syllabe finale *-in* manque, et *-ss-* est donné, d'habitude, par le *-s-* roumain (cf. fr. *assassin* > rom. *asasin*)

- La nasalisation du français se propage en degrés différents dans les mots roumains :
 - fr. bassin > roum. *bazin*¹⁴
 - fr. érosion > roum. *eroziune*
 - fr. cadran > roum. *cadran*
 - fr. contemporain > roum. *contemporan*
 - fr. inondation > roum. *inundație*.

Il y a encore beaucoup d'autres particularités phonétiques qui caractérisent les termes géographiques roumains qui proviennent du français (*e* muet > *eo* ou *ă*, *au* [o] > *au* etc.). Cependant, celles que nous avons exemplifiées ici sont suffisantes pour apporter de nouvelles informations concernant la nature des termes géographiques roumains empruntés du français ou, de toute façon, pour confirmer des données obtenues de l'analyse de ceux-ci, mais étudiés d'une autre perspective.

À la fin de cette étude, quelques conclusions s'imposent.

Premièrement, les emprunts se sont réalisés par voie écrite, dans la plupart des cas ; le maintien des terminaisons en consonne, l'existence de certaines possibilités d'adaptation réductibles à un nombre relativement petit d'invariantes confirment entièrement cette chose ;

Deuxièmement, les emprunts ont été faits pendant une longue période de temps et ils ont été soumis à certaines adaptations successives au système phonétique et phonologique de la langue roumaine, de sorte qu'on maintient le statut de termes scientifiques, néologiques, qui ont contribué à la modernisation de la langue roumaine littéraire.

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¹⁴ On maintient la nasalisation pour les voyelles roumaines *a*, *e*, *o*, mais moins qu'en français. On ne donne pas graphiquement les nasales françaises *ã*, *æ*, *õ* en roumain, même si on les maintient d'une certaine façon dans la prononciation. On donne graphiquement tels quels les préfixes nasaux du français *im-*, *in-* : *inscripteur* > *inscriptor*.

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REPENSER L'ÉDUCATION. LANGUES, AFFAIRES ET COMMUNAUTÉS

SUFFERING: BLESSING IN DISGUISE (EXPLORING KĀLIDĀSA'S ABHIJÑĀNAŚĀKUNTALAM AND SHAKESPEARE'S OTHELLO)

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Abstract

Suffering can be virtuous when a person takes some lessons out of it. In this context, Suffering empowers one to come out from the dreadful clutches of pains and agonies, it leads to attain Moksha¹ which is the ultimate aim of every human being. The consequent suffering in state of knowledge leads to confession, repentance and forgiveness. The redemption is that of liberty from the wrongdoings. The suffering is a purifying agent like fire that burns off whatever is mean and trifling. Once that happens, one returns to the pre-sin state that is freedom from sin or salvation. The present paper is an attempt to study suffering as a blessing in disguise in the select dramas of legendary dramatists Kālidāsa and Shakespeare.

Keywords:

Suffering, blessing, freedom, salvation, courage.

¹ Moksha is the liberation of the soul from the materialistic world, the cycle of death and rebirth or reincarnation and all of the sufferings and limitations of the worldly existence. Moksha is considered as the ultimate goal of human existence rewarded in turn by Supreme Peace and Bliss.

Kālidāsa² holds the same position and reputation in Sanskrit and world literature as Shakespeare across the world. He was a brilliant Indian poet and playwright known for his sharp wit, rich humor and brilliant writing style. While little is known about where he was from, scholars believe that the beautiful details he uses in describing the region of Ujjayini³ suggests that he was either born there or had spent much of his life there (Anderson 1966: 10). His name, which means ‘Kali’s Slave’ reveals that he was a follower of Kali⁴ who is a consort of Siva⁵. He was a very good looking person and as such caught the eye of a princess who married him. After marrying Kālidāsa, she realized that he was ignorant and uneducated and was ashamed by that. He was distraught by this and while contemplating committing suicide, called upon his patron goddess Kali, who gave him the reward of extraordinary wit (Miller 1984: 4).

Today six major works are attributed to Kālidāsa because “The coherent language, poetic technique, style and sentiment the works express seem to suggest they are from a single mind” (Miller 1984: 5) but many more short prose works exist that are likely to have been written by him. The six attributed to him are three plays; *Malavikāgnimitra* (‘*Malavikā* and *Agnimitra*’), *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* (The Recognition of *Śakuntalā*) and *Vikramorvasiya* (Pertaining to *Vikrama* and *Urvashi*), two epic poems *Raghuvamsa* (The Lineage of *Raghu*) and *Kumarasambhava* (Birth of *Kumara*), as well as one shorter poem *Meghaduta* (The Cloud Messenger), which is a picturesque description of the seasons through narration of the experience of two lovers (Smith 2005: 15). His literary creations, like most Sanskrit drama, find their origins in the Vedas; it is also probable that the epics, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* had their influences on the style and content of his works (Anderson 1966: 12).

The play *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*⁶ has been unfolded to the European world by Sir William Jones by bringing out a translation of it.

² Kālidāsa was a renowned Classical Sanskrit writer, widely regarded as the greatest poet and dramatist in the Sanskrit language. His place in Sanskrit literature is akin to that of Shakespeare in English. His plays and poetry are primarily based on Hindu mythology and philosophy.

³ Ujjayini is an ancient city of Malwa region in central India, on the eastern bank of the Kshipra River and today it is the part of the state of Madhya Pradesh.

⁴ Kali is the Hindu goddess associated with eternal energy.

⁵ Siva is a major Hindu deity, and the Destroyer or transformer of the Trimurti, the Hindu Trinity of the primary aspects of the divine. Shiva or Siva is seen as the Supreme Being.

⁶ *Abhijnana-Shakuntalam* is a drama composed in seven acts by Kalidasa, is one of the best not only in Sanskrit literature, but in the literature of the world.

Abhijñānaśākuntalam is a drama in seven acts based on the eternal love story of King Dushyanta⁷ and the maiden Śakuntalā⁸, as depicted in the ancient Indian epic, the Mahabharata – a major text of Hinduism. The tone of the play is set by the virtue and piety of Dushyanta while the underlying message is seen through Śakuntalā, a woman who is purified by patience and fidelity and is ultimately rewarded with virtue and love (Anderson 1966: 17).

The play narrates the story of king Dushyanta who falls in love with a beautiful maiden Śakuntalā, who happens to be the daughter of a saint. A sage named Durvasa⁹ curses her as she offends him unknowingly by not acknowledging his presence. In fact the story without the curse would have been meaningless because the struggle, the conflict of the innocent girl Śakuntalā, is because of the curse. Due to the curse, Dushyanta's entire memory is wiped off and he doesn't remember his marriage or Śakuntalā. But the sage feels pity for Śakuntalā and gives a solution that Dushyanta will remember everything if he sees the ring given to her by him. But she loses the ring one day in the river while bathing. After a series of incidents, a fisherman who finds the ring inside a fish rushes to the king with the ring. The king then recalls everything and rushes to Śakuntalā to apologize for his actions. She forgives him and they live happily ever after. In ancient Indian culture, sages have a big responsibility and have a very high regards in the society. Their teachings are perpetual and their words are considered enduring in nature. But if they are neglected or humiliated in some or other way they could bring you back on the right path and do not dare to blight the guilty one. The effect/impact of that curse could be lessened or waved off by seeking their blessings and expressing penance. The play also portrays the life style, mannerism, moralities and follies of ancient Indian society.

Śakuntalā underwent misery and suffering not only due to a mere curse but she accepted the faith and fortune, which a woman of her time and age has to face and bear. She was not a sinner as she loved the king beyond ordinary human imagination. Therefore, while Śakuntalā is alone in the hermitage her thoughts being away with her absent husband, she fails to offer hospitality to the choleric sage, Durvasa, who comes to the ashram¹⁰ as

⁷ Dushyanta was a great king in classical Indian literature and mythology. He is the husband of Shakuntala and the father of the Emperor Bhara.

⁸ Shakuntala is the mother of Emperor Bharata and the wife of Dushyanta.

⁹ Durvasa is an ancient sage. He is supposed to be the only sage whose penance goes up whenever he curses somebody. He is known for his short temper.

¹⁰ An *ashram* is a Hindu hermitage in ancient India where sages lived in peace and tranquility amidst nature.

a guest. A young newly married woman is dreaming of her departed husband, and without even being aware of it, she fails to respond to a hermit's appeal for alms. This represents the powerful expression of karma¹¹. The lovers are then to be inexorably, cruelly separated. Here, she appears as a dedicated wife. She possesses all the qualities of an ideal wife and daughter. At this point it is very difficult to judge her as a sinner because it is unknowingly or unintentionally that she does not realize the presence of the holy sage Durvasa. Durvasa defines the duty of a woman because Śakuntalā's behaviour was a sure indication of lack of culture and not a proper upbringing in the daughter of a hermit. She forgets the basic social obligations which are unpardonable. This unintentional indifference creates chaos in her life. The curse has become an instrument of the invisible elements so that Śakuntalā's suffering will get somewhat lessened.

She does not elope with Dushyanta and never plans such a mean scheme. Her life therefore, is one of feminine purity of mind. At the outset, the imminent marriage gives rise to feelings of uneasiness in Śakuntalā principally because her father is not in the hermitage to bless the union and to solemnize the marriage himself. Her mind is cleared following Dushyanta's explanation, and Kanva's¹² approval of their marriage. Her modesty is so great that when she feels herself invaded by a feeling it is strange to her in her hermit life. She keeps it concealed from her dearest friends even till her love-affects state and the entreaties of her friends compelled her to disclose it to them.

She accepts the separation from Dushyanta in the same manner as she accepts her love for him. She accepts the Gandharva¹³ form of marriage and obeys the will of Dushyanta to remain in hermitage till he takes her to the rightful home, i.e. his palace. In Act V when the king denies having had anything to do with her, he does not recognize her even when her veil is removed and Śakuntalā fails to rouse his curse swept memory. Moreover, she also lost the ring of recognition during the journey.

It appears that Dushyanta has intentionally and heartlessly insulted Śakuntalā and her camaraderie, even though they have provided him the

¹¹ *Karma* is the concept of 'action' or 'deed', understood as that which causes the entire cycle of cause and effect originating in ancient India and treated in Hindu, Jain, Buddhist and Sikh philosophies.

¹² Kanva was a renowned sage and father of adopted daughter Śakuntalā.

