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FONDEMENTS DU DIALOGUE CULTUREL

TEACHING SANSKRIT TO EUROPEAN RROMANIES (or RROMS)

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A living Indo-Aryan language in the very heart of Europe

When hearing the word “Sanskrit”, average Europeans picture some taciturn elderly bookworms dealing with huge dusty grammars. Some Europeans are perhaps better informed and the image which comes to their mind is full of wise bearded old men totally immersed in meditation, high above the intellectual pursuits of ordinary mortals. Yet very few are those who are aware of the fact that hundreds of Sanskrit words can be heard in a living language spoken almost everywhere in Europe – and many places of America – and that this language was brought by sons of Bharat who left India, more precisely Kannauj in U.P., one thousand years ago (in 1018). The everyday home use of this language was never discontinued among them over centuries and still now they are the first historical diaspora of India. They call themselves Rroma and their language is Rromani, known in Europe by some 7 to 8 million Rroms and spoken everyday by almost 5 million¹.

The Sanskrit name of the Rromani people

The name “Rrom” is already a Sanskrit word, since it derives from डोम्ब “a percussionist, a musician, a performer, an artist” and the feminine डोम्नी is also quite close to Rromni, the feminine of Rrom. Old Indo-Aryan

¹ CIEMEN (Centre Internacional Escarré per a les Minories Ètniques i les Nacions) Barcelone : Alan Viaut report.

retroflex consonants developed into Rromani as a specific /r/, which sharply differs in sound from the regular trilled [r], inherited from Old Indo-Aryan [r]: Skr. वर्ष [varṣa] “year” > in Rromani **berś** “id.”, द्रव्य [dravya] “object, stuff; medecine” > **drab** “medecine”, Skr. क्षुरी [kṣurī] “knife” > **čhuri** “id.”, दूर [dūra] “distant, remote” > **dur** “far” etc... and most varieties of modern Rromani still distinguish sharply between the afore-mentioned [r] originating from India [r] and a different /r/, which can have developed from one of the various Indo-Aryan retroflexes ट [ʈ], ड [ɖ], ढ [ɾ] (sometimes ण [ɳ]). The latter is pronounced as a retroflex [r̥], a flap [r̥], a long/strong [r̥:], a velar [γ] or [χ], a [ks̥] spoken with a burr etc... and it is written since 1890 with double **rr**². Rromani words like **bar** “hedge” and **barr** “stone”, **rani** “lady” and **rrani** “branch” or **ćoripen** “theft” and **ćoripen** “poverty” are distinguished only by the nature of the /r/.

It is therefore of the utmost importance to respect at the same time etymology and pronunciation while writing double **rr** when relevant, including in the name of the **Rromani** people itself. In addition to respect for linguistic truth, the double-**rr** spelling links directly this national name to Sanskrit and India, and it avoids any confusion between Roms and Romanians, thereby eliminating false etymologies referring to “Rome” (the city in Italy), the Rums (Arabic name for “Christians”) or Rama (in Indian culture). Writing with a single **r** is but a consequence of the inability of the Europeans’ ear to distinguish between the two sounds, because this contrast doesn’t exist in European languages.

India: remembered or not?

One is led to believe that the Roms themselves were quite aware of their Indian origin, even after their arrival in Western Europe around 1350, if we take into account that at least 6 documents³ between 1422 and 1630 mention their Indian origin. Although this concept circulated among the learned, they began to treat it as a serious option only when a few of them began to compare the Rromani language with Indian languages, first a sort of approximative खड़ीबोली [khaṛī-bolī] by Rüdiger around 1780. Yet the

² Sztojka Ferencz’s Hungarian-Rromani dictionary, Paks (Hungary) 1890.

³ See *Informaciaqo lil e Rromane Uniaqoro* (p. 1) N° 7-9 1992 and more extensively in Courthiade 2012.

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idea was not entirely new, since in 1771, Christian Wilhelm Büttner had already mentioned in the foreword to a book⁴ that in Europe there is even an Indostano-Afghan tribe, the Rroms...

Wlassageten, der Finnern und Ungarn ; die Sarmaten und Estier, der Littauer und Letten ; die Meder und ältesten Thracier, der Slavonier ; die Illyrier, der Alba-neser oder Arnauten ; und gar ein Indostanisch : Asganischer Stamm, der Zigeuner, vielleicht noch ausfinden lassen.

Ich habe demnach den Versuch gewaget, einen dergleichen harmonischen Sprachenentwurf, als ich wünschte daß ihn uns die Alten nachgelassen haben möchten, von den bekannten Völkern des Erdbodens jehiger Zeiten, zu ver-

Further research focused mainly upon Sanskrit – which was better known to Europeans since Jones' works than New Indo-Aryan languages – we should remember that this was much before Lallu Lal's times and Indian languages of the North were much more Persianized than today. So Sanskrit again played an important part in restoring historical truth.

Teaching ancient languages in modern Europe

The history of teaching ancient languages has gone through several stages, especially in Europe. One or two centuries ago it was a rule among the elite to master Latin and Ancient Greek, while the learning and knowledge of modern languages was viewed as a dilettante's hobby. After WWII, a new mythology arose in the world, widely dominated by Europe: languages were viewed as useful for business, profit and expansion – first of all English, but in practice, basically only English in many persons' conception. Not only culture and wisdom, including the paramount Indian heritage, but also any glimpse of brotherhood and humanity, were sacrificed to the new gods of the mythology of business. It seems that the most intelligent part of human societies is giving up on this error and linguistic and cultural

⁴ *Comparative Tables of the Ways of Writing of Various Peoples of the Past and Present Times des modes d'écritures de divers peuples du passé et du présent* (Göttingen & Gotha – 1771)

diversity are gaining in popularity again – at least among the intellectual elite and this is quite significant, since other social layers tend to imitate the elite. This new appeal for linguistic and cultural riches encompasses also so-called dead languages: Latin, Ancient Greek but also Ottoman Turkish is now proposed in Turkey. In this respect it seems a seasonable time to promote Sanskrit teaching for Rromani youth. This may sound as a lost cause, taking into account the appalling conditions in which Rroms live in Europe. In fact, this is a biased image of the Rroms, because “only” one quarter to one-third live in bad or very bad conditions – what is anyway disproportionate as compared to other nations like the Poles, the Danes or the Sames, but breaking this image is necessary in order to get out of the so harmful only-social treatment of the Rroms, following centuries of discrimination built on a medieval misunderstanding, which itself was rooted in the denial of the Rroms’ Indian heritage and culture, which were in addition underestimated. In this perspective, the rehabilitation of Rromani culture is a major gateway toward social justice regarding this people – and Sanskrit has to play its part in this project of revitalizing global respect toward the first historical diaspora of India.

A specific Rrom-addressed course in Sanskrit

One of the tools in use for this purpose is the on-line course “Restore the European Dimension of Rromani Language and Culture”. So far only a comparatively small part is devoted to India (in the History component) but it is our intention to prepare a specific component devoted to Sanskrit. However, one could pose a basic question about the approach to be followed, and indeed, some facts lead us to the conviction that a specific didactic has to be elaborated. True enough, the heavy German or British books of grammar of the past do not fit anymore to our times and the youth’s mentality. The publisher of the “Teach yourself” series has circulated alternative, more accessible, books to teach Sanskrit, but in the case of the Rroms, it is not only a matter of pedagogy, but much more of languages. Rromani children, in their mother tongue already have a series of elements which other students of Sanskrit lack totally.

The sandhi system in Rromani – as compared with other languages

It is well known that one of the main obstacles for students of Sanskrit is the system of sandhi. More or less all languages have sandhi rules, even when speakers are not aware of it. Let us mention but a few examples from some very different areas of Europe:

1. In modern Greek: an initial stop consonant creates a new one when linked to a final -n of a preceding words:

την κοπέλα [tin+kopela] “the girl” > [tingopela]

τον παπά [ton+papa] “the pope” > [tombapa].

2. In French: the mute s-ending of the article is again pronounced, as a voiced [z], when the following word begins with a vowel (“liaison”):

les parents “the parents” > [le parã]

les enfants “the children” > [lez_ãfã].

3. In Breton (another Celtic language): the first consonant of a word changes according to specific rules after another element:

kador “chair” > *ur gador* “a chair”

gavr “goat” > *ar c'havr* “the goat”.

This phenomenon goes even beyond the word in contact and affects the following word:

kador kaer “beautiful chair” > *ar gador gaer* “the beautiful chair”.

4. In Polish: a voiced final consonant at the end of a word becomes voiceless when not followed by any other element:

wóz “cart” > [wus]

mów “speak!” > [muf].

but in some areas the voiced consonant reappears before a voiced consonant, not in others:

wóz “cart” > [wus]

wóz Ewy “Eva’s cart” > [wus evi] in Warsaw but [wuz_еви] in Cracow.

As one may observe, these sandhis are very restricted in extension and also in complexity (most of European sandhis are limited to the unvoicing of a final consonant – as in German, Polish, Russian, Bulgarian, etc.).

The situation is quite different in Rromani, where we have:

- a) in word formation, there is practically no sandhi and the construction is visible all the time:

kin “purchase” > **kindo** “purchased” > **kindikano** “originated from purchasing” > **kindikanipen** “the quality of being a purchasable item, purchasability”⁵

b) in postpositional structures, there is a very complex system of sandhi distributed in three layers: sonority sandhi, visargation sandhi and third sandhi (often of vicedness but not only). Let us see the following examples:

1. first sandhi⁶: after an **n**-ending, all postpositions begin with a voiced consonant:

e manušenqe [e manušeŋge] “for the people”

e manušenθar [e manušendar] “from the people”

but it is voiceless after any other sound:

e manušesqe [e manušeske] “for the man”

e raklăθar [e raklătar] “from the girl”

2. second sandhi: the **-s-** may be dropped as the end of a word or right before a postposition, depending on the concrete vernacular (**k** may also be dropped or geminated):

e manušesqe [e manušeske/manušehke/manuše^hke/manušese/manušeke/manušekke] for the man”

3. third sandhi: it can be of various kinds – but in the present case, it is represented by a palatalisation of the dorsal stop before a front vowel, depending on the concrete vernacular. If we take the above example with several degrees of palatalization, we may find the following realisations (written here in IPA):

⁵ Hübschmanová rightly points out that “The original ‘Indic’ words in Rromani, in comparison with borrowed words, have the greatest morphosyntactic potency, which means that it is possible to create a number of other words with the specific suffixes” (Hübschmanová in History and Politics : www.rromani.uni.graz.at)

⁶ This sandhi is of special significance, because it is parallel to the same evolution within the root of the words, and it developed under Greek influence in Asia Minor and the Balkan, encompassing also some Arabic, Kurdish, Armenian and Albanian dialects (in his “Traité de phonétique” [Paris, 1933:189], Maurice Grammont describes this evolution of homorganic clusters in Albanian and Syriac). It is in fact a very general phonetic rule, rampant all over the world, and it was Turner’s mistake to link it specifically to Dardic languages, while it was widely operating in Asia Minor and the Balkan.

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manuſeske	manuſesk̥e	manuſestee	manuſestſe	manuſestie	manuſestſe
manuſehke	manuſehk̥e	manuſehtee	manuſehtſe	manuſehtie	
manuſe ^h ke	manuſe ^h k̥e	manuſe ^h tee	manuſe ^h ſe	manuſe ^h tie	
manuſese					
manuſeke	manuſek̥e	manuſetee	manuſetſe	manuſetie	
manuſekke					

Note that palatalization is also possible with the voiced equivalent [manuſenje] which develops as below:

manuſenje	manuſenje	manuſenđe	manuſenđje	manuſenđe
-----------	-----------	-----------	------------	-----------

„for the people”.

So there is a series of mutual interferences between the various kinds of postpositional sandhi, which has probably no counterpart in any language. From this point of view, the Sanskrit sandhi will probably look as very simple to an Rromani student – provided s/he has been taught about the sandhi in his/her own mother tongue and provided also that the Sanskrit sandhi is presented to him/her as a quite natural phenomenon, not a fortress to conquer...

Romani morphology as compared to some other languages

In-so-far as morphology is concerned, one has to distinguish between the morphology of the verb and the one of the nominal group.

A) morphology of the verb. Let us compare the present tense forms in Sanskrit, English and Rromani of the verb:

		Sanskrit	English	Rromani	Serbo-Croatian	Lithuanian	Greek
sg.	1st	जीवामि	I live	živav	živim	gyvenu	βιώνω ⁷
	2nd	जीवसि	you live	žives	živiš	gyveni	βιώνεις
	3rd	जीवति	s/he lives	živel	živi	gyvena	βιώνει
pl.	1st	जीवामस	we live	živas	živimo	gyvename	βιώνουμε
	2nd	जीवथ	you(guys) live	živen	živite	gyvenate	βιώνετε
	3rd	जीवन्ति	they live	živen	žive	gyvena	βιώνουν
dl.	123		no dual			no more dual	

⁷ जीवति means in fact “to experience” rather than “to live” but this is the etymological cognate of जीवति.

The similarity between Sanskrit and Rromani is definitely striking, much more than between Sanskrit and Slavic (here Serbian⁸), Greek and even Lithuanian, reputed as especially close to Sanskrit – not to mention English.

Vowel **-a-** in the first person (sg. & pl.) in Rromani corresponds to a long **-ā-** in Sanskrit, whereas **-e-** in other persons corresponds to short **-a-** in Sanskrit. One may also notice the regular evolution of intervocalic **-m-** into **-v-** (1st person sg.⁹). It is worth mentioning that the old Sanskrit **m**-ending of the first person sg. has been retained in the Baltic and North-Russian area, as well as in some Balkan vernaculars – yet only in two verbs: **kamam** (beside **kamav**) “I love, I want” and **tromam** (beside **tromav**) “I dare”.

Thus the endings of the Sanskrit present have persisted up to Rromani without almost any other change than normal phonetic changes – to paraphrase Jules Bloch (1914:243) about the Marāṭhī verb:

		Sanskrit	Rromani	Marāṭhī (intransitive, old present)
sg.	1st	जीवामि	živav	žineri
	2nd	जीवसि	žives	žines/žinas
	3rd	जीवति	živel	žine
pl.	1st	जीवामस	živas	žinom
	2nd	जीवथ	živen	žinā
	3rd	जीवन्ति	živen	žinat

So in this respect, Rromani is as close to Sanskrit as Marāṭhī is.

Similar comparisons may be made for other tenses but Middle-Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan (especially Marāṭhī) have to be taken into account. The same cannot be said about medio-passive, since Rromani medio-passive doesn't originate from its Sanskrit cognate, but has been built up in the Anatolia and later in the Balkan under Albano-Greek influence, out of Indian lexical material, especially the one of the *copulae* (namely **ovel** “to become”).

⁸ In this case, Serbo-Croatian is the closest to Sanskrit among Slavic languages.

⁹ A very old evolution, as mentioned by Pischel 1981:206 (§ 251).

B) morphology of the nominal group.

The morphology of the nominal group is quite different, since it has lost both dual and neuter, as well as most Sanskrit cases – a development shared by other Indo-Aryan languages in a way that may be illustrated roughly by the following table (vocative is not taken into consideration):

<i>Sanskrit</i> (also <i>Mahārāṣṭri</i>)	<i>Śauraseni</i>	<i>Late Prakrit</i>	<i>Rromani</i>	<i>Other NIA languages</i>
Nominative	Nom.-Acc.	=> Direct case (Nom.)	A-case	Direct case (A)
Accusative				
Instrumental				
Genitiv	Genit.-Dat.	=> Oblique case	B-case	Oblique case (B)
Dativ				
Locative	-e		-e (adverbial remnant)	-e (adverbial remnant)
Ablativ	-ado (Śaur.), -ao (other MI)		-al (adverbial remnant)	

One may distinguish between two levels in this table:

a) the melting of Sanskrit Accusative with Nominative, developing into the A-case of Rromani, while Dative melts with Genitive resulting in Rromani B-case – similarly as other New Indo-Aryan languages. In this respect Rromani is closer to other New Indo-Aryan languages than to Sanskrit. The use of postpositions in both Rromani and NIA is also a common point which was revealed as early as 1780 by Johann Christian Rüdiger. Curiously enough¹⁰, this similarity is still widely denied in many Rromani grammars, which follow the Latin-German (or Russian) non-Rromani pattern, as if there were a fear of recognising the Indian identity of the Rromani language and of the 15 millions of people, for whom this language is a crucial and beloved heritage. Nevertheless, if you look at the following table, it seems impossible to reject the Indian postpositional system of Rromani:

¹⁰ In fact, it is not so curious if we observe that this denial arises mainly from persons who refuse to accept the obvious Indian origin of the Rromani people.

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Direct case		i bakri (<i>singular</i>)	o/e bakria (<i>plural</i>)
Indirect case	with no postp.	e bakria	e bakrien
Indirect case	with postp. -qe	e bakria-qe [ke] (<i>sing.</i>)	e bakrien-qe [ge]
	with postp. -q/o-i, -e	e bakria-ko [ko]	e bakrien-ko [go]
	with postp. -θe	e bakria-θe [te]	e bakrien-θe [de]
	with postp. -θar	e bakria-θar [tar]	e bakrien-θar [dar]
	with postp. -ça	e bakria-ça [sa]	e bakrien-ça [tsa]
	Indirect case with circump. bi -qo	bi bakria-qo [ko]	bi bakrien-qo [go]

What is the argument against the recognition of postpositions in Rromani? The denial is based on the fact that the second layer of adpositions is postponed in Indian languages (**bakria ke pās** “near the goat/sheep”), while it is anteposed in Rromani (**paś-e bakriaθe** [arch.]....

Let us look at the following table illustrating the Rromani possessive postposition:

Short variant	possessed object singular	possessed object plural
possessed object masc. kan	e bakria-qo kan	e bakria-qe kana
possesses object fem. jakh	e bakria-qi jakh	e bakria-qe jakha

but also (more restricted in dialectal terms in both Rromani and Hindi):

Long variant	possessed object singular	possessed object plural
possessed object masc. kan	e bakria-qoro kan	e bakria-qere kana
possesses object fem. jakh	e bakria-qiri jakh	e bakria-qere jakha

Only liars talking to ignoramuses can maintain that this grammatical system is not Indian. I would also add that this complex system evidences that Rromani is not a pidgin or a lingua franca, which would never have preserved such an elaborated structure, but a genuine – albeit forgotten – Prakrit, to use Pathania's so appropriately coined formula.

b) survival of Sanskrit Locative and Ablative endings of the first declension, namely **-e** (as in देवे) and **-al** (as in देवात with the normal phonetic changes [t] > *[d] > [l]) as in the two last lines of the table above. These remnants of Sanskrit cases are not anymore productive and the substantives, which may take one or both of them are in limited number. Note that **-at/-al** has survived much more in Rromani than in any other New Indo-Aryan language and as a whole Rromani is finally closer to Sanskrit than any other languages of the same family. It seems probably paradoxical that an uncultivated language in diaspora has kept more similarities with the

“mother language” than the language cultivated on the Indian soil, but such is the result of History. In morphology, the Rromani comparative in **-eder** is also a Sanskrit vestige.

Phonetic and lexical evolutions or „Is Rromani a daughter of Sanskrit?”

One may read not infrequently “Rromani is a daughter of Sanskrit?” Under this old fashioned expression (languages do not marry and do not have children), one may perceive much more the enthusiastic pride of some Roms involved in research than a genuine scientific statement. As a matter of fact, Sanskrit was coined by inspired seers (visionaries) to compose the most elevated works ever produced by human mind, taking the dough out of popular old Indo-Aryan basilects in order to express perfectly their teaching. Nevertheless, the basilects didn’t disappear but developed further among the people, leaving aside Sanskrit until their speakers lost any ability to understand Sanskrit, fixed once and for all centuries earlier. It was the time when the Śramanic reformers began to teach in Prakrits and the great Aśokē dispatched his *Dhamma* all over the Indo-Aryan area, written on pillars and rocks, regularly read aloud to illiterate people; all these languages arose from local basilects, probably already converging into regional mesolects and anyway enriched by Sanskrit elements. Middle and modern Indo-Aryan languages developed out of this system. One of the Prakrits, namely Śaurasenī, was spoken in the Śūrasena country (शूरसेन – after the name of a ruler of the Yadava dynasty) – which extended probably from Varanasi region to the north of the Vindhya, with Mathurā as its capital¹¹ (Sircar, 1071:109). Śaurasenī is considered as the nearest to Classical Sanskrit out of all the Prakrits (Woolner 1917:5) but it seems also to be the closest to Rromani, judging by some linguistic features. To mention here but one, the famous Sanskrit verbal ending of 3rd person (present tense, first group of verbs) **-ati** develops in MI as **-aī**, except in Śauraseni, where it preserves a stop consonant was not dropped but voiced (a remnant of an early stage ?) **-adi**, **-edi**. Rromani dropped the final *i* and

¹¹ *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (Sircar, 1071:109) states that Greek writers refer to the Sourasenoi and to their cities Methora (Mathurā) and Kleisopura (possibly Kṛṣṇapura = Gokula).

developed this consonant further into the lateral [l]: **-el** (an evolution which would have been impossible out of other Prakrits of **-ai** type):

Other examples: **gata** > Rr. **gelo** but Śauraseni *gada*, *gata* – while other MI is *gaa*

gitā, gitī > Rr. **gili** “song” same Śauraseni *gīda*, *gīdi* but other MI *gīa* “sung”

mṛta > **mulo** with MI *maa, mua* but Śauraseni **muda**

ghṛta > Māgadhi *ghaa* > **ghī**, but Śaur. *ghida*, hence Rr. **khil**

śata > Māgadhi *saa* > *sau*, but Śaur. *sada*, hence Rr. **śel**

marati > Māgadhi *maraï*, but Śaur. *maradi*, hence Rr. **marel** “he beats”.

It is obvious that **gata** may give **gelo**, but **gaa** cannot possibly restore a consonant between the two **a** (cf. also Marāṭhī *gela* “s/he went” – Rr. **gelăs/gelo** “id.”; cf. also Marāṭhī *ala* “s/he came” – Rr. **avilăs/avilo**, dial. [Macedonia]: **alo** “id.”)

The affiliation to Śauraseni, geographically located around Mathura, corroborates Sir Ralph Turner’s conclusions, who put proto-Rromani in the central group of the Indo-Aryan languages, and both elements advocate for the Kannauj thesis, since Turner’s area of origin for proto-Rromani is between Awadhi and Braj Bhasa/Bhakha, corresponding more or less to today’s state of Uttar Pradesh in Northern India. Unfortunately, Turner took into consideration only stems and not morphological elements, which would have shed more light on this issue. As for the question if Rromani is or not a daughter of Sanskrit and to keep an anthropomorphic alegory, it is better to say that Sanskrit was a kind of grand aunt, who took divine orders and devoted her life, unmarried, to spirituality – and so grew out of her siblings’ level, reaching a high cultural life, leaving to their progeny an exceptional immaterial heritage.

Eight hundred Sanskrit roots in Rromani

The high number of Indo-Aryan roots in Rromani language, namely some eight hundred when collected in the core (inherited, disregarding European loanwords) vocabulary of all dialects, is probably the most privileging factor for Rromani students of Sanskrit. It

is much more than the 200 Greek, 70 Persian and 35 Armenian roots of the same core vocabulary.

Almost comprehensive lists of this vocabulary have been given by Turner in his etymological Nepali dictionary and his “Position of Rromani in Indo-Aryan” so there is no point to repeat them here. Some are obvious for the speaker, as for example:

jakh “eye”	Skt. <i>àkṣi</i> ; Hi. <i>ākh</i>
drakh “grape”	Skt. <i>drākṣā</i> ; Hi. Nep. <i>dākh</i>
phak “wing”	Skt. <i>pakṣāḥ</i>
rukh “tree”	Skt. <i>ruksāḥ</i>
khino “tired”	Skt. <i>kṣīñāḥ</i>
khil “butter”	Skt. <i>kṣīrām</i>
khelel “moves, plays, dances”	Skt. <i>kṣvelati</i>
makh(i) “fly”	Skt. <i>mākṣikā</i>
čhuri(k) “knife”	Skt. <i>kṣurī</i> ; Hi. <i>čhurī</i>
devel “god, sky, heaven”	Skt. <i>devatā</i> “divinity”

while others can be identified only by researchers:

lolo “red”	Skt. <i>lōhitam</i> ;
giv “wheat”	Skt. <i>godhūmaḥ</i> ; Hi. <i>gehū</i>
bori “daughter-in-law, bride”	Skt. <i>vadhūtī</i>

and many others.

We meet also cases of “false” Sanskrit etymology: it would seem obvious to link the verb **kamel** “to love, to desire, to want” to the root काम (cf. कामसूत्र) and to a verb *कामति¹² but in fact, due to the afore-mentioned rule (foot-note 8), such a verb would have developed into *kavel. Did this happen? Yes, but very locally indeed, only in some parts of the Carpathian Mountains, where in addition the group -ave- develops into -ā-, giving *kāl. This form doesn’t exist by itself but only linked to a reflexive pronoun pe(s) “itself”: **pekāl**, meaning “it is necessary, one must” etc. In-so-far as **kamel** is

¹² The real verb has the causative form कामयति but the meaning of the root.

¹³ Other examples: **daravel** “to frighten” > **darāl** “id.” or **avel** “to come” > **āl**.

concerned, it originated probably from the same stem but the Persian کامستان [kāmistan] induced the conservation of the **m** as in the original word – and therefore the coexistence of **kamel** and **pe-kal**.

The Persian element in Rromani and Hindi

The example above, where **kām** is both Persian and Sanskrit, reminds us that there are a number of cases where it is almost impossible to determine which of these languages gave the Rromani word. There are several words of this kind like **kirmo** “worm”, **angušt** “finger”, **xer** “donkey”, **xarr** “pit” etc. One case is of special interest: **kòkalo** “bone” usually ascribed to Greek κόκαλο¹⁴, also a common word in Bulgarian, as кокало (the Slavic word кост is used in Bulgarian only in sacred context). Although it is true that we can find in Sanskrit a similar word: कच्चाल or कंकाल¹⁵, it appears comparatively late (VIIth cent.), with the meaning “skeleton, structure” (there is no earlier mention, even in Harṣa's play Nagananda, in spite of the story with the revived skeletons). Nevertheless, there are several reasons to ascribe **kòkalo** to Greek and not Sanskrit:

- the frequency of this word is extremely high in Greek (including Medieval Greek of Anatolia) and Bulgarian, while it is almost a hapax in Sanskrit;
- the plural of this word is in -a (**kòkala**) as in Greek (same with **pètalo** “horseshoe”, pl. **pètala** – an ascertained Greek borrowing), with possible oblique **kokalan-** which would be unexpected for an Indian inherited word;
- and finally Sanskrit कच्चाल left no traces in modern Indo-Aryan languages. It is a matter of etymological method: to link a

¹⁴ According to Andriotis, Modern Greek κόκκαλο continues Ancient Greek κόκκαλος “seeds of conifer cones”, from κόκκος “grains, seeds”; cf. also general i.-e. *ko(η/g)k- “grain, bone, shell”.

¹⁵ It is practically restricted to Bhavabuthi's two plays: Malatimadhava (5.14) and Uttararāmcharita (3.43) - about Shiva reduced at the state of a skeleton. In addition, Kakkola in Ardha-Magadhi has no link with this word, as it derives from Sanskrit कर्कट (in both cases name of some snakes and of a people in India).

Sanskrit form with an Rromani lexeme, seeming similarity is not enough – one has to take under consideration also other factors¹⁶.

In fact, the position of the Persian vocabulary in Rromani and Hindi is slightly more complicated. On the one hand, Rromani has integrated some 70 Persian roots but this did not happen in today's areas of Farsi, Dari or Tadjik, but in Asia Minor, where the Seldjuk Turks had brought Persian as their language of culture and civic life. Persian remained in Asia Minor the chief public and literary language from 1070 to 1300, while Arabic was used in the Mosche and the Tribunal. Turkish was then only a home language among Turks and Turkmens. This is the period when these 70 Persian words entered Rromani. However, the introduction of Persian words into Indo-Aryan languages occurred in a totally different context among both “Muslims and Hindus, who have been subjected to this influence. Persian words are found everywhere in ‘Hindustani’, even in rustic dialects” as Jules Bloch highlights (1914:13).

Accordingly, it is not surprising to note that the Persian vocabularies in Rromani and Hindi are not the same. Only in a few cases there is a commonality, but even then the words refer to different realia: in India, the word *Hodā* (هڈا), means in Urdu as in Persian “Lord, God” whereas its Rromani counterpart **xulaj** means “lord, master”. Similarly, *amrud* in India is a fruit differing from Rromani **ambrol** – “a pear”. As a result, it is very difficult and sensitive to study today's Hindi dialects in so far they do not mirror, by far, the language of early XIth century, when the proto-Roms were deported to Ghaznī – and I would daresay that Rromani language, in the core of its vocabulary, is closer to Sanskrit than Hindi itself – provided that recent loan-words from Sanskrit into Hindi are not taken into account.

An unexpected transcontinental dimension of the Sanskrit vocabulary

There are two areas in which the student will be amazed to find the words of his own Rromani tongue: European slangs and

¹⁶ This doesn't exclude

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languages of South-East Asia. Most European languages have borrowed Rromani words, usually through their slang – due to socio-historical contexts, but some have become a real part of the high-register vocabulary in the given tongue. This subject would deserve a special etymological and socio-linguistic study, but we will show here only a few examples (the number of Rromani loan-words in every area is given in the first column):

Language	register	word	Rromani etymon	Sanskrit origin
U.K. <i>some 10 items</i>	popular	pal “friend”	phral “brother”	bhrata
	Shakespearean	Caliban (a name)	kaliben “blackness”	*kalitva (kr̥ṣṇatva)
	obsolete	lowe “money”	love “id.”	loha
	childish	lollipop =	loli phabaj “red apple”	lohita (ātā)phala
France <i>some 30 items</i>	popular	berge “year”	berš “id.”	varṣa
	slang	chourave, choure “to steal”	ćorav “id.”	ćorayati (causative)
	obsolete	chourin, surin “knife”	ćhuri “id.”	kṣurī
	slang	marave “to beat”	marav “id.”	marayami
	général, depr.	manouche “Rrom”	manuś “human being”	mānuśa
	slang	nachave “to go away”	našav “id.”	naṣyati
Spain <i>maybe 100 items</i>	common	camelar “to want”	kamel “id.”	kāma
	kaló slang	diquelar “to look at”	dikhel “id.”	drṣ; Šaur. dekkhadi
	in songs	ducas “sufferings”	dukha “id.”	duhkha[sya]
	slang	braquí “goat”	bakri “sheep”	barkari
	slang	berji “year”	berš “id.”	varṣa
	kaló slang	cam “sun”	kham “id.”	gharma
	kaló slang	chachipen “truth”	ćaćipen “truth”	satyātva
	general slang	chipe “slang”	ćhib “language”	jihva
	slang	chor “thief”	ćor “id.”	ćora
	kaló slang	debel “god”	devel “id.”	devata “divinity”
	kaló slang	eray “lord”	raj “id.”	rājan

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Hungary <i>some 15 items</i>	slang	csóró “poor”	ćorro “id.”	kśudra
		dinló “crazy”	đinilo, dilo “id.”	đīna “depressed, sad”
		dzsuvás “lousy”	žuvalo “id.”	yukāla
Romania <i>over 200 items</i>	slang and everyday register	lovele “money”	love “id.”	loha
		mišto “fine, good, well”	mišto “id.”	mišta “sweet”
		diliu “crazy”	dilo “id.”	đīna “depressed, sad”
		jovaliu “lousy”	žuvalo “id.”	yukāla
Bosnia <i>some 50 items</i>	šatrovački (market slang)	bakrinka “sheep”	bakri “sheep”	barkari
		lovuška “money”	love “id.”	loha
		čordisati “to steal”	ćorel “id.”	ćorayati (causative)
		džaniška “Mr. Know-it-all”	žanel “id.”	jāñāti
		šingina “horn”	śing “id.”	śrṅga
Albania <i>6 items</i>	urban slang	llovi “money”	love “id.”	loha
		shella “hundred”	śel “id.”	śata
		nash “get lost!!”	naś “id.”	našya

As one may notice, the words *money*, *year*, *crazy* and *to steal/a thief* are the most represented in this vocabulary – and some items are perfectly integrated into the mainstream language, like in English *pal* (cf. *penpal* – a synonym of *penfriend* which is used even in Japan as ペンフレンド), *lollipop* or in French *chourave*, *berge(s)*, or even cultivated a specific kind of songs, like the *coplas flamencas* in Spain and Catalunya.