¹³ When a man and a woman marry with each other's consent but may not have the consent of their family or are unable to involve them due to geographical reasons, then this wedding is called *Gandharva Vivah* (Marriage).

pertinent facts: Śakuntalā is his wife and, and their request is that she be received accordingly; with all due courteousness. But all the pleadings go in vain and they have no option but to leave Śakuntalā in the palace, as tradition requires. Within the court itself, a compromise is ultimately attained. She is allowed to stay in the palace until the birth of her child, but not as a wife. The birth of her child would, it is expected, resolve the issue of whether or not the king did marry her. This, of course, does not occur, and she is offended and implores for death when the heavens open to allow her. Her genuineness is confirmed, but her physical disappearance causes difficulties in understanding the plot of drama.

It is apparent that Dushyanta and Śakuntalā are not accountable of anything; as they did not commit any sin. The events that emerge in the palace in Hastinapur¹⁴, when Dushyanta refuses to accept Śakuntalā as his wife, are the results of the curse of Durvasa. Thus, openly discarded by the king she becomes angry with him, but she does not lose her affection for her lord and does not forget her duties as a married woman towards him. As wife she is made to submit to her husband. Yet she counsels him as a friend. She accepts the whole matter as a predestined affair. She does not oppose or blame anybody for her ill fortune. She knows about the human limitations especially about the limitations of a woman's world. She accepts willingly seclusion from her beloved husband. She leads an ascetic's life during her separation, ever keeping the image of her beloved husband in her heart.

Though Śakuntalā is relentlessly hurt, her attempts to persuade her husband are childlike in their virtuousness and straightforwardness, her images of their meetings painted in the gentlest of words in keeping with her own indispensable nature. Both Dushyanta and Śakuntalā experience a series of problems, emotional as well as psychological. She remains in touch with what is happening to Dushyanta, suffers by proxy for him rather than for herself.

The king Dushyanta seems to be more sinful than Śakuntalā but in reality both are not guilty as they are struck by cruel destiny. In *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, 'sin' is not committed for the sake of sin. It is somewhat pre destined or falls as a curse and therefore, the characters do not have any direct intention and attitude to commit a sin. After becoming pregnant, she is well prepared to leave her father's ashram. She thinks that her husband's house is the only place on earth where she would get proper recognition as a caring mother and dutiful wife. She considers her husband's

¹⁴ Hastinapur was the capital of the kingdom of the Kauravas, belonging to the Kuru dynasty of kings.

house more pious than a rishi's¹⁵ ashram. Though Dushyanta – due to effect of the curse – is unable to recognize her, he is recognized by Śakuntalā at the ashram of the holy sage Kashyapa¹⁶. It indicates that Śakuntalā forgives him for everything and accepts him wholeheartedly. It shows her positive attitude even during great suffering. The play mocks – and questions – the unjust values of our patriarchal society. The gripping question is that a woman finds herself almost destitute, forlorn and vulnerable in a callous and sometimes cruel world. She faces the crises but never surrenders. The question is to show her strength under hostile circumstances and her ability to face the crises like part of life. She is a role model of womanhood.

In Kālidāsa and Shakespeare, there is the union of the past and the future, the old and the new with the help of the young. Both Kālidāsa and Shakespeare delineate the characters in an excellent manner and the reader is struck by the thoughts and feelings and expressions of the characters. Shakespeare's dramas are of universal significance and have deep insights into human nature.

Othello is one of the greatest tragedies written by William Shakespeare. Othello is an esteemed general in the services of Venice. Iago is Othello's ambitious friend. Othello promotes Michael Cassio to the position of personal lieutenant and Iago is jealous of this development and begins an evil and malevolent operation against Othello. The moor elopes with Desdemona but Iago starts to plot against them insinuating suspicion and jealousy in Othello, who eventually smothers her to death. Emilia tells Othello the truth about the scheming Iago and Othello wounds Iago then kills himself.

In Shakespeare's Othello, Desdemona suffers the agony because of her father and at a later stage of the story because of her beloved husband, Othello. The name Desdemona derives from Greek for 'unfortunate' or 'ill-fated'. This view of Desdemona's tragic fate is also suggested in Othello's "O ill-starr'd wench..." (V .ii, 315) Desdemona's suffering is not proportional to her faults, she is overpowered by forces that are beyond her control, and she is sacrificed for the benefit of others. She is a kind and friendly individual. Her quandary is that she is too kind. She also lacks the insight to see what severe danger she is in. She wishes Cassio and Othello to be amicable again. Iago persuades Cassio that he can get back into Othello's favour if he gets Desdemona to intercede on his behalf. She pleads on behalf of Cassio making her lover suspicious and extremely jealous. She begins

¹⁵ *Rishi* is a saint or yogi or a great devotee of god.

¹⁶ Kashyapa was an ancient sage.

spending more time with him; unaware that Othello will become jealous. Both Desdemona and Othello were under the impression that Iago was an honest man. Thus, when Othello accused Desdemona of adultery, she went to Iago for help. She does not realize that Othello suspects her. She is abused verbally and physically by Othello and then finally smothered to death. She is innocent and lacks the wisdom to prevent her downfall.

Desdemona can be regarded as a sacrificial heroine. Although she does not sacrifice herself, she is sacrificed by some external forces like fate. Just before her death, when Desdemona says she does not have any love affair with Cassio, Othello still does not believe her. Only when she dies, everyone comes forward with the truth. Desdemona suffers more badly than Śakuntalā. Like Śakuntalā, she too was able to choose a person of her choice. Unlike Śakuntalā she confesses her love for Othello before her father and goes to the extent of eloping with the man whom she loves. She shows more courage though she knows well that she has to pay a heavy price for this act. Othello also pointed out “she had eyes and chose me.” (III, ii, 212)

On the other hand, Śakuntalā never openly challenges her father’s will. Kanva also approved Śakuntalā’s marriage with the king Dushyanta. Kanva does not feel distress that Śakuntalā has surrendered to the pressures exercised by Dushyanta and has married the king without his consent or blessings according to the Ghandarva system. Kanav offers his thanks, and states that the child to be born from this marriage will rule the world. “And may you bear a kingly son, like Puru, who shall rule the earth.” (IV, ii)

But Desdemona challenges her father’s conservative principles and disobeys. She leaves her father’s house to marry Othello; this is the first step in redefining her role as a modern woman. Desdemona, rather asking her father’s consent, decides to marry Othello. It appears as though she is breaking away from the strictness forced by Brabantio. She denies her father any right in choosing her bride and she chooses the man whom she wants to marry. She accepts the suffering for a person who later on kills her. But suffering at the hands of her father Brabantio gives her boldness and courage. The eventual price that Desdemona has to pay for her emancipation is death. Desdemona, just before her death, confronts Othello as she had challenged Brabantio and guards herself with the same straightforwardness that she uses before the Senate: “And have you mercy too! I never did offend you in my life; never loved Cassio But with such a general warranty of heaven As I might love; I never gave him token” (V. ii. 68-71). Even in her death, Desdemona proves her liberation by showing that she controlled her desires

Desdemona's suffering possesses superiority of will power. She is bolder than Śakuntalā, who is typically traditional and culture bound. During suffering she behaves with calm, dignity and takes a bold stand about her love for Othello. Her courageous nature symbolizes her experience of suffering and unpleasant incidents of her life. She rebels against the conventions of the society to elope with Othello. Her decision to marry her choice of husband is an act of disobedience as during the 17th century, women, particularly women of noble birth, married men of their fathers' choice.

She is loyal to her father but she is not afraid of him and her bold declarations are not the sign of her fickleness. Although she is young, her decision to marry appears to be solely motivated out of love, rather than a desire to distress her father. This is made clear in her heartfelt statement, "I saw Othello's visage in his mind, And to his honours and his valiant parts Did I my soul and fortunes consecrate." (I. iii, 268-70)

Śakuntalā also attains enough boldness to face the world after being not recognized by the king Dushyanta due to the affect of curse. She gives birth to a boy and rears him under her motherly care, affection and protection. Her suffering enables her to transform into a woman who is pure, confident and calm, looking ahead for the future, not just the future in Dushyanta's palace or even at the hermitage where she and Dushyanta will retire, but to a future away from all the cycles of time and surpass all the incarnations. For Śakuntalā suffering becomes a tool to overcome pains of separation from her beloved husband. Suffering brings out the hidden traits of her feminine character. Thus, in *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* suffering has not only affected the mental state of the characters but it has also helped the dramatist to develop the plot and story.

Both Śakuntalā and Desdemona keep the feelings of love high even in their adverse circumstances. Their love was not worldly, nor physical and not simply romantic. For the sake of their love they show courage and firmness which is most unexpected. In Othello, Desdemona's love is based on sacrifice, suffering, renunciation and divine aspects of life. She is the very picture of innocence – she remains to the end, whiter than driven snow. In her love, in her suffering, in her death, her innocence never leaves her. Innocence and gentleness are the main features of her character. Śakuntalā submits herself to her husband with just one sentence: "Victory to my Lord." (Act VII) Śakuntalā has the same simplicity and nobility which suffering has gifted her. She does not know about the Rishi Durvasa's curse and how to cease the effect of the curse. It shows that she is very innocent and docile. Moments of great joy and misery leave her at a loss and she does not know how to express herself. Despite Desdemona's loyalty to her husband, Othello physically and verbally abuses Desdemona, slapping her and calling her a prostitute in public. At the culmination of the story, when

Othello strangles her and with her dying breath, she blames herself for Othello's physical and emotional abuse. This reflects that Desdemona is the real victim in this tragic drama. Othello believes that his black skin color turns him contaminated and contaminating. When he has sex with Desdemona, Othello thinks he has polluted her pure, white body, and he just can't stand it.

On the contrary, Desdemona never questions Othello about his strange behavior but most meekly submits to his foulest abuse and resentment. When Othello strikes her in the presence of Venetian courtier, she only says – “I have not deserved this” (IV, I, 256). And when Othello tirades against her, she quietly moves away with these words – “I will not stay to offend you” (IV, I, 264). Even her last line “Commend me to my kind Lord” indicates her loyalty and love for Othello (V, ii, 149). Śakuntalā too keeps the picture of an ideal wife and daughter clear and visible. Śakuntalā's suffering brings its reward in the form of her reunion with the king Dushyanta. To this respect Desdemona is unlucky. Suffering does not provide her renunciation completely. Moreover, Othello's suspicion intensifies her suffering. But her suffering becomes a great virtue of her love. No unkindness, however great, or harshness, however unjust, can shake her mighty love.

Unkindness may do much,
and this unkindness may defeat my life,
But never taint my love. (IV, ii, 179- 181).

The concept of suffering is broadened in Abhijnansakuntalam and Othello in two distinct forms; physical suffering and emotional suffering. Physical suffering is inflicted with physical pain and agony in which the leading characters of the plays appear to be very feeble and mere victim of cruel fate whereas in emotional suffering, the characters suffer on account of emotional loss. Suffering can be blessing in disguise as it may produce, purity, patience, hope and shape the character as a whole. The very experience of suffering is not same for everyone. Suffering brings one more close to the biting realities of life. Suffering can elevate or degrade one according to the manner in which he/she meets to it.

In case of Śakuntalā, suffering brings out her personality as a woman with substance. She is deeply hurt by the strange and curse-affected behavior of her beloved husband, yet, she is generous in forgiving him. Suffering generates a sense of self control and high level of confidence in her character. Dushyanta also suffers due to separation from Śakuntalā. He appears to be struggling against the supernatural forces that are beyond his control. His suffering parallels that of Śakuntalā. It is revealed that in Abhijnansakuntalam, the characters suffer both the forms of suffering but they do not lose their mental balance and summon themselves before the vicious circle of suffering. Śakuntalā attains a high level of maturity through

suffering and achieves ‘the felicity of equilibrium’ (Wells 1963: 32). In Abhijnansakuntalam, suffering helps the protagonists to bring out their hidden potentials bravely and to face the adverse situations with conviction and confidence. Śakuntalā bears adversity and disgrace in public with indomitable courage and faith that clearly indicates the immense power of tolerance that suffering bestowed upon her.

Desdemona suffers as Othello suspects her loyalty. Desdemona looks to be very pure and innocent as she states “a guiltless death I die”(V, ii, 146) Here, it seems that the saga of suffering culminates on a very tragic note. The intensity of suffering leads the characters to realize their follies and becomes the main reason of downfall. On the contrary, Othello appears to feel regret on his action as he outbursts “O, insupportable! O heavy hour!” (V, ii, 117). Moreover, Othello’s last line: I kiss’d thee, ere I kill’d thee: no way but; this killing myself to die upon a kiss” (V, ii, 408-9) indicates a kind of redemption both his soul and his suffering. Similarly, suffering provides Desdemona an opportunity to prove herself as a virtuous person in which she succeeds at large extent but fails miserably to read out the evil intentions of Iago due to her jovial nature. She attains salvation from the suffering in the hands of destiny.

However, Kālidāsa and Shakespeare have successfully described the position of women in society by highlighting a problem of universal significance that is the suffering and injustice associated with women for ages. But nowhere Śakuntalā and Desdemona appear to be weak. The eternal tales of Śakuntalā and Desdemona are sagas of suffering yet their suffering has virtues of sacrifice and devotion which makes their character sublime and noble in the history of world literature.

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FICTION WITH A MISSION: HISTORY AS LIVED EXPERIENCE IN SALMAN RUSHDIE'S NOVELS

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Abstract:

The present article focuses on the central idea of historical recuperation permeating the novels of Salman Rushdie, especially as it appears from the novelist's professions of intent regarding his own work. For Rushdie's auto-diegetic narrators, the shape of private history can only be discerned from the kaleidoscopic lens of micro-history. Most of them are writer-cum-historian figures deploying the written word as a defence against the illusion-fostering discourses of the powers that be and their official version of history. Albeit painfully aware of the unreliability of their perceptions and memory, baffled by politicised delusion and contending official versions of history, Rushdie's protagonists strive to salvage the truths of their experience from the corruptions of time, change or forgetfulness. Their compulsion to narrate stems from an often messianic sense of mission, which means retracing the meanings of their living history, dissipated in the clamour of the multiplying discourses of metamorphic historical realities.

Keywords:

History, historiography, postcolonial, fiction, discourse.

If for Naipaul home is ultimately nowhere, for Rushdie home is potentially everywhere. While Naipaul sees cultural collisions and collusions as irredeemably tainting and corrupting, Rushdie casts a more lenient eye on the beneficent possibilities of intercultural encounters. Naipaul writes from what he perceives as the historical void of the Caribbean, which he wishes to replenish with his historicising discourse, marked by the embittered consciousness of geographical and political marginality. Conversely, Rushdie's novels are swamped with the overwhelming multiplicity of layers and strands of history crisscrossing the massive subcontinent, whose centrality as the 'Jewel in the Crown' situated it at the very heart of the British Empire. His multi-voiced novels evince a tumultuous inter- and intra-cultural plenitude, aimed to replicate the teeming

multitudes of the former Raj. The postcolonial sensibilities of his characters are shaped by past and present historical dislocations, but Rushdie's protagonists, unlike Naipaul's, do not bear the wound of the Caribbean Indian diaspora displaced by indenture. With Naipaul, the double displacement of the Caribbean migrant accounts for a rawer exilic sensibility. Rushdie's characters, at home or in diaspora, have a more stable sense of belonging and are therefore more prodigious spinners of myths of home. His characters are not so much un-housed by their histories of deprivation or afflicted by an innate psychic homelessness, but become de-housed by the tidal waves of history which throw their destinies in the whirlpool of contending ideological currents and political forces. While many of Naipaul's discontents find consolation in the philosophy of Hindu withdrawal, Rushdie's characters are often caught in the crossfire of embattled orthodoxies or forced into action in the public front.

'Handcuffed to history', in the notorious formulation of *Midnight's Children*, Rushdie's heroes are compelled to go with the tide of historical change, or rather against the tide. Obsessed with messianic missions, they become embroiled in public affairs more heartily than Naipaul's withdrawn, meditative narrators, yet they invariably end up displaced on the periphery of history, defeated and disabused. Striving, as Graham Swift has put it, 'to disentangle history from fairytale', they resort to writing in order to make sense of what they often perceive as the fantastic, surreal nature of their experience of history. The opposing camps or forces contending for their souls are not disposed according to Naipaul's binary axes of colonialism – master/slave, colonizer/colonized, civilization/bush, centre/periphery – but dichotomously aligned between intra-cultural ethical poles – tolerance/intolerance, community/communalism, unity/factionalism, belief/disbelief, faith/fundamentalism, purity/impurity, humanism/barbarism, despotism/liberalism, progress/regression. The displacement they undergo is bound up not only with migration or the country's history of colonial and cultural subservience, but with dramatic swings of the balance of reason and tolerance to extreme positions of negation. For Rushdie's victims of history, dislocation and marginalisation means banishment from the centre of rationality to the fringes of extremism, ranging in kind from hard-line nationalism and ethnic separatism to fundamentalist or essentialist ideologies. Their quest for the centre equates with the struggle to redress the balance, to recover, as in a fairytale, the gift of rationality and equity swallowed by ogres spawned by the darkness of hate.

In Rushdie's novels, moments of historical crises or turnabouts become the major dislocating agents of private destinies. The private space is at the mercy of the political. Public and private disasters are inextricably

bound together. The crumbling of socio-political stability entails the collapse of individual certainties. The personal narratives of Rushdie's characters parallel the writing of the subcontinent's history. Almost all his novels gravitate around the crucial moment of India's coming into being as an independent nation. The ending of India's colonial history and the beginning of its national history are the still point from which individual destinies are reshaped, for better or worse, depending on the individual's positioning in the divisions of ethnic, national or religious belonging. Personal identity is redefined and reconstructed alongside the construction of other national, ethnic and religious identities. The characters' sense of self mirrors the twists and quirks of a nascent nationhood which revises its myths of origin and rewrites its past from the vantage point of independence and its future challenges. Rushdie's protagonists often experience the promise of independence as the beginning of the end. Their narratives are as much fables of complex public and private becoming as there are stories of survival. More than tales of doing, theirs are tales of undoing, of being undone and left to reassemble the broken fragments into a mirror in which they hope to recognise their own and their country's face. Through his compulsive narrators, Rushdie attempts to create a grand narrative of colonial and postcolonial India, though the crumbling fantasy of Indian unity is mirrored in the very fragmentation of the narratives themselves. As if to challenge Lyotard's prophesy of the death of grand narratives or meta-narratives under the crumbling certainties of postmodern fragmentariness, Rushdie deconstructs totalising myths only to reconstruct new ones, attempting at the same time to create the grand narrative of modern India, bringing together its images of what Lyotard calls 'the unharmonizable' in a totalising, if disharmonic, universe.

Much like his protagonists, Rushdie seems ineluctably 'handcuffed to history', to use his catchy metaphor from *Midnight's Children*. Even literally so, he would argue, invoking the family joke about his birth, which preceded India's independence only by a few months, and was jestingly supposed to have scared the English away. A self-conscious 'midnight child' himself, he undertakes to chronicle the advent and aftermath of Indian independence in the sweeping epic project of *Midnight's Children* (1981). Rushdie shares Naipaul's conviction that for the former colonies and colonial subjects of European empires, there is no escape from historicity, that the emerging independent nations of the postcolonial era are inherently marked by the socio-economic and cultural conditioning of their colonial past. The postcolonial chronicles of both writers revolve around the momentous break from empire, the iconic temporal landmark dividing national history into the two agonistic, yet complementary historical

temporalities of before and after independence. Most of their novels inscribe family sagas spanning colonial and postcolonial histories, in which the protagonists' destinies follow the peripatetics of the nation from utopian dreams of freedom and nationhood to the dystopian experience of new kinds of tyrannies and bondage.

Decolonisation is seen to replace the old disorders of imperial rule with the even greater disorder brought about by the challenges of self-determination. The disruption of the colonial order and the massive upheavals of nationalism often spiral down to a political, social and economic chaos fraught with the menace of historical apocalypse. The former unity in diversity of colonial societies, sustained by the gluing solidarity of their opposition to imperialism and nationalistic ideals, crumbles under the post-independence escalation of interethnic tensions, of embittered factionalisms fuelled by power struggles and proliferating parochial ideologies. The unifying myth of the nation, supposed to catalyse its collective self-consciousness into what Benedict Anderson calls the 'imagined community' of nationhood, is pulverised into separatist myths of ethnic purity and origins. Both Rushdie and Naipaul portray fragmenting worlds in which the formerly unquestioned impurity of the colonial formation is brought to the fore of public consciousness and a long-standing history of interethnic cohabitation is radically qualified. The emerging postcolonial nation becomes riven by the purging drive of ethnic communities awakening to new self-images, questing for an original identity prior to colonialism's conjunction of spatial, temporal and cultural human coordinates. The erstwhile ambiguity of the composite, multi-layered sense of identity of the colonial society, whose self-image was always refracted by the white man's stereotyping, othering gaze, becomes subject to violent articulations of new-found certainties, agonistically projected against every kind of imaginable otherness: racial, ethnic, linguistic, economic, cultural, historical, ideological or religious. The long cherished ideals of nationhood and national identity become diffused amidst the jarring voices and images of multiplying identities fiercely articulating their separateness from one another. What was once accepted as a communal, if multi-faced, colonial identity dissipates in the galled irruptions of communalism and civil strife, whose acerbic orthodoxies breed tyrannies far worse than the oppression of imperial rule.