Very far from this area, Sanskrit words – whose roots are present in Rromani – are encountered also in the languages of Southeast Asia, as the following handful of examples illustrate (in fact they are hundreds, or even thousands):

Language	Word	Rromani	Origin	
Cambodian	[stha:n] “place”	than “id.”	Sanskrit	स्थान “venue”
	[tha:n] “id.”		Pali	ṭhāna “id.”
	[phu:m] “earth; village”	phuv “id.”	Sanskrit	भूमि “earth”

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	[tal:u] “palate (anat.)”	talaj “id.”	Pali	tālu “id.”
	[nə̄eti] “river”	len “id.”	Sanskrit	नदी “river”
	[nə̄əvoutban] “novelty”	nevipen “id.”	Sanskrit	नवत्व “novelty”
	[nitēəkheə?] “summer”	nilaj “id.”	Sanskrit	निदाघ “heat, summer”
	[panca?] “5” (bes. [pram]	pang “id.”	Sanskrit, Pali	पञ्च “five”
Thai	[thev] “god”	devel “id.”	Sanskrit Pali	देव “god”
Burmese	[dewatāw] “divinity”	devel “god”	Sanskrit Pali	देवता “goddess, deity”
Tagalog	dukhā “poverty”	dukha “pains”	Sanskrit	दुःख “distress, suffering”
	mukhā “face”	muj “face, mouth”	Sanskrit	मूख
Indonesian	bumi “earth”	phuv “id.”	Sanskrit	भूमि “earth”
	citra “image”	ćitrel “to draw”	Sanskrit	जित्र “picture”
	dana “donation, funds”	deni(pen) “gift”	Sanskrit	दान “gift, donation”
	duka “sadness”	dukha “pains”	Sanskrit	दुःख “distress, suffering”
	gita “song”	gili “id.”	Sanskrit	गीति “singing, balade, song”
	jelara “common people”	ȝene “persons”	Sanscrit	जन “person, common people”
	jiwa “life, soul, sanity”	ȝivi(pen) “life”	Sanscrit	जी “soul”
	kerja “work”	kerel “to do”	Sanscrit	करोति “to do”
	mala “stain, dirt”	mel “id.”	Sanscrit	मल dust, impurity”
	muka “face”	muj “face, mouth”	Sanskrit	मूख “id.”
	nama “name”	(a)nav “id.”	Sanskrit	नाम “id.”
	pustaka “book”	pustik ¹⁷ “id.”	Sanskrit	पुस्तक “id.”

¹⁷ **Pustik** is a neologism, borrowed from India in the '70 by Czechoslovak Rroms and anew independently by Yugoslav Rroms, some 10 years later.

Here again, some concepts are represented in priority, but they differ from the other list above: *face, pain, song, place/earth, deity*. The point here, in terms of pedagogy, is not a list of possibly useful words, to be used on the spot, but the vision of a common linguistic and cultural heritage, which underpins human groups as different and remote as those speaking urban slang in Europe and common people – *jelara*, in South-Eastern Asia – 18.000 km from one another, all this present also in Rromani language.

Conclusion

To close, I would like only to emphasize that teaching Sanskrit to young Rroms would fulfill a need and a wish at the same time – among so many young Rroms who are in search of a way to substantiate their Indian origin. It would also make no sense to extend to Rromani students the teaching method of Sanskrit, as used with mainstream students, due to the Indian baggage Rroms have already integrated together with their mother tongue – and due to the fact that Rromani is probably the living language, which is currently closest to Sanskrit. Pupils just have to become aware of this innate baggage – and some games on line and/or some poems incorporated into the learning process would be of great profit for this purpose. Teaching Sanskrit to young Rroms means teaching it to people who are eager for cultural links with the “Baro Than¹⁸” and it will make vivid this language within Europe, a significant step forward in bringing closer European civilisation to the inexhaustible source of the wisdom of Indian culture, more than ever needed in our times. This goal could be achieved in completing the university on-line course of Rromani language and culture “Restore the European Dimension of Rromani language and culture” with a specific component “Sanskrit language and culture” (www.red-rrom.com – password: r3drr0m).

¹⁸ “Baro Than” is a phenomenon of naïve paronymic attraction and reinterpretation of one of the names of India (Bharat, unknown among Rroms) according to Rromani words and phonotactics: Bharat > Baro Than “great place”.

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REPRESENTING GENDER IN COMMUNIST AND POSTCOMMUNIST ROMANIA

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Abstract:

This article examines various representations of gender in communist and postcommunist Romania, with a focus on how women and men were both led towards and sometimes forced into gender roles better suited to the state policies of the respective contexts rather than to their own interests. Over the years, the state and/or party(ies) public agenda, from women's liberation through gender equality to equal opportunities, has met real Romanian women's and men's needs to different extents and with variable success.

Keywords:

Gender roles, representation, power discourse, private and public spheres, equal opportunities

1. Introduction

Political theories regarding equal rights of men and women, as transposed in practice in communist and postcommunist Romania, enforced specific gender roles and created certain types of representations in the public consciousness, which did not necessarily follow the natural development of society. Obviously, the communist imposition of gender equality policies via the workers party (later on to become the communist party) came on a general trend in the Eastern bloc, which claimed equal rights for women as part of a propagandistic agenda to denounce the preceding so-called bourgeois oppression of women, as well as the oppression supposedly conducted in Western societies at the time.

This came on the seeds planted in the period between the world wars by Romanian feminists¹, fighting for women's rights within a larger European movement. Their fight culminated with obtaining the right to vote for Romanian women in 1938, but, as two dictatorial regimes followed, this recognition of women as citizens in the public sphere did not mean much up until 1990.

Equal opportunities policies came to be known in the Romanian postcommunist society via Western theories regarding gender, together with the notion of partnerships between men and women, in order to allow them a better work-life balance. This article will discuss to what extent these ideas were familiar to Romanian society in the period immediately after the fall of communism and how much they reflected the gender needs of the time, as well as the extent to which political representation followed these theories and validated them.

2. State intervention and control over gender roles. Private lives under scrutiny

2.1. From emancipation to equality and state control

In communism, the state/ party closely followed a Marxist interpretation of women's emancipation, which supposed a better representation of women on the labour market, together with transforming their private labour into a public service, all due to industrialization, for as Friederich Engels had remarked

“The emancipation of woman will only be possible when woman can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time. And only now has that become possible through modern large-scale industry, which does not merely permit of the employment of female labor over a wide

¹ Suffice it to name just a few: Sofia Nădejde, Adela Xenopol, Ella Negruzzi, Calypso Cornelius Botez, Alexandrina Cantacuzino, Elena Bogdanovici, etc. (cf. S. Mihăilescu, 2002 and 2006).

range, but positively demands it, while it also tends towards ending private domestic labor by changing it more and more into a public industry.”²

In this Marxist understanding, a forced liberation from patriarchal and capitalist exploitation in the home and simultaneous forced engagement on the labour market were desired, needed and expected. However, this did not suppose a reversed *emancipation* of men in the private sphere, and in its absence, the emancipation of women could not be possible – feminists spoke constantly of *the double burden* that women had to assume, i.e. being on the labour market together with men, while continuing their roles as primary (or more often than not exclusive) carers in the homes.

Gender roles were on the one hand dissolved into one big category, *the new man* (!), in its three dimensional capacity as party member, citizen and labourer. It is thus a triple role that people were expected to play in communist Romania, but a non-sexualized and gender-neutre one - a political role, a civic one and a proletarian one:

“If we are to talk about creating conditions for full equality between sexes, that means we should treat all people not as men and women, but in their quality as party members, as citizens, judged exclusively by the work they contribute with.”³

On the other hand, women were assigned an additional dimension, which referred to their role in the private sphere – *mothers* – a role brought into the lime light of the public sphere – *mothers of the nation*: “*The greatest honour for women is to give birth, to give life and raise children. Nothing can be dearer for a woman than to be a mother.*”⁴

The same situation can be encountered in postcommunism, when liberal interpretations of gender representation prevail. According to these liberal theories, emancipation of women in the public sphere and public

² Cf. F. Engels, *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, 1884, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1884/origin-family/ch09.htm>, accessed on 21 April 2017.

³ N. Ceaușescu, 1973, p. 648, my translation.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 650, my translation.

representation are supposed to happen on their own, as long as legislation that guarantees equality is in place. However, such theories fail to consider equal opportunities, as women continue to feel the social pressure to fulfill both productive and reproductive roles, while men are still very little involved in equal partnerships in private life.

2.2. Women: productive and reproductive roles

In communist Romania, the productive and reproductive roles of women had to be assumed simultaneously, with an emphasis on the former at the beginning of the period, and with a clear focus on the latter starting with 1966. This is the moment when the infamous Decree 770 was passed, regulating an aspect of private life and transferring it into the public sphere – women were not simply mothers, but *mothers of the nation*, they became responsible for the *future of the country*.

Control over reproduction and sexuality was done in communist Romania through a network of laws, decrees, norms and instructions, implemented through a complex system of checks, controls and sanctions. Decree 770/1966, with subsequent modifications in 1974 and 1985, proposed by Nicolae Ceaușescu, was the main political instrument through which women were obliged to give birth to at least four (later, to five children) by the age of 45 in order to benefit from the only legal contraception method available at the time, which was abortion.

In parallel, a vast system of supervision and control was implemented, by involving the state police, the prosecutor's office and communist party leaders. Women who had suffered illegal abortions were submitted to long interrogations by prosecutors and the militia in hospitals before allowing them to be examined by a doctor. They were asked the names of the doctors or midwives who had performed the illegal abortion and whether their husbands/ partners had known about it in order to prosecute and imprison them as accomplices. In this situation, most women preferred to keep silent and thus medical intervention was postponed until it was too late. The death of women was labeled in hospital documents as

“due to woman’s fault”⁵. The discussion on control of reproduction has to be placed in the general context of Romanian society of the time: shortages of all sorts, lack of minimal decent living conditions (of basic food, medicines, heating, electricity or hot water), of problems in the health, education, transportation systems, etc.

The main immediate effects of this state policy of direct intervention on women’s bodies and in both genders’ private lives were a steep increase in the number of unwanted children, many of them abandoned in maternities or in state institutions. Other consequences included growth of maternal and infant mortality, or growth of the birth of children with physical and psychological disabilities. Moreover, incidents of depression, nervous breakdowns, sexual issues and women’s social isolation were frequent. All these determined effects of pronatalist policies in society as a whole. All in all, we can officially count as many as 10,000 women affected by the decree (of course, unofficially, there were more affected people). The situation is best summarised by researcher Gail Kligman:

“Decree 770 was the cause of physical and emotional suffering of so many women during their reproductive life. The effects of the incrimination of abortion were felt by their partners, by their families, as well. For the majority of citizens, modern contraceptive methods were not generally available. Consequently sexual intimacy was tarnished by the fear and the anxiety of the risk that any contact could result in pregnancy. Against propaganda representations of the paternalist state, who was supposedly taking care of the wellbeing of its citizens, the over praised optimal conditions to develop healthy and numerous families were simply not there for most Romanians.”⁶

At the same time, it is important to bring forward the effects of pronatalist policies (1966-1989) in postcommunist Romania. Up until the present time, also due to the direct intervention of the Romanian Orthodox

⁵ C. Doboş, 2015, pp. 171-200.

⁶ G. Kligman, 2000, p. 223, my translation.

Church, health and sexual education have been forbidded in public schools and abortion has continued to be the main contraceptive method throughout the 1990's, well after becoming legal. Other important effects are a great number of institutionalized children, adoptions or even commodification of children. There are secondary effects of these communist pronatalist policies, among which the change in marriage patterns or a great number of mature single women, as the generation born in the maximum boom period – immediately after Decree 770 became effective – reached adulthood. There will be further effects in the near future, to be seen in the expected collapse of the state pensions system and of the public health system catering for this huge generation. In postcommunism we are witnessing a continuation of the same kind of power discourse, supported by the Romanian Orthodox Church, political parties and a significant part of the civil society. As it was recently claimed by an important Orthodox cleric, each young family should have three children – one for the mother, one for the father and one for the church and country⁷. We can thus notice a continuum of the power discourse related to women during communism, with variations from that of emancipation and equality to one of state control over private aspects of their lives:

“Talking about the excessive regulation of women’s condition and gender roles in public and private spheres, Romanian communism starts with an ideology of emancipation, equality and feminine activism and ends with a maternalistic-conservative ideology, encouraged by nationalistic communism.”⁸

Moreover, the power discourse regarding gender in postcommunist Romania follows somewhat naturally the communist one: if women were represented in both their productive and reproductive roles (as labourer and

⁷ Mediafax, 2017, *Marșul pentru viață*, <http://www.mediafax.ro/social/galerie-foto-video-marsul-pentru-viata-2017-in-capitala-si-sute-de-orase-din-romania-si-republica-moldova-nu-s-ar-prabusi-romania-daca-toate-tinerele-familii-ar-avea-macar-cate-trei-copii-16208166>, accessed on 21 April 2017.

⁸ M. Miroiu, 2004, pp. 195-213, my translation.

mother of the nation) in communism, the same representations seem to prevail in postcommunism, although these roles now include a more clearly gendered persona.

3. Political representation

If we look into aspects of political representation, a few questions are raised, and probably the most important one is why women should be represented politically by other women, why they can't simply be represented by men. After all, why should gender take precedence over other categories, such as class, ethnicity, (dis)ability or sexual orientation? Who do women parliamentarians represent and how? Connected to this is the issue of accountability – how can the other women check whether their vision, rights, wishes are promoted? How can this representation be assessed and – if/ when necessary - sanctioned?

As we have departed from the well-established system of political representation derived by Hanna F. Pitkin in 1967⁹, as nowadays representation transcends the nation or the state, discursive representation¹⁰ could permit a gender neutral type of representation, based on discourses and debates rather than on real people. Thus, a feminist discourse could be supported irrespective of gender within a transnational framework of deliberative democracy.

However, the most largely accepted representational mechanism is the one supposing representation by a member of the group. Thus, women are best represented by other women, the main arguments being numerical (they represent 51% of the population) and of legitimacy (they know women's issues best and therefore can speak for and should take part in

⁹ Pitkin's model of political representation (1967) includes formalistic representation (with its two tools: authorization, for example, through elections, and accountability), symbolic representation (a representative standing for the one(s) they represent), descriptive representation (similarity of the representative and the represented) and substantive representation (actions taken by the representative as an agent of the ones they represent).

¹⁰ The concept was proposed by J. Dryzek and S Niemeyer, 2008, pp. 481-493.

decision-making processes regarding them). Although claiming that there will be a moment in the future in which this type of representation will no longer be necessary, Jane Mansbridge discusses the various contexts in which disadvantaged groups (including women) would want to be represented by someone who belongs to their group, and their respective functions:

*"(1) adequate communication in contexts of mistrust, (2) innovative thinking in contexts of uncrystallized, not fully articulated, interests, ... (3) creating a social meaning of 'ability to rule' for members of a group in historical contexts where the ability has been seriously questioned and (4) increasing the polity's de facto legitimacy in contexts of past discrimination."*¹¹

This is valid in the case of Romania especially regarding (1), where the question of trust is particularly sensitive: most women elected or appointed in different political positions were generally mistrusted by the larger public. This came as a consequence of their links to the former communist regime, or to links to different other male politicians (either as family members or with sentimental or work relations, or members of a larger interest group, sometimes with corruption accusations). One could claim men politicians are also mistrusted, however the general orientation of Romanian contemporary society makes women more vulnerable in this respect.

It is interesting in this context to look at the findings of Tudorina Mihai, who in her PhD thesis enumerates some reasons invoked by Romanian MP's on why there should be more women in the Romanian Parliament (only 11% at the moment of writing her thesis, in 2017)¹². These reasons are: the need to build a more democratic and inclusive society; the need to promote virtues and qualities considered feminine: responsibility, cooperation, communication, (maternal) care; necessity to provide valuable

¹¹ J. Mansbridge, 1999, p. 628.

¹² T. Mihai, 2017, pp. 156-179.

role models (with examples of counter-models among some women MP's); solving specific women's issues; bringing qualities and values traditionally considered feminine to the Parliament: calmness, caring, beauty. Other types of arguments brought by Romanian MP's in favour of a larger presence of women in Parliament are ideological (social-democrat), legal and constitutional (as affirmative action measures are included in some laws, as well as in the Constitution), and economic (to valorize the human resource for the economic development of the country).

Discussing formal representation, we need to say that although in Romania women's vote was included in the Constitution in 1938, this was made irrelevant by the two dictatorial regimes that followed (Charles II and the subsequent communist regime). In what concerns numerical representation of women in Parliament for instance, we need to discuss some of the possible causes leading to its steep decrease: from 34% women in Marea Adunare Națională, to just 4% in the Romanian Parliament immediately after the Revolution and to 19% in the current Parliament. As Pamela Paxton and Sheri Kunovici observed, there are three types of possible explanations:

*"Social-cultural explanations focus on the pool of available women, political explanations focus on the openness of the political system to women, and ideological explanations focus on the general impressions of women in politics and how viable women are as candidates and leaders."*¹³

In other words, we need to look at the availability of women candidates, at the general openness of the system to women in politics and at how well they perform (or are perceived to perform). In postcommunist Romania, there are issues with all three factors, but not necessarily due to women's inability to succeed in politics, but rather to a bad candidacy selection system and the general status of Romanian politicians at large. We could add to this, an insufficient translation (or bad interpretation) of European instruments and mechanisms in the Romanian Constitution and its

¹³ P. Paxton, S. Kunovici, 2003, p. 88.

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national laws.¹⁴ It has been shown that there are three factors making it difficult for women to break the glass ceiling and accede to the highest political spheres: unequal distribution of resources, culture and organization of political parties and electoral laws and institutions.¹⁵ In Romania this is true even in the case of political parties with women at the top – an illustration is the National Liberal Party: suffice it to say that in January 2016 they proposed a gender quota of 30% for women in eligible places on electoral lists and in the subsequent elections (June 2016) they did not respect their own proposal.

Moreover, an explanation for the absence of more women in Parliament could be found in the dual mechanism of rejection/ acceptance of the communist heritage in terms of gender equality and of the European vision for the future. In postcommunist Romania, as Enikő Magyari-Vincze observed, the public agenda regarding equal opportunities between men and women is structured on two major mechanisms:

“On the one hand, we are noticing the de-legitimation of the idea of equality between men and women due to its reduction to the memories from communist practice, and on the other hand, the acceptance of an equal opportunities policy legislation as part of the desiderata pertaining to accession to the European Union. Both generate superficial reflections and reactions caught in the trap of the two extremes, namely rejection and unconditional acceptance.”¹⁶

As in contemporary society boundaries between formal and informal political representation are more and more blurred, we should look into informal women’s representation - mostly made through a number of

¹⁴ Ionela Băluță observes that, although the Romanian Constitution (2003) mentions the obligation to respect equal opportunities between men and women in power structures, and these provisions are to be found in *The Law of Equal Opportunities between Men and Women* (adopted under the pressure of the EU in 2002), these were not followed by subsequent provisions in the political parties laws or electoral laws, to the effect of promoting a better representation of women (2013, pp. 43-51).

¹⁵ Bereni et all, 2014, pp 213-275.

¹⁶ E. Magyari-Vincze, 2002, my translation.

NGO's - and to the extent to which this type of representation has been following real women's needs. Laura Grünberg claims that at least in the 1990's and early 2000's they focused more on normative needs imposed by the West in the process of *civilizing the East*. Sometimes these needs coincided with real needs of Romanian women (such as domestic violence and violence against women), while others (sustainable development or gender capacity building), although not enough understood initially, when "translated" well into the Romanian agenda, proved to be beneficial¹⁷.

4. Conclusion

Thus, if in communism gender representation was mainly used to enhance the state and party power and to legitimate a power discourse which oppressed both genders while claiming their emancipation, in postcommunist Romania we have been witnessing a more fragmented type of representation, with rather timid attempts at grass root movements. The propagandistic power discourse underlying women's equality with men prevalent in communism is continued in postcommunist Romania, when gender as a category is either tentatively effaced (as a consequence of the desire of the society to depart from its communist past) or emphasized (under the influence of the West).

One solution for a better gender representation in both private and public spheres would be, in my opinion, openly embracing feminism, as this would give both genders the theoretical framework allowing them a balanced structured action plan benefitting both equally. However, as Mihaela Miroiu sadly observed as early as 2006 (and her remarks are still valid today), Romanian feminism, although on the right path, still has a long way to go:

"We are practicing in Romania a sort of shy, marginal feminism, a feminism disguised under other names, so as not to disturb too much the local conservatives and misogynists. To this, we can add a "room-service"

¹⁷ Cf. L. Grünberg, 2008, p. 71.

type feminism in the last five years, which came via copy-paste with the ‘acquis communautaire’. The latter type is sort of groundless, penniless, and chanceless in leaving windows full of laws and institutions for the real world of applied public policies.”¹⁸

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¹⁸ M. Miroiu, 2006, pp. 218-219, my translation.

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CONFLUENCES

MORPHOLOGICAL, SYNTACTIC, AND SEMANTIC FEATURES OF THE VERB IN THE ROMANIAN TRANSLATIONS FROM ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER'S *THE WISDOM OF LIFE*

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Abstract:

The present paper emphasizes the difficulties in translating philosophical texts in general, with a special interest in Romanian translations of German philosophical writings. The focus was set on one of the late works of Arthur Schopenhauer, [Aphorisms on] *The Wisdom of Life*, and on its Romanian translation, with the purpose of contrastively and diachronically analysing the various existent versions of the translation and their influence on the development of the target-language (Romanian).

The types of analysis which have been used in our research are description and contrastive typology. Various versions of the Romanian translation of the *Aphorisms* have been compared with the original text and with one another, in order to diachronically analyse the translation methods and strategies that were used in the process of transposing the German original text into an adequate Romanian one. The analysis in the present study concentrated on the word class of verbs *and had the purpose of understanding the way various elements of this word class correspond with their Romanian equivalents and of drawing conclusions regarding a possible typology of translation strategies used for them.*

Key words:

Translation studies; German philosophy; Romanian language; linguistic analysis; verbs.

1. Introduction

The present paper displays an analysis of the characteristics of the verbs included in an excerpt from Arthur Schopenhauer's *[Aphorisms on] The Wisdom of Life*¹. The purpose of this analysis is to understand the way these lexemes correspond with their Romanian equivalents and to draw conclusions regarding a possible typology of translation strategies used for them. An article such as the present one could not cover a detailed examination on the translation of a word class conducted on the *Aphorisms* in their entirety, therefore we resumed our analysis to a single excerpt, which we considered as representative for A. Schopenhauer's style - on one hand - and sufficiently expanded in order to display various translation case-studies – on the other hand. It is worth mentioning the fact that while conducting our analysis on this excerpt we have always considered the entire text of the *Aphorisms*. Thus, the conclusions drawn after the detailed research conducted on the excerpt we chose as an example shall preserve their validity for the entire text.

The present research has a dual character determined by the coalescence of two kinds of investigation: the contrastive analysis of two texts, original (source-text, ST) and translation (target-text, TT), on one hand, and the study of the different printed editions of the Romanian translation, delivered by the same translator - Titu Maiorescu - at different moments in time, on the other hand.

The source-text is an excerpt chosen from the original writing of Arthur Schopenhauer, which was placed by its author toward the end of the first chapter called “Division of the Subject” (*Grundeintheilung*). In this chapter, based on Aristotle's thesis on the existence of three types of blessings of the human life (those coming from the soul, others coming from the body and those coming from without), Arthur Schopenhauer described his vision on the fundamental triad that define us as humans – ‘what someone is’, ‘what someone has’, and ‘what someone represents’ – and stated that the blessing of life may and should be considered from all those three points of view. The excerpt we selected here is a synthesis of his

¹ Hereinafter called *Aphorisms*.

introductive thoughts, which would later lead the German philosopher to the conclusion that personality ('what someone is') is the most important in order to achieve happiness in life, though the other two aspects of human existence should not be neglected either.

2. General aspects and definitions

To get a better overview on the relation between the original text and the translated one, we introduced an *Appendix* built as a three column table (with an additional column added to the left for a quick orientation within the text, by using row numbers: r. 1, r. 2 etc.). The excerpt from the original text in German was introduced in our *Appendix* in the column called "Source-text" (ST) and has been extracted from a special edition² of Arthur Schopenhauer's *Aphorisms*, issued by the National Library of Germany. According to the editors' imprint, this edition reproduces the original text as it had been authorised by the author himself.

The target-text is represented by the various translated versions that exists in Romanian language, all made by Titu Maiorescu over a period of forty years (1872 - 1912)³. For all these versions a special notation has been used by including indices referring to the year of publication for the respective version of translation: A_{72/76}, A₈₀ and A₁₂. After having studied the Romanian versions of the excerpt in question, extremely few differences have been discovered between A₇₂ and A₇₆, on one hand, and between A₈₀ and A₁₂, on another hand. Moreover, this fact preserves its validity even at

² Hans-Peter Haack, Carmen Haack (Hrsg.), 2013, *Schopenhauer: Aphorismen zur Lebensweisheit*, Leipzig: Antiquariat und Verlag Dr. Haack. This text has been corroborated with : Julius Frauenstädt (Hrsg.), 1891, *Arthur Schopenhauer's Sämtliche Werke*. 2. aufl. Neue ausg. Fünfter Band. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, pp. 331-530.

³ Arthur Schopenhauer, 1872, „Aforisme pentru înțelegciunea în viață“. Translated by T. Maiorescu, în: *Convorbiri Literare*, anul VI, nr. 8, Iași: Tipografia Societății Junimea; Arthur Schopenhauer, 1876-1877, „Aforisme pentru înțelegciunea în viață“. Translated by T. Maiorescu, in: *Convorbiri Literare*, anul X, nr. 1-12, Iași: Tipografia Societății Junimea; Arthur Schopenhauer, 1890, *Aforisme asupra înțelegciunii în viață*. Translated by Titu Maiorescu. București: Editura Librăriei Socec & Comp.; Arthur Schopenhauer, 1969, *Aforisme asupra înțelegciunii în viață*. Translated by Titu Maiorescu. Text by Domnica Filimon-Stoicescu. Introductive Study by Prof. univ. Liviu Rusu. București: Editura pentru Literatură Universală. This last edition reproduces the translation that, according to its editors, Titu Maiorescu made last and published in 1912.

the level of the whole writing of Arthur Schopenhauer, the *Aphorisms*. Therefore, only two versions have been considered for our parallel and diachronic study: the first one (A_{72/76}) was introduced in the second column called „Target-text 1- A_{72/76} (TT1)”, and the second one, displayed in the third column, “Target-text 2 – A₈₀, A₁₂ (TT2)”, which is almost identical with the definitive version of translation (A₁₂), published by Titu Maiorescu in 1912. The very few differences between the various versions within the target-texts as defined by us (TT1 and TT2, respectively) shall be punctually acknowledged and discussed at the moment of their occurrence.

In the present article, the analysis of the Romanian translation from Arthur Schopenhauer’s *Aphorisms* concentrated on the word class of verbs, namely on predicative verbs and on verbal complexes that include at least one verbal operator of predication.

The term ‘verbal complex’, which is specific to the grammar of German language⁴, is used here to designate all verbal forms that are built analytically, *i.e.* those which among a main verb (the so-called ‘semantic carrier’⁵) also contain auxiliaries or free morfemes that are used to render temporal or aspectual values and that together with the main verb build a so-called ‘sentence bracket’ (*Satzklammer*⁶). This term is specific to German grammar, as well. Therefore, within our analysis, the term ‘verbal complex’ includes the concept of ‘complex predicate’ which is used in Romanian linguistic literature. There are certain similarities between the classification of complex predicates in the Romanian grammar⁷ and that of verbal complexes in the German grammar⁸. Thus, certain relations of

⁴ Cf. Cap. „Der Verbalkomplex”, în: Ulrich Engel *et al.*, 1993, *Kontrastive Grammatik deutsch-rumänisch*, Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag, pp. 362-455.

⁵ GBLR, p. 398.

⁶ Ulrich Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 186. *Der Satzklammer* or ‘the verbal bracket’ may be found under other different names: ‘*die verbale Klammer*’ or ‘*der prädiktative Rahmen*’ and consists of inserting the syntactical complements of the verb (excepting the one that precede it) between the two components of the verbal complex: the finite verbal form (the operator) and the non-finite one (the semantic carrier) or, in the case of separable verbs, between the finite form of the verb and the separable particle. The model included in this description is a declarative sentence (n. a.).

⁷ Cf. GBLR, p. 400.

⁸ Cf. Ulrich Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

correspondence could be established between the two classes of terms, on the basis of which we distinguished for the purpose of our research between verbal complexes with various operators: copulative, passive, aspectual, or modal.

Based on the notion of ‘verbal complex’, we could also make a clear distinction between verbal forms built analytically and simple ones, the synthetic forms, which include temporal or aspectual values by using auxiliaries or by means of suffixes and/or endings directly attached to the verb. Our study labels them as ‘simple predicative verbs’. Verbal phrases in both languages involved in translation are also included in this category, along with German verbs with separable particles (here: *hervorgehen*, *herbeiführen*), even if their paradigm sometimes implies building of a ‘sentence bracket’.

Our study will not discuss non-finite verbal forms functioning as predicates⁹, since the conditions for their occurrence are very limited and, in addition, such occurrences do not appear in the excerpt (TS) analysed here. Furthermore, the limited space offered by the present research could not cover an analysis on the grammatical features of the verbs (mode, tense, aspect, person and number).

The lexical items used for negation (*nicht* and „nu”, respectively) – and which can be classified as grammaticalized adverbs – were considered as part of the verbal complexes and analysed as such.

3. Lexical, morphological, and semantic features of the verb

The source-text includes 27 verbs and verbal complexes functioning as predicates within the sentences they occur in. Out of these, 12 are simple predicative verbs, and 15 are verbal complexes with various operators: copulative (9), modal (4), passive (1) and aspectual (1).

Two of the simple predicative verbs in the TS are formed by juxtaposition, following the model adverb + verb (*hervorgehen* and *herbeiführen*), where the adverbs (*hervor*, *herbei*) become separable

⁹ The term ‘predicate’ is used with the meaning of ‘predicate of the declarative sentence’ (Rom: ‘predicat al enunțării’, cf. GBLR, p. 396).

particles. Other three verbs within this group are verbal derivatives built with prefixes: *ver-* (*vermögen*), *bei-* (*beitragen*) and *über-* (*überlassen*). Only one of those prefixes (*bei-*) became a separable particle. The rest of the verbs (7) are simple verbs, whose internal structure is not analysable.

As far as the morphology of German verbs and its influence on the Romanian translation are concerned, the excerpt we analysed displayed very few examples of this kind (verbs derived by juxtaposition or by prefixes) in order for us to draw any conclusion regarding them. Nevertheless, considering both Arthur Schopenhauer's work in its entirety and various studies in contrastive analysis of German and Romanian, we are able to say that there are extremely few cases of equivalence between verbal prefixes in the two languages involved in translation. Therefore, we regarded this aspect as unproductive for our study and, consequently, we shall not refer to it.

Out of the total of 15 verbal complexes included in our excerpt, 9 are built with a copulative operator (the verb *sein*, Rom.: "a fi", occurs eight times as a copulative operator, while the ninth is the verb *sich fühlen*, Rom: "a se simți"), 4 verbs have a modal operator (the modal verbs *dürfen*, *sollen*, and *können* with a double occurrence), and the rest (2) have a passive operator (the verb *werden*) and an aspectual one (*suchen*), respectively.