The image of postcolonial politics emerging from Rushdie's novels figures proliferating, begrudging rivalries which divide the public forum, in which the national ideal is corrupted by the will to power and ideological fixations of commanding but single-minded leaders. The generalised corruption of political practice infects the moral and ethical values of public

affairs as well as the ethos of the private space. In Rushdie's representations of postcoloniality, politicians are more often than not relegated to the status of venal 'politicos', for whom national interest evanesces under the weight of their personal agendas. Political ideologies and concepts of national welfare are twisted in order to accommodate and rationalise all kinds of authoritarian excesses, ranging from Mrs Gandhi's Emergency to the religious-military fundamentalism of General Zia. Accession to power is based either on electoral fraud or fulminating coups, while power is discretionarily exercised to legitimise oppressive regimes and personal dictatorships. The politicians' private fantasies of identity invade the public space as they identify the countries they rule with their own persona and self-aggrandising, messianic sense of mission. Moreover, the communal construct of the historical, teleological becoming of the nation's 'imagined community' is adapted and rewritten in order to accommodate the rule of private whims and illusions of centrality. The self-absorbed distancing of monocracies and personality cults from the communal idea of nationhood fissures the national space by an ever-widening rift between the rulers and those they rule, cast in the interdependent roles of all-powerful victimisers and powerless victims.

Rushdie's historiographic metafiction foregrounds the symptomatic estrangement between the political elites and oppressed multitudes of emergent nations by focusing on stories narrated from the perspective of marginal, peripheral figures, whose family history both contains and is contained by the meta-narrative of national history. Macro-history is framed, mirrored and refracted by the myriad private stories of individuals whose life-stories are in their turn ensnared in the nation's story. Saleem Sinai is Rushdie's paradigmatic narrator, who is unable to disentangle his private plight from the engulfing predicament of the nation. His peripatetic destiny parallels that of the nation, just as the fragmentation and confusion of his sense of identity, literalised in the metaphor of his cracking body, reflects the disintegration of the nation's collective consciousness. The disruptions of the family's organic unity originate in the brutal upheavals of macro-history, though the central conceit of *Midnight's Children* is ironically based on the opposite assumption, according to which the individual assumes responsibility for the disasters in the public sphere. His helplessness before the changes afflicting the national organism is displaced by the illusion that he can hold sway over the course of history and that he is blameable for all its deviations from commonsensical norms of normalcy. Saleem displaces the guilt of misguided postcolonial politics by becoming the repository of national guilt. Ironically, by his misplaced sense of personal responsibility, Saleem illustrates at micro-level the hunger for

centrality and omnipotence which have instrumented the failure of democracy in the new-born states of India and Pakistan.

Saleem differs from Naipaul's disabused, disillusioned narrators, who withdraw into a fence-sitting, cynical detachment from public engagement. Numbly contemplating the shipwreck of a community in which they no longer anchor themselves, they can only gloss over their impotency to stop their world's racing on a crash course towards self-annihilation. By contrast, Rushdie's protagonists, though similarly displaced by the tides history, strive to transcend their marginality by indulging in the fantasy of their mastery over the stride of history. Saleem imagines that his actions and dispositions affect directly the course of public affairs, even when he becomes the helpless victim of the Black Widow's dark night of Emergency. Vying for centrality with a politician who, like him, substitutes his image for that of the whole India, he displaces the enormity of political action onto his own actions, assuming the unfelt guilt of the Prime Minister's untroubled conscience. According to the displacing logic of historical agency which informs *Midnight's Children* and *Shame*, the rulers' lack of public responsibility converts as the self-assumed shameful of peripheral individuals, whose hypersensitive public conscience functions as the repository of all the shunned guilt and shame of the grandees of the day. The perpetrators of illusion in the upper political echelons are shown to be sapping and destabilising the sense of reality of the disoriented individual, to the extent that all across the social spectrum the nation's reality becomes entrapped in a web of delusion which obscures the demarcations between fact and fiction, reality and imagination, actuality and fantasy. In his purportedly truthful account of his collisions and collusions with history, Saleem becomes increasingly distrustful of his own capacity to capture the truths underlying the tragic fates of his family and nation. He embarks on his narrative project in order to preserve the truth of his experience, but the confusions and distortions of his own memory come to reflect the political manipulations of the self-appointed history makers. Despite his professed uncertainties, inadequacies and difficulties in disentangling reality from illusion, Saleem pins his hopes of survival and moral edification on the illuminating power of writing. Like Naipaul's or Ishiguro's compulsive writers, most of Rushdie's narrators are writer figures use the written word as the only defence against the illusion-fostering discourses of the powers that be, with their manipulations and distortions of public perception. Albeit painfully aware of the unreliability of their perceptions and memory, baffled by politicised delusion and contending official versions of history, they strive to salvage the truths of their experience from the corruptions of time, change or forgetfulness. Their compulsion to narrate stems from an often

messianic sense of mission, in the name of which, though unable to redeem the decayed humanity of their world, they can at least shoulder the burden of collective guilt and shame and thus retrace the meaning dissipated in the clamour of the multiplying discourses of a metamorphic historical reality.

Rushdie himself is convinced of his public duty to expose the political mystifications of the subcontinent's colonial and postcolonial history through the medium of fiction. Under the burden of his double displacement, first from India and then from Pakistan, two inimical countries which he is equally supposed to call his own, he has also assumed the burden of representation, of being the spokesman for the growing community of immigrants and refugees to the West, who have fled the post-independence disorder in the subcontinent. He feels compelled to give these deracinated people of the postcolonial era a voice, as well as help them forge a new sense of identity and belonging as participants in the multiethnic culture of the former imperial metropolis. All his novels figure uprooted individuals whose destinies have been fractured by the experience of migration and who have to face the challenges of exile and the indignities of their minority status on the margins of the host culture. Rushdie's writing aims to articulate and voice the minority discourses of marginal immigrant communities, whose geographical and cultural displacement exacts a radical readjustment of their racial, ethnic, cultural and national identity, often challenged by the prejudiced, othering perception of the host society. By telling and retelling their histories, Rushdie voices the anxieties and self-interrogations of the migrants, refugees or exiles of postcoloniality, on whose behalf he feels it is incumbent on him to speak. His fictions do not merely represent, but actively participate in these people's quest for identity by trying to answer their dilemmas and warning about the pitfalls of racial, interethnic or inter-religious strife, propagated by those entrenched in the orthodoxies infecting the construction of communal identity in their native countries. After all, the writer's own life is touched by the socio-political or communalist excesses on the subcontinent. The security and stability conferred by his British citizenship is overshadowed by his knowledge of the predicament of his family, who are forced to exchange the persecutions of Muslims in India for the stifling religious oppression of Pakistan. The family ties bonding him to both countries preclude him from becoming detached from their realities, or rather what he perceives as the 'unrealities' of their socio-political turmoil. Like his narrators, Rushdie feels compelled to record and interpret the troubled and troubling histories of the fraternal but fratricide nations of the subcontinent, to excavate the truth from under the ideological disguises of political misrule. His self-conscious fictions, paradoxically proclaiming both their fictitiousness and their referential

fidelity to historical factuality, are construed as instruments of historical exploration which challenge the historiographer's claims of objectivity in interpreting the shifting realities of the postcolonial world, still agonistically divided by the iniquitous binary the so-called First and Third World. As the eventuality of the subcontinent's history has often surpassed even the fabulist's wildest imagination, the provocation posed by Rushdie's fiction is stems from his contention that imagination can in its turn illuminate our understanding of historical phenomena and processes. Damian Grant argues that Rushdie's writing focuses on the duplicitous nature of political discourse and on the mechanisms of discursive manipulation, construed as a particular kind of public fiction-making, a fictionalising of national reality orchestrated by the political in order to obscure the indelible private realities of the oppressed. In other words, Rushdie's novels seem to substantiate the syllogism by which if public politics and history often assume the make-believe nature of fiction, then fiction may as well aspire to the cognitive authority of historiography, assuming the truth status and claims of objectivity, factuality and veracity of traditional historical discourse.

According to Grant, the novelist's challenging pronouncements on the role of fiction-writing in engaging the world and enhancing our understanding of historicity as a discursive and imaginative experience both revive and enrich the seminal theories of the imagination of the great Romantic tradition. Rushdie is a firm believer in the experiential and cognitive function of the imagination, which he considers, as do the Romantics, to be the instrument and medium of superior knowledge. From this belief follows the claim that the work of imagination accedes to meanings and truths obscured and perverted by the proliferating mystifications of political and historical mythologizing. Rushdie observes that the post-modern *Weltanschauung* is marked by a growing scepticism about the beneficence of political agency and about the honesty of its engagement with the quandaries of contemporary geopolitics. Such a pervasive mistrust of global political affairs stems from public misgivings about the occult nature of official truths. In one of his essays, Rushdie comments on the atmosphere of distrust permeating public opinion even in the celebrated bastions of democracy of the West: 'the notion that "visible" history was a fiction created by the powerful, and that ... "invisible" or subterranean histories contained the "real" truths of the age, had become fairly generally plausible' (Rushdie 1991: 376). Grant's diagnosis of Rushdie's particular vision of political history can be generalised to the mainstream perspective of most postmodern literary interrogations of history: 'The novelist's mistrust of history is pervasive' (Grant 3). Rushdie's own professions of creed, reflect a widespread postmodern outlook on the

immanent intersections and overlapping of fiction and history. Commenting on Julian Barnes's *History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters*, Rushdie envisions 'the novel as a footnote to history', which constructs 'not a history but a fiction about what history might be' (Rushdie 1991: 241). In articulating the validity of the novel as a life-enhancing medium of cognition and truth, he concurs with Wilson Harris's argument that 'a philosophy of history may well lie buried in the arts of the imagination'.

But what Rushdie strives after is more than the articulation of a philosophy of postcolonial history. He seeks to anatomise the psychic effects of ideological mass manipulation, the socio-political mechanisms by which the collective dream of nationhood, the focus of Rushdie's obsessive fascination with how 'newness enters the world', is rapidly corrupted and confiscated by political orthodoxies which turn the nationalistic dream into the nightmare of the nation. No clear answer to his reiterated query about the nature of historical renewal is ever definitively enunciated in his texts. Nevertheless, the answer is implied in the pervasive pattern of his fiction, from which we can infer the pessimistic tenet that newness always enters the world as social Utopia only to open a door onto political Dystopia. This two-facedness of historical cyclicity constitutes the prevalent subject of Rushdie's novels, whose multiplicitous, prismatic perspectives on the zeitgeist are refracted in the structural complexity and technical innovativeness of the narrative form and discourse. Rushdie combines the time-honoured tradition of European historical realism or Eastern archetypes of oral storytelling with patently postmodernist approaches to narratological experimentation such as surrealism and magic realism, so as to create a highly synthetic and syncretic novelistic form, which illustrates Bakhtin's concept of the dialogical or polyphonic novel.