The Romanian version of our excerpt displayed a certain number of additional verbs (seven in TT1, and eight in TT2), whose occurrence is explained by the fact that there were some phrases in the ST with no verbs or with non-finite verbal forms whose equivalents in Romanian included structures with finite verbal forms. These are, as follows:

- (r. 27) *vorhandenen Reichtum* – "bogăția ce o posed" (1)
- (r. 28) *über den engen Gesichtskreis* – "tot ce trece peste horizontul strimit" (2)
- (r. 32) *wenig Zeit, aber viel Geld kostenden* – "care cer timp puțin și bani mulți" (3)
- (r. 36) *wirklich* – "ce e drept" (4)
- (r. 37-38) *zu vermehren oder durchzubringen überläßt* – "lasă ca să mai măreasca sau să risipeasca" (5)
- (r. 38-40) *ein solcher mit ernsthafter Miene durchgeführter Lebenslauf* -

(TT1) “o astfel de viață deși *este condusă* cu o fisionomie căt se poate de serioasă”;

(TT2) “o astfel de viață deși cel ce o *duce* își *dă* un aer căt se poate de serios”. (6)

References to their location within the *Appendix* are being made in the form of stating the row number in brackets at the beginning of each example, while the additional verbs in the TT are underlined.

The first example (1) exhibits the case of a participial adjective (*vorhandenen*), whose Romanian equivalent is a relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun “ce”. Therefore, the simple predicative verb “posed”, which is the basis of the relative clause used to modify the noun “bogăția”, does not have an equivalent in the ST. Since bilingual dictionaries provide Romanian equivalents for the respective German adjective, we consider that the translator could have avoided the modalized translation by using instead - in this case - the Romanian adjective “existență”¹⁰ as a direct equivalent for the participial adjective in the ST.

Another reason for the occurrence of additional verbs in the TT is the syntactic reorganizing of a sequence in the ST, as shown in the example (2). Here, a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *über* (or *ueber*, as it occurs in the original text) is turned in the TT into a relative clause modifying the pronoun “tot” (which, at its turn, does not have an equivalent in the ST). To get a better overview, we extracted here the respective structures as they occur in the ST and the TT:

ST: *Ueber den engen Gesichtskreis [...] kennt er nichts.*

TT: “Tot ce trece peste orizontul strimt [...] le rămâne necunoscut.”

We notice thus that the structures are different in the two languages as far as their syntax is concerned, and that those differences originate in the valence of the respective verb. The transitive verb *kennt* in the ST requires a subject, here the personal pronoun *er*, and a direct object, here the negative

¹⁰ DGR, s. v. *vorhanden*.

pronoun *nichts*. The prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *über* (*ueber*) is functioning as an attribute of this negative pronoun.

The subject pronoun *er* acts as an Agent in the ST, but as a Beneficiary in the TT, in the form of a personal pronoun in dative “le”. The intransitive verbal complex with a copulative operator “remâne necunoscut” requires a subject as its only complement. To cover this position, the translator inserted the indefinite pronoun “tot”, which has no equivalent in the ST. In order to recuperate the semantics of the prepositional phrase in the ST (introduced by the preposition *über*), it was necessary for a relative clause to be inserted here as a modifier for the pronoun „tot”. This relative clause had to include an equivalent of the German prepositional phrase and also needed a simple predicative verb (“trece”) - with no equivalent in the ST – in order to be built.

The first two examples above are different from the next three in the way that no translation strategy could have been used in order to avoid transferring special non-sentence structures - specific to German language - into sentences with finite verbs.

Thus, examples (3) and (6) display participial structures included in nominal phrases, whose heads are modified by them. Since a direct equivalent is impossible or unacceptable in Romanian, they had to be transferred into additional sentences, as follows:

- *kostenden* (example (3)) is a present participle (the equivalent of the Romanian gerund) inserted in a nominal phrase and functioning as a modifier for the (implied) noun *Genüsse* (“plăceri”), and being its adjective. A literal translation, “*plăceri costânde”, is evidently unacceptable in Romanian, particularly as from a syntactic and a semantic point of view the verb *kosten* (“a costa”) requires a direct object. For this reason, the present participle *kostenden* was transferred into Romanian in accordance with the rules¹¹, by using a relative clause containing a finite verb („cer”): “care cer timp puțin și bani mulți”.

- *durchgeführter* (example (6)) is a past participle (equivalent of the Romanian participle), inserted in a nominal phrase and also functioning as a

¹¹ Ulrich Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

modifier for the noun *Lebenslauf* (“viață”) and being its adjective. In TT1 an additional adverb clause (of contrast), whose finite verb in the passive voice (“este condusă”) recuperate the past participle in the ST *durchgeführter*:

“o astfel de viață deși *este condusă* cu o fisionomie căt se poate de serioasă”.

In TT2, the finite verb of the adverb clause is in the active voice (“(își) dă”), while its subject is, at its turn, a relative clause containing the finite verb “duce”:

“o astfel de viață deși cel ce o *duce* își dă un aer căt se poate de serios”.

Here, thus, a nominal phrase in the TS was transferred in TT2 into two additional clauses with verbs in the active voice.

In example (4), the adverb of epistemic modality *wirklich* is functioning as a pragmatic connector of confirmation, whose equivalent in the TT is a parenthetical structure, which has the same function as the adverb in the ST, but is built as a sentence and therefore analysable by describing its verb. Thus, we can say that this structure includes the adverb “drept” as a predicative for the copulative verb “e” (the short form for “este”), or - in other words - that a verbal complex with copulative operator was here used.

Example (5) brings to attention the case when a German structure with a non-finite verb (*zu* + infinitive) has been transferred into Romanian as a finite form (a Romanian conjunctive – Eng.: subjunctive). The sentence we discuss here is structured around the predicative verb *überläßt* (translated, quasi-literally, as “lasă”, in accordance with references in the bilingual dictionaries). The verb is accompanied by an adverbial of purpose in the form of two infinitives coordinated by the conjunction *oder* (*zu vermehren oder durchzubringen*), which were transferred into Romanian also in accordance with the rules¹² as two subjunctive verbs (“să mai mărească sau să risipească”).

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 349.

As far as the verbal complexes in the ST are concerned, these were transferred into Romanian by preserving their internal structures. There are very few exceptions from this pattern and these are given below. References to their location within the *Appendix* are being made in the form of stating the row number in brackets at the beginning of each example, and the two versions of translation are given (TT1, TT2), but only when they differ from one another. When that is not the case, the translation into Romanian is given only once. The first five examples in the list below are verbal complexes with various operators (three of modality, one passive, and one aspectual) which were transferred into Romanian as simple predicative verbs. The last example is in fact a reversed case of translating a simple predicative verb in the ST into a verbal complex with a copulative operator.

- (r. 8) *vernachlässigen sollte* - “să se negrijească” (simple predicative verb, which includes a passive-reflexive “se”);
- (r. 14) *befähigen könnte* - “să pună în stare” (verbal phrase);
- (r. 16) *(noch) leisten kann* - TT1: “adaogă” (simple predicative verb),
- TT2: “(mai) poate da” (verbal complex with modal operator);
- (r. 18) *wird gestört* - TT1: “smintește” (simple predicative verb),
- TT2: “impiedică” (simple predicative verb);
- (r. 20-22) *sind bemüht* - “caută” (simple predicative verb);
- (r. 42) *(Schellenkappe zum Symbol) hatte* – “(a cărei) simbol ar fi fost” (verbal complex with copulative operator).

It is here to be noticed that among the examples above there is a case when the revised translation (TT2) returned to the initial internal structure of the verbal complex:

TS: (*noch*) *leisten kann* (verbal complex with modal operator) → TT1: "adaogă" (simple predicative verb) → TT2: "(mai) poate da" (verbal complex with modal operator).

It is also worth mentioning the fact that one syntactic sequence in the ST, *wenn das Glück gut war* (r. 35 in Appendix), has no equivalent in the TT (in both versions discussed here), for reasons which remained unexplainable for us, as yet. We could easily exclude a difficulty of translation, since the sentence in question does not display any semantic ambiguity and an equivalent in the Romanian language of the time could have easily been found in the form of the verbal phrase "a-i surâde norocul"¹³.

4. Conclusions regarding the word class of the verbs in the Romanian versions of translation from the Aphorisms

After having contrastively analysed the morphological, syntactical, and semantic features of the verbs in the ST and in the versions of translation (TT) discussed here, we are able to draw a series of conclusions, as follows:

a) The word class of verbs, along that of nouns – which we already discussed in other studies – was one of the word classes that was most difficult to translate; this is proved by the large number of revisions the translator made in the various Romanian versions of the same translation;

b) In addition to a), it can be stated that transferring verbs derived by prefixes raised many difficulties for the translator, who solved them by paraphrasing or by inserting verbal phrases. Two conclusive examples are given here:

- *nicht mißdeutet werden darf* – "nu trebuie să se interpreteze în sensul fals" (TT1), "nu trebuie să se întoarcă în intălesul greșit" (TT2);

¹³ Lazar řaineanu, 1908, *Dicționar universal al limbii române*, a opta ediție, revăzut și adăugit la Ediția a VI-a, Editura „Scrisul românesc”, www.dacoromanica.ro, s. v. *surâde*.

- *befähigen könnte* – “să pună în stare”.

c) Some simple verbs also raised translating difficulties for the translator, who solved them by using equivalents which modified the transitivity of the verbs in the ST, thus causing a syntactic reorganising of the sentence in which they occur in the TT:

- *vermag (wenig zu)* – “are (puțin) efect (pentru)” (TT1)/”face (puțin pentru)” (TT2);
- *(noch) leisten kann* – “adaogă” (TT1)/”(mai) poate da” (TT2);
- *herbeiführt* – “provin” (TT1)/”(le) aduce (cu sine)” (TT2).

The following examples also display a syntactic reorganising caused by the modification brought to the semantic and syntactic valence of the verb in the ST:

- *wird gestört* – “(îl) smintește” (TT1)/”(îl) impiedică” (TT2) (passiv→active);
- *(er) kennt (nichts)* - (le) “remâne necunoscut“ (Agent → Beneficiary).

d) Having in mind the large number of additional verbs inserted in the Romanian version (in comparison with the ST), we reached the conclusion that T. Maiorescu (the translator) had to make use of all his creative resources in order to offer a TT as faithful to the ST as possible, but also accessible to his readers.

At the time he started his admirable endeavour of translating a German philosophical writing, Titu Maiorescu was disadvantaged by the fact that Romanian philosophical language was not very well developed in comparison with the German one. For that reason, it may be clearly stated that, while having limited linguistic means at his disposal, T. Maiorescu permanently tried and most of the times also succeeded in keeping the balance between the two responsibilities implied by being a translator: staying faithful to the ST, on one hand, and creating a text which is accessible to his readers, on the other hand.

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Appendix 1

Row No.	Source-text (ST)	Target-text 1 - A7276 (TT1)	Target-text 2 - A80, A12 (TT2)
r.1	Aus dem entschiedenen Übergewicht unserer ersten Rubrik über die beiden andern geht aber auch hervor, daß es weiser ist, auf Erhaltung seiner Gesundheit und auf Ausbildung seiner Fähkeiten, als auf Erwerbung von Reichtum hinzuarbeiten, was jedoch nicht dahin mildert werden darf, daß man den Erwerb des Nöthigen und Angemessenen vernachlässigen sollte. Aber eigentlicher Reichtum, d. h. großer Ueberfluß, vermag wenig zu unserem Glück, daher viele Reiche sich ungernlich fühlen, weil sie ohne eigentliche Geistesbildung, ohne Kenntnisse und deßhalb ohne irgend ein objektives Interesse, welches zu geistiger Beschäftigung befähigen könnte, sind. Denn was der Reichtum über die Befriedigung der wirklichen und natürlichen Bedürfnisse hinaus noch leisten kann[], ist von geringem Einfluß auf unser eigentliches Wohlbehagen. Vielmehr wird dieses Gestor durch die vielen unvermeidlichen Sorgen, welche die Erhaltung eines großen Besitzes herbeiführt. Dennoch aber sind die Menschen lausend Mal mehr bemüht, sich Reichtum, als Geistesbildung zu erwerben, während doch ganz gewiß was man ist, viel mehr zu unserem Glücke beiträgt, als was man hat.	Dar din preponderanța hoțării a primelor noastre rubice asupra celorlalte două urmăză încă regulă, că este mai înjept de a sărui într-o pastărea sănătății și într-o dezvoltare fizică, decât într-o dobandirea avupei, care ce anșă nu trebuie să se întoarcă în intenții, interpreză în sensul fals, că să se neglijască agoniașie celor trebuințioase (ne-putință). La dreptul vorbind, bogăția ca mare face putin pețuri, fericirea noastră, din care cauza multă bogății se simți nefericit, fundată sunt fără cultură multă, fără cunoștințe și de aceea fără vre un interes obiectiv, care să-i pună în stare a se ocupa intelectual. Caci ceea ce ae mai poate da bogăția este indesularea trebuințelor reale și firești este de puțina însemnatate pentru aderărami-	Dar din precupările hoțării a rubicii noastre dinții asupra celorlalte două urmăză încă regulă, că este mai înjept de a sărui într-o pastărea sănătății și într-o dezvoltare fizică, decât într-o dobandirea avupei, care ce anșă nu trebuie să se întoarcă în intenții, interpreză în sensul fals, că să se neglijască agoniașie celor trebuințioase (ne-putință). La dreptul vorbind, bogăția ca mare face putin pețuri, fericirea noastră, din care cauza multă bogății se simți nefericit, fundată sunt fără cultură multă, fără cunoștințe și de aceea fără vre un interes obiectiv, care să-i pună în stare a se ocupa intelectual. Caci ceea ce ae mai poate da bogăția este de puțina însemnatate pentru aderărami-
r.2			este de puțina însemnatate pentru aderărami-
r.3			nostri bine, din contra, împiedică prin mulțele și neapăratile greji, ce le aduce cu sine plăsărată unei aveni prea mari. Totuși oamenii cauți de o decădere culturală multă; pe când de susur cera ce suntem face mult mai mult, pețuri fericirea noastră decăt ceea ce avem. Pe mult (mai) ei redem în mijlocul neobosită, harnici ca furnicile lucrand de dumneata pana sără pețuri și mai spori bogăția ce o posedă. Tot ce trece peste onțonul strâmt al (stării) mijlocelor, pe care le ceară scopul, le ramenează neconoscut, numai lor este inclusă, de aceea neprimitoare de ale gândurii și simțului. Plăcerele cele mai inalte, cele sportive bogăția ce o posedă. Tot ce trece peste onțonul strâmt în cind în cind și care le cer timp putin și bani mult. La neînțelescut, pețuri lor este gol, deacea neimpreună pețuri alte gânduri și simțuri. Pe multu dar el iată în mijlocul neobosită, harnici ca furnicile lucrand de dumneata pana sără pețuri și mai refuzate; și în zadar căă și le uibocui prin cele fugitive, sensuale, ce și le permit din cind în cind și care le cer timp putin și bani mult. La sfîrșitul vieții ca un rezultat al ei acu, ce e drept, placerele cele mai inalte, cele spirituale, le sunt străine; și în zadar căă și le uibocui prin cele ingădușe din cind în cind și care le cer timp putin și bani mult. La sfîrșitul vieții ca un rezultat al ei acu, ce e drept, o granadă foarte mare de bani mananea lor, pe care o lasă acum moștenitorilor ca să o mai mărescă sau poate să o risipească. O astfel de viajă deși este condusă cu o fisionomie cat se poate de serioasă și importantă, este tot asa de nebună, ca o viajă, a cărei simbol ar fi fost deosebitul clopojetu caraghiuzului.
r.4			mare de bani mananea lor, pe care o lasă acum moștenitorilor ca să o mai mărescă sau poate să iși dă un aer că se poate de serioasă și importantă, este tot asa de nebună, ca o viajă, a (al) cărei simbol ar fi fost de-adreptul masă ardeleanului.
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LA COLONNE SANS FIN, LE THÉÂTRE QUI UNIT LES MONDES

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Abstract:

The reading of Mircea Eliade's drama writing The Endless Column (*Coloana nesfârșită*) is meant to focus on the writer's play by using operators that are specific to textuality and myth as a literary method. As for the acting in a mise-en-scène context, the perspective of anthropology and religious phenomenology, announced in the inner and outer didascalies of the text, anchors the interpretation in the context of Mircea Eliade's work both at literary and scientific level. The theoretical perspective comes closer to its critical testimonies regarding Eliade's drama experiment and have shaped a first level of perception, by considering the play to belong to the Living Theater current, especially owing to Monique Borie. In this context, Mircea Eliade's plays are in line with Grotowski, Peter Brook, and tries to present a sensitive world on stage, by means of a symbolic language specific to drama. Molding the sign of 'reality' into a mythical register can be confirmed both at the level of the text and at the level of mise en scène.

Keywords:

Analogical thinking, theatricality, sign, symbol.

Ce qui rapproche la dramaturgie de Mircea Eliade de celle du phénomène théâtral surnommé Living Theatre est premièrement l'emplacement de l'image symbolique au régime de l'efficacité¹ et, deuxièmement la signification rituelle de la pratique théâtrale, qui facilite au récepteur l'accès vers une mutation dans le plan ontologique. Dans ce contexte, le théâtre, dans la lignée d'Artaud, de Grotowski, de Peter Brook, réécrit une voie vers le « plus-être », tout en aboutissant à présenter l'indicible sur scène.

¹ Pierre Bourdieu, 1972, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*, Paris-Geneva, Droz.

La Colonne de Brâncuși devient sur scène un signe symbolique d'une puissance numineuse, qui par sa manifestation magique unit les mondes, tout comme un pont des contes de fées. D'abord, on récupère « la pratique magique des signes »²; le langage analogique³ obtient le contrôle magique sur les choses, il corporalise l'esprit et crée du sens. Ceux qui voient ce qui ne peut pas être vu, la voie vers la lumière, ce sont les enfants et la jeune fille, elle-même une figure archétypale difficilement définissable, *anima mundi*, une âme collective du monde qui est à la recherche du Père, sous toutes les formes dans lesquelles la matière se laisse embrassée par l'esprit. Au départ du maître vers la lumière, dans la dernière scène, la fille s'adresse à une Mère cosmique, dont on suppose qu'elle est la fille:

„Fata: ...adevărat, Mamă! Dar atunci de ce nu m-ai învățat ca să-l învăț? (Privește în jurul ei și ascultă) Și acum....Acum...Cărui visător ai să mă ursești, Mamă? (Ridică brațele implorând.) Dar învăță-mă să fiu cuminte, ca tine, Mamă...Învață-mă să rămân bătrână, bătrână, bătrână, ca tine!...”⁴

« La fille: ...c'est vrai, Maman! Mais alors pourquoi ne m'as-tu pas appris à lui apprendre? (Elle regarde autour d'elle et elle écoute) Et maintenant... Maintenant...À quel rêveur tu vas me vouer, Maman?

(Elle lève les bras en suppliant.) Mais apprends-moi à être sage, comme toi, Maman... apprends-moi à rester vieille, vieille, vieille, comme toi!... »

Les textes renvoient au théâtre symbolique, qui souhaitait l'initiation des spectacles capables d'exprimer des visions d'ampleur universelle, et non pas de problèmes de la vie quotidienne. Dans ces spectacles, par le biais du langage, le poète était amené de nouveau dans le champ de la dramaturgie, d'où le réalisme l'avait exilé. On cultive le mystère, les déchiffrements mystiques des images, dans un théâtre "d'art", dans lequel le spectacle doit être animé par des compréhensions spirituelles.

² Monique Borie, 2004, *Antonin Artaud Teatrul și întoarcerea la origini*, Iași: Polirom p. 26.

³Dont Michel Foucault parle aussi dans *Cuvintele și lucrurile*, qui poursuit l'intuition profonde de l'unité du monde.

⁴ Mircea Eliade, 1996, *Coloana nesfarsita*, Bucuresti: Editura Minerva , p. 166.

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⁵ D'autre part, le théâtre retourne à ses origines, réapprenant à être "sastra",⁶ une danse magique qui peut imiter "la danse" du créateur:

„Fata:...Cum de nu m-am gândit! De aceea nu izbuti să faceți macheta monumentului. Pentru că nu puteți immobiliza un dans, nu-l puteți împietri în materie.

Brâncuși (derouté): Eu sunt de vină, dacă mi-am pus mintea cu un copil...

Fata (agitée): Lăsați-mă pe mine să vă arăt macheta! Am să v-o arăt dansând. Își dacă greșesc, dumneavaoastră mă corectăți, și atunci eu învăț, și o iau de la capăt, și dansez aşa cum v-ați imaginat, dansez formele, una după alta, aşa cum le-ați creat în mintea dumneavaoastră ”.⁷

« La fille :....Comment n'y ai-je pas pensé ? C'est pour cela que vous ne parvenez pas à faire la maquette du monument. À force de ne pas pouvoir immobiliser une danse, vous ne pouvez pas la pétrir dans la matière.

Brâncuși (confus): C'est de ma faute, si j'ai pris au sérieux un enfant...

La fille (agitée) : Laissez-moi vous montrer la maquette. Je vais vous la montrer en dansant. Et si je me trompe, vous me corrigez, et alors j'apprends et je recommence, et je danse comme vous vous êtes imaginé, je danse les formes, l'une après l'autre, telles que vous les avez créées dans votre esprit. »

La Colonne et Piatra Filosofală. Ce théâtre qui réinvente le langage, rejette le théâtre psychologique, des solutions froides, cognitivistes,

⁵ Dans le texte *De l'art du théâtre*, de 1905, Edward Gordon Craig (1872-1966), le fondateur du théâtre symbolique, refusait l'idée d'un théâtre qui imite la vie. Il proposait la suggestion du langage poétique, la simplification des codes théâtraux, un théâtre qui refuse le réalisme au nom du symbolique. L'une des idées innovatrices de Craig, qui rappelle de l'art théâtral en tant que pratique d'initiation, telle qu'elle était aussi présentée dans *Natya Satra*, par Bharata, est celle conformément à laquelle le metteur en scène devient créatif, seulement s'il est un très bon connisseur de tous les métiers théâtraux. On lui conseillait de se spécialiser à la fois dans l'art de l'acteur, de la scénographie, des costumes, de l'éclairage scénique, de la danse, de la proxémique, etc.

⁶ Jacques Scherer, *Esthétique théâtrale, Textes de Platon à Brecht*, Éditions Sedes, Paris, 1982, discute le traité d'art dramatique indienne en allant sur la littéralité étymologique du terme sanskrit Natya comme forme de la danse sacre accompagné par les voix musicales des acteurs initiés et par les représentations mimées scéniquement des passions universelles.

⁷ Mircea Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

qui séparent le corps de l'esprit, les cartographies cadastrales du psychique. La dramaturgie de Mircea Eliade récupère les personnages ayant des pouvoirs mantiques des tragédies antiques, qui peuvent entendre la voix des dieux, telle : Iphigénie. Les herméneutiques de la méfiance sont remplacées, le texte littéraire récupère les sens de la fable mystique.⁸ On découvre « la géographie des origines »⁹ dans laquelle le corps réorganise les harmonies des sens en tant que rythmes de la nature,¹⁰ le sacre demeure simultanément tout ce qui est animé et de cette façon il peut révéler l'âme des pierres, comme c'est le cas dans *La Colonne Sans Fin* et dans *Oameni și pietre*. Tout objet est révélée par ses vibrations secrètes; la musique, le vol, la danse de la pierre est redonnée au regard qui commence à « voir » en même temps avec l'artiste l'âme de la matière, Anima mundi, celle avec laquelle le Vieux sculpteur initié dans les mystères du monde dialogue dans la pièce.

De ce point de vue le théâtre d'Eliade réceptionne de manière créative l'expressionisme, de son côté qui expérimente le modèle gothique et le modèle indic, le premier réalisant l'absolu dans la vibration du cri de Munch, tandis que le deuxième réalise cet absolu dans les silences extatiques de l'Inde, les deux étant sculptés dans le mouvement de la corporalité de la Colonne sans fin. Le corps s'intègre au monde, le visible rencontre l'invisible.¹¹ Ce que Van Gogh avait réussi à transmettre sur la toile, l'unité entre statique et dynamique, Brâncuși anime dans le corps de la pierre: le mouvement cycliquement infini des planètes, du soleil, de la lune se laisse embrassée par le Grand Temps. L'espace en mouvement devient dans le corps de la Colonne sans fin une horloge qui mesure l'immortalité, tout en révélant l'unité des contraires, *coincidentia oppositorum*.

Le spectacle est réinvesti de fonctions liturgiques, manifestant attraction vers la magie, l'occultisme, le panthéisme, la passion pour

⁸ Conformément aussi à Michel de Certeau, 1996, *Fabula mistică, Secolul XVI-XVII*, Iași: Editura Polirom.

⁹ Monique Borie, 2004, *Antonin Artaud Teatrul și întoarcerea la origini*, Polirom.

¹⁰ Comme la discute aussi Michel Serres, 1985, *Les cinq Sens*, Paris: Grasset.

¹¹ Certes, comme Lucian Blaga observait dans *Zări și etape* le dynamique absolu et le statique sont surpris le mieux dans leur complémentarité dans les toiles de l'artiste initié, Van Gogh. L'artiste récupère une mémoire perdue dans l'homme, une mémoire dont Artaud parlait lui aussi dans *Teatrul și dublul său*, Editura Echinox, 1997.

l’Orient, pour les zones abyssales de l’être; les personnages ont un commun avec la dramaturgie expressionniste l’esprit daïmonique, créateur. Le théâtre soumet les personnages à un voyage de transmutation au bout duquel il y a la voie vers *Piatra filosofală*. Le Symbolisme d’une image n’a de valeur identifiable que dans un registre de la représentation, car il réunit dans le même plan de la compréhension l’univers subtile de la mystique, de la philosophie et de la magie.¹² En outre, ces images symboliques ont la capacité d’accorder le monde conscient à l’inconscient collectif, fonctionnant comme des médiateurs efficaces entre ces deux mondes.¹³ Dans cette catégorie on peut encadrer aussi la colonne de Brâncuși, en tant qu’objet artistique, mais aussi comme signe théâtral. La colonne soutient, en dehors de son corps physique, un corps magique, ressenti par les enfants comme un pont magique sur lequel on peut voyager vers des mondes visuellement imperceptibles. Le signe clair que la lumière qui surgit de la colonne arrive à Dieu est le fait qu’une fois qu’ils découvrent le corps de lumière de la colonne, les enfants ne retournent plus.

L'image symbolique, façonnée sculpturalement tend à reprendre la fonction de signe,¹⁴ en essentialisant un concept, elle indique une foi, elle projette un espace à des valeurs magiques, protectives,

¹² Adrian Frutiger, 2004, *L’homme et ses signes*, Perrousseaux Atelier.

¹³ ¹⁴ Adrian Frutiger, dans *L’homme et ses signes*, Perrousseaux Atelier analyse ce type de médiation: "Le symbolisme d’une image est une valeur inexprimée, un trait d’union entre la réalité identifiable et le domaine invisible et mystique de la religion, de la philosophie et de la magie. Il s’étend donc de l’intellect, conscient, au domaine du subconscient. On peut donc dire que l’artiste ou l’artisan est un médiateur entre deux mondes, visible et invisible. Autrefois, les créations de l’artisanat appartenaient au règne du merveilleux, et leur valeur symbolique était d’autant plus grande et digne de vénération qu’elles montraient un accord parfait ", p. 205.

¹⁴ Adrian Frutiger, *op. cit*: « Cette réduction de l’image au signe ne représente pas, contrairement à ce qui s’est passé dans l’écriture, une simplification des gestes; elle correspond au besoin du croyant d’avoir auprès de lui un reflet de l’image originelle, pour participer à son rayonnement, de la même manière qu’une personne superstitieuse portant une amulette souhaite attirer sur elle le bénéfice de quelque force supérieure. La valeur symbolique ne dépend donc pas d’une perfection formelle extérieure, mais de la disposition intérieure de l’observateur à investir ses convictions, sa foi, dans un objet de méditation, dans un symbole », p. 206.

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semblables aux forces bénéfiques qu'on suppose que les amulettes contiennent et transmettent. Parmi d'autres significations mystérieuses qu'elle contient, la Colonne peut être interprétée de ce point de vue comme un signe solaire, grâce à ses spirales imaginées à l'infini, une succession incessante de rythmes cosmiques, mais aussi "un tissu", un labyrinthe en pierre qui noue de façon invisible les rayons de lumière¹⁵ dans une succession de croix infinies.

Dans la *Colonne sans fin*, Mircea Eliade construit par le biais de Constantin Brâncuși un personnage qui transmet par l'art, le mystère de l'existence qui n'est pas séparée de son entier, il s'agit du mystère Mahamudra auquel le texte dramatique fait allusion, par la sagesse de Milarepa,¹⁶ à laquelle on sait que le grand sculpteur roumain a été lui aussi

¹⁵ Le signe solaire comporte presque toujours deux éléments essentiels : d'abord le cercle ou le disque, plus concret, puis la représentation plus abstraite de son rayonnement. Ces deux éléments fondamentaux sont souvent renforcés par l'indication d'une rotation, mouvement probablement en relation avec la trajectoire du soleil. L'évocation symbolique du cours de la journée, de la succession des différentes époques de l'année, tient aussi une place importante, et trouve alors sa meilleure expression dans la spirale » p. 244. Il est intéressant d'observer le point de départ des tissus noués, celui du jeu de l'imagination symbolique avec les noeuds, un jeu reconstitué sous le signe symbolique de la croix, symbole du cosmos. Il paraît que tout « tissu », tout labyrinthe, tout symbole du voyage spirituel peut avoir comme point de départ ce signe universel de la croix. Ce qui peut expliquer le besoin de l'homme religieux de sortir de toute situation chaotique de l'existence à travers un voyage protégé sacrément. La possibilité de simuler un volume a été largement pratiquée avec des croix; les deux barres qui se croisent au centre, les quatre extrémités nues ainsi que les quatre angles intérieurs symétriques forment un point de départ idéal permettant de jouer avec les entrelacs, les tressages et les noeuds. Les exemples montrés à la page ne répondent pas tous à une intention symboliste. Ibidem.

¹⁶ Au début de ses initiations Milarepa pratique la magie noire pour pouvoir se venger de la famille de son oncle qui avait dépouillé sa famille de la fortune laissée par testament. Désirant venger sa mère, il pratique l'Art Noire et commet une série de crimes, il détruit des villages, des récoltes, pour qu'il reçoive dans la deuxième partie de sa vie les apprentissages de Maha-Mudra du grand Marpa et qu'il se retire après dans une grotte où il atteint la sainteté et devient un libéré- en –vie. Milarepa atteint le principe de la non-dualité apprenant que la dualité a sa source dans l'esprit. Son maître, Marpa, lui dévoile que les âmes de ceux qui ont été tués par la magie sont sauvées et envoyées dans des états d'évolution plus élevés. La doctrine de Marpa, nommée la Grande Perfection a sur celui

initié. D'ailleurs le procédé de l'intertextualité est l'un spécifique aux textes ayant une signification ésotérique: "Fata: Da. Nu v-a invitat Maharajahul în India și nu v-a cerut să-I construiți un monument fără pereche în lume, aşa cum nu s-a mai văzut de la Taj Mahal? (...). Să-l faceți, Maestre, trebuie să-l faceți. L-ați citit pe Milarepa. Și dacă l-ați citit, ați înțeles cum trebuie să fie tăiat Muntele(...) Chiar retezat poate că nu, dar ciopliti și dăltuit până ce îl veți face asemenea unui ou uriaș. (Arată cu brațele) *Oul cosmogonic de piatră*, aşa i s-ar putea spune mai târziu. Și ați ales bine, pentru că știți, oul simbolizează viața, nașterea, renașterea..."¹⁷

« La fille: Oui. Le Maharajah ne vous a-t-il pas invité en Inde et ne vous a-t-il pas demandé de lui construire un monument sans pareil au monde, comme on n'a jamais vu à Taj Mahal? (...). Faites-le, Maître, vous devez le faire. Vous avez lu Milarepa. Et si vous l'avez lu, vous avez compris comment faire pour couper la Montagne (...) Peut-être ne pas la couper au ras, mais la sculpter, la ciseler jusqu'au point où elle ressemblera à un œuf gigantesque. (Elle montre de bras) *l'Œuf cosmogonique de pierre*, c'est comme ça qu'on pourrait l'appeler plus tard. Et vous avez bien choisi, car vous savez, l'œuf symbolise la vie, la naissance, la renaissance... »

Cette fois-ci la gnose se cache dans le mystère *Mahayana* qui montre que le chemin vers le Grand Silence, passe par le monde phénoménale, parce que la vérité ultime est « refermée dans ce monde », et la non existence peut être découverte aussi « par un raisonnement moral et mental »¹⁸ ou par la contemplation d'un œuvre d'art qui puisse essentialiser

qui médite profondément l'effet d'une délivrance spontanée. Il est initié aux tantras Mantrayances.