The dialogism of Rushdie's writing derives from the centrality of its historical reference and relevance, which turns his novels into fictional palimpsests of real history. Rushdie's penchant for fabulation is constantly qualified by his engagement with the factuality of real history. His hallmark resides in his unique blend of realism and fantastic elements, his arresting juxtapositions between fantasy and the temporal and spatial contours of the real. Avowedly inspired by the South American masters of magical realism, particularly by Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Rushdie's novels themselves illustrate how newness enters the world. For Rushdie, the work of fiction represents the ultimate medium for mapping out the ever shifting boundaries of historical and geopolitical realities. Therefore he contends that the novelist's role is to write 'books that draw new and better maps of reality, and make new languages with which we can understand the world' (Rushdie 1991: 100). Imagination functions not only as a ploy to disguise reality, but

as a finer instrument for capturing the elusive meanings of competing realities. Defining it as ‘the process by which we make pictures of the world’, Rushdie aptly concludes that imagination ‘is one of the keys to our humanity’ (Rushdie 1991: 143).

Another key to our humanity is our desire to discover the truths and meanings of our passage through the world, and it is this aspiration that Rushdie’s literary pursuits respond to. The bitter truths of the subcontinent’s postcolonial history invariably pierce the disguise of his prolific fantasy. Despite the writer’s disingenuous disclaimers and teasing smoke-screens which profess to the ingenuousness of his fictions, the revelations and indictments of Rushdie’s satirical shafts hit their targets, as the numerous suits for libel levelled against him have shown. In defence of his art, Rushdie declares: ‘I genuinely believed that my overt use of fabulation would make it clear to any reader that I was not attempting to falsify history, but to allow fiction to take off from history...the use of fiction was a way of creating the sort of distance from actuality that I felt would prevent offence from being taken’ (Rushdie 1991: 409). Yet, in this he minimises the impact of his own provocations, because the effect he strives after is, conversely, to allow historical truth to take off from fiction, even when, with feigned innocence, he disproves the referentiality of his fictions. Unfortunately, offence was taken every time and Rushdie’s fictionalised representation of real historical referents was taken to trial and found guilty by the offended party, acting as both prosecutor and jury.

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ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF ENGLISH SET PHRASES AND THEIR ALBANIAN EQUIVALENTS

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Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to analyze the use of different types of set phrases (idiomatic or non-idiomatic) in English and Albanian. The paper is divided into two main parts; one reveals some theoretical background information about set phrases in both languages, and the other is more analytical by trying to collect concrete examples. It is based on the novel *The Fifth Child* (2001) by Doris Lessing and its Albanian variant *Fëmija i pestë* (2007) translated by Etleva Pushi. The main strategy for translating set phrases from English into Albanian is that of paraphrase. The others include idiom to idiom translation (similar in meaning and form or similar in meaning, but dissimilar in form) and omission. This is the best way to contrast these units and discover similarities and differences that exist among them.

Keywords:

Set phrases, English, Albanian, translation, contrast.

Introduction

Set phrases (either idiomatic or non-idiomatic) are part of every language. All people do communicate by collocating words together instead of just using individual words. The meaning of these phrases is usually difficult to be processed because it is not equivalent to the meaning of the words they consist of, for the most part. As a result, it is difficult to understand and interpret them. Translating them from one language to another is also a very challenging task.

The process of translating different kinds of set phrases from the source language to the target one requires great efforts because a translator must have good knowledge on both languages and their cultures as well. At the same time, s/he should be capable of finding an appropriate variant for the pairs of set phrases (especially the idiomatic ones). Speakers of different

languages use different expressions to convey similar meanings. A certain expression might be simple for speakers of a language, whereas the same set of words or expressions might seem unclear and sometimes even meaningless to the speakers of another language. This happens because every language has some specific culture-based items which are totally distinct from the corresponding items of another language. Despite of these, there are also some other distinctive factors such as religion, geographical position, different ideologies or social classes and societies which make the process of understanding and translating of idiomatic phrases very challenging. There are two crucial issues that should be dealt with: how to interpret the set phrases of a language and, how to reproduce the same (or similar) phrases from the source language to the target one so that we can transmit exactly the same ideas in both languages.

The object of the research is to identify the main strategies that a translator can use in the processes of interpreting and translating set phrases (either idiomatic or non-idiomatic) from English to Albanian by providing plenty of examples.

The aim of the present paper is to review the main strategies used in translating set phrases in fiction. By contrasting the variants in both languages we can also notice several similarities and differences among these phrases.

The material for the analysis has been taken from the novel *The Fifth Child* by Doris Lessing (2001) and its Albanian variant *Fëmija i pestë* translated by Etleva Pushi (2007).

1. Set phrases (a theoretical approach)

There exist a lot of languages in the world today and each of them is specific in many aspects. Peoples of different nations have different ideologies and every society perceives the world in different ways, as a result, these ideologies have a great impact on the language itself and the way how different meanings are expressed. They are used in everyday communication, either in speaking or writing. They can be found and used in poetry, literature, the language of Shakespeare and Bible as well. We can say that set phrases have their own features in different languages which, in most cases, are peculiar. Both languages English and Albanian are very rich in set phrases (either idiomatic or non-idiomatic). Some linguistic research was made to provide some theoretical background to the problem. The research was based on the theory of terminology and some of the main features of set phrases as syntactic and lexical units.

Some word-groups, for example, **at least, point of view, by means, to take place**, etc. seem to be functionally and semantically inseparable. They

are usually described as **set phrases, word-equivalents, idioms** or **phraseological** units...¹ According to Ginzburg:

*“Phraseological units are comparatively stable and semantically inseparable. Between the extremes of complete motivation combined with complete stability of the lexical components and grammatical structure on the other hand, there are innumerable border-line cases.... The term **set-phrase** implies that the basic criterion of differentiation is stability of the lexical components and grammatical structure of word-groups. The term **idiom** generally implies that the essential feature of the linguistic units under consideration is idiomaticity or lack of motivation. ... The term **word-equivalent** stresses not only the semantic but also the functional inseparability of certain word-groups and their aptness to function as single words.”*²

He also gives this definition: *“Phraseological units are habitually defined as non-motivated word-groups that cannot be freely made up in speech, but are reproduced as ready-made units.”*³

Jani Thomai, an Albanian lexicographer, describes the following features for the phraseological units:⁴ a) they enter the speech as ready-made units, created earlier, b) they are fixed in structure, c) they convey a single concept and are non-compositional, d) the words they consist of, have lost their sense independence, in some way. His definition is very clear and inclusive:

*“Phraseological units are linguistic meaningful units, made up of two or more words, with a set structure, being historically created and used for a long time, which is equal to a single word, being reproduced in speech as ready-made and having the role of an indivisible unit.”*⁵

By providing this short theoretical background we can notice that set phrases (idiomatic or non-idiomatic) in English and Albanian share a lot of common characteristics despite of the differences which are usually culturally-based. In order to have a better idea on these similarities and differences we have analyzed the examples of set phrases in English and how they are translated into Albanian.

2. The main difficulties in translating set phrases and the strategies used

¹ Stefanllari, A course in English lexicology, 2011, p. 140

² Ginzburg (et al), A Course in Modern English Lexicology, 1979, p. 74 .

³ Ginzburg (et al), A Course in Modern English Lexicology, 1979, p. 74

⁴ Thomai, Leksikologjia e Gjuhës Shqipe, 1999, p. 183-187

⁵ Ibid. p. 210-211

It is very important to notice some of the main difficulties a translator may encounter when trying to translate set phrases (especially idiomatic ones) from English to another language. According to Mona Baker, the main difficulties involved in translating idioms may be summarized as follows:⁶

- (a) *An idiom or fixed expression may have no equivalent in the target language. Like single words, idioms or fixed expressions may be culture-specific. ... these items are not necessarily untranslatable. It is not the specific items an expression contains but rather the meaning it conveys and its association with culture-specific contexts which can make it untranslatable or difficult to translate.*
- (b) *An idiom or fixed expression may have a similar counterpart in the target language, but its context of use may be different; the two expressions may have different connotations, for instance, or they may not be pragmatically transferable.*⁷
- (c) *An idiom may be used in the source text in both its literal and idiomatic senses at the same time. Unless the target-language idiom corresponds to the source-language idiom both in form and in meaning, the play on idiom cannot be successfully reproduced in the target text.*⁸ She brings the following example: *He had sufficient influence to be able to **poke his nose into** the private affairs of others where less aristocratic **noses** might have been speedily bloodied.*⁹

So, she brings the idiom ‘to poke one’s nose’ which is used in both senses (literal and idiomatic). To translate such an idiom, the translator should provide its equivalent in the target language. In Albanian, there exists such an idiom which is identical in form and meaning ‘të futësh hundët’. (d) *The very convention of using idioms in written discourse, the contexts in which they can be used, and their frequency of use may be different in the source and target languages.*¹⁰

Eugene A. Nida (et al.)¹¹ states that: “Obviously in any translation there will be a type of “loss” of semantic content, but the process should be

⁶ Baker, *In Other Words*, 1992, p. 68

⁷ Ibid. p. 69

⁸ Ibidim

⁹ Ibid. p. 70

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 70

¹¹ Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, (1982), p. 106

so designed as to keep this to a minimum.” He also mentions that among the commonest problems of content transfer one of them is that of idioms.

In our paper, we will focus on how to translate these units from English to Albanian. By providing several examples from the books that we have analyzed, we can discover some of these difficulties.

2.1 *The strategies used in translation*

Mona Baker proposes the following strategies in translating idioms or fixed expressions: 1) using an idiom of similar meaning and form, 2) using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form, 3) translation by paraphrase, and 4) translation by omission.¹² We are going to discuss them one by one and bring examples from the books we have analyzed in both English and Albanian variants.