¹⁷ Mircea Eliade, *op. cit.*, p.122.

¹⁸ *Milarepa, marea yoghin tibetan. Introducere în Yoga Maha-Mudra*. Editura Impact, 1991, p. 207. L'œuvre de Milarepa (1052-1135) devient connu à l'Occident par les traductions en anglais. La Maison d'Édition Impact reproduit le plus valeureux texte, par la traduction de 1938 de W.Y.Ewans-Wentz. Vajrayana, ou la voie immuable est résumée ainsi par Milarepa : « bref, l'accoutumance à la contemplation de la Vacuité, de l'Équilibre, de l'Indescriptible et de l'Irrecognoscible, forme les quatre stades différents de ces quatre degrés de l'initiation, des pas graduels dans le but final de la mystique Vajrayana ». Le pratiquant perd « la conscience des objets » et acquiert l'état de la « conscience calme », de l'énergie et de la force aiguë d'analyse, un intellect clair qui épie, un état "de surconscience » (*Lhang-tong*) auquel les « ego-entités », les individus

la gnose. „Brâncuși: Te uiți la Măiasta și, dacă ți-a dat Dumnezeu minte și imaginație, înțelegi. Și, Când ai înțeles, parcă-ți vine să cântă și să joci de bucurie, căci nu mai ești ce erai până atunci. Ai ajuns într-o altă lume. Îngerească. Nu-i pot spune altfel decât: îngerească.” Fata: E adevărat. Lume îngerească... Și pe urmă, le arătați *Coloana...* Vreau să spun, cînd o fi gata, le-o arătați, îi învățați cum s-o privească...”¹⁹

« Brâncusi: Tu regardes Maiastra et, si Dieu t'a donné de l'esprit et de l'imagination, tu la comprends. Et, quand tu l'as comprise, c'est comme si tu avais envie de chanter et de danser de joie, puisque tu n'es plus celui qui tu étais auparavant. Tu es arrivé dans un autre monde. Le monde des anges. Je ne peux pas l'appeler autrement que le monde des anges. » « La fille: C'est vrai. Le monde des anges ... Et après, vous leur montrer la Colonne... Je veux dire, quand elle sera achevée, vous la leur montrerez, vous leur enseignerez à comment la regarder...”

*Mahayana*²⁰ connue aussi sous le nom de *Calea bodhisattvor* remplace l'aventure spirituelle de l'image de l'arhat solitaire en quête de la Nirvana, ayant la figure d'un laïque, « modèle de bienveillance et de compassion, qui ajourne indéfiniment sa propre délivrance pour rendre facile la délivrance des autres ». ²¹ Ce héros religieux ne demande pas aux croyants la voie du monachisme ascétique, mais « la dévotion personnelle de type *bhakti* »²². Il semble que *Mahayana* avance d'un pas sur la voie spirituelle, éliminant complètement la tyrannie de l'ego impliqué dans les voies de la délivrance individuelle, ajoutant à la sagesse révélée par les Arhats, la compassion des bodhisattvas, qui figure dans l'imaginaire spirituel comme « des îles du monde », des guides qui apportent la lumière sur les voies du monde. Brâncuși, l'instance fictionnelle du texte

ignorants métaphysiquement ne peuvent pas avoir accès. Le testament de Milarepa développe le mystère de la compassion: « Si vous vous demandez comment on peut neutraliser cette mauvaise karma, alors apprenez qu'elle est annulée par le désir de bien ». *Ibidem*, p. 86.

¹⁹ Mircea Eliade, *Coloana nesfărșită*, p. 127.

²⁰ Les termes de *Mahayana*, littéralement „Marele Vehicul” et *Hinayana*, littéralement „Micul Vehicul” ont reçu au fil du temps de nouvelles acceptations.

²¹ Mircea Eliade, 2000, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, București: Universul Enciclopedic.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 361.

dramatique, emprunte les attributs à ces guides solitaires. Sur un axe actoriale synonymique, dans la littérature de Mircea Eliade ceux-ci sont des artistes, des maîtres, des instances de la discréction, de la décence, de l'humilité sophrosinique, tels Fărāmă ou les artistes qui guident par leur message salvateur vers « les îles » magiques de la connaissance. Le visionnaire métaphysique de la compassion²³ inscrit l'aventure existentielle de ces personnages dans une mythologie sotériologique. Le corps de lumière de la Colonne magique trouve son explication dans les débuts de la philosophie bouddhiste, par les apprentissages *Căii de mijloc* de Nagarjuna (sec. II.d.Hr.) sur la doctrine de ces trois corps, Trikaya: « Le premier corps, celui de la Loi (*Dharmakāya*)²⁴ est transcendental, absolu, infini, éternel, il est vraiment le corps spirituel du dharma (...) la *réalité absolue, l'être pur*(...) le deuxième corps, *sambhogakāya*, ou le corps de joie, est l'épiphanie glorieuse de Buddha, accessible seulement aux bodhisattvas. Enfin, le corps de la « création magique » (*nirmāṇakāya*) est le fantasme que les gens connaissent sur Terre, un fantasme qui leur ressemble, car ce corps est matériel et éphémère; mais il remplit un rôle décisif, puisque seulement grâce à ce corps-fantasme les gens sont capables de recevoir la Loi et d'obtenir le salut ».²⁵

Cette philosophie, accusée de nihilisme et de réfutation des doctrines bouddhistes est décrite par Mircea Eliade dans le contexte d'une herméneutique récupératrice: « elle est l'ontologie, doublée de sotériologie, qui essaie de se délivrer des structures illusoires liés au langage ». L'historique des religions surprend la dialectique paradoxale de la philosophie que nous retrouvons aussi dans les œuvres de Milarepa: « J'ai

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Dans *Milarepa, marele yoghin tibetan*, op.cit., le rien lumineux est décrit ainsi: « Le Guru, étant Dharma-Kaya, est comme la voûte des cieux/Sur le visage duquel Le Nuage de bons souhaits de Sambhoga-Kaya se rassemble/et d'où descendent les pluies fleuries de Nirvana-Kaya)/ Celles-ci tombant sans cesse sur Terre? Elles nourrissent si mûrissent la récolte des Êtres Sauvés. / Ce qui est de la nature du Non-Créé, /Dharma-Dhatu, le Non-né, la Vacuité? Shunyata, n'a ni commencement, ni fin!/La naissance même et la Mort sont de la nature de la vacuité /La Vraie Vérité étant ainsi, évitez les doutes et les inquiétudes (par rapport à Lui) »!

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 363.

su que le mal ou le danger avait été transformé en quelque chose de bien. Ce que nous avions jusqu'alors considéré avec une discrimination objective brillait désormais comme *Dharma-Kaya*. De cette manière nous avons compris *Sangsara* și *Nirvana* comme étant des états dépendants et relatifs et que la cause Universelle est l'Esprit(...) Cette cause Universelle dirigée vers la voie de l'Egoïsme mène à *Sangsara*, tandis que si elle est dirigée vers la voie de l'Altruisme, alors elle mène à *Nirvana*. J'ai été parfaitement convaincu que la source réelle tant pour *Sangsara* que pour *Nirvana* est la Vacuité.»²⁶ L'une des conséquences importantes de cette doctrine est la non-distinction entre le monde manifesté et le monde spirituel, entre ce qui est « enchaîné» et ce qui est « délivré», *samsāra* et *Nirvāna*, sans que ces deux structures du « réel » soient identiques.

La Colonne sans fin. Dakini, la vierge qui danse et Anima Mundi, La vieille des temps.

La vérité ultime n'a pas de nature transcendante, mais « c'est la modalité d'exister », que le délivré découvre « enfermée » dans le monde. L'apprentissage offre à l'initié une modalité pratique et contemplative à la fois qui le fait sortir de broussailles théoriques et lui permet par un exercice de la *veille*, ce qui peut paraître simple, d'atteindre la sérénité imperturbable et la liberté dans les expériences de la vie. :”Fata: Căci ce ați învățat atunci în India și vreți să ne ajutați să înțelegem și noi, creând ceea ce n-a îndrăznit numeni să credă că poate fi creat, opera aceasta e vie, trăiește. Se agită, aleargă, există numai cât rămâne vie, și Cum ați putea să arătați asta decât prin dans”?²⁷

« La fille : Car ce que vous avez appris en Inde et que vous voulez nous aider à comprendre nous aussi, en créant ce que personne n'a osé croire qu'on puisse créer, cet œuvre est vivant, il vit. Il s'agit, il court, il existe seulement tant qu'il reste vivant, et comment pourriez-vous le montrer autrement que par la danse ? »

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 141.

²⁷ Mircea Eliade, 1996, *Coloana nesfărșită*, București: Editura Minerva, p. 131.

Dans la *Colonne sans fin*, la plasticité du langage théâtral expérimente la calligraphie corporelle du personnage, utilisant scéniquement la force expressive de la danse²⁸ qui révèle le sens caché de la colonne sans fin: vers Dieu on monte des marches, on ne vole pas. Sur la colonne de Brâncuși, Dieu descend une échelle que l'homme peut monter jusqu'à lui pour se sauver, car l'homme a une condition téomorphique.²⁹

La corporalité de l'image ésotérique. Le corps magique. Le corps de lumière. Le corps d'obscurité. Dans l'obtention de l'état de surconscience le corps de lumière permet le saut de la « conscience des objets » la conscience de la non-existence, « un état étincelant de tranquillité mentale ». Les êtres atteignent « le sommet de la Montagne » autour de laquelle le « Soleil » et la « Lune » tournent et atteignent les « Cieux » « la parfaite Illumination et l'Amour ». Un état que les « ego-entités (...) sont incapables d'expérimenter », selon Milarepa, puisqu'ils ne peuvent pas opérer le sacrifice nécessaire, car ils sont trop attachés aux préjugés.³⁰ L'illuminé définit sa Divina Mandala dans son propre corps. Le corps mandala est décrit comme une relique mortelle de l'Homme qui s'est aperçu de ce qu'il est, en dépassant la dualité: *coincidentia oppositorum*, l'état de la

²⁸ Rumi, (1207, Khorasan) génial poète mystique d'Islam, il est reconnu comme Mevlana, le grand maître des derviches qui tournent en rond. Rumi révèle le secret caché dans les rythmes musicaux, et si l'on dévoilait, il pourrait anéantir le monde par sa force. Mevlana apprend aux disciples à éveiller leur esprit dans les rythmes secrets de la musique et à retourner dans leur vraie patrie. Le schéma de la danse symbolise par le premier demi-cercle formé par des danseurs, la descente des âmes dans la matière, et par le deuxième demi-cercle, l'ascension des âmes vers Dieu. La présence du cheikh au centre de ces deux arcs de demi-cercle signifie le soleil et le moment béatifique de l'union accomplie.²⁸ La poésie de Rumi, influencée par les néoplatoniciens, tout comme les textes paulines exprime la même idée: « Sans Amour, le Monde ne serait pas vivant. » (Mathnavi, III, 1975). Cf à Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, ed. cit.

²⁹ Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, cap. *Doctrine și practici lamaiste*, p. 637.

³⁰ « Quant à la méthode d'acquérir la connaissance, si vous trouvez qu'une certaine pratique amplifie vos mauvaises passions, abandonnez-la, bien qu'elle puisse paraître comme étant vertueuse; et si quelque ligne d'action tend vers l'Altruisme et contrecarre les cinq mauvaises passions (la colère, l'antipathie, l'égoïsme, l'avarice, l'ambition), sachez que c'est la vraie Dharma-Kaya, et continuez-la, même si elle pourrait sembler corrompue à ceux soumis aux conventionalités profanes ». Milarepa, *op. cit.*

Lumière Claire. Du lotus de la racine Kundalini, la terre se lève dans le lotus à mille pétales et descend sur le dévot la pluie extatique de lumière. La Roue de la naissance et de la mort, la renaissance sont vues (ou comprises) dans le pays de la lumière claire.

Le rôle hiérophantique de l'image. L'image ésotérique (la croix, l'étoile de Solomon, le cercle, la roue, l'arbre, etc.) fonctionne d'abord comme un signe noétique, car le message compris dans l'image signifiante réclame toujours un système gnostique et assume sa finalité didactique. D'autre part, comme signe inductif³¹ l'image ésotérique s'oriente vers une réalité indicible, fonctionnant hiérophantique³², un signe du pouvoir révélé, support pour un référent, appartenant à la surréalité. Dans cet ordre de révélation des plus inimaginables connexions cognitives, l'image ésotérique, en tant que symbole ésotérique, développe une zone d'ombre, qui prolonge mystérieusement le visage du monde et entraîne le lecteur dans une recherche initiatique ardue, dramatique, en l'obligeant de vivre dans une complicité assumée avec le sacré. Comme nous l'avons observé, la colonne devient récipient du souffle divin, objet consacré, et conformément à la théorie de Mircea Eliade ou d'Émile Durkheim, elle est différente en tant que régime ontologique. Saisie comme signe du miracle, celle-ci révèle le mystère clos dans la forme visible et se manifeste comme *locum* où se produit l'unité entre profane et sacré. Orientant par sa fonction de signification vers les archétypes, un monde purifié de toute matérialité, l'image fait référence au sacré. Le rapprochement physique de sa corporalité spéciale, peut produire une rupture de niveau ontique, à la suite d'une participation directe et consciente à « la réalité auguste ». Fondé sur une phénoménologie du sacré, le mystère de l'image exotérique éveille « le sujet contemplateur » par une « rupture de niveau ».

Dans ces conditions-ci, le signe se libère des conditionnements terrestres, se désincarne et se laisse interprété, par une série d'autres signes, qui ouvrent le sens vers le silence, là où l'être coïncide au néant. Il n'y a pas d'interprétation totale, ni d'objectivation parfaite. Le sens complet de

³¹ Jean Borella, 1989, *Le mystère du signe*, Editions Maisonneuve, Paris: Larose, p. 213.

³² Mircea Eliade, 1994, *Imagini și simboluri*, București: Editura Humanitas.

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l'image exotérique reste toujours incomplet: "Fata: Că nu mai știți să terminați Coloana?" "Brâncuși: (izbucnind în rîs) Asta-i bună! Cum s-o termin dacă e fără sfârșit?...Nici Dumnezeu din cer nu poate s-o termine".³³

« La fille : Vous ne savez plus commentachever la Colonne ?

"Brâncuși : (éclatant de rire) Ça alors ! Comment la finir si elle est sans fin?...Ni même Dieu du ciel ne peut l'achever».

Le Mythos comme récit qui révèle une connaissance diminuée offre des solutions aux contradictions du monde moderne aboutissant par le langage intentionnel à donner une forme à ce qui est privé de forme: "Brâncuși (ridicând din umeri): Nu mă întreba pe mine. Eu v-am făcut Coloana ca să vă amintească că drumul spre Cer e greu și anevoios. Nu poți ajunge acolo zburând ca păsările. Trebuie să urci și orice urcuș e greu: uneori urci cu mâinile și cu picioarele.(..) Un foarte mare efort tinere! Muncă, muncă, trudă, renunțare. Nu te poți înălța altminteri.(...) Către Cer omul trebuie să urce pe jos, cu picioarele lui".³⁴

« Brâncuși (haussant des épaules): Ne me demande pas! Je vous ai fait la Colonne pour qu'elle vous rappelle que la voie vers le Ciel est difficile et ardue. On ne peut pas arriver là-haut en volant comme les oiseaux. On doit y monter et toute montée est difficile : parfois on monte avec les mains et les pieds. (..) Un très grand effort, jeune homme! Du travail, du travail, de la peine, du renoncement. Autrement, on ne peut pas se lever. (...) Vers le Ciel l'homme doit monter à pied, avec ses propres jambes. » Dans le labyrinthe on pénètre seul, pour pouvoir arriver jusqu'au centre, sauf que, celui qui a peur de rester avec lui-même, qui craint la vérité cachée dans les nuits de l'inconscient, celui qui ne peut pas regarder par la porte étroite et qui s'effraye du miroir de l'âme, de contes enfermés dans l'obscurité, celui-ci a peur de rencontrer son soi: "Brâncuși (cu animație): Aceasta e cuvântul potrivit: nu poate rezista și iese repede afară. La lumină, la căldură...." "Fata: Monumentul îl elimină, aşa cum..." "Tânărul filosof (întrerupând-o): Știi, știi. Cunosc exemplul clasic: aşa cum orice organism elimină un corp străin, Bunăoară..." Tânărul critic(întrerupându-l): dar de ce

³³ Mircea Eliade, 1996, *Coloana nesfârșită*, București: Editura Minerva, p. 123.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 145.

trebuie să intrăm pe sub pământ, Maître, de ce pe sub pământ și de unul singur?" "Brâncuși (râzând).Dar dumneata cum ai venit pe lume? N-ai venit singur? Și de unde ai venit?" "Fata: N-ai venit din sânul Mamei Pământ?" "Tânărul critic: Bine, asta a fost odată, la început. De ce să ne mai repetăm, fiecare, nașterea noastră exemplară din sânul Mamei-Pământ?" "Brâncuși (exasperat): Atunci n-ai înțeles nimic. Inutil să mai continuaăm. ..Nu înțelegeți"³⁵

« Brâncuși (animé): c'est le mot juste: il ne peut pas résister et sort vite dehors. À la lumière, à la chaleur.... » « La fille: Le monument l'élimine, tel comme... » « Le Jeune philosophe (en l'interrompant): Je le sais, je le sais. Je connais l'exemple classique: de la même façon que tout organisme élimine un corps étranger... « Le Jeune critique (en l'interrompant): mais pourquoi doit-on pénétrer par-dessous la terre, Maître, pourquoi par-dessous la terre et pourquoi tout seul ? » « Brâncuși (riant). Et vous ? Comment êtes-vous venu au monde ? N'êtes-vous pas venu seul ? Et d'où êtes-vous venu? » « La fille: N'êtes-vous pas venu du sein de la Mère Terre? » « Le Jeune critique: D'accord, ça a été une fois, au début. Pourquoi répéter encore, chacun d'entre nous notre naissance exemplaire du sein de la Mère Terre? » « Brâncuși (exaspéré): Alors vous n'avez rien compris. C'est inutile de continuer...Vous ne comprenez pas. »

Au centre du labyrinthe imaginé par Brâncuși, on ne trouve pas le Minotaure, mais la Lumière. La rencontre avec *sambogakhaya*, le corps aveuglant de lumière, que Ștefan Viziru cherche dans *Noaptea de Sânziene*, qu'il trouve de façon symbolique évidemment, dans la chambre Sambo, nom qui reprend la dénomination de « lumière claire » (*sambogakhaya*). Quelque douloureuse que ce soit la montée ou la descente au sein de la Mère-Terre, le néophyte se trouve en permanence sur un axe de la lumière. C'est la leçon de la Colonne, et en même temps la théorie d'Eliade de la dialectique sacre-profane. Le personnage explique le mystère Maha-Mudra, la rencontre de la vacuité absolue au cœur de la vie, quelque troublante qu'elle soit et donne une réponse à une question impossible. « Comment

³⁵ Mircea Eliade, 1996, *Coloana nesfârșită*, București: Editura Minerva, p.157.

faire pour que l'espace et la lumière te forcent à te retrouver toi-même ».³⁶ Au centre du labyrinthe on ne trouve pas le monstre, mais la lumière, tout comme dans le processus d'individualisation de Jung, au bout duquel l'être dyadique, le soi, se recompose dans la lumière de la raison. "Fata: (...) Vă gândeаti tot timpul la India, Maestre! Vă gândeаti: cum aş putea să utilizez doar *spațiul și lumina*, cum aş putea sili omul să mediteze și să se descopere pe sine, să se identifice, în sfârșit, cu adevărata lui ființă, cu *atman*, să se recunoască drept ceea ce a fost la început și n-a încetat niciodată să fie".³⁷

« La fille: (...) vous pensiez toujours à l'Inde, Maître! Vous pensiez: comment je pourrais utiliser seulement *l'espace et la lumière*, comment je pourrais forcer l'homme à méditer et à se découvrir soi-même, à s'identifier, finalement, à son vrai être, à *atman*, à se reconnaître pour ce qui a été au début et qui n'a jamais cessé d'être. »

En tant que langage hiérophantique, l'image symbolique remplit d'une part une fonction existentielle, visant les réalités qui engagent directement l'être, d'autre part la fonction cognitive, déchiffrant les signes de la transcendance. La soif de symbole indique dans la littérature de Mircea Eliade l'impératif de communiquer l'initiation. Selon Gilbert Durand, l'imagination améliore le régime humain dans le monde³⁸, le monde sensible peut être connu mystiquement car la représentation imaginaire incorpore un significat spirituel. Son corps vestigial est le témoin présent de cette réalité-là qui manque, une réalité à laquelle l'image symbolique fait référence. Par les structures de sa mystérieuse géométrie, la colonne active la loi de l'analogie inverse, elle montre vers la terre et œuvre dans le ciel, démontrant son pouvoir magique : „A fost destul de greu, și mi-au trebuit mulți ani până i-am dat de rost, a fost greu să raspund la prima întrebare: cum să fac, ca spațiul și lumina să te silească să te gasești pe tine însuți?”, „Fata : Și totuși, dacă știi cum să transformi materia prin lumină, problema e aproape rezolvată. Căci, nu era asta problema, maestru? Cum să arăt mai

³⁶ Ibidem., p. 161.

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 162.

³⁸ Gilbert Durand, 1977, *Structurile antropologice ale imaginariului*, București: Editura Univers.

convingător transmutarea materiei în lumina, în aşa fel încât să precipite metamorfoza spirituală a celui care pătrunde în Monument »? ³⁹

« Ça a été assez difficile, et il m'a fallu beaucoup d'années à lui trouver un sens, ça a été difficile de répondre à la première question: comment faire, pour que l'espace et la lumière te forcent à te retrouver toi-même? » « La fille: Et pourtant, si tu sais comment transformer la matière par la lumière, le problème est presque résolu. Car, le problème était celui-ci, n'est-ce pas, maître? Comment montrer de manière plus convaincante la transmutation de la matière en lumière, de sorte que je précipite la métamorphose spirituelle de celui qui pénètre dans le Monument? »

Dans le théâtre de Mircea Eliade la matérialité des codes de la représentation scénique, associés obligatoirement au discours dramatique, génère une permanente passage d'un langage à l'autre, rendant possible la manifestation de l'esprit en matière: " Brâncuși (zâmbind): Când am de spus ceva esențial știi cum spun (arată coloana.) Poate că aş mai avea timp să le spun doar atât: că ce am crezut la început că e un punct de plecare (arată coloana), era, tot, de la nceput. Punct final: alfa și omega... După Coloana nesfarsită doar tăcerea ar mai avea vreun sens".⁴⁰

« Brâncuși (souriant): quand j'ai quelque chose d'essentiel à dire, tu sais comment je le dis (il montre la colonne). Peut-être j'aurais encore du temps à leur dire seulement ceci : ce que j'ai cru au début que c'était un point de départ (il montre la colonne), c'était, tout, dès le début. Point final: alfa et oméga... Après la Colonne sans fin seulement le silence aurait du sens. »

L'image hiérophantique de la Colonne sans fin transforme la plus aggressive expérience de l'existence, la mort, dans une expérience mystique, un acte de régénération de l'être dans la Nuit Cosmique, où la reconstitution de la condition embryonnaire a lieu.

Les personnages appartiennent à la catégorie de ceux peu nombreux qui vivent la sacralité du réel et qui, de négation en négation

³⁹ Mircea Eliade, 1996, *Coloana nesfărșită*, București: Editura Minerva, p. 163.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p.164.

(*neti, neti*) ascensionnent vers les cercles de la lumière, où le Néant et le Silence aboutissent à coïncider. :

„Fata (vorbind din ce în ce mai tare) Am să vă dansez ca atunci, vreți, maestre? Mai aveți timp. (...) (Brâncuși întoarce capul și o privește lung, senin, cu mare dragoste.....Umbra coloanei începe să se lumineze parcă dinăuntru, sfărșind prin a semăna cu un Pod. Brâncusi începe a urca încet pe umbra iluminată a Coloanei, cu capul sus, drept, aşa cum arăta în 1937... Lumina misterioasă care străbate din umbra misterioasă a coloanei crește tot mai mult.... fata cade în genunchi căzând cum Brancuși se pierde în lumină. (Muzica încetează) E adevărat Maestre? E adevărat că asta ai vrut să ne spui? Că mai mare și mai puternică decât toate e Tăcerea”?⁴¹

« La fille (parlant de plus en plus fort) Je vais vous danser comme alors, vous le voulez, Maître? Vous avez encore du temps. (...) (Brâncuși tourne la tête et la regarde longuement, avec sérénité, et un grand amour...L'ombre de la colonne commence à s'illuminer de l'intérieur, finissant à ressembler à un Pont. Brâncuși commence à monter doucement sur l'ombre illuminé de la Colonne, la tête levée, droit, comme il l'était en 1937... La lumière mystérieuse qui pénètre l'ombre mystérieux de la colonne augmente de plus en plus.... la fille tombe en genoux quand elle voit Brancuși se perdre dans la lumière. (La musique s'arrête). Est-ce vrai, Maître? C'est vraiment ce que vous avez voulu nous dire ? Que le Silence est plus grand et plus fort que toute autre chose ? »

L'épisode final de la pièce de théâtre pourrait être interprété du point de vue de l'ésotérisme comme une naissance *surnaturelle du héros, une issue de l'œuf*, ou, autrement dit, une libération de la chaîne des conditionnements ontiques. La nouvelle active le complexe magico-religieux de l'enchaîné, qui intègre une somme d'archétypes qui sont en relation constellée: le tissu du cosmos, (*Maya*), le labyrinthe, la chaîne des

⁴¹ Mircea Eliade, 2000, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, București: Universul Enciclopedic, p. 166.

existences, (*Samsara*), le jeu de la création (*lila*), mais aussi les mythes de l'ascension par la sortie du labyrinthe.⁴²

La lumière qui donne naissance à un œuf. La sotériologie tibétaine associe la lumière à l'esprit, dès *Rig Veda*. L'homologie: divinité, esprit, lumière, *semen virile* est présente également dans *Upaniṣade*. Les traditions du lamaïsme tibétain soutiennent qu'au début, la lumière Blanche a donné naissance à un œuf d'où l'Homme Primordial est sorti.⁴³ L'œuf, le symbole du soi, incarne toutes les vertus de *Tri-kaya*, et seulement s'il est vu, il sauve les êtres de la roue de la naissance et de la Mort, apportant l'état de Budha. Bien qu'il ne puisse être la propriété de personne, tous les hommes sont saisis en lui. Il est décrit de cette façon en *Maha-Mudra*. Les êtres humains primordiaux se reproduisaient à l'aide de la lumière qu'ils s'envoyaient l'un à l'autre pour procréer. Quand le désir sexuel est apparu, par analogie cosmique, le soleil et la lune sont apparus dans le ciel, puisque dans les hommes la lumière avait baissé. Dans le rituel de *maithuna* un brin de cette lumière perdue, « une lumière quintuplé » descend du sommet de la tête de ces deux et leur remplit les organes sexuels, éveillant la conscience nirvanique, captive, tout comme la perle magique dans les abîmes des eaux. La lumière quintuplée réveille l'esprit et l'esprit peut voler comme une flèche de lumière par la « Cheminée du ciel »,⁴⁴ de la même manière qu'au moment de la mort, ce qui signifie que l'initié tantrique peut vivre paradoxalement sa mort durant la vie. La colonne est une Cheminée du ciel, par laquelle la lumière de la naissance descend et la lumière de la mort

⁴² La deuxième école de la pensée indienne est celle bouddhiste, qui a son tour est divisée en deux grands branches: *hinayana* et *mahayana*. Les éléments communs de ces deux écoles sont la non-violence dans toute manifestation, la prise de conscience des connexions de tous les événements existentiels, la pratique des vertus intérieurs, la tolérance et l'ouverture spirituelle. Un autre élément commun de ces doctrines, décrites largement par Mircea Eliade (*Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase, Yoga și Patanjali, Yoga, nemurire și libertate*) est l'identité entre *Brahman* et *Samsara*. Celui qui réalise pendant sa vie cette identité se transforme en un *bodhisattva*, un individu en qui toute forme de dualisme est transcendée, grâce à l'union entre l'intellect et l'intuition. Il passe de l'illusion, à la connaissance de la vérité.

⁴³ Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, ed. cit., p. 639.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 641.

monte pour fusionner dans la lumière infinie. Dans *Bardo Thödol*, livre sacré qui est lu par un lama au chevet du mourant, il avertit que celui-ci sera accueilli par une lumière aveuglante qui est le Soi et la réalité ultime et dont il ne doit pas s'effrayer. S'il ne s'est pas libéré pendant sa vie, l'homme a encore une chance à se libérer, au premier instant de sa mort. » L'expérimentation post-mortem de la Lumière constitue la dernière et peut-être la plus difficile preuve initiatique. ».⁴⁵ Celui-ci semble être le message ultime de la pièce de théâtre *La Colonne sans fin*. Ce type de littérature, surchargée d'images symboliques répond au besoin de transmettre au lecteur une tradition ésotérique. Les écrits sacrés s'inscrivent dans ce paradigme, la littérature du Moyen Âge sur la quête du Graal, puis Dante dans *Divina comedie*, Goethe dans *Faust*, Baudelaire dans *Elévation*, Balzac dans *Seraphita*, et ainsi de suite.

Quand la Parole a été prononcée et le texte l'a encrypté dans sa lettre, le personnage sort de la scène, mais pas avant qu'il rappelle à ceux qui continuent à ne pas comprendre *qu'il y a encore un pont, une colonne, une issue de la Roue*, au moment où l'être traverse les eaux de Vavilon et on lui permet encore une fois la réflexion dans la vraie lumière; le héros se glisse par où la nuit rencontre le jour, il passe parmi les deux pierres de moulin qui ne cessent pas de moudre. La rencontre avec ce moment favorable, peu importe sur quel « rayon » de la roue se produit, elle porte les marques d'un *misterium tremendum*: « tu sens la bénédiction indescriptible au moment où on est saisi par la peur, elle te saisi d'un coup de partout, elle prend sa source de la profondeur, dans le cœur de la vie et si à cet instant tu ne te dis pas : il faut qu'il y ait une sortie ! Tu es perdu, tu ne peux plus retourner, tu es resté enterré tout en étant vivant, dans cette crypte-là du cœur de la montagne, dans cette chambre-là obscure sans portes et sans fenêtres. Je ressens cette bénédiction, je me sens saisi par la peur et je me dis et je vous dis aussi : il y a une sortie ! »

La pierre, une modulation du silence. Seulement le silence se trouve « dans la transcendance du langage et en dehors de tout illusion », car

⁴⁵ *Ibidem.*

le silence mystique rend possible la présentification d'une réalité surnaturelle. Pour le personnage Brâncuși la pierre devient une modulation du silence. Quel silence peut être plus assourdissant que celui de la pierre animée? L'œuvre de Brâncuși s'offre à guider en silence sur la voie de la quête. Les enfants trouvent en silence la réponse, une réponse qu'anima *mundi*, celle qui a animé l'œuvre, connaît aussi. Le silence rend plus aiguë la vigilance et la ferveur de la quête, il aide le disciple à trouver les indices qui mènent vers «les clés du jardin», car la vérité doit être conquise individuellement, par effort, comme dans les contes. L'absence de la réponse engage la quête et paradoxalement, situe celui qui est en quête dans la présence du sacre pressenti. Le témoin silencieux attend le Silence.

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POLTERGEIST PHENOMENA IN CONTEMPORARY FOLKLORE

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Abstract:

The article deals with instances of the supernatural in Romanian urban legends, namely what we call the *strigoi*, or poltergeist. Usually, folklorists tend to exclude the supernatural from the category of urban legends, however we have decided to take these accounts into consideration based on the fact that the transmitter, the narrators do not distinguish between these elements and the rest of contemporary legends and today's popular culture abounds in such accounts.

Key-words:

Urban legend, supernatural, *strigoi*, annihilation ritual, demonic power.

The belief in a reality which transcends the boundaries of our daily existence is as old as humankind itself; furthermore, during the past years, there has been a growing interest in the paranormal and supernatural. People outspokenly express their opinions on guardian angels, the belief in life after death, extrasensory perceptions and the existence of ghosts (Steiger, 2003: xiii). According to a 2001 Gallup survey, cited by the *Gale Encyclopedia of the Unusual and Unexplained*, 54% of Americans believe in faith healing, 41% admit that people can be possessed by the devil and 38% believe in spirits and ghosts. Another research conducted in the United Kingdom in 2012 revealed that the British are more likely to believe in aliens than in God¹, while a 2013

¹<http://www.ziare.com/magazin/ozn/britanicii-cred-mai-mult-in-extraterestri-decat-in-dumnezeu-1196628> (published October 19, 2012, accessed September 2, 2014).

Romanian poll showed that more than half of respondents believe in life after death, in heaven and hell².

The ancient conviction that there is life after death, that the soul of a deceased person has the ability to stay or return to the world of the living, as well as the fear of evil powers of the dead underlie the belief in demonic creatures such as *strigoi* ‘poltergeist’, devils or ghosts. It is the *strigoi* legends that will be dealt with further on.

We know that the *strigoi* is a human being (man or woman) who is born with a cap on his/her head (a residue of the embryonic membrane) (Candrea, 1999: 174) or with some specific marks (such as pale blue eyes or a white spot of hair, as we shall see). We also know that there are living *strigoi*, people who are alive but possess devilish traits, who behave as humans during the day, but, at night, their soul leaves the body and goes to meet other *strigoi*. The more dangerous are the dead *strigoi*, whose soul comes out of the grave, becomes incarnate and runs riot amidst the people. One account describes an incident that occurred shortly after the 1977 earthquake: a man (a distant cousin of the narrator) loses his wife and one month after the unfortunate event, his two children tell him that, every night, while he is at work, a woman comes to the house and calls them at the window. Disbelieving the *story* of the little ones, our hero decides to prove all is just a figment of imagination of children longing for their mother and for the presence of the only parent alive, who also *leaves* them every night to go to work. The confirmation, or in this case, invalidation of strangeness requires some kind of material evidence.

“To prove the little ones that there was no one in the courtyard calling them, he took a sieve and scattered ashes on the footpath from the window as far as the gate. After dark, the man heard a woman’s voice that resembled his wife’s. He did not dare go out or answer. In the

²<http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-esential-15376964-sondaj-ires-despre-religie-55-dintre-respondenti-sunt-acord-slujba-sfintire-masinilor-50-vor-biserica-ocupe-problema-homosexualitatii-16-tin-cont-horoscop-viata.htm> (published August 14, 2013, accessed September 2, 2014).

morning, he noticed footprints in the ashes scattered on the alley. It is known that people with leg defects stomp. So was his wife, lame in her left leg, and the prints in the ashes were heavy. He went to the priest and asked his permission to exhume his wife. When they opened the coffin, the woman lay face down, bearing no sign that she was dead. (Costin C., journalist)

Do we know *for sure* that it is an unearthly creature? We can only guess. Nowhere in this narrative is this clearly specified, even the hero seems to doubt the presence of the supernatural, for he needs concrete evidence: the voice, which is not his wife's but only *resembles* it, frightens but does not completely convince him (it may just be an illusion of a too tense a mind in expectation of *something*), while the footprints that point to a person with some physical deformity, just like his spouse's, prompt him to go further, in search of new proofs: the exhumation of the corpse. Only then is the *uncanniness* of the situation revealed: “*When they opened the coffin, the woman lay face down, bearing no sign that she was dead*”. This and nothing more. Naturally, the question “so what then?”. Our expectations, as audience, are deceived, as the account ends abruptly, with no such conclusion as “the woman was a *strigoi*”.

The narrator feels no need to add an explanation. He does not validate or denies the *truth*, he only presents facts, provides clues and leaves us, the audience, to draw our own conclusions. It is his way of taking a distance from his account. He places the narrative quite accurately, “shortly after the 1977 earthquake” and it seems to be a sure thing, especially as the transmitter has a profession that requires the verification of sources. However, the account is neutral, journalistic and, though there is an emotional connection between the narrator and the hero (they are cousins), it is still a distant family relationship (a distant cousin). Thus, the teller, right from the very beginning, seems to detach himself from what he is about to recount, declining any responsibility for the story he tells.

Therefore, the ambiguous ending does not prevent us from making a few assumptions based on old folk beliefs according to which the *strigoi* comes at night to people's houses, knocks at doors and windows and asks to be let inside (Candrea, 1999: 176) ("After dark, the man heard a woman's voice that resembled his wife's"). And further on, the same beliefs tell us that the *strigoi* "can be recognised by the way they lie in the grave, either face down or, more often, on one side. [...] When they unbury a strigoi, they always find it complete and undecayed, as it was buried" (Candrea, 1999: 177) ("when they opened the coffin, the woman lay face down, bearing no sign that she was dead"). Hence, in the absence of some rational, scientific explanation of the situation, the woman may as well be a *strigoi*.

In the next story, however, the "diagnosis" is already established:

"I heard the story from a former schoolmate. Apparently, several houses away, a woman died. She was one of those people born with a white strand of hair who are said to turn into strigoi after they die. The simple ritual that had to be fulfilled was to stick a spike in her heart. But the husband did not believe in superstitions and would not mutilate his late wife, so he gave up the idea. Well, as is tradition, people came to attend the wake and, on the second night, one of those mourning the dead woman saw her smile. And how she was grinning from ear to ear! The man got scared and called the widower. The latter insisted it was only a rictus and still would not stick a nail in her heart. It was all well and good, but the next morning they found one of the mourners dead. Call the doctor, call the police, turn him, smell him, tickle him... the conclusion: dead of natural causes. Old women started to talk, that she was dead, she was a strigoi, she had to be stabbed. The husband would not hear of that. Another day passed, the last day of wake. In the morning, the priest came, people came to attend the funeral and... surprise! Another mourner dead nearby the smiling stiff. Again came the police, the doctor... the same conclusion. And what with the priest and his crosses and what with the crones and the spike and the husband still refused.

Eventually, several villagers pinned him down and the priest took out a stake and pierced her heart. This friend of mine said that the blood gushed from her chest as if from a tank, they heard a short shriek and the smile vanished from the stiff's face. They all made the sign of the cross and proceeded with the funeral. And, after that, peace and quiet.”³

This story was collected from the Internet, from a specialised blog, which is an indication that urban legends have stepped into the 21st century. Just as the previous story, the narrator (the blogger) also reveals his source – “a former schoolmate” – precisely to make his story credible, although the use of “apparently” seems to cast a shadow of doubt over the authenticity of the incident.

Here there are all conditions for the deceased person to turn into a *strigoi*: she was born with a white strand of hair, so it is clear what has to be done: the *strigoi* has to be *fixed*. In other words, a typical ritual must be performed so as to prevent the dead person’s soul from coming out of the grave and harassing people, to annul the demonic power: to stick a spike in its heart. What the villagers deem to be beyond any doubt, the widower believes it is just superstition, so he opposes his wife’s being mutilated, which is an attitude that contravenes the laws of the community. Coincidence or a consequence of violating tradition, a number of bizarre incidents occur. First, the dead woman smiles “from ear to ear”, a grin that fills people with terror, except the husband who merely thinks it is only a normal post-mortem rictus. Then, the two nights of wake bring the sudden death, “by natural causes” – the authorities conclude – of two of the grievers. The traditionalist community judges differently: “*Old women started to talk, that she was dead, she was a strigoi, she had to be stabbed*”, therefore what is meant to happen happens, for the *strigoi* does not undergo the ritual of annihilation: it returns to the world of the living and kills those it comes in contact with.

³ <http://legendeurbane.blogspot.com/> (accessed February 23, 2012).

The widower himself becomes a danger to the safety of the others by refusing to conform to the unwritten laws, so his fellowmen are forced to put the community's interest ahead of the individual's will and perform the ritualistic ceremonial. "*After that, peace and quiet*", a sign that the *execution* according to tradition of the *strigoi* restores the natural order of things.

As previously mentioned, since this is a legend, the narrator does not completely assume the veracity of the incident, for he is not involved in the events. But he speaks as if he were in front of us, an acquaintance of ours, therefore someone who inspires confidence. Apparently, he doesn't seek to create an aura of mystery, a tension which is after all natural in the case of a story about demons; on the contrary, the atmosphere is relaxed and the narrator's purpose is rather to entertain his audience. His tone is humorous, his account becomes amusing through the use of some words which seem quite inappropriate, for they are in contrast with the sinister situation, the comic has grotesque shades: "And how she was grinning from ear to ear!", "call the doctor, call the police, *turn him, smell him, tickle him*", "another mourner dead nearby *the smiling stiff*". Thus, the transmitter becomes a credible *entertainer*. However, the facts converging towards a dramatic climax seem less plausible: the *strigoi* is finally nailed and "*the blood gushed from her chest as if from a tank, they heard a short shriek and the smile vanished from the stiff's face*". It is as if we were watching the scene of the slaying of a vampire in a typical Hollywood horror movie parody.

Further on, the *strigoi* is somewhat more special:

"In a village from Valcea County, a family was preparing the funeral of their great-grandmother, Paraschiva, who had been born with a white membrane on her head and pale blue eyes, just like all the strigoi. Moreover, all her life, the great-grandmother, also nicknamed Aunt Schiva, had had a white hair strand, which is a clear sign of holiness. Her family was not too willing to bury a strigoi woman, for they feared that, after the burial, she would come and haunt them. To prevent

a possible haunting, all family members agreed to stick a spike in their great-grandmother's heart. They put the coffin on a table in the courtyard, called some hard-hearted neighbour and asked him to stick the pale into Aunt Schiva, which just a couple of minutes later happened. After grieving some time by the coffin, the family, the priest and the cantor tried to take it from the table. Stupor! The coffin was impossible to move, the dead woman would not let herself taken to the grave. The family crossed, the priest crossed, the cantor took another sip of brandy and started to burn incense. Apparently, Aunt Schiva had become extremely heavy, just like Saint Parascheva who is said to be impossible to be budged. People say that, to this day, Paraschiva's coffin has not been moved from the courtyard in that Valcea village and thousands of pilgrims come every day from all over the country to touch it.”⁴

So we have a geographically, though vaguely, specified area, “a village from Valcea County”, and a name, Aunt Paraschiva, elements which anchor the story in reality and make it veridical. The account is dry, concise, devoid of emotion, while facts are well connected just like a well-planned scenario. The burial ceremonial follows the usual stages; the only deviation is the stabbing in the heart of the potential *strigoi*. The woman displays the diagnostic signs of the ‘disease’: Paraschiva “had been born with a white membrane on her head and pale blue eyes, just like all the *strigoī*”, so she will go through an annihilation ritual. It is only a precautionary measure, carried out quickly and without incidents by some ordinary person with a little more strength of character. Still, there is one detail that strikes: beside the potentially evil traits, the old woman has an additional “clear sign of holiness”, the white strand of hair.

So far, even the narrator does not seem to question the authenticity of events because everything is circumscribed within an utterly banal normality. It is towards the end that the sensational element

⁴<http://www.tpu.ro/adolescenti/sallz-tpu-va-rog-spuneti-mi-niste-legende-urbane-ex-bloody-mary-sa-fie-foarte-de-groaza-as-vrea-sa-speriu-pe-cineva/> (accessed February 23, 2012).

occurs: the late great-grandmother becomes so heavy that the coffin cannot be budged. Only now does communication somehow undermine the truth of the facts (*apparently*, Aunt Paraschiva had become heavy, *people say* that the coffin is still in the courtyard). So, it is not the existence of the undead that is challenged, but what is truly exceptional, out of the ordinary and, hence, put in some doubt, is that a *strigoi* whose evil power has been suppressed has transformed into a saint.

The comparison with Saint Parascheva is also interesting. Similarities between the two go beyond the name they bear and the fact that their relics draw thousands of pilgrims. It is also the ambivalence of the two figures. Folk belief assimilates Saint Parascheva to Sfânta Vineri, a dual deity in Romanian mythology, in whom two diametrically opposed aspects coexist: a malefic, punitive one and another which is beneficial, protective. In her evil instance, Sfânta Vineri haunts people's houses starting on Thursday night and punishes housewives who do not honour the day by not working. Or, as Otilia Hedeşan puts it, "*It is obvious that the saint is connected to the 'other world' rather than to a canonical-Christian sacredness, while her troubling apparitions, at certain hours of night and in areas that facilitate the passage between the realms of the living and of the dead, place her closer to post-funerary strigoi. On the other hand, her actual involvement into the world of witches puts her nearby the living strigoi, that, according to tradition, are responsible for a number of magical practices*" (Hedeşan, 2000: 63). In her positive hypostasis, Sfânta Vineri is the patroness of women and travellers, of animals and birds. This dual nature makes it possible for the traits and attributes of Saint Parascheva/Vineri to be transferred upon Aunt Paraschiva, *the holy strigoi*.

Folklorists often exclude from the definitions they give to contemporary legends such phenomena as the paranormal, the supernatural or cryptozoological elements. According to the American researcher Jan Harold Brunvand, few of the stories classified as "urban legends" involve the intervention of the supernatural, although most of

them display bizarre, unusual and generally *unnatural* features (Brunvand, 2001: 429), such as “The Vanishing Hitchhiker” or “The Devil at the Disco”. Still, Brunvand states, these are updated versions of traditional supernatural legends and are related to folk traditions of the past, while modern legends rely on real, though unusual, situations. By naming their object of study *modern*, *contemporary* or *urban* legend, folklorists do not include in this category those supernatural narratives, survivals of the times of yore, pushing them to the realm of *traditional* or *rural* folklore.

On the other hand, the Hungarian-American expert Linda Dégh challenged these views, convinced that modern industrial society favours and cultivates the irrational and the legend is precisely the perfect manifestation of it (Brunvand, 2001: 429). Dégh justifies her opinion giving as an example the existence of contemporary sects and cults, the numerous stories about haunted houses and the return of the dead or the attention to supernatural themes in the media. Hence, the researcher suggests that the legend be also defined as an account “*about an extranormal (supernatural or its equivalent) experience attested by situational facts*” which “*happens to average people within their cultural realms but contradicts accepted norms and values of society at large*” (Brunvand, 2001: 430).

The tales about supernatural beings are, according to the Romanian ethnologist Constantin Eretescu, a prolific category, as human existence cannot be conceived outside mythological beings. “*They accompany us, watch over our actions, punish and sometimes bless up*” (Eretescu, 2003: 34). Moreover, Eretescu believes, modern society has in no way altered ancient concepts about afterlife, reincarnation or spiritual survival after physical death (Eretescu, 2010: 16). The supernatural envelops the natural world and the dead stay with the living in a very real sense, witnessing the events of the earthly world and sometimes being even able to intervene.

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CONVERGENCES ET DIVERGENCES IDENTITAIRES

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ROMANIAN LANGUAGE ON THE ROMANI IDIOM OF TURDA, ROMANIA

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Abstract:

As is known, with any type of linguistic contact, interferences occur mostly in the lexical field, the most penetrable and mobile part of the system of a language, the behaviour which is most subject to extralinguistic influences of historical, social, political economic nature. It is the field which best highlights bilateral influences – not only at the mere lexical-semantic level (loan, translation, linguistic ones), but also at the lexico-grammatical level (taking over of affixal elements, composition structures, changes of the grammatical class, conversion, with the related semantic implications).

The issues that emerge in the case of the Romani language derive from the long-lasting diachronic nature of these interferences and from the multitude of influence sources. It is often possible that a language element should have entered the Romani speech through other language. On the other hand, their almost exclusively oral circulation makes it much more difficult to identify the origin of some words which are in a long process of successive adoptions at the phono-morphological and semantic level.¹

¹ Cf. P. Gh. Bârlea, 2013, p.132. The author refers to Antoine Meillet's statement according to which any vocabulary expresses, in fact, "a civilisation" (op. cit., p.137) Cf., also, P. Gh. Bârlea, 2010, *Multilingvismul și interculturalitate*, pp. 123-156.

Keywords: linguistic influences, Romani language, Romanian language, etymology, vocabulary, nominal structures, verbal structures.

1. Lexical elements in the Turda idiom

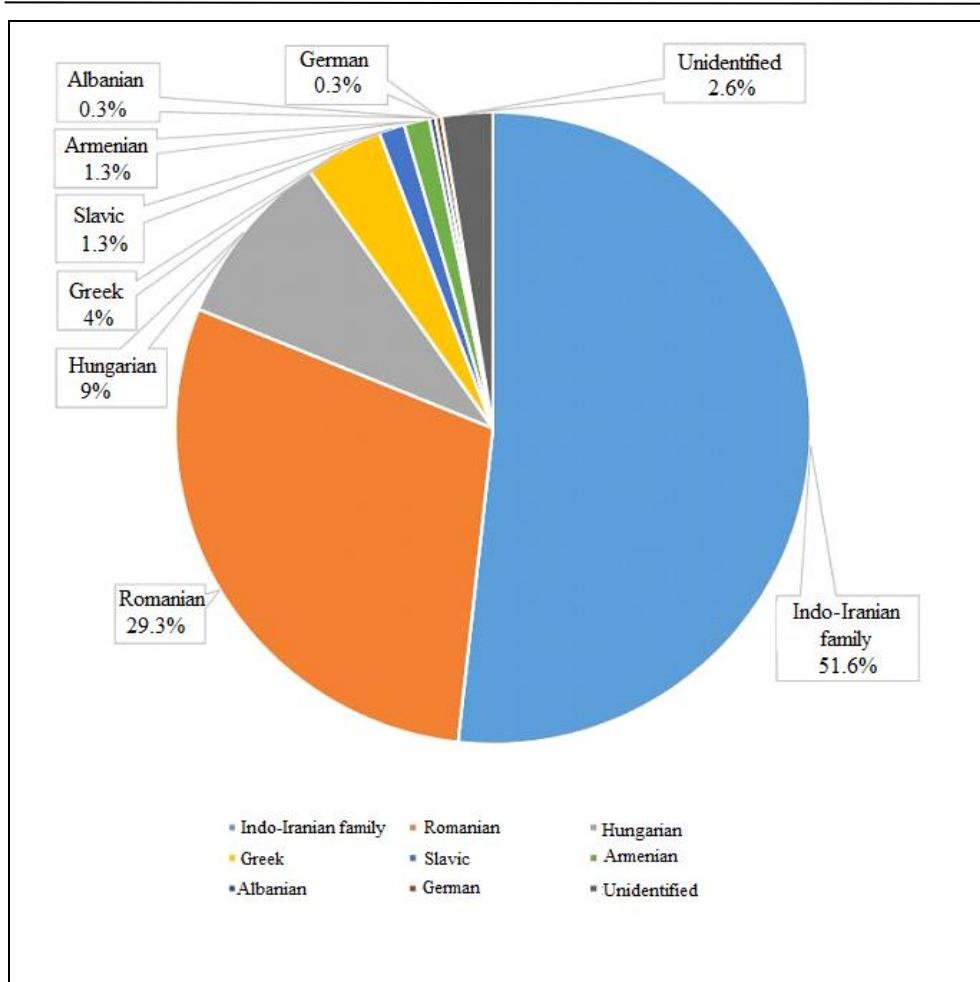
1.1. Statistical data on the etymology of words in the corpus of texts

From the relatively large number of texts we have recorded as well as from those taken from various (written) sources, we have selected approximately 1,700 vocabulary elements for our working corpus, cf. Annex 1. Index of Romani-Romanian terms. Establishing etymologies is admittedly an extremely laboriously operation even for the greatest specialists. Therefore we have considered that selecting a corpus of 300 words from various lexical fields and from all grammatical classes is enough for our study. The image this corpus provides reflects, in fact, the etymological explanations in the reference works in the field.²

Etymological source	Number of lexemes	Percentage
Of the Indo-Iranian family (old Indo-Iranian, Persian etc.)	155	51.6 %
Romanian	88	29.3 %
Hungarian	27	9 %
Greek	12	4 %
Slavic	4	1.3 %
Armenian	4	1.3 %
Albanian	1	0.3 %
German	1	0.3 %
Unidentified	8	2.6 %
Total	300	

² For clarifications in the field of Romani vocabulary etymology, we have used Boretzky & Igla, 1994.

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As the above statistical table shows, of the 300 words chosen according to a few *sui generis* criteria, about a half is represented by non-European, more precisely old Indo-Indian words. The other half is represented by words borrowed from Europe. The language which has most influenced this idiom is Romanian. Secondly, the Hungarian has significantly influenced the Romani language in the historical evolution the Carpathian Transylvanian dialect.

By analysing the etymology of the 300 words chosen from the approximately 1,700 words gathered from recording, we conclude that half

of words are of Indo-Iranian origin. The other half are words borrowed after the Roma people arrived in Europe. The most active language, in terms of power of influence, is the Romanian language, their secondary language today, which accounts for almost 30% of the vocabulary. Then, the Hungarian influences the Carpathian dialect, as almost 10% of the vocabulary is represented by words from the Hungarian.

1.2. Phono-morphological varieties of some terms

For some concepts, the idiom we have studied records two, three, sometimes even four different lexemes in terms of form and etymological source. In most cases, semantic and contextual-stylistic specialisations or nuances are only sometimes found.

tren ‘train’ – the word most frequently used for “tren” ‘train’ is *trelno*, a Romanian word turned Romani. Except the two words from the Romanian and the Hungarian *vonat* ‘train’, there is another word *gedès/i, -a*, which comes from the Hungarian *gőzös* ‘steam engine, locomotive’.

melc ‘snail’ – *ćebek/o, -e* is used by the new generation. Older people use *ćegebigo*. Progressive assimilation is to be noticed. This word comes from the Hungarian *csigabiga* ‘snail’.

râu ‘river’ – the word commonly used in the Romani language is *pani* ‘water’. *Pani* means not only ‘water’, but also whatever constitutes water. *Râu* ‘river’, *lac* ‘lake’, *mare* ‘sea’ are *pani* as well. In the Lovari dialect, *sea* is rendered by phrases such as *baro paji* “apă mare” ‘large water’.³ Except *pani*, this dialect also has *nirols/ii, -a*. This word designates more a ‘running water’ or ‘stream’. It probably comes from the old Hungarian words *nyíir* ‘marsh, mire’.

cărbune ‘charcoal’ – we notice that for “cărbune” the word *karbułn/o, -ă* is used. But the elder still preserve the old Romani word *angar*. Here the replacement of *Romani* words with corresponding terms

³ In the common Romani language, *derăv* is also used, deriving from the pers. *darya, derya(b)*.

from Romanian is to be noted.

român ‘Romanian’ – in the Romani language there are several words which render the context of “om” ‘man, human being’.

The semantic field of the concept of “om” ‘human being’				
	Man		Woman	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Romani adult	<i>rrom</i>	<i>rroma</i>	<i>rromni</i>	<i>rromnă</i>
Romani child	<i>čhavo</i>	<i>čhave</i>	<i>čhaj</i>	<i>čhaja</i>
Non-Romani adult	<i>gazo</i>	<i>gaze</i>	<i>gazi</i>	<i>gaza</i>
Non-Romani child	<i>raklo</i>	<i>rakle</i>	<i>rakli</i>	<i>raklă</i>
Human, as a being who is different from animals	<i>manuš</i>	<i>manuša</i>	<i>manuš</i> (<i>manušni</i>)	<i>manuša</i> (<i>manušnă</i>)
Emphasising of the gender/sex difference	<i>murs</i>	<i>mursa</i>	<i>žuvli</i>	<i>žuvlă</i>

All these words exist in the Carpathian dialect from Transylvania with the expected phonetic alterations. But of these, we should know that in this dialect the word *gaizio* (< *gazo*, with epenthesis) means ‘Romanian’ in its strict sense. Transylvania was under the Austro-Hungarian domination and the speakers of the Carpathian dialect from Transylvania were mostly in contact with the Hungarians. But, today, *gaizio* signifies “Romanian” rather than “Hungarian”. When the local people go to a Romanian they say “Ziaw mange k-o *gaizio*”, while, when they go to a Hungarian they say “Ziaw mange k-o *ułngro*”. Therefore, the word *gaizio*, in the strict sense, means “Romanian”. In its broader sense it also means “non-Romani”. Beside *gaizio*, there is also the word *lałh/o, -e*, which means “Romanian”.

el ‘he’ and ***ea*** ‘she’- In Questionnaire 17 we notice that one of the new generation informants does not distinguish between *vow* “el” ‘he’ and *voj* “ea” ‘she’ and uses only *voj* for both genders. In the Lovari dialect from Hungary this phenomenon is also noticed. The Hungarian does not have the

gender opposition marked by suffix and the pronoun *ő* is used for both *he* and *she*. For the speakers of the Lovari dialect from Hungary, the Hungarian is a secondary language, hence, in the Lovari dialect, there is only the pronoun *vőj* for the third person masculine and feminine in the plural. The same thing can be noted in the Poiana district, but it is rather a very rare phenomenon. Older people, who speak Hungarian, use *vow* and *vőj*. Therefore, we see that the phenomenon recorded in Questionnaire 17 does not result from the influence of the Hungarian language, but rather from the confusion of endings, which are hardly distinguishable when pronounced weakly.

a înțelege ‘to understand’- According to generation, old words tend to be replaced by words from Romanian. For example, old people prefer to use the verb *xatărel* “a simți, a înțelege” ‘to feel, to understand’, while the young use *înceleziinel* “a înțelege” ‘to understand’.

1.3. Conclusion on the lexical structure

The Carpathian Romani people lived in Transylvania under the Austro-Hungarian domination.⁴ As the older locals also speak Hungarian, we may conclude that their secondary language had been the Hungarian before Transylvania came back to Romania, after World War I. But, a few generations later, the influence of the Hungarian weakens and the Romanian dominates as a power of influence. We notice that for the word “tren” ‘train’ there are even three terms for three generations: *gedełsii*, from the Hungarian, which comes from *gőz* “vapor” ‘boat, ship’, is probably the oldest in terms of the meaning. This word is replaced with *vołnato*, also from Hungarian, *vonat*, which is used in the present-day Hungarian. But there is also a third variant, *trełno*, which comes from Romanian.

There are also phonetic alterations, depending on the generation, such as that in the structure of the word “melc” ‘snail’: *csigabiga* (magh.) > *cielgebigo* > *cielbebigo*.

⁴ Grin Dean, 2008. In the interview with the leader of the community this particularity is also obvious and declared as such.

2. Observations on the category of intensity of adjectives and adverbs

2.1. Degrees of comparison

The Romani language had the synthetic comparative degree ending *-eder*. But some dialects have lost this form and adopted the analytical form, with elements from other languages, such as *maj*, from Romanian, *naj* and *po*, from the Slavic languages, *leg*, from Hungarian, *da(h)a*, from Turkish, *pio*, from Greek, etc.

Of these, the most commonly used in Roma dialects from Romania is the adverbial element *maj*, which comes from the Romanian *mai*. In the Turda idiom, the comparative is also formed by means of *maj* and the respective adjective or adverb.

Főherczeg (1888) describes only the synthetic comparative by *-eder* or *-idir* (used by the German Roma people). But, he states, in the superlative, *naj*, *maj*, *leg*, *bala*, *kono* are added to the comparative form. Therefore, in his times, many dialects used *maj*, *naj* etc. as a marker of the superlative.

In the Carpathian dialect of Turda, the synthetic form has been lost. The Romanian language system has been completely adopted:

E Rominiłà n'avela maj ciorri. “România nu va fi mai săracă.”
('Romania will not be poorer.')

O cihave kampel t'aven maj godäver. “Băieții trebuie să fie mai deștepti.” ('Boys must be smarter.')

(Quest. 15)

In the superlative, just like the comparative degree, the Carpathian dialect from Transylvania has adopted the Romanian language system by means of the demonstrative adjective *cel*, *cea*, etc.

Tu avehe ciel maj laciho bulibalsa. “Tu o să fii cel mai bun bulibaşa.” ('You will be the best Gypsy chief.')

Voj avela ciea maj siukar cihej. „Ea o să fie fata cea mai frumoasă.”
('She will be the most beautiful girl.')

(Quest. 15)

But the issue of the plural appears.

Amen avaha ciel maj barvale. “Noi o să fim cei mai bogăți.” (‘We shall be the richest.’)

O cihaja hin ciel maj siukar. “Fetele sunt cele mai frumoase.” (‘Girls are the prettiest.’)

Von has le ciel maj ziungale k-e grădinița. “Ei au fost cei mai răi la grădiniță.” (‘They were the naughtiest in kindergarten.’)

(Quest. 15)

We see that, in the plural, **ciei* and **ciele* are not used, as in Romanian, but only *ciel*, which is identical with the masculine singular, according to the Romanian grammar. In the singular, all the people of Poiana make the difference by using *ciel* for masculine and *ciea* for feminine. Why haven't they adopted the Romanian *cei* and *cele* for the plural?

2.2. The articles in the structure of comparatives

The key is the definite articles in the Carpathian dialect. In the Romani Carpathian dialect, the definite article in the plural, both masculine and feminine, is identical with that for the masculine in the plural

Definite articles (N.) in the Carpathian dialect (and the Turda idiom)			
masc. sing.	fem. sing.	masc. pl.	fem. pl.
<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>

Demonstrative adjectives used for the superlative in the Turda idiom			
masc. sing.	fem. sing.	masc. pl.	fem. pl.
<i>ciel</i>	<i>ciea</i>	<i>ciel</i>	<i>ciel</i>

We note that the speakers of Poiana-Turda have adopted the structure and terms of the Romanian superlative, but not all of them. They use *ciel* from the masculine singular and plural in the Romani language system as they do with the definite article.

2.3. Conclusions on the category of intensity

In the Carpathian dialect of Turda the analytical comparative

and superlative degrees are used. The comparative uses *maj*, adverbial, for all genders. The superlative employs *ciel maj* in the masculine singular and plural, and *cîea maj* for the feminine singular. Without a doubt, it is the influence of the Romanian language. But innovations have been partially adopted.

Adjective <i>lacîho</i> “bun” ('good'), in the three degrees in the Roma idiom of Turda			
	Positive degree	Comparative degree	Superlative degree
masc. sing.	<i>lacîho</i>	<i>maj lacîho</i>	<i>ciel maj lacîho</i>
fem. sing.	<i>lacîhi</i>	<i>maj lacîhi</i>	<i>cîea maj lacîhi</i>
masc. pl.	<i>lacîhe</i>	<i>maj lacîhe</i>	<i>ciel maj lacîhe</i>
fem. pl.	<i>lacîhe</i>	<i>maj lacîhe</i>	<i>ciel maj lacîhe</i>

3. The issue of the vocative of nouns

In the Romani language, the vocative case of feminine singular nouns usually ends in *-(i)e* or *-(i)a*. Below are some examples from various dialects.

Lovari dialect, cf. Sztojkoï, Ilona-Glinda, Lindri, 2001-	
N. sing.	V. sing.
<i>gazii</i> “femeie nerromă” ‘non-Romani woman’	<i>gazia!</i>
<i>hilpa</i> “vulpe” ‘fox’	<i>hilpa!</i>
<i>siej</i> “fată rromă” ‘Romani girl’	<i>sieja!</i>
<i>phen</i> “soră” ‘sister’	<i>phenă!</i>
<i>dej</i> “mamă” ‘mother’	<i>deja!</i>
<i>Aniko</i> “Aniko (woman’s name)“	<i>Anika!</i>

Carpathian dialect from Hungary, cf. Romano, 1994.	
N. sing.	V. sing.
<i>romni</i> “femeie rromă” ‘Romani woman’	<i>romnije!</i>
<i>cîhaj</i> “fată rromă” ‘Romani girl’	<i>cîhaje!</i>

Hungarian-Gypsy dialect, cf. Wlislocki, 1884.	
N. sing.	V. sing.
<i>phen</i> “soră” ‘sister’	<i>pheně!</i>
<i>rakli</i> “fată nerromă” ‘non-Romani girl’	<i>raklje!</i>

We see that in the Carpathian dialect spoken in Turda, there are two endings for the vocative feminine singular, namely *-ě* and *-o*.