2.1.1 *Using an idiom of similar meaning and form*

This strategy involves using an idiom in the target language which conveys roughly the same meaning as that of the source-language idiom and, in addition, consists of equivalent lexical items. This kind of match can only occasionally be achieved.¹³

1. ‘David,’ she said quickly, *to break the spell*, his arm tightened around her...¹⁴

2. - ... David! – tha ajo me të shpejtë, si për të *prishur magjinë*, por ndjeu shtrëngimin e krahut të tij rreth vetes...¹⁵

3. ...she could not finally *give up her dreams* of the old life coming back...¹⁶

4. ...ajo nuk *hiqte dorë nga ëndrra* e saj e jetës së dikurshme.¹⁷

5. ... that she was *breaking the rules* of some contract between them.¹⁸

6. ... atij iu duk se ajo *po i shkelte rregullat* e asaj marrëveshjeje mes tyre...¹⁹

7. If so, this was a window into a Ben concealed from them, and it *broke one’ heart – broke Harriet’s heart*.²⁰

8. Po të ishte kështu, kjo duhet të ishte një dritare ku Beni fshihej nëse *i thyente zemrën ndokujt – Harrietës, më saktë*.²¹

¹² Baker, *In Other Words*, (1992), p. 72-78

¹³ Ibid. p. 72

¹⁴ Lessing, *The Fifth Child*, (2001), p. 16

¹⁵ Pushi, *Fëmija i pestë*, (2007), p. 15

¹⁶ Lessing, 2001, p. 144

¹⁷ Pushi, 2007, p. 144

¹⁸ Lessing, 2001, p. 45

¹⁹ Pushi, 2007, p. 45

²⁰ Lessing, 2001, p. 117

Not only do the idiomatic set phrases consist of the same lexical units, but have the same structure as well (verb + noun) in both languages.

2.1.2 Using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form

It is often possible to find an idiom or fixed expression in the target language which has a meaning similar to that of the source idiom or expression, but which consists of different lexical items.²²

1. Non-academic but ‘*none the worse* for that’, as Dorothy insisted.²³

2. S’ishte nxënëse shumë e mirë në shkollë, por “*punë e madhe*”, këmbëngulte Dorotia.²⁴

3. She *was the scapegoat* – Harriet, the destroyer of the family.²⁵

4. Ja ç’qe, *kokë turku!* Shkatërrimtarja e familjes.²⁶

The lexical units that these phrases consist of are different in both variants, but the meaning is the same. Even their syntactic structure is not the same.

2.1.3 Translation by paraphrase

This is by far the most common way of translating idioms when a match cannot be found in the target language or when it seems inappropriate to use idiomatic language in the target text because of differences in stylistic preferences of the source and target languages.²⁷

1. ...she had been drained of some ingredient that everyone *took for granted*, which was like a layer of fat but was not material.²⁸

2. ...asaj i kishte humbur ajo lëndë e padukshme, i ishte tharë ai lëngu që të gjithë *e marrin si për të mirëqënë*, ai lëngu që ishte si një shtresë dhjami, por jo material.²⁹

3. *It went without saying* that David had gone to private schools.³⁰

4. *Kuptohet* që vetë Davidi kishte ndjekur shkollë private.³¹

5. Here the four young men laughed, for of course they *had played truant*, as all their sort did.³²

²¹ Pushi, 2007, p. 118

²² Baker, 1992, p. 74

²³ Lessing, 2001, p. 143

²⁴ Pushi, 2007, p. 143

²⁵ Lessing, 2001, p. 141

²⁶ Pushi, 2007, p. 141

²⁷ Baker, 1992, p. 74-75

²⁸ Lessing, 2001, p. 155

²⁹ Pushi, 2007, p. 155

³⁰ Lessing, 2001, p. 38

³¹ Pushi, 2007, p. 37

³² Lessing, 2001, p. 118

6. Atë çast të katër djemtë nuk e mbajtën dot të qeshurën, sepse ata, sigurisht, *nuk kishin shkuar në shkollë*, siç bënte gjithë soji i tyre.³³

In these examples, the Albanian variants of the set phrases are not translated by phrases at all. They just explain the meaning of the English set phrases because there is no Albanian equivalent for them.

2.1.4 Translation by omission

As with single words, an idiom may sometimes be omitted altogether in the target text. This may be because it has no close match in the target language, its meaning cannot be easily paraphrased, or for stylistic reasons.³⁴

1. 'That was us,' said Derek, *giving himself thumbs-up* approval, and Elvis looked sharp and knowing.³⁵

2. –Ne, ne ishim, - tha Derek, (?) kurse Elvise, si finok që ishte, nuk u ndie.³⁶

3. When she leaned forward, she could see herself in the gleam – dully, but enough to make her lean back again, *out of sight*.³⁷

4. Kur përkulej mbi të, ajo mund të shihte veten në shkëlqimin e saj – jo dhe aq qartë, por gjithsesi aq sa mjaftonte që ajo të bënte mbrapsht (?).³⁸

The translator has omitted these phrases, but their omission does not influence the content. There are few examples as such in the whole text.

Nida (et al.) proposes almost the same strategies as Baker:

*"Idioms are some of the most obvious candidates for semantic adjustment, for the very fact that they are idioms means it is unlikely that the same type of distinctive form will have the same meaning in another language. The adjustments are quite understandably of three types: (a) from idioms to nonidioms, (b) from idioms to idioms, and (c) from nonidioms to idioms."*³⁹

But he also mentions that:

*"Whereas one inevitably loses many idioms in the process of translation, one also stands to gain a number of idioms. Such idiomatic renderings do much to make the translation come alive, for it is by means of such distinctive expressions that the message can speak meaningfully to people in terms of their own lives and behavior."*⁴⁰

³³ Pushi, 2007, p. 119

³⁴ Baker, 1992, p. 77

³⁵ Lessing, 2001, p. 152

³⁶ Pushi, 2007, p. 153

³⁷ Lessing, 2001, p. 155

³⁸ Pushi, 2007, p. 155

³⁹ Nida et al., 1982, p.106

⁴⁰ Ibidim

We have noticed a lot of examples like these, which means, several single words in the English variant are translated by idiomatic set phrases in Albanian:

1. ... but then that contemplative gaze of his made itself felt and they *desisted*. (p.8) / ... por pasta jai shikimi i tij këmbëngulës sikur i shponte, e kështu ato *hiqnin dorë*. (p. 7)

2. 'I do believe *you imagine* you are going to put the clock back, starting with me!' (p. 9) / "Mendoj se *ty të gënjen mendja* se mund ta kthesh orën prapa, duke filluar me mua." (p.7)

3. This home of his was a large bedroom at the back of the house overlooking a *neglected* garden... (p. 12) / Kjo strehë e tij, ishte një dhomë e madhe gjumi në pjesën e pasme të shtëpisë, nga e cila dukej një kopsht i *lënë pas dore*. (p. 11)

4. ... his eyes gleamed with thoughts she could not *guess* at. (p. 16) / Por sytë i shkëlqenin nga ca mendime që ajo nuk mund t'i *merrte me mend*. (p. 15)

5. 'Anyway, we can *afford* it.' (p. 20) / ... por për fat, *na e mban xhepi*, thuaj. (p. 19)

6. 'How many children are you *intending* to have?' (p. 18) / - Sa fëmijë *keni ndër mend* të bëni? (p. 17)

7. It occurred to neither Harriet nor David to *think*, or say... (p. 20) / As Harrietës dhe as Davidit (nuk) u kishte *shkuar në mendje* e as kishin thënë ndonjëherë... (p. 19)

8. And look, they had been right to *insist* on guarding that stubborn individuality of theirs... (p. 29) / Por, shih tani, kishin bërë mirë që kishin *ngulur këmbë* ta ruanin atë individualitetin e tyre kokëfortë... (p. 28)

9. These days, Harriet would not *dream* of walking at night by herself... (p. 30) / Tashmë Harieta as që e *çonte ndër mend* të ecte vetëm natën... (p. 29)

We have provided some examples for illustration, but we have to mention that there are plenty of other examples as such, which make the translation very interesting and attractive.

3. Analysis of the data

The analytical part of the paper is based on the novel *The Fifth Child* by Doris Lessing (2001) and its translated variant in Albanian *Fëmija i pestë* (2007) translated by Etleva Pushi. Being based on the definitions cited earlier and their features, we can say that we found 143 set phrases (either idiomatic or non-idiomatic). It should be mentioned that this is not an exact number because some of the phrases are used more than once: *take for granted, side by side, it (that) goes without saying, at a loss, burst into tears,*

as far as I'm concerned, have given birth to, etc. Moreover, any of them might have not been found (of course, unintentionally).

The analysis of the translated variant *Fëmija i pestë* by Etleva Pushi includes the same strategies as those proposed by Baker (1992): *using an idiom of similar meaning and form, using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form, by paraphrase, and by omission.*

Table 1. The strategies used in translating *The Fifth Child* (2001)

Strategies	Target language (<i>Fëmija i pestë</i>) (2007)	%
<i>Using an idiom of similar meaning and form</i>	28	19
<i>Using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form</i>	34	24
<i>Paraphrase</i>	73	51
<i>Omission</i>	8	6
Total	143	100

Table 1 attempts to show the total number of the collected set phrases from the source book and, also, shows how many phrases are translated applying the four main strategies that are used to translate them into the target language and their percentage. From the data collected and represented into the table, we can assert that the majority of the English set phrases are translated into Albanian by paraphrase (51 %). In spite of the fact that the translator applied mostly paraphrasing strategy for translating the set phrases, however, there are many other examples of the use of the other strategies. Furthermore, Pushi has tried to avoid translation by omission and has used the other strategies. Translation by omission includes only 8 % of the total. She has also applied other strategies as using an idiom of similar meaning and form (28 %) and using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form (34 %).

Before finishing this brief overview of the main strategies used, there are two final remarks that can be made. Firstly, paraphrase was the prevailing strategy for translating the set phrases in the English novel. Secondly, Pushi has made great efforts to stick to the original text as much as possible. The examples that we have provided and plenty of others, not cited, show her effort to get closer to the reader, to transmit the original meaning of the text.

4. Conclusion

The main aim of this paper was to analyze the translation of English set phrases (either idiomatic or non-idiomatic) found in the novel of Doris

Lessing *The Fifth Child* (2001) translated into Albanian by Etleva Pushi (2007). The research showed that the translator applied four main strategies: *using an idiom of similar meaning and form, using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form, by paraphrase, and by omission*. We tried to collect all the examples very carefully so that we could discuss the preferences of the translator.

As a result, we can conclude that *translation by paraphrase* is the most common strategy. By comparing and contrasting all the examples we can have a better idea on the similarities and differences that exist between different types of set phrases in English and Albanian, that is to say, their definition, their function as single lexical units, their structure as fixed units, etc. We noticed that, despite of the diverse views about their status, Albanian set phrases (especially the idiomatic ones, which are referred to, traditionally, as phraseological units) are properly defined and classified. When it comes to English set phrases, on the other hand, there are a lot of diverse views, among different scholars, on how to define and classify them.

To conclude, we can say that by making use of different types of set phrases (idiomatic or non-idiomatic) we can express the uniqueness of the language and culture in which they are originated. They make our communication more interesting and aesthetic. Using them in the proper way and in the right context, but, above all, translating them from one language to another needs deep knowledge of the source and target languages and cultures.