Carpathian dialect of Turda	
N. sing.	V. sing.
<i>cîhej</i> “fată rrromă” ‘Romani girl’	<i>cîheijo!</i>
<i>rakli</i> “fată nerromă” ‘non-Romani girl’	<i>raklē!</i>
<i>bori</i> “noră” ‘daughter-in-law’	<i>borei!</i>
<i>phen</i> “sora” ‘sister’	<i>pheinō!</i>
<i>cîhirikli</i> “pasăre” ‘bird’	<i>cîhiriklēi!</i>
<i>dej</i> “mamă” ‘mother’	<i>deijo!</i> (or <i>maimo!</i>)

It is to be noticed that, given the fact the Turda dialect is different from other dialectal variants, the vocative adds *-o* to the monosyllabic feminine nouns. This *-o* was probably created under the influence of popular Romanian in which *-o* appears with the feminine singular nouns in V.: *Maria* > *Mario!*, *Ana* > *Ano!* etc.

The influence of Romanian occurs in the plural vocative as well. In the Poiana-Turda idiom, nouns in the V. end in *-lec* in the plural, except the masculine nouns such as *cihavo* (which ends in *-o*, in the nominative singular).

N. sing. and pl.	V. sing.	V. pl.
<i>rrom</i> (sing.), <i>rroma</i> (pl.) “bărbat rrom” ‘Romani man’	<i>rroima!</i>	<i>rromailec!</i>
<i>grast</i> (sing.), <i>grasta</i> (pl.) “cal” ‘horse’	<i>graista!</i>	<i>grastailec!</i>
<i>cihavo</i> (sing.), <i>cihave</i> (pl.) “băiat rrom” ‘Romani boy’	<i>cihavei!</i>	<i>cihavei!</i>
<i>balo</i> (sing.), <i>bale</i> (pl.) “porc” ‘pig’	<i>balei</i>	<i>balei!</i>
<i>cîhej</i> (sing.), <i>cîhaja</i> (pl.) “fată rrromă” ‘Romani girl’	<i>cîheijo!</i>	<i>cîhajailec!</i>
<i>phen</i> (sing.), <i>phenă</i> (pl.) “soră” ‘sister’	<i>pheinō!</i>	<i>phenăilec!</i>
<i>rromni</i> (sing.), <i>rromnă</i> (pl.) “femeie rrromă” ‘Romani woman’	<i>rromnei</i>	<i>rromnăilec!</i>
<i>cîrikli</i> (sing.), <i>cîrikla</i> (pl.) “pasăre” ‘bird’	<i>cîriklei</i>	<i>cîriklailec!</i>

Sarău presents the vocatives in the Romani language in the following manner:

“*Masculine nouns ending in a consonant get -a in the singular, -ale or -alen in the plural*”.

e.g. *rroima!* *rromaile(n)!*

“*Masculine nouns ending in a vowel get -ea in the singular, -eale or -ealen in the plural*”.

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e.g. rakteia! rakteiale(n)!

Feminine nouns get. -e in the singular, -le or -len in the plural.

e.g. pheine! phenale(n)! círikliie! círikliile(n)!⁵

Matras explains the vocatives in the Romani language in the following way:

„...vocative forms, usually in masculine -a, -eja, more seldom -o or -e, feminine -(i)ja, -(i)je and more seldom -(j)o, and plural -ale(n).”⁶

Főherczeg classifies the inflections of the vocative according to idioms as follows⁷:

	masc. sing.	fem. sing.	masc. pl.	fem. pl.
The sedentary Turkish Romani idiom	-eja, -ja, -a	-a	-ale	-ale
The nomad Turkish Romani idiom	-eja, -ja, -a	-a	-ale	-ale
The Hungarian Romani idiom across the Danube	-eja	-a	-ale	-ale
The Carpathian Hungarian Romani idiom	-eja	-a	-ale	-ale
The nomad Hungarian Romani idiom	-eja	-a	-ale	-ale
The Wallachian Romani idiom	-e, -a	-a	-ale	-ale
The Czech-Moravian Romani idiom	-e, -eja	-a	-ale	-ale
The German Romani idiom	-e, -eja	-a	-ale	-ale

Romano presents the vocative in the Carpathian dialect of Hungary

⁵ Sarău, 2008b, pp. 58-59.

⁶ Matras, 2002, p. 80.

⁷ Főherczeg, 1888.

in the following way⁸.

	Sing.	Pl.
<i>rrom</i>	<i>rroma!</i>	<i>rromale!</i>
<i>cihavo</i>	<i>cihaveja!</i>	<i>cihavale!</i>
<i>cihaj</i>	<i>cihaje!</i>	<i>cihajale!</i>
<i>rromni</i>	<i>rromnije!</i>	<i>rromnăle!</i>

Wlislocki, who described the idiom spoken by the Transylvanian nomad Hungarian Roma people in the 19th century, notes the vocatives as follows⁹:

Nom. sing. and pl.	Voc. sing.	Voc. pl.
<i>manusi</i> (sing.), <i>manusia</i> (pl.) “om” ‘man, human’	<i>manusieja!</i>	<i>manusia!</i>
<i>graj</i> (sing.), <i>graja</i> (pl.) “cal” ‘horse’	<i>graija!</i>	<i>graja!</i>
<i>raklo</i> (sing.), <i>rakla</i> (pl.) “băiat nerrom” ‘non-Romani boy’	<i>rakleja!</i>	<i>rakle!</i>
<i>balo</i> (sing.), <i>bala</i> (pl.) “porc” ‘pig’	<i>bala!</i>	<i>bale!</i>
<i>phen</i> (sing.), <i>phenă</i> (pl.) “soră” ‘sister’	<i>pheně!</i>	<i>phenă!</i>
<i>raklī</i> (sing.), <i>raklă</i> (pl.) “fată nerromă” ‘non-Romani girl’	<i>raklje!</i>	<i>raklijă!</i>

What we notice here is that the vocative plural variant *-lec* is not to be found in any of the sources cited above. It is a characteristic of that area. So say the young and the elder.

The only possible origin of the suffix *-lec* can be found in the verb conjugation in Romanian. In Romanian, *-ți* appears in the second person plural. This ending also appears with the imperative *haideți!* ‘come along!’ which has the value of interjection. In the Turda idiom there are two interjections from Romanian, *haljda!* and *haljdac!* The vocative is most frequently used together with these interjections, when calling someone. Probably, in the beginning, the plural vocative inflection in the Turda idiom was *-le*. But, as it was used with the interjection *haljdac!*, the phoneme [ts] was also added to the plural vocative, as in: *Haljdac, rromalec!* “Haideți,

⁸ Romano 1994.

⁹ Wlislocki, 1884.

rromilor!” ‘Come along, Romani!’

4. The diminutive suffix *-jak*

We have noticed that, in the Carpathian idiom from Poiana-Turda, there is the *-jak* suffix. However, this suffix is used in one situation only, namely at the game of cards.

In Transylvania, Hungarian or German cards are used, consisting of a pack of 32 cards. There are 4 types, namely *Dudum* “Duba” ‘Bells’, *Małko* “Ghinda” ‘Acorns’, *Lolo* “Roșu” ‘Red, Hearts’, *Zöldön* “Verde” ‘Green, Leaves’, and each type has Ace, King, Over Knave and Under Knave. Apart from the four, there are cards numbered 10 (also called Queen), 9, 8, 7. The suffix *-jak* appears in the name of these numbered cards.

Name	Another name	Number represented, in general
<i>Tużo</i> “as” or “tuz” (< rom. <i>tuz</i>) ‘ace’	-	11
<i>Krali</i> “rege” ‘king’	<i>Sitarengro</i>	4
<i>FilkoIwo</i> (< magh. <i>filkoi</i> “valet”) ‘jack’	<i>Trinengro</i>	3
<i>ValeIto</i> (< rom. <i>valet</i>) ‘jack, knave’	<i>Dujengro</i>	2
<i>Rani</i> “damă” ‘queen’	<i>Desiengro</i>	10
<i>Enăjak</i>	<i>Enăngro</i>	9
<i>Oxtojak</i>	<i>Oxtongro</i>	8
<i>Eftajak</i>	<i>Eftangro</i>	7

The suffix *-jak* appears with cards 9, 8, 7. It is enclitically attached to the cardinal numerals *enă* “nouă” ‘nine’, *oxto* “opt” ‘eight’ and *efta* “şapte” ‘seven’.

The possible origin of this suffix is the diminutive *-ică* from Romanian. Cards numbered 9, 8, 7 are known in Romanian as *noică*, *optică* and *șeptică*, with the paroxytone accent *-i-*. Initially, they were probably **enă-ika*, **oxto-ika* and **efta-ika*, but the accent did not remain on the *-i-* and moved to the end of each numeral. The loss of accent from *-ica* must have led to metathesis and so it remained *-jak*, in the Carpathian idiom of Turda.

5. The system of adopting and adapting foreign words

Statistics show that almost half of the words used by the Roma people of Poiana are foreign words. We shall see here how foreign words change in this idiom. Now, Transylvania is a part of Romania and the locals' secondary language is Romanian. We shall further try to analyse the process of phono-morphological adaptations of Romanian words taken over by the Carpathian Turda idiom.

5.1. The verb

Adapting foreign words is very simple. The affix *-in-* is used; it is placed between the radical or the verb theme from Romanian and the inflections marking verbal flexion. Naturally, in the infinitive, *-in-* (which appears as an infix) is followed by the ending *-el*.

From the verb “*a iubi*” ‘to love’ the verb *jub-in-el* is formed.

Me iubinaw. “Eu iubesc” ‘I love’

Tu iubines. “Tu iubeşti” ‘You love’

Me iubindōm “Eu am iubit” ‘I loved’

Tu iubindăñ “Tu ai iubit” ‘You loved’

(Quest. 17)

Other verbs

a afirma ‘state’ > *afirm-in-el*

a freca ‘rub’ > *frek-in-el*

a citi ‘read’ > *cīit-in-el*

a opri ‘stop’ > *opr-in-el*

a organiza ‘organise’ > *organiz-in-el*

a amesteca ‘mix’ > *amestek-in-el*

Verbs from Hungarian have the same regime.

vailaszt-ani “*a alege*” ‘choose’ > *valost-in-el* “*a alege*” ‘choose’

kezd-eni “*a începe*” ‘begin’ > *kezd-in-el* „*a începe*” ‘begin’

All these verbs are conjugated according to Romani paradigms of the *kēr-el* type. All borrowed verbs enter the regular conjugation by means of infix *-in-*.

<i>cíit-in-el</i> “a citi” ‘read’	Sing.			Pl.		
	me	tu / traboi	vov / voj	amen	tumen	von
Present indicative	<i>cíit-in-aiw</i>	<i>cíit-in-eis</i>	<i>cíit-in-eil</i>	<i>cíit-in-aís</i>	<i>cíit-in-in</i>	<i>cíit-in-ein</i>
Future indicative	<i>cíit-in-oiho</i>	<i>cíit-in-eihe</i>	<i>cíit-in-eila</i>	<i>cíit-in-aiha</i>	<i>cíit-in-eína</i>	<i>cíit-in-eína</i>
Analytical future indicative	<i>kamaw te cíit-in-aiw</i>	<i>kames te cíit-in-eis</i>	<i>kamel te cíit-in-eil</i>	<i>kamas te cíit-in-aís</i>	<i>kamen te cíit-in-ein</i>	<i>kamen te cíit-in-ein</i>
Imperfect indicative and present conditional	<i>cíit-in-oihos</i>	<i>cíit-in-eihes</i>	<i>cíit-in-eillas</i>	<i>cíit-in-aihas</i>	<i>cíit-in-einas</i>	<i>cíit-in-einas</i>
Perfect indicative	<i>cíit-in-(d)óim</i>	<i>cíit-in-(d)án</i>	<i>cíit-in-(d)ái(s)</i>	<i>cíit-in-(d)áim</i>	<i>cíit-in-(d)án</i>	<i>cíit-in-(d)ei</i>
Past conditional	<i>cíit-in-öimas</i>	<i>cíit-in-äinas</i>	<i>cíit-in-äihas</i>	<i>cíit-in-äimas</i>	<i>cíit-in-äinas</i>	<i>cíit-in-einas</i>
Imperative	-	<i>cíit-in!</i>	-	-	<i>cíit-in-ein!</i>	-
Present optative	<i>te cíit-in-aiw</i>	<i>te cíit-in-eis</i>	<i>te cíit-in-eil</i>	<i>te cíit-in-aís</i>	<i>te cíit-in-ein</i>	<i>te cíit-in-ein</i>
Past participle	<i>cíit-in-d/o, -i, -e, -e</i>					
Abstract noun	<i>cíit-ib/oi, -ei (cíit-imas-, cíit-iben-)</i>					

Conclusions

With regard to the features of the Romani Carpathian idiom spoken in Poiana-Turda, vis-à-vis the other Romani idioms or even other Roma dialects that do not belong to the Carpathian dialect, we may present the following conclusions:

1. *Romanian currently influences the most the idiom of Roma people in the district Poiana-Turda, Cluj County, Romania.* But, as the three variants for “train”: *gedeIsii* (from Hungarian), *voInato* (from Hungarian) and *treIno* (from Romanian) or the word “snail”: *ciegebigo* and *ciebebiko* (from Hungarain) and *mellko* (from Romanian) show, we note that Hungarian was once the greatest influence. There are also some words that are not found in Romani dictionaries, such as *callo* which means “string, thread” or *niroIsii* “river”. Usually, the origin of unknown words is to be found in the Hungarian language. However, we have not found possible corresponding words for the two words cited here.

Speakers of Romani idiom from Turda suggest that *niro̯isii* is related to the verb *nanől* “a se scălda” ‘to bathe’, which comes from the old Indian *snāna-* “baie” ‘bath’, but we do not believe so. The similar word is the Hungarian *nyíires* “mesteacăn” ‘birch’, which comes from the Hungarian *nyíir* “mlăștină, teren udat” ‘marsh, wet land’.

As regards *callo*, used in the phrase *jekh callo luludi* “un fir de floare” (roughly translated as ‘a (thread of) flower’), we have not found a similar word other than the Hungarian *col* or the Romanian *tol* from the German *Zoll* ‘measure unit of approx. 25 cm’.

2. Influences of the Romanian language on this idiom are to be noted in the following aspects:

2.1. In the Carpathian Turda vocabulary, the influence of Romanian is significant. As we have said before, in the Turda vocabulary, the number of Romanian borrowed words is the largest. The variants *gede̯isii* (from Hungarian), *vo̯nato* (from Hungarian) and *tre̯no* (from Romanian); *ciegebigo* and *ciebebiko* (from Hungarian) and *me̯lko* (from Romanian), or *angar* (Romani) and *karbu̯no* “cărbune” ‘charcoal’ prove that Romanian words continue to enter the vocabulary with the newer generations that do not know old words or words from Hungarian, used by old generations.

2.2. The morphology of words borrowed from Romanian emphasises an interesting thing: words such as *arti̯sto* (sing.) -*arti̯sita* (pl.) “artist, artiști” ‘artist, artists’, where the palatalization of consonant *-s-* occurs, clearly show that speakers add the plural inflection *-a* to the plural form of Romanian. Romanian neuter nouns are the same: *cort, corturi* ‘tent, tents’ are, in the idiom of Turda, *kol̄to, kol̄tura*. But we have to know that there is also the reduced plural form *kol̄te*.

2.3. With nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs, the use of Romanian words is partial, which means that they often have a variant other than those from Romanian, except the new words or the new concepts (*hotel* ‘hotel’, *telefon* ‘telephone’, *elefant* ‘elephant’ etc.). For example: *ciebebiko* (from Hungarian) vs. *me̯lko* (from Romanian) “melc” ‘snail’, *angar* (Romani) vs. *karbu̯no* (from Romanian) “cărbune” ‘charcoal’, *baro* (Romani “mare” ‘big’ in the broad sense) vs. *lu̯ingo* (from Romanian)

“lung” ‘long’, *sig* (Romani) vs. *rełpedon* “repede” ‘fast’, *sìukar* (Romani. “frumos” ‘beautiful’ in the broad sense) vs. *ińciełton* “încet” ‘slow’, *xatărel* (Romani) vs. *ińcelezinél* (from Romanian) “a înțelege” ‘to understand’, *sigărel pes* (Romani) vs. *grăbinel pes* (from Romanian) “a se grăbi” ‘hurry’. But, as regards conjunctions, if Romanian words are used, old words are not, for example: *dałke* “dacă” ‘if’ (in other dialects *te* is used), *ołri* “sau” ‘or’ (*vaj* in other dialects).

2.4. In the comparative, the adverb *maj*, obviously from Romanian, is used just like in other dialects influenced by Romanian. In the superlative, we should note the peculiarity of the Turda idiom, namely the use of pronominal demonstrative adjectives *cîel* (masc. sing. and masc. and fem. pl.) and *cîea* (fem. sing.), also from Romanian. As we have explained in chapter 5, speakers use *cîel* from masc. sing. for fem. pl, just as the definite article *o* for masc. sing. is used for the plural also.

2.5. The inflection of the vocative for feminine nouns ending in a consonant is *-o* or *-ō*: *phen* “soră” ‘sister’ > *phenō!* “soro!” ‘sister!’, *cîhej* “fată” ‘girl’ > *cîhejo!* “fato!” ‘girl!’. This inflection is to be found with other dialects as well and it probably comes from Romanian. The inflection *-lec*, which occurs in the plural and which we have previously said it is a curiosity, probably comes from *-ti*, the verbal inflection for the second person plural in Romanian, which also attaches to the Romanian interjection *haide!* The vocative is most frequently used together with the interjections *haljda* and *haljdac* in the Turda idiom, for example: *hajdac, rromalec!* “haideți, rromilor!” ‘come along, Romani!’.

3. The suffix *-jak* is also particular, for it occurs in the name of cards. *Enăijak* “noică”, *oxtoijak* “optică”, *eftaijak* “șptică” were formed by adding the Romanian suffix *-ică* in the following manner: *eftai-ikă* > apocope: *eftaiik(a)* > synthesis: *eftaijak*.

The Romani idiom of Poiana-Turda provides an interesting picture of the current study of the Romani language in general, with all its diastratic, diatopic and diachronic phenomena. It is a living and dynamic example of interpersonal verbal communication coming from the antiquity and adapted to the century of globalisation.

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CONTRE LA MIMESIS. THÉÂTRE QUI RECOMPOSE DE MANIÈRE PARADISIAQUE

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Abstract:

The present study approaches two plays of Mircea Eliade, *Iphigenia* and *People and Stones* (*Oameni și pietre*). The mythical theme that builds the dramatic narrativity of the first play analyzes the cosmological sacrifice, whereas in the second play the characters question poetry's orphicmission. The dramatic object of the two texts is unnamed, as in any mystical experience. Mircea Eliade's theater poses the conceptual problem of a *mimesis* with "no model", which is why we gloss upon a form of *antimimesis* in Eliade's theatricality.

Keywords:

Mythical discourse, symbolicknowledge, image, theatricality, tantrica esthetics.

Motto: „Sutra 28. De toutes les donations disposées par la loi, celle-ci est la meilleure, car offrir un spectacle est le plus approprié de tous les dons (...)” *Natya Sastra*

La théâtralité dans le registre mythique. Eléments de méthodologie.

La théâtralité rend compatibles, dans l'équation de la réception, les mécanismes de la communication théâtrale de l'instance auctoriale et du metteur en scène par les opérateurs d'investigation du ”*Lectactor*”.¹ Dans les arts de la représentation scénique, la cohérence fonctionnelle s'explique sémiologiquement, l'emploi des signes théâtraux élucidant le message

¹ Patrice Pavis, 2002, *Le théâtre contemporain*, Paris: Nathan. *Lectactor* désigne la qualité du lecteur de théâtre de s'imaginer pendant la lecture, tour à tour, dans le rôle de chaque personnage littéraire interprété sur scène, de s'imaginer la mise en scène également, de se substituer à la lecture du texte du metteur en scène, mais aussi au spectateur qui assiste à la représentation scénique. Le *Lectactor* est tour à tour acteur, scénariste, metteur en scène et spectateur.

complexe transmis par le texte et par l'époque. L'acte de l'interprétation découvre "la sémiotique culturelle"² que le texte construit par ses structures argumentatives. D'autre part, le regard interpréitatif et les instruments d'interrogation de l'objet et du discours théâtral, autrement dit la méthodologie, imposent l'usage d'une série de disciplines³ en accord avec l'enquête herméneutique. Dans ce contexte, la lecture de la dramaturgie de Mircea Eliade se propose de se focaliser sur l'écriture dramatique, utilisant des opérateurs spécifiques à la textualité et au mythe en tant que méthode littéraire. Quant au jeu des acteurs en contexte scénographique, la perspective de l'anthropologie et de la phénoménologie religieuse, annoncée dans les apartés externes et internes du texte, situent l'interprétation dans le contexte de l'œuvre de Mircea Eliade, tant sur le plan littéraire, que sur celui scientifique. La perspective théorique s'approprie les témoignages critiques sur l'expérimentation théâtrale d'Eliade qui ont dessiné un premier horizon de réception, par son intégration dans le courant *Living Theatre*,⁴ particulièrement par le biais des travaux de Monique Borie. Peu importe l'orientation esthétique où celui-ci pourrait s'inscrire, le système sémiotique du théâtre de Mircea Eliade situe le texte à la proximité des idéogènes mythiques, dont les représentations instrumentent un appareil symbolique. La mise en signe de « la réalité » dans le registre mythique peut être confirmée tant dans la modélisation textuelle que dans la modélisation scénique.

Le système signifiant et la mise en fiction implicite du théâtre.

En interposant le sens à travers le système signifiant de la mise en scène, le théâtre marque sa différence par rapport à d'autres types textuels. Dans le cas de Mircea Eliade, les signes rendent fictionnels « le monde » représenté scéniquement, tout en orientant vers une zone trans-spatiale, une mémoire sacrée dans laquelle le sens s'accomplit du point de vue métaphysique. La pratique théâtrale, forme de communication sémiotique,

² *Ibidem*.

³ Patrice Pavis discute la série des disciplines compatibles comme méthode interprétative avec le texte dramatique, énumérant: l'anthropologie (Barba, 1986), la sociologie, la phénoménologie (States, 1985), la sémiologie (Anne Ubersfeld, 1977), la pragmatique. *Études théâtrales*, dans *Théorie littéraire. Problèmes et perspectives*, sous la direction de Mark Augenot, Presse Universitaire de France, Paris, 1989.

⁴ Monique Borie, *De l'herméneutique de la régénération par le théâtre*, dans *Cahiers de L'Herne*, Mircea Eliade, Éditions de L'Herne, 1978, pp. 117-135.

engage les sens dans le plan mystique, la magie du théâtre rendant manifestes les possibles des vécus libérateurs: dans ce sens, la colonne signifie la lumière qui unit la terre et le ciel, la grotte transforme l'obscurité qui aveugle en lumière animée, alors que le bûcher ardent de l'amour transforme de façon méthanoïque le sacrifice dans l'union nuptiale des éléments; on aboutit là où tout embrasse le tout.

C'est pour cette raison qu'il est possible que le théâtre de Mircea Eliade avance d'un pas par rapport à l'expérimentation du Living Theatre, vers la théâtralité exposée par Bharata dans *Natya Sastra*.⁵ Les conflits des pièces se construisent sur la relation mystère-révélation, énigme-illumination, tandis que la narrativité dramatique est organisée autour d'un chronotope qui oriente le sens. Le résultat en est un théâtre qui met ensemble l'inspiration sapientiale et la magie de l'initiation ici et maintenant. Le survivant sacré est extrait des signes symboliques dont on reconstitue la dignité de l'efficacité magique: la grotte, le bûcher, la colonne. Ces figures du texte cartographient un chronotope, enregistrent la narration allégorique dans un temps mythique et engagent l'idéologie secrète du texte. La poétique scénique indique les sens forts des signes sans voix, assurant la lisibilité du texte. A cette fonction déictique dans un registre anagogique on ajoute la communication par le langage indirect de la poétique textuelle, spécifique à la fable mystique.⁶ Les mécanismes textuels du théâtre de Mircea Eliade récupèrent la pensée archaïque et la modalité de compréhension du monde par l'herméneutique qui récupère le sens parmi les restes désaffectés des mythes camouflés.

Dans son théâtre, Mircea Eliade est plus démonstratif, la fonction d'initiation devient transparente, peut-être parce que le théâtre conditionne un autre type de communication sémiotique, beaucoup plus directe. Sur la scène ont lieu les *trans* substantialités alchimiques: le texte se matérialise, le corps devient texte. C'est au lecteur de surprendre ce processus dont parle Patrice Pavis. Le théâtre de Mircea Eliade renvoie, par les événements dramatiques, à un *illud tempus*, organise de manière rituelle le développement des séquences scéniques et entrecroise le discours avec la zone de cérémonial qui promet l'initiation à la manière d'Artaud, de Grotowski, de Brook, de Craig, de Barba, comme l'observe Monique Borie.

⁵ *Natyasastra. Tratat de artă dramatică*, Bucureşti: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1997.

⁶ Michel de Certeau, 1996, *Fabula mistică, Secolul XVI-XVII*, Iaşi: Editura Polirom.

Ce théâtre ouvre également une niche encore inexpérimentée, où l'initiation semble avoir lieu directement sur scène; c'est ainsi que voulait écrire du théâtre l'un de ses personnages, professeur de l'histoire de la religion, dans la nouvelle *Adio*, de la maniere dont on décrit l'art théâtral dans la cinquième Veda, *Natya Satra*.

Les inférences extratextuelles sont très importantes, ces intertextualités incluses discursivement qui prolongent les polyphonies du texte. Il est normal que l'interprétation sélectionne le mythe enveloppé dans le texte dramaturgique, les histoires qui le prolongent littérairement et surtout la reconnaissance de la signification que la voix auctoriale lui a accordée. Mais les lectures abusives sont également possibles dans la fiction, ces lectures qui imposent au texte les mythes obsessifs de l'interprète, qui inventent des contextes extratextuels dont le résultat place le texte en dérive, mutilant le message. Un exemple est représenté par les interprétations d'Iphigénie.⁷

L'intertextualité allusive qui renvoie à d'autres sources d'interprétation n'est pas seulement de nature littéraire, mais aussi gestuelle, culturelle, visuelle. Le texte dramatique se retrouve au centre de réseaux textuels qui enrichissent ses sens de profondeur. Dans *Iphigénie* l'inférence allusive renvoie au thème mythique de l'offrande cosmogonique⁸

⁷ Moshe Idel, 2014, *Mircea Eliade. De la magie la mit*, Iași: Polirom, p. 135. Nous rappelons ici l'interprétation d'*Iphigénie* de Moshe Idel, reprise par une partie de la critique littéraire, qui part d'une suggestion de Mihail Sebastian, selon qui, l'autosacrifice d'Iphigénie signifierait le sacrifice légionnaire. En poursuivant cette logique de l'interprétation, nous nous demandons étonnés si le thème du sacrifice dans *Miorița* ou dans *Meșterul Manole*, un sacrifice auquel le texte fait une allusion intertextuelle, ne pourrait pas signifier le même thème historique, cela au cas où le folklore aurait vraiment des « prédispositions prémonitoires ». C'est en dehors de toute logique textuelle d'obliger les séquences mythiques à « camoufler » la réalité historique. Il est vrai que le roman qui utilise le mythe comme méthode littéraire et qui décrit une certaine période historique sous la censure de la dictature, comme il s'est passé chez nous avec le roman du réalisme magique, peut réinventer dans le plan de l'imaginaire la croyance dans un monde qui assume une fonction de salut. Mais dans ce cas, la littérature camoufle le sacré, pas l'histoire. Pendant une période marquée par le désespoir, les archétypes de l'inconscient collectif revenaient dans les consciences et guérissaient la pathologie alors que le lien avec les figures salvatrices de l'imaginaire avait été amputé.

⁸ Mircea Eliade, *De la Zalmoxis la Genghis-Han*, Editura Științifică și enciclopedică. Le thème du sacrifice est attaché au modèle culturel daco-gète, où la mort est acceptée sereinement, mais aussi aux mythes cosmogoniques, où toute création se fonde sur une

:"Iphigenia: *Căci nu e același lucru să mori la întâmplare, înainte de vreme, și să mori jertfă fiind pentru măntuirea celor lalți*",⁹ et dans *Des Hommes et des pierres*, en référence à la mission orphique de la poésie : "Am crezut odată că aveam o misiune...(uitându-se vinovat spre Petruș), mai bine zis, Adria mi-a băgat în cap că aş putea avea o misiune: să revelez ceva, să descopăr ceva oamenilor, din toate țările și din toate timpurile...Aşa cum a revelat Shakespeare..." "Când vor începe să se miște pietrele și să se însuflețească bolțile...numai ele... ele singure...fără nici un profil omenesc...fără nici un adaos.... atunci, poate că atunci am să încep să văd...și să cred".¹⁰

« Iphigénie: Car ce n'est pas la même chose que de mourir au hasard, avant son temps, mourir sacrifiée pour la rédemption des autres », et dans *Des Hommes et des pierres*, en référence à la mission orphique de la poésie: « Une fois, je pensais avoir une mission...(en regardant coupablement vers Petruș), ou plutôt, c'est Adria qui m'avait mis dans la tête que je pourrais avoir une mission: révéler quelque chose aux humains de tous les pays, de tous les temps... A la manière de Shakespeare... » « Quand les pierres commenceront à bouger et à animer les voûtes...uniquement elles... elles seules...sans aucun profil humain....sans aucune adjonction.... alors, peut-être alors commencerai-je à voir...à croire ». Le texte contient des gloses explicatives sur le mystère de la reconstitution du corps de lumière dans l'obscurité de la grotte, le mythe de l'éternel retour, l'art qui peut indiquer la voie de la communion mystique avec le sacre, une voie cachée dans les êtres humains et dans les pierres.

L'énonciation théâtrale met en jeu en tant que locuteurs aussi bien des personnages que des signes symboliques disposés sur une scène imaginaire et que le *lectactor* interroge, dans sa qualité d'allocataire, lors d'une lecture attentive. Les êtres humains et les choses interagissent sur scène pour construire « le super objectif » du théâtre, la transmission du message initiatique. C'est toujours dans le même but qu'on récupère les guidages de compréhension du message, toutes les fonctions que le narrateur dramatique s'approprie. Dans *La Colonne sans fin*, la fonction

immolation rituelle du sacré négatif, analogon du chaos, d'où naît ensuite le cosmos. pp. 189-190.

⁹ *Iphigenia*, dans Mircea Eliade, 1996, *Coloana nesfârșită*, Editura Minerva, p.48.

¹⁰ *Oameni și pietre*, în *Coloana nesfârșită*, Editura Minerva, 1996, p.90.

méta-textuelle est reprise par la danse de la fille qui glose sur le discours primaire : "Fata: Spirală după spirală, Maestre, aşa se dansează labirintul cînd ai pătruns în adânc, tot mai adânc, dar trebuie să dansezi întruna, spirală după spirală, inspirat, concentrat, căci dacă te-ai opri o singură clipă, te-ai rătăci, pentru totdeauna în labirint, în inima muntelui și ai rîmâne acolo, și nimeni nu va mai ști de tine..."¹¹

« La fille: Spirale après spirale, Maître, c'est comme ça que l'on danse le labyrinthe quand on pénètre dans sa profondeur, de plus en plus profondément, mais on doit danser continuellement, spirale après spirale, de façon inspirée, concentrée, car si on s'arrêtait pour un seul instant, on s'égarerait pour toujours dans le labyrinthe, au cœur de la montagne, et on resterait là, et personne ne saurait plus rien de vous... »

Des figures textuelles et des figures de pensée.

Les structures actantielles sont, parmi d'autres figures du texte, les points de soutien du discours: le renversement des situations, le passage à une autre phase du récit, les gestes, la voix, les conflits, les arrêts, toutes ces solutions par le biais des structures actantielles fonctionnent comme dans les paraboles, connotant toujours sur un palier mythique. L'actant se décrit sur un axe de la composition dramatique tant par l'abstraction de sa fonction actantielle, que par le concret de son être tel qu'il est dessiné dans l'écriture de sa corporalité fictionnelle et symbolique: le comportement rituel, l'accès à une forme de moralité tributaire à un système philosophique, la rhétorique actantielle, les gestes rapportés qui impriment une certaine dynamique à l'interprétation. Constantin Brâncuși, Iphigenia, Alexandru, en tant que figures fictionnelles, développent dans le texte des centres déictiques, s'approprient le rôle de peupler un monde possible avec des gens, des histoires, des idées, mettent en signe la réalité par les yeux d'un Maître, d'une philosophie, d'une vierge unique, etc., deviennent des figures de la pensée, ouvrent ce moteur caché de l'intellect dont parlait Jean Jacques Wunenburger, ils servent de médiateurs pour la connaissance, la réflexion, la vérité.¹²

¹¹ Ibidem, p.132.

¹² Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, 2004, *Filosofia imaginilor*, Iași: Editura Polirom.

Iphigénie. Le sacrifice de la pureté absolue réveille du „sommeil profond” (1939-1940, pièce dédiée à la mémoire de Haig Acterian et de Mihail Sebastian)

Dans *Iphigénie* le thème mythique autour duquel on construit la narrativité dramatique est le sacrifice cosmogonique¹³ : ”*Iphigenia: Căci nu e același lucru să mori la întâmplare, înainte de vreme, și să mori jertfită fiind pentru mântuirea celorlalți*“.¹⁴

« Iphigénie: Car ce n'est pas la même chose que de mourir au hasard, avant son temps, mourir sacrifiée pour la rédemption des autres ». La médiation référentielle, procédé symbolique pré-textuel, fonctionne aussi dans *Iphigénie*, par la référence à la ballade Miorița, qui met en évidence l'ontologie symbolique du texte, présenté par le héros de la ballade comme une compréhension cosmologique de la relation homme-monde. Dans son œuvre *De Zalmoxe à Gengis-Han*, Mircea Eliade analyse les sens métaphysiques des « noces posthumes »: « Seuls les grands poètes visionnaires comme Nietzsche ou quelques rares philosophes sont encore capables de saisir la mystérieuse et paradoxale unité de la vie et de la mort ». ¹⁵ L'observation la plus intéressante peut-être de l'historien des religions, qui peut devenir une possible clé de lecture, fait référence au fait que le monde n'est pas sacré en soi, *mais il se transforme dans un cosmos liturgique, par la volonté du héros de transformer un événement malheureux dans un sacrement de noces*. La dimension cosmique est réinstituée par la volonté mystique de solidarité avec le monde. Le berger, tout comme Iphigénie, comprend qu'il ne peut pas se défendre du destin par les mêmes stratégies qui l'auraient sauvé lors d'une situation conflictuelle dans la vie, qu'on ne peut pas annuler le sens de l'histoire, mais que c'est par une volonté vigoureuse qu'il est possible d'imposer un sens à l'absurde même, transformant le malheur de la mort dans une *féerie nuptiale*: « ...le berger ne

¹³ Mircea Eliade, *De la Zalmoxis la Genghis-Han*, Editura Științifică și enciclopedică. Le thème du sacrifice est attaché au modèle culturel daco-gète, où la mort est acceptée sereinement, mais aussi aux mythes cosmogoniques, dans lesquels toute création est fondée sur une immolation rituelle du sacré négatif, analogon du chaos, d'où naît par la suite le cosmos, pp. 189-190.

¹⁴ *Iphigenia*, în Mircea Eliade, 1996, *Coloana nesfărșită*, Editura Minerva, p. 48.

¹⁵ Mircea Eliade, *De la Zalmoxis la Gengis-Han*, ed. cit., p. 259.

se comporte pas comme les autres représentants illustres du nihilisme moderne. Sa réponse est tout à fait différente: il transforme le malheur qui le condamne à la mort dans *un mystère du sacrement des noces majestueux et féerique qui, à la fin, lui permet de triompher sur son propre destin* ».¹⁶ Le texte réécrit dans le registre dramaturgique *le mythe de l'éternel retour* qui, par le sacrifice exemplaire de la plus pure vierge, sauve le destin humain tragique. Iphigénie a été interprétée surtout dans une perspective historique; nous avons démontré plus haut pourquoi nous ne pouvons pas être d'accord avec une telle interprétation. Cependant, ce texte, davantage que les autres, rouvre la problématique de la mimésis. Premièrement parce qu'il part d'un épisode mythique très connu, traité dans *Iphigénie dans Aulida* d'Euripide et dans *Iphigénie* de Racine, que nous pouvons considérer comme des hypertextes. Le texte d'Eliade écrit un hypo texte, qui reprend le thème mythique du sacrifice, en le traitant dans son système propre de pensée, fortement influencé aussi par la variante thématique du sacrifice nécessaire, présente dans le folklore roumain et balkanique.

L'Iphigénie de Mircea Eliade pose, sans doute, le problème de la *mimésis* du point de vue du plan référentiel que le mythe engage dans son propre discours. Quel est l'objet que le mythe reflète? Comment cet objet peut-il être représenté sur scène? On ne peut pas répondre à ces questions d'une manière définitive puisque le mythe même est un discours dont on ne peut pas surprendre la réalité dans des contours parfaitement visibles, d'une part, et que, d'autre part, le récit qu'il contient est un récit à ne pas dire, au sens où le mot ne peut pas le contenir et surtout, parce que le mythe raconte sur des mondes pressentis, entre dits. Des mondes qui n'ont peut-être ni début, ni fin, dans une analogie parfaite avec le mot mythique-même.

Mathilde Girard et Jean-Luc Nancy dans *Proprement dit, Entretien sur le mythe* proposent des observations théoriques intéressantes sur ces problématiques indéfinissables, par le concept de mimésis « sans modèle »,¹⁷ observant l'impossibilité de l'existence d'un modèle dans le cas du mythe et, évidemment, dans le cas de la littérature mythique. Mircea Eliade souhaitait écrire une littérature tout à fait nouvelle, justement peut-être parce qu'il avait eu l'intuition du manque d'un modèle de la représentation dans le cas du mythe, décrit comme modèle absolu de la

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 263.

¹⁷ Mathilde Girard, Jean-Luc Nancy, 2015, *Proprement dit, Entretien sur le mythe*, Lignes.

pensée humaine, par référence aux expériences primordiales, répétables, qui mènent, dans le langage de la psychanalyse, « *en soi* » là où la lumière froide de la conscience et le désert du monde s'étendent jusqu'aux étoiles.»¹⁸ Le théâtre mythique met en scène les formes modèle, universelles, de l'espace aléthique platonicien: « Mais comment envisager le « sans modèle » ? Peut-être faut-il dire: comme modèle, justement. Que le modèle soit l'absence de modèle, c'est-à-dire qu'on se règle sur le fait qu'il n'y a pas de règle donnée mais que cette absence de règle ne signifie pas un «laissez faire» qui reviendrait à une forme disons anarchiste d'auto conception. Il s'agit à la fois de se régler sur ... et de n'avoir pas de norme. (...) Peut-être pourrait-on dire que l'Idée platonicienne peut être comprise de cette manière: elle n'est pas un idéal, lequel doit être présentable, déterminable, mais elle est pourtant une Forme (*idea*, forme visible)». ¹⁹ Tout comme les mythes platoniciens, le théâtre d'Eliade conserve de la structure originale du mythe la même capacité d'exprimer la vérité, consciemment, par des images et des symboles. La mémoire de l'artiste dérive de la sagesse de la muse Mnemosyne (mneme), dépositaire de mémoire sacrée. La parole prononcée par le poète et inspirée par les muses a le don de la clairvoyance, elle est efficace, elle est porteuse de Deynos, institue un monde symbolique-religieux qui dévoile le réel même.

Revenant à l'objet dramatique sur lequel le théâtre mythique expérimente la représentation scénique, on peut observer que l'impossibilité de constituer une poétique théâtrale, un système de règles qui facilite éventuellement la vision scénique du metteur en scène vient du fait que son objet dramatique ne peut pas être nommé, comme toute expérience mystique²⁰. Quant au sens latent du discours mythique, *muthos*, le sens *in statu nascendi*, qui n'a pas été chargé du temps historique épuisant, celui-ci

¹⁸ C.G. Jung, 1994, *În lumea arhetipurilor*, Bucureşti: Editura Jurnalul literar, p.53.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ «Cette impossibilité où se trouve le romantisme de répondre à la question même avec laquelle il se confond ou dans laquelle, tout entier, il se rassemble, cette *impossibilité native* du romantisme est bien entendu ce qui explique que sa question soit en réalité proprement vide et qu'elle ne porte, sous le nom de « romantisme » ou de « littérature » (mais aussi bien de « poésie », de « *dichtung* », d'*« art »*, de « religion », etc.) que sur une chose indistincte et indéterminable, reculant indéfiniment à mesure qu'on l'approche, susceptible de (presque) tous les noms et n'en tolérant aucun: une chose innommable, sans contours, sans figure, - à la limite « rien » » p.48. Cf avec Mathilde Girard, Jean-Luc Nancy, *Proprement dit, Entretien sur le mythe*, Lignes, 2015.

devient efficace par sa force créative, il germe sémantiquement, dans des plans infinis.²¹

La beauté idéale est privée de forme, aplastique, pourrait-on dire, allégorique, elle échappe aux sens et elle est entièrement moralisée.

Iphigénie seule, la vierge pure, peut avoir la conscience de l'impureté.

Celle-ci accorde impunité aux soldats qui l'accueillent grisés par la boisson et satisfaits de savoir qu'ils la sacrifieront, parce qu'elle sait que toute chute dans l'histoire rend impur. Son sacrifice est purificatoire dans la mesure dans laquelle il réussit à transformer le temps difficile de l'histoire dans un temps eschatologique. C'est la seule à avoir l'anamnèse de l'archaïque et les prévisions de l'eschatologie. C'est intéressant de se demander pourquoi Mircea Eliade a choisi un personnage féminin pour ce rôle, tenu dans l'histoire des religions, et surtout dans la religion chrétienne, par des hypostases du sacré masculin. Nous pensons que cela pourrait dû à une influence de la pensée indienne, dans la lignée de la philosophie tantrique tibétaine, qui considère que l'énergie de la création, expression du sacré féminin, qui tient sa source dans le non-être, retourne à sa source, imitant le sacrifice dévotionnel du créateur même. Dans l'imagologie tantrique, ce sens secret est représenté dans les temples bouddhistes par l'étreinte de Šiva et de Šakhti. De ce point de vue, le texte ouvre l'aire thématique du sacré féminin, dont Iphigenia est la métaphore textuelle.

L'obtention des charismes, l'amour.

Le rituel connu par les Grecs comme l'obtention d'*enthousiasmos* se retrouve dans les textes pauliniens. Saint Paul parle aux Corinthiens de

²¹ Mathilde Girard, Jean-Luc Nancy, *op. cit.*, p. 4: "le *muthos* n'est pas univoque, ne propose pas une information. Il est essentiellement équivoque ou plurivoque. Jean-Pierre Vernant écrit: Le mythe met donc en jeu une forme de logique qu'on peut appeler, en contraste avec la logique de non-contradiction des philosophes, une logique de l'ambigu, de l'équivoque, de la polarité. Comment formuler, voire formaliser ces opérations de bascule qui renversent un terme dans son contraire tout en le maintenant à d'autres points de vue à distance? Il revenait au mythologue de dresser, en conclusion, ce constat de carence en se tournant vers les linguistes, les logiciens, les mathématiciens pour qu'ils lui fournissent l'outil qui lui manque : le modèle structural d'une logique qui ne serait pas celle de la binarité, du oui ou non, une logique autre que la logique du logos".

l'obtention de charismes, le plus important étant l'amour, don du Saint Esprit, qui permet au néophyte de faire revivre son corps et de renouveler de façon eschatologique le monde, un *mysterium* qui apporte l'apprentissage ultime, le *gnosis*, la sagesse, *Sophia* et la guérison, *soter* : « Si je parlais dans les langues des humains et des anges, sans l'amour je me transformerais en airain retentissant et en cymbale résonnant. Et si j'avais le don de la prophétie et si je connaissais tous les secrets et n'importe quelle science, et si j'avais assez de foi pour déplacer les montagnes, sans l'amour, je ne serais rien ». (13:1-13).

Le sacré féminin, le krater, la pureté chaste.

Dante compare Béatrice, pour sa pureté intérieure, à la Vierge, archétype de la rédemption. La fonction sotériologique de l'amour et de la femme est proclamée par le groupement initiatique Fedeli d'Amore (sec.XII, France, Italie, Provence, Belgique), qui avait pour religion le culte de la femme unique et l'initiation dans le mystère de l'amour. Dans la transmission des mystères, ceux-ci utilisaient un langage secret, *parlar cruz*, un exemple étant le mot *amor< a+mor= sans mort*. Intéressante est dans la mythologie du Graal l'étymologie même du mot, qui peut dériver de la « vocable grecque *Krater* », et qui pourrait expliquer la fonction de tribut du vase saint: « En effet, dans le quatrième traité de *Corpus Hermeticum*, nous lisons: « Dieu a rempli de sens un grand vase, qu'il a envoyé sur terre et il a engagé un héraut qui crie aux gens ces paroles: Enfonce-toi, toi qui en es capable, dans ce grand vase, toi qui crois pouvoir remonter vers celui qui a envoyé ce cratère sur terre. »²² Ceux-ci sont ceux qui partagent la connaissance, la gnose et qui connaissent la libération. Le sacré féminin indique le vase vide, le *krater*, dont la pureté chaste rapporte la vie, la communion avec le sacré, l'existence qui n'a pas été séparée. Nous nous trouvons de nouveau auprès du mystérieux *Fiat* de la Vierge.

Le sacrifice rituel des formes passagères a comme but la purification du monde maculé par la chute dans l'histoire, le sacrifice nécessaire retourne aux commencements, régénère, donne un corps pur au monde, qu'il régénère de manière eschatologique.²³ La pureté accompagne

²² *Ibidem*, p. 538.

²³ Milarepa, op. cit. « J'ai compris que mon corps est le produit de l'ignorance, tel qu'il est exposé dans *Cele Douăsprezece Nidana*, composé de chair et de sang et allumé par le

dans la communion mystique, dans laquelle rien ne reste séparé ou différencié, mais devient un tout: „*Căci doar este un lucru vrednic de laudă să fi jertfītă pentru izbăvirea celor mulți. Nu oricine are un asemnea noroc*”²⁴ „*Dar cum aș fi putut gândi că mă așteaptă desăvârșirea?!* Căci nu e același lucru să mori la întâmpare, înainte de vreme, și să mori jertfītă fiind pentru mântuirea celorlalți!

²⁵ „*Moartea este o continuare glorioasă a unei alte existențe, mai înalte, în care sufletul mireasă întâlnește mirele spirit, vita nova: «Amintește-ți, e seară de muntă. (Rătăcită) Acum, dintr-o clipă într-alta voi fi mireasă»*”²⁶

« Car c'est une chose digne de louange que d'être sacrifié pour la rédemption de la foule. Tout le monde n'a pas une telle chance » « Mais comment aurais-je pu penser que c'était l'accomplissement qui m'attendait ?! Puisque ce n'est pas la même chose que de mourir au hasard, avant son temps, et mourir sacrifiée pour la rédemption des autres! » « La mort est une suite glorieuse à une autre existence, plus évoluée, dans laquelle l'âme de la mariée rencontre le marié esprit, *vita nova*: « Souviens-toi, c'est la soirée des noces. (Égarée) Maintenant, d'un moment à l'autre je serai mariée... » Ou, comme révèlent les apprentissages de Maha-Mudra: « Cette vie et la suivante et celle intermédiaire (bardo)/Regardez-les toutes comme n'en étant qu'une et accoutumez-vous à elles. /De la même façon que vous vous accoutumez à l'une. Celui-ci est le denier de mes Préceptes /Et de mon Testament, la fin! Il n'y a plus d'autre vérité».

²⁷

La pureté absolue ne peut être décrite qu'en relation avec l'amoralité en termes de théologie apophatique: sa lumière invisible est le

pouvoir perceptif de la conscience. Pour les heureux qui aspirent à la Libération, celui-ci pourrait être le bateau par le biais duquel ils peuvent obtenir la Liberté et des Pouvoirs; mais pour les autres, le corps peut être le guide vers des états d'existence inférieure et misérable. Notre vie est la frontière à partir de laquelle on peut choisir une voie menant en haut ou en bas. C'est un intervalle de temps extrêmement précieux où chacun doit décider, d'une manière ou d'une autre, de faire du bien ou du mal (...) J'ai compris que celui qui aspire à la paix et à son bonheur individuel adopte la voie la plus étroite, Hinayana. Mais celui qui, dès le début, sacrifie le mérite de l'amour et de sa compassion aux autres, s'en va par la Grande Voie, Mahayana », p. 85.

²⁴ Mircea Eliade, 1996, „Iphigenia”, în: *Coloana nesfărșită*, București: Editura Minerva, p. 46.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 48.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 62.

²⁷ Milarepa, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

support des corps opaques, tout comme la profanation nous constraint à nous rappeler avec nostalgie le sacré des temps originaires.²⁸ Dans la littérature de Mircea Eliade l'existence historique est sculptée dans une boucle dans le corps invisible du temps mythique, qui précède l'histoire et qui le suit. Vladimir Jankelevitch considère l'être qui vit entre ces deux temporalités fortes comme un être impur que « le regret passéiste et l'espoir futuriste envoie de l'un à l'autre; car son impureté n'est pas seulement un vestige mélancolique d'un palais en ruines, elle est encore plus un signe prémonitoire, un gage et une promesse, une promesse qui console le regret déchirant; plus qu'un désir: un espoir! (car nous pouvons désirer quelque chose sans espérer ...) ».²⁹ Le présent historique est prisonnier entre un passé mythique et un avenir eschatologique, ce qui signifie que l'immédiat de l'instant peut surprendre la pureté inexprimable d'un entier indicible, le corps opaque peut surprendre la lumière qui lui donne corps. La communion parfaite avec le support indicible du visible par une forme d'amour impossible, comme celle d'Iphigénie, assume la purification des formes impures, tout comme les archétypes de Jung ont la force, une fois que la conscience les conquit, de purifier les ravins de la quête, de dénouer les noeuds de l'ignorance comme forme d'immoralité, et d'apporter la perle des profondeurs de l'abîme: ‘’Iphigenia: Oare nu e de ajuns că Helada întreagă se află în arme pentru o femeie?! Voi ai să înceapă un alt război pentru Iphigenia, înainte de a se încheia războiul pentru fumoasa Elena?’’ Credeam că ochii mei ti-au vorbit destul de limpede, Achile. Dar măhnirea mea e mai cumplită acum, dându-mi semăcăt de puțin mi-ai înțeles iubirea.... Căci iubirea mea nu se aseamaăna cu cea a frumoasei Elena. Viteazule. Cel care ridică sabia pentru Elena, nu are dreptul să ridice sabia și pentru Iphigenia. Sunt iubiri care aduc războiul, dar sunt și alte iubiri...’’³⁰

«Iphigénie: Ne suffit-il pas que toute Hellade se retrouve aux armes pour une femme?! Tu voulais qu'une autre guerre pour Iphigénie

²⁸ Vladimir Jankelevitch, 2000, *Pur și impur*, Nemira, p.11: « Et, avant tout, l'impure réalité présente est un champ de ruines, et le théologien de l'histoire regarde ces vestiges comme un archéologue qui essaie de reconstituer des splendeurs qui ne peuvent pas être reconnues. Nous sommes nous-mêmes des dégénérés de cette splendeur-là: aussi, pour les êtres humains est-elle l'objet d'un regret profond, d'une nostalgie inextinguible ».

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

³⁰ Mircea Eliade, *Iphigenia*, ed. cit., p. 60.

commence, avant de finir la guerre pour la belle Elena? » « Je croyais que mes yeux t'avaient parlé assez clairement, Achille. Mais ma tristesse est plus affreuse maintenant, puisque je m'aperçois que tu as compris si peu mon amour....Car mon amour ne ressemble pas à celui de la belle Elena. Vaillant. Celui qui lève l'épée pour Elena, n'a pas le droit de lever l'épée pour Iphigénie aussi. Il existe des amours qui apportent la guerre, mais il y a également d'autres amours... » Les amours purificateurs sont charismatiques, ils viennent d'autres plans, ce sont des dons que seuls les héros peuvent porter. C'est de cette forme de catharsis, un temps dirigé, renvoyé à la lumière de la conscience dans un moment de synchronisme maximal de l'être avec le sacré, que parle Vladimir Jankelevitch: « Le catharsis est justement ce devoir interminable. Ou, en termes chronologiques: la purification guérit le mal produit par l'anachronisme, qui empêche l'homme d'être contemporain de sa propre pureté; elle lui permet de récupérer ce décalage fatal, elle lui rend la bienheureuse contemporanéité; de l'absence, fût-elle passée ou future, elle crée de nouveau un présent: la conscience traînant en arrière ou prenant de l'avance, la conscience qui est en retard ou qui est trop pressée, cette conscience retrouve, en se purifiant, le paradis de l'éternelle occasion et de la pureté toujours actuelle. La purification représente le temps dirigé ».³¹

Quel type de moralité demande ce sacrifice de la pureté ?

Serait-ce la morale de la vie ordinaire, qui considère la mort d'Iphigénie comme une situation abominable, situation que le vaillant Achille même essaie d'arrêter ou bien s'agirait-il des lois d'un monde surnaturel, un monde régi par des préceptes que seul un très petit nombre pourraient comprendre ? Pour Vladimir Jankelevitch la morale est disputée dans les termes d'un impérialisme acerbe tant par la vie sociale que par la religion, chacune avec ses propositions distinctes. L'une partant de la liberté absolue, l'autre partant de l'existence des lois surnaturelles que l'être humain n'a pas créées, mais auxquelles il se soumet, les deux s'appuyant cependant sur la même éthique, celle du bien: « La quintessence de l'acte moral se dévoile quand la liberté est maximale ; par exemple, dans une situation où l'impunité est assurée, car dans ce cas la soumission par rapport à la loi morale atteste la pureté morale de l'acte.(...) L'obligation religieuse

³¹ Vladimir Ibidem, 2000, *Pur și impur*, Editura Nemira, p. 19.

n'admet pas le libre arbitre : Dieu voit tout et sait tout, il verra toujours le crime qui a été commis, même si le tueur se réjouit d'impunité dans cette vie. L'homme dépend d'une loi qu'il n'a pas inventée et il en subit des pressions: la peur de l'enfer, la peur des punitions surnaturelles ».³²

La problématique de la liberté par rapport à l'absolu divin semble insoluble. Ce dilemme a pourtant une cohérence dans le mystique, à vrai dire paradoxale, si nous acceptons l'amoralité comme forme de pureté ineffable,³³ décrite dans les termes paradoxaux de la métaphysique par rapport aux catégories de l'absolu et en acceptant l'indescriptibilité : «puisque la pureté ennuyeuse ressemble à une bénédiction sereine jusqu'au désespoir, qui n'est jamais troublée par les nuages de l'inquiétude ou par le passionnant malheur. – Quoi que ce soit, l'indescriptible et l'inénarrable du Suprême Positif sont ceux qui justifient les voix négatives. Pareil à Dieu, dont personne ne peut prononcer le nom ou supporter la vue, la pureté demande en quelque sorte un regard oblique et indirect. Ou bien, si nous préférons maintenant les métaphores solaires du néoplatonisme aux métaphores glaciaires: la lumière est celle qui rend visibles les corps obscurs, mais elle-même, en elle-même, ne peut pas être vue; elle-même, en elle-même, pour parler comme l'Aréopagite, elle est plutôt obscurité; une obscurité qui aveugle! Car aucun œil ne supporte sa brillance insupportable, ni sa pureté incandescente. Comme nous disions de cette plénitude qu'elle se confond au non-être, de la même façon nous devrions dire maintenant que cette lumière méridienne coïncide à la nuit la plus sombre! La lumière, qui n'est pas visible en soi, devient ainsi visible indirectement, dans les corps qu'elle illumine ». ³⁴

Le sacrifice exemplaire de la pureté absolue réveille du sommeil profond.

Présent dans les mythes de Ghilgameş et d'Orphée : « Que celui qui entende se réveille du sommeil profond », dans l'Apocalypse de Jean, dans l'Épître à Efeseni (5:14): « Réveille-toi celui qui dors et lève-toi des morts et la lumière de Christ t'illuminera », le sacrifice est associé à la mort spirituelle, à l'absence du monde spirituel. Le triomphe sur le sommeil se réalise par la veille, présence incessante dans le monde de l'esprit, preuve

³² Vladimir Jankelevitch, 2011, *Curs de filosofie morală*, trad. de Adrian Şerban, Iaşi: Polirom.

³³ Vladimir Jankelevitch, 2000, *Pur și impur*, Editura Nemira, p. 11.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

que les disciples du Christ ne passent pas dans La Nuit de Gethsémani.³⁵ Le sommeil est associé comme image mystérieuse de l'ivresse. Le remède est toujours « le réveil », le rappel de l'identité céleste, l'anamnèse. En récapitulant : l'ignorance, le sommeil, l'oubli, l'ivresse signifient la mort que les apprentissages gnostiques promettent de racheter par la vraie vie, l'immortalité. Iphigénie comprend que ses noces spéciales avec la lumière béatifique réveilleront du sommeil profond de l'existence inertielle son peuple: „*Achile:Privește-i bine! Sunt beți, au băut de azi-dimineașă pentru nunta ta. Și uită-te și la aceștia! Au venit aici ca să te privească în clipele tale din urmă, să vadă cum urci treptele spre altar și cum se aprinde rugul!* (...)”³⁶ *Iphigenia:...Ei cred că aici e vorba de o moarte pe altar și o ardere pe rug, de aceea fruntea le e posomorâtă și privirile lor zac obosite în pământ! Nimeni nu i-a învățat, nimeni nu le-a spus că dincolo de rug începe o altă lume!...*”³⁶

"Achille: Regarde-les bien! Ils sont ivres, ils ont bu depuis ce matin pour tes noces. Et regarde aussi les autres! Ils sont venus ici pour te regarder dans tes derniers instants, voir comment tu montes les marches vers l'autel et comment on allume le bûcher! (...) « Iphigénie:...Ils croient qu'il s'agit ici d'une mort sur l'autel et d'un sacrifice sur le bûcher, c'est à cause de ça que leur front est sombre et que leurs regards reposent fatigués dans la terre! Personne ne leur a appris, personne ne leur a dit qu'au-delà du bûcher un autre monde commence !...

Par le biais des motifs mythiques, les images et les métaphores gnostiques présentes dans le théâtre de Mircea Eliade, nous reconnaissons également le complexe mythique de la « chute et le rachat de l'âme divine par la victoire définitive contre l'obscurité ».³⁷ À celui-là se joignent des mitologèmes tels le sommeil, la captivité, Le Sauveur sauvé, le thème du double, le retour à la maison, l'étranger, l'ignorance.

L'âme oublie son identité, captivée par les plaisirs du corps, de la matière. Mircea Eliade cite le mythe connu de Mărgăritar conservé dans *Faptele lui Toma*. Le mythe est centré sur le thème du Sauveur sauvé. Dans le rôle de ce héros mythique se trouve dans la pièce de Mircea Eliade Achille, le double d'Iphigénie. Celle-ci l'aide à retourner à la fin du court

³⁵ Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, București: Universul Enciclopedic.

³⁶ Mircea Eliade, *Iphigenia*, ed. cit., p. 62.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 46.

voyage ensemble pour voir son vrai corps de gloire.³⁸ En citant H. Jonas (*The gnostic religion*), Mircea Eliade observe que la rencontre du héros avec, « son soi authentique », après avoir enlevé son vêtement, représente un élément central de la religion gnostique.³⁹ *Iphigénie* reste l'un des plus complexes textes de Mircea Eliade, tant du point de vue de la relation qu'il initie avec l'hypertexte, mais surtout par sa problématique philosophique que le mythe ouvre dans le texte littéraire.

Des Hommes et des pierres (1944)

La mission orphique de la poésie. Dans la pièce de théâtre *Des Hommes et des pierres*, les personnages discutent la nécessité de récupérer l'état paradisiaque de l'être, grâce auquel la création même peut se sacrifier de nouveau, par une sorte de mission orphique de la poésie: *Oameni și pietre* (1944) "Am crezut odată că aveam o misiune... (uitându-se vinovat spre Petruș), mai bine zis, Adria mi-a băgat în cap că aş putea avea o misiune: să revelez ceva, să descopăr ceva oamenilor, din toate ţările și din toate timpurile... Așa cum a revelat Shakespeare..." "Când vor începe să se miște pietrele și să se însuflească bolțile... numai ele... ele singure... fără nici un profil omenesc... fără nici un adaos.... atunci, poate că atunci am să încep să văd... și să cred".⁴⁰

« Une fois, j'avais cru que j'avais une mission... (en regardant d'un œil coupable vers Petruș), ou plutôt, Adria m'avait mis dans la tête que je pourrais avoir une mission: révéler quelque chose aux humains de tous les pays, de tous les temps... A la manière de Shakespeare... » « Quand les pierres commenceront à bouger et à animer les voûtes... uniquement elles... elles seules... sans aucun profil humain... sans aucune adjonction... alors, peut-être alors commencerai-je à voir... à croire ».

³⁸ Celui qui est réveillé ne peut plus être la victime des voleurs, symbole de l'illusion et de l'ignorance. Le motif de l'étranger dans les narrations gnostiques exprime l'image du soi, étranger au monde physique, Prakriti. Le soi (*pneuma*) vit isolé de la matière, détaché, spectateur inactif dans le drame de sa vie et de l'histoire. L'image de la mer, où se trouve la plus belle perle, gardée par le serpent, signifie symboliquement le monde matériel où tombent piégés les voyageurs sur les voies de l'initiation, dans les phases de début de la quête spirituelle selon Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, ed, cit. p.451

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 452.

⁴⁰ Mircea Eliade, 1996, *Oameni și pietre*, în: volumul *Coloana nesfârșită*, București: Editura Minerva, p. 90.

La sortie spectaculaire du labyrinthe, la dernière, serait possible par le biais de la poésie, si celle-ci réalisait cette mutation convoitée par toutes les religions et les philosophies du monde: si elle arrivait à se transformer en technique sotériologique, en politique du salut, elle permettrait la rencontre avec *Sophia*.

Le thème est définitoire également pour l'expérimentation *Living Theatre*, pour laquelle le théâtre représente un espace consacré, où des expériences intenses se passent, entre l'état de rêverie et l'état d'extase mystique, des états dans lesquels les acteurs et les spectateurs voyagent dans eux-mêmes, désarchivent les images archétypales de l'inconscient, parfois sous l'influence des drogues ou par la pratique des techniques de yoga de certains rituels chamaniques, performés sur scène: « Julian Beck définit ainsi le but du Living: accentuer le caractère sacré de la vie, agrandir le champ de la conscience, détruire les murs et les barrières (...) qui nous empêchent d'accéder à l'ordre de L'illumination ». ⁴¹ Le langage spécifique de la poésie, peuplé par des métaphores et des valeurs symboliques, peut encore chasser l'état de profanation de l'existence et renouer avec les espaces sacrés. Il s'agit essentiellement de la reconstitution de la pensée symbolique qui permet à l'existence quotidienne de refaire les ponts magiques avec les archétypes et de s'accorder harmonieusement aux grands rythmes. Le théâtre Living proposait dans ce sens l'institution d'un langage universel, résultat du syncrétisme gnostique, dans lequel se confinaient les symboles mystiques de la Kabbale et du tantrisme, de l'alchimie ou des pratiques chamaniques, la redécouverte de la corporalité et de la sexualité sacrée. L'expérimentation Living organise aussi son discours théâtral autour des mêmes archétypes, fondamentaux aussi dans l'œuvre de Mircea Eliade: le centre, le cercle, l'arbre cosmique, l'axe du monde, l'escalier, la colonne du monde, la grotte, comme dans *Des Hommes et des pierres*, archétypes subordonnés au complexe mythique de l'ascension.