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**NOTES FROM MANUSCRIPTS AND OLD BOOKS
FROM MOLDAVIA
I- IV, CORPUS EDITED
BY IOAN CAPROȘU AND ELENA CHIABURU
FRAGMENTS OF HISTORY**

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Abstract

Most of the books read in the Romanian Countries, contained, alongside with the text itself, hundreds of notes written on the white pages intended for bookbinding at the beginning or at the end, along the sides of the page or, most often, at the end of the text.

The volumes of documents edited by the historians from Iași cover a very long period of time, from March 13, 1429 until the little union of 1859; they provide a rich, heterogeneous and extremely interesting material which acquires a freestanding value and constitutes a distinct literature revealing a fresco of a bygone era.

Keywords:

Manuscripts, old books, history, language, culture.

The multidisciplinary nature of the old notes makes them real sources (unique through their characteristics) for researches in different domains to probe into Romanian history, language and culture. This very large variety of quasi-anonymous chronicles recomposes an image of the mental universe of the Romanian society from ages past.

The notes can be classified depending on the perceived and registered fragment of reality. Sometimes, the object of a record is represented by historical events eye-witnessed (or not) by the owners of the books, thus providing us with information about “history through the small ones” (according to the saying established by N. Iorga). As stated in the preface of

the volumes of notes, these marginal texts provide precious information about different reigns, about the relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire; they capture details referring to the military confrontations in the Romanian space, to the foreign occupation regimes or to certain territories of the country which were dominated by the great powers. F. Braudel cuts out several levels of historical time. The first level is the short duration fragmented by the current events, a micro-history. The second level is the time of conjuncture, of the major events, including segments of two-three decades, at most half a century. The long duration, the secular and multi-secular time is an historical time during which movement is very slow, quasi-immobile¹. The marginal notes register especially the events circumscribed to the short duration and to the time of conjuncture, sometimes making reference to macro-history as well.

Here, we are not interested in the facts themselves, which we can easily find in any volume of Romanian history; our concern lies in following the way in which the "authors" of the notes mark such events of the "great history", the way in which they relate to them, whether they reflect on them in one way or another, as well as, especially, whether and how this type of texts evolves across the texts researched, from the 15th century until the middle of the 19th century.

The note of an historical nature gradually acquires the right to exclusivity: events of a political nature (more or less important) begin to be registered independently from those of a different nature, without having the function (a secondary one, that is true) of creating a broader framework for another type of information. The need (probably a conceited one) to register the major events the author participates in, eye-witnesses or is only contemporary with amounts to a certain concern for the past, usually a recent one.

"History" becomes relatively late a sufficient subject of notation, hesitant in the second half of the 16th century, and the number of such records did not increase spectacularly in the following century. In the 18th century, the marginal notes on a purely historical subject compete with

¹ T. Nicoară, *Introduction to The history of Collective Mentalities. Anthology*, Introductory study and translation of the texts, T. Nicoară, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p. 90.

those in which the historical event doubles other information; and towards 1850 this category of texts almost enjoys exclusivity.

The first "independent" notes of a historical nature only record information referring to reigns. In the 15th century we have only one such note, which has as subject the struggles for the throne, and the six notes from the following century also exclusively refer to the death of certain rulers and the enthronement of others, which is a reflex of the voivodal state (strengthening the central power). In the 17th century, the content of this type of text is diversified, but the prevailing one is that in which the main subject is the reign. In fact, the notes referring to the death of certain rulers, dethronements, enthronements, exiles, ruler exchanges between the two principalities, brief characterizations of the rulers, are all presented in all the four volumes (and they are numerous, given the political unrest and the short duration of reigns). The concern for different reigns exceeds the exclusive moment in which an increasing concern for the past is written and proven, and thus one of the notes is called "The ladder. So many rulers I have got to see before, since they made peace" (II, 563)², followed by the date of the peace treaty, 1790, and then by the record of the three rulers until 1795. Moreover, during the same period we find in a *Liturgy* a "note of the rulers of Moldova and the years they ruled and how many years they ruled and how many months, what it is like in here with ruler Dragoș who dismounted in Moldova, founded on the *Psalters* which have been recently printed in the Metropolitan Church of Iași, year 1795, March 14. And from 1352 until now it has been 443 years, between these years 109 rulers have been here in Moldova." (II, 564) We could say that the concern for rulers and reigns increases with time.

Finally, the 18th century and the beginning of the following one is a time of armed conflicts – the wars between the great powers, whose sphere of interest also included the principalities and which are evoked in the pages of the notes. The century begins with the fact that the Empire refused

² Due to frequency, the references to the texts of the *Notes from manuscripts and old books from Moldova*, a corpus edited by I. Caproșu and E. Chiaburu, Demiurg, Publishing House of Iași, 2008-2009, vol. I – IV, will be made as follows: the number of the volume will be written in Roman numerals, between round brackets, followed by the page number in Arabic numerals.

Russia's first attempt to enter Southeastern Europe³. Peter the Great's defeat at Stănilești (1711) is registered by a witness: "know that since the Russkies had come to Moldova and confronted the Turks in (Stănilești) on the Prut and they fought for 3 days and 3 nights and even when the fourth (day) came, they did not go back, and the Tatars came along and they pillaged Moldova. And I, Miron the priest, I was at Codru Tigheciului, surrounded by Tatars, for 12 weeks, (in) forest houses, until the Muscovite army struck Brăila and they defeated it and then the Russkies went back to their country, and a new ruler was enthroned, Neculae voivode. 7219" (I, 389). In less than 120 years, six wars with the same protagonists (1716-1718, 1735-1739, 1768-1774, 1787-1792, 1806-1812, 1828-1829) turn Moldova's territory into a battlefield for repeated political incursions⁴. The wrath of the foreign armies⁵ (of the three empires: Ottoman, Russian and Austrian) is omnipresent in the Moldavian principality, which is why it is often statistically registered in a pattern in which only the nationality of the invaders changes: "7278 <1769> Sept(ember) 21, the Russkies came to Iași" (II, 193), then "the Russkies left Moldova in 1772" (II, 211), but the country did not even have the time to breathe, because another note mentions that "since the Russkies came the third time to Moldova, in 7277 and they killed for three day(s) and three nights in 7281 <1773>, in March, 1 day" (II, 214). Then the same text, with different protagonists: "Know that since the Germans had come to Moldova 7283 <1775> [...]" (II, 243) or "Know that since the Turks had come to Moldova" (IV, 269). In the 19th century, Toma the seneschal writes in the *Amendment of the Law*: "I began to write for the army persecutions, which I have seen in the years of my life, ever since I was 18" (III, 306), which is, indeed, followed by a detailed text about the military confrontations which were contemporary with the author. Another recovery by memory and "a note of a few lines and when the Russkies and the Germans came to our country, Moldavia" is owed to the economist "C. Soutzescu"; concisely and objectively, he accounts "the first arrival of the

³ Fl. Constantiniu, *An honest history of the Romanian people*, Revised and enlarged edition, 4th edition, Encyclopedic Universe Gold, Bucharest, 2010, p. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁵ Șt. Ștefănescu, *Romanian history of the 18th century, between tradition and modernity*, Bucharest University Publishing House, 1999, p.32.

Russkies", "their second arrival with the Germans", "the third arrival" etc., until "the sixth arrival" of the Russians (IV, 473) – scrupulously noting, in all cases, the circumstances (the wars during which they were belligerent parties). Also, this century is marked by invaders (Tatars, Cossacks), followed by robberies and murders. If certain notes mention, concisely and objectively, the event: "Know that since the Tatars pillaged Moldova, in Sept(ember) in forty days, in the year 7267 <1758>", other notes are detailed: "In the year 7267 <1758> Septe(m)ber, the Tatars pillaged Moldova, the south part, 6 lands and there was great slavery, 'cause they attacked without a word and they burnt Focșenii and they even reached Râmnic in Wallachia.[...]. And they looted empires without a word. And after they settled their reign, they received order from Țarigrad and they went with the boyars from Moldova to the Tatars and they fulfilled all the loss suffered by the country from the Tatars." (II, 78)

The diversity of the military events of the epoch is fully reflected by the notes. The sequence of events can be reconstructed justly and correctly, based exclusively on these sources. The beginning of hostilities during the Russo-Austrian-Turkish war: "1786 Aug(ust) 5, the war began, the Ottoman Empire with the Russian and the Caesar Empire" (II, 435), is sometimes made with the same formulation mentioned above, an almost statistical one: "Know that in the year 1787, April 7, the Turk Kingdom and the Russki Kingdom broke peace, the fourth time after emperor Peter." (II, 453) The unfolding of certain battles is laconically captured in a manuscript of *The Lives of the Saints in March*: "When the Russkies defeated Hotinu, in 1788 July 2, and when they battled in the same year at Ieș, the Germans and the Turks, on June 30" (II, 469); followed by the peace between the warring parties: "Know that since peace was made with the Turks in the year 1792 May 6 [...]" (II, 514), after which the Russians become neighbors with Moldova: "the Russkies took a part of Vozie, which was Tatar land, from the Turks, to Dubăsari, on the banks of Dniester, as it is seen until today" (II, 496). In other cases, peace is concluded to the detriment of Romanian territorial integrity, the annexation of Eastern Moldova representing the subject of several notes from 1812 (or subsequent), "when the Russkies took possession of the region of Bessarabia and they settled the border on the banks of the Prut" (III, 304).

"Still in the century of suffering" (III, 524), as a contemporary calls the 19th century, the "revolts" have also a great impact in different marginal notes. Thus, related to the events of 1821, the notes highlight especially the slaughter of the Turks in Iași and Galați who "killed each other through terrifying deaths, without any kind of reasons, which was totally unfair"; with bitter irony, the author notes the contrast between the *Christian* name of the killers (Eterists) and the deed itself: "which was committed with the unfair judgment of certain Christians" (III, 496).

"*The Great Rebellion*" (IV, 357) from 1848 is summarized in a volume from the *Lives of Saints* as follows: "In 1848, there was a revolution in the town of Iași among the landowners of the country of prince Mihail Sturdza, in Alecu Mavrocordat's houses, sparking off the flow of the uprising." (IV, 349) The purveyor **Demetrius Dragoș**, who is obviously on the side of the Moldavian ruler, writes thus: "*Let be known when the landowners from here in Ieș/Iași, in Moldavia and Wallachia, rebelled against the ruling princes and that from Bucharest, Bibescul, abdicated and ran away while this one from Ieș/ Iași, Mihail Grigoriu Sturza, as a hero stood and as a brave one, catching some of the rebellious landowners, tied them and banished them over the Danube river to the Turkish fortresses.*" (IV, 355) The Crimean War (1853-1856) is the subject of several marginal notes "*Let be known when the Russians entered the second time, fighting in a battle with the Turks, with the French, with the English, with other empires and with many more in the year 1853 on June, for 14 days [...].*" (IV, 458) The abbot **Benedict** notes "to be known": "*At the year 1859, on February, in Focșani, at Saint Ioan (John) monastery I welcomed his Greatness, Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, ruler over both countries Wallachia and Moldavia.*" (IV, 529)

The events in the Occident are also echoed in the studied texts. The Philo-Russian attitude transpires from the use of the locution: "*At the year <1> 812 the Russians beat France. Napolion fled from Moscow like hell (ca chica toporului)*" (III, 295). Another brief entry from an old Register (Catastih) shows the same lack of sympathy for the Emperor of France: "*The wicked Napoleon "Bonne parte" (instead of Bonaparte)*"; the author even deploys a pun to underline his intention "*or let's say "Bad part", Voltir's wicked disciples.*" (III, 309) Elsewhere, however, another author is

not vehement: "*Let be known since when Napoleon escaped from Elba [...] and came again to Paris as emperor, being welcomed with all the joy by all the armies of France*" (III, 356).

What we find specific of these marginal notes from the political history domain – concise or not – is the objective note, most of the times records of wars, of foreign invasions etc. The armed conflicts represent a familiar condition of the Moldavians; these conflicts are treated as an ordinary fact, the texts recording in approximately the same formulations, the alternation of the main belligerent actors⁶, without the least insistence on the misery of residents in a theatre of military operations. But sometimes (in few cases in fact) the affective implication is increased by certain personal commentaries. According to the Christian mentality of those times, the great calamities (famine, diseases, wars) are put in a direct casual connection with the divine wrath provoked by human sins. In this respect, in the year 1733 since the "*fel marshal*" was walking in the Country of Moldavia and "*slaved*" (instead of enslaved) it and a lot of damages have made..." is a direct consequence of human behaviour: "*God abandoning us for our sins...*" (I, 467). On the contrary, fifteen years later "when the Tatars stepped in Moldavia" the failure of their penetration in the capital has mystical origins, "but they could not enter because of the presence of the "Saint Wood" the repeated attempts having no consequence, "although they decided once and twice to enter at the year 1748, month September." (I, 559) We remain in the same register of emotional involvement: "*Let be known when the Country of Moldavia was in great need because of pagans, Turks, who came like grasshoppers to "grasp"... people's souls.*" (II, 465) At another time the notation of the struggle of the "*Sultan with nohaili*" is an opportunity for judgments of value. The Sultan fled "*from fear of the nohailoru ... as it is the custom of the Turkish to run away as females (women) and you don't know that the Turkish is coward and the Moldavian is fearful*" (II, 59), and in support of the truth of these observations there are

⁶ M. Gheorghiu, *Din istoria timpului liber: însemnări pe cărți în secolul XVIII*, (From the history of leisure time, notations on books in the 18th century.) <http://institutulxenopol.tripod.com/xenopoliana/pagini/6.htm>, 15th March 2013

their own feelings "and I was there as well [...] and saw those all who had written, all are real" (II, 59).

I mentioned on another occasion that the marginal notes foresee hopes that the worshipping Russia shall escape the Balkans from the Ottoman yoke; a text from 1828 clearly expresses this desire: "[...] *the Great Neculai Pavlovici, chosen by God as emperor of the Russians, whose army by the blessing of the merciful God, today (1) 828 April 25, Wednesday was left to crush the pagans (agareni), army which is worth to be praised, seeing it by myself coming into our homeland, Moldava, much joy brought in my heart and happiness in my soul [...]* " (III, 631). A marginal text from the same year is particularly interesting in relation to the attitude toward the two great powers. It seems that the note contains a dialogue between two different authors. While the first part deplores the Russian domination "*Let be known that when the Muscovites (Muscali) came in 182 (8) in December and stood until April and 8 days laughed ... everyone to be paid and know how much we suffered for everyone to say: Oh, ah*", the second one is a reply to this lamentation: "*Who has written here above, does not know that you know that he says about the/Muscovites and mourns, but when the Turks come, what will he do? Pity him!*" (III, 641); the conclusion of the latter is certain: from the two evils, the smallest evil is the Muscovite.

A "patriotic short poem" written by "Ștefan Șandru himself" arouses interest. It starts pathetically and rhetorically by mourning the current state of the country: "*O! Miserable Romanians / Leaving the weapons from your hands / You have reached this state / Worthy of weeping.*" The author reproaches his compatriots their passivity in the face of foreign invasions and their lack of connection to European culture. This is the reason why "*we are stepped on by another invader (ghinte) / like the mindless ones / How many times they depleted us /and ravaged our homeland.*" There follows of course the urge for "high education" and sacrifice for the country. It invokes the Roman origins of the Romanians; gradually, from the direct address, on terms of equality, "*Oh! My compatriots, / of Trajan's grandchildren*" the stake increases by passing to the "*Oh! High builder*". God is called to protect this nation, to light up and to plant in the heart of every Romanian the desire to make their country flourish. In such a way, of course, "*more will be glorified / the Name of the Holy*" (IV, 31). In a firm and solemn tone,

with many invocations, the poem reveals, however, the plight of a people impended by foreign rulers to use its own resources. The theme is the country – a modern concept, recently framed in the general European context. The national idea transpires in other notations from volumes as well.

Structurally, within this category we can distinguish three types of marginal notes: specific are those notes which record the information shortly and to the point, in a journalistic manner, without any emotional involvement on the part of the writer; they are followed by more elaborate notes which either capture an event in detail or present a cluster of several laconic "news" of the first category. Finally, especially in the 19th century, a certain type of historical record is highlighted: the retrospective records recording several historical events are intermingled with personal ones at the beginning, exclusively historical later. Interesting is the fact that, although independent of other happenings, some such historical records are all placed under the temporal sign by adverbs or specific phrases: "When the Muscovites beat at Hotinu in the year 1788, on 2nd July and had / there was in the same year, another battle at Ieș, that of the Germans with the Turks, on the month of June 30th " (II, 469).

From the first notation of a historical character to the last one, from the change of rulers, pagan invasions, incoming and outgoing foreign troops to battles and peace treaties, etc., many texts are framed in a concise pattern, where the event is a concise and objective note on the pages of a book, recorded for remembrance: "*Let be known when the Muscovites came into the Country of Moldavia and plundered and burned it.*" (I, 373) The events are connected by the copula: "*Let be known when the emperor Peter came to Moldavia and fought with the Turks and Prince Dumitrașcu went with him and the Tatars plundered the country*" (I, 388). At the opposite end there are notes which break the specific pattern of laconism by providing full details about the event. Related to *The History of the Romanian Country*, a note specifies that "*the history of Moldavia is starting from here*" (II, 278); this is followed by many mournful interjections in the episode of Grigore Ghica's murder in 1777 and by information on other misfortunates from the prince's entourage as well. The notation is by no means exhaustive and the author is aware of this: "*And there have been many things, which are not written here.*" At other times, despite their prolix appearance, the notes are actually

a conglomerate / a record of objective first-hand "news", chronologically presented. Such is the case of a text which notes, starting with 1799 and ending with 1803, the succession of some rulers, banishments and coronations: "*in 1799, in March, his Greatness Prince Alexandru Ioan Calimah was banished and his Greatness Prince Costandin Ipsilant put on the reigning robe. In 1799, on May, his Greatness Prince Costandin Alexandru Ipsilant was crowned and reigned for more than two years. In 1801, on 21st June, his Greatness was banished as well [...]*"(III, 154); and the note continues in the same manner.

With this text we move on to the category of notations with a retrospective character, of annals. Oriented to the near or remote past, this type of marginal texts attempt, through voluntary memory, to recover certain facts deemed worthy of being written down on the white sheets /pages of a book. If we compare such a record with those from the 15th - 17th centuries, we find major differences: joining in the making of history, individuals have the courage to write down facts that do not belong only on the cultural sphere (a book). Among the first notes of this type, an anonymous record from 1768, covering a period of about seven decades, presents the events chronologically, in a precipitated and stereotype manner, up to the present moment. The Solar eclipse of 1699 is followed (almost consecutively) by the taking of Camenița by the Turks, after which: "*It is known when the Emperor Petru came to the Country of Moldavia and fought with the Turks at Stănilești, at the year 7219 <1711> June 29th. When Prince Mihai fought with (the) Germans in 7225 <1717> January 15th ; and during Prince Mihai's reign there was the famine in 7226; and the welfare from 7227; and when the Prince Mihai pulled out the cattle in 7234; and when Prince Grigore Ghica went to the Woods in 7235; and when the Muscovites(moscalii) came for the second time in 7247; and when Tatars plundered the Southern part 7265 <1756> September 14th ; and when the big earthquake was in 7245; and when the Muscovites(moscalii) (came) for the third time in Moldavia, in 7277 <1768>on September and Prince Petru Aron (came) in the Country of Moldavia Prince.*" (II, 179) Other records start from remote facts from the distant past "Let be known when the Old Prince Ștefan ruled, and the remaining son Bogdan surrendered Moldavia to the Turkish in 6964 (1456), 6964 (1456)", thus

maintaining the pattern of the formulation and selection of events (not in chronological order) until 1769 (II, 192). At other times, the events cover a shorter period – for example, 1769 -1775 (II, 241). It is certain that this type of records is increasing especially in the 19th century. Chronology is not an important rule for the recovery of history itself. On a manuscript named “Of Geographic Place (Obște)” a note of this type begins with the explanation “*I wrote here a lot of notes (veleturi) for many things that have happened and at what times and years, as I have written down below*” (III, 145), which would be valid for all retrospective historical notes. After reaching the year 1802, (with a line that does not keep any order) the author of the text returns to years 1366, 1504, 1293 and 1454, as if it seemed unbearable, though, to leave the realm of the past to return to the present day. Most of these notes follow the same pattern: the juxtaposition of events recorded laconically by “let it be known”, “to let” or “when”. Sometimes, the entire notation, even if it records past events over nearly a century, is extremely operative: “1757, the slavery of the Country from the South: 1769 the first Muscovites came. 1788 – the arrival of the Germans. 1821 – the Turkish’ captures.” (III, 486); the text stands under the nominal sign, while the predicate is lacking for the sake of brevity. It seems that in order to counterbalance the situation, in the History of the Romanian Country ... a note is entitled “the history of Moldavia starts here”, being followed up by three pages of Moldavian history (III, 502). One thing is certain: from the texts that timidly record a reign, a case of banishment or a crowning to the long notes whose density is supported by a minimal formulation, there is an entire historical journey to be glimpsed in the marginal notes of the 17th-19th centuries.

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