La perspective anthropologique sur la récupération d'un temps des origines circulait à cette époque-là, à partir d'Antonin Artaud, dans le mouvement Living, mais aussi dans l'œuvre de Claude Levi Strauss (*Antropologia structurală, Gândirea sălbatică, În lumea ahetipurilor, Structurile imaginariului*), de Carl Gustav Jung ou dans la philosophie de l'imaginaire chez Gilbert Durand. La recréation du langage primitif, d'une

⁴¹ Monique Borie, 1978, *De l'herméneutique de la régénération par le théâtre*, dans *Cahier de L'Herne*, Mircea Eliade, Éditions de L'Herne, p. 126.

forme de communication directe à travers les images et les symboles, telle est la promesse que la littérature de Mircea Eliade fait également. Il s'agit finalement d'une forme efficace d'emploi des signes du monde pour retrouver « l'homme tout simplement, qui n'a pas encore été affecté par les conditions historiques. Chaque être historique porte en soi une grande partie de l'humanité qui précède l'Histoire.»⁴²

Des images et des symboles, la réinstauration du stade paradisiaque par la poésie.

La plongée dans l'inconscient mythique, dans les rêveries de l'humanité aboutit à la perfection de l'initiation dans *Des Hommes et des pierres*. La découverte de la mythologie subconsciente et des images archétypales réalise la solidarité totale de l'espèce humaine par l'appel à un langage universel "trans conscient" », qui transcende, selon Mircea Eliade l'inconscient collectif de Jung. La littérature a le devoir de récupérer les hiérophanies déchues, les symboles désaffectés, les déchets mythologiques des « zones faiblement soumises au contrôle ».«⁴³ À ces images et symboles devenus familiers pour pouvoir survivre s'adresse le théâtre qui peut les faire revivre sur scène de façon rituelle. La Grotte, la Colonne du ciel, le mystère de la femme, le mystère de l'amour, le paradis perdu, l'homme parfait, la sortie hors temps, le symbolisme des nœuds, ne sont que quelques-uns des thèmes énoncés par Mircea Eliade. C'est à cette forme d'imagination qu'Eliade confie l'expérimentation théâtrale, chargée de symbolismes, de mythes et de « théologies archaïques ».«⁴⁴ « Avoir de l'imagination signifie se réjouir d'une richesse intérieure, d'un flux incessant et spontané d'images, l'imagination *imité* des modèles exemplaires. (...) Avoir de l'imagination signifie voir le monde dans sa totalité: car le pouvoir et la mission des Images consistent dans le fait qu'elles *montrent* tout ce qui reste réfractaire au concept. Ainsi explique-t-on pourquoi l'homme dépourvu d'imagination perd son bonheur et il s'écroule déchiré de la réalité profonde de la vie de

⁴² Mircea Eliade, 1994, *Imagini si simboluri*, Bucureşti: Humanitas, p. 15.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

sa propre âme ».⁴⁵

Comme n'importe quelle terre mythique, l'espace de la grotte est peuplé des personnages de la mythologie d'une enfance ancestrale: La Vieille Doquia, des Fées, des nains, qui refont d'une manière salvatrice les liens avec les peuples mythiques de l'inconscient collectif. Les deux, Alexandru, le poète, et Petruș, le scientifique, partent vers un voyage spirituel dans le labyrinthe souterrain, espérant qu'ils vivront la grande régression, la descente aux Enfers, jusqu'au dernier niveau de la conscience cosmique. Au fur et à mesure qu'ils descendent dans les profondeurs, marche par marche, dans la nuit du labyrinthe intérieur, les deux rencontrent leurs visages réels, avivés par les essences fortes de la vanité assoiffée de gloire, à tel point que les pastilles d'opium non plus ne peuvent plus améliorer leur image... "Ah, mi-e scârbă de oameni. Niște viermi îmbătați de vanitate".⁴⁶

« Ah, je suis dégoûté par les gens. Des vers enivrés de vanité ». La lecture semble celle de Cioran: la vie se réduit au néant, les êtres humains n'ont pas une existence supérieure aux troglobies, tout semble une farce sinistre dans la plongée mythique mais, quand ils semblent définitivement égarés parmi les ombres des choses, quelque chose change fondamentalement, car au centre du labyrinthe il y a de nouveau la lumière, que les deux vivent, mais qu'ils savent ne jamais pouvoir décrire, car il n'y a pas de paroles qui puissent la rendre. "Alexandru: Nenorocirea noastră e că vedem prea mult, simțim prea mult, înțelegem prea mult...și nu le putem spune... nu avem cuvinte... nu avem nimic...Deși e un lucru atât de important, care schimbă viața, îi dă alt sens, o îmbogățește... Există ceva fundamental, o certitudine absolută, care dă sens la toate. ...Ah, ce păcat că n-am cum să spun toate astea....Niciodată, nimeni, în nicio carte".⁴⁷

« Alexandru: Notre malheur est que nous voyons trop, nous sentons trop, nous comprenons trop... et nous ne pouvons pas le dire... nous n'avons pas les paroles... nous n'avons rien... Bien que ce soit une chose si importante, qui change la vie, qui lui donne un autre sens, l'enrichit... Il y a quelque chose de fondamental, une certitude absolue, qui donne du sens à tout. ...Ah, quel

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 25.

⁴⁶ Mircea Eliade, *Oameni și pietre*, ed. cit., p. 100.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 108.

dommage que je ne puisse pas dire toutes ces choses-là....Jamais, personne, dans aucun livre ».

Mircea Eliade prévoit l'efficacité des images symboliques dans un discours syncrétique, dans lequel l'esthétique littéraire, la psychologie, l'ethnologie, l'anthropologie, l'histoire des religions et les jugements nécessaires de la critique littéraire vont synthétiser les explorations transdisciplinaires aboutissant aux « sources mêmes de la pensée symbolique ».⁴⁸ Mircea Eliade attire l'attention sur la manière dont les symboles et les images magico religieuses ne doivent pas être interprétées: « Le danger des études sur le symbolisme vient d'une généralisation hâtive. Les profanes ont tendance à se contenter des premiers témoignages qu'ils trouvent et à construire des interprétations « générales » audacieuses des symbolismes ». L'herméneutique des symbolismes ne doit pas être réduite aux significations univoques, le texte désarchive la mémoire mythique même dans les œuvres des écrivains réalistes, qui ont une accoutumance extraordinaire à utiliser l'art du détail significatif. D'autant plus abusive peut être considérée une herméneutique qui discrédite le corps magique du symbole et l'attache de façon vulgaire à une séquence historique, en déformant le message du texte dans des interprétations qui camouflent définitivement le sens salvateur du mythe, « le trésor » des profondeurs des eaux ravageuses.

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⁴⁸ Mircea Eliade, 1994, *Imagini și simboluri*, București: Editura Humanitas, p. 26.

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A-₁ AND ÎN-₁ (ÎM-₁) DERIVATION DURING 1532-1640. A CONSTRUCTIONAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract:

In this study, we aim to analyse derivation by means of *în*-₁ (*îm*-₁), respectively *a*-₁ prefixes in old Romanian literary language in terms of derivational morphology. Thus, we shall take into consideration the description of the delocutive derivation process that was widespread in the old age of Romanian literary language – influenced by Slavic language – in terms of the ‘conventional vocabulary’, made up by means of a set of morphological and semantic rules that influence the word formation process.

Our attempt aims at organising *în*-, *a*- derivatives depending on the specialised categorial relations between the affix and the radical/base in order to emphasise the importance of this internal means of vocabulary enrichment as early as the first stages of the literary language.

Keywords:

Derivation, prefix, associative-layered, old Romanian literary language, diachrony, categorial relation.

1. Theoretical framework

Generally speaking, the constructional analysis of derivation by means of *în*- prefix highlights several ways of enriching the Romanian language vocabulary and reveals trends that are related to its dynamics and natural evolution, in particular.

In this context, we have in mind the analysis of this phenomenon in terms of the *associative-layered* mode¹, postulated within the generative

¹ The two generative principles – associative and layered – are characterised by highlighting the rules that operate in language, based on morphological and semantic analysis parameters of resulting words. In this case, *associativity* and *layering* describe the way in which lexical units are hierarchically organised in language. Danielle Corbin, 1987, I, p. 43.

theory of derivational morphology², which aims at defining word formation rules and properly interpreting the rules involved by the semantics of built terms.

Thus, the delimitation of functional morphological rules in the process of word formation by means of *in-* relies in the *real vocabulary – conventional vocabulary* dichotomy, taking into account the principles of associativity and layering of speech facts.

1.1. Real vocabulary vs. conventional vocabulary

a. The real vocabulary is defined by three distinct levels, namely:

- the certified, observable, tangible vocabulary;

- the lexical competence and immediate metalinguistic intuition – two aspects which allow speakers to interpret words and make judgements about their own language;

- properties of an idiom, its rules and exceptions that define it.

b. The conventional vocabulary, made up of the variety of built words (derivatives and those resulted from conversion), is defined based on two essential elements, namely derivational competence and speaker.

‘Derivational competence’ (Fr. *la compétence derivationnelle*)³ is defined in terms of creativity generated by certain rules. This creativity consists in the ability to form and understand derived words, unknown previously, by applying some rules. We should point out that the rules involved in the manifestation of derivational competence take into account the generally valid word formation rules that are known and applied in other contexts.

The speaker manifests his/her lexical creativity by considering the known general word formation rules and the way of applying these rules, in principle.

For example, a speaker creates a new word starting from the lexical material that exists in the real vocabulary:

- [pref. *a-*] + [base_{vb} *-dormi* ‘sleep’] + [suf. *-a*] → *built word*: (*a*) *adormi* ‘fall asleep/put to sleep’;

² Cf. Danielle Corbin, 1987, *Morphologie et structuration du lexique*, I-II, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

³ Danielle Corbin, 1987, I, pp. 68-70.

- [pref. *in-*] + [base_n: *-bujor* ‘rose’-] + [suf: *-a*] → *built word*: (a) *îmbujora* ‘become rosy/to grow red (in the face)’;

Each word is later included in the real vocabulary, as speakers assign a semantic interpretation to it based on their derivational competence, in general, and on lexical competence, in particular:

- (a) *adormi* ‘fall asleep/put to sleep’ means ‘change from a waking to a sleeping state’ or ‘help someone go to bed’;
- (a) *îmbujora* ‘become rosy’ is paraphrased by ‘be like a rose’.

1.2. ‘The built word’

A constructed word (Fr. *le mot construit*) implicitly describes the associative-layered principle, for it designates the relationships between the constituents of the morphological structure of a term and its meaning. Thus, the constructed word is a lexical unit whose predictable meaning is compositional⁴, with regard to the internal structure, which involves the application of derivational operations (carried out by word-formation rules) at the level of major lexical categories and associates categorial, morphological and semantico-syntactic relations to them.

Hence, a built word should meet three conditions:

- (I) the ability of morphological constituents to express a categorial relation and to associate to a reproducible meaning;
- (II) the predictable meaning and its internal structure must rely on a word formation rule so that the meaning should be compositional as related to form;
- (III) the presence of one or several word formation methods (prefixation, suffixation and conversion).

1.3. Word formation rules

As regards the word formation rules, the proposed model involves the association of three aspects:

- a) ‘structural operation’ involves the categorial relation between the base and the derivative.

⁴ Danielle Corbin, 1987, I, p. 221.

The categorial relation is described, in turn, by the authorised association between the base or radical (attested or not attested) and affixes.

b) ‘semantic operation’ designates the same fundamental meaning of all its products.

Semantic interpretation implies, in its turn, the existence of some semantic construction rules.

c) ‘morphological paradigm’ is represented by a set of constructional methods⁵ which underlie the general phenomena of word formation.

1.4. Categorial relations

An idiom is also defined by the categorial relations it authorises between the base and the built word⁶. The typology of general categorial relations, in the case of derivation by means of delocutive suffixes, is represented as follows:

- **noun → verb:**

floare ‘flower’ → (a) *înflori* ‘flower, flourish’, *frunte* ‘forehead, front’ → (a) *înfrunta* ‘confront’, *curaj* ‘courage’ → (a) *încuraja* ‘encourage’; *fum* ‘fume’ → (a) *afuma* ‘fumigate’ etc.

- **adjective → verb:**

bolnav ‘ill’ → (a) *îmbolnăvi* ‘fall ill’, *greu* ‘heavy’ → (a) *îngreuna* ‘make heavy’; *gros* ‘thick’ → (a) *îngroşa* ‘thicken’ etc.

- **numeral → verb:**

jumătate ‘half’ → (a) *înjumătăți* ‘halve’, *trei* ‘three’ → (a) *întrei* ‘triple’ etc.

- **verb → verb:**

(a) *dormi* ‘sleep’ – (a) *adormi* ‘fall asleep/put to sleep’ etc.

⁵ See Georgette Dal, 2004, pp. 8-9.

⁶ Cf. Danielle Corbin, 1985, p. 37.

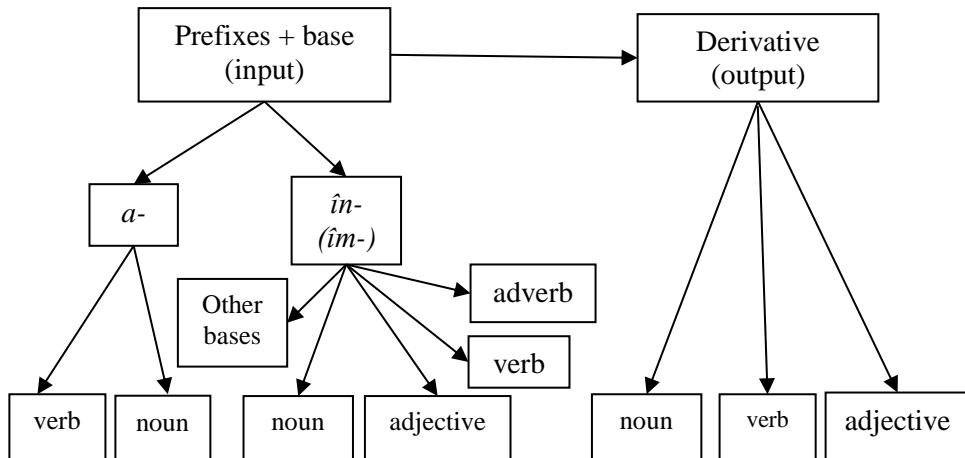


Figure 1. Representation of combinatorial possibilities in the process of *in-* and *a-* derivation.

2. Delocutive derivation occurrences in old Romanian texts

The beginning of a European literary language is marked, par excellence, by an age imbued with “*translations and adaptations of texts written in previous culture language*”.⁷

Given the fact that derivation is the main process that is specific to literary languages⁸, in old Romanian texts dating from the 1532-1640 period the Romanian language heavily appeals to word formation by means of suffixes and prefixes⁹, of which one can identify the following affixes: *in-ne-*, *pre-*, which are frequently used, *des-* (*dez-*), *stră-*, *răz-*, *spre-*, *a-* and *de-*, of which the last two are less common.

2.1. Derivation by means of *a-1*

As regards the lexical and grammatical homonymy of the *a*-particle, we should mention that the prefix *a-* is part of the “type 2” affix

⁷ Eugen Munteanu, 2008, p. 12.

⁸ The frequent use of derived terms is explained based on the search of Romanian equivalents for Slavic words.

⁹ Al. Rosetti, 1986, pp. 515-518.

category¹⁰, for they are ‘prefixes that assume in Latin (or Greek, where appropriate) autonomous and non-autonomous uses and which continue to have the same lexical and grammatical values in synchrony’: cf. *anti-*, *a-*(locative), *in-*, *sub-*, *supra-*, *super-*, *co-* etc.

Prefixes that make up the so-called type 2 class are characterised by two aspects:

1) ‘they build words which belong to different classes of words’: *verbs* mainly, then *adjectives* and *nouns*: (*a*) *adormi* ‘fall asleep/put to sleep’, *afumat* ‘smoked’, *adormire* ‘falling asleep’ etc.

This criterion takes into account the categorial relations authorised by that particular affix in selecting the base and the semantic constraints imposed by semantic word construction rules.

2) ‘words derived by means of these prefixes express certain logico-semantic values’, cf. ‘spatial and temporal relation’: *a-*, *în-*.

Delocation, a functional method in old Romanian literary language, imposes the following pattern of analysis of prefixation by means of *a-1*, considering the word formation rules (WFR), entailed by the basic component (made up of the list of lexical entries) and the derivational component.

Language data excerpted from our corpus involve the following combinatorial possibilities of the *a-1* prefix:

- *a-1 + verb*;
- *a-1 + noun + suffix*;
- *a-1 + adjective + suffix*.

2.1.1. A-1 + vb. [prefix + verb]

The parameter described here, namely ‘combinatorial possibilities of the attached element [the affix]’, entails the analysis of a first authorised categorial relation present in words attested in old texts.

• verb→verb

a abirui ‘defeat’ (CS², VII, 67^r/8-9); *a acoapere* ‘cover’ (CL, 8^r/4, 7^v/15-16, 40^v/8); *a aduce* ‘bring’ (PH, 79/9; MI, II, 134^v/16-17, II, 185^v/9, 106^v/1; TS, 39^r, 44^r, 3^v, 101^r); *a adurmîră* ‘fall asleep’ (TS, 99^v); *a adurmita*

¹⁰ Dany Amiot, 2005, pp. 67-68.

‘fall asleep’ (CC², 162; PS, 67; CP, 54)¹¹; *a amistui* ‘inflame’ (CB, 33; CT, 40^v; CC², 180); *a apesti*¹² ‘doze off’; *a aprinde* ‘enflame’ (MI, I, 174^v/1-2); *a aveni* and *a se aveni* ‘(about dough) rise, ferment’ (PO¹, 12).

This set of verbs is formed based on the analogy between verbs with a simple form and the prefix *a-1*, forming the so-called doublets.

On the one hand, we should mention that certain doublets, resulted from the unprefixed and prefixed form of the verb, exist only at a formal level, for the prefix imposes no semantic categorisation.

a abirui (CS², VII, 67^r/8-9) X *a birui* (CC², 560; 137, 145);
a acoapere (CL, 8^r/4, 7^v/15-16, 40^v/8) X *a coperi*, “*va cuperi*” (MI, I, 180^v/17);
a apesti X *a pesti* (CL, 26^v/1-4).

On the other hand, the categorial relation verb → verb implies a semantic change, imposed by the prefix:

a adurmi(ră) (TS, 99^v) X *a durmi* ‘sleep’, cf. “*durmitară*” (PS, 162);
a aprinde (MI, I, 174^v/1-2) X *a prinde* ‘catch’;
a aduce (PH, 79/9; MI, II, 134^v/16-17, II, 185^v/9, 106^v/1; TS, 39^r, 44^r, 3^v, 101^r) X *a duce* ‘carry’;
a aveni (PO¹, 12) X *a veni* ‘come’.

2.1.2. A-1 + noun + -a [prefix + noun + suffix]

The second categorial relation imposed by the possibility of the affix to combine with an autonomous or non-autonomous base or radical is represented by the following structure:

- **noun → verb**

a afuma ‘fumigate’ (PH, 143/5); *a afunda* ‘dip, immerse (in)’, cf. “*afundaiu-meă în tină*” (PH, 68/3); *a aspuma* ‘effervesce’ (CP, 124), cf. “*aspumată*” (CV, 55^v/6-7)

We should notice that the categorial relation of delocutive verbs from the general class of denominatives is weakly represented in 1532-1640.

¹¹ The termed is formed by contamination from *a durmita* + *a adurmi*.

¹² Studiu lingvistic la CL. Al. Mares, 1969, p. 21.

It is to be mentioned that verbs resulting from that particular pattern are considered parasyntactic formations in the specialised literature.

2.1.3. A-1 + adjective + -a/-i [prefix + adjective + suffix]

The pattern entails the categorial relation **adj. → vb.**:

a a(u)pući ‘to reek, to stink’ (PS, 65; CV, 12; PH, 113/14; CP, 65);
a amući ‘to dumb’ (PH, 33²/3); *a amorći* ‘to numb’ (PO², 229/2); *a astriina* ‘to alien, to alienate’ (CP, 71; PS, 231; PH, 50/4).

The sporadic examples point to the fact that the *a-* prefix does not have a high capacity of derivation in religious writings, in the period under analysis.

2.2. Derivation by means of *în-1* (*îm-*)

As regards the affix *în-1*, we should point out that the prefix also belongs to the class of ‘type 2’ prefixes, as it builds words that fall into several grammatical categories and has certain semantic values, imposed by the semantic selection of bases.

Words derived by *în-1* are particularly common in 1532-1640 texts, which indicate the creative power of the vocabulary in any stage of evolution. Thus, this delocutive prefix is extremely productive in the old literary language, as it is considered to be a specific affix of both religious and lay texts.

The large number of lexical units derived with *în-1* (*îm-*) help establish a pattern of analysis of prefixation, taking into account word formation rules and applicable affixation parameters: ‘the semantics of the attached element’ and ‘combinatorial possibilities’:

- a) în-1 + nominal base + suffixes -a/-i = parasyntactic denominal derivatives;*
- b) în-1 + adjectival base + suffixes -a/-i = parasyntactic deadjectival derivatives;*
- c) în-1 + verb = deverbal derivatives.*

2.2.1. În-1 + noun + -a/-i [prefix + noun + suffix]

The first way of forming derivatives leads to the creation of the categorial relation represented by the structure noun → verb (verbs are formed from nouns), which is very well represented during the 1532-1640 period.

• Noun → verb

a îmbărbăta ‘to encourage, to reman’ (PH, 26/14; TS, 51^r; CC², 183/26); *a împăinijina* ‘to blur, to mist’ (CC², 252/37); *a împărți* ‘to share, to portion’ (PH, 111/9; CC², 192/17; CL, 25^r/7, 37^v/12, 38^r/15-16, 37^v/10-11; TS, 102^v, 37^v, 37^r, 7^v, 38^r; CV, 134/23); *a împăsonia*² ‘to press’, cf. *păsoniu* “*dzua și noaptea împăsone pre menre mânra ta*” (PH, 31/4); *a împelița* ‘to incarnate’ (CC², 91/38; CL, 38^v/14-15); *a împetrici* (CC², 364/14); *a împerechea* (TS, 37^r), and also “*împărechea*” ‘to couple, to pair’ (ER, f. 18^v); *a împiedica* ‘to block, to hinder’ (PH, 17/40); *a împleti* ‘to braid’ (CC², 326/7; TS, 114^v); *a împlânta* ‘to stick’ (TS, 82^r); *a înarma* ‘to arm, to weapon’ (CC², 106/20), attested only in the participle form *înarmați*¹³; *a încăleca* ‘to mount, to straddle’ (TS, 78^r); *a se încămăta* ‘to become a pawnbroker’ (CC², 351); *a înceti* ‘to accompany’ (CC², 615); *a închega* ‘to clot’, in the participle form *închegat*, -ă (PH, 67/17); *a încredința* (CC², 247/8) and *a se încredința* ‘to assure, to entrust’ (PS, 37); *a se încuibura* ‘to nestle, to make a nest’ (CV, 16^v; CP, 200^r); *a se încurți* ‘to establish, to settle down’ (CP, 1; PS; CV); *a îndumnezei* ‘to glorify, to deify’ (CC², 487/18); *a se înfărtăți* ‘to associate, to unite in company’ (MC, 60^v); *a înfeciora* ‘to adopt, to father’ (the only attestation¹⁴); *a îfrânră* (PH, 31/9); *a înfriica* ‘to affright, to appal’ (TS, 117^v); *a îfrunzi* ‘to leaf’ (TS, 97^v); *a îngenunchea* ‘to kneel’ (TS, 115^r); *a îngheța* ‘to freeze, to ice’ (CC², 364/11); *a înghimpa* ‘to prick’ (PH, 31/4); *a se îngloti* ‘to gather, to crowd’ (CC², 191, MC, 396); *a îngrupa* ‘to bury (PH, 78/3; CC², 138/4; TS, 100^v, 49^v, 20^r etc.; MI, 186^v/6), cf. *îngrop* (ER, f. 11^r); *a înjuga* ‘to yoke’ (CC², 277/36); *a înlumina* ‘to illuminate’ (MC, 251^v; PO², 9/19); *a înnoroci* ‘to protect, to cause something to end well’ (PO², 136/24); *a înomeni* ‘to incarnate’ (CC², 497/17); *a însărcina* ‘to charge (with)’, attested in the participle form “*însărcinăți*” (ER, f. 17^v); *a însotī* ‘to accompany’ (CC², 449/17); *a înseta* ‘to be thirsty’: “*însedadză*” (PH, 103/11); “*însetați*” (ER, f. 5^r); *a însufleta* ‘to enliven, to animate’ (CC², 347/36); *a însâra* ‘to string, to thread’ (CC², 244/15); *a intemeia* ‘to found, to ground’ (CC², 179/21);¹ *a*

¹³ Apud SMFC, 1959, I, p. 253.

¹⁴ Cf. Vasile Scurtu, 1966, p. 56.

întrupi ‘to embody, to incarnate’ (CC², 2/19); *a învăli, a se învălui* ‘to envelop, to veil’ (CC², 137/2, 233/37), and also *a înveli* (CL, 27^r/1); *a învăjmași* ‘to split, to sow dissension’ (CC², 285/21).

As shown in our examples, the noun, a strong grammatical category, is frequently used as base for *în-* (*îm-*) derivatives, which leads to the formation of a significant number of denominal verbal constructions and, particularly, to the semantic diversification of built words.

Nominal bases, in combination with the affix *în-*, are authorised by word formation rules and by semantic construction rules of lexemes, in general.

However, in terms of derivational mechanism, the resulted denominal verbal units represent two subtypes of constructions:

- a) parasynthetic verbs: (a) *însărcina* ‘put in charge’ < *în-* + *sarcină* ‘charge’- + -*a*; *în-* + *-frunză* ‘leaf’- + -*i* < (a) *înfrunzi* ‘to leaf’ etc.;
- b) verbs resulted from a verbal or prepositional construction: (a) *împerechea* ‘to pair’ < (a) *pune în pereche* ‘arrange in pairs’, (a) *înşâra* ‘to string’ < (*în*) *şir* (literary version of the archaic form *şâr*) ‘in a string’.

• **Numeral → verb**

a înduia ‘to increase twice, to double; to fold in two’ (CC², 318/11); *a îngiumătați* (PH, 54/24), and *a înjumătați* (CC², 99/29) ‘to halve’.

The numeral, which expresses quantity, appears sporadically as a derivative base in this case. This categorial relation is most frequently included in the group of *în-* + *nominal base* + *suffix* derivatives, as it belongs to the general category of the noun.

2.2.2. **În-1 + adjective + -a/-i [prefix + adjective + suffix]**

The second pattern of *în-* derivation, encountered in the 1532-1640 texts, involves another categorial relation, which is considered as canonical by the specialised literature, namely the adjective → verb paradigm (verbs are formed from adjectival bases).

• **Adjective → verb**

a îmbăta ‘to make drunk, to intoxicate’ (CC², 287/9); *a îmbuna* ‘to calm, to make less severe’: “*îmbunrară oamenirii*” (PH, 143/15); *a îmblânzi*

‘to tame’ (CC², 137/36; CS², VII, 64^v/12-13); *a împuțina* ‘to lessen’: “se împuțină *addevărul*” (PH, 11/2; CS², IX, 77^v/2-3); *a înăcri* ‘to sour’ (TS, 45^v); *a înălbi* ‘to whiten’: “înrălăbi-mea-voiu” (PH, 50/9); (CC², 87/22); *a se înălbi* ‘to whiten’ (CL, 9^v/16); *a încălzi* ‘to warm’ (CC², 159/3); *a îndulci* (CS², XIV, 112^r/4; TM, 227), also *a se îndulci* ‘to sweeten’ (CC², 132, 135, 136, 157, 494; CB, I, 11-12); *a îndrăgi* ‘to love’ (CC², 186/6), cf. “îndrăgișii Domnul” (PH, 30/24); *a înfierica* ‘to imparadise’ (PS, 427; CP¹, 251^v); *a înfierbânta* ‘to boil’: “înfierbântatu-ne-ai” (PH, 65/10); *a înflămânzi* ‘to make/become hungry’ (CC², 34/21); *a îngreua* ‘to make heavy’ (PS, 116); *a îngrășa* ‘to fatten’ (CC², 73/29); *a îngroșa* ‘to thicken’: “îngroșatu-s-au” (TS, 42^r); *a îngreioia* (CC², 83/12), see above *a îngreua* (PS); *a însetoșa*, *a însetoși* ‘to be/become thirsty’ (CT, 56^v; CC², 89 etc.); *a se însingura* ‘to seclude’ (CP, 23; PS, 56; CV, 8); *a însupția* ‘to thin’ (CP, 6; CV, 9); *a întări* ‘to fasten, to strengthen’ (CC², 290/28; MI, III, 191^r/7; PH, 111/8); *a întăroșa* ‘to get pregnant’ (PO¹, 131/4), cf. *tăroasă* ‘pregnant’¹⁵; *a întrista* ‘to sadden’ (CC², 79/23); *a învârtoșa* (CL, 10^r/8; 40^v/1), also *a învrătoșa* ‘to harden’ (PH, 32/6), cf. *vârtos* ‘hard, solid, robust’ ; *a învineți* ‘to bruise’ (CC², 158/36); *a învie* ‘to resurrect’ (CC², 102/27; MI, I, 173^v/1, II, 187^v; 183^r/9; CL, 14^v/19, 15^r/5, 12, 14^v/15, 16^v/7-8, 29^v/12; TS, 170^v, 61^v, 25^v, 75^v).

The adjective, with various degrees of abstraction, frequently appears as a derivative base for terms with *în-1* (*îm-1*) and helps form numerous deadjectival derivatives.

Given the examples extracted from the corpus we have compiled, we note that in this period the categorial relation built from the ‘noun → verb’ structure is better represented than the ‘adjective → verb’ paradigm, which is considered to be the main method of forming verbs expressing ‘the change of state’.

2.2.3. În-1 + verb [prefix + verb]

Although not specified within the general framework of *în*-derivation, in classic studies about this method, language data, manifested in

¹⁵ CDER, 2002, s.v. *tăroasă*; ILRLV, 1997, p. 177.

moderate proportion, indicate another CT represented by the structure verb → verb (verbs create verbs), in the 1532-1640 texts.

• **Verb → verb**

*a împăsonia*¹, cf. *a păsa* ‘to get pregnant’, after *a îngreuiā*; *a împremiza*: “*nu împremidzează zilele sale*” ‘to halve’, cf. lat. *permediare* (CP, 54, 24); *a înacoperi* ‘to cover, to hide’ “*înacoperi-meā*” (PH, 26/5); *a înareta* “*înareta-meā-va derept cu mia*” (PH, 140/5); *a îincrede* ‘to (en)trust’ (CC², 276/23); *a înfărge* ‘to defeat’ (CC², 46/27); *a înjura* ‘to swear’ (CC², 34/5); *a înmări* ‘to enlarge, to enhance’ (CT, 152, 6); *a înmicșura* ‘to belittle, to decrease’ (PS, 20; CP, 10^v); *a însălașlui* ‘to (in)dwell’ (CC², 176/14); *a înschimba*¹⁶ ‘to change’; *a întocmi* (CC², 246/27); *a înești* ‘to cover, to wrap’ (CV, 60/9; PH, 70/9, 16, 18; ÎC, 43); *a înzăcea* (CV, 6).

This group of terms, reduced to 15 units derived from other verbs-bases, is created through analogy according to the pattern imposed by the largest number of categorial relations, namely verbs formed from adjectives and nouns.

3. Conclusions

The diachronic analysis reveals certain aspects of language dynamics which consisted in the creation of a substantial number of words built by means of *în-* (*îm-*).

Language facts in Romanian texts dating from the first period of the old age of literary Romanian language point to the productivity of the mechanism of delocation in the old language. This method contributes to the establishment of delocutive prefixation patterns reflected in the configuration of aspects related to the reciprocity among the language compartments: vocabulary, morphology, semantics. Interdependence at the level of language is generally supported by the associative-layered principle.

Furthermore, one should note the productivity and frequency of the prefix *în-* (*îm-*), which is extremely well represented in the early period of the old age of the literary language. The affix *în-*, which is par excellence

¹⁶ Cf. G. Istrate, 1982, p. 245.

delocutive, occurs in denominative verbs, adjectives and parasynthetic nouns, while *a-* is attested in a much smaller number, belonging to the category of verbs, nouns and adjectives.

